Part 2:
Tradition and Transformation? – Charting Heroism in *Chambers's Journal*

4. Charting Heroism in *Chambers's Journal*

4.1 Chambers's Journal

Venturing into Publishing: The Early Careers of William and Robert Chambers

When *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*[1] appeared for the first time in 1832, its editors were already well-known in Edinburgh's publishing scene. Both brothers had ventured into the book trade in 1820 when each rented a bookstall on Leith Walk. William, the older brother, had just completed his apprenticeship at a bookseller's shop and started his own venture and Robert, who, due to the family's circumstances, had not been able to learn a profession, opened a bookstall with the family's books as stock. The same year, William Chambers acquired his first printing press, an old hand press, and started his career in publishing with an edition of 750 copies of the first sixteen pages of *Songs of Robert Burns*. He taught himself the manual production processes of printing: composing type and printing the individual pages, one at a time. Though this was a slow process and the quality of the print was lacking, William Chambers was able to sell all copies at a shilling each and claimed to have earned £9 over his original purchases of paper and ink.[2] With this, William Chambers saw his future profession set, not only because he was soon commissioned with printing small pamphlets for "Friendly and Burial Societies",[3] but because he felt an emotional connection to the task:

> I think there was a degree of infatuation in my attachment to that jangling, creaking, wheezing little press. Placed at the only window in my apartment, within a few feet of my bed, I could see its outlines in the silvery moonlight when I awoke; and there, at the glowing dawn, did its figure assume distinct proportions. When daylight came fully in, it was impossible to resist the desire to rise and have an hour or two of exercise at the little machine.[4]

Robert Chambers, who had successfully enlarged his bookselling business, had started to write literary texts in his leisure time and in 1821 the brothers first went into business together in an attempt to publish a popular periodical. *Kaleidoscope*, an octavo, appeared fortnightly from October 1821 onwards and its production was a family effort. The contents, "a miscellany of poetry, sketches of

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1 The publication, which was later called just *Chambers's Journal*, will in the following be referred to as *CJ*. Excerpts from the periodical will be cited in the text by referencing the author (if known), the title of the article, its date of publication and page number.

2 The account of this first endeavour is taken from William Chambers: Memoir of William and Robert Chambers, Edinburgh 1883.

3 Ibid., p. 142.

4 Ibid., p. 140.

authors, historical tales, and musing or satirical essays",[5] were exclusively composed by the brothers, with Robert Chambers writing the largest amount of text and William contributing to "only three or four papers".[6] William, with the help of their younger brother James, did the typesetting, printing and stitching of the journal. Already in this early publication, the brothers' will to bring education to the lower ranks of society and their self-perception as having come from and still being part of this class becomes obvious. As William Chambers recollects in his memoir: "This little periodical also contained a few articles descriptive of a wayward class of authors in the lower walks of life, written from personal knowledge, and marked by that sympathy for the unfortunate which characterized my brother throughout life."[7] Though the *Kaleidoscope* only existed for four months, it had given the brothers something to aspire to, "a trial of one's wings, and encouraged to higher flights in more favourable times and circumstances".[8] Only a short time later, both of their careers picked up; Robert Chambers became acquainted with Sir Walter Scott and began to write more and more and both brothers exchanged their bookstalls for more permanent premises in the city.

"The Universal Appetite for Instruction Which at Present Exists" – Chambers's Journal, *a Publication for the People*

Throughout the 1820s, both brothers enlarged their reputations – Robert as a writer, William as a bookseller – and with the increase of cheap(er) publications on the print market, they decided to try their hand at a periodical publication again. Especially William Chambers, who "had occasion to deal in these cheap papers", was "greatly against them".[9] He felt that they appeared too irregularly, papers from London often arrived long after their date of publication, were "conducted with no definite plan […] but to furnish temporary amusement" and were "the perversion of what, if rightly conducted, might become a powerful engine of social improvement".[10]

These thoughts then gave rise to the desire to establish a periodical themselves, and the first issue of *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (later *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature Science and Art*, then *Chambers's Journal*) was published on 4 February 1832 and appeared weekly. Naturally, the periodical, which from the

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5 Fyfe: Steam-Powered, p. 17. Aileen Fyfe's excellent study *Steam-Powered Knowledge. William Chambers and the Business of Publishing 1820-1860* is the only major monograph which analyses the early endeavours of Chambers's publishing house and offers access to a vast amount of archival material.

6 Chambers: Memoir, p. 147.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 208.

10 Ibid., pp. 208–209.

beginning was issued in around 30,000 copies,[11] could not be produced as a family endeavour on one or even several hand presses. In this respect, Edinburgh proved a business disadvantage since "there were obstructions as regards both paper and printing".[12] These involuntary regulations regarding production led to the work being contracted out to a printer in Edinburgh whose workers, "toiling night and day", produced the first numbers of *CJ*.

Once printed, *CJ* was sold for one and a half pennies[13] and the publishers had a clear target audience in mind which is articulated in the "Editor's Address to His Readers":[14]

> The grand leading principle by which I have been actuated, is to take advantage of the universal appetite for instruction which at present exists; to supply to that appetite food of the best kind, and in such form, and at such a price, as must suit the convenience of every man in the British dominion. Every Saturday, when the poorest labourer in the country draws his humble earnings, he shall have it in his power to purchase, with an insignificant portion of even that humble sum, a meal of healthful, useful and agreeable mental instruction. (Editor's Address to His Readers, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1832, 1)

A right to education and knowledge is thus established as a basic right, just as basic a need as food; the example of the "poorest labourer in the country" shows that the publication wanted to provide information and instruction for less educated readers of the lower-middle classes and wanted to reach them by keeping prices low. The magazine's identity as a paper for instruction and information was also reflected in its representation. With its double crown octavo size[15] it was small enough to be held in one hand and read in a comfortable pose, yet not small enough to be carried around in one's pocket and was clearly intended for domestic consumption. Its serifed fonts and especially the narrow margins between the two columns and small side margins told the prospective reader that

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11 The *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1850–1900* for the remainder of the nineteenth century gives circulation numbers up to 90,000 copies (in the late 1840s) and between 60,000 and 70,000 copies after 1860. However, it is unclear whether these numbers include circulation in the whole of Britain or only in England. For the highest circulation number of 90,000, it specifically refers to circulation "including Scottish, English, and Irish editions" ("Chambers's Edinburgh Journal", n.p.). Ellergård gives circulation numbers of 70,000 for 1865 and 60,000 for 1870. Cf. Alvar Ellergård: The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain. II. Directory, in: Victorian Periodicals Newsletter 13, 1971, p. 21.

12 Chambers: Memoir, p. 238.

13 From 1855 onwards, the price was reduced to 1d a week or 7d for buying all issues of one month. Cf. "Chambers's Edinburgh Journal", n.p.

14 Robert Chambers had only been involved as a contributor for the first fourteen issues of *CJ* and only thereafter became its second editor. Thus the first article of the journal is entitled "Editor's" in singular, not "Editors' Address".

15 The periodical was printed in this size from 1844 onwards. Cf. Laurel Brake: The "Popular Weeklies", in: Bill Bell (ed.): The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, vol. 3, Edinburgh 2007, p. 363. In its initial years, the periodical had been printed in a larger broadsheet size and in three columns. For the examination period of this study, however, the later smaller size is relevant.

the periodical wanted to make the best possible use of the space at hand. Thus, the periodical's size and layout told a story of its intended consumers as much as the address to the readers.

The editor's reference to "every man in the British dominion" also makes it clear that *CJ* was not only intended for consumption in the Lothians or Scotland, but in Britain as a whole. William Chambers in his address therefore creates the imagery of an educationally starved British readership that is not 'fed' adequately. However, when speaking of the "meal of healthful, useful and agreeable mental instruction" (ibid.), an implicit opposite is present within the text. Chambers wanted to provide good reading material for the uneducated, but at the same time intended to keep them from consuming other material. In particular, he seems to have had the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge's *Penny Magazine* in mind here when he says that the "scheme of diffusing knowledge has certainly more than once been attempted on respectable principles […]. Yet the great end has not been gained" (ibid.). Chambers thus expressed the desire to perform a "service to mankind at large" (ibid.).

How did *CJ* differ from other journals for the lower and middle classes such as Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine*? According to William Chambers: through independence. In his opinion, all other endeavours had failed because they had been institutionally – both politically and religiously – bound to certain positions and attitudes. Although, of course, the aim of educating less educated people and the process of selection and mode of presentation involved were in themselves political, Chambers believed that he was taking "a course altogether novel" (ibid.). He wanted to take as many people as possible upon the "path of moral responsibility", whether "the highest conservative" or "the boldest advocate of universal democracy", whether an "Irish Roman Catholic" or a "more highly cultivated Presbyterian cotta[r] of my native land".[16]

This was, of course, also a commercial consideration. The less specific the ideological orientation of the periodical, the more it would appeal to a general readership and the more copies would be sold. Thus, the only obvious ideology in the "Editor's Address" seems to be the idea of self-improvement. Chambers continues to explain to whom different parts of the journal would be dedicated

[16] Ibid. In a 40-page pocket sized publication celebrating the *Jubilee Year of Chambers's Journal* in 1882, William Chambers reaffirmed this professed neutrality: "Political topics have been studiously avoided, or more properly left to the acknowledged organs of public opinion. So, likewise, matters of religious nature have been resigned to their appropriate exponents." William Chambers: Jubilee Year of Chambers's Journal. Reminiscences of a Long and Busy Life, Edinburgh 1882, p. 18. Furthermore, the archive material suggests that contributions were edited in that respect as well. In a letter to Canadian author Grant Allen, for example, Charles Chambers in 1885 asks the author to "omit" certain passages from the upcoming novel *In All Shades* because they are "relating to Politics + Religion" which *CJ* "carefully avoided". Charles Chambers: Letter to Grant Allen, 1885, Dep 341/165: No 822, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

and the benefits the different readerships would gain from it – all of which include individual improvement. Those people living in rural parts of the country would gain education in topography, geography, statistics and moral instruction; artisans would receive information on new inventions relevant for their industry; housekeepers would be able to improve their "domestic and cottage economy" and even the "poor man" unable to continue a life in Britain would find "valuable and correct information for his guidance" on how to emigrate (ibid.). Additionally, Chambers also wanted to address young women[17] and boys. The former, he believed, would benefit from "traditional anecdotes" and "nice amusing tale[s]" (ibid., 2) which would be more suitable for them than the popular gothic tales. Those he described as "the ordinary trash about Italian castles, and daggers, and ghosts in the blue chamber, and similar nonsense" (ibid.). The household was the field of instruction in which Chambers wanted to cater for the girls, whom he wanted to provide with "a thousand useful little receipts and modes of housewifery, calculated to make them capital wives" (ibid.).

Boys, however, seemed to be one of the most important addressees for William Chambers. He talks about his own youth, his unwillingness to be educated due to bad teaching and his eagerness to learn once things were explained to him in a way he could understand. Accordingly he wants to explain the world to the boys, tell them stories about other continents, how society and economy work, how to build "rabbit-houses on scientific principles" and to "inform them about matters which their papa does not think of speaking to them about because he is so busy" (ibid.). It is a plea to the boys then with which the address ends:

> Finally, I shall give some accounts of men who were at one time poor little boys like themselves, but who, on paying a daily attention to their studies, and being always honest, and having a great desire to become eminent, and not be mere drudges all their days, gradually rose to be great statesmen, and generals, and members of learned professions, and distinguished authors, and to have fine houses and parks; and that at last they even came to be made kings or presidents of powerful nations. (ibid.)

William Chambers in his opening address thus established high expectations for his publication: he wanted to inform and instruct all parts of the middle and lower classes, wanted to publish appealing articles for all different classes and professions and situated his journal as both teacher and parent of the uninformed. Thus, the ultimate claim of *CJ* was to create an improved society and consequently an improved nation.

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[17] Nicola Thompson notes: "*Chambers's Journal* explicitly included women and children [...] in its prospectus: 'With the ladies of the "new school," and all my young countrywomen in their teens, I hope to be on agreeable terms [...] I will also inform them of a thousand useful little receipts of housewifery, calculated to make them capital wives.'" Nicola Diane Thompson: Reviewing Sex. Gender and the Reception of Victorian Novels, New York 1996, p. 122.

Hints towards the actual readership of *CJ* can be found in the publishing house's archive material held at the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh and show that the journal succeeded in reaching a broad public,[18] although it can be presumed that their goal to cater to the uneducated reader on a large scale did not succeed.[19] Thus, one can find letters by readers like that of a Mr Hawke of London, who in 1854 complains about the serial novel "Wearyfoot Common" for being too sentimental for *CJ*'s audience, since the "readers are not generally women and children but practical utilitarian men of business who hate a love story (if nothing else) as they do a lazy or useless servant neither being worth the space they occupy".[20] Letters from readers such as this give evidence of a readership which was educated and perceived the printed material they consumed as being intended for them and their peers. Also, the archive material illustrates that readers responded especially well to topics which they recognised from their own lives. For example, after an article on "Some Curious Superscriptions" in 1854 had presented the readers with entertaining and odd addresses on letters, many readers wrote in to the journal in order to share their own curious experiences with superscriptions.[21]

On the other hand, correspondence with authors on prospective articles in the journal show that much material was written with the very purpose of education in mind:[22] The translator and author Charles Martel wrote to the editors in the same year with the proposal of adapting Michel Eugène Chevreul's *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours* for a more broad audience. He had pub-

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18 Chris Baggs notes that *CJ* was one of the most popular periodicals in libraries. For the Aberdeen Public Library, which "collected figures [for individual loans] between 1884/5 and 1899/1900. […] *Chambers's Journal*, *Cassell's Family Magazine*, *Windsor* and *Pearson's Magazine* were the most consistently popular titles, along with the *Boy's Own Paper*." Baggs: Reading Rooms, p. 281. It is worth noting that among these most popular periodicals, *CJ* was the only one without illustrations.

19 In the issue of 25 January 1840, Robert and William Chambers write that "this paper is read, we believe, by a class who may be called the *élite* of the labouring community, those who think, conduct themselves respectably, and are anxious to improve their circumstances by judicious means. But below this worthy order of men, our work, except in a few particular cases, does not go. A fatal mistake is committed in the notion that the lower classes read. There is, unfortunately, a vast substratum in society where the printing-press has not yet unfolded her treasures." Address of the Editors, *CJ*, 25 Jan 1840, 8. The text goes on to state though that *CJ* "is now, as before, framed chiefly for that large department of society, who, being engaged in the duties of the counting-house, the shop, the workroom, or those of their private dwellings, have little leisure for the cultivation of their minds". Ibid.

20 Hawke: Letter to Chambers's Journal, 1854, Dep 341/129: unnumbered, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

21 Cf. Correspondence, 1854–1855, Dep. 341/129: unnumbered, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

22 It remains a problem that this part of the intended readership usually remains invisible in archival material as they would presumably not have written in. This, of course, does by no means indicate that there were no readers using the journal for their personal advancement.

lished the direct translation, which had not found a large readership; "[s]ince its publication however, I have observed that the book is too Scientific for the generality of readers".[23] Thus, Martel's hope was to publish Chevreul's theory in a new form in *CJ:* "a more popular form is required to insure that wide acceptance of the principles set forth, which their importance demands."[24] Although this proposed series of articles was never realised (though Chevreul and his theories feature in the journal), Martel's letter shows how *CJ* was perceived as a publication which popularised scientific material for a broad audience and would ensure the wide dissemination of material.[25] Since the majority of the archived readers' correspondence came from England, especially from London, the archive material shows clearly that *CJ* succeeded in catering to a Britain-wide audience, though the readers' identity – in the sense of du Gay et al. – is not as clear-cut as the editors would have wanted it to be in terms of class and education.

Unlike many other periodicals published at a similar price and aimed at a similar audience, *CJ* was not illustrated. This was, as William Chambers writes, a deliberate decision: "At no time was there any attempt to give pictorial illustrations of objects in natural history, the fine arts, or anything else. Without undervaluing the attractions of wood-cut engravings, the aims of the editors were in a different direction."[26] The objective to "cultivate the feelings as much as the understanding" was in his opinion best achieved through "the essay system".[27] This focus on written information rather than illustration is also evident in the general layout; at first it was printed as a folio publication with four pages and four columns of text per page; from autumn 1832 onwards it was published as a quarto with eight pages and three columns, and finally in 1844 changed to a double crown octavo size with two columns.[28] In all cases, a rather small font was chosen, the magazine's title banner was unembellished with only a small margin to the sides and between columns. Thereby, the layout itself suggests the emphasis on the written word. Though the decision not to include illustrations may well also have been a financial one, the programmatic focus on essays was

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23 Charles Martel: Letter to Chambers's Journal, 1854, Dep 341/131, unnumbered, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

24 Ibid.

25 *CJ*'s conception as a didactic periodical is acknowledged in much of the correspondence. The Irish writer Samuel Carter Hall under the pseudonym Anna Maria Hall (under which he later also submitted articles to *CJ*) calls it a "work in the highest repute as at once cheap and good" which contributes to "to their [its readers'] social and moral improvement" (Anna Maria Hall: Letter to Chambers's Journal., n.d., Dep 341/121: No 17, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh). A reverend for example praises it as follows: "I know not better Journal than your Journal, and that I have for many years circulated it in my Parish" (Reverend: Letter to Chambers's Journal, 1883, Dep 341/139: unnumbered, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh).

26 Chambers: Memoir, p. 240.

27 Ibid.

28 Cf. Brake: Popular Weeklies, p. 363.

also turned into a facet of the brothers' self-conception as middle-class men in retrospect. Robert Chambers writes in the preface to one of his essay collections:

> One ruling aim of the author must be taken into account: it was my design from the first to be the essayist of the middle class - that in which I was born, and to which I continued to belong. I therefore do not read their manners and habits as one looking *de haut en bas*, which is the usual style of essayists, but as one looking round among the firesides of my friends. For their use I shape and sharpen my apothegms; to their comprehension I modify any philosophical disquisitions on which I have entered.[29]

Thus, one can clearly see how important the middle class as a target audience was for the editors of *CJ*. They marketed their magazine as one being written *by* the middle class *for* the middle class and those from lower ranks aspiring to rise in society. Although the publishing house soon grew well beyond the limits of a mid-sized enterprise and the brothers became part of the intellectual circles of Britain (e.g. Robert Chambers was a member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Athenaeum Club in London, William Chambers was Provost of Edinburgh from 1865 to 1869), they always emphasised the social responsibility of their work. This is also reflected in the way their magazine was produced.

Production Processes

Compared to the production of William Chambers's edition of Burns's poetry, the production of *CJ* was a highly modern, industrialised process. Given their intention to cater to "every man in the British dominion" (Editor's Address to His Readers, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1832, 1) and their – at least for this purpose – marginal location in Edinburgh, one can imagine that William and Robert Chambers had to overcome some obstacles to establish an efficient publishing company that operated nationwide. Although Edinburgh was the second centre of the British book trade and produced the main share of material for the Scottish market, it still was small compared to London and the number of paper making and printers' shops was considerably lower than in the capital. The first issues of the journal were printed by John Johnstone, a "genial old man",[30] and William Chambers had ordered a run of 30,500 copies.[31] However, this proved to be a difficult task for the printer and his workers, who were frequently unable to deliver the required number at the agreed-upon time. This led to problems in distribution: for the magazine to be available in the bookshops on Saturday, the copies had to be produced a considerable time in advance: several days for delivery by the journal's agents for the Scottish and North-England country and ideally several

[29] Quoted in Chambers: Memoir, pp. 240–241.
[30] Ibid.
[31] All of the following numbers are taken from Fyfe: Knowledge.

weeks for distribution of copies to London.[32] Although Chambers persuaded Johnstone to let the printing machines run throughout the night and add several work shifts, it proved to be nearly impossible to achieve.[33] Thus, other printers, in some cases as far away as Glasgow, were frequently contracted to cover the missing issues. Within the first year of publication, therefore, a decision was made to divide the printing of the paper: one part of it (approximately 22,000 copies) was published in Edinburgh, the other was printed by the company of Bradbury and Evans in London. Under the supervision of William Orr, the relationship to whom was a difficult one and ultimately led to the abandoning of the London department, the London edition was produced at low prices and on time, since Orr could rely on a greater number of printers and the most modern technology available. Seeing the advantages of modern printing techniques made William and Robert Chambers think about acquiring equipment of their own.

A first step in this direction was the switch to stereotype plates in the composition process. This made both the reprinting of issues as well as the production in London easier; when establishing the London edition, the procedure had been to send one printed copy of the complete journal to London where it would be typeset again. The use of stereotype plates thus made the composition process in London obsolete and printing could begin as soon as the plates arrived. However, this did not change the fact that the printing shops in Edinburgh, most of which were still working with hand-presses, were overwhelmed with the amount of copies they needed to produce. Chambers therefore made a far-reaching decision in 1833 which put them among the pioneers of modern technology in the printing trade: after having pondered the option of moving the whole of the printing to London, they decided to venture into the business of steam-printing themselves. Since there were no printing-machine makers in Edinburgh, Chambers commissioned Robert Gunn to build a printing machine which was installed on the company's premises in December 1833. The new equipment worked more than seven times faster than the hand-presses and was

[32] The issue of distribution was an important factor in Chambers's initial decision to publish a periodical and not a newspaper. On the one hand, a newspaper had to reach the reader fast, as it contained current information that could well be old news after a couple of days, on the other hand, publishing a newspaper was more expensive. Sending news through the mail – e.g. from Edinburgh to London – "required the payment of 4*d.* in stamp duty, which would have more than trebled the price of the journal and put it far beyond the reach of [its] intended readers." Fyfe: Knowledge, p. 47. The decision to publish a periodical and thus a print product with no time-sensitive information gave the editors the time to print the journal several weeks in advance and thus also to pack and ship the copies to England, Ireland and the rest of Scotland.

[33] Fyfe remarks that the night shifts produced a different set of problems since the work was often done sloppily because the workers were rarely sober. Cf. ibid., p. 56.

able to produce 900 sheets within an hour.[34] By 1840, "the Chambers establishment included workshops for the composition of type, the casting of stereotype plates, steam-powered printing, and a bindery"[35] and by 1846, the entire run of *CJ* (by then 60,000 to 80,000 copies) was again produced solely in Edinburgh. Since Edinburgh had by then been connected to the south through the railways, fast distribution to all parts of the country was ensured.

The new technology did not only bring economic advantages but, in Chambers' opinion, also social ones. On the one hand, *CJ* repeatedly published notes saying that the low price – and thus the accessibility for large parts of society – of the journal could only be maintained due to the fact that it was steam-printed (cf. e.g. Mechanisms of Chambers's Journal, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1835, 150). On the other hand, Chambers believed that the new technologies would also lead to societal changes for the better. This is expressed in various Chambers publications on printing technologies, such as an issue of *Information for the People* devoted to the topic which points out that the new machines require educated and specialised workers. Thus, Chambers believed that the innovations would affect society from two sides: the growing amount of cheap instructional publications would educate people without access to formal education and the growing demand on the job market would lead to more and more people acquiring skills for those more qualified manual jobs. To enhance the latter development they ran a library for their workers, hired teachers to educate the younger employees and from 1838 onwards held an annual soirée for their employees. This event, which was always reported on in an article in *CJ*, was thought to reward the workers of all classes and give them a sense of unity.

As this short overview of the establishment, production processes and content orientation of *CJ* has shown, the journal was unique in a number of ways: the publication was managed and produced in Edinburgh and remained there throughout its existence. In a distinctly Scottish tradition,[36] *CJ* had a firm didactic orientation and wanted to act as a moral guide to those parts of society who

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[34] As already mentioned in chapter 3.1, this innovation in production processes also lead to new publications from the house of Chambers. With the new speed of printing, *CJ* only occupied the press for half of the week and the brothers came up with additional publications, such as the pamphlets *Information for the People* and later also encyclopaedias and school books, to fill the empty time slots to keep the machines running and regain their investment of £500 which they had paid for the printing machine and the steam engine.

[35] Fyfe: Knowledge, p. 90.

[36] In a tradition reaching back to the reformation in the sixteenth century, Scotland until today perceives itself as having a distinct identity in relation to education. As Stephen Mark Holmes puts it: "It is a commonplace that 'The Scottish Reformation' of 1560, with its desire to enable people to read the Bible in their own language, led to the establishment of a system of education available to the whole nation in an extensive network of parish schools and headed by a unique system of universities." Stephen Mark Holmes: Education in the Century of Reformation, in: R.D. Anderson et al. (eds.): The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland, Edinburgh 2015, p. 57. This Presbyterian approach to create education equality (both in terms of financial as well as spatial access and gender) influenced

were able to read yet unable to afford formal education. Its contents were focused on conveying as much information as possible, which is reflected in the layout of the publication and its omission of illustrations as well as in the predominant genre of the essay. By being in charge of all production processes involved in the printing of the journal and not being associated with any organisation, Chambers gained a degree of independence that most publishers would not have had and that allowed them, within the restrictions of the market place, free reign over their material.

Editors and Contributors

The *Waterloo Directory* lists a number of well-known authors under the contributors of *CJ*, for many of whom correspondence in the archival material held at the NLS can be found. Among them are – for the period this study is concerned with – men and women such as Grant Allen, Walter Besant, R. D. Blackmore, Arthur Conan Doyle, George Manville Fenn, Elizabeth Gaskell, Thomas Hardy, Mary Howitt, Harriet Martineau, Caroline E. S. Norton or Edmund Norton.[37] However, since the predominant amount of articles in *CJ* was published anonymously, even the names of these well-known authors would not have been acknowledged in the periodical.[38] It was mostly serialised fiction which was pub-

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both education policy and the public climate regarding learning and instruction throughout the centuries. As Jane McDermid argues, the nineteenth century can be seen as "an attempt to revive the Presbyterian educational tradition […] and to ensure common provision across the country." Jane McDermid: Education and Society in the Era of the School Boards 1872–1918, in: R. D. Anderson et al. (eds.): The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland, Edinburgh 2015, p. 190. In an age of secularisation, the state increasingly took the place of the church in the execution of this goal (cf. ibid.) and the "educational debate and investigation, notably between the 1830s and 1860s, convinced many in Scotland that the continuation of common provision was essential for the social order" (ibid.). The launch of *CJ* and its didactic goals can be located in this context. For more scholarship on Scottish Presbyterianism and education see for example R. D. Anderson: Education and the Scottish People 1750–1918, Oxford 1995; id. et al. (eds.): The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland, Edinburgh 2015; Heather Holmes (ed.): Scottish Life and Society. A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology, vol. 11, Edinburgh 2000; R. A. Houston: Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity. Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600–1800, Cambridge 2002; W. M. Humes: Leadership Class in Scottish Education, Edinburgh 1986; id. / Hamish M. Paterson: Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800–1980, Edinburgh 1983 or James G. Kellas: Modern Scotland, London/Boston 1980.

37 Apart from the Chambers brothers themselves, contributors to the early periodical included Maria Edgeworth, Eliza William Green, Walter White, William Wilson or William Henry Willis.

38 This is especially interesting since many of those names would have been good advertising for selling to specific audiences. The National Library of Scotland holds notebooks giving the details of almost all articles published from 1839 to 1846 and 1871 to 1903 and to whom a payment was made (though sometimes only noting initials). Since this study is concerned with what readers would have encountered in the periodical, an analysis of

lished under authors' names, such as Grant Allen's series *Dumaresq's Daughter*[39](1891) or William Le Queux's spy novel *Of Royal Blood* (1899–1900).

CJ was a strongly editor-led periodical. In its early years, a majority of the content was written by Robert and William Chambers themselves. Although the brothers were succeeded as editors by Leith Richie in 1858 and James Payn later took over the editorship, the periodical was still strongly influenced by them. As the firm's correspondence in the National Library of Scotland indicates, the successive editors strongly relied on the advice and approval of the two founders.[40] In 1874, the editorship was taken into family hands again, with Robert Chambers Jr. taking over and he was subsequently succeeded by his son who remained the periodical's editor for the rest of the century.[41]

Unlike other periodicals, the profile of *CJ* did not significantly change with the different editors. The strong influence of Robert and William Chambers until their deaths and the continuation of their editorial ideals through their descendants ensured a stability in the periodical's identity as an entertaining and educating paper for the mass market.

4.2 Heroism in Chambers's Journal

The last paragraph of *CJ*'s opening address to the readers promised the periodical's younger readers accounts of "great statesmen, and generals, and members of learned professions, and distinguished authors, [who have] fine houses and parks" (Editor's Address to His Readers, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1832, 2). These were men whom the readers could aspire to and one day possibly become like. This promise offers a first glimpse at *CJ*'s mode of presenting the heroic. While not using the word 'hero', William Chambers points out in his address that every reader (or at least every *male* reader) could become an extraordinary 'great man' if he

whom specific articles might be attributed to would not have been productive to the argument.

39 This narrative will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.5. As was general practice in the day, not every instalment of the series referred to Grant Allen's name and in many of the parts he is referred to as "the author of" other serialised novels that had been published in *CJ* (specifically "In All Shades" which had been published in 1886 and "This Mortal Coil" which had appeared in *CJ* in 1888). This can not only be seen as a means of advertising the serialised novel the reader was currently consuming, but also an attempt at countering the ephemeral quality of the periodical publication by referencing the content of past issues.

40 Robert Chambers died in 1871 and was involved in the publishing house's proceedings until his death. William Chambers also remained active in the firm until late in his life; after his brother's death he became the principal shareholder in the firm. Robert Chambers's son, Robert Chambers Jr., became the publishing house's director and was assisted by William Chambers until his death in 1883.

41 Cf. G. A. Aitkin: Chambers, Robert (1832–1888), in: Lawrence Goldman (ed.): Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2014, DOI: 10.1093/ref:odnb/5080.

only received the right education and excelled in virtues such as honesty, diligence, ambition and discipline. In the context of the different contemporary ideals of heroism discussed in chapter 2.1, *CJ*'s address already shows a strong tendency towards Samuel Smiles's notion of each and every man having the ability to become a hero for his community through hard work and perseverance.

This part of the study will examine how a more distinct concept of the heroic emerges in *CJ*. Subsequently, it will analyse how this concept is functionalised for different target audiences at different points in time in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first section will discuss articles which explicitly – or ex negativo – define heroism on an abstract level as a basis of comparison for those articles which deal with heroism more implicitly or on a more specific level. It will outline the qualities and domains of the heroic which emerged as the most dominant ones in the corpus. The first section will analyse texts from *CJ* which explicitly define heroism for the readers before turning to the most prominent domains for which such qualities of heroism are evoked. In that, it will become clear that the periodical emphasises the identificatory potential for the readers in its usage of heroism, especially through the characteristics of selflessness and perseverance. As the first and one of the most significant domains of the heroic in *CJ*, one chapter will examine military heroism and illustrate the impact of ongoing wars on the periodical's display of heroic actions in military contexts. The next sections will turn to civil heroism and in particular focus on the way in which class and gender intersect with and complicate the representation of the heroic. With a focus on the Victorian ideal of progress and civilisatory advancement, the subchapter "Heroes of Civilisation" will analyse instances of heroism which are presented as part of a greater societal goal of improvement played out in the areas of science, medicine and education. As a last dominant domain, everyday heroism will be examined. Two types of heroism of everyday life will be identified: firstly, acts of lifesaving, the public recognition of which boomed from the 1860s onwards, and secondly, the idea of a heroism of ordinary everyday life, which was strongly connected to class membership and questions of gender, will be investigated. Each section will identify different themes or strands of the specific domain of the heroic and will discuss the associated articles in *CJ* in chronological order so that both a synchronic picture as well as an idea of the development over the examination period emerges. In order to substantiate if these findings were specific to *CJ*, "Different Heroes for Different Readers", will investigate how the Chambers brothers mediated heroism in their other publications, such as school books, encyclopaedias or biographies.

This programmatic question is posed in the title of an article which appeared in *CJ* on 9 May 1857. Just one year after the end of the Crimean War, an anonymous contributor tries to define heroic actions both on and far removed from the battlefield. The text aims at defining a heroism different from traditional notions and moves the hero closer to the readers' everyday lives, making the concept of heroism more easily available for individual identification.

In a historical perspective, the text starts its examination with the heroes of antiquity who "every tolerably forward school-boy is familiar with" as "illustrative of the heroic virtues, self-sacrifice and fortitude" (What Is Heroism, *CJ*, 9 May 1857, 297). The stories of these extraordinary men and women – "Leonidas and his three hundred", "Aristides" or "Arria, by her own death, encouraging her husband to brave a similar fate" (ibid.) – are taught in "dramatic episodes and tableaux" (ibid.) in school and form the basis of every schoolboy's notion of heroism. Emphasising the need for mediation of narrations of heroism, the text stresses that the stories "have been handed down from generation to generation, from the old civilisations to the new, and have challenged and received more or less admiration and applause" (ibid.). Though representing accounts of "mythic history" that "though ascribed to historical personages, are nevertheless fictitious" often only existed "in the imaginations of ballad-singers" (ibid.), the stories were passed down in oral and written tradition by historians and biographers because they carried cultural meaning regarded relevant for coming generations. Consequently, the authenticity of the heroic deeds is deemed unimportant as long as they carry a specific cultural meaning.

The opening paragraphs establish the importance of mediation, tradition and commemoration through exemplars for the concept of heroism. It is not Aristides, Leonidas and his men, or Arria who are of heightened importance, but their actions and most of their underlying motivations and values which are considered noteworthy for future generations. Heroism is thereby utilised as a medium of transmission for cultural or group-specific values which can best be remembered through narrative patterns. For example, the story of Leonidas and his three hundred men becomes a vehicle for the importance of bravery in the face of danger, for the importance of physical strength and selflessness and significantly also a model for the coming generations in the construction of their identity. From these stories of ancient heroism, the author constructs a profile of requirements for heroic figures: "we shall find them [the heroes] to be an enthusiastic abnegation of self, and a somewhat exaggerated development of a single virtue" (ibid.). Selflessness is presented as the underlying value required for all acts of heroism. However, the text suggests that the "human virtue" (ibid.) still needs an igniting spark, an "actuating motive" (ibid.), to result in the creation of a hero. Patriotism, honour and "domestic affection" (ibid.) are named as ex-

amples for this kind of enthusiasm-creating motivation, all of which are, notably, vague concepts which every reader could easily relate to. An act of heroism can finally occur when selflessness, another heightened virtue, and honourable motives come together in a specific situation "of time and place, or peculiar character of mind" (ibid.). Only if all of these requirements are met can real heroism be observed. Accordingly, a lack of any of the named requirements can turn a presumably heroic person into one of mere "quasi-glory" (ibid.).

The medial nature of heroism also entails that it is by definition always public. Therefore, the fame of heroism also attracts characters who do not fulfil the foremost heroic virtue of selflessness, but seek fame and public recognition:

> Every action, however praiseworthy and virtuous in outward seeming, may be accounted for, if we so incline, by consummate hypocrisy, far-sighted selfishness, or immoderate pride. By hypothetical assumptions, we may attribute the public life of Washington to his greed for glory, or of Wilberforce to a puerile love of fame. (ibid.)

Starting with these apparently attention-seeking heroes, the text goes on to elaborate on different kinds of heroism in modern times in relation to their presumed truthfulness. Presented as such, heroism almost appears as a skill which one can master at different levels. The article states that "it is obvious at once, that isolate acts, illustrating an impulsive virtue, and occurring at conjunctures of great emergency, are but doubtful guides to general character" (ibid., 298). In what can be called situational heroism, individuals are enabled by *specific circumstances* and courage to perform spontaneous acts which transgress their own (physical, mental, emotional, norm-given) limitations. This could be a single incident, such as a passer-by coming to the aid of a fellow pedestrian in peril; this act, however, would not necessarily be an accurate representation of the hero's character. In this case, much of the heroic impulse would have been, if one connects the arguments of the text, due to the "peculiar circumstances of time and place" (ibid., 297).

Similarly, the text argues that the military domain might produce heroism more easily than other areas of life, since "in order to create military heroes, we have only to provide a field of action" (ibid., 298). As all parties involved in a war effort are in a state of "excitement" (ibid.), they "after the first moments of the conflict customarily lose all sense of danger, are urged on by a wild agitation of the spirits, and make the final assault in almost a state of delirium. The foundation of heroism of this kind is physical courage and common manly sentiment" (ibid.). In contrast to this situational heroism, the text constructs "a higher kind, which is often not patent to the world, which requires no grand stage and no dramatic incidents to give its lustre" (ibid.). This "higher kind" then seems to be less dependent on specific circumstance and opportunity, but more related to a general heroic character, a moral disposition which allows for heroic actions without the external conditions brought up in the first part of the article. Most importantly, the necessity of medial presentation and recognition in a public

forum (no matter how small it might be) is discarded for this kind of heroics: "the higher kind of heroism of which I speak, avoids rather than seeks the pomp and circumstance of war and the glare of publicity" (ibid.). Again, the heroics of wartime are given as an example of the less pure, more easily attainable kind of heroism, which is born out of a necessity, not out of a conscious decision of the hero, and which appeals to many men because it might entail public recognition:

> Enthusiastic British youth, moved by the recital of heroic deeds of ancient or modern times, yearn to become performers of similar exploits: they are filled with regret that their surrounding circumstances are commonplace, that they have no Thermopylae to defend and no Sebastopol to storm, that there is not the slightest occasion to imitate the Athenians under Themistocles, and embark their household gods. They crave the inducement of a tragic glory and opportunity to create an undying fame by a single effort. (ibid.)

Only one year after the Crimean War had ended, the text on the one hand compares the actions of British soldiers during the Siege of Sebastopol to the ancient legend of the Battle of Thermopylae; on the other hand, it states that opportunities for similar actions are scarce in the present day and ancient narratives as those of the Thermopylae are shown to inspire vain dreams of heroism in the British youth. The enthusiasm which was initially praised in the article seems to border on puerile eagerness in this description. The selflessness and implicit acceptance of one's own death inherent to any participation in combat then turns into selfishness symbolising a want for "tragic glory" and "undying fame" (ibid.).

Having established a negative image of glory-seeking heroism, the text contrasts this idea with the "truest heroism" (ibid.). It is neither bound by specific opportunities or situations, nor constituted by a singular incident but related to one's character. However, the text radically limits the possible properties for true heroism:

> The truest heroism requires for its exhibition calm reflection and deliberate will, rather than excitement. […] [I]ts groundwork is a sense of duty able to contend with conflicting and baser motives. Patient uncomplaining endurance – steady perseverance in overcoming obstacles – conduct always upright in good and evil report, when no human eye may see with commendation and no human heart respond with sympathy – this is true heroism, and raises its possessor far beyond the ranks of those who plant the standard on a well-won breach. (ibid.)

This results in a form of heroism, "true heroism", which operates unseen and unheard of by the rest of society. This second definition of heroism directly contradicts the first definition given in relation to ancient heroes. The latter necessarily relied on the mediation of their deeds to others and in their afterlife only ever existed in tales and myths. "True" heroism, however, as described by the author, apparently exists without a medium and an audience and is never dependent on

external acts of appreciation nor seeks glory.[42] This is further stressed throughout the text through the use of metaphors of light and darkness and through allusions to the stage. The heroism associated with the first definition possesses an "éclat", it is seen in the "light of an after-age" (ibid., 297) and is given a "lustre" (ibid., 298). The "true" heroism on the other hand acts in "the shade", it does not "need stage-effect or brilliant éclat", but is situated in the "private life" (ibid.). It is the private sphere which is identified as the realm of true heroes, in contrast to the public, attention-seeking, staged nature of the heroism considered more superficial by the text.

Thus, the text deprives heroism of its glamour and its fame. Instead, private acts of endurance which are not communicated to others are regarded as the highest heroic deeds. The didactic message of the text is obvious: in the private sphere, everybody can be a hero in moral terms, even those who do not enter cultural memory in its media. "Such heroism [...] lies as much within the reach of the man of peace as of the warrior, of the private citizen as of the statesman or sage" (ibid.). This call for private, silent, selfless heroism gives the first hints towards a tendency to turn the unattainable, out-of-reach hero into an obtainable role model that can be emulated. The text develops a concept of what Geoffrey Cubitt in *Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives* calls exemplary heroism:

> Exemplarity involves a perception not just of excellence, but also of relevance – and thus, in a sense, of similarity. Those whom we take as exemplars may be better than we are, but not than we might in principle become – not better in some absolute way that implies a difference of kind, but better relative to some common standard against which we hope to improve.[43]

In "What is Heroism", one can clearly recognise the attempt to motivate the readers to act more morally in general through creating an attainable form of silent heroism. Furthermore, it reflects the broad intended readership established in the first issue: it tries to appeal to as many groups of readers as possible. Although it establishes the two kinds of heroism as unequal, the text calls both of the types heroic and does not dispute that the actions of soldiers in battle constitute a form of heroism and are hence inherently regarded noteworthy. The short yet dense programmatic text clearly has a didactic purpose. However, it also

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[42] This idea of a heroic figure which exists without communication or medium is highly problematic. As Ralf von den Hoff et al. argue, the heroic only comes into existence through mediation ("The heroic only actually becomes present in a society through its representation and communication via different media." Von den Hoff et al.: Heroes, p. 12). Thus, the idea of an unmediated heroism within a public medium constitutes a conceptional clash which cannot be resolved. The specific text discussed above tries to negotiate this tension by not giving examples for the 'true' form of heroism, but rather by referring to the underlying values identified for humble heroics, such as perseverance and selflessness. However, on the whole, the call for an unmediated heroism within the medium of the periodical remains an inconsistency.

[43] Geoffrey Cubitt: Introduction, in: Geoffrey Cubitt / Allen Warren (eds.): Heroic Reputations and Exemplary Lives, Manchester 2000, p. 11.

shows a fundamental contradiction: in admiring acts of silent "truest heroism", it is praising something which is – by its own definition – not supposed to be praised.

Thereby, the text shows a fundamental difficulty in the usage of the heroic for a didactic purpose. While a hero generally is considered a person who performs extraordinary actions which are unheard of in everyday life and needs a group of admirers who consider the actions heroic, this definition of heroism is ill suited for the purpose of motivating people. The publishers and contributors of *CJ*, similar to Samuel Smiles in his guide books and instructive biographies, aimed at educating people without formal training and at motivating them to better themselves and live after a certain code of values and morals. Since the readers' lives were far removed from conventional scenes of extraordinariness, anyone wanting to use heroism as a didactic tool would out of necessity have had to move the concept's definition closer to the intended audience and its environment. Precisely this effort can be seen where the text tries to fill the concept of heroism with new content. By defining it as something private, heroism is aligned with the life of the readership. What cannot be resolved, however, is that the heroic is appealing (and therefore potentially motivating) for the very fact that it is, in its traditional conception that was so dominantly present through the ideas of Thomas Carlyle in the nineteenth century, extraordinary, visible and a possible source of fame and worship. The struggle between extraordinariness and exemplarity is at the heart of the representation of the heroic in *CJ* and reoccurs in many of the texts examined in the following sections.

Thus, the idea of public hero-worship is at the centre of the tension between adoration and emulation of heroes. The *OED* gives two main definitions for "worship" which were in use in the nineteenth century: 1. "to honour or revere as a supernatural being or power, or as a holy thing, to regard or approach with veneration; to adore with appropriate acts, rites, or ceremonies";[44] and 2. "to regard with extreme respect or devotion".[45] Both definitions emphasise that anyone who is worshipped is considered greatly above the ordinary. The main definition with its description of the worshipped object as "supernatural" or "holy" is clearly a spiritual, even religious one and interestingly includes the practice of worship. By calling those acts "appropriate", the definition also implies that worship is not an individual behaviour, but the result of the negotiations of a group upon a set of appropriate "acts, rites, or ceremonies". Thus, the object of worship can constitute a community and the act of worship is a collective one. Furthermore, whether one worships religiously or, following the second definition, secularly regards someone "with extreme respect or devotion",[46] the worshipped is al-

44 This definition mirrors the view put forth by thinkers such as Thomas Carlyle.

45 Worship, in: OED Online, Oxford University Press, December 2019, www.oed.com/view/Entry/230345?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=WORcPD&.

46 Ibid.

ways on a different level than the worshipper. In order to create heroes, they have to be elevated above the ordinary level so that they can be treated with heightened respect and devotion. However, if heroes perform the function of a role model at the same time, the difference in social stance becomes problematic as it reduces the chances of the worshippers following in the footsteps of the worshipped. This inherent difference in collective esteem of worshipper and worshipped is at the heart of the tension in the didactic utilisation of the heroic in *CJ*. In the following therefore, I will look at those articles in *CJ* which explicitly deal with the relationship between a hero and its audience, or express an opinion on the nature of hero worship in general.

Hero Worship

The ongoing debate about the necessity of the heroic, about the ideal properties of a hero, and about the function in relation to the worshippers that was taking place in Victorian intellectual circles from the 1840s onwards also appears in popular media such as *CJ*.

The article "Hero-Worship", published in September 1849,[47] puts the two different approaches to hero worship in direct contrast and explores which of the two is more easily adaptable to contemporary society. In the initial paragraph the text states that the history of the human race and its progress was "usually" influenced by "one great spirit brooding over the latent energies of the race" (Hero-Worship, *CJ*, 1 Sep 1849, 129). Strongly reminiscent of Carlyle's argument in *On Heroes*, the different stages of human progress are interpreted as the result of the efforts of different extraordinary individuals who influenced and guided the mass of the people in a "monarchy of mind" (ibid.). What is striking about these two short quotes is the level to which these extraordinary subjects are elevated. They are described as "great spirits", not as worldly human beings, and belong to an imaginary aristocracy which rules the mass. However, these guiding figures seem to have vanished from the present age, according to "a favourite speculation of the thinkers of the day. The great lights of the world, say they, are extinguished – our mighty men have passed away" (ibid.). This clearly alludes to contemporary intellectuals such as Carlyle who had diagnosed the Victorian age as lacking the proper environment for heroic figures (cf. *OH* 12).

After this diagnosis the text poses a leading question: "All present things show that there is a general interregnum […]. Who, what, and where are the Coming Men?" (ibid.). Having up until this point followed the 'traditional line' of thinking about the heroic, the article afterwards departs from this. Instead of trying to compare the contemporary situation to that of the past, the author tries to relate

[47] Though published before 1850, I have included this article into my corpus since it explicates many things which can implicitly be found in many other articles.

hero worship to present societal developments and comes to a more positive conclusion. Although still supporting the opinion that "[o]ur great men have indeed perished. In government, war, science, literature, we see only a crowd of individuals more or less capable, but none supreme" (ibid.), this is explained as a "natural progress of society" (ibid.). Just as "absolute governments, vested in a single person, are overturned", all other social duties are subject "to a wider diffusion" (ibid.).

Consequently, the text suggests that the fact that no "great spirit" has come forth from the mass of society in recent years is not a sign of its weakness, but rather of the growing strength of the collective. Concurrent with the growing importance of the middle classes threatening to replace the elite, the text replaces the extraordinary individual with one which is ordinary to the highest possible degree. The more traditional way of looking at hero worship – which presupposes distance – is further assessed as unsuitable for the present climate, which promotes an ultimate closeness with the hero being part of the collective. The question of distance and proximity between hero and collective then relates back to the different functions of admiration and adoration as stated by Schindler et al. By situating the hero *within* society rather than elevated from it, the aim is rather to enhance the readers' "own agency in upholding ideals"[48] than to present them with a messianic leader figure. The assertion that contemporary society relies on the "crowd of individuals more or less capable" (Hero-Worship, *CJ*, 1 Sep 1849, 129) further emphasises emulation and exemplarity rather than a distant form of adoration of one individual exceptional figure. The hero becomes part of a community rather than being a reference figure outside of it.

The present age is described as "not the age of originality, but appliance; not of theory, but experiment; not of discovery, but invention" (ibid.). In each instance of this enumeration, the former concept is one which has arisen from inspirational individuals and thus might better fit the concept of a messianic hero. Building on the achievements of the past, the text constructs a different form of societal progress that is not dependent on originality: "One man may pioneer; but the route being once pointed out, numbers may enter in, and pass far beyond the discoverer" (ibid.). The text which in the initial paragraph mourned the lack of extraordinary guiding figures in society subsequently turns this very fact into an asset of British society. Being so far advanced in its ideas and discoveries[49] that the execution of these ideas is its new focus, the workforce of society becomes more important than its leaders.[50] Consequently, the assumed inter-

48 Schindler et al.: Admiration, p. 86.

49 The text argues that "[i]t [contemporary society] knows more than the greatest of its predecessors, for it begins at the point where they ended". Hero-Worship, *CJ*, 1 Sep 1849, 130.

50 What the article fails to solve is the fact that each workforce needs a job description so that the individual workers of the mass know what their particular task is. Thus, logical thinking would still call for some people to "pioneer". Ibid., p. 129.

regnum is only an "imaginary" one: "in fact, the governing power of mind having reached a new stage of development, is merely distributed among a greater number – it follows that there is a wider scope for individual ambition" (ibid., 130). The article thus dismisses old attitudes towards hero worship which focused solely on the extraordinary individual as a guide for the greater mass of society and instead imagines a society in which heroic qualities are distributed among a larger number of people. The "monarchy of mind" (ibid.) is traded for a sort of efficiency of the working mass which values each individual in its contribution to the collective progress of its age.

Although the text criticises old forms of hero-worship, it is not declared unnecessary as a practice in general. It decidedly dismisses "the hero-worship which shuts our eyes" (ibid.) and "the hero-worship of the past" (ibid.), but through the definite article and the qualifying additions, it is only the specific kinds of hero-worship which are rated obsolete, not hero-worship as a whole. The statement which closes the article affirms this notion that the heroic still exists and is worth noticing in the present day: "there is no interregnum!" (ibid., 131).

The article epitomises how the practice of hero worship is utilised for a social diagnosis. The way in which society relates to heroes and what is expected from them becomes a measurement for society's present state and its relation to the past. This example from the mid-century shows how different notions of the heroic were competing due to societal developments around them. At the same time, the example also shows how traditional concepts are not replaced completely by new ideas, but remain rooted in collective thinking. The assertion that "there is no interregnum" (ibid.) shows a wish to retain continuity with traditional ways of relating to the heroic, but at the same time attempts to reinterpret the location of the heroic within society. Thereby, the article hints at several changes to the heroic in its public negotiation and representation: it acknowledges a need for heroes, however, the personnel of the heroic is changing, the properties of the hero do not remain the same and the societal function of the heroic becomes increasingly fluid.

The issue of worshipping someone as a hero remains a concern in the discussion of the heroic in *CJ* throughout the rest of the century. Contributors try to find a way of determining the appropriate amount of attention heroes should receive and what effect the interaction should have on the worshipping group. On the one hand, they criticise the fact that hard-working men often do not find recognition and are measured against the abstract ideal of "the coming man" whom "all look for" (The "Coming Man", *CJ*, 5 Apr 1851, 216). On the other hand, a different line of criticism, which became more and more pronounced as the century progressed, focused on a counter-phenomenon, namely the increasing glorification of heroes and, metaphorically speaking, "the universal tendency to canonise into a hero every one that rides a horse and robs" (Bushranging Yarns, *CJ*, 20 Sep 1890, 593).

The first line of criticism emphasises the fact that many people have preconceived expectations regarding the properties of a hero which are unrealistic and often cannot be met. In the 1850s and 1860s, these preconceptions are clearly still modelled after the idea of a messianic hero or 'the coming man' as proposed by a number of intellectuals in the first half of the century. The ideal of a coming man, who is extraordinary in all aspects of his being, is not only criticised but ridiculed, with contributors asking: "Is the 'Coming Man' yet born into the world? Is he an unruly brat, squalling for his porridge in some obscure hovel? […] Supposing him to be arrived at manhood, whether does he flourish a pen or a sword?" (The "Coming Man", *CJ*, 5 Apr 1851, 216). These sentences reveal several preconceptions about a heroic figure for whom society seems to be waiting. First of all, it seems to be common sense that heroism is an innate gift which necessarily has to manifest from childhood onwards already. The profane image of a "brat […] squalling for his porridge" clearly mocks this notion, declaring it to be unrealistic.

With regards to the recognition of the heroic, the tendency not to value "noble aspirations" (ibid.) is identified as particularly problematic by the author: "It may be argued that, ever since the world began, heroes have had to contend with peculiar difficulties before they established themselves in their respective shrines. Circumstances, however, change with times" (ibid., 217). The changed circumstances here refer to the greater volume of accumulated knowledge and consequently also the heightened stakes for any person to excel.[51] This can be seen both as an advantage, as a living sign of evolution, but also as a problem for any person seeking to have an effect on society as a whole.[52] Thus, the prospective hero who enters the public arena (politics is the chosen field of action in this article) is met with expertise from a number of different sides, the demands of which can hardly be met. To illustrate the obstacles and criticism the 'coming man' would have to overcome, the author poses ironic questions to the prospective hero, such as: "'Have you the constitution of a rhinoceros, the suavity of a courtier, the coolness and imperturbability of an iceberg?'", "'Can you submit to be called a fool, an idiot, a designing demagogue?'", or "'Can you bear to be hissed, laughed at, mimicked, caricatured; to have every action misconstrued; your deeds of benevolence ascribed to systematic bribery and corruption?'"

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[51] In reference to Thomas Carlyle's *On Heroes*, the author gives the example of Muhammad, one of Carlyle's prime examples to prove that the heroic is above the lines of time and religion. Were a person to do what Muhammad is said to have done, "he would readily find accommodation in Bedlam, and his case would be reported in the morning papers at the rate of three-halfpence a line". The "Coming Man", *CJ*, 5 Apr 1851, 217.

[52] The aspect of evolution is exemplified through the antipodes of moral and physical courage. While a contemporary 'coming man' would have to possess the former, physical courage cannot elevate a person anymore: "Thousands of men may be picked up to face a storm of bullets for the poor guerdon of a shilling a day. But that is physical courage, a quality existing in the greatest force among the lower animals." Ibid.

(ibid.). If all those questions were met with a negative response then: "I am sorry to say you are not the 'Coming Man!'" (ibid., 218).

These pointed questions illustrate the text's view on the contemporary situation of public life in Britain: the climate is diagnosed as unfavourable for any person with "generous and noble aspirations" (ibid., 217) to make a career and gain a reputation. All of the questions, of which I have only quoted a selection, point to the fact that any candidate for becoming a hero needs to be, above all, self-denying and full of "moral courage" (ibid.) in order to face the criticism of others.

As the text exemplifies, there still seemed to be a quite specific preconception of what was and was not considered heroic in the middle of the nineteenth century, which demanded from the hero a universal extraordinariness. This resulted in an increased doubt and distrust towards those people entering the public sphere, which still seemed to be regarded the realm of heroes. The climate of a growing market place and its means of publicity seemed to have brought with it a fear of the abuse of public influence. It is striking that in face of these challenges the text demands a moral integrity from a prospective hero figure. Interestingly though, hero worship at this point in time nevertheless seemed to be a normality in people's lives. Although objects of adoration were said to be harder to find, the desire for a guiding figure for the collective good seemed unbroken. Despite the fact that the shift from physical and action-based to a more general moral heroism seemed to have taken place already,[53] the heroic was still firmly rooted in the public sphere as something that was influenced by public opinion and increasingly also the media.

This necessity of a heroic act to be disseminated through a medium and to be brought to public attention lies at the heart of the second strand of criticism regarding hero worship. This type of criticism comes from the opposite end of the spectrum and does not lament the fact that not enough heroes are recognised in society, but that too many heroes are admired. As an article from the year 1863 asserts, the age of the popular hero has arrived and there is only one uniting characteristic of their heroism: "fame" (Popular Heroes, *CJ*, 24 Oct 1863, 264). Otherwise "[t]he heroes themselves are of all sorts and sizes, and of all conceivable degrees of popularity. Some of them are very local as to fame […]. Others have found their way so often into print as to be spoken of […] from Bendigo to Blackwall" (ibid.). These "vague stars" (ibid.) could not go through "even a mild cross-examination with the remotest chance of leaving the court 'without a stain upon their character'" (ibid.). Rarely, specific examples of popular heroes of Brit-

[53] As Mary Beth Rose shows, a shift from physical heroism towards a more abstract – and distinctly gendered – heroism of endurance, which focuses on selflessness and the willingness to make sacrifices rather than physical courage can already be observed in the early modern period. Cf. Mary Beth Rose: Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature, Chicago 2002.

ish (contemporary) society are given to the reader. The 1863 article criticises the romanticised notion of highwaymen among the British and gives men like Dick Turpin, Claude Duval or even Robin Hood as examples.[54] What seems to unite the popular heroes on an abstract level, though, is their lawlessness and a closeness to a "great deal of mischief" (ibid., 265). It might be the questioning of formal hierarchies and established order which makes these kinds of heroes attractive to the masses and problematic for the social elite.

However, it is not the fact that these popular heroes are admired despite their unlawfulness which seems to be the main point of criticism, but the fact that heroism, which in the opinion of many contributors to *CJ* should be about private ideals, is increasingly becoming a phenomenon of public honours and fame.[55] This differentiation between internal and external honour is frequently referred to in relation to hero worship. External honour is identified with acts of public recognition and fame and hence with an unfavourable kind of heroism which is motivated by a wish for glory and attention. Internal honour, on the other hand, is propagated as a private guideline which is evaluated as morally good and worthy of emulation.[56] The want for external honour is criticised strongly: "See how the craving for 'honours' as they are called betrays a man into faulty logic and false morality" (A Few Words About Heroes, *CJ*, 4 Oct 1856, 222). This becomes problematic for the contributors because the growing celebrity of heroes, which they consider "the worst of vulgar hero-worship" (Popular Heroes, *CJ*, 24 Oct 1863, 264), in their opinion does not refer to

[54] However, the assessment of the men needs to be differentiated: while the heroisation of Duval and Turpin is criticised, Robin Hood is reaffirmed as hero and only the way in which the tales around him are overly romanticised is noted: "there seems to be an undercurrent through them all of the pleasant rustle of green bough, and the patter of deer's feet, as they dash down the glades, and the liquid notes of the mavis and merle, the stage-names of our homey friends the thrush and black-birds, as they carol overhead." Popular Heroes, *CJ*, 24 Oct 1863, 265.

[55] I have discussed the idea of external public honours and internal honour elsewhere in greater detail. Whereas the former is "awarded in a public act which involves the active consensus of a group" and entails public forms of attention such as fame, the latter "is an act of private internal recognition of an individual which is *guided* by the rules of a specific group". Christiane Hadamitzky: Public vs. Private Honour. The Precarious Case of Victorian Modest Heroism in Chambers's Journal and The Leisure Hour, in: helden. heroes. héros. E-Journal zu Kulturen des Heroischen, special issue 2, 2016, p. 56. DOI: 10.6094/helden.heroes.heros./2016/QMR/10.

[56] A similar distinction between public recognition and private reward can also be detected regarding chivalry. In the context of the medieval revival in nineteenth-century Britain (cf. Mark Girouard: The Return to Camelot. Chivalry and the English Gentleman, New Haven 1981), chivalric figures (especially in the type of the gentleman) were a dominant presence in British popular culture. In *CJ*, the depiction of chivalry is always connected to a notion of pastness. In some instances, the idea of medieval chivalry is criticised as too public and ritualistic and a modern form of chivalry is proposed as a more humble private concept. Cf. True Chivalry, *CJ*, 29 Jun 1850, 416.

achievements or values anymore, but is mostly due to the wide dissemination of stories with popular appeal and sensational potential. Heroes are now a product:

> But is this not the manufacturing age, and is there not a manufacture of heroes as well as of calico and railway bars? I for one am a hero-worshipper, and don't mind avowing the fact; but I have not yet been able to worship manufactured heroes, or to feel any sympathy with those who are always ready to come forward with their testimonial. (A Few Words About Heroes, *CJ*, 4 Oct 1856, 222–223)

With this interpretation of popular heroes as mass products, the function of the heroic changes: while the individual (as opposed to mass manufactured) hero evoked a sympathy in their admirers based on a common moral ground, the manufactured heroes seem to aim for mere sensation and entertainment. Periodicals, as products in the market place, had a commercial interest in publishing what sold best. Thereby, the criticism of the production of heroism is at the same time a criticism of the contemporary media which produce them.

Consequently the most popular heroes, who find "their way so often into print" (Popular Heroes, *CJ*, 24 Oct 1863, 264), are those that the editors and contributors calculate will sell most, not those whom they might consider worth emulating. The diagnosis regarding hero worship in *CJ* is a clear one over the course of the second half of the century: traditional hero worship with a group of people admiring a messiah or prophet figure whom they turn to for guidance is a thing of the past. However, a new, "appropriate" form of hero worship has not yet been found and a tendency towards the extremes can be perceived: either society is reluctant to avow themselves to heroes because of fixed preconceptions which the individual cannot meet, or a mass audience follows popular heroes who no longer perform a social function but are mostly a source of entertainment and sensationalism. Accordingly, the media coverage of historical heroes undergoes a change as well and the private life of historical personalities increasingly becomes the focus of public attention: "How much closer are we drawn to our favourite heroes in biography, when we know how they were loved and reverenced by their nearest relatives" (Stray Thoughts in a Library, *CJ*, 5 Jun 1880, 366).

As a possible solution for this dilemma of hero worship, *CJ* suggests, overtly in a number of meta-heroic reflections and more implicitly in a greater number of texts which will be discussed in later chapters, a turning away from celebrated heroes of history writing, song and literature and towards "unsung heroes" (Unsung Heroes, *CJ*, 27 Jul 1888, 464). It is this humble heroism that has no immediate audience which the magazine establishes as the only 'real' heroism worth worshipping:

> So long as the world and the heart are young,
> Shall deeds of daring and valour be sung;
> And the hand of the poet shall throw the rhyme
> At the feet of the hero of battle-time.

But nobler deeds are done every day
In the world close by, than in fight or fray.
There are heroes whose prowess never sees light,
Far greater than ever was ancient knight.
In many a heart lies a secret tale
That would make the Homeric legends pale:
And oft is a deed of valour untold
Which is meet to be written in letters of gold! (ibid.)

Many texts in *CJ*, as exemplified in this poem, aimed at telling stories of "unsung heroes", which mostly meant fictional heroes who could be contextualised in actual occurrences and historical events. This had the advantage that stories of unknown heroes could not contribute to the fame or celebrity of an actual person but would focus on the audience to "feel […] sympathy" (A Few Words About Heroes, *CJ*, 4 Oct 1856, 223) for the characters depicted. Through this feeling of sympathy, the social function of the heroic as providing role models was stressed and the moral values and characteristics of the heroic became the focus of attention.

Precarious Heroicity

It has become apparent that *CJ* constructs a heroicity which is desirable and worthy of emulation. However, the periodical also shows cases of presumed heroism which are unworthy of imitation. Bearing in mind that heroism on the whole fulfilled an exemplary role in *CJ*, cases of heroism related to traits deemed undesirable were precarious. The most prominent form of this kind of precarious heroicity is the 'hero of romance'. The vocabulary of the heroic is, in relation to romance, seldom used to describe actions to be imitated by the readers. Nevertheless, the frequent usage of the words 'hero' and 'heroine', not merely as synonyms for protagonists, is striking in the context of romance tales. Like in the examples above, the semantics of heroism are used in these fictional narratives as a signifier for a set of socially established meanings.

In this context, hero, and especially 'hero of romance', often denotes a convention which is limited to fictional texts and appears in and relates to the genre of the novel. The 'hero of romance' is exclusively male and typically denominates a male object of projection for female affection. However, these heroes of romance are characterised by entirely different attributes than the usual heroic personnel in *CJ*. The 'hero of romance' seldom has a moral component but is rather judged by outward appearance, his conduct in society and his gentlemanliness.

This can for example be seen in a passage from the fictional text "Myself and My Relative". The serialised novel by an anonymous author had been advertised

in two preceding issues of *CJ*[57]and was published in the journal from early July until late September 1861. In the first instalment, a young girl has just moved from London to the countryside with her family. The rural settlement into which she and her family have moved is populated by farmers whose manual labour is governed by necessity. This stands in stark contrast to the way she describes a young man of the village, whom she adores:

> but one youth particularly struck my fancy: his air was noble; his face beautiful as an ideal vision; his eyes soft, meditative, charming; his fair hair wavy and soft as a girl's; his figure faultless – at least so I thought at my discerning age of ten years. […] I regarded him as one might have regarded a work of art. He was a poetic passage to me – a glimpse into a higher sphere. I invested him with marvellous attributes, and felt convinced that he would not more think of cheating Mr Horne with his lessons, or of robbing an orchard, than he would dream of flying. It was long before I could find out his name, for I shrank from asking any one respecting it. Having even at that tender age read more than one novel, I knew very well what falling in love was, and I thought I must surely have been in love with my hero, which made me afraid to breathe a word of him to mortal […]. Strange infatuation! Yet I never dreamed of speaking to the object of my adoration; to think of him was enough. Long did his image remain engraven on my memory. (A Tale, Entitled Myself and My Relative, *CJ*, 6 Jul 1861, 3)

The description given by the young female protagonist remains solely on the surface; she describes his outward appearance but also the effect his looks have on her. Her words aestheticise the young man and make him appear more like "a work of art" (ibid.) than a human being. Although the girl is passive in the actual situation – she watches the boy and dares not talk to him – she is very active in the construction of her hero[58] since it is she who paints the canvas of the "work of art" she perceives. Although she uses his "beautiful" face, his "faultless" figure and his other visible attributes as inspiration, the girl then creates her hero in her fantasy, equips him with "marvellous attributes" and fictitious scenarios in which he acts according to her imagination. Different from the heroism seen above which focused on the similarities between a represented hero and the implied reader, the girl constructs her object of affection *in contrast* to herself and her surroundings. She herself describes her family repeatedly as poor and dreams of a higher social position. This is reflected in the description of the boy, whom she sees as "noble" and "faultless". She interprets the look in his eyes as "soft, meditative, charming" – three characteristics that do not fit the requirements of a farmer's household but rather point to leisure time and idle reflection. She thus constructs him as the embodiment of her dreams of "a higher sphere". The young girl draws further inspiration from literature and the world as represented in the novels she has read also serves as a reference for interpreting her own feelings.

This image of her hero can only be held up by retaining a distance between the object of description and the girl describing him, and thus it is only "his

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[57] Cf. A Tale, Entitled Myself and My Relative, *CJ*, 15 Jun 1861, 384 and 29 Jun 1861, 416.
[58] The protagonist calls the young man "my hero" until she learns his name.

image" which she remembers and which her imaginations are based on. The fact that the protagonist speaks of the boy as "the object of my *adoration*" (emphasis mine) rather than of affection, desire or love underlines the necessity of distance for this notion of heroism as well.[59] The 'hero of romance' as represented in this text is not supposed to be emulated but to be adored from afar. This is for one due to conventions of romance narrative, of which emulation is no part, but is also rooted in the fact that the 'hero of romance' in most cases primarily functions as a space for the projection of the respective female's dreams of an ideal gentleman. As soon as adoring girl and adored young man actually interact, the latter loses his status as an imagined 'hero of romance', since he turns from object of projection into a subject which interferes with the girl's imagination.[60] In keeping the distance, the situation of romantic yearning, closely defined through social conventions and patterns presented in novels, a clear and insurmountable demarcation between the one admiring her hero and the heroic figure is maintained through gender: the 'hero of romance' in *CJ* is necessarily a man and the adoring and imagining subject is always a woman; one cannot take the other's position without violating conventions.

This specific notion of precarious heroicity can be found in many other fictional texts in *CJ* and seems to be stable throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. All the stories are connected through a distance between the female and male protagonists – either self-chosen as in the example above or through circumstance – and a strong female imagination. Kate, the protagonist of the story "Miss Winter's Hero", is, for example, separated from Laurence, the object of her adoration, through social restrictions. Having accompanied her father on a business trip to Scotland, she had immediately fallen for the young writer Laurence, "her hero, her poet" (Miss Winter's Hero, *CJ*, 30 May 1891, 345). However, Kate Winter's father "was an honest, comfortable, matter-of-fact-man of business" but "had never made any pretensions to finer feelings" (ibid., 344). In this manner, he had "expressed himself very freely [about Laurence] this morning, and Kate [resented] it accordingly" (ibid.). Although the young man is described by a local as "idle" and "over head and ears in debt" (ibid.), the young woman still meets Laurence in private and keeps adoring him – because her imagination turns him into a 'hero of romance'. This is illustrated by the first interaction the reader observes between the two, in which Kate relates the stories about him to Laurence but immediately adds that "if the whole world said so, what difference could it make to me? Even if I had never seen you, I should have believed in you from your poems" (ibid.). The reader is already assured through

[59] This links up to the considerations of Ines Schindler, Veronika Zink et al. on admiration and adoration discussed before (cf. Schindler et al.: Admiration) and the ambivalent evaluation of hero-worship established in chapter 4.2.

[60] This is supported by the fact that the protagonist only calls the young man "my hero" until she learns his name and receives 'actual' information on his life story and character.

Laurence's reaction – "he turned scarlet and white alternately" (ibid.) – that the rumours about him will turn out to be true, but Kate is trapped in her imagination of Laurence. Although the utterance is based on the man's poetry, it is again strongly motivated by Laurence's looks and his "being other" than people in Kate's everyday environment. As she approaches him, the reader sees him through her eyes as follows:

> There was a circular green bench round the staff, and on the bench sat a handsome young fellow in a brown velvet coat. His hair was a little longer than is customary in these close-cropped days; and that, or a certain rapt absent expression, would have stamped him at once as either poet or artist with most people. Kate, looking at him in the full flush of the warm sunset, felt that it was not light privilege even to know such a man; but having known him, that he – refined and cultivated to such a pitch of perfection – should have laid his fortune at her feet, should have counted her worthy to share his future, the fame that coming days were to bring him, passed all belief. (ibid.)

Laurence is described as a clear opposite to the young girl's father. The "matter-of-fact businessman" without "finer feelings" (ibid.) stands in the greatest possible contrast to the romantic young poet whose "absent expression" and "refined" nature do not comply with the world of business Kate is used to from her father. Interestingly, the artistic quality of Laurence is mostly conveyed by his outward features – his too-long hair, his expression, and possibly also the romantic location on a cliff in the "warm sunset" he has chosen for their meeting – rather than by his actual talent of writing, which the reader never gets an opportunity to sample. And although the female protagonist in this case interacts with her hero, her imagination as triggered by the young man's appearance and 'otherness' overshadows her actual experience with him and any doubts are erased by "another of Laurence's smiles" (ibid., 345).[61] In the course of the narrative, Kate elopes with Laurence and it is only by overcoming the distance demanded by her father and in the confined space of a ship that she finally seems to meet Laurence outside of her imagined world. Soon, she finds that her father "was very well justified in his opinion" (ibid., 346) and wishes herself back to him ("'Oh, if I was only at home with my father'", ibid.). Through the encounter (as opposed to the interaction overshadowed by the girl's imagination), Laurence's hero-status is revoked, and he turns into "her sometime hero" (ibid., 247). In line with Max Weber's idea of the routinisation of charisma,[62]

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[61] Similarly, Mrs Gretton, a character in C. G. Furley's serial novel "The Ring and The Bird", points out that a "hero of romance" is firstly defined by his looks and the way he moves in society, when she states that "[t]he Colonel was not a hero of romance; he was a little, bad-tempered, red-faced man, who bolted his food and snubbed Mrs Gretton's attempts at civility". C. G. Furley: The Ring and the Bird, *CJ*, 7 February 1891, 91. The explicit use of the phrase "hero of romance" in this case also shows that Mrs Gretton's idea of an ideal gentleman is modelled after those she has encountered in romance writing.

[62] Cf. Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York 2009 [1947], pp. 363–373.

Laurence's appeal diminishes through proximity and the contact with everyday life.

Although in a different way, the relation between the female protagonist and her hero is shaped by literature in "Miss Winter's Hero" as well. Unlike in other texts, Kate is not described as a reader of novels, but the 'artistic air' she perceives around Laurence is the prime reason for her attraction and the fact that she judges him solely on the basis of his writing ("I should have believed in you from your poems", Miss Winter's Hero, *CJ*, 30 May 1891, 344) shows that she either is used to reading literature or is drawn to it. In relation to romantic imagination, the heroic figure seems to be chiefly – and doubly – informed by (romance) literature. On the one hand, the female characters' objects of fancy seem to be modelled on what they have read in novels; on the other hand, literature as a form of expression and realm of imagination functions as their general inspiration for creating the image of an 'ideal gentleman' in their minds.[63] Especially when paired with their naïveté, the female protagonists' dreaming up of a 'hero of romance' immediately evokes the contemporary discourse on female reading and its effects.[64] The general anxiety about (especially young) women reading has been discussed in detail, and it has been shown that in particular the activity of solitary – and hence not controllable – reading was considered a dangerous activity for young women since the content of the texts was likely to be romantic *and* could possibly stimulate the readers' imagination. As Margaret Beetham puts it, "the central subject matter of nineteenth-century fiction was ro-

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63 In the case of "Myself and My Relatives", the connection to romance literature is additionally mirrored in the girl's surrounding since part of her imaginations take place in and around a park which reminds her of the "Gothic" (A Tale, Entitled Myself and My Relatives, *CJ*, 6 Jul 1861, 2). This indirectly relates her imagination to the realm of Gothic fiction which is, apart from its appeal through terror, also chiefly known for its imaginative settings and romantic sub-plots.

64 On this subject see for example Janet Badia et al. (ed.): Reading Women. Literary Figures and Cultural Icons from the Victorian Age to the Present, Toronto 2005; Margaret Beetham: Women and the Consumption of Print, in: Joanne Shattock (ed.): Women and Literature in Britain, 1800–1900, Cambridge 2001, pp. 55–77; Sarah Bilston: "It Is Not What We Read, But How We Read". Maternal Counsel on Girls' Reading Practices in Mid-Victorian Literature, in: Nineteenth-Century Contexts 30.1, 2008, pp. 1–20; Barbara Caine: Victorian Feminists, Oxford 1992; ead.: Feminism, Journalism and Public Debate, in: Joanne Shattock (ed.): Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900, Cambridge 2001, pp. 99–118; Christina Crosby: The Ends of History. Victorians and "the Woman Question", London 1991; Kate Flint: Reading, Prohibition and Transgression, in: Robert L. Patten: Dickens and Victorian Print Cultures, Surrey 2012, pp. 249–258; Ruth Livesey: Reading for Character. Women Social Reformers and Narratives of the Urban Poor in Late Victorian and Edwardian London, in: Journal of Victorian Culture 9.1, 2004, pp. 43–67; Kenneth Morgan: The Birth of Industrial Britain. 1750–1850, Harlow 2011; Phegley: Woman Reader; Leah Price: How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain, Princeton 2013; Valerie Sander: Women, Fiction and the Marketplace, in: Joanne Shattock (ed.): Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900, Cambridge 2001, pp. 142–161 or Joanne Shattock (ed.): Women and Literature in Britain 1800–1900, Cambridge 2001.

mantic love".[65] This kind of fiction, contemporaries feared, would create and perpetuate a longing in the readers that was feared to not only lead to "day-dreaming",[66] but eventually to undesired actions which would not conform with society's conventions.

Thus, the fictional texts representing the imagined 'heroes of romance' can be seen as both a result of and an answer to the perceived problem of female reading of romance literature. On the one hand, the girls' and young women's perception of their objects of affection seems to be informed by the conventions of romance fiction, on the other hand, the imaginative space of the novel encourages them to use their imagination. The texts thereby acknowledge the growing number of female readers and affirm, and to some extent perpetuate, the patterns of romance literature. At the same time, they can also be seen as an answer to the perceived danger fiction could pose since, on the plot-level, the imagining protagonist and the object of fancy rarely get the happy ending a romance might supply. The heroic status of the male object ends as soon as he turns into a subject and the distance or obstacles between male and female are removed. Going back to the previous examples, Kate Winter has to find out that "her hero, her poet" is indeed only a product of her imagination and although the young protagonist finally meets the object of her youthful adoration again and marries him, it is in a manner which is "sobered, subdued" (Miss Winter's Hero, *CJ*, 30 May 1891, 185) and with the insight that neither her future husband nor she are without flaws, as imagination would have had it in younger years. With the means of plot development, the narratives put the very patterns they themselves employ into perspective and try to show that the 'hero of romance' is only a product of an author's imagination and does not hold up to the 'real world'. [67]

As these examples have shown, the 'hero of romance' is employed with a didactic undertone in *CJ*. The behaviour patterns of social interaction between young women and men might have been applied because they appealed to the

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[65] Margaret Beetham: Women and the Consumption of Print, in: Joanne Shattock (ed.): Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900, Cambridge 2001, p. 66.

[66] Colin Campbell: The Romantic Ethics and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism, Oxford 1987, p. 26.

[67] This clash between a 'real world' and the world of fiction is presented in various texts with an emphasis on the fact that the latter – at least in relation to romantic social interaction – creates female expectations which cannot be met. This can for example also be seen in the text "My Coming Out" in which a girl is allowed to go to a social event. She dreams of getting to know a gentleman similar to the heroes of her novels but is disappointed and spends the entire night talking to a child. Cf. My Coming Out, *CJ*, 15 Dec 1860, 369–371. A further example is the narrative "A Strange Wedding" which again stresses the danger of distance and limited knowledge of the object of adoration and criticises the female protagonist for having "imbibed no doubt from the vast amount of fiction with which she filled her little brain." A Strange Wedding, *CJ*, 28 Aug 1880, 554.

intended readership – especially to girls the same age as the protagonists –[68] but the development of the individual plot lines also make it clear that the pining after a 'model hero' from romance fiction would not lead to a happy ending.

In a strict sense, one cannot speak of heroic *behaviour*; the young men to whom the term 'hero' is applied in this class of fictional texts do not actively contribute to their hero-status, which is assigned to them exclusively by the female protagonists. Thus, a striking tension in terms of gender roles emerges: on the one hand, the texts dealing with 'heroes of romance' allow the female characters an agency which is greater than in any of the texts discussed previously. The women are – within the frame of a fictional narrative – allowed to dream of and imagine whatever they want and to create a 'model hero' for themselves. The men, on the other hand, undergo an objectification, are mainly judged by their outward appearance and act as a projection screen for the women's fantasies. However, although the female as the 'imaginer' creates the respective hero figure in the narratives, they themselves are always outside of the heroic sphere, since they commonly construct 'their hero' as something desirably different from their everyday experience. Although the female characters are seemingly given complete freedom of imagination, the fact that they resort to the patterns and conventions of romance fiction to guide their imagination, and are thus depicted as only craving romance, undermines their agency again.

However, not only girls are shown as being misguided by their imagination and the influence of 'bad' literature. The essay "Boyish Freaks" presents a similar problem for boys who try to imitate – often violent – adventure stories. Having read too many of them, it is feared that they will follow "on a small scale the heroes of the boys' books" (Boyish Freaks, *CJ*, 21 Apr 1888, 252): "he looks with wondering contempt on any calling tamer than that of soldier, hunter, admiral, or pirate, in one of which exciting professions he will distinguish himself before long" (ibid.). One of the examples of the imitation of an undesirable hero figure is a young man who acts on his "romantic ideas" by buying a revolver "without which no hero is genuine" (ibid., 253). He then takes a ship to the Isle of Man to lead the life of a would-be Robinson Crusoe, which results in the death of a large number of sheep through his revolver. Though no human being is hurt through his act of imitation, the text condemns his actions and approves of his arrest (cf. ibid.). Subsequently, anecdotes of robbery, kidnapping and violence are given and especially the fascination of boys with weapons is emphasised of which "[t]he youth who lately provided himself with dagger, revolver, and bowie-knife, and commenced his journey Wild Westward by travelling from London to Liverpool, is another instance of this fascination" (ibid., 254). The undesirability of an attempt to imitate such false heroes is made even clearer by the fact that all of

[68] The essay "Beggar My Neighbour" which appeared in *CJ* in August 1861 actually criticises the "modern novel" for depicting characters which are too similar to their readers. Cf. Beggar my Neighbour, *CJ*, 10 Aug 1861, 81–85.

the anecdotes show boys who *fail* in their imitation. Neither is the Isle of Man a deserted island like that of Robinson Crusoe, nor does the journey from London to Liverpool come close to the American settlers' journey towards the Western Frontier. Thus, the adventure stories and their heroes are shown as a male version of the 'hero of romance' which can only exist in the boys' imagination.

On the whole, the examples of fictional heroes who were not deemed worthy of emulation have emerged as examples of precarious heroicity. As such, they represent the negative side of hero-worship in that they lead to a misdirected imitation of a form of heroism which can only exist in a person's imagination and necessarily relies on distance. If transferred to the adoring subject's own life – be it the girls trying to find a hero of romance or the boys trying to imitate the heroes of their adventure books – the heroism becomes destructive and anti-social. Accordingly, *CJ* wanted to provide examples more deserving of emulation for their readership and the following chapters will be concerned with the predominant representation of exemplary heroes and those features of the heroic deemed worth imitating.

4.3 Chambers's Journal*'s Heroic Imaginary*

Much more frequently than texts devoted to the explicit definition of the heroic, articles can be found in *CJ* in which heroism is defined indirectly. Often, a heroic status is attributed to characters in passing. It is often not defined overtly, but evoked through reference to a socially agreed-upon set of qualities which are deemed heroic and can be immediately recalled in the readers' minds without having to explicate them – a heroic imaginary. Heroes emerge as social figures which can both unite a collective imagination[69] and create a community by referencing an abstract set of values.[70] As a means to negotiate and mediate societal values through collective imagination, heroes thus act as constituents of symbolic values.[71] When Habermas describes the imaginary as a "massive background consensus"[72] for a group, this can also be identified in relation to the heroic. In

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69 Mohr: Männer, p. 210. The German original reads: "[D]ie soziale Figur 'Held' [kann] Imaginäres auf sich bündeln."

70 For the idea of a group identity based on a social imaginary see Benedict Anderson: Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London 2006; Cornelius Castoriadis: The Imaginary Institution of Society, Cambridge, MA 1998; Jürgen Habermas: Between Facts and Norms. Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy, Cambridge 1996; Charles Taylor: Modern Social Imaginaries, Durham, NC 2004; id.: A Secular Age, Cambridge, MA 2007; John R. Searle: The Construction of Social Reality, New York 1997 or Claudia Strauss: The Imaginary, in: Anthropological Theory 6.3, 2006, pp. 322–344.

71 Cf. Mohr: Männer, p. 210. The German original reads: "'Helden' haben teil an der Konstituierung und Formierung der symbolischen Ordnungen gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens."

72 Habermas: Facts and Norms, p. 22.

the evoking and constant re-evoking of certain values in the context of the vocabulary of the heroic in *CJ*, a heroic imaginary emerges as an agreed-upon notion of extraordinarily exemplary behaviour. The following analyses will show how the moral implications of the heroic and its function for the collective are at the centre of this imaginary.

Three dominant properties of the heroic come up in a large number of texts and seem to point to continuities, transformations, and functions of the heroic. Courage reflects a major change from physical to moral heroism, while selflessness and perseverance mirror a general change in Victorian society and highlight the identificatory function which heroism performs in its use in *CJ*.

Courage

In the context of the heroic in *CJ*, courage is always a relational and social category rather than referring to boldness or pluck. The latter is even discouraged, as can be seen in the article "A Remarkable Rogue" which states about its protagonist at the outset: "It is [the story] of a remarkable man whose acquaintance I made many years ago, one whose abilities and talents, had they been directed aright, might have placed him in a very different position from that in which I met him" (A Remarkable Rogue, *CJ*, 8 Jan 1881, 30). The narrator is referring to a man who makes a living by mere boldness. He feigns having fits when expensive carriages come by or on streets frequented by wealthy men and women. His acting is so convincing that he succeeds in obtaining money or shelter from passers-by each and every time. The text describes the following incident as his most bold act: he had heard of a woman and her children whose husband had deserted them and – "whether at his own expense or not, is not material" (ibid., 31) – had gone to Australia years ago. Knowing that the woman was reasonably well off, he approached her and pretended to be her returned husband. When the woman, who knew it could not be her husband from the mere physicality of the man with his crippled arm and weak posture, accused him of fraud, he "bore all this in silence" (ibid.). He then went on to tell a fantastical story of misery and accidents in Australia and further gave her examples of their previous life together, so that the woman by the end was convinced that he was her lost husband. Though the narrator – as the assessment above shows – has sympathies for the man, his talents are shown as being wasted for one crucial reason: they are selfish. His fearless behaviour is merely for his own benefit and therefore lacks a social or communal function, which denies the man of many "abilities and talents" (ibid., 30) the possibility to be a "hero" (ibid., 31). However, "had he chosen a different walk in life, he might have risen to eminence and honour" (ibid., 32).

Similarly, physical courage is also revalued as a tool which can only become heroic through a moral component. This becomes apparent in a poem on "Chiv-

alry" published in 1862. Over thirteen stanzas of iambs, the poem narrates the actions of a medieval knight who is evoked as a positive example for the present-day reader. The poem opens with a knight who "came at evening-time/Unto a lonely ford" (Chivalry, *CJ*, 9 Aug 1862, 69) where he discovers two impoverished children. In direct speech they ask him for charity "'for Jesus' sake our Lord.' / 'Good sir,' they cried, 'for him who died, / carry us o'er the flood'" (ibid.). The knight himself has no voice in the poem, but the pleas of the children spark his action: reminiscent of Saint Christopher, he lifts them on his horse and carries them through woods and stream, endangering his own life for the sake of the children ("The water lapped against his feet, / And o'er his saddle-bow; / He rode until his charger's mane / Was washing to and fro", ibid.). On the whole, the knight is described as a man of impressive physical strength. The rhyme scheme interestingly does not link the knight's violent actions with each other but links the man's physical and martial elements to other traits:

His chest was like a mountain bull's
  And he was strong of arm;
Upon his face, though seamed and scarred,
  There was a Sabbath calm;
He rode a stately destriere,
  All dappled with the gray;
And splashed into the shallowing ford,
  At the closing of the day

A golden statue shone the knight,
  Wrapped in his golden mail;
His banner, of the crimson sheen,
  Blew flapping like a sail. (ibid.)

The very first rhyme ("strong of arm" / "sabbath calm") links the knight's physical strength and his religious belief which – echoing the children's cry for help "'For Jesus' sake our Lord'" – seems to be the motivation for helping the children. Apart from physical courage, he also possesses moral courage and charges into the ford at nightfall without hesitation. The connection between his "golden mail" and the banner "like a sail" further shows that the armoured knight does not act primarily as a destroyer, but as a protector.[73]

After the encounter with the children, which is told over eight stanzas, the following three stanzas inform the reader about the knight's other deeds. Most of them are physical, even violent acts, but all of them are motivated by charity and altruism:

[73] Symbolically, the sail turns him into the children's 'ship' which, in line with Christian symbolism, makes him their protector against the stormy waves of evil. His status as a protector is enhanced by the fact that, after bringing them to safety, he does not abandon them but guards "them from wolf and boar / Until the break of day; / And at the dawn he gave them alms, / And sped them on their way." Chivalry, *CJ*, 9 Aug 1862, 69.

He slew the wild thief in his den;
  He freed the ravaged town;
He helped the poor man at the plough,
  And struck his tyrant down.
In at the widow's broken pane,
  He flung the welcome gold;
He sacked the cruel baron's tower,
  And burned the robber's hold.
He never knelt except to God;
  To good men he was meek:
But to the bad, his voice it seemed
  As when the thunders speak. (ibid.)

Apart from the plain fact that he is fighting for the weak against the strong, his actions are reinforced by his Christian motivation. The reference to the knight's voice is especially interesting given that he does not himself speak in the poem. The readers are implicitly linked to the "good men" because the knight's thunderous voice cannot be heard – he is "meek" on a very concrete verbal level.

The last two stanzas of the poem strengthen the knight's association with Christ:

How did he die ! – with back to tree,
  His death-wound in his breast,
With shivered sword still raised to strike,
  And broken lance in rest.
And now he lies upon his tomb,
  Rapt in eternal prayer;
And round him windows jewel-like
  Shine with a radiance fair. (ibid.)

Though the knight is not crucified, the image of crucifixion is evoked in the description: the knight dies standing up, resting on wood, his deadly wound in his breast, the same as the wound with which Christ's death was finally determined. Importantly, the knight does not die hopeless or in surrender, but with raised sword, fighting to the last. The chivalric knight, a traditionally martial military figure, is turned into a Christian martyr in this poem, a notion which is emphasised through the symbolism of light in the last stanza, which not only places him within a church but also surrounds him with a halo-like, bejewelled crown of light.

Although the poem, which stands at the end of this particular issue of *CJ*, tells a story of a distant past, the emphasis on the values behind the knight's action make the narrative relatable. The knight's physical courage is, however, less important than his moral (Christian) motivation for his actions, which the readers could have identified with and aspired to.

As will become apparent in the discussion of the different domains of the heroic in *CJ*, courage is an integral part of the heroic. However, as the example

clearly shows, it needs to be aimed towards a higher goal that not only benefits the courageous person.[74] In that respect, the boldness of the imposter is amoral and hence, in the context of *CJ*'s didactic agenda, not worthy of emulation. With a strong focus on morality, courage is in the majority of cases presented as a "heroic […] presence of mind" (Presence of Mind, *CJ*, 30 Apr 1870, 273). This will become especially pertinent in the representation of acts of lifesaving, which always stressed the courageous readiness to come to the help of another person in distress without regard to the hero's own safety. Similarly, courage in military contexts was considered a self-denying category. The soldiers who are fearlessly going into battle do so for the good of their country and the benefit of the whole population – not because they are daring or adventure-hungry. Consequently, heroic courage in *CJ* may better be described as the fearlessness in action for a communal good. As a result, the virtue of selflessness can be seen as the trait of the heroic which encompasses and exceeds heroic courage.

Selflessness

The centrality of the word selflessness (and other related terms such as self-denial or self-sacrifice) in representations of the heroic in *CJ* can be seen as both a reflection on the social changes in nineteenth-century Britain and a result of the general rationale of the periodical: whereas courage implicates a strong degree of activity and agency (such as saving a life or fighting for one's country in battle), selflessness can be applied to non-practical and everyday actions as well. It is hence a property which can be found in and applied to a greater number of situations and a greater social range of people. In relation to the heroic, a focus on the trait of selflessness in contrast to or complementing courage would have increased the personnel that could be represented on the pages of the magazine and would have brought the realm of heroic conduct closer to *CJ*'s readership. Thus, the identificatory function of the heroic for the intended readership of the journal becomes obvious in the use of selflessness as a heroic attribute.

In this vein, selflessness is presented as an innate human quality in many articles, which can be fostered and cultivated, but is not linked to professional training or social status. Significantly, children feature prominently in these representations and advice is frequently given to parents to encourage selfless behaviour in their children. An essay published in 1851 puts forth the belief that

[74] This is often referred to as "higher courage" or "moral courage" in contrast to a form of courage which centres on the danger of the physical integrity of the courageous person. Cf. for example An Umbrella Eclogue, *CJ*, 7 Nov 1863, 294–296, A Seaside Story, *CJ*, 27 Feb 1858, 129–132, Domestic Help and Hindrances, *CJ*, 9 Dec 1899, 17–21, Moral Without Physical Courage, *CJ*, 24 Feb 1849, 128, The Clyffards of Clyffe, *CJ*, 19 Aug 1865, 516–519, The Proudest Moment of My Life, *CJ*, 4 Jan 1862, 9–12, or True Chivalry, *CJ*, 15 Sep 1866, 416.

human character is innate, and "[c]ircumstances are powerful, but theirs is only a secondary influence in human life: they yield to the internal pressure of the soul" (The Prophetic Thought, *CJ*, 6 Sep 1851, 145). Different from later representations, the author of this piece seems to be convinced that both a positive as well as a negative "prophecy" (ibid.) can be embedded into human character from birth onwards, which will fulfil itself throughout the individual's life. This idea, which might have seemed grim to some readers, is softened slightly through the introduction of a metaphorical 'prophet' in the form of each individual's personal environment which can support or hamper their development. Using examples from classical antiquity, the author states that "[a]ccordingly [according to a child's 'prophecy'] they made the infant Hercules strangle a serpent while yet in his cradle, and tell how bees gave sweetness to the infant lips of Plato" (ibid.); thereby, although limited, a degree of influence on the development of a child's character is assigned to its environment. Transferred to the present day of the reader this would mean that an infant's parents could – once they had recognised the 'prophecy' of their child's future – support or moderate the tendencies they observed (and, for example, cultivate its strength like Hercules or its qualities of persuasion and rhetoric). Hence, the author gives parents a responsibility to observe their children closely and (counter)act according to the character traits they see in them:

> If in our birth we are all big with our future selves, parents at the earliest day should study, learn, and watch the prophetic thought of each of their children. […] This child is forgiving, that child is vindictive. See what an affectionate nature shines forth in the eyes and looks of that little girl! That boy has the soul of a braggadocio, and that other possesses the self-denial and generosity of a hero. Do not all these qualities require cultivation? Some may be encouraged, others must be restrained; and others again must be counteracted, overcome – nay, eradicated. (ibid., 146)

Strikingly, it is not the children that are supposed to "study, learn", but the parents. They are responsible for recognising the innate tendencies of their children and are also given the duty of dealing with these characteristics accordingly. In binary opposites ("forgiven" – "vindictive", "braggadocio" – "self-denial"), suggestions are given to parents on what to look out for – and what to support and what to suppress, "nay, eradicat[e]".

This responsibility, however, can also be interpreted as an attempt to account for the periodical's intended readership. As the editors intended their publications for an audience ranging from the middle classes to the "poorest labourer in the country" (Editor's Address, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1932, 1), large parts of this anticipated audience would not have possessed a formal education or domestic employees to take care of the education of their children. Although the article's initial claim that a person's innate 'prophecy' will likely be fulfilled can seem rather pessimistic, it also can be read as a positive prediction, especially for the lower ranks of society: if a child shows positive characteristics, the author implicitly ensures its

parents that an institutional education might not be necessary for it to get on well in life. The essay asking parents to look for their children's 'prophecy' can thus be read as mirroring the audience's life, in which formal education was an exception and a parent's influence was often the only means of educating a child.

Regarding the heroic, the brief mention of the "self-denial and generosity of a hero" in the essay on "The Prophetic Thought" substantiates two tendencies already observed above. Firstly, the opposition with "braggadocio" (The Prophetic Thought, *CJ*, 6 Sep 1851, 146) takes up the call of the programmatic "What is Heroism" and many other articles in *CJ* for a type of heroism which does not ask for a stage or an audience. Unlike the Spenserian 'Braggadocchio', true heroes are not boastful and do not brag about their achievements. "Self-denial" is at the core of their being a hero, since it is this very quality which prevents them from seeking public recognition. Therefore, the selflessness of heroes ensures the *moral* motivation of their actions and prevents them from being driven by individual craving for recognition and personal gains. Secondly, the excerpt shows the tendency to promote heroism as a means of personal appreciation available to all parts of society. No great deeds are mentioned, but only "self-denial and generosity", resources available to each and every one if they are willing (and "cultivat[e]" and "encourag[e]" those qualities). Heroism is not limited or restricted by financial, professional or social status. Although the specific denotation refers to a boy, the surrounding examples of "forgiving" child and the girl with an "affectionate nature" additionally open the realm of the heroic to boys and girls alike, which stresses the fact that moral heroism is not a male quality but can be ascribed to members of both sexes.[75] The shift of focus towards a moral heroism allows (at least theoretically) for both men and women of all social classes to be similarly heroic. Thus, properties like selflessness allow heroism to transcend the boundaries of gender and class and thereby contribute to the growing tendency of democratisation regarding the heroic.

"The Prophetic Thought" foregrounded the prospects of talented children without formal education. However, as the century progressed, various articles can be found in *CJ* which include heroic selflessness *and* the importance of children's education – both formal and familial. These grow in frequency in the 1880s and can be linked to the Elementary Education Act which – at least theoretically – had made schooling from the age of five to ten compulsory and was

[75] This does, of course, not mean that male and female heroism are equally represented both in frequency and in quality. As the analyses in subsequent chapters will show, moral heroism nevertheless remains distinctly gendered. Although properties such as selflessness or endurance allowed identification by women as well, the majority of heroic figures represented in *CJ* are men.

intended to provide school education regardless of social status and income.[76] For example, "The Art of Fireside Story-Telling" stresses the importance of filling the "intellectual pockets" (The Art of Fireside Story-Telling, *CJ*, 19 Feb 1881, 120) of children as a preparation for their future. As a means of doing so, the author proposes story-telling. The lesson a child can learn through the moral of a story is "far more successful than the direct teaching […]. Boys will see for themselves the honour and moral courage of their school-boy hero; the girls will be won to imitate the self-sacrifice or constancy of their heroine, when these qualities are hardly named" (ibid., 122–123).[77] In this case, the heroes of narratives act as role models for their audience and the values which they are intended to mediate are "honour", "moral courage", "self-sacrifice" and "constancy". Significantly, these virtues are gendered. Whereas boys should be equipped with "honour" and "courage" which can imply public actions, the more silent and private "self-sacrifice" and "constancy" are assigned to girls. However, selflessness can be seen as a property which connects both boys and girls, since "moral courage" seems to be very close to selflessness. If one takes courage to be the ability to face a situation with no regard to possible dangers and one's personal safety[78], and selflessness as facing a situation with no regards to one's personal safety or gain,[79] courage transferred on a *moral* level and abstracted from practical activities is essentially included within selflessness. Thus, selflessness as a property of the heroic can again be identified as a gender-integrating factor. The difference which remains, however, is that of ascribing public, practical actions to male heroes, whereas female heroics are, even through the allocation of virtues and values, located in a more private sphere with a greater degree of passivity.[80]

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76 Although school education itself is not commented upon or demanded in the articles, the very fact that articles reflecting on children's education in general become more frequent in the 1880s can be seen as a result of the Education Act.

77 For educational use, a "true story" is considered more effective than "an untrue story". The Art of Fireside Story-Telling, *CJ*, 19 Feb 1881, 121.

78 The *OED* defines "courage" as "that quality of mind which shows itself in facing danger without fear". Courage, in: OED Online, Oxford University Press 2015, www.oed.com/view/Entry/43146?rskey=aDwFNN&result=1#eid, 22 January 2020.

79 The *OED* defines "selfless" as "Having no regard for or thought of self". Selfless, in: OED Online, Oxford University Press, 2015, www.oed.com/view/Entry/175323?redirectedFrom=selfless#eid, 9 April 2015.

80 One exception to this can be seen in the poem "True Chivalry" (*CJ*, 15 Sep 1866, 592) which depicts a young woman performing "hero-deeds" (ibid.) in the public space of a hospital during a cholera epidemic. In her selfless voluntary contribution, she is active, yet her agency is diminished through a stress on passive virtues often marked as female. She is described as "tender, steadfast, meek, and calm", possessing "Pity's priceless balm" and "Sympathy's divinest grace" (ibid.). Furthermore, her achievement is not shown as that of an individual, but rather as that of specific type cast after the prominent example of Florence Nightingale. As a topos, the female nurse – often also in a military context – represented an accepted form of female activity in the form of caretaking (on the representation of nurses in nineteenth century literature see also Brian Abel-Smith: History of the Nursing Profession, London 1960; Tracey Alison Baker: The Figure of the Nurse. Struggles for

"Filling Little Pitchers", an essay on education published in August 1881, takes a similar stance as "The Prophecy of Thought" in that it proposes that all children are born with a certain set of abilities. However, thirty years after the publication of the earlier text, the author of "Filling Little Pitchers" argues for the importance of education (with the children as metaphorical pitchers that need to be filled through schooling) and the impact of heroic models for children to emulate. Here again the target audience of the magazine is reflected strongly in the essay's argumentation and an attempt to valorise manual labour and the working classes can be observed:

> Our little pitchers […] have diversity of powers, and the great aim must be their perfect, solid preparation for the kind of life for which they are destined. […] Education is "a building up." It is the discovery and training of the child's gifts, the development of what is good, the casting out of what is evil. And we take it that the labourer's child, who is taught our five *Rs* – Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Respect, and above all Reverence, and who is also taught the work he is to do, has received as serviceable an education as the heir to a baronetcy who wins the honours of a university career. (Filling Little Pitchers, *CJ*, 20 Aug 1881, 534)

The schooling of the working classes and the instruction in a manual trade ("the work he is to do") is put on a level with the higher education of the upper classes. Importantly, however, the moral education ("Respect", "Reverence" and "the development of what is good") is regarded as even more important than elementary learning. In stark contrast to the 1851 article, the author seems to take for granted that even a "labourer's child" learns "Reading, Writing, Arithmetic"; schooling of the working classes by now seems an accepted fact. However, the performance in these subjects is considered of lesser significance than the moral instruction which a child receives:

> See that girl, who promises to make some day the angel of home, a woman full of kindly helpfulness and sweetness, and capable of the heroism of self-sacrifice – the commonplace girl who tried Latin three times and could not get past the declensions; and whose chief musical qualifications find an outlet in humming her baby-brother to sleep. (ibid.)

Wholeness in the Novels of Jane Austen, Anne, Charlotte, Emily Bronte, and George Eliot, in: Dissertation Abstracts International 46.2, 1985, pp. 427a–428a; Edward H. Cohen: Henley Among the Nightingales, in: Nineteenth-Century Studies 8, 1994, pp. 23–43; Kevin J. Hayes: Maggie in the Hospital, in: Notes and Queries 61.259, 2014, pp. 582–583; Catherine Anne Judd: Hygienic Aesthetics. Sick Nursing and Social Reform in the Victorian Novel 1845–1880, in: Dissertation Abstracts International 53.10, 1993, pp. 3537a–3537a; Bronwyn Rivers: Reforming the Angel. Morality, Language and Mid-Victorian Nursing Heroines, Australasian Victorian Studies Journal 8, 2002, pp. 60–76; Keaghan Kane Turner: In Perfect Sympathy. Representations of Nursing in New Woman Fiction, in: Dissertation Abstracts International, 68.4, 2007, pp. 1472a–1472a or Arlene Young: "Entirely a Woman's Question". Class, Gender, and the Victorian Nurse, in: Journal of Victorian Culture 13.1, 2008, pp. 18–41.

Although the girl's school education is not doubted or regarded as unnecessary, the focus lies on the development of her moral qualities and those character traits regarded desirable for Victorian women: kindness, helpfulness and sweetness. Interestingly, it is these qualities which in her future will make her eligible for "heroism of self-sacrifice" as a validation for her domestic life. Additionally, the example of the girl who is heading for a life as a mother and wife in the private realm of the household shows how selflessness, as a property of the heroic, makes heroism applicable to many members of society who did not stand in the limelight of heroic concepts due to their lack of public visibility.

Progressing from the education and moral heroism of children[81] to the selflessness of adults, those articles in *CJ* which assign selflessness a central position in the heroic imaginary also show the range of applicability of selflessness and self-sacrifice to a broad spectrum of situations, contexts and players. Professional, public as well as private acts of heroism are presented to the reader and considered equally heroic. Through the foregrounding of the different properties of heroic conduct, all professions (and non-professions) are potentially included in the heroic sphere.[82] This includes acts of life-saving, in which selflessness is again used as a term which includes and even exceeds the term courage. This can be seen in the article "A Hospital Hero", in which a surgeon, though sick and weak himself, goes out onto a hospital's slippery roof to help a patient suffering from mental illness who climbed out there (cf. A Hospital Hero, *CJ*, 25 Jun 1859, 144–145). The "hero" (ibid., 144) is contrasted to two other doctors who only witness the scene. While watching the rescue, they discuss the fact that they would not have gone out on the roof to help the patient because they could have been held accountable if something had happened to the patient in their presence on the roof. Thus, the surgeon's selflessness is emphasised through the selfishness of the other doctors. More importantly, the narrative points to the fact that any act of selflessness is always performed in relation to another self. In order to do something regardless of one's own benefit, it is necessarily done for the benefit of another. The courage of the surgeon in that light does not consist in his going out on the roof and facing the danger of a fall, but in putting the patient's safety before his own, in acting according to another rather than to himself.

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81 The articles discussed above are a sample of a whole range of articles which show children as heroic due to their high morality. I have selected them due to their foregrounding of education; other examples, in which children are regarded heroic because of their moral integrity and/or deeds they performed because of their selflessness include: The Fairy Queen, *CJ*, 11 Jan 1851, 19–22, Eliza Warick, *CJ*, 12 Dec 1874, 785–787, Little Heroes, *CJ*, 12 Dec 1882, 806–807, Won – not Wooed, *CJ*, 11 Feb 1871, 82–87 and 18 Feb 1871, 102–107, or Heroes of Peace, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1885, 353–355.

82 As will be shown in Chapter 4.6, a strong focus on certain professions can be observed with regard to the working classes. Especially the communal aspect of men loyally working together, for example in mines, is stressed.

This 'other' is especially foregrounded in texts which label female acts of selflessness heroic. In most cases, these articles are set in the domestic sphere and describe women who devote their life to their husband, children and home. An 1884 article explores the question "What are heroines after all?" (Heroines, *CJ*, 2 Aug 1884, 492) and comes to the conclusion that modern heroines are the self-sacrificing housewives who lead a seemingly "uneventful life" (ibid., 494): "if it be objected that the heroic means something greatly above the ordinary level, we would answer, that their whole life is above the level; that the essence of heroism – sacrifice – has become to them an unconsciously acting second nature, and that all that is life-long, surely is great" (ibid., 494). Mirroring the contemporary unease regarding women in public, this kind of domestic heroism, which is described as "homely, easy, and attainable for all" (ibid., 493), is depicted as (the only acceptable) possibility for both female activity and female heroics. Throughout the article, the heroism of the housewife is contrasted with other professional fields and occupations such as politics, intellectual life, literature and charity,[83] all of which are deemed unfitting for a true heroine because they are both too visible and imply the possibility of public attention and recognition, which can too easily lead to a lust for fame. By putting the everyday life of domesticity at the centre and presenting selflessness as its key characteristic, an attempt is made to validate the lifestyle of the average woman through the semantics of heroism.

This ideal of the silent, domestic life of the female members of society is also implied in the texts cited about children's education and is – in combination with the vocabulary of the heroic – perpetuated in several other articles in *CJ*.[84] By giving the ordinary, uneventful life a more adventurous and appealing sound, being a housewife is depicted as the only possible and most rewarding profession for girls and women. Significantly, this is done at a time at which the women's rights movement was already active[85] and therefore this danger to societal stabil-

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[83] Remarkably, even charity is seen as too public by the text. This will be explored in more detail in relation to the heroisation of female domesticity in chapter 4.6.

[84] Other examples are The Professor's Wife, *CJ*, 26 May 1860, 326–330, Female Heroism, *CJ*, 12 Aug 1848, 108–110 or A Heroine at the Diggings, *CJ*, 29 Aug 1874, 560.

[85] Especially noteworthy in this context is the Langham Place Group which operated as early as 1859 and, with members such as Helen Blackburn, Maria Rye or Emily Davies, was very public in voicing their opinion (in events as well as in their own print organs such as the *English Woman's Journal* (1858–1864)). For detailed information on the early Women's Rights Movement see for example Barbara Caine: English Feminism 1780–1980, Oxford 1997; Susan Kingsley Kent: Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860–1914, Princeton 1987 or Melanie Phillips: The Ascent of Woman. A History of the Suffragette Movement and the Ideas Behind It, London 2004. For the Langham Place Group and its publications see Sheila Herstein: The Langham Place Circle and Feminist Periodicals of the 1860s, in: Victorian Periodicals Review 26.1, 1993, pp. 24–27; Jane Rendall: Langham Place Group, in: Lawrence Goldman (ed.): Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2015, DOI: 10.1093/ref:odnb/93708 or Solveig C. Robinson: "Amazed at Our Success". The Langham Place

ity will have been perceived as the implied counter image in the text by contemporary readers.

In general, selflessness as part of the heroic imaginary seems to be most frequently applied to those members of society who are left out by other concepts of heroism, which, for example, foreground physical courage rather than the more abstract moral selflessness. Thus, male self-denial is often related to acts of lifesaving and thus rooted in the discourse of everyday heroism often attributed to members of the working classes. However, as the broad range of applicability has shown, almost all areas of social interaction (in which a 'self' can stand back for or act for the benefit of an 'other') can be included in the heroic realm by stressing the property of selflessness – domestic life, education, children's play, the professional lives of doctors, teachers or miners. Even sport is given as a playing field for heroic selflessness in one article: a "heroic little" boy – within the narrative the "scapegrace" of the family – casts himself between the ball and an opposing player to save the game (The Family Scapegrace, *CJ*, 12 Jan 1861, 25). This example not only shows the scope to which the broad usage of the heroic imaginary exemplified through selflessness can be applied. Through the double terming of the boy as both the family's "scapegrace" and a hero, it also emphasises that selfless behaviour offers an entrance into the heroic realm to exactly those members of society who might be marginalised in the public perception – children, women, uneducated people of the lower classes.

The centrality of selflessness for the heroic imaginary points to the moral function of heroism. Heroes, as implied in the texts discussed above, are persons (male, female, adult or child) with a cultivated and educated morality, who do not look for their own benefit but act according to their moral codex without regarding their own safety or looking for the best possible outcome for themselves. In that way, selflessness anticipates and includes the virtue of courage and allows for heroism in all kinds of situations and environments, both public and private, active and passive. As a heroic attribute, it allows for heroism to transcend class and gender boundaries. Despite this broad applicability, the selfless hero always needs an external reference point which is regarded higher than one's own interests in a given circumstance. This might be valuing another's safety higher than one's own in a moment of danger or motherly devotion to husband and children. In the medium of the magazine, narratives of selflessness perform a didactic function and are used to create role models for the readers, heroic figures which they can emulate and also easily identify with. Even if the examples given do not exactly resemble the life of the readers, the virtue of selflessness, which is always presented as non-class specific, gives every reader the opportunity to partake in the heroic realm. This does, however, also have a so-

Editors and the Emergence of a Feminist Critical Tradition, Victorian Periodicals Review 29.2, 1996, pp. 159–172.

cially problematic side: although the narratives of heroic selflessness depict a heroism independent of gender and class and most importantly regardless of public visibility, the promotion of these invisible selfless acts as acts of heroism aim at maintaining the existing societal status of invisibility of specific groups and members of society. This is especially pertinent with regard to gender roles, since, for example, selfless women devoting their lives heroically to their husband and children are represented in this form of heroism in the public space of the periodical – while the individual women it addresses remain invisible, though.

Perseverance

The third property which surfaces in a great number of articles in the context of the heroic is perseverance. Similar to selflessness, it is primarily utilised in didactic contexts and is strongly linked to the contemporary movement of self-improvement and individual progress. However, perseverance as a heroic trait in *CJ* is always used with a social function in mind and for either the common good or the benefit of a specific group. As in the examples given in Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*, which promoted personal improvement through untiring perseverance in order to contribute to the progress of society as a whole, perseverance in articles in *CJ* is often described as the individual – heroic – work for a greater good.

Accordingly, many articles which foreground perseverance are stories of progress and improvement in the vein of Smiles, and often this dedication and endurance is deemed heroic. The essay "Scrambles Up the Hill of Life" traces several such – fictitious – stories of improvement and shows examples of those men who "snapped the chains which in early life held them in poverty or obscurity, and by sheer perseverance have borne down opposing agencies, reaching in course of time the coveted goal of competency and distinction" (Scrambles Up the Hill of Life, *CJ*, 23 Apr 1881, 267). In a description reminiscent of the articles on children's education, the author explains that each "hero" whose example he gives has reached their position "by the force of his native character" (ibid., 268). Strikingly, these two short quotes also support two points made in relation to selflessness: firstly, that it is the cultivation of the men's innate abilities which allows them to progress in a way which is considered heroic, and secondly, the "early life […] in poverty and obscurity" points to the tension between heroism and visibility and illustrates how social status and public recognition are linked. In its effort to redefine the heroic as a moral mind-set, *CJ* exhibits an effort to validate those members of society who – in other media – are

kept in "obscurity" by including them into the realm of heroism.[86] Unlike the examples given above, "Scrambles Up the Hill of Life" presents the reader with men (women are not mentioned in the article) that have left the invisibility of their early social condition and have moved up "the hill of life" (ibid.). What is deemed heroic, however, is not that later social recognition, of – for example – one man later being "ranked with the sober, industrious, and useful inhabitants of a flourishing seaport town" (ibid.), but the way in which he came into that position. Perseverance is a property which often entails a heroic transformation. Unlike chivalry or selflessness, the persevering heroes need a goal towards which they are working, and it is not the accomplishment which makes them heroic, but the journey that took them there and the sufferings it caused them.[87]

Keeping in mind the observations regarding human progress and the heroic by Samuel Smiles, it is not surprising that a review of his *Industrial Biography* in 1864 emphasises the importance of perseverance. Though most of the review concerns itself with the hard subject matter of British iron works in general, it also turns to the biographies of some of the "industrial magnates" (The Age of Iron, *CJ*, 20 Aug 1864, 536). Significantly, the text presents those men who had to work hard for their privileged position, such as "Mr Nasmyth […] [who] began his industrial career in an attic, with an income of ten shillings a week" (ibid.) or William Fairbairn who started out as a "lad, penniless, hungry" (ibid.). Yet the men have made something of themselves, have grown in "true heroic proportions" (ibid.) because they did not give up and pursued their goals with determination and untiring energy.

Similarly, a short report which quotes a lecture on temperance and the working classes praises "those heroic peasants" who have – through hard persevering work – risen from their humble circumstances and climbed the social ladder. Hereby, the importance of education and especially the *desire* to educate oneself is stressed: "many individuals of the working-classes […] [have] by self-education, attained not merely a large amount of knowledge, but a high degree of mental cultivation and refinement" (Cultivation of Mind Amongst Artizans, *CJ*, 25 Jan 1851, 64). The act of self-education among the working classes is thus not a mere acquisition of knowledge, but more importantly a *moral* education as

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[86] As has been commented upon, this method reflects the social circumstances and might also criticise them occasionally; in the long run, its heroisation strategy however rather stabilises than changes the described system.

[87] Another example of this is the "Story of a Dramatist" which narrates the social ascent and descent of an impoverished playwright said to be the son of Louis Quinze and "the young orphan daughter of the Count d'Archambaud". Story of a Dramatist, *CJ*, 26 Jul 1851, 63. The narration finds its hero in a young general who used to work as his servant in the playwright's better days. His moral heroism is twofold: on the one hand, he is praised for having worked his way up the social ladder by perseverance and determination, on the other hand for loyally concerning himself with the fate of his former master. Contrasted by the descent of the dramatist from his upper-class background, the former servant's ascent through perseverance is highlighted.

well. Due to the fact that the educational effort of the "artizans" necessarily has to happen in the few hours of leisure time they possess, the act is in itself presented as an example of perseverance in the face of adverse conditions.

Furthermore, perseverance is often mentioned in the context of worker's lives and their untiring, physically exhausting labour.[88] But it can as easily be applied to the actress Sarah Siddons, who is reported as heroically making the persevering attempt at improving her acting skills for the pleasure of her audience (cf. The Kembles, *CJ*, 11 Nov 1871, 717–720). Significantly, both of the examples show the ultimate goal of the act of perseverance to be a social one; Sarah Siddons wants to increase the pleasure of her audience, and the workers' contribution to the industrial economy "affect[s] the lives of the people [more] than all the acts of statesmen from Magna Charta to the present day" (Lamp Oils, *CJ*, 10 Jun 1891, 389). Thus the contribution to some form of collective benefit is essential to the conception of persevering heroes. With these prerequisites – hard work towards a goal which not only benefits oneself – perseverance as part of the heroic imaginary can be ascribed to all parts of society, to the publicly prominent such as Siddons, as well as to less visible figures.

This can be seen in the article entitled "The Ugly Duckling Theory": the author instructs the reader to "[n]ever when rubbing shoulders with the unprosperous, to forget that success may await them in the future, is a golden rule" (The Ugly Duckling Theory, CJ, 15 Jan 1881, 46). Framed by the narrative of a school reunion, the author gives different examples of successful men whom he and his fellow class mates used to bully as boys, because they were poor ("he was of low birth", ibid., 47), not clever enough ("he had no virtues that we knew of", ibid.) or of non-Christian faith ("he was a Jew", ibid., 48). All of these characters, marginal by class or religion, are then shown at the reunion as having worked hard and come into respectable positions with a social implication: one of them has become a teacher, thus exerting his influence on the next generation and another – after being rejected thrice – joined the army to fight for his country. The three-time rejection of the later military man then again points to the fact that perseverance as depicted in *CJ* entails hardship and possible frustration.

Whereas male examples of perseverance often show this property in the realm of professional life and are praised for having worked hard on their career and bettering their personal situation and that of their families, perseverance is in some instances also applied to women. Once again, their untiring efforts are restricted to the private realm in *CJ* and the goals towards which they are working perseveringly are usually the happiness of the family and the maintenance of domestic integrity. These goals are, interestingly, not ones which can be reached so that female endurance, as for example in the constant efforts of women to exert

[88] Some further examples include What to Do in the Meantime, *CJ*, 6 Dec 1851, Lamp Oils *CJ*, 10 Jun 1891, 389–391 or Livingstonia Mission and Central Africa, *CJ*, 6 Jan 1900, 90–93.

the best possible influence on husband and children, is a continuous process with no definite ending.[89] Fittingly, perseverance is without exception paired with selflessness in the representation of women in the heroic imaginary.

Perseverance as a property of the heroic imaginary, similar to selflessness, can primarily be seen as a property which performs a social function. With its necessity of a clear goal – be it the improvement of one's professional life, the contribution to industrial progress or the securing of domestic happiness – it combines an individual progress with a collective one. In its broad applicability it also includes marginalised groups into the heroic sphere and the texts can – like Samuel Smiles' instructional biographies – be read as motivational texts for the intended readership.

The examination of the heroic imaginary through three of its most prominent properties – courage, selflessness and perseverance – has advocated the shift from a more physical, action-bound heroism of an unspecified past towards a heroisation of moral character traits. This trend, which could also be observed in the articles which explicitly dealt with and defined heroism and hero worship, on a functional level allows for a greater applicability of the heroic to a larger group of members of society. By foregrounding properties which are either considered desirable or are part of the everyday life of many people, each and every reader regardless of his or her age, gender or social position can become part of the heroic imaginary in the public sphere of *CJ*. Accordingly, the 'heroic personnel' of the material analysed belongs in large parts to the middle and working classes and therefore represents the intended audience of the magazine. By emphasising traits which are not necessarily linked to public and/or physical and practical action, members of different generations and both men and women are represented as heroic. In stressing the social function of the heroic, especially through the traits of selflessness and perseverance, the heroic is not only used as a motivational and educational means for the intended audience, but as a reminder of each individual's responsibility for others and obligation within the social collective. The tension between public recognition of the heroic and a call for the modesty of the hero, between publicity and invisibility remains present and unresolved in regard to the heroic imaginary. The fact that articles evoking the heroic imaginary almost exclusively deal with fictional stories and anecdotes can be read as an attempt of *CJ* not to itself become part of the machinery which produces fame and glory, which it considered amoral. Even within essays, the examples used for conduct deemed heroic and worthy of imitation are never historical examples but fictitious ones.

[89] This is only different in cases in which women show physical endurance (for example in the narrative A Homely Heroine, *CJ*, 31 Jan 1874, 65–68 or The True Amazon, *CJ*, 25 Jun 1859, 416); in these cases, however, the effort is nevertheless motivated by social factors and the desire for domestic integrity.

The material in *CJ* which I have subsumed under the idea of a heroic imaginary shows, after a closer examination, a strong tendency towards the idea of exemplary heroism as understood by Cubitt. By presenting examples of lives with which the readers can identify, the contributors, in the public sphere of the periodical, evoked a set of values which were shared by the consumers and thereby created a common identity. In presenting mostly community-oriented ideals such as selflessness and perseverance, *CJ*'s heroic imaginary acts chiefly as an archive or reservoir for the preservation of socially acceptable behaviour and the promotion of individual progress in order to maintain the status quo rather than to utilise its potential for social transformation.

4.4 Military Heroism

Although technological innovations, urbanisation, political reform, class conflicts and religious insecurities and the transformations these entailed are – and rightly so – at the centre of many interpretations of the Victorian age, militarism and public attitudes towards it also underwent crucial changes over the course of the nineteenth century. Militarism and war were topics under critical examination throughout the decades and, especially in the context of the British Empire, changing attitudes in British society can be perceived. Further, it is not surprising that the discussion of militarism in the media often resorts to the vocabulary of the heroic.

When Queen Victoria ascended the throne, the Battle of Waterloo was more than twenty years in the past. Nevertheless, the Napoleonic Wars' length, human and financial expenditure had left a strong imprint on British memory for the time to come. Despite the stronger domestic focus that shaped politics throughout the period, militarism and the memory of the war against France were a fascination for many people. The experience of the war was kept alive in a great number of biographies, histories, literary works and lectures[90] and monuments such as the Nelson Column, which was erected in Trafalgar Square in 1843, were public reminders of the war and Britain's successful role in it. After the Duke of Wellington's death, almost a quarter of a million people came to pay their respects in front of the coffin and more than a million people lined the streets on his funeral day.[91] After 1815, Britain saw almost forty years of peace in Europe and conducted wars predominantly in colonial context.

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[90] In this context, texts like Carlyle's *On Heroes* and his use of Napoleon as an example for heroic conduct can be seen as a commemoration of the Napoleonic Wars as well.

[91] Train schedules had been altered and additional trains added to bring people from all over the country to London for the funeral and even ships "due to sail to Australia that week, would 'In consequence of the request of many of the passenger … not leave the East India Docks until after the day of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington'". Judith Flanders: The Victorian City. Everyday Life in Dickens' London, London 2012, p. 338. Flanders argues

Though the mid-century revival of chivalry can be seen as an attraction to militarism,[92] peace movements were on the rise and the Peace Society, founded in 1816 as a distributor of moral tracts, turned into "a political pressure group"[93] by the 1830s. As Spiers argues, the movement's leaders acted on "the assumption that only the ruling classes wanted war, and that 'the people' would rally in support of peace."[94] However, as Martin Ceadel shows in his study *The Origins of War Prevention*, "peace thinking faced four setbacks from the autumn of 1851 onwards, caused by both domestic and international factors".[95] He identifies the Kossuth's tour of Britain in 1851, Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* and his taking on the title of Emperor Napoleon III, and finally the Eastern Question and its culmination in the Crimean War as crucial events.

The Crimean War, Britain's first major war effort after the Napoleonic Wars "absorbed the attention of the newspaper-reading public"[96] and contradicted the assumption that the common people would not support a war. Generally considered as the first media-war in British history, the public was able to follow the war action almost in real-time. For the first time, war correspondents were working close to the front in large numbers and the technological advances made it possible for their accounts to travel to the British public very quickly. However, this near real-time depiction of the war actions not only sparked enthusiasm, but also resulted in a concern for the welfare of the troops, as the reports from the front, especially the famous reports of William Howard Russell for *The Times*, provided a realistic account of the battlefield and the poor conditions under which the ordinary soldiers had to live. This brought attention to the file-and-rank soldiers and, rather than to a criticism of war in general, led to a solidarisation and support of the troops.[97] For the first time, as Olive Anderson argues, the "troops were hailed as 'the people's army', and idealized notions of

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convincingly that, though the funeral was an "extravaganza" (ibid., p. 339), most of the visitors were not primarily concerned with the spectacle but wanted to mourn and remember "the man himself." Ibid., p. 345.

92 Significantly, the popularity of chivalrous ideals does not necessarily contradict the growing struggle to morally justify war: with its centrality of gentlemanliness, chivalrous militarism was, as Mark Girouard has argued, a humane form of war which "softened its potential barbarity by putting it into the hands of men committed to high standards of behaviour". Girouard: Chivalry, p. 16.

93 Edward Spiers: War, in: Francis O'Gorman (ed.): The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture, Cambridge 2010, p. 85.

94 Ibid.

95 Martin Ceadel: The Origins of War Prevention. The British Peace Movement and International Relations 1730–1854, Oxford 1996, p. 470.

96 Spiers: War, p. 86.

97 As John Reed notes, "the war was immensely popular with the greater part of the population, being regarded as a just war, Tennyson's allusion to the Crimean War in *Maud* (1855) as a redemptive action morally contrasting with the degrading commercialism prevalent in Britain, and by implication, western culture generally, was characteristic of public sentiment. This public support soon turned to outrage, however, when stories about conditions

what they were fighting for, together with unparalleled public identification with their hardships before Sebastopol, combined to give them an immense emotional appeal".[98]

This shift of focus onto the suffering of the soldiers for their country in combination with the intensified colonial aspirations of the British finally led to the newly formed idea of a 'Christian soldier'. Not only was he – in the context of the Empire – seen as a soldier who defended Christianity, but he also epitomised altruism and kindness, much in the way that the classical ideal of the chivalrous knight, fighting for the good of the people, did.[99] As the century progressed, this idea resulted in a large-scale support of the many 'little wars', as the wars for British control over their imperial territories were commonly described. Many of them lasted only a short time, such as the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 with less than six months, or the three-month Anglo-Boer conflict in 1880/81, which resulted in a British defeat that increased public anxiety and support of the second Anglo-Boer War in 1899–1902. These wars, significantly, were not only perceived as conflicts threatening Britain's economic supremacy, but also its religious and cultural superiority as a colonial power.[100] As MacKenzie has argued, the colonial wars "fitted perfectly a number of cultural and literary traditions of the period – the enthusiasm for knightly virtues, the adventure tradition of heightened

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at the front began to circulate." John R. Reed: The Army and Navy in 19th-Century British Literature, New York 2011, p. 312. J. B. Conacher shows that political action was taken with a close eye on public opinion about the war. Especially Secretary of Foreign Affairs Clarendon "was always concerned about it". James B. Conacher: Britain and the Crimea 1855–56. Problems of War and Peace, Basingstoke 1987, p. 175. He further notes that "Claredon's apprehensions about English public opinion were not without some foundation. *The Times* correspondent in Paris reporting on 16 December [1855] on the rumours of peace overtures being made through Vienna, commented: 'It is well known at St. Petersburg as it is at Vienna what the feelings of the English people are on the war. It is no secret ... that England is determined to make no imperfect peace ... And it is known at Vienna quite as well at it is in Paris and London, that to-morrow Lord Palmerston would have much more chance of being supported by the English Parliament in his demand for men and money to carry on the war than he would when laying on the table the propositions for peace.'" Ibid., p. 163.

98 Olive Anderson: The Growth of Christian Militarism in Mid-Victorian Britain, in: The English Historical Review 86.338, 1971, p. 46.

99 For many contemporaries, General Gordon epitomised the ideals of a Christian military man; Spiers argues that as "[a] deeply religious man, he [Gordon] earned accolades as a Christian soldier after confronting the Taiping rebellion in China and the slavers in the Sudan." Spiers: War, p. 92. For a more detailed account of the emergence of the Christian soldier see Anderson: Christian Militarism, who traces the origins of the type from the 1850s onwards. In the imperial context, J. A. Mangan also relates the idea of a 'muscular Christianity' to the importance of athleticism in upper- and middle-class Britain which, he argues, contributed to the construction of "inspirational stereotypes embodying self-sacrificing service, personifying national nobility, justifying the grandeur of imperialism". J. A. Mangan: "Muscular, militaristic and manly". The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger, in: The International Journal of the History of Sport 13.1, 1996, p. 44.

100 Cf. Anderson: Christian Militarism, p. 72.

moral absolutes, a fascination with individual heroic action in the service of the state".[101]

The Second Anglo-Boer War "was much closer in nature to the all-embracing total wars that occurred in the twentieth century. Thus, the second Boer war pulled the civilian population into the conflict through the employment of tactics such as scorched earth and concentration camps." [102] Also, this "last great [...] imperial war"[103] was the first to employ propaganda on a large scale to direct public opinion.[104] This was deemed necessary as the new way of fighting a war, and especially the descriptions of concentration camps caused an increasingly negative attitude towards the war amongst the public as the years went by. As Pakenham summarises, the second Boer War "proved to be the longest (two and three-quarter years), the costliest (over £200 million), the bloodiest (at least twenty-two thousand British, twenty-five thousand Boer and twelve thousand African lives) and the most humiliating war for Britain between 1815 and 1914".[105] This last war of the era then truly marks the transition to the twentieth century: as Patricia Morton argues, it can be seen as the last British war, in which "Victorian faith that military success was ultimately assured by the traditional moral virtues of heroism and 'character'"[106] could still be seen, a faith which "died […] in the trenches of World War I".[107] However, with its enormous effect on domestic and European politics (it damaged the Unionist Government and fuelled the growing Anglo-German opposition) and, as a milestone in the growth of anti-imperialism, it marks the crisis of the Empire as the Victorian age ended.

As a topic of national consequence, which was often emotionally charged in public opinion, it is not surprising that war and the military were a recurring topic in *CJ* and also discussed in the vocabulary of the heroic. The following section will examine the depiction of military heroism in the specific context of war and peace and how changing public attitudes towards militarism were reflected in the pages of the publication. Given its moral didactic orientation, *CJ* in general professed a peace-oriented attitude; however, as the following will show, the publication needed to negotiate this orientation in times of war. The political context of publication acted as a regulatory measure on the depiction of military heroism in the periodical.

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101 John M. MacKenzie: Popular Imperialism and the Military 1850–1950, Manchester 1992, p. 3.
102 David Smurthwaite: The Boer War 1899–1902, London 1999, p. 9.
103 Thomas Pakenham: The Boer War, London 1980, p. xv.
104 Cf. Nicholas John Cull et al. (eds.): Propaganda and Mass Persuasion. A Historical Encyclopedia 1500 to the Present, Santa Barbara 2003, p. 12–13.
105 Pakenham: Boer War, p. xv.
106 Patricia Morton: Wars and Military Engagements, in: Sally Mitchell (ed.): Victorian Britain. An Encyclopedia, New York 1988, p. 845.
107 Ibid.

When examining the representation of military heroism in *CJ*, significant variations in the evaluation of military acts become apparent. The military profession and heroisation of soldierly actions in *CJ* are fundamentally different in times of war as compared to periods of peace. This becomes obvious when looking at material shortly before the Crimean War and during the British involvement in the campaign.

In February 1854, an article entitled "The Ideal and Real, Afloat and Ashore" tries to de-mystify the profession of navy sailors and starts by stating that:

> Long before we had ever seen the ocean, we had an exceedingly vivid ideal of the men who battle with its stormy waves; and this ideal is, we more than suspect, cherished not merely by school-boys, but by a large majority of all individuals whose avocations are not such as to bring them in frequent personal contact with sailors ashore and afloat. (The Ideal and Real, Afloat and Ashore, *CJ*, 18 Feb 1854, 103)

The text attempts to deconstruct this romanticised image of the navy, so closely linked to British national identity for centuries. The sailors are, in this very first description, not depicted as battling an enemy on sea, but nature, the "stormy waves" (ibid.). This gives them a self-defending rather than nation-saving or empire-enlarging function and immediately diminishes their value for the common good and contradicts the beliefs of "a large majority of individuals" (ibid.) who admire those venturing out on the sea.[108] The popular image of the sailors is subsequently only described in terms of outward appearance and evaluated as overly romanticised:

> We could hardly sufficiently admire this ship-shape rig-out; and the sailor himself, with his bold, bronzed hairy face, his reckless air, his rolling gait – so pleasantly suggestive of a ship at sea – and his tar-stained paws, with their fish-hooks of fingers, was to us the very beau-ideal of all that is manly and romantic. We knew not that this was his holiday, go-ashore attire, and thought he always dressed precisely the same, and looked the same daring hero. (ibid.)

The sailor ashore is described only in terms of outward effect, in terms of what the man's appearance inspires in the imagination of the onlooker. His hairstyle and walk suggest an adventurer and his hands are imagined to be used in daring acts. His clothes – "trousers of Russian duck", a "tarpauling hat" and a "red silk real Indian bandana" (ibid.) – speak of his travels and evoke exotic locations and enterprises. The fact that the general public is only presented with the "go-ashore attire", and thereby a beautified version of the common sailor, contributes to a

[108] The comment that most of those who "cheris[h]" (The Ideal and Real, Afloat and Ashore, *CJ*, 18 Feb 1854, 103) the idea of men at sea have not come into contact with sailors stresses the previously made assumption that specific forms of heroism and hero-worship are only possible with distance between the adored object and the adoring subject.

romanticised image of sailors at sea who are imagined in the same exotic attire during their work on the ships. The description shows how the profession of sailor exists as a cultural imagination and escapist longing for many who "in those happy days, talked of how we should like to be sailors, and how we secretly vowed that we would be sailors, and not stupid, plodding prosaic tradesmen, or merchants, or lawyers, or doctors, as our parents and guardians so absurdly and cruelly intended" (ibid.). The sailor is depicted as existing as an adventurous counter-image to traditional middle-class professions: "Jack afloat has the easiest, jolliest, happiest, and most enviable life that can be conceived. When there is a fair wind and all sails set, he has nothing in the world to do but […] enjoy the picturesque and romantic scenes around, or muse on the sublimity of the ocean over which he is sailing" (ibid., 104).

Through the focus on the outward impression, the central role of imagination in the perception of sailors and the necessity of distance between the image of the sailor and the imagining subjects, the public perception of sailors as represented in the text resembles the instances of precarious heroicity. Against this imagined adventurous image of the "daring hero" (ibid., 103), the "ideal sailor", the text then sets the description of "the other side of the medal" (ibid., 104).

First, the image of the sailor's outward appearance is corrected; he is not wearing fine garments from exotic locations, but "rough tarry jackets […] and coarse canvas trousers, in most instances made by himself" (ibid.). In the navy, "cloth and canvas are served out to them at prime cost, to make their own jackets and trousers. […] They also wash their own linen, &c., and these prosaic duties they have to perform as they may" (ibid.). The first duties of a sailor that the text describes are domestic ones, which directly undermine the afore-described images of "tar-stained paws" and "fish-hooks of fingers". The sailorly duties aboard the ship are not then described in the same detail and the portrayal focuses on presenting the work on the ship as 'just another profession' which is no more interesting than the "stupid, plodding prosaic" (ibid., 103) professional lives of the middle class. The sailors are described "as brave and daring", yet only in specific contexts, "when there is any necessity in the case […]: but the hard reality of his daily lot generally deadens or destroys everything tending to a feeling of enthusiasm for his profession, which he probably would gladly quit for an easier berth ashore, were it in his power" (ibid., 104). Bravery and daring are thus situational and part of the job description, they do not correlate with a specific individual configuration.

Although these descriptions are applied to sailors "both in the merchant service and in the royal navy" (ibid.), the navy sailors are further devalued by stating – in the form of a dialogue "between a tar of the old school, and one of the modern school" (ibid., 105) – that the current generation of military sailors would not be as capable of actions in battle as former generations:

> "Well; but, Bill, d'ye mean to say that the present race o' seamen are not just as good as before Trafflygar?"
>
> "I does. I means to say they haven't the mind as they had; they doesn't think the same way (That is, they thinks too much); and more, they're not by one-half as active aloft as we were in the war. Chaps now reefin' topsails crawl out by the foot-ropes, and you now never see a weather-earin'-man fling himself out by the to'-gallant-studdin'sail halliards!" (ibid.)

The dialogue – both in content and style – points towards young sailors being more educated ("they thinks too much"), and also towards an inferior evaluation of the more pragmatic, task-oriented execution of the job as described in the rest of the text.[109] The old man's description creates the same opposition: the reality of a sailor's life is one which is no different from any other job in that it is executed in a pragmatic way, whereas in the self-conception of the old man the sailors of "the old school" were created along the lines of the "romantic and heroic" (ibid., 104) image of the sailor.

On the whole, the text can be read as a deconstruction of a heroic image of seamen and the creation of a more sober and pragmatic counter-image. Especially navy sailors are de-romanticised and depicted as men executing rather prosaic, even domestic, tasks who do not care for heroic actions. Accordingly, their heroism is only ever situational, only performed "when there is any necessity". The sailor as constructed in the text is not one fighting for the nation or contributing to the continuation of Britain's empire, but an individual carrying out their job like any of the readers. This is especially striking in light of the fact that only weeks later, on 27/28 March, Britain entered the Crimean War. Where the text had situated its evaluation of the sailors' lives in "these times of peace" (ibid., 105), a similar evaluation would not have been possible only weeks later, when the outcome of the war depended on those men that the text described as unenthusiastic and unheroic. The representation of sailors and the navy changed during the subsequent years of war and the image of a heroic fighting sailor re-emerges. However, by transferring active heroic agency predominantly to British military men of the past and to the allies in the present war and not praising the involvement of Britain in the Crimea directly, *CJ* tried to acknowledge the concern of contemporary readers with the war effort while still maintaining and mediating their middle-class values.

Less than two months later, "The British Navy. From Coracle to the Line-of-Battle" traces the history of the British navy from its origins and comes to a different conclusion. The text describes in detail both the different types of ships

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[109] Furthermore, the "tar of the old school" (ibid., 105) dismisses the young generation of navy sailors because they are non-belligerent, and because they seem to go about their daily work with a different attitude. Whereas the first criticism is a circumstantial one – if there is no fight to be fought, the navy sailors cannot prove themselves in battle –the reproach that they are "not by one-half as active" (ibid.) is a general one which devaluated the navy sailors regardless of their opportunity to take part in a war-effort.

and their armaments, as well as the skill of the fighting men.[110] The "Duke of Wellington", the ship which led the Baltic campaign in 1854 under the command of Charles Napier, is then described in greatest detail. The exact measurements are noted as well as its weight, draught of water, the number and strength of engines and men on board. The account closes with a list of its total of 137 guns, including measurements and weight (cf. The British Navy, *CJ*, 8 Apr 1854, 218). The ship is presented as part of a long lineage of navy ships, as one step within an evolution, with possibly even better ships to come. As the only ship described in such detail, it is nevertheless clearly shown as one of the most modern war ships of the time and the focus on its strength and the power of its armament can, in the context of the Crimean War in which the ship was already being used, be read as a reassurance to the readers of *CJ* that the British navy was operating the best possible machinery and weaponry in its fight against the Russians.

However, not only the ships are presented as part of a tradition of British naval supremacy, the commanders and sailors are shown in a lineage of "great navigators" (ibid.) as well. Despite the detailed account of the ships and their materiality, it is the men of the royal navy who "from the time of Blake to that of Nelson" are said to have ensured the prosperity and global supremacy of Great Britain. The "naval heroes" (ibid.) are described as fulfilling a decidedly national function and thereby become workers for the common good, which gives their actions not only a military but also a social and communal component. It is not only their "adventure-spirit" (ibid., 217), but also the love for their "mother-country" (ibid., 218) which motivates their actions and – as the examples of Blake and Nelson evoke – makes them successful. The navy's success is strongly attributed to these "noble specimens of British men-of-war" (ibid.), rather than to the modern ships only.[111] The description attributes two central values of *CJ*'s

[110] Interestingly, the natives of Britain are described as not having been drawn to the sea and only having been inspired "with a portion of [that] adventure-spirit" by the "Danish invaders, an essentially maritime people". The British Navy, *CJ*, 8 Apr 1854, 217. The text then follows the development of the English fleet through the reigns of Edward III, Henry VII and Henry VIII until the time of Elizabeth, which is praised as "the solid and enduring foundation of […] naval superiority on a broad basis." (ibid.) As a decisive moment, the text naturally evokes the defeat of the Spanish Armada which "was perhaps less important in its immediate deliverance of the nation from the danger of foreign invasion, than in the spirit of naval skill and prowess it evoked, and the future of brilliant triumphs it inaugurated" (ibid.). The text goes on to describe the different types of ships the navy used throughout the ages, which kinds of materials they were built from, how much metal was used, etc.

[111] It is worth noting that this passage refers to a period with a start and end point ("from the time of Blake to that of Nelson", ibid., 218) and thus implicitly states that the time of conquering new territories is past, whereas the important contemporary function of the navy is the preservation and defence of the British Empire. This change in focus shows that, though an integral part of British identity as an island nation, the military import-

heroic imaginary to the "naval heroes" (ibid.): they are described as persevering and courageous.[112]

The combination of both the "truly magnificent" (ibid.) ships – especially the "Duke of Wellington" currently leading the war effort in the Crimea – and the heroic actions of British navy men throughout history can be seen as a propagation of security and confidence in the British navy and their actions in the current war. Through the historical examples, the Baltic Campaign is placed in a line not only of military actions in defence of the British Empire, but more importantly in a line of successful battles, thereby implicitly evoking an inevitable military victory.

Like "The British Navy", various articles throughout the first months of the British war effort against Russia stress the supremacy of the Royal Navy throughout history. All of them describe the importance of British naval power, but especially stress the skill and heroic disposition of the men working on the ships. "Remarkable Naval Duels", published in September 1854, emphasises the "[m]any acts of great individual heroism" (Remarkable Naval Duels, *CJ*, 2 Sep 1854, 155) which are decisive for the victory in battle. Again, the heroism is related to the seamen's extraordinary "desperate valour" (ibid., 156),[113] but also to their skills and vigorous training:

> [I]n a properly disciplined ship, everything is done without confusion, and in a space of time amazingly short. Every man and boy capable of duty is at his post; and when an action is imminent, British tars on the doctor's list have frequently been known to drag their languid limbs from the sick-bay, to give what help they are able to fight Old England's battle. (ibid., 153)

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ance of the navy diminished over the course of the nineteenth century: "In the case of the Crimean War (1854–1856), the value but also limitations of the naval power emerged. Britain could take the war to Russia but needed to use forces on land to defeat her, and the latter outcome required both allies and a propitious international situation." Jeremy Black: The Victorian Maritime Empire in its Global Context, in: Miles Taylor (ed.): The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World, 1837–1901, Basingstoke 2013, p. 170. As the century progressed, the importance of commercial ships rose and, as Miles Taylor shows, "by the end of the nineteenth century commercial steam shipping dominated the seas to the extent that when Britain needed to mobilise for war as in South Africa in 1899–1902 and at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, it turned not to the navy but to private passenger lines for sending out troops." Miles Taylor (ed.): The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World 1837–1901. The Sea and Global History, Basingstoke 2013, pp. 1–2. In the context of the Empire, the navy had become more of an "agent of cultural imperialism" (ibid., p. 2) than a military institution.

112 The "naval victories [we owed] solely to the skill and indomitable valour of our seamen, who conquered in spite of the inferiority of their vessels to those of the enemy." The British Navy. From Coracle to the Line-of-Battle, *CJ*, 8 Apr 1854, 218.

113 The additional qualifying of the valour as "desperate" again shows that the "acts of great individual heroism" (Remarkable Naval Duels, *CJ*, 2 Sep 1854, 155) were performed in situations which might objectively have been hopeless. It's the seamen's distinction that they acted upon their duty *nevertheless*.

The text displays an interesting conjunction of both heroic enthusiasm – the author's description wants to make the readers join in "the wild hurra of your country" (ibid.) – and a professionalisation of the naval vocation. Both can be seen as an attempt to appeal to the readers' feelings "during the present war" (ibid.). Whereas the description of the organised and smoothly running procedures on the ship might enhance the feeling of security and trust in the navy, the allusion to "individual acts of great heroism" (ibid., 155) and the image of historical wounded "British tars" giving their last for their country, might aim at a more emotional involvement of the reader. With the text's call to join in the "hurra" (ibid., 153), it emotionally includes the readers in this endeavour of national importance.[114]

Another strand of representations of military heroism inspired by the Crimean War dealt with Britain's allies. Since the military institutions of countries such as France or Sardinia could be seen as defending Britain's as well as their own interests, members of their political and military ranks are compared to British heroic figures and presented as heroes. On the one hand, this could already be observed in texts such as "Remarkable Naval Duels" which reinterpreted previous campaigns against France and attributed heroic properties, such as courage, perseverance or gallantry, to the then-enemies as well. A further example of this heroisation of the allies' military is "Our New Ally", an essay which appeared in two parts in the summer of 1855. The Kingdom of Sardinia had joined the forces opposing Russia in the winter of 1854/55 and by July, when the articles appeared, had already been involved in the Siege of Sevastopol. The two-part essay then describes the Savoy dynasty throughout history and takes a special interest in its military prowess. After giving some general information about Sardinia and the current war – e.g. who their current king is and that they have given "18,000 of her choicest troops" (Our New Ally, *CJ*, 21 Jul 1855, 40) – the text emphasises the common Russian enemy's "bigoted Absolutism" (ibid.) before returning to the description of Sardinian military excellence. This excellence is established through comparison to ideals of British strength and excellence.[115] So are the people of Piedmont described as "these Highlanders of Italy" (ibid.,

[114] In the context of the Crimean War, it is worth noting that the examples of "Remarkable Naval Duels" given in the text refer to battles against the French; given the changed political situation in which France and Britain were fighting on the same side, the text then stresses that "valour [was] displayed on *both* sides" (ibid.). Thus, in this specific historical context, the heroisation of one's allies is used to contribute to a feeling of superiority against the common enemy. This can also be seen in a number of texts about the history of Sardinia, which I will discuss later in this section.

[115] Throughout the text, previous points of contact with Britain are highlighted. It is, for example, mentioned that "[t]he duke [in the war of Spanish succession in the eighteenth century] sided with the imperial party, which England also supported" (Our New Ally, *CJ*, 28 Jul 1855, 55) or stressed that Count Cavour, "the head of cabinet in Turin" shows "a strong leaning towards the institutions and political economy of England". Ibid.

42) in their strength or their "heroes['] […] daring and achievements" are called worthy of depiction by the "genius of a Scott" (ibid., 41).

The second part of the essay then focuses on two military men involved in the current military struggle: Alfonso La Marmora, who is shown as having "qualified him[self] for his present position of commander-in-chief to the Sardinian forces in the East" through his "zeal […] on the king's behalf" (Our New Ally, *CJ*, 28 Jul 1855, 53–54) and the prime minister Count Cavour. Both are presented as loyal to their country and courageous. Cavour, who "by study and personal observation [had] made himself thoroughly acquainted" with Britain (ibid., 54), is the main focus of attention of the second part. He is ascribed the same heroic properties as the British navy men above, is additionally praised for his intelligence and strategic thinking and described as a visionary

> gifted with *enlarged views*, and a *keen perception* of the requirements of the age, yet capable of concentrating his faculties on the minutest details of finance, and indefatigable in the labours of his office; *invulnerable* to the shafts of satire and invective by which he is perpetually assailed; equally impassable amid the thunders of the Vatican, or the abuse of the Red Republicans; denounced as sacrilegious and levelling by one party; as still truckling to the pretensions of the priesthood and the prejudices of caste by the other – the extremes of antagonistic opinion only uniting in their opposition to Cavour – he, nevertheless, *maintains his ground*." (ibid., emphases mine)

Just as the sailors on their warships, Cavour is described as persevering, organised, concentrated and unfearful when under attack – only on the political rather than the military field.

Even more than for their military prowess or extraordinary leadership, the Sardinian army and their leaders are praised for joining the war, as Sardinia's "present interests were not so closely involved as to render such a proceeding indispensable" (ibid.). By nevertheless participating in the campaign for a greater good of Western Europe against the "Absolutism" (ibid., 40) of Russia,[116] they are morally elevated. It is thus their superior moral character which makes them heroic, rather than previous victories:

> [I]n shewing themselves cheerful, and unquestioningly obedient, the military – representing, be it remembered, every grade of society, through the working of the conscription – […] [they] furni[sh] the best commentary on the history of the House of Savoy, an heir-loom more important in its results than the annexation of territories or the most far-sighted political combination. (ibid.)

It is important to note here that the text, having up to that point only mentioned high-ranking officials of Sardinian military and government, turns to "every grade of society" (ibid.) when emphasising the moral extraordinariness of

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116 It is remarkable in this context that Sardinia-Piedmont was portrayed as joining the allied forces without any own interests. This was, of course, not the case and Cavour had made the strategic political decision to participate in the war effort in order to gain France's support on the issue of Italian unification.

the people. It is said that their excelling "nationality, […] patriotism, [and] warlike traditions [are] deep sunk in every heart, familiar to the lips of every child" (ibid.). In addition to their military strength depicted in the first part of the essay, it is the people's "faith", their "hardihood and endurance" and their "spirit […] on the battlefields" (ibid., 54–55) – in short, the moral motivation of their physical, military power which turns them into heroes worth portraying by great authors.

A text such as this performs a dual function: by depicting the Sardinians as a people of military prowess whose seemingly selfless decision enhances the strength of the allied forces, the superiority of the alliance is stressed and the hope of a victory among the readers encouraged without explicitly praising the British troops. By connecting Sardinian figures and their political aspirations to British heroes and politics, the qualities praised in the Sardinians can, however, also be reciprocally referred back to the British people. Especially the description of the selfless behaviour of the common people can then be read as an appeal to the readers to behave in a similar way and act loyally towards their country. The essay, in the context of the Crimean War, thus describes Britain in its relationship to Sardinia both as a patron who can act as a role model for Italian politicians and military leaders in political matters, and as an equal partner in war and the moral attitude towards the fight against Russia.

In February 1856, only a few weeks after the fighting in the Crimea ended, the magazine acknowledges the sacrifice of military men. This is notably expressed in an article on "Mr Thackeray's Ballads" in which the eminent writer is criticised for his scepticism towards the military profession. The text quotes Thackeray's "The Chronicles of the Drum", a ballad that Thackeray had written in Paris in 1841 at the time of Napoleon's second funeral. The "moral of the whole" (ibid.) is explained as "strongly incentive to peace; […] being, that historians neglect to relate the progress of the people whilst engaged upon nothing but war" (The Chronicles of the Drum, *CJ*, 2 Feb 1856, 73). This is illustrated with a passage from the ballad:

> Your orthodox historian puts
> In foremost rank the soldier thus,
> The red-coat bully in his boots,
> That hides the march of men from us.
> He put him there in foremost rank:
> You wonder at his cap of hair;
> You hear his sabre's cursed clank;
> His spurs are jingling everywhere.
> Go to! I hate him and his trade:
> Who bade us so to cringe and bend,
> And all God's peaceful people made
> To such as him subservient?
> Tell me what find we to admire

In epaulets and scarlet coats;
In men, because they load and fire,
And know the art of cutting throats? (quoted ibid.).

Thackeray's own critique is aimed in two directions; on the one hand, it criticises historians in their effort to heroise war actions, but on the other hand, the poet also strongly devalues the soldiers themselves. The poem describes the military men as murderers with no higher motives or specific skills apart from killing and operating war machinery. In the context of the Crimean War, however, the contributor disagrees with the ballad. The reader is informed that "[t]he subject, no doubt has its other side; and at a time when military men have done and suffered too much, we think Pierre [the speaker of the ballad][117] might have added a gracious postscript" (ibid., 74). With this comment, the text adds a moral component to Thackeray's description of military men as they have not only inflicted suffering, but they have suffered themselves. The idea of doing and suffering "too much" (ibid.), rather than doing just what it takes, implies that the actions of soldiers and sailors were not motivated by individual objectives but for a national good. Thereby, the focus is – like in the other texts discussed – shifted to the moral and national motivation of military actions away from the descriptions of actual battle scenes or violence.[118]

After the end of the war, *CJ* returns to a more critical stance towards military conflict and also criticises the public climate during the Crimean Campaign in retrospect. A striking example, which shows both *CJ*'s attitude as well as reactions of other segments of the popular print market, can be found in "Street Ballads of the War". The Crimean War had officially ended with the Treaty of Paris on 30 March 1856, the article was published in May and already shows a move back towards a rather critical evaluation of war and military actions. In its opening sentences, the text already clearly situates the war in the past when it ironically hands over the critical discussion of the events to the prolific historiographer Macaulay:

> It will be for Mr Macaulay, in the hundredth volume of his History, to set forth the more prominent results of the war with Russia; to tell us, or our descendants, how the balance of power in Europe was affected thereby, and how the prosperity of England was not affected at all by the addition of Ten millions to the national debt. But there are certain minor results which do not properly belong to the province of the historian, yet are worth recording for the benefit of the philosophical and inquiring minds of a future generation. (Street Ballads of the War, *CJ*, 17 May 1856, 305)

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117 It is worth noting that it is not Thackeray as the author who is criticised for his anti-soldierly opinions here but the fictitious speaker of the ballad.

118 Interestingly, the text only refers to the context of the ballad in regard to Napoleon's funeral, but does not, like other texts from the same time, mention the fundamentally different relation to France during the present and the past war.

Unlike during the years of active conflict, *CJ* now criticises the war effort for its enormous costs and the damage this may cause Britain in the future.[119] At the same time, a scepticism towards the traditional forms of history writing is expressed, the trustworthiness of which is doubted and the accounts of which are expected to be window-dressed for the audience. The "minor results" of the war, which the text wants to record "for the benefit of […] a future generation", then consist of a presumed enlarged knowledge among the British public regarding Eastern Europe. The popular print market is described as "a Popular Educator" (ibid.). In comparison to the "Ten millions" of national debt, the increased information which people now possess regarding the geography, people and culture of the Crimea seems ridiculous. Apart from this form of dubious popular education, the text ironically thanks the war for the "gush of songs we owe to the same cause" (ibid.):

> Our poets, one and all, from Tennyson to Tupper, have had their trumpet-stops out, and have discoursed most eloquent martial music. For the first time these forty years, there has been a brisk demand for warlike rhymes; and transactions in "brave – grave," "field – yield," "foe – no!" "fly – die," "Old England's banner – fare thee well, Anna," have gone off freely. […] But it is in our street-ballads, the lowest notes in our scale of harmony, that martial enthusiasm may be had in any quantity. (ibid.)

These sentences already show the unease the text expresses towards the popular songs and ballads about the war and especially towards the glorification of violence.[120] Giving examples such as "Here's to the Allied Powers, / My boys, with three times three / That beat the cowardly Russians / Then gain'd a victory; / Tho' the Russians fought us two to 1 / With fire sword and ball / To Frenchmen and Britannia's sons / They was no use at all" (ibid., 306). Although this is probably not one of the best examples of the "martial enthusiasm" criticised above – examples of this are only criticised, but not given to the reader – a clear difference to the reaction to the Crimean War in *CJ* described above can be seen. Whereas *CJ* had omitted descriptions of battle-scenes and had mostly referred to battles of the past or more abstract concepts – such as the Russian's Absolutism or British, French or Sardinian loyalty and gallantry – the sample song shows more concrete scenes. The Russian enemies are depicted as cowardly and the British and French as superior fighters – though outnumbered and seemingly using inferior equipment. Their victory is not shown as one of moral superiority,

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119 As Conacher puts it: "The Crimean War was over except for the bills to be paid, the wounded pensioners to be cared for and the long drawn out task of implementing the Treaty." Conacher: Crimea, p. 219.

120 It is worth noting that the text does not seem to differentiate between the "martial music" (Street Ballads of the War, *CJ*, 17 May 1856, 305) brought forth by Tennyson's "The Charge of the Light Brigade" (1854), ballads like Martin Tupper's "Never Give Up" (written in 1851 already, but said to have been sung by the soldiers on the Crimean battlefields) and the "warlike rhymes" sensationalising the violence of war. All of them are portrayed as worth denouncing for their open support of war.

as *CJ* might have preferred it. On the whole, examples such as this are condemned as too keen on displaying violence and idolising the martial. No wonder then that the text also attributes a part of the responsibility for the fact that "[f]rom first to last, the voice of the masses has been steadily for war" (ibid.) to the circulation of popular war-songs.

It is striking how, only two months after the end of the war, the journal returns to the war-critical position it had articulated before the Crimean Campaign. The text ends by stating: "Of the peace, esto perpetua would be a vain and impolitic wish; but we will say, and with all possible respect and affection to the writers, may it be long before we are enabled to make up such another bundle of war-ballads as that which now lies beside us" (ibid., 309). Interestingly, *CJ* had throughout the two years of war only ever heroised the soldiers and sailors fighting for a common cause and mostly focused on historically removed actors and Britain's allies. Through these strategies the periodical had never openly supported the war effort and Britain's involvement in general. The periodical thereby negotiated the middle-class value of peacefulness it wanted to convey to its readers and the fact that a large number of readers and their families would have actually been affected by the war against Russia. Thus, a generally supportive attitude towards the individuals engaged in the fight for Britain as a national community was created, while still latently preserving their peace-oriented approach, which is taken up overtly again immediately after the peace treaty has been signed.

Times of war, such as in 1854–56, clearly acted as a regulation on *CJ*. While on other occasions calling soldierly heroism an easily attainable form of heroics, in times of war *CJ* validated and encouraged individual acts of military conduct in its texts, yet seemed to differentiate between its attitude towards the individuals and the war as whole.[121] On the one hand, this can be seen as an attempt to set their readers' minds at ease, since they might have been related to someone actually fighting in the war, and give them a sense of security. On the other hand, the individual acts of heroism described in the texts are presented in a way that emphasises the values and morals behind the violent acts. The texts focus on the loyalty of the soldiers and sailors, their courage, perseverance and their selflessness. Thereby, the heroisation of soldierly action can be related to the larger didactic agenda of *CJ*, as part of their effort to relate modest middle-class values to the lower classes.

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[121] This can for example also be seen in the fact that the journal publishes a note which criticises the lack of appreciation of "the blighted hopes, the desolate hearths, the crushed fortunes, and countless domestic miseries which war occasions" (The Expense of War, *CJ*, 20 Sep 1856, 192) and further criticises in September 1856 that too few English 'common' soldiers and sailors were given medals and awards for their "individual acts of heroism". English Heroes and French Honours, *CJ*, 6 Sep 1856, 155. This is then contrasted with French military awards which are said to be more inclusive.

While military disputes in the Indian colonies such as the Indian Rebellion or the Bhutan War did not cause *CJ* to adopt a more positive attitude towards military men, the two Boer Wars from 1879–1880 and 1899–1902 again resulted in an increase in the heroisation of soldiers and their actions. However, most of these texts do not directly refer to the Boer War and sometimes not even to the British military, but deal with past battles and even other nations. One can thus argue that *CJ* used these examples to acknowledge the effort and suffering of British soldiers in South Africa, to strengthen morale among the people and encourage virtuous behaviour, yet did not openly want to support the specific war effort in order to remain loyal to its self-defined identity.

The 1879 text "German Heroes" is a good example for the kind of text which does not situate military heroism in the British society of the current war, but nevertheless can be read as a piece which mediates clear values for identification to the readership. This potential for identification is already enunciated in the first sentences, when the text criticises that

> [w]henever two nations have been at war, the fame of the most striking acts of heroism on either side spreads all over the civilised world; newspapers mention the names of generals and commanders, history takes possession of their career, which future generations admire, and point to as examples of heroic bravery. Whilst according all due praise to their commanders, perhaps a few instances of daring on the part of the subordinates may not be out of place. (German Heroes, *CJ*, 15 Feb 1879, 111)

Much like the intended readership of *CJ*, the text aims at a depiction of those members of society who do not have a leadership position, but constitute the workforce and accordingly also execute most of the uncomfortable tasks. The text validates the work of the common soldiers and – again – especially emphasises the virtues which motivate their actions. So can, for example, the description of a severely wounded soldier be found, who, "always full of regard for others" (ibid.), persuades the surgeons not to put his name on the list of severely wounded "so that his wife and children might not be alarmed" (ibid.). After his duty for Britain is fulfilled, the soldier turns into a husband and father and tries to act in protection of his family, now that his protective measures for his country have come to their natural end. With such anecdotes, the importance of self-sacrifice and of both duty and the interest of the group, rather than the individual, during war-time is stressed.

The closing paragraph of the text can then almost be read as a programmatic guide to the texts which *CJ* itself publishes during war time, when it states that:

> In every regiment, similar acts of heroism have been performed by men, who in consequence are looked upon by their comrades with envy and admiration. At night, when the brave soldiers gathered round the watch-fires […] thousands of noble deeds were narrated by those who had witnessed them. Those tales went from mouth to mouth, and served to cheer the drooping spirits and to double the courage of the hearers, and inspired them with the desire of imitating examples, such as that of the brave gunner

who stuck to his cannon though a fragment of a shell had carried off one of his legs. (ibid., 112)

The function of heroism in war-time is made obvious: through narration and subsequent dissemination, tales of the heroic act as motivation and inspiration which is finally intended to lead to imitation. This can, in the case of *CJ*, also be transferred to the readership at the home front. Texts such as "German Heroes" strongly emphasise the values underlying heroism such as selflessness or a sense of duty towards one's country[122] and peer-group, so that the non-combatant readers can be inspired and motivated as well. Thus, an imitation of the propagated values and the soothing and inspiring effect of the tales of heroism are not limited to the front, but can occur in British everyday life just as well.

Loyalty, determination and selflessness – especially the ability to suffer – are the most common themes of the anecdotes published at the time of the Anglo-Zulu War. Many of the texts are, for example, set during the Indian Rebellion or the American Civil war and show a "cheery encouragement" (An Incident of War, *CJ*, 6 Mar 1880, 158) of "young heroic boy[s]" (ibid.). They feature stories (e.g. The Bells of Yarrick, *CJ*, 3, 10 and 17 Apr 1880) which do not only describe soldiers' excellent conduct in the field, but depict their recruitment and even their happy return. This can be read as a reflection of the period between the Anglo-Zulu and the first Boer War when another war was looming, yet, after the victory against the South African troops in 1879, another military engagement in South Africa was met with a certain confidence.

The stories of previous wars not only emphasise a moral attitude deemed desirable for the readers, but also attempt to create a calm and confident mood, when stories of previous victories are told with the comment that history and the "heroic stories […] of British bravery and pluck […] repeats itself" (Recollections of an Anglo-Indian Chaplain, *CJ*, 19 Jun 1880, 290). The confidence mediated through the texts, however, was destabilised in the reality of the First Boer War, a war in which the good equipment and military strength of the Boer opponents had come as a surprise to the British. The effect of the defeat in 1880 can then be seen in *CJ* at the turn of the century, when the British forces were facing Boer troops again.

During the Second Boer War, *CJ*'s stance towards the war effort is most pronounced. If the articles discussed above were rather subtle in their support of war in general and focused on the strength and extraordinary capabilities of the soldiers, their position becomes increasingly more pro-war at the turn of the century. After the last effort in South Africa had been unsuccessful, the journal now

122 A direct appeal to the reader to remember their duty towards their country can, for example, also be found in the text "A Few Words About the Guides" which closes with the words: "Our readers need scarcely be reminded that absence without leave, especially in troublous times, is a very serious offence in her majesty's service." A Few Words About the Guides, *CJ*, 3 Jan 1880, 11.

supported the British military more obviously and – often in fictional texts – implicitly encouraged their readers to join the campaign. In November 1899, only few weeks after the war broke out, the tale "The Heroine of Lydenberg. An Episode in the Transvaal War of 1880 –81" evoked the experience of the *First* Boer War. With its focus on a female protagonist, the wife of the British Lieutenant Walter Long, the narrative could both be read as an appeal to men to imitate the husband's behaviour, as well as an encouragement for women to adopt the selfless attitude of the woman portrayed.

In its opening sentences, the text reflects upon the scarce representation of female heroics when it states that the story to follow "is forgotten by all except the surviving actors" yet "such a signal instance of British pluck should not be allowed to die" (The Heroine of Lydenberg, *CJ*, 18 Nov 1899, 801). The tale then tells the historical story of the Siege of Lydenberg and of Walter Long, the "junior subaltern" who had been left "in sole command of the troops left behind [in Lydenberg after a regiment had left for Pretoria] – a responsible position of a youngster of barely two-and-twenty" (ibid.). Mrs Long, the title-giving heroine, is introduced as a naïve young middle-class woman, as the lieutenant's "pretty young wife" (ibid.).

However, this changes when she "without a moment's hesitation decided to leave her comfortable home and take up her quarters with her husband" (ibid.) and his soldiers outside of town. As the reason for this, "the brave little woman said that her place was beside her husband" (ibid.). Admired by the soldiers for "her pluck" (ibid.), she moves into a hut with her husband and becomes a member of the male group. She helps the soldiers to build defence works around the camp and works "as hard as any of them" so that the camp in the end is called "Fort May, in honour of Mrs. Long" (ibid., 802). Even after the Boer forces come into sight, the woman refuses to leave the camp and continues to work with the soldiers and "even when the Boers brought a couple of cannon to bear on the fort, […] she frequently slept right through the cannonade" (ibid.). When the camp has only a few weapons left, she even thinks of re-purposing an old pump as a gun and thereby contributes to the fighting. Her being a woman makes her especially exceptional in the given environment and also acts as a motivation for the soldiers: "What wonder that the men fought like heroes with this daintily-bred English lady sharing all their dangers and setting them an example of patience and courage and cheerfulness" (ibid.). Although having established heroic strength – both physical and moral – of the "heroine of Lydenberg", the reader is also constantly reminded that Mrs Long is "woman-like" (ibid.) and flawed; so she, for example, goes back to her hut to try and rescue her bonnet, cups, saucers

and crockery when the camp is under attack.[123] After the "humiliating" (ibid., 803) surrender of the British, the remaining men and Mrs Long are described as physically marked by their experience of intense suffering during the siege.

The text has a different quality than those discussed before in that it not only shows the actions of brave soldiers in battle, but also depicts a woman supporting her husband in his military actions. In this respect, the last sentences of the text are significant: "Lieutenant Long and his men were publicly complimented in a General Order 'for their successful and heroic defence.' But I am disposed to think that the largest share of the praise was due to the brave woman who set them so noble an example" (ibid.). Not only does this show that public honouring of heroic acts was reserved for men, but calling Mrs Long the "noble example" of the men makes her role accessible to the female readers of the periodical. The narrative offers an identificatory potential for both men and women reading the journal. The men can relate to the soldiers who defend their nation and – foregrounded through the strongly emphasised relation of Mrs Long to the whole of the group – their wives and families in a situation of war. Since the text clearly establishes Mrs Long's private and domestic motivation for her extraordinary actions – her main goal is for her marriage to remain intact – female readers in Britain would be able to take up this effort in their own environment. The text thus establishes a heroic potential for women and depicts the suffering for the integrity of the family as worthwhile. Although the active physical actions Mrs Long is depicted performing cannot compare to the acts of women on the home front, they are united in suffering and waiting (Mrs Long during the siege, the women in Britain for their husbands/fathers to return and the war to end). Further, Mrs Long's encouragement not to surrender could act as a motivator for other women to encourage their husbands and the narrative thus offered role models to the readers of *CJ* in times of war.

The tale "Patriot and Traitor" by Alan Oscar encourages joining the forces even more openly. In the narrative, which appeared in March 1900, the protagonist Lily Trevor, a young woman with "no great depth of character" (Patriot and Traitor, *CJ*, 31 Mar 1900, 283), is in a dilemma: both young Leverson, partner at "Leverson, Shafskop, & Company" as well as Fred Selby, whose profession is not specified, are wooing her. The young woman, who is obviously wealthy and whose life is full of receptions and charity functions, is naturally drawn to the lifestyle of Leverson, who accompanies her to the "War Fund Concert" and whose financial means would allow her to retain her standards of living when choosing him. Fred Selby, on the other hand, does not take Lily out and on the

[123] Furthermore, she is depicted performing tasks in the camp typically associated with women at the time, for example she tends to the "sick and wounded". The Heroine of Lydenberg, *CJ*, 18 Nov 1899, 802. When the camp is besieged, Mrs Long nurses her wounded husband and encourages him to "hold out to the last" and not give in to the Boer troops.

whole, lacks courage: "[he] followed somewhat at a distance, a 'devout lover.' He worshipped her; but she had hitherto somewhat ignored him. Yet his devotion touched her. Once or twice she had caught herself wishing he had more ardour for the attack" (ibid.).

For the first time, a narration is set in the present day of the readers. The ongoing war not only shows in the mentioned "War Fund Concert", but the contemporary political situation also becomes ironically apparent in the cancellation of a ball which "showed even the young women [like Lily Trevor] that war had its serious side" (ibid.). In this situation of war, Yeomanry groups began to join the British forces – both in the text's represented world as well as in the living environment of readers in 1900. The decision whether or not to join the forces then shows which of the two suitors is the eponymous patriot and who is the traitor. As Leverson's business partnership with the German company of Shafskop already suggests, it is not he who joins the volunteers. On the contrary, he even uses the heightened demand to sell ammunition to the Dutch. When asked about his non-participation by Lily, Leverson argues that he cannot leave his business alone and mocks his opponent. He calls Selby, who has not hesitated to join the volunteers for South Africa, a "cub" (ibid., 284) and thus ridicules him as inexperienced and thoughtless. This is when Lily develops a greater "depth of character" (ibid., 283) and she defends the young recruit, deeming him a "brave man" (ibid., 284). Leverson then slips up with a comment that "those Dutchmen pay well" (ibid.) and reveals his relationship to the Dutch enemy; Lily leaves the house immediately – only to meet Fred Selby in the street, since "the militia were to march through the town to-day […]. It was a supreme moment for both. For him a moment of passionate love; for her – she could hardly have said. In such moments an emotional woman loses the mastery over herself" (ibid., 283–284). From that moment, Lily is decided; she chooses Fred Selby who risks his life for Queen and country. The "ardour for attack" he had lacked in his private life is compensated for by his decision to join the military forces in the Boer War, his participation in an actual military operation. A short epilogue informs the reader that Selby was wounded at Jagersfontein. The text then ends in the present tense, thereby connecting the narrative to the present day of the readers: "He is recovering. She is waiting the return of her hero" (ibid., 284).

"Patriot and Traitor" clearly positions itself in support of the ongoing military efforts in South Africa. With its setting so close to the actual reality of the readers, it presents an obvious national agenda and shows the exceptional circumstances of war as calling for the individual's commitment for the group on different levels. On the one hand, the text implicitly asks for British men to actively support the troops. On the other hand, it asks the female members of society to adapt to the situation in their own way. Although depicting a very traditional form of gender roles and portraying the young woman as superficial in the beginning, the experience of war (albeit on the home front) not only results in life-

style changes, but also is a moral education for the young woman. However, the text displays an additional, decidedly national component and patriotism acts as the central motivation for Fred Selby, while any non-participation in the war effort is questioned. With its romantic plot, the narrative was probably directed mostly at a female readership and can thus be read as an implicit appeal to test one's own social relations against the categories given above – national loyalty, courage, selflessness. Through the interpersonal relationship at the centre of the narrative, a high potential for identification from both youth and adult readers can be presumed.

An interpersonal relationship also stands at the centre of the tale "An Escape". Its protagonist, Reverend Bryce-Ritson, does not quite feel comfortable in his profession for he possesses too much "energy" (An Escape, *CJ*, 6 Oct 1900, 719). It is with longing, therefore, that he watches the other young men joining the forces and leaving for the front in South Africa. Not only were they popular (in public perception in general and with young ladies in particular), he remarks, but they were performing a duty towards their country:

> Suppose matters politic got worse. Suppose America should interfere and the Continent take advantage! Suppose England fighting for her very existence! Who would care for the clergy and their work then? If it came to conscription his cloth would protect him; he would be sneered at as one sitting snug at home, and the soldier would – even more than at present – be the popular hero. (ibid.)

The motivation for wanting to join the army expressed in this text is twofold. On the one hand, a patriotic impulse is obvious, a want to do good for one's country and countrymen. On the other hand, the excerpt also shows the importance of public perception and reputation. The growth in popularity of the young men joining the forces, such as "young Turner" who, nothing more than an average youth before, was transformed in the eyes of the onlookers: "To-day young Turner was a volunteer, was going out to fight for the Empire, was a hero in the eyes of every girl in the town" (ibid.). The reverend especially notices the admiring looks which Lily Hardinge casts Turner and has to admit his envy. Only days later, after having read a note in the newspaper that the Bishop of Stamford encouraged curates to volunteer, Reverend Bryce-Ritson joins the army.

The war that had only been seen through the imagination of the reverend and discussed in abstract terms before is then presented to the reader in a very concrete way: The text describes a "frightful day" of fighting in "the fierce heat" with "the wounded lying where they fell; many of them were now dead with thirst and horror" (ibid.). Reverend Bryce-Ritson has become "Trooper Ritson" (ibid., 720) and is called towards a wounded comrade: young Turner of his former parish. He is fatally wounded and takes a torn image from his breast-pocket showing Lily Hardinge. Ritson's spontaneous gesture towards his own pocket reveals that he is carrying the very same picture. Turner then elucidates the meaning of the text's title "An Escape" when he says that "'If it hadn't been for that thing I

might have escaped; it deflected the bullet and sent it through my chest. Been a Bible it would have been all right, I suppose – eh?'" (ibid.). The escape of the title is thus a failed one which is frustrated by shallow reasons for joining the army – the desire for popularity and the intention to impress a woman. The mentioning of the bible and its more fortunate effect in the same situation further stresses the duality of the reverend/trooper. It reveals that joining the army for reputation and popularity with women is not the right approach, but that a moral motivation, a want to fight for the greater good of the country, should drive the soldiers.[124] This selfishness is exemplified by Ritson's reaction to Turner's death: after a brief moment of shock, "he triumphed. 'The road is clear; I'll win her yet'" (ibid.). Although he casts this thought away immediately, calling himself a "brute to think such a thing" (ibid.), the reader is once again reminded that a war is a collective effort which one should join with sound morals and not for one's own (in this case private) profit.

In the end, Ritson realises that he should not have pursued Lily Hardinge and tried to impress her by joining the army.[125] Through the depiction of this shallow inter-personal relationship and the vanity of the two soldiers' lust for reputation, the text stresses the importance of morale in the ongoing fight in South Africa and calls for individuals' dedication towards the collective rather than to their own benefit.

Reputational gain through an individual's involvement in the war effort is brought up in several texts. The article "In Kimberley During the Siege", published in March 1900, also depicts events of the ongoing war in South Africa. Written "by a Hospital Nurse" (In Kimberley During the Siege, *CJ*, 19 Mar 1900, 385), it tells the story of the mining town which had been besieged from October 1899 until February 1900, a siege which, unlike that in "The Heroine of Lydenberg", resulted in a British victory. Only one month after the historical events, the nurse narrator speaks of the siege as "one of the most notable episodes in the exciting and eventful history of the South Africa campaign" (ibid.).

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124 It is worth noting that this claim cannot be generalised for the depiction of war-efforts and interpersonal relationships in *CJ*. I would argue that in this case, it is not so much the inter-personal relationship as such which is criticised as a motivation to join the forces but the fact that this relationship is not an established one yet. Therefore, the two men who both long for Lily Hardinge want to impress the girl through their soldierly actions in order to win her over. Thus, the act of joining is shown as a selfish one for the purpose of the men's own profit. In other cases, such as the aforementioned "Patriot and Traitor", an inter-personal relationship can enhance the moral credibility of a man's decision to join the war, when he is doing so for the 'greater good' of their future and – importantly – in combination with a patriotic impulse.

125 Interestingly, he only does so after he reads her wedding announcement with a wealthy Jew in the paper. The fact that the young woman married a Jewish man who did not fight in the Boer War then implicitly elevates both Turner and Ritson again, because they, in contrast to Lily's husband, contributed to the maintenance of the British Empire – albeit for shallow reasons.

A similar enthusiastic description is given of the hospital at which the nurse was employed and which "is recognised far and wide as one of the best institutions of its kind […] and appointments on its nursing staff are eagerly sought after by those who have adopted the tending of the sick and wounded as their career in life" (ibid.). Accordingly, the nurse "cannot but plead guilty to a certain feeling of pride and self-satisfaction at having been afforded an opportunity of aiding to assuage the sufferings of the patients" (ibid.). Although the text then elaborates upon the cruelty of the siege, the I-narrator cannot disguise her pride in having contributed to the British war effort and having witnessed the siege. By depicting the siege as an "exciting" part of the war and the hospital as a prestigious one before situating herself in that very scene, she elevates herself before the eyes of the reader and shows her own desire for reputation connected to the war effort.[126]

However, it is not her own work then which is called heroic, and not that of "the brave men fighting for Queen and country" (ibid.), but that of the besieged city's inhabitants. It is stated that had it not been for "the fortitude and heroism which animated the inhabitants […] a humiliating surrender instead of a gallant and successful resistance might have had to be recorded" (ibid., 388). In attributing the heroic acts in the siege to the 'common' inhabitants, the text gives the reader a possibility to identify with the represented heroes. The properties of this kind of heroism can be identified as inner strength, perseverance and the ability to suffer both physically, since the food and water supplies were getting sparse, and mentally through the mere situation of being besieged and unable to move freely. The identificatory potential, especially for the lower ranks of society, of this situation and the necessary virtues to deal with them would have been high. Even without the war in South Africa, the difficulty to provide enough food for one's family was a reality for many lower class families. Furthermore, the war effort itself also had an effect on the British motherland. A large number of families had to deal with everyday life without their husbands or fathers, and news of casualties was continuously arriving in Britain. Additionally, the war proved to be a financial strain for both individuals and the British economy as a whole and thus the population could, on a smaller scale, be compared to the inhabitants of Kimberley. In this context, the text and its validation of the "heroism" (ibid.) of the inhabitants of the South African town can be read as an encouragement for Britain's inhabitants to keep up their form of suffering so as not to experience a "humiliating surrender" (ibid.).

On the whole, the depiction of the Second Boer War shows two fundamental differences from the treatment of the Crimean War and the First Boer War in *CJ*. The descriptions became more direct and more positive. Whereas the texts about

126 The rather negative impression of the narrating nurse is further reinforced by the fact that she expresses a hysterical panic whenever there is a bombardment.

the British military at war-time in the 1850s and 1880s had been more indirect, the texts during the second South African Campaign became more pronounced. The war was not only no longer described as a necessary evil, but several texts also speak of the thrill of the war, call it "exciting" (ibid., 385) and discuss the prestige and popularity which participation in the war effort (of both military men and civilians like the nurse in the Kimberley Siege) can bring to individuals. Furthermore, tales like "Patriot and Traitor" or "An Escape" – though in different ways – implicitly called upon the readers' own voluntary participation in the war or, in the case of the short romantic tale, ask the female readers to check their own interpersonal relations for 'patriots' and 'traitors' as represented in the text. Around the turn of the century, the magazine took a clearer stance in favour of the war effort and emphasised patriotism and loyalty more strongly than before.

The second major difference lies in the setting of the texts. The texts published during the Crimean and first South African Campaign had mostly been set in a distant past or in a different country; in contrast, the texts on military heroism published during the Second Boer War were set in the present or in a past which was still part of the living memory of many readers. By placing various texts during the *First* Boer War, they also evoke the memory of a British defeat. This memory of a weakened British power and the shifting global politics at the turn of the century can also serve as an explanation for the heightened interest of the journal in the success of the campaign. Furthermore, the texts became more personal. Rather than matter-of-fact essays, the military actions were represented in tales and mediated through first person narrators who could draw the reader closer to the subject than the more sober reports observed before. This more personalised style of narration and the fact that inter-personal relationships featured more frequently in the texts enlarged their identificatory potential. On the whole, an attempt can be perceived to involve the readers emotionally and to appeal to their own experience. The values which were mediated in this different form remain the same – selflessness, courage, ability to suffer, placing the fate of the collective before one's own – yet the more engaging presentation contributes to a closer tie between reader, text and mediated message and thus also between public morale and war effort.[127]

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[127] *CJ* is only digitised up until the end of 1900. A cursory analysis of the periodical's issues from 1901 and 1902 held at the National Library of Scotland has shown that the Boer War remained present in the periodical in those years. On the one hand, texts directly relating to the military conflict can be found (e.g. Looting a Boer Camp, *CJ*, 5 Jan 1901; Leniency: Why and How it Failed in South Africa, *CJ*, 9 Mar 1901; Military Prisoners, *CJ*, 13 April 1901; The Fight with Lotters, *CJ*, 22 Mar 1902; A Vaal River Adventure, *CJ*, 23 Nov 1901; or My Midnight Visitor. A South African Story, *CJ*, 21 and 28 Jun 1902. "My Midnight Visitor", a tale published in two parts, can, though published one month after the end of the Boer War, be considered a wartime story, since it was written and most certainly also put into print when the war was still going on, since issues were set and printed weeks in advance, also several articles commemorating past wars, such as "Some Episodes of the Afghan War of 1880" which is introduced with regards to present day as a

With the shifting power dynamics in global politics at the close of the nineteenth century, additional players entered the field of heroism. At the time of the Second Boer War, a new form of non-belligerent national heroism can be found in the pages of *CJ*. Embodied in the figure of the diplomat and spy, a representative of heroism emerged who was a special case due to the invisibility and seclusion of the profession to the public eye. In late 1899 and early 1900, this area of politics was the centre of the serial novel "Of Royal Blood. A Story of the Secret Service".

The novel was written by William Le Queux, who had done diplomatic work in San Marino himself[128] and had travelled widely in Europe, the Balkans and Africa. His most popular works were invasion fantasies which propagated 'preparedness' against foreign invasion.[129] Most popular among them were *The Great War in England in 1897* (published in 1894), which imagined a Russian invasion in Britain, and *The Invasion of 1910* (published in 1906), which told the story of a fictitious German invasion.[130] "Of Royal Blood", though not representing a scenario as drastic as the two novels,[131] is related in its themes and propagates patriotic loyalty towards Britain. With its combination of romance, politics and sensationalism, Smith and White argue in *Cloak and Dagger Fiction*, it "made excellent propaganda".[132] At a time when Britain was still fighting a war on the African

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"time, when military affairs occupy the minds of the whole community" (Some Episodes of the Afghan War of 1880, *CJ*, 19 Jan 1901, 113), Sedan, *CJ*, 2 Feb 1901, or The Bravest Briton at Waterloo, *CJ*, 25 May 1901. On the whole, the texts emphasise the individual contribution and sacrifices of the British soldiers, yet become more and more critical as the war goes on (one of the points most texts make is that the British troops were not trained for the guerrilla-style fighting they had to face).

128 In a letter to Charles Chambers, Le Queux describes his qualification for working in San Marino as follows: "I happened to have explored the place + knew the officials etc." and sums it up as follows: "Curious work for a novelist – eh?" William Le Queux: Letter to Charles Chambers, 1900, Dep 341/143: No 36, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

129 During the First World War, the Library Fund that collected novels for military camps lists Le Queux as one of its most popular authors. Cf. George Robb: British Culture and the First World War, Basingstoke 2002, p. 183.

130 The case of *The Invasion of 1910* shows an interesting mechanism of the popular print market. Le Queux had been commissioned to write the novel by the *Daily Mail* and had been asked to include specific towns in the novel, which subsequently resulted in an enormous increase in sales in those regions. Cf. Cecil D. Eby: The Road to Armageddon. The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature 1870–1914, Durham, NC 1987, p. 33.

131 As can be presumed from the correspondence left in Chambers's archive material in the National Library of Scotland, this less drastic depiction was also due to suggestions made by Charles Chambers. He had asked for parts of the plot to be rewritten and had deemed some scenes too violent. Subsequently, Le Queux agreed to "tone that down". William Le Queux: Letter to Charles Chambers, 1899, Dep 341/143: No 37, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

132 Myron J. Smith / Terry White: Cloak and Dagger Fiction. An Annotated Guide to Spy Thrillers, Westport 1995, p. 26. Smith and White do not specifically refer to "Of Royal Blood", which does not feature in their bibliography (of the around 100 works of Le Queux, they have recorded and annotated 26), but to his "early tales" (ibid.) in general.

continent, the novel draws attention to the shifting power dynamics in Europe and – different from other novels of Le Queux's, but in line with *CJ*'s overall agenda – propagates a non-militant form of competition amongst the leading countries of Europe.

The novel centres on Crawford, an experienced diplomat in the British secret service, who is sent on a mission to Brussels by the Foreign Secretary. There, he meets a young woman, who turns out to be a Hapsburg princess and whose fate seems to be bound to a secret. A number of sub-plots are developed in the narrative's 26 chapters; in the following, I will only discuss those two themes which are relevant to the representation of heroism and its properties in this specific context. The first strand is related to the profession of the protagonist – the secret service and its duties towards Britain. The second one is concerned with the relationship between Crawford and Mélanie of Hapsburg and it is the tension between those two strands which puts the protagonist's heroic attributes to the test.

On the whole, the novel evokes an atmosphere of looming danger in Europe and of changing power dynamics threatening Britain. It opens with a conversation between the protagonist Crawford and his superior, Foreign Secretary Marquess of Macclesfield, in which the former is briefed for his new assignment in Brussels.[133] The foreign secretary opens his conversation with a description of the current situation in Europe and the importance of diplomacy:

> "It is imperative that active steps must be taken to preserve England's supremacy, and at the same time frustrate the aggressive policy towards us, which is undoubtedly growing. I need not tell you that the outlook is far from reassuring. As a diplomatist you know that as well as I do. […] You quite follow me?" "I have always striven to do my utmost towards that end," I answered. (Le Queux: Of Royal Blood, *CJ*, 2 Dec 1899, 1)

The text from the outset establishes the British Empire as endangered and in need of protection to "preserve" its "supremacy" (ibid.). The "aggressive policy" towards the country evokes a possible European military struggle.[134] With France, Russia and Germany, countries are named as possible threats which were also big political players in the present-day political environment of the readers. Thereby, the text takes up existing political fears of the time and additionally creates the fear of a looming war: "War is always within the bounds of possibility"

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133 Crawford's actual task in Brussels is never specified. He mingles with other diplomats and traces a stolen despatch box, his main occupation remains secret.

134 The "[p]owers who were striving to undermine England's prestige" (Le Queux: Of Royal Blood, *CJ*, 2 Dec 1899, 2) are identified in the next instalment: "'France, Russia, and Germany are all three our possible enemies; and with such Powers against her, England would have to strain every effort to preserve her own. […] [One should consider] whether to conciliate is better than to provoke a costly and bloody war.'" Ibid., 16 Dec 1899, 36.

(ibid., 20 Jan 1900, 116), says the first-person narrator Crawford at one point.[135] However, the text at the same time presents the reader with a solution to this dooming military conflict in Europe: diplomacy and espionage. "[I]t is only by careful and diligent diplomacy that the colossal armies and navies of Europe are prevented from coming into collision" (ibid.).

The work of the foreign ministry and the secret service is presented as the only possible way to evade war with one or several of the powers of the European mainland. The general public is not only described as ignorant of the dangerous situation – "English men and women at home little realise this, and are too fond of relying for their safety upon their insular impregnability" (ibid.) – but are also shown as uninformed about the importance of men such as Crawford. For example, chapter VIII begins with the statement that the British public is "strangely ignorant of the work of our embassies and the legations beyond the seas" (ibid., 20 Jan 1900, 115). Since the invisibility of their actions to the public is a prerequisite of their profession, the men of the Secret Service fit the ideal of a silent, unmediated hero so frequently propagated by *CJ*. When one of Crawford's colleagues has been murdered in a conspiracy, the foreign secretary says: "'[H]e has died, having done his duty honourably. He is one of the many *silent heroes*, and will always be remembered by me as a man who, knowing the risks he ran and the danger that surrounded him, acted with manful courage and saved England a war'" (ibid., 13 Jan 1900, 101–102, emphasis mine). The heroic and honourable actions of the men of the secret service are only ever known among their peers and cannot be mediated to the public or praised and admired by them (unless in fictional stories such as the one to hand).

Though the diplomats and the soldiers discussed above share the goal of defending the British people and its prestige, their actions are very different, in some respects even contrasting. This also becomes apparent in the first conversation between the foreign secretary and Crawford in which the former describes the latter: "'I have sufficient confidence in your diplomatic instinct to know that you will *never act rashly*, nor display any *ill-advised zeal*. The secret of England's greatness is her *smart diplomacy*; and in this affair you have, Crawford, every chance of distinction'" (ibid., 2 Dec 1899, 1, emphases mine). The properties of Crawford which are praised here are the opposite of what would be desirable in a soldier. In battle, it is exactly the ability to act fast and show zeal which is necessary. In Crawford's form of international encounter (often as hostile in intention as a battle in war), those qualities become disadvantages. Contrary to the more traditional forms of patriotic heroism, rationality and calm intellect are the crucial characteristics for the defence of Britain. This form of defence is always

[135] This impending fate of Britain is evoked over and over again throughout the whole narrative in phrases such as "'As you well know, there's a conspiracy to isolate England'" (ibid., 20 Jan 1900, 117) or "[t]here was no disguising the fact that the British Empire, the pride of the world, was in deadly peril". Ibid., 27 Jan 1900, 131.

shown as a peace-oriented effort as well and the actions of the diplomats are presented as war-prevention: "Upon the Marquess of Macclesfield's tact and farsightedness depended the prosperity of England, the lives of her millions, and the peace of Europe. A single stroke of the pen, a hasty or ill-advised action, and a war might result which would cost our Empire millions in money and millions in valuable lives" (ibid., 2).

Diplomacy is thereby depicted as a possible alternative, as a solution to prevent those sufferings which are lamented in the texts about military heroism. The emphasis on the British Empire in the text, rather than just on Britain, also shows the growingly contested status of British supremacy in the world – something which the readers themselves perceived in their everyday life through the Second Boer War.

Apart from the differences in action, the values shown as motivating the diplomats are then quite similar to the soldierly virtues: first and foremost, it is "patriotism" (ibid.) which motivates them, their "duty is towards […] country and Queen" (ibid., 13 Jan 1900, 102). Much like the military acts, their profession requires "acts of courage" (ibid.), though they are played out on a battlefield invisible to the public.[136] Equally, selflessness is a natural part of the diplomat's self-conception; on more than one occasion, the narrator remarks that he "had saved the honour of England at the cost of [his] own" (ibid., 16 Dec 1899, 37). Similar to the depiction of heroic figures in other domains in *CJ*, the novel focuses not on a high-level diplomat, but on a lower-ranking employee and the work which is called heroic is distinctly not that done by "figurehead[s], but it is men such as you [Crawford] who man the ship" (ibid.).

The first plot-strand of the text thus revolves around Britain and its fate in the future. The diplomats and agents of the secret service are established as unmediated heroic figures that remain invisible if they perform their duty correctly. Led by the same ideals as the military heroes discussed above, their operations aim at establishing peace, rather than seeking military conflict. One of the core characteristics, the adherence to duty, is however put to the test in the novel through the second important plot-strand, Crawford's infatuation and later developing relationship with the Hapsburg princess.

Crawford, who first meets Princess Mélanie in disguise– which she puts on to be able to ride her bicycle in a park in Brussels – and only later finds out that she is of the title-giving "royal blood", emphasises at various points throughout the novel that she is like an "ordinary woman". Thereby, he implicitly creates an

[136] Although most of the diplomatic manoeuvres are non-violent ones (though several murders happen throughout the narrative), they are often described in the vocabulary of violent conflict, when it is, for example, said that: "our dignity and prestige must be preserved (but at all cost). […] Our enemies must be outwitted and crushed, or this will indeed be a sorry day in the history of our government and our country." Ibid., 6 Jan 1900, 90.

ideal of what an "ordinary woman" – like the female readers of the magazine – should be like, when he for example says:

> Cautious lest she should commit an error of etiquette, and give offence to her proud family, she was nevertheless *plain*, *honest*, outspoken, and *charming*, *modest*, and *unassuming*, like any ordinary woman; and fond of throwing off the constant exclusiveness with which every member of a royal family must of necessity be enveloped. (ibid., 3 Feb 1900, 152, emphases mine)

After some time, Crawford and Mélanie grow closer, they go on regular cycling-trips together and the princess then takes up this ideal of a 'normal' woman of the lower-middle classes and presents it as a lifestyle which she longs for:

> "[…] Indeed – but perhaps you would not believe it – when driving out on Sundays I have often envied the young shop-girl contentedly walking with hand on her lover's arm; for she is free to love or to hate, and can enjoy the pleasures of life untrammelled, with no fear of scandal or of the idle, envenomed gossip of jealous women; the world is hers, and she enjoys it to the full, though she works for her bread and her happiness may not be unmixed with tears." (ibid., 3 Mar 1900, 216)

From the perspective of the aristocratic Mélanie, the lives of "ordinary women" similar to the readers of *CJ* are valorised. What lies at the centre of the princess's jealousy is something else, though: it is the privateness of the "ordinary" women's lives which is something that money and status cannot buy. Through the above two descriptions, the novel thereby implicitly achieves an idealisation of the kind of life which its readers lead and propagates the ideal of a humble, private woman. When compared to previously discussed depictions of women, a development in the conception of a womanly ideal can be perceived though: the privateness so envied by Mélanie is not to be used synonymously with domesticity anymore and the referral to "outspokenness" (ibid., 3 Feb 1900, 152) and the freedom "to love or to hate" (ibid., 3 Mar 1900, 216) show the effects the women's rights movement had on society by the turn of the century.

Quite predictably, Crawford falls in love with Mélanie – though he prizes himself on having done so before he knew that she was aristocratic. His feelings for her lead him into a deep inner conflict. She not only stands above him in the social order and Crawford "well seasoned by ten years of Court life" knows that "such a thing was utterly ridiculous" (ibid., 3 Feb 1900, 152). He is nevertheless "overrode" by love and has to admit that he is "irretrievably her slave" (ibid.). However, the conflict is not only a societal one, but later also a conflict of interest regarding his professional life and the duty towards his country. Not only is Mélanie associated with the threatening German power and later marries a Hohenzollern prince, but she is also entrapped in an extortion which Crawford vows to help her out of. This effort, however, tests his loyalty and he is torn between his duty towards Queen and country and the private desire to help the Hapsburg princess in distress. This ambiguity becomes especially pronounced in one passage of the novel when Crawford vows: "I was compelled to remain si-

lent in order to avoid compromising her, for she was princess of an imperial house, while I was a humble member of Her Majesty's Diplomatic Service. I had promised to remain loyal to her" (ibid., 24 Feb 1900, 198). However, this vow is highly ambiguous; since he had professed loyalty to both the Queen and Mélanie, the reference of loyalty "to her" (ibid.) remains unclear and makes the inner conflict obvious. For several chapters of the novel it then seems as if Crawford has decided in favour of the princess. Nevertheless, all affirmations of loyalty towards her address the conflict with his professional and patriotic duty.[137] Over the course of the novel, though, Crawford realises that he

> had, by loving Mélanie, departed from the first tenets of my religion as a diplomatist, besides having neglected a great degree the special duty of which I had been nominated to Brussels. Had not the great Marquess of Macclesfield, the greatest diplomatist of his age, told me plainly the folly of allowing myself to be drawn into any serious affair of the heart? The more I reflected, the more impossible seemed happiness. (ibid., 14 April 1900, 308)

The unfulfilled romance between the protagonist and the princess reveals another property of the silent heroes of diplomacy and espionage. As part of their selflessness, their duty requires them to sacrifice their private lives in order to achieve peace for the rest of the nation. The diplomats, as represented in "Of Royal Blood", need to give up on their own happiness for that of the collective.[138] Regarding romance, Crawford concludes: "To be a successful diplomatist a man must needs steel his heart against all feminine blandishments" (ibid., 28 April 1900, 340).

The new type of the heroic secret agent shows both similarities as well as differences to the type of the soldierly hero. On the one hand, both share the motivation for their actions: patriotism and a feeling of duty towards one's country and community. Both need to act courageously, yet where the soldier needs to act rashly, spontaneously, physically and violently, the secret agent needs to be far-sighted, tactical, calm and uses his intellect and words rather than violent means. Also, the circumstances which activate the respective heroic acts are very different: while the military man is called into action to defend his country when a violent conflict has already broken out, the man of the secret service uses his means to prevent such conflicts from escalating in the first place. Though

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137 This for example becomes apparent in the following conversation: "'Well, my oath to my Queen entails the combating of the machinations of unscrupulous enemies; […]. Towards you, however, I assure you that if ever I can render you a service you have only to command me.'" Ibid., 24 Feb 1900, 199.

138 The impossibility of a fulfilled private life in the secret service is also emphasised by another plot-line which features the only married agent of the narrative. Gordon Clunes, a friend of Crawford's, is newlywed and subsequently murdered by his wife who turns out to be a German agent.

clearly situated in the lived-in world of the readers[139] – and thus the time of the British war-effort in South Africa – the text shows *CJ*'s overall antipathy towards military action. By avoiding the situation in Africa and focusing on the powers of the European continent, the novel in its popular form[140] can put forth this opinion without undermining the journal's support for the specific war effort against the Boers.

On the whole, the usage of the vocabulary of heroism in relation to military actions clearly increases during times of British involvement in major war efforts. As the example of texts published during the Crimean War and the two Boer Wars have shown, *CJ*, though in general opposing violent military conflicts, adapted their texts to the political situation around them. The publication context thus acted as a regulatory means, which made the periodical negotiate its self-defined didactic and humanist identity with the societal reality of the day. In focusing on common sailors and soldiers, the magazine offered a means of identification to their readership. Through the depiction of successful historical battles of the past, an attempt to assure the readership of the British troops' strength in order to keep up the morale can be detected. On the whole, descriptions of the front are avoided and the representation of soldierly heroism omits rather than describes the physicality and brutality of war actions. Instead, the texts focus on the motivating forces behind the soldierly acts and heroise their courage, selflessness, patriotism and willingness to sacrifice themselves for the greater good of the collective. In emphasising these underlying values, the magazine again creates an opportunity for the readers to identify with the depicted heroes and emulate their behaviour in their own everyday life, since the values depicted can also be transferred to the lives at the home front.[141]

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139 The text is clearly placed in the last years of the nineteenth century through various cultural, technological and political references: The foreign secretary's office sports a "life-size portrait of Her Majesty" (ibid., 2 Dec 1899, 1), Crawford seems to be used to "telephonic" communication (ibid., 13 Jan 1900, 101). Furthermore, the "Fashoda incident" of 1898 (ibid., 20 Jan 1900, 116), and "the recent International Exhibition" (ibid., 17 Feb 1900, 180) in Brussels which had taken place in 1897 clearly place the text in temporal proximity to the readers' lives.

140 Both Charles Chambers and Le Queux seemed pleased with the readers' response to the novel. Le Queux remarks: "My novel […] is, I hear, going splendidly" (William Le Queux: Letter to Charles Chambers, 1900, Dep 341/143: No 36, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh) and Chambers confirms: "our readers tell me they like [the novel] very much". Charles Chambers: Letter to William Le Queux, 1900, Dep 341/167: No 355, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

141 Furthermore, occasional heroisation of the sacrifices made at the home front can be found in *CJ* as well. Significantly, the function of heroic acts on the home front are often directly connected to the heroic agency of the soldiers on the battle field, both of which are shown as acting for the stabilisation of a community in a situation of existential danger. While a soldier acts for the defence of the national community, those left at the home front have to protect their familial community.

However, as the examination of the Second Boer War after the British defeat in the 1880s has shown, the journal reacted to the changing global power dynamics. In its more pronounced support of the war in South Africa, it acknowledges the growing instability of the British Empire and the importance of winning the second campaign. Though still generally opposed to war – as the narrative "Of Royal Blood" has indicated – the magazine's politics of heroisation indicates the shifting political dynamics in Europe.

Heroism and the Military in Times of Peace

In times of peace, *CJ* featured narratives or essays dealing with military men as heroic figures less frequently and, in those cases which can be found, the attitude towards military heroism is quite different from the texts discussed above. In general, the periodical shows a critical attitude towards the heroic potential of the military profession, which had surfaced in the idea of situational heroism, and – in line with their general agenda to morally elevate their readers – propagated a peace-oriented attitude. Therefore, most of the texts which will be discussed in the following present a rather dubious and vain form of military heroism or assign heroism in situations of war and battle to non-military players.

In a number of texts, soldierly heroism is not only described as "easy" (True Chivalry, *CJ*, 15 Sep 1866, 592) because the given situation 'forces' the soldiers to act heroically, but also as a form of heroics which is often performed by uneducated, unintelligent or immature characters. The ballad "The Twin Brothers" exemplifies this by contrasting two brothers:

> Time passed – one was a wilting boy
> Robust of health, of stature tall;
> The other wore a forehead high,
> Of weakly frame, of stature small; (The Twin Brothers, *CJ*, 3 Jan 1851: 16)

The two brothers not only differ greatly in physical appearance and strength but also in their intellectual capacities. While the "weakly" one is very intelligent, his "robust" brother struggles in school, is described as "a fool" (ibid.). Having to depend on his physical abilities for his livelihood, the poem presents the battlefield as the only possible realm for him:

> That strong-thewed brother, where is he? –
> On the van amid the brave;
> A freeman 'mong the dauntless free,
> He found a hero's glorious grave;
> […]
> The hero fought, the hero died. (ibid.)

And though the "strong-thewed brother" is called a hero, fighting a hero's fight and dying a hero's death, the context of his previous characterisation establishes

military heroism as a purely physical form of heroics which requires neither intellectual nor moral skills.[142]

Similarly, the historical narrative "Blanchette: A Fairy Tale" also establishes the want for military heroics as something which comes rather to the uneducated, immature mind than to the more intelligent and educated. The tale is set in fifteenth-century France and shows the infant Dauphin Charles (later to be Charles VIII of France). He is depicted as an unhappy child who lives under his "old tyrant" father (Blanchette, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1854, 77) and is in a general state of neglect: "Without employment for his mind, he lived nearly as solitary and secluded as his father's prisoners" (ibid.). This lack of education and familial attention then leads to the following pastime:

> Therefore, after notching his sword for a long time against the wall, and spelling the large characters, red and blue, of his Rosary of Wars and Holy Bible, this dreamy youth would pass his time leaning on the window-sill, and gazing for hours upon the beautiful sky of Touraine and imagining the changing forms of the clouds armies and battles. (ibid.)

The boy's only confidante in the story is Blanchette, "a little white mouse" (ibid.). It is to her the boy talks daily and she communicates with him as well. By pointing her paws to a passage in the opened bible – "*To visit the prisoners!*" (ibid.) – she leads him into the dungeons and directs him to the cell of the Duke of Nemours. The young man of seventeen who is "a guest of that frightful dwelling-place" (ibid., 78) is then established as the "hero" (ibid.) of the narrative. Having led him to the young Duke, Charles inquires whether he knows Blanchette and their first encounter mostly consists of a fight over who has the prior claim over Blanchette. Befitting the Dauphin's preoccupation with wars and battles, the sequence satirises territorial conflict by staging the fight as one about the supremacy over Blanchette. After having agreed upon a joint 'ownership' of the mouse, the Dauphin and the Duke become friends and the "hero" (ibid.) performs the role of an educator for Charles. The boy's secluded life, his boredom and limited education become apparent in their conversations in which his unreflected want for military exploits frequently comes up. When Nemours asks him to imagine his own future kingship, the boy answers with deliberation: "'A Fine question! I will make war'" (ibid.). When Nemours sighs "sadly" (ibid.) and asks him to elaborate upon this plan, the conversation continues:

> "Yes," continued the dauphin, tapping his forehead with his forefinger, "I have had the design for a long time. First, I will go and conquer Italy – Italy, you see, Nemours, is a marvellous country: there the streets are filled with music, the bushes laden with oranges and there are as many churches as houses. I will keep Italy for myself – then I will

[142] On the whole, the poem calls for a balance between physical and intellectual powers, since the twin brother, whose skills are merely intellectual and who is physically challenged, does not turn out to be successful either.

> go and take Constantinople in passing, for my friend Andrew Palaeologus; and afterwards, with the aid of Heaven, I reckon upon delivering the Holy Sepulchre."
> "And after that?" inquired the young duke with a leer.
> "Ah! After that – after that" – repeated the ignorant dauphin, somewhat embarrassed – "afterwards – I shall still have time to conquer other countries, if there be any." (ibid.)

The reason for the boy's lust for military conquest is quite obvious: his familial neglect, his boredom and his ignorance. He dreams of war and battle because it seems an exciting alternative to his dreary life and an opportunity to find the recognition and appreciation which he presently seems to lack. This is further emphasised by the fact that he judges the countries for imagined conquest by their entertainment value rather than for reasons of politics or power. The Duke lives in forced seclusion and boredom as well, yet his age and greater maturity seem to prevent such fantasies. He questions the Dauphin's ideas and exposes them as vain, motivated by an "anxiety for glory" which makes the Dauphin only think of himself rather than of his "people" (ibid.).[143] The conversations with Nemours seem to impress the boy, yet his demeanour only changes later, in a very symbolic act. After Charles' father, Louis XI of France, has died, the thirteen-year-old boy enters the dungeons and releases Nemours.[144] Only through this symbolic freeing, the anti-form of his imagined wars and a sort of counter-conquest, the boy's character seems to change, he is "no longer timid, constrained, dejected […] but calm, grave" (ibid., 79). Through his 'education' by Nemours and the practical application of newly found morals, the boy has matured and emancipated himself from his unreflected war lust.[145]

The contrast between the "hero" Nemours who perseveres in a cage for several years and the young Dauphin in his immature want for attention can also be read as an advice to the reader. Nemours is shown as being mentally and emotionally unscarred by his imprisonment and, apart from their dispute over Blanchette, he does not utter any negative feelings towards the Dauphin upon their first meeting, although he is the son of his captor. The usage of the vocabulary of the heroic in relation to Nemours thus draws attention to the virtues of perseverance, selflessness and altruism in spite of a hopeless situation. More importantly, though, the contrasting depiction of the young Dauphin can be read as an educational advice; by showing the boy's excitement about war as a result

143 Once again, this passage creates a direct opposition between heroism which seeks glory and reputation and heroic acts which are performed for the wellbeing of a larger group.

144 This is where the fairy-tale like quality of the narrative plays out, because Nemours' cage cannot be opened, even after the Dauphin's father has died and Charles (now Charles VIII) wants to free him. They need the help of Blanchette, who turns out to be a fairy, in destroying the cage and freeing Nemours.

145 Interestingly, the story ends with the freeing of Nemours and does not comment upon the Dauphin's future attitude towards war or give facts about the historical Charles VIII. This could for one be due to the fact that, though being called "the Affable", Charles was involved in several conquests and actually acted out the dream formulated in the narrative to conquer Italy.

of his intellectual and emotional neglect, the text stresses the importance of the bond between parent and child. Furthermore, it emphasises the necessity of education; the Dauphin obviously has some form of formal education, he can read and write and possesses knowledge of geography and culture (which he utilises in his dreams of conquest), however, he lacks a moral compass which, if one follows the logic of the story, cannot be taught by books and not even by the bible. Thereby, the text not only criticises military endeavours motivated by an uneducated, unmoral want for attention and glory, but also stresses the importance of parental moral instruction.

A mockery of the intellectual capacity of military men can even be found in relation to the navy and their major hero Nelson: the narrator of the satirical text "The Great Teaboard School", a city man who recently moved to the seaside with his family, shares his assessment of the navy and its men with the reader:

> There is something in the sea-air which is opposed to intellectual vitality. I hope I am too much of an Englishman to say one word in depreciation of the naval profession, whose heroism, whose simplicity, and whose freedom from sea-sickness have always extorted my admiration; but I think it may be stated, without offence, that sailors are dull folks. The saline particles that stick to the hair […] affect in time the brain itself. Nelson was a noble hero, and we are all grateful to his memory; but the saline particles certainly affected him. (The Great Teaboard School, *CJ*, 16 Jul 1870, 462)

In place of the sailorly virtues depicted in war-time such as courage and selflessness, the text shows them as foolish men whose best characteristics are their "simplicity" and "freedom from sea-sickness" (ibid.). The narrator depicts the profession of the sailor as one which requires no specific skills – neither physically nor intellectually – and thus caricatures the established type of the British naval hero exemplified by Nelson.[146] The text then goes on to criticise the moral integrity of the profession and calls the navy men hard-hearted: "while the brain softens the heart hardens" (ibid.). Though the text is clearly a satire and not to be taken as an opinion piece, it nevertheless stands in striking contrast to those texts about the army published in times of war. It can be seen as a representation of the magazine's general distrust of the military and their peace-oriented rationale.

Severe and direct criticism of violent military acts and war-lust, however, only seems possible when dealing with other nations. This becomes especially apparent in "Modern Spartans"; the text about contemporary Greece aims at showing how close military heroism and brutality are linked. If motivated by war-lust, the text argues, heroics turn into barbarism and it is this tendency which is shown in relation to the Greek region of the Maniots. The text already identifies the doubtful liking for war in the cultivation of the landscape: "It is impossible to pass through the country without remarking the number of defensive works […].

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[146] The description of the sailors' set of skills and its exemplification through Nelson is in itself a satire, since it was well known that Nelson throughout his career remained prone to seasickness. Cf. e.g. John Sugden: Nelson. A Dream of Glory, London 2005, p. 56.

The highest rocks, the entrances to the defiles, the inaccessible precipices, are alike covered with fortifications" (Modern Spartans, *CJ*, 29 Apr 1871, 257). This constant presence of war, the text argues further, is also part of the inhabitants' character: "They wander around these old fortresses like soldiers weighed down by inaction. Each man professes a religious worship for his arms, and his pride is to adorn them with the richest ornaments. […] Every castle has its legend of heroic or barbarous deeds" (ibid.). The decision between heroism or barbarism seems to be only a matter of perspective and the text suggests to the reader that the actions of the "modern Spartans", who seem to long for war as part of their innate identity, are "barbarous" (ibid.).[147]

In an archetypical description of the local male, it is said that: "At twelve he handles his gun and joins the men: to fire with a certain aim; never to count the numbers of the enemy; to defend himself to the death behind the towers or entrenchments – such are the tactics he is taught" (ibid., 258).[148] As an adult, the typical male gives "himself up to his savage temper. He began by killing his wife, whom he accused of infidelity; and a short time after, in consequence of an unimportant quarrel, relieved himself in the same way of an unhappy foreigner" (ibid.). All this is attributed to the local "military honour" (ibid.) which is based on "primitive formulas" (ibid.) of morale. The text shows a brutality which is drastic for *CJ* in its depiction and uses the region of the Maniots as a stage to discuss the connection between brutality and military endeavours. The negative counter image and their perception of their own acts as "heroism" (ibid.) and "heroic deeds" (ibid., 258) not only criticises violence for its own sake, but also stresses the fact that heroism is always dependent on a specific perspective and often already implicitly contains its opposite. By emphasising that it is the modern Spartans' lack of "morals" (ibid.) which makes them cling to their violent ideals, the text also creates a counter image of a collective which is bound by higher ideals and does not lust for war, but for peace. Only in the transferral of the subject matter to a distant country and a culture which is described as fundamentally different from the common readers' does this depiction of misdirected military ambition and open propagation of pacifism seem to be possible.[149]

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147 Furthermore, it is worth noting that in this negative form of military conduct, the contested idea of worship is evoked again. Not only does this bring up the general unease the periodical had with the concept, but the idea of religious worship in relation to the armaments establishes violence and barbarism as a form of religious belief of the Greek.

148 Significantly, similar descriptions of tactics taught to British soldiers cannot be found in the magazine.

149 Another strategy of criticizing violence yet attributing heroism to deeds in the context of war was to depict actors alongside the battlefield. There are for example a number of texts devoted to medical staff, such as a "Non-Combatant Hero" in 1862. These "healers and preservers" (A Non-Combatant Hero, *CJ*, 8 Mar 1862, 158) are described utilising the main characteristics of *CJ*'s heroic imaginary as selfless, courageous and responsible – even more so than the soldiers themselves since the medical staff is not armed. The heroic doctor is thus established as a non-violent counter-figure to the military hero.

The periodical also displays explicit remarks against war and its consequences. This becomes apparent in texts which deal with army veterans and their lives after the war. The essay "Up and Down Regent Street", which on the whole is a critical evaluation of West-London society, depicts

> a guard of honour proper to the establishment itself, in the shape of a Crimean hero, medalled, bi-medalled, or tri-medalled, and perhaps lacking a limb or two in addition – realising the reward of valour and patriotism, won at the cannon's mouth, in the honourable vocation of circulating puffs for the Messrs Goose and Goldeneggs. (Up and Down Regent Street, *CJ*, 16 Jun 1860, 369)

This drastically shows the results of a war and the worth of being a "Crimean hero" (ibid.) after the campaign has ended. Although having been publicly honoured, "medalled, bi-medalled", and having sacrificed his health in a patriotic and courageous effort, the former soldier now has to work as a street monger to earn his living. The repeated usage of "honour" for both the area around Regent Street and the former military man's task of "circulating puffs" emphasises the absurdity of the situation and the emptiness of the honours bestowed on veterans. The status as a war hero in this context does not inspire admiration in the passers-by and the man possibly only displays his medals and shows his disabilities in order to inspire pity and increase sales. Thereby, the situation depicted offers a glimpse at the effects of war once the fighting is over and the 'heroes' return into civilian life. Whereas class seemed to be less of an issue in the field and even common soldiers were publicly honoured for their war effort, the social rank becomes an existential concern again back at home. Sacrifices of war, such as serious injury which in the context of the battle could have made a man a hero and put him among the most highly regarded men of the country, back in civilian life become a risk for the social decline of whole families.[150]

A similar situation is depicted in "Portland Prison"; the text describes the prison on Portland Island and its efforts to educate inmates. However, the text also notes that "[c]omplaints have been made that the convicts live too well" (Portland Prison, *CJ*, 23 Mar 1861, 191) and that their lives are too comfortable compared to free working men like their guards. These guards, which the text shows as being disadvantaged in contrast to the criminals in Portland Prison, are then identified as "mostly Crimean heroes, now half-policemen, half-soldiers" (ibid., 190). Although not as drastically, this text also shows how the soldiers returning from a major war effort for their country struggle to find a place in society. The guards, though fortunate enough to have found a job, do not seem to have a

[150] These depictions of returning file-and-rank soldiers affirm John Reed's argument that "[a]lthough the Crimean War marked a new respect for the common soldier, that did not necessarily translate into a widespread embracing of the ranker at home. As Kipling's work at the end of the century suggests, the general public was still inclined to dismiss the common soldier as a morally inferior being, given to drinking and brawling and unwelcome in good company." Reed: Army, pp. 312–313.

clear-cut identity after the end of the war and in their new profession as "half-policemen, half-soldiers" (ibid.) seem to be stuck between life as a soldier and a civilian, though in their new employment only the weapons – "cutlass and rifle" (ibid.) – seem to be reminiscent of their life as soldiers. Being regarded as "Crimean heroes" is again of no practical worth and does not result in social improvement for the men, who are surpassed in quality of life by the prisoners they guard.

The depiction of military men after their return to life in Britain clearly shows how dependant the worth of a heroic reputation is on class. While common soldiers from the lower ranks struggle to find their way back into civilian life and have to realise that their military honours do not result in social security, *CJ* also shows instances of military men of higher social rank after the war. These, however, are often shown as pompous and boastful, like an elderly seaman who prides himself on having "fought with 'our Nelly' – as he familiarly termed the hero of Trafalgar" – and who takes this fact as the reason that "gave him right to grapple everybody" (Meliboeus Has a Fish-Dinner At Greenwich, *CJ*, 5 Oct 1861, 220). A further class difference can be seen in the self-conception of the represented men: whereas the 'common soldiers' represented in *CJ* had to find a way back into civilian life and can rarely profit from the social capital of their military heroism, those of the upper classes can safely remain in their identity as a "military man" (The Wild Huntress, *CJ*, 21 July 1860, 41) and live off "the right" (Meliboeus Has a Fish-Dinner At Greenwich, *CJ*, 5 Oct 1861, 220) which this status gives them.

Military Heroism and Hierarchy

The above analysis of the representation of military heroism in *CJ* has shown that the periodical rarely depicted great historical leaders of army and navy. On the contrary, most accounts focused on soldiers and sailors of lower ranks and often showed fictitious men, the representation of whom was strongly focused on their motivation, suffering and moral fibre rather than their violent actions in battle. This tendency to heroise the common and unknown soldier is in line with the journal's attempt at publicly validating the lives of silent heroes of the lower classes, while attempting at the same time not to encourage a lust for fame and public recognition in individuals. However, heroism– despite the attempts of privatisation and functionalisation of exemplarity – always depicts something which is 'better than' and necessarily needs a frame of reference; therefore, culturally agreed upon military heroes feature in the magazine in various articles – yet always only as an established reference for military excellence which is not elaborated upon.

The reference figure used most frequently is Horatio Nelson. Nelson comes up in references such as "the hero of Trafalgar" (ibid.) or "the Portsmouth naval

hero" (The Glove, *CJ*, 22 Dec 1860, 340), but is, however, only used as a frame of reference for other – unknown – military men. On the one hand, this shows that the story of Nelson's heroism did not need to be told, because it was well known to the audience and brought to mind a specific set of characteristics; on the other hand, the specific example of Nelson also activated a second narrative, one of fame and morals, and it is no wonder then that reference to the naval commander is also used in articles which criticise military actions. It was known that Nelson had been a vain man who liked attention, and was a skilled self-promoter.[151] Many Victorians, in a self-conception as modest, respectable and faithful, took offence at Nelson's open extramarital relationship with Emma Hamilton. This part of Nelson's life was commonly considered as diminishing his status as a representative of national greatness and is shown as belittling his heroic reputation in *CJ* as well. A historical account of court life at the beginning of the nineteenth century calls Nelson's private life a "vulgarity and absurdity […] beyond belief" (Continental Courts Sixty Years Ago, *CJ*, 24 Aug 1861, 124). Although the text nevertheless calls Nelson "the hero" (ibid.) in relation to his naval achievements, it closes with a strong de-heroisation: "This is certainly a disenchanting recital. […] After all, much of human greatness is a matter of accident. Some are exalted by the accident of birth; some by the possession of special gifts. Unless there be also a natural dignity and purity, these kinds of greatness, of course must shew ill behind the scenes" (ibid., 125). This last paragraph, though affirming Nelson as a great man of cultural importance who possessed "special gifts", stresses once again that true heroism in *CJ*'s definition can only be achieved with a sound moral character, "natural dignity and purity".[152]

A reference to Nelson also implicitly included a link to fame and dubious morals. His military success ("greatness") and its importance for Britain being undisputed though, *CJ* then uses Nelson in some instances as reference for victory rather than heroic behaviour and attributes the heroic status to the men who "fought under Nelson" (The Fortune of Bertram Oakley, *CJ*, 23 Apr 1881, 261) or "the brave seamen who served under […] Horatio Viscount Nelson" (The British Navy, As it Was, *CJ*, 17 Mar 1877, 162). Thereby, figures such as Nel-

[151] He had, for example, changed his name from Horace to Horatio at the age of eighteen because he thought it sounded more impressive, had cleverly networked throughout his career and been careful to make all his smaller and larger achievements publicly known, "for no man wanted more to be a hero. He exhibited his trophies, stage managed public appearances and manipulated the press to shape the desired image". John Sugden: Nelson. The Sword of Albion, London 2012, p. 2. For example, the "Nelson touch", his specific strategy of boarding enemy ships, became known under that name because Nelson himself propagated the term. Cf. ibid., p. 773.

[152] Placing this at the very end of the text, the remark can be read as an appeal to the reader to cultivate these morals.

son, or the occasionally referenced Wellington,[153] can be seen as an implication of national importance and British supremacy rather than examples of the form of moral heroism so often mediated in *CJ*. This kind of moral motivation for heroic actions is, in the pages of the magazine, more often than not attributed to the lower ranks of society and/or those people who do not stand at the centre of public attention.

Despite the periodical's often-repeated aim not to contribute to the fame of established figures, but to tell the stories of 'unsung' heroes and their values, which their readers could identify with, there is one well-known military man whom *CJ* presents frequently, especially around 1860, the year of the so-called Expedition of the Thousand: Guiseppe Garibaldi. Between 1859 and 1900, almost a hundred articles were devoted to Garibaldi, many of which call the Italian general a hero and praise his actions and character. The articles about Garibaldi could have been appealing to the audience for two reasons: since Garibaldi was still an active part of European politics, the texts on the one hand touched on contemporary developments and current political and military topics; on the other hand, their entertainment value was high: all articles which dealt with Garibaldi contained at least one adventurous anecdote of his earlier years as a sailor,[154] and the vast majority of them was travel writing. Thus, the texts not only depicted Garibaldi's military actions and his virtues worthy of emulation, but also described landscapes and local customs.

In this appealing format, the texts always label Garibaldi a hero and strategically depict him as a common man, thereby utilising him as a possible role model for the readers. One contribution takes the publication of the English-language version of Garibaldi's memoirs as an occasion to comment upon "the Best soldier of his time" (The Story of a Hero, *CJ*, 15 Oct 1859, 243).[155] The article's title, "The Story of a Hero", already affirms Garibaldi's status as a hero. The text then uses the same strategies in the depiction of Garibaldi that could be observed in the depiction of rank-and-file military heroes above: it focuses on his morals and virtues rather than on the specific actions he performed. The text traces his development from childhood onwards, presents his character traits as

153 Interestingly, *CJ* did not report on Wellington's funeral in 1852, but only referenced it in "Things Talked of in London" in November 1852: "Apart from the striking and absorbing ceremony of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, affairs have taken their usual course […]." Things Talked of in London, *CJ*, 27 Nov 1852, 350. Other periodicals, such as *Leisure Hour*, devoted more than one article to the description of the funeral itself and furthermore portrayed Wellington as a hero in these texts.

154 In "The Story of a Hero" he is, for example, described as a "modern Ulysses" (The Story of a Hero, *CJ*, 15 Oct 1859, 244) in his early years on sea.

155 The phrase "his time" (ibid., 243) seems odd in this context, since the time referred to is the present of author and reader and therefore could just as easily have been called "our time" or "this time".

exemplary and worth emulating and especially foregrounds his actions and responsibility towards the group of soldiers entrusted to him.

In his characterisation, the text shows Garibaldi as a man of the lower classes rather than a man of high military rank:

> His fights throughout life have all been fought *up-hill*. Now the *servant* of this republic and now of that, he has been contending, almost from boyhood, against despots, dictators, and all sorts of powers of darkness in both the New and the Old Worlds […]; and yet this Soldier of Misfortune, […] roamed the world like a *faithful Knight-errant*, wearing the favour of his mistress, *Liberty*, at all times in his helm. (ibid., emphases mine)

This first description of Garibaldi in the text distinctly shows him not as a general or as a commander, but as a man who has dedicated his life to a greater cause. By calling him a "servant" and a "faithful Knight-errant" in the name of "Liberty", the image of a foot-soldier rather than a leader is painted. The initial remark on his battles being "fought up-hill" further stresses his perseverance[156] and struggle towards success.

For the remainder of the text, anecdotes from Garibaldi's memoirs are quoted and thereby given the authenticity of being "related by his own lips" (ibid.). The comments upon these anecdotes then strongly focus on Garibaldi's compassionate character and his high morals which the text already identifies in his early youth: he is described as "a good son to both his parents" with a "tenderness of disposition" (ibid.). His "good deeds" are explained by "nothing less" than his "great and modest mind" (ibid.). These characteristics seen in the child Garibaldi are also foregrounded as his motivation in the fight for a united Italy. Above all, it is the selfless "affection for his fellow-countrymen" (ibid., 245) which is praised and the "noble ideas" (ibid.) which motivated even his military decisions. Special attention is drawn to Garibaldi's dislike of violence and he is quoted:

> "I wish for myself and for every other person who has not forgotten to be a man, to be exempt from the necessity of witnessing the sack of a town. A long and minute description would not be sufficient to give a just idea of the baseness and wickedness of such a deed! May God save me from such a spectacle hereafter! I never spent a day in such wretchedness and in such lamentation. I was filled with horror; and the fatigue I endured in restraining personal violence was excessive." (ibid.)

Garibaldi describes this encounter as highly inhumane and immediately distances himself from his peers. Unlike them, he shows himself as not having "forgotten to be a man" and, while they sack the town, he sees it as his task to stop

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156 His determined and persevering nature is also mentioned in relation to his naval skills; the texts states that he "perfected his seamanship" on "many voyages" (ibid.). His skills are thereby not shown as innate talent, but as acquired through diligence and perseverance. In this respect, Garibaldi is made equal to the intended audience of the periodical, who were (as could be seen in the discussion of *CJ*'s heroic imaginary) given the opportunity to achieve hero-status through persevering self-improvement. This idea is not contradicted by the later assertion that Garibaldi was special from childhood onwards, since the talents presented as innate concern his moral disposition and not a genial skill-set.

their "personal violence" (ibid.). Although revered as a military hero,[157] Garibaldi is presented as different from other military men and as essentially opposed to personal violence, that is violence not necessary in the fight for the good of "his fellow countrymen" (ibid.).[158]

In the case of Garibaldi, who as a celebrity-like figure does not fit all the requirements which *CJ* so often asks for in relation to true heroism, the relationship and closeness to the Italian people and his subordinates are key to his heroic reputation in the periodical. Despite the repeated claim not to want to encourage a lust for public attention, *CJ* also depicts the enthusiastic reaction of the Italian people towards Garibaldi and describes how people crowded the streets, displayed flags and chanted Garibaldi's name when he came to their town (cf. All the World Over, *CJ*, 11 May 1861, 298–299). However, these displays of admiration seem to be acceptable since Garibaldi so strongly resembles his subordinates and has the interest of those men and women who cheer at him in mind in his military actions. Through the links between Garibaldi, his soldiers and the population at large, the "hero", despite his public status, offers an identificatory potential for a large number of people and is established as a role model.

Significantly, all of the articles in *CJ* which praise Garibaldi as a common hero of the people were published before his visits to Britain in 1862 and 1864; his reception in 1864 was as enthusiastic as the reaction of his Italian supporters disseminated through the periodical. Garibaldi drew a lot of attention, 25,000 supporters attended his speech at the Crystal Palace, and he drew people from all ranks of society.[159] Riall notes that the "welcome given to him was unique, or at least unprecedented in the history of London".[160] In his speech, Garibaldi famously called Britain admirable in their "splendid institutions and their […] liberty".[161] With his claims, he found support in the growing democratic move-

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157 Garibaldi himself in his memoir draws upon this reputation as a military man, the title of the book being *The Life of* General *Garibaldi. Written by Himself* (emphasis mine).

158 Garibaldi's heroic humility and his disliking for violence is stressed in a number of other texts as well, cf. Over the Var, *CJ*, 29 Sep 1860; All the World Over, *CJ*, 11 May 1861; or On the Rock with Garibaldi, *CJ*, 29 Jun 1861.

159 Cf. Lucy Riall: Garibaldi. Invention of a Hero, New Haven 2008, p. 3 and pp. 330–346; Alfonso Scirocco: Garibaldi. Citizen of the World, Princeton 2007, pp. 331–342; Derek Beales: Garibaldi in England. The Politics of Italian Enthusiasm, in: John A. Davis / Paul Ginsborg (eds.): Society and Politics in the Age of the Risorgimento. Essays in Honour of Denis Mack Smith, Cambridge 2002, pp. 184–216. For Garibaldi's visit in Britain and the political implications and instrumentalisations, see Beales: Garibaldi in England; Nick Carter: Britain, Ireland and the Italian Risorgimento, Basingstoke 2015; Margot C. Finn: After Chartism. Class and Nation in English Radical Politics 1848–1874, Cambridge 1993; Ed Podesta / Pam Canning: Enquiring History. Italian Unification 1815–1871, London 2015; Riall: Garibaldi; E. D. Steele: Palmerston and Liberalism 1855–1865, Cambridge 1991 or Marcella Pellegrino Sutcliffe: Garibaldi in London, in: History Today 64.4, 2014, pp. 42–49.

160 Riall: Garibaldi, p. 336.

161 Quoted in Steele: Liberalism, p. 231.

ment,[162] in Protestantism, which supported his anti-Papal ideas, but also the political radicals, who were aiming for political equality across class boundaries. Garibaldi had contact with trade unions, was associated with the fight for freedom and democracy and the support he gained threatened political conservatives as well as the aristocracy.[163] Although *CJ* claimed political neutrality and support for the lower classes, their functionalisation of heroism can also be seen in the context of social stability. The periodical aimed to disseminate knowledge and improve living conditions, but did not propagate a radical re-structuring of society. *CJ*'s heroic imaginary in its focus on humble virtues such as selflessness and perseverance and the call for unmediated heroism can thereby be seen as a tool to stabilise those societal norms which some of Garibaldi's supporters in Britain questioned. It is thus unsurprising that the heroisation of Garibaldi as a humble common man working for the common good does not continue once he is openly associated with radical political ideas and becomes unattractive in the identity-forming agenda that heroism performed in the periodical.

It has become apparent that *CJ*, though using the military success of established national figures such as Nelson or Wellington as a frame of reference, tried to break down the hierarchical structures of army and navy in their depiction of military heroism – albeit without openly criticising the existence of hierarchies. Instead of reiterating the triumphs of the well-known 'great men', they focused on those men who constituted the largest part of the military in war time: middle-class and working-class men. In heroising these men, the contributors acknowledged their intended readership and their class-membership and – in their didactic agenda – focused on the values of courage, selflessness and the ability to suffer as virtues which they wanted their readership to admire and to emulate. In referring to military men of the past and resorting predominantly to fictional representations of military heroes located in the present day, the periodical on the one hand acknowledged the violent reality of war, and on the other hand did not contribute to an active worship of actual military figures. Guiseppe Garibaldi, the only major deviation from this pattern, is described as a common man with a focus on the same virtues and character traits and thus, though an exception because of his fame, is presented as a model for imitation as well.

John Reed argues that the British did not only "view themselves against a variety of othernesses that helped to define the way they might define their own character" in their military endeavours, but had to deal with a more complicated threat than the "external other": "Class differences in the home country were

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162 Riall argues that Garibaldi's visit in 1864 contributed to the mobilisation in support of "domestic reform and, in particular, an extension of the franchise which was to culminate in the Second Reform Act of 1867". Riall: Garibaldi, p. 339.

163 Queen Victoria is quoted to have written to her daughter "Garibaldi – thank God! – is gone!" (quoted ibid.) after his departure from Britain.

also an issue. What was manhood as it related to class?"[164] This can easily be related to the representation of military heroism in *CJ*. The focus on rank-and-file soldiers and (to a lesser extent) sailors mirrors the changing dynamics within the military system and the intended readership of the periodical; furthermore, the fact that, as Reed notes, manliness becomes contested as the military becomes less elite-centred shows in *CJ* as well.[165] The concentration on moral actions rather than on descriptions of physicality and pomp shows a movement away from traditional warrior-like manhood and offers a broader spectrum of identification, which not only included other male self-conceptions but could even cross gender boundaries. In emphasising the moral and communal motivation of soldierly actions, these underlying values, constituting in this context a decidedly national identity, could appeal to men as well as women amongst the readers. The focus on the communal function of the heroic can thus be seen as the one major constant in the depiction of military heroism in the periodical through times of war and peace. It has also become clear, how *CJ* had to adapt its peace-oriented approach to the societal realities around its publication and regulate its depiction of military actions accordingly.

4.5 Heroes of Civilisation

While the contested nature of military heroism played an important role in the representation of heroism in *CJ*, the periodical also presented civil forms of heroism. The Victorian era as a whole, and the second half of the nineteenth century in particular, was an age of progress. Industrialisation impacted all aspects of life, changed the industrial workplace, and transformed people's experience of time and space. Sparked by the rapid developments in technology and invention, progress came to be a defining idea of the age, in scientific terms as well as in relation to people's personal (educational) development.[166] The idea of advancement was, as a civilisatory project, often defined against a negative other,

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164 Reed: Army, p. 311.

165 However, as the examples of the lower class soldiers after their return have shown, the treatment of military men within Britain in times of peace was complicated by class issues. Whereas class and elite become, so Reed, less important within the military at war time (cf. ibid.), social status remains an issue for an individual soldier's or sailor's reputation and recognition within Britain.

166 For more detailed information on the industrial and scientific development and its effects on Victorian culture see Sally Alexander: St. Giles's Fair, 1830–1914. Popular Culture and the Industrial Revolution in the 19th Century, Oxford 1970; Asa Briggs: Iron Bridge to Crystal Palace. Impact and Images of the Industrial Revolution, London 1979; David Edgerton: Science, Technology and the British Industrial "Decline" 1870– 1970, Cambridge 1996; Lawrence Goldman: Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain. The Social Science Association 1857–1886, Cambridge 2007; MacLeod: Invention; Morgan: Industrial Britain; Robert Nisbet: History of the Idea of Progress, New York 1980; John W. Osborne: The Silent Revolution. The Industrial Revolution in England as a Source of

and also connected to Britain's imperial actions. The idea of individual participation in the advancement of civilisation, which had so strongly been propagated by Samuel Smiles in his idea of self-help, also featured in *CJ*. The following section will examine instances of heroism in *CJ*, which are shown as contributing to that progress. Played out on the diverse fields of science, medicine, and education, all examples are united by the idea of an individual contribution to the advancement of society as a whole.

Science

Science was a rapidly growing field in Victorian Britain and the findings of men such as T. H. Huxley, John Tyndall, Michael Faraday and Charles Darwin were revolutionising the way in which people perceived the world and themselves, and aroused many heated responses – both positive and negative. Especially to religious institutions and believers, the new insights into the history and evolution of mankind posed a serious threat, which could be perceived in many popular publications of the time. *CJ*, with its decided claim *not* to orient itself towards any religious denomination and its devotion to the mediation of popular science, rarely portrays scientists as heroes. Though scientists and inventors who, as MacLeod observes, "toiled in an anonymous workshop, far from the glorious field of battle, or the terrors of the ice floes, the desert or the jungle"[167] would have fitted the heroic imaginary of *CJ* with its focus on peacefulness and its closeness to the ideas of Samuel Smiles, almost no heroisation of members of these professions can be found.[168] When MacLeod states that "in a century remarkable for its celebration of heroes, the inventor too had his pedestal and his laurel wreath"[169] this decidedly does *not* hold true for the portrayal in *CJ*.

Different to other publications (such as, for example, *Leisure Hour*, as will become apparent in upcoming chapters), there are only a small number of texts in *CJ* which call scientific research or scientists heroic. Though science and techno-

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Cultural Change, New York 1970; James Paradis: Victorian Science and Victorian Values. Literary Perspective, New Brunswick 1985; L. D. Smith: Carpet Weavers and Carpet Masters. The Handloom Carpet Industry of Kidderminster 1780–1850, Kidderminster 1986; Frank M. Turner: Between Science and Religion. The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England, New Haven 1974; Edwin G. West: Education and the Industrial Revolution, London 1975 or Martin Wiener: English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980, Cambridge/New York 2004.

167 MacLeod: Invention, p. 1.

168 A further investigation into specific scientists, inventors or engineers have shown that a number of them (such as Darwin, Lyell, Newton or Stephenson) were introduced to the readers in biographical articles, yet none of them is described in the vocabulary of the heroic (cf. for example Lyell's Second Visit to the United States, *CJ*, 21 Jul 1849, 38–40 and 28 Jul 1849, 53–55; Newton, *CJ*, 13 Sept 1856, 168–170 and 20 Sept 1856, 179–182; George Stephenson, *CJ*, 22 Aug 1857, 125–128; or Darwin, *CJ*, 28 Jan 1888, 49–52).

169 MacLeod: Invention, p. 1.

logy as fields of inquiry played a significant role in *CJ*, technological and scientific advances and their personnel – scientists, inventors, engineers – were only seldom heroised. This points to two things. For one, it shows that the representation of science and technology in *CJ* was strongly focused on the mediation of knowledge. Articles about new inventions were often highly theoretical and described processes and machines in great detail in order to convey as much information as possible.[170] Secondly, the scarce usage of the vocabulary of heroism also highlights that the heroic was not used to convey knowledge, but was utilised on a different level. Whereas personal identification did not seem necessary in the reception of new factual information, the heroic and its identificatory potential was utilised as a vehicle for more abstract social instruction and (group) identity formation. It is not surprising then that the few examples of heroic scientists in the periodical focus on the personal investment and moral behaviour of specific individuals in their work for the collective rather than on the conveyance of facts, which dominate the general treatment of science in *CJ*.

It is through this sense of personal investment and duty that a number of texts connect the scientific field with the realm of heroism. Using the example of Galileo Galilei, "The Crown of Life" in 1876 establishes a relation between scientific work – more explicitly unappreciated scientific work – and values often connected to the heroic in *CJ*: "conscientiousness, self-sacrifice, love of right […] – all of which virtues are gathered together in that one word, Duty" (The Crown of Life, *CJ*, 24 Jun 1876, 401). Galileo is presented as an example of a "race of heroes" (ibid., 402) who act upon a sense of duty "irrespective of personal reward here or hereafter; duty apart from the praise of men, and without the hope of gain" (ibid., 401). It is not the scientific effort as such which is heroised in the text, but the continuation of scientific work even when it meets public rejection, ignorance or, as the case of Galileo implies, leads to prosecution and personal suffering.

Another instance of unappreciated scientific work can be found in Grant Allen's serial novel *Dumaresq's Daughter*, which appeared weekly in *CJ* between January and October 1891. One of the novel's protagonists, Haviland Du-

[170] For example, numerous articles on paper and print technology in the 1830, 1840s, and 1850s that gave detailed information about technological processes and step-by-step descriptions of the different jobs performed in a print shop and entailed in paper making. Thereby, the readers were included into a realm of quasi-professionality through the mediation of knowledge on the pages of the periodical (cf. for example Mechanisms of Chambers's Journal, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1835, 149–151; The Printing-Office – A Visit to Clowes's Establishment, *CJ*, 11 April 1840, 94–95; Soiree to Working People by Their Employers, *CJ*, 7 August 1841, 231–232; Printing By Magic, *CJ*, 4 Feb 1854, 68–70; or Old Inventions of New Discoveries, 17 Nov 1860, 306–309). The fact that such information gave readers practical knowledge is substantiated by letters from readers who, after the article "Printing By Magic" in 1854, had tried their hand at paper-making and sent in sheets of self-made paper to the journal. Cf. Paper Sent in by Readers, 1854, Dept 341/131: unnumbered, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

maresq, is frequently characterised as heroic in his pursuit of scientific excellence for the benefit of mankind at large. Significantly, the fictional character Dumaresq is not a natural scientist but a philosopher. Thus, he represents a scientific field which, given the transformations in Victorian society at large, was not of pressing societal relevancy, but could be important in the *reflection* of the effects of science and technology on society. As a representative of this very abstract scientific profession with a less tangible output than, for example, the natural sciences, the philosopher symbolises intellectual progress. Similar to the first example, Dumaresq is described as lacking public appreciation and being poorly compensated for his work throughout the novel. As a consequence, his heroism is as constituted by the core values of *CJ*'s heroic imaginary, selflessness and perseverance, which motivate him to keep up his efforts for the benefit of society as a whole. Characterised as a genius, Dumaresq also embodies different contemporary concepts of the heroic at the same time.

The plot of the novel connects different spheres of life and fields of work and displays indicative tensions where they intersect. The main protagonists of the narrative are Charles Austen Linnell, a young painter, Haviland Dumaresq and his daughter Psyche.[171] On a retreat to the countryside, Linnell meets Dumaresq, whom he is said to have admired for many years and whose *Encyclopaedic Philosophy* is a constant companion of his – "I never went anywhere that I didn't take it" (Grant Allen: Dumaresq's Daughter, *CJ*, 3 Jan 1891, 3). As the title already suggests, the overarching plot focuses on Dumaresq's daughter and the painter, who fall for each other but whose love has to overcome many obstacles, face societal preconceptions, paternal protectiveness and the cruelties of war when Linnell joins Gordon of Karthoum in his fight against the Madhi. Only after more than a year of trials, separation and illness are the lovers finally united in the last chapter of the novel.

At the outset of the novel, Linnell has taken up his summer residence in Petherton, Somerset, where Haviland Dumaresq lives in a humble small cottage. Dumaresq is set up as a heroic figure, yet in a way which is very different from the characterisations of heroic figures discussed in previous chapters. The philosopher is constructed as an otherworldly genius, described as "the philosopher who transcends space and time – the profoundest thinker of our age and nation – the greatest mathematician and deepest metaphysician in all Europe" (ibid.), "the deepest thinker of our age and race" (ibid., 5), and "nothing short of heroic" (ibid., 54). Over the first half of the novel, the philosopher is constructed as a prophet-like figure from the point of view of Linnell who calls him "noble" and "pure" (ibid., 19), even "majestic" (ibid., 10 Jan 1891, 20) with a "vivid apostolic energy" (ibid., 24 Jan 1891, 54). This implies Dumaresq possesses knowledge into

[171] The choice of name for the philosopher's daughter is already foreshadowing the young woman's fate of suffering and enduring before she and Linnell are happily united.

which a large number of others do *not* have insight and thus links him to the strand of thinking about the heroic which constructs heroes as leader figures and supposes distance between a hero and the group of followers.

The characterisation of Dumaresq and his work differs strongly depending on who is speaking. For Linnell he is, in a quite Carlylean sense, "a prophet born" (ibid., 14 Mar 1891, 163) who sacrifices his life for science and is "'[…] wholly absorbed and swallowed up in his work. […] He lives for nothing on earth, I do believe, but two things now – Philosophy and Psyche'" (ibid., 17 Jan 1891, 37). For other members of the society of Petherton, he is an oddity: "'Yes, he's wasted his life on writing books'" (ibid.) it is remarked, and Mrs Maitland, who fulfils the role of the shallow gossip in the novel, points out clearly that she considers Dumaresq inappropriate company:

> "Oh yes, Mr Dumaresq's very clever, I believe," Mrs. Maitland answered […]. "He's very clever, I've always understood, though hardly the sort of person, of course, one quite cares to mix with in society. He wears such extremely curious hats, and expresses himself so very oddly sometimes. But he's very clever in his own way, extremely clever, so people tell me, and full of information about all the ologies." (ibid., 36–37)

Mrs Maitland stands for all those members of society who lack the understanding of Dumaresq's work due to their own intellectual inability. Her assessment of his capacities is based on what "people" have told her and while her reference to "all the ologies" may show that she knows of Dumaresq's talents in various fields, it also exhibits her own incomprehension. For one, she judges Dumaresq by his compatibility to social etiquette, his outer appearance, talents of conversation, and class membership. The fact that "'he was once a gentleman'" (ibid., 37) whose social progress has been a descent strengthens her aversion. Though commenting upon the same virtues – Dumaresq's perseverance, his devotion and selflessness – Linnell and the other inhabitants of Petherton come to a fundamentally different evaluation. While the former has nothing but admiration for the philosopher and his work, those not interested in philosophy cannot sympathise with the old man and paint him as a hopeless, quixotic figure.[172] Dumaresq himself frequently expresses the high standards he sets for himself and emphasises his attempt to contribute to "'the advancement of thought'" (ibid., 24 Jan 1891, 55) and "'the good of the race'" (ibid., 7 Mar 1891, 148).

Though an eccentric figure, Dumaresq is established as an extraordinary thinker and man of high moral standards with the ability to suffer for a greater good. This is mostly achieved through the characterisations by Linnell, the narrator, and the contrast to the other summer guests, many of whom are shown as

[172] Interestingly, the narrator at one point calls Dumaresq "quixotic" (Dumaresq's Daughter, *CJ*, 7 Feb 1891, 86) but does not stress the hopelessness of the Quixotean cause, but the idealistic motivation behind it and the fact that Dumaresq does not give up though he is discouraged by his surroundings.

unintelligent and shallow.[173] What enhances Dumaresq's heroic suffering is the fact that, despite his renown in the scientific community and intellectual world, his untiring work does not give him financial freedom.[174] The very fact that his symbolic capital[175] seems to be more important to him than economic capital and the resulting struggle to get by seems to constitute his heroism. Stressing the fact that Dumaresq does not work for his own gain, but locates himself in a larger frame of reference, contributes to his idealistic reputation and also puts him in a line of scientists who were only appreciated after their death. The narrator compares Dumaresq to Newton, whose "gravitation was disbelieved for half a century" and Lamarck who "went blind and poor to his grave without finding one adherent for his evolutionary theories" (ibid., 31 Jan 1891, 69).

The novel recalls two fundamentally different concepts of heroism in its depiction of Dumaresq. On the one hand, the philosopher is described as a prophet figure reminiscent of Thomas Carlyle's ideal of heroism. The philosopher's intellectual capacities exceed those of his fellows and he possesses a superior insight into the nature of things. On the other hand, the values of perseverance and suffering and the fact that his work is not universally acknowledged is reminiscent of the depiction of scientists and engineers in the biographical sketches published by Samuel Smiles. Smiles had especially stressed these two virtues and encouraged his readers to perceive their work in the grander framework of human progress.[176] Though depicting a subject matter which is, especially through its limited applicability in everyday life when compared to other scientific advancements, removed from the lives of the prospective readers, the text nevertheless offers an identificatory potential through the emphasis on the core values of Dumaresq and his moral integrity. This potential is even stronger in Psyche, who is at various points in the text said to have characteristics similar to her father's, yet is – especially through her love for Linnell – more easily accessible for social identification.

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173 Among those belittling Dumaresq is also a vicar, whose rejection of Dumaresq is of a religious motivation, since the philosophical theories also take up theories of evolution which threaten religious power. Cf. ibid.

174 This is also due to the contemporary situation on the print market, as Psyche remarks, since "'[t]he Americans, of course, who read it so much, read it all in pirated editions'" (ibid., 31 Jan 1891, 69). Additionally Dumaresq, under financial pressure, has sold his copyright to the publishers and thus Linnell's efforts to indirectly financially support his "hero" (ibid., 24 Jan 1891, 53) by buying hundreds of copies of the *Encyclopaedic Philosophy* fails.

175 The fact that Dumaresq is renowned is not only stressed by his admirer Linnell, but affirmed in a different plot strand in which a group of young wealthy Americans in a conversation with Psyche – not knowing they are speaking to Dumaresq's daughter – praise the philosopher and the impact his thought has had on them.

176 Cf. for example: "All experience of life indeed serves to prove that the impediments thrown in the way of human advancement, may for the most part be overcome by steady good conduct, honest zeal, activity, perseverance, and above all by the determined resolution to surmount difficulties, and stand up manfully against misfortune" (*SH*, 277).

On the whole, however, the depiction of Dumaresq as a morally excellent scientist is an exception in *CJ*. Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the periodical discusses many new scientific developments on its pages and, for example, gives information about the latest inventions and scientific findings in the series "The Month" which appeared from 1854 onwards. However, scientists are rarely attributed heroic status or their scientific endeavours called heroism, as in the case of Dumaresq. The texts are predominantly written in a matter-of-fact style, introducing a new invention or discovery, its merits and area of applicability and giving the names of the scientists and inventors involved. If those are then discussed at all, it is mostly in regard to their extraordinary intellectual capacities, which for the contributors seem to rather call for the term genius than that of the hero. The scientific genius, as a cursory consideration of articles about scientific progress has shown, seemed to be considered only for its intellectual qualities, whereas those men and women labelled heroes in *CJ* seem to have a moral disposition which makes them relatable to the audience. The potential for identification and subsequent emulation hence emerges again as a main prerequisite for heroic figures in the periodical and emphasises its didactic intention. The domain of science shows clearly how extraordinary figures removed from the readers' lives and praised for their ingenuity and outstanding brilliance cannot perform the function of role models. Since genius is something which one cannot aspire to, the focus on the moral disposition of scientists in face of public disregard[177] of their work opens an avenue for the consumers to relate.

It is no surprise then that those few instances in which scientists are heroised stress their likeness to the 'common man'. For example, a text about "Peter Mackenzie the Naturalist" elaborates upon his scientific devotion to botany in a two-page article. It is not, however, his specific findings in horticulture which are called heroic but his attitude, the fact that he was, though "from the humblest rank of society" (Peter Mackenzie the Naturalist, *CJ*, 11 May 1850, 299), committed to better his life and educate himself. His life story, the text proclaims, is "one likely to prove interesting, as showing, […] that the labourer, after his hard day's work is done, may calmly sit down by the fireside, and spend his evenings in the prosecution of scientific study, without any sacrifice of domestic enjoyment" (ibid.). This remark in the first paragraph immediately establishes a bond between Mackenzie and the readers implicitly addressed as "the labourer". Beginning from Mackenzie's childhood "in a very humble station" (ibid.), the text then traces his education and thirst for knowledge. Among his personal "heroes" are not military men "from the Duke of Wellington downwards" (ibid.) but "such eminent horticulturists as Mr Ingram, gardener to her Majesty, and Mr

[177] In this respect, the unappreciated scientific hero complies with the call of *CJ* for silent heroism without public recognition elaborated upon in chapter 4.2.

Towers, now overseer to his Royal Highness Prince Albert at Osborne" (ibid.). Through the progression of Mackenzie's career, the text stresses his perseverance and dedication, the fact that he was always "[a]nxious to improve himself as much as possible" (ibid.). He is shown teaching himself Latin because one of the important works of botany is only accessible to him in this language and studies daily "when the labours of the day were over" (ibid., 300). In presenting Mackenzie as one of the "heroes" (ibid., 299) of horticulture, the magazine does not aim at a validation of the specific field of scientific research but praises the attitude with which Mackenzie went about his studies, his perseverance, determination and the fact that he was "unambitious of fame" (ibid., 300). Through his humble family background and the comparison with the "labourer" in the first paragraph, the text offers Mackenzie as a role model for the readers to identify with and can be read as an invitation to the readers to educate themselves further, even if they have a full-time job.[178] In this emphasis on perseverance and hard work, MacKenzie is distinctly differentiated from the figure of the genius and constructed as a more relatable character.

The rarity of the usage of the vocabulary of the heroic in relation to scientists and scientific research[179] is remarkable. The fact that *CJ* agreed with the theories of leading scientists such as Darwin[180] and did not object to the new ideas for religious reasons,[181] might not have made the topics potentially destabilising enough for scientific figures to be heroised (or de-heroised), but may have resulted in a more matter-of-fact mediation of new scientific findings. Rather, the scientists are shown as performing a duty and – since the scientific community itself was not part of the intended readership and scientists at large were of no great identificatory potential for the audience – a heroisation of their work would not necessarily have furthered the journal's didactic agenda to give the readers role models within the realistic scope of their emulation. In this context,

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178 It is worth noting that the text also refers to Mackenzie's contributions to various popular horticultural magazines. The connection between the praising of the scientist and the popular print market is a clever marketing tool to establish periodicals – and thus implicitly also *CJ* – as a reliable source of educational material for "the labourer". Peter Mackenzie the Naturalist, *CJ*, 11 May 1850, 299.

179 The heroisation of men of industry and invention is similarly scarce in *CJ*.

180 The editor Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* in 1844 proposed a theory of natural history independent from religious thought and a model of transmutation of species. The book, which was published anonymously at the time, created a public sensation and Chambers is often considered one of the most important precursors of Darwin. Cf. Peter J. Bowler: Evolution. The History of an Idea, Berkeley 1989; Edward Larson: Evolution. The Remarkable History of a Scientific Theory, New York 2006 or James A. Secord: Victorian Sensation. The Extraordinary Publication, Reception, and Secret Authorship of Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation, Chicago 2003.

181 The above-discussed text "The Crown of Life" shows that *CJ* takes a diametrically opposed stance: the text identifies "narrowness and illiberality" (The Crown of Life, *CJ*, 24 Jun 1876, 403) in many religious institutions throughout history which interferes with the "free action" (ibid.) necessary for the proper development of human ideas.

the exceptions constituted by "Dumaresq's Daughter" and "Mackenzie the Naturalist" can be explained as well, since the two scientific men discussed in the texts are both closer to the readership, through birth or financial status, than many other eminent scientists.

While scientists seemed to be too far removed from readers' lives, another profession concerned with the progress of society was described more frequently with the vocabulary of the heroic: the medical profession.

Medicine

The medical profession, with its fundamental social function of preserving life and helping others, fits well into *CJ*'s heroic imaginary and it is not surprising that men and women caring for the health of others are frequently called heroic in the journal. In the context of selflessness, the story of the "Hospital Hero" has already served as an example of the self-denying actions of a doctor saving a mentally ill patient thereby risking his own life, and this pattern of medical professionals endangering their own safety to secure the well-being of their patients re-emerges in various other contributions. Furthermore, medicine acts as a marker of civilisatory standards, which *CJ* for example established using the contrasting example of Russia. Thereby it implies that the status and professionalism of medicine also sheds light on the more general standard of a civilisation.

Representatives of medical professions considered heroic can, for example, be found in "Men of the Time". The article is a review of a book of *Biographical Sketches of Eminent Living Characters* published by Bogue's in 1856. The text starts with a critical examination of the book, which according to the reviewer needs "numerous amendments" (Men of the Time, *CJ*, 22 Mar 1856, 183) and most importantly needs a "withdrawal of the critical opinions of the editor" (ibid.). Further, the reviewer emphasises that important men and women, particularly ones from the medical profession such as James Clark and William Ferguson, have been omitted from the volume. Interestingly, a further criticism is that artists feature so prominently in the book whereas those texts which are deemed worthy as "encouragement" (ibid., 184) for the readers are too few in number. Not only do these statements show that the author values the medical profession higher in its societal influence than that of the artist, but they also clearly point out that the function of such a collection of biographies is to give the readers examples to aspire to. Accordingly, the article only renarrates examples of men such as Elihu Burritt, Richard Cobden or William Cubitt, who made their way to public recognition from a humble background presumed to be similar to that of the intended readers.

In its second part, the review compliments the book's section on "distinguished females" and expresses the "hope to see this department fuller in another edition" (ibid., 184). Elizabeth Blackwood is identified as the prime ex-

ample of "female heroism" (ibid.) in the book and is one of the only biographies which the review sketches in greater detail. The American "lady-physician" (ibid.) is depicted as being motivated by "sound and reasonable motives" (ibid., 185) to enter "her calling" (ibid.) – medicine:

> She was influenced in this determination [to pursue the study of medicine], not by a personal taste for and curiosity about its mysteries […] but first by a desire to open a new field for the exercise of feminine talent and energy, hitherto restricted within limits wholly inadequate to their requirements. (ibid.)

Apart from the will to do good, which is implied in the medical profession as such, Blackwood is described as being not only motivated by personal interests (such as "taste" or "curiosity", ibid.)[182] but by an interest to improve society for women at large. The text subsequently describes her struggle to gain access to the necessary education and emphasises her dedication and perseverance. Once she has finally found an institution willing to teach her, she is shown working hard in the more 'womanly' profession of teaching music and languages in order to be able to earn the money she needs to be able to attend the lectures. She works and learns in an untiring effort "where most men would have rested from their labours, she started anew" (ibid.). The "female heroism" of Blackwood is on the one hand one of individual achievement through relentless persevering work and determination. On the other hand, the herorization of the doctor stresses the social aspect of the profession and her being a female further emphasises the contribution of her effort to the possibilities for women on a larger scale. The fact that her profession directly results in an enhanced wellbeing of a larger group of people then seems to make her transgression from the ideal of the domestic woman and the pursuit of her individual educational goal acceptable.

Furthermore, the status of the medical profession is used as an indicator for the more general status of civilisation. In 1881, the essay "Popular Medicine in Russia" examines the situation in Russian hospitals and paints a bleak picture. Drawing on information from the publication *Old and New Russia* written by a Russian national, the text depicts the Russian medical system as belonging to a different stage of civilisation, full of "gross superstitions and almost barbaric customs" (Popular Medicine in Russia, *CJ*, Mar 5 1881, 159). In many more remote villages, access to medical help is scarce:

> we know that of the regularly qualified doctors who take up their abode in small provincial towns, there are but few who will consent to travel for many miles on bad roads to visit a patient from whom they can in most cases expect no larger remuneration than a loaf of new bread or half-a-dozen eggs. If the patient is not too ill to be moved, and can be brought either to the doctor's house or the hospital, something will be done for him,

[182] In this respect the medical hero is clearly differentiated from the scientific hero, whose endeavours, though possibly directed at the advancement of knowledge for humankind at large, are per se driven by curiosity.

> and he may recover; but if he cannot leave his village, it is his own look-out, not the doctor's. (ibid.)

The Russian doctors are depicted as selfish and unwilling to sacrifice their own comfort for the sake of the patients – even if that endangers their lives and they have to resort to the "village quack" (ibid.) for dubious help which makes them "rather suffer" (ibid.) than recover. These quacks, or "witches" and "wizard" (ibid., 160) as the text calls them, are then presented in an even worse light as they spread superstition. Therefore the Russian common folk, so the text, views the "prevalent diseases" (ibid., 159), for example fevers like malaria or ague, anthropomorphised as invisible women who "go from village to village and from house to house in search of some human being, in whom they may conveniently take up their abode" (ibid., 160). The "quacks" then seemingly provide the knowledge of cures for the fevers: "Each of the twelve Sisters [i.e. the different kinds of fever] is supposed to have a great dislike to some special mode of treatment, and will at once leave the patient if it should be resorted to" (ibid.). However, what is so casually called a "treatment" (ibid.) is in some cases a rather dubious means to cure fever. One "sister" (ibid.) is supposed to be "afraid of cutting-instruments" (ibid.) so that the villagers are advised to "surround the patient's bed with knives, axes, scythes, spades, saws, &c., which must be laid with their sharp edges turned towards the door" (ibid.). Other kinds of fever are said to respond to even more absurd forms of treatment, such as taking the sick person outside close to an ash-tree of similar height as the patient, cleaving the tree in two and letting the patient climb naked through the cleft trunk (cf. ibid.). Other cures even turn to violent measures, for example one illness is "attributed to the sprouting of wings, in that particular region [of the chest]" (ibid.). The healer then 'removes' these invisible wings in a painful operation by pinching "the skin of the back, beginning at the shoulder-blades" (ibid.) with a sharp object.

Against this backdrop of selfishness on the side of the medical professionals and brutality and irrationality on the side of the "quack[s]" (ibid., 159), the text then shows "exceptions" (ibid.) from this Russian rule: "examples of heroic self-sacrifice on the part of medical men during the late epidemics of diphtheria and typhoid fever" (ibid.). Although the article leaves it at that short mention and does not give actual "examples" (ibid.) of these men, the sober statement, which is in stark contrast to the quasi-fantastical descriptions of the treatments against the "twelve Sisters", emphasises the value of these "exceptions". The medical men are shown as embodiments of selflessness because they – unlike the doctors mentioned before – are willing to compromise their own comfort for the health of their patients. Additionally, the "heroic" men are representatives and agents of rationality and civilisation against the barbarism and irrational superstitions spread and perpetuated by the presumed village healers.

In a different context, a note in the series "The Month: Science and the Arts" in July 1900 shows two doctors who compromise their own safety for the sake of

curing others: under the heading "A Daring Experiment" (The Month, *CJ*, 28 Jul 1900, 557) the reader is presented with the story of two English doctors who are reported to be on their way to the Roman Campagna. The region is said to be a "fever-stricken district" (ibid.) of Italy and the two men embark on a self-experiment to prove that malaria is transmitted through mosquitoes. For six months, so the text, they will be "mixing freely with the populace during the day, but [will be] shut up in a mosquito-proof house at night. […] If the inmates escape malaria – living as they will […] – it may be considered a certainty that the disease is spread by the mosquitoes" (ibid.). In the second part of the experiment, the doctors will then expose themselves to "thirty or forty" mosquitoes to prove the matter "beyond doubt" (ibid.). The actions of the two men, the note concludes, are to be celebrated as "heroism […] [which] requires something more than a Victoria Cross for due recognition" (ibid.). Their heroism is of social value on the largest possible scale since the benefit of their medical experiment could possibly benefit the global population. Significantly, this last phrase not only heroises the two men, but – as has been seen in other cases – values their act of self-endangerment[183] for the sake of humanity at large *higher* than military heroics rewarded with the Victoria Cross.

The heroisation of the medical profession in *CJ* can be seen in the general context of the periodical's social agenda. Just as the publication itself wanted to contribute to the well-being of society at large – though on an intellectual level – the medical professionals represented as heroic are contributing to the stability of society by devoting their strength and energy to the preservation of individual lives or the safety of humanity at large through the research of entire diseases. In doing so, the medical professionals are often shown compromising or even endangering their own lives for the sake of the patient in an act of communal loyalty and devotion.

Education

As was already discussed in relation to selflessness, the education of children was regarded as the crucial part of their journey to becoming a being of high moral standard and virtues. Whether through the telling of stories or within the formal education system, the acquisition of knowledge was seen as essential in the furthering of good character. In this context, mothers are frequently valued as the first educators of children. The idea that children's raw potential needed to be

[183] Another instance of the selfless risk-taking of a medical man can for example be seen in "Quarantine", in which a doctor volunteers to enter a ship on which cholera has broken out and all the Englishmen have died already. Only the Indian coolies are still alive, yet severely sick. The surgeon enters the ship and manages to save "the lives of half the Indians" (Quarantine, *CJ*, 16 Nov 1889, 732) in an act of "heroism" (ibid.) that could have cost him his own life.

cultivated and tamed makes a mother's influence a civilising one. It is unsurprising then that women feature prominently in the articles which show the effort to educate and elevate children as a form of heroism. Strikingly, almost all articles which are devoted to the female involvement in formal *public* education efforts are placed in the British colonies, whereas the female influence on children in a domestic British setting is largely restricted to the familial household. Thus, the foreign setting seemed to have allowed more liberty regarding the positive depiction of women's professional life, while the same might have proven more difficult for women engaged in the fight for education within Britain.

The article "Female Heroism" illustrates very pointedly how female work[184] in education is heroised in *CJ*. The woman performing the "female heroism" of the title is Mary Ann Wilson who had come to Calcutta in 1821 and devoted the rest of her life to the education of native women. From the outset of the text, Wilson is described in terms of the heroic imaginary, her "chivalry" (Female Heroism, *CJ*, 12 Aug 1848, 108) is praised and the fact that she "voluntarily devoted herself to this difficult task" (ibid.) is stressed. She is shown as selfless in her efforts and persevering though having to face many obstacles. The main hindrance, so the text, was the attitude towards female education in Calcutta. Though the population is described as eagerly engaging in the British educational programmes for boys ("these attempts […] met with no opposition on the part of the natives; on the contrary, they warmly seconded them, and the schools were crowded with boys", ibid.), "the prejudices against educating females were not to be easily overcome" (ibid.). Indian women, so the depiction in the text, were only allowed to learn domestic skills ("making a curry or a pillau", ibid.) and were nothing but a "plaything of the family" (ibid.) until the time to marry and perform the "domestic duties of the wife" (ibid.) came upon the young women. "[I]ntellectual acquirements" (ibid.), however, were not deemed fitting for women and were highly discouraged. Interestingly, this situation is described as cruel and overly restrictive, the housewife's life is called "intolerable", her condition a "confinement" (ibid.). The women living as such are described as "depressed" and "whithered" (ibid.); this is highly interesting in the light of *CJ*'s later depiction of female education and employment in Britain. For example, "Filling Little Pitchers" in 1881 showed girls less capable of intellectual capacities than boys and saw their destiny in one day making "the angel of home, a woman full of kindly helpfulness and sweetness, and capable of the heroism of self-sacrifice" (Filling Little Pitchers, *CJ*, 20 Aug 1881, 534). Essays like "Heroines" propagated the domestic realm and deemed activities just like the ones denigrated with regard to the Indian women as being worthy of the highest admiration (cf. Heroines, *CJ*, 2 Aug 1884, 492–494). The present text, however, rejects an

[184] In this and the following cases, work always refers to public education efforts, not to the private work of educating one's children. The latter is usually not termed education but often subsumed under the term influence, which a mother should exert on her children.

uneducated life confined to the domestic sphere for the native women of Calcutta and then describes Mary Wilson's efforts to overcome these resentments:

> The *task was difficult*; […] Animated with a *determination* to spare no *personal exertion*, she had herself trained to the business of general instruction, and *did not fear* the effects of an Indian climate. Physically, morally, and intellectually, she was fitted for her task. Her health was excellent, her spirits elastic; her temper even; her mind clear, quick and shrewd. Her manners most engaging, though dignified; and her *will indomitable*. (Female Heroism, *CJ*, 12 Aug 1848, 108, emphases mine)

Apart from attributes which show general good education and character, Mrs Wilson is presented as possessing various character traits which are associated with the heroic in many texts in *CJ*: she is determined, "her will indomitable" (ibid.), fearless regarding possible physical discomfort, does not falter in the face of certain difficulty sure to come but perseveres. Furthermore, her actions are self-denying, she does not shy away from "personal exertion" (ibid.) if it aids bettering the situation of women in Calcutta. At first, her efforts are described as unsuccessful, yet she is shown to have "hoped, trusted, and [was] determined to remedy what appeared remediable" (ibid.). In time, she resorts to paying poor women to come to her school and, after some time, her class room fills. However, the eventual success of her school is not enough for her and she becomes determined to find a way to educate children "from their very infancy, uncontaminated by the evil examples of a native home" (ibid.).[185] Finally, she opens an orphanage where she is not only shown to successfully educate children, but also gives refuge to families after natural catastrophes and "a home to all who would take it" (ibid., 110). In conclusion, it is emphasised again that it was not for her own benefit that Wilson worked but "to elevate the native woman; not merely to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, the use of the needle, &c., but to purify the mind, to subdue the temper, to raise her in the scale of being, to render her the companion and helpmate of her husband, instead of his slave and drudge" (ibid.). The process of "female heroism" conducted by Wilson is depicted as an evolution from a helpless slave to a more self-determined woman[186] rather than a mere acquisition of knowledge and the heroism as represented in the text can thus literally be seen as a civilising act. Nevertheless, the emphasis on Wilson giving "a home" to others frames her places in a domestic setting and counterbalances her otherwise progressive role as a professional woman.

A biographical sketch of Caroline Chisholm in 1852 shows similar strategies of herorization. Right from the outset of the text, which was placed on the cover of the issue, she is established as a "heroic Englishwoman" (Mrs. Chisholm, *CJ*,

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185 This agenda, which is praised by the text, shows clearly the British resentments towards the natives of India – and their other colonies – in terms of their capabilities.

186 The initial state of the Indian women is further stressed by the fact that the article published after "Female Heroism" in *CJ* is concerned with helpless "babes in the woods" of Shetland. The Babes in the Woods, *CJ*, 12 Aug 1848, 110–111.

25 Sep 1852, 193) with the following characteristics: "her enthusiastic and ceaseless endeavours to do good, the discretion and intelligence with which she pursues her aims, and her remarkable self-sacrifices in the cause of humanity" (ibid.). The virtues are listed in ascending order with the "remarkable self-sacrifices in the cause of humanity" being the climax. Her philanthropic efforts – which would have been known to the contemporary reader prior to reading the article – are embedded in a larger framework of her devotion towards mankind at large. The text then focuses on Chisholm's time in Australia and her work with British, and especially female, emigrants. Like Wilson, she is thus dealing with a group of people which is not regarded highly in public opinion, since many emigrations to Australia at the time were caused by debt and would still have been associated with the penal transportations of convicts. She also has to overcome obstacles and at first fails to find funding for her educational projects ("much jealousy and prejudice, however, required to be overcome. Bigotry was even brought into play", ibid.). Nevertheless, Chisholm "persevered" (ibid.) until she had sufficient funds to equip a home for female emigrants who entered the country without companions or funds. The text then also gives voice to Chisholm herself, whose recently published memoir is quoted. After several anecdotes about her life with the women, the text then especially praises the goal set in the following excerpt from the memoir: "'It is my intention to return to Australia in the early part of the next year, and there endeavour to still further promote the reunion of families […].'" Through her efforts, so her words, she wants to contribute to "'a new element of peace, order, and civilisation, more powerful than soldiers – to a golden chain of domestic feeling […]'" (ibid.). Chisholm's self-professed civilising aim is one of education, but ultimately a domestic goal. Since it is reported that Chisholm is always in want of funds, the text's final sentence "Every one may well concur in paying honour to Caroline Chisholm!" (ibid.) can thus be seen in a double sense: on the one hand, the paying of honour to the "heroic Englishwoman" in an idealistic sense emphasises her heroism, on the other hand, it clearly calls for concrete financial contributions.

Similar depictions of female heroism on civilising missions can also be found in later decades, for example in the 1878 text "The Jubilee Singers" which reports of American "movement ladies" who "extend[ed] the blessings of elementary education to hordes of negroes" (The Jubilee Singers, *CJ*, 12 Jan 1878, 18). In a selfless act despite "the confusion and rankling animosities that prevailed in the south [in the time directly after the Civil War], the efforts to uplift the negro by means of schools were heroic, often dangerous, and always attended with difficulty" (ibid.). Again – the "heroic" (ibid.) educational project of the women is described as the act of civilising an inferior group of people – as an action for the good of others rather than oneself.

The texts discussed offer an interesting image of female heroism, one in which the women possess a strong agency never attributed to women in texts set in Britain. The foreign setting seems to be a distant realm and different enough for women to be allowed to act more freely. All of the above cases are strong examples for contemporary readers because they claim to be authentic and would – especially in the case of Caroline Chisholm – have been well-known already. Therefore, the female hero as represented in the colonial context transgresses her traditional realm in a second way, in that she is 'allowed' to be publicly praised for her heroic actions and is even encouraged to continue them. This stands in stark contrast to the silent heroism so often propagated for both men and women in *CJ*. Nevertheless though, the humility of the heroines is emphasised, of which the last sentences of "Eliza Warick. A Heroine in Humble Life"[187] are representative: "The facts of this history are strictly true; the incidents are not imaginary, but real. The circumstances were known to many who benefited by this meek heroine's kindness" (Eliza Warick, *CJ*, 12 Dec 1874, 787). The identificatory potential of the text for female readers is not as clear as for different types of heroic behaviour in *CJ*. The exotic setting, which seemed to have enabled this active and public form of female heroics, can also be seen as distancing and alienating for the contemporary reader. On the other hand, the abstract virtues established as heroic in all of the texts and their caring devotion to others who are less fortunate than they are, could be transferred to the life of the readers as well. On a higher level, the texts also stress the importance of education and strongly propagate domestic stability, which readers could have aspired to themselves.

On the whole, the texts depicting heroes of civilisation play to the core values of *CJ*'s heroic imaginary: selflessness and perseverance. All the examples discussed from the fields of science, medicine and education are thereby an identificatory offer for the readers, the heroes are role models worth aspiring to. However, gender acts as a complicating factor in this context. It has become obvious that the heroism of the professional female educators is only possible when removed to a setting shown as uncivilised. A similar depiction of female heroic agency in a public environment was, however, not possible within Britain. Though exemplifying similar virtues, female heroism within mainland Britain was strictly limited to an everyday domestic setting. The fact that selflessness and perseverance were the basis of such different types of female heroism in terms of individual agency also emphasises the broad accessibility of this form of moral heroism. It is this very fact which *CJ* utilised in their didactic application of the heroic.

[187] This article presents another example of a female civilisation effort in Calcutta in the eighteenth century and – before Eliza Warick's venture into the educational profession – is also a tale of adventure at sea.

4.6 *Everyday Heroism*

Another major domain of heroism in *CJ* is everyday life. Under that term, I subsume two larger categories. The first depicts heroic acts of lifesaving which make a person transgress from the normality of their everyday life in order to come to the help of another. John Price defines this form of everyday heroism as "acts of life-risking bravery, undertaken by otherwise ordinary individuals, largely in the course of their daily lives, and within quotidian surroundings".[188] Stories of the saving of others while risking one's own life were popular in the Victorian era and real-life instances of lifesaving, especially those performed by "otherwise ordinary individuals" (as opposed to professional lifesavers such as lifeboat men or firemen), were honoured in popular media and institutionally through medals such as those given by the Royal Humane Society.[189] The term everyday applies to these acts in so far as most of the cases which I will discuss in the following are spontaneous acts in the everyday life of those later heroised in *CJ*.

The second type of everyday heroism is a distinctly class-bound one. Here, examples can be found of the heroisation of everyday work life as well as the representation of a gender-integrative heroism of working class private life. It is not an extraordinary act that transgresses the normal routines of everyday which is heroised, but that very routine, the successful handling of everyday life *itself*, which is called heroic. Both categories, even more strongly the second one, emphasise the social position of the heroes, which makes the everyday hero in *CJ* a distinctly working class and lower-middle class representative. While the acts of lifesaving once again propagate the values of *CJ*'s heroic imaginary, the latter form of everyday heroism is most distinctly used as a means of validation of the intended consumers' lives. Since existing social structures are heroised rather than a utopia of a future society is developed, the represented heroism constitutes a tool to stabilise existing norms and discourage social change.

Saving Lives Abroad

During the 1850s and 1860s, the articles on heroic acts of lifesaving are largely set outside the British Isles and often placed in colonial settings. The texts, a number of which I will discuss in the following, read like adventure tales and are mostly fictional accounts. Though the exotic setting allowed for more colourful and spectacular stories, the lifesavers' moral mindset and selfless motivation is

188 Price: Everyday Heroism, p. 2.

189 For a detailed analysis of acts of lifesaving in Victorian everyday life and their valorisation see John Price's study *Everyday Heroism. Victorian Constructions of the Heroic Civilian*. It gives a comprehensive description of institutionalised rewards such as the Albert Medal or the awards of the Royal Humane Society and the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust and further analyses public commemoration of everyday heroism such as monuments.

stressed, which – despite the more sensational form – integrates the heroes into *CJ*'s heroic imaginary. Furthermore, the fact that the heroic protagonists are exclusively British in a colonial setting constructs and emphasises Britain's supremacy in a global context.

"A Swim for Life" is set in the Caribbean Sea outside of Antigua. It tells the story of a number of English sailors, who – on a whim and despite the suspicious weather conditions – take their ship's pinnace for a sail. Outside of the harbour, their boat is soon caught up in the high waves and capsized. With a fast-rising sea and a hurricane forming, "[t]he prospect of affairs was certainly not inspiriting […]. They were clinging to the wreck of a small boat, their ship was hidden from sight by clouds of rain – for the storm had now come on in all its fury – and the land was invisible from the same cause" (A Swim for Life, *CJ*, 26 Mar 1859, 207). In this hopeless situation, the young men are "determined upon a plan, which nothing but the desperate emergency of the case could have suggested" (ibid., 208). This phrase clearly shows that the act of heroism to come is a situational one: heroism which is activated by a specific circumstance rather than premeditation. The two strongest swimmers of the group decide to try and swim ashore, "the place swarmed with sharks" (ibid.) and looming death in the shape of the "horrid monsters" (ibid.) constantly surrounds the two men. Despite their own fear of being attacked by the shark or drowned in the storm, the men go on because "the thought of their comrades clinging to that upturned boat roused them to fresh exertions" (ibid.). The "heroes" (ibid.) are then shown finally reaching the shore, only to be attacked by "a number of negroes" (ibid.) who do not recognise them as Englishmen. Only after they communicate to them that they are Britons can the men go and send help to their comrades. While the men on the capsized pinnace are then brought to safety, the selfless act of the two swimmers has left its mark on them. Not only are they "nearly dead from exhaustion" (ibid.) when they have fulfilled their task, but both fall "victim to [their] heroism" (ibid.), which is constituted by their sacrifice for the rest of the group: one of the men dies while the other "was seriously injured, and his powers of mind affected by all that he had gone through" (ibid.). The title "Swim for Life" can thus primarily be read from the perspectives of those who remained on the wrecked boat: their lives were saved while the two "heroes" themselves did not swim towards their own safety but accepted death and injury for the well-being of their comrades.

Another example of saving lives at sea in the Caribbean can be found in "A Long Swim". It tells the tale of a group of Englishmen embarking on a leisurely sail in the Caribbean Sea before Antigua. On the open sea, a wind gets hold of the ship which falls on the "beams-end" (A Long Swim, *CJ*, 17 Nov 1866, 721). Because a rather unskilled member of the party is holding the wheel at that time, the whole of the group finds itself in the water. As several of the group are not able to swim and their fear of sharks grows by the minute, two men take charge

of the situation, help the others onto the pinnace's keel and set out to swim to the harbour for the sake of the whole group: "'If we were forced to remain in this desperately uncomfortable situation all night, there was every probability that some one, overcome by sleep, would be slipping off his unpleasant perch into the sea […]'" (ibid., 722). The "two heroes" (ibid.) leave the group behind and steadily swim towards the coast. After some time, though, one of them grows weaker and weaker and finally demands to be left behind by the other. However, the other refuses to "desert a friend in difficulty" (ibid., 723) and resumes his journey with the friend on his back. Having to fight several sharks, he finally reaches the shore, with the "half-dead" man in tow; his "heroic conduct in taking that perilous swim in the dark" (ibid., 724) then results in the rescue of the entire party.

The tale, which above all is an entertaining story of adventure at sea,[190] still has a didactic message that the narrator expresses explicitly:

> People talk a good deal about our national degeneracy now a days; it doesn't look much like national degeneracy, I imagine, when, out of ten men – some of whom, as not being able to swim at all, must be left out for the account – two could be found to go in for such a very forlorn-hope as this. (ibid., 722)

Despite the fact that the text places a strong emphasis on the adventure-elements and even shows some comic moments, this narratorial comment connects the adventure in the exotic setting of the Caribbean with the reality of the reader. It takes up the public debate on the moral state of society and rejects the assumption brought forth by many members of the elite that contemporary society was one without remarkable figures. With the counter-example of the fearless swimmer, the text sets up courageous behaviour and brave actions for the sake of a collective as a desirable national standard and thus establishes values which the readers can identify with.

Both of the stories set in the Caribbean Sea depict acts of lifesaving which were caused by members of the respective groups themselves. In the first story, the sailors could have known better than to leave the port in that kind of weather; in the second story, the fact that an inexperienced man was in charge of the wheel leads to the situation which makes a rescue necessary in the first place. The stories can thus not only be seen as adventure tales in exotic climes, but can also be read as an appeal for responsible action at sea. Furthermore, in a context of global politics, the representations of British heroism in colonial settings emphasise British supremacy. Through depicting moments of struggle and un-

[190] A scene which adds to this entertaining quality shows the "hero" directly after reaching the shore where he realises that he is naked. He worries that he will not be taken for sane and no help will be sent to the party still clinging to the pinnace. When he meets a native on the shore, he bargains with him for his clothes and only succeeds so after knocking him "down". A Long Swim, *CJ*, 17 Nov 1866, 724. This scene not only acts as a comic instance, but stresses the perceived British supremacy over the colonial natives.

friendly encounters with natives, the British men prove their moral and physical dominance.

Saving Lives in British Waters

The tendency to place acts of lifesaving at sea in colonial settings ends after the 1860s and more and more stories of heroic acts in British waters can be found in *CJ*. This increase is not surprising, since the institution of the Albert Medal in 1866 had drawn much public attention to acts of lifesaving at sea – a dynamic on the consumer market that *CJ* identified and answered. The fact that the medal was only awarded for acts of lifesaving at sea can also account for the fact why stories about heroic acts on the water can be found much more frequently in *CJ* than similar acts on land.[191]

One example of a heroic act on the British coast can be found in the serial novel "Won – Not Wooed". Within the larger frame of the narrative, set in a British coastal town, one chapter shows an incident of distress at sea.[192] A party of summer guests is visiting a lighthouse and want to take a walk towards some rocks that are only accessible during low tide. The group reaches their destination in good spirits and, in their fascination with the flora and fauna of the rock, fail to notice the returning water. Within minutes the "rock had become an island, separated by a great waste of water from the shore" (Won – Not Wooed, *CJ*, 11 Jan 1871, 84). While the tide is rising around them, the group discusses whom to leave on the rock and whom to save; only two of the men know how to swim and only the younger one feels confident to try and take someone with him on his swim. The two women argue that they should be left behind,[193] yet no decision is made. In growing despair the group finally succeeds in catching the attention of a young man on shore, who, as their "hero of the day" (ibid., 18 Jan 1871, 102), attempts – and finally succeeds – to rescue them. Since the tide has not yet reached the shore, the young man has to push and carry a boat big enough to hold the whole of the party until he reaches waters deep enough for it to float. The group watches his struggle and constructs his everyday heroism in

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191 This changed after the medal was extended to acts of lifesaving on land in 1877, as will be shown in a subsequent part of this chapter.

192 For the purpose of this study, the larger frame of the narrative is not relevant; therefore, I will only refer to the pertinent sequence.

193 Taking responsibility, the young woman demands the men "'to leave us, and look to your own safety. It was my wish that brought you all to this place: do not let my last moments be embittered by the thought that you have lost your lives, twice over, through my means'." Won – Not Wooed, *CJ*, 11 Jan 1871, 85. Thereby, she herself proposes a selfless act which might be considered heroic, and which mirrors common contemporary conceptions of female virtues such as willingness to sacrifice and regard for others. The construction of a distinctly female form of heroism around these virtues will be discussed in greater detail later on.

line with established communal heroic figures: "'He must have the strength of Hercules. That is the very feat which Bruce performed in Scotland, and Garibaldi in South America – the taking one's ships over dry land'" (ibid., 11 Jan 1871, 86). After a part of the way, the young man has to carry the boat and "Hercules had become Atlas, and was carrying, not the world, indeed, but their own hope of rejoining the world, upon his shoulders. He staggered under the enormous burden, but he staggered *on*" (ibid., 87). The task performed by the "young hero" (ibid., 18 Jan 1871, 104) is primarily due to his physicality, his being "'strong and well built'" (ibid., 11 Jan 1871, 83) and his perseverance, the fact that he "stagger[s] on" despite his own physical exhaustion. Thus, the young man saving the group is not only established as a "hero" of considerable physical strength, but of moral fibre as well.

"Lambert, the 'Hero and Martyr'", an article published in 1876, gives the "true account of a frail and blind old man in Glasgow, named James Lambert, who is noted for having saved numerous persons from drowning" (Lambert, the "Hero and Martyr", *CJ*, 26 Aug 1876, 545).[194] The Scotsman, who is said to have held the European record of lives saved from drowning, "had nothing but his own active body, his rare power of suspending the breath, and his lion heart" (ibid.). His heroism is one of strong physique as well as of moral disposition – of "body" and "heart" alike. The text in several anecdotes establishes Lambert as a selfless man who regards the lives of others higher than his own. On one occasion, so the report, he saved a man who had broken into the ice on the frozen Clyde: "James Lambert dived under the ice, and groped for the man till he was nearly breathless, and dragged him back to the hole, and all but died in saving him. Here the chances were nine to one against his ever finding that small aperture again and coming out alive" (ibid.). His "heroism" (ibid.) is thus not only constituted by his physical abilities, but especially by his self-denying qualities, "his goodness" (ibid.) of not regarding the risk for himself, but thinking of the life to be saved. Having lost his eyesight in one of these acts, Lambert's blindness functions as a physical manifestation of his selflessness. The article closes with an appeal for the "hero" (ibid.) related to his class-membership. Unlike others – the text gives the example of a "Frenchman" (ibid., 546) who had saved several lives from drowning as well and had received a lot of public and financial attention – the Glaswegian "lives unhappily […] in an almshouse" (ibid.). The text closes with a request by the editor William Chambers himself to financially

[194] The occasion for the recollection of the story, though not relating to the representation of the heroic, is still interesting in the context of nineteenth-century print culture: a narrative about Lambert had appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* (1865–1923), yet the author had retained his copyright. Subsequently, a Glasgow paper had copied and published the text, which had led to a trial and fine of £90 for the Glasgow publishers. *CJ* explains the legal situation as follows: "Floating news may be freely copied by one newspaper from another, but not a story or narrative *valuable in a literary point of view*." Lambert, the "Hero and Martyr", *CJ*, 26 Aug 1876, 545, emphasis mine.

support Lambert and give the "greatest man in that city" (ibid.) a life deserving of his contribution to society. With this ending, the text again draws attention to the relation between a heroic figure and the public and makes clear that public attention is not necessarily linked to wealth and a comfortable life.[195] Like the philosopher Dumaresq who was discussed in relation to the herorization of scientists, Lambert is shown as a figure who has a place in the public realm and whose actions are praised in the media, yet his personal contribution to society does not result in a sufficient return.[196]

A similar appeal for public financial contributions can be found only two months later. The article "Storm Warriors" deals with the "life-boat movement" and tells the history of the National Life-Boat Institution from the late eighteenth century onwards. In short anecdotes, the danger of the task performed by the volunteer boatmen is illustrated. Unlike the previous examples, their physicality, however, plays a subordinate role and it is their motivation and selflessness which is praised. One of the men remarks that "'I had my inward feelings, as a man naturally must have when he is face to face with danger. […] but […] I determined to do it'" (Storm Warriors, *CJ*, 28 Oct 1876, 690). The text comments upon this utterance by stating that "[i]n this spirit these men often perform deeds of individual heroism, which have been equalled but never surpassed in the annals of self-sacrifice" (ibid.).[197] The anecdotes then stress this determination and selflessness further, when stating how the men "make a great many attempts to reach a wreck" (ibid., 691). Though referring to acts of individual heroism, the institution as a collective is heroised. The text states that "the mission of our Storm Warriors is to save" (ibid., 692) and emphasises the restorative quality of the men's heroism. Though not in a religious framework, the reference to their work being a "mission" clearly gives it a communal aspect directed at the welfare of a larger group. In its closing, the text includes the readers "who live at home at ease" with a "warm hearth" and "their luxurious sense of comfort enhanced by the angry storm which is raging at our doors" (ibid., 691). This contrasting description makes the situation of the lifeboat men even more starkly apparent and introduces an appeal to "aid in the good cause" (ibid., 692) with a

195 The fact that Lambert is still alive, though, is remarkable in relation to the article's headline. Introduced there as a "Hero and Martyr", Lambert can, as a living person, not be considered a martyr. Furthermore, his motivation as presented in the text is not a religious one. Thus, it can be presumed that the addition of "Martyr" was used to heighten the praise of Lambert and his actions and possibly point out clearly how close to death he had frequently been for the sake of others.

196 Additionally, this line of argument also implicitly includes its opposite – the case of men and women who draw financial gains from public attention though not having contributed to society in such a way as Lambert.

197 The reference to the "annals of self-sacrifice" (Storm Warriors, *CJ*, 28 Oct 1876, 690) also associates this form of everyday heroism with other established domains of the heroic. Through the focus on the communal aspect of their voluntary work and the reference to the men as "warriors" against nature, the text implicitly evokes military heroics.

financial contribution. Though at home around the "warm hearth", the final sentence – the emphatic exclamation "Speed the life-boat!" (ibid.) – includes the readers symbolically into the heroic realm of the "Storm Warriors" and asks for their active participation. Though the participation the text calls for is restricted to a donation, the exclamation gives the donating reader a feeling of being part of the group through the financial contribution.

Though not strictly depicting a rescue at sea but merely at the seaside, the tale "A Leap for Life" emphasises the willingness of self-sacrifice in a familial context. The text is narrated by "an elderly gentleman" who "commemorates a rare instance of combined pluck, presence of mind, and heroic self-sacrifice" (A Leap for Life, *CJ*, 30 Jun 1883, 406). The story, which the narrator takes from his own youth, is set at the Welsh coast where a group of boys and men go on a geological excursion and climb the rocks to see special formations. During the expedition, though "all experienced climbers" (ibid., 407), the narrator's younger self slips and finds himself suspended over a sharp rock formation, only holding onto his uncle's hand. Under the eyes of their "powerless […] horrified friends", the narrator's uncle is shown undertaking an "awful risk" (ibid.): "'Tom, there is but one way for it. I'll save you, or we will both perish together […]'" (ibid.). In a spectacular jump, he succeeds in circumnavigating the rocks and directing himself and the boy into the sea. Since the steep cliffs give no possibility to get back on land, the youth and his uncle have to remain swimming until they are eventually picked up by a fisherman who takes them back to his cabin and – though of very humble means – feeds and clothes them and lets them rest. The tale thus shows two "heroic" (ibid., 406) and selfless men – the uncle who risked his life to save his nephew as well as the fisherman and his wife who sacrificed their scarce belongings for the two endangered men. The narrator stresses that his uncle later not only expressed his deepest gratitude towards the fisher and his wife, but "rewarded" (ibid., 408) them for their selfless conduct. Thereby, the text raises the question of selfless acts and their repayment. Additionally, the text also draws attention to the function of texts such as this and the above: "Few people are ever likely to be placed in a similar position; should, however, such an occasion arise, let us hope they may not be found wanting in ability to follow so admirable an example" (ibid., 406). While it is unlikely that the readers of *CJ* would find themselves in a similar situation, the text nevertheless wants to encourage an imitation of the represented behaviour and an incorporation of the selfless attitude into their self-conception.

The didactic function of the stories about heroic acts of lifesaving – and life-risking – is even more pronounced in the poem "'This Ought Ye to Have Done'". It shows not only an incident of heroism at sea, but also points to the function of narratives such as these and contextualises everyday heroism with heroic acts of other domains. The occurrences are stated to the reader in an introductory paragraph. A fishing boat in Scotland had come into stormy water

and the boat, which "was manned by a father and his four sons" (This Ought Ye to Have Done, *CJ*, 11 Aug 1900, 592), sunk, taking three of the sons with it. The father and the last son hold on to a remaining oar, which can however only support one of them. Surprisingly, it is the son then who lets go of the oar and in a "depth of kingly resignation and true feeling" (ibid.) leaves the father to be saved. The following poem then contrasts the "genuine heroism" (ibid.) of the young man to the heroics of the military and criticises the attention the latter receives: "We filled the leisure of the day, / When from the north the wintry rain / Was driv'n against the window pane, / With tales that told our soldiers' praise" (ibid.). These practices of commemoration for military heroism are then compared to the attention that the fisherman – as a representative for a different kind of less visible heroism – receives: "The lad who, with the sea at strife, / Let go his hold on life and youth / […] Was soon forgotten by the few / Who chanced to read the scanty note / Which told the sinking of the boat" (ibid.). And although the speaker acknowledges the "soldier's honest faith" (ibid.), he closes with the assessment: "But spare a kindly thought for one – / That Scottish fisher-lad – who gave / His own another's life to save, / For braver deed was never done" (ibid.).

The poem clearly values the actions of the young fisherman who sacrificed his life over the bravery of the military. Though both are situational forms of heroism – the soldier is forced to be brave in a situation of combat and the fisherman needs to make a decision in the unexpected situation of a shipwreck – they perform different functions. Whereas the soldier shows courage and risks his life to defend *himself* and his country, the fisherman sacrifices his own life in order to save that of his father. In contrasting soldier and fisherman, the poem implies that the soldier risking his life still includes regard for his own safety, while the fisherman's self-denial is existential and uncompromising.

Furthermore, the title of the poem "This Ought Ye to Have Done" clearly states the identificatory function the poem wants to fulfil. As a direct address to the reader of the poem – and thus of the journal – the sentence creates a relation between the audience and the mediated story. Under this header, the behaviour of the young man towards his father can be read as a guideline for desired action. The son and his motivation become a role model for self-denial and self-sacrifice.

Bravery in Mining Accidents

While the depictions of heroic acts of lifesaving at sea showed representatives of different professions and classes, another set of texts in *CJ* depict a form of heroic lifesaving which was more strongly class-bound. While referring to the same core values, acts of lifesaving on land, especially those in mines, represented a distinctly working-class form of heroism and often reported real-life accidents.

As one of the key industries of the time, which many of the innovative technologies relied upon,[198] the coal industry was also a symbol of working-class Britain. The article "Fighting for Life. A Story of a Welsh Coal-Mine" presents the reader with the story of "the brave deed […] accomplished in the Welsh coal-pit at Troedyrhiw" (Fighting for Life, *CJ*, 18 Aug 1877, 526).[199] The conduct of the miners during an accident is marked as "a splendid victory gained for humanity" (ibid.), a conduct worthy of "national pride" (ibid.). Furthermore, this text draws a connection between a collective national virtue and the heroic acts as shown in the incident: "The whole story is one more splendid instance of the noble qualities which are innate in the breasts of those who form the sinew and the backbone of Britain" (ibid.). The "noble qualities" as represented by the Welsh miners are – from the outset of the article – offered as a means of identification to the reader and the text stresses the particular importance of the working classes and the working man by calling the miners the "sinew and backbone of Britain" (ibid.). This is further highlighted by an anecdote which is narrated before dealing with the incident in Wales. Sharing the experience of a personal visit to a coal-pit, the author describes the fear and unease while "descending the shaft […] [as] almost indescribable; and [it] is only equalled by the exquisite feeling of relief which pervades the mind once again returning to the surface" (ibid., 527). Having through this expression of intense fear emphasised that the pitmen risk their lives daily to supply the country with coal, the text turns to the incident in April 1877. Water had broken through an abandoned worksite and flooded the pit while some workers were still under ground. The text stresses how "[i]n an instance and without the slightest hesitation" (ibid., 527) all other miners volunteered to rescue the fourteen men and boys left behind. After a first group of men could be brought to safety, a second group of men is detected, the rescue of which spanned over ten days. The brave act of going back for their colleagues at that point turns into an act of endurance on both sides of the tunnel: "it thus became a question of patient endurance on the one hand and of unceasing labour and noble efforts on the other. And never did men work more nobly than did those who were thus doing all that lay in the power of man to save the lives of their devoted comrades" (ibid.). On the eighth day after the accident, the miners find a way towards the men trapped in the pit, yet the situation has become a danger for all involved and the determination of those above ground to nevertheless try and rescue their mates is emphasised: "Gloomy indeed was the prospect at this critical moment, for it had now become a question of life and

198 As fuel for the 'Age of Steam', the coal mining industry was integral to the industrial revolution of nineteenth-century Britain.

199 The accident referred to is the one which led Queen Victoria to extend the Albert Medal to acts of valour on land. Though it was – compared to other mining accidents which often claimed a great number of lives – a rather small incident, the story had featured prominently in the press, for which the present article serves as an example.

death to either party; but were the men who had been rescued thus far to be left after all to the death which seemed to hunger for them?" (ibid., 528). After this rhetorical question, the text describes how the men enter the shaft on ropes and without lamps (since bringing gas lamps into the pit could have caused another explosion), supply their fellow-workers with food, and finally bring them to the surface.

Significantly, it is not only the men of the rescue party who are called heroic for their actions, but "*the* pitman" (ibid., emphasis mine) in general. In its usage of the vocabulary of the heroic, the text attributes equal status to the suffering, fear and exhaustion of the men entrapped in the mine as to the bravery, endurance and selflessness of the miners above ground. Furthermore, the text can be seen as a heroisation of the mining profession as a whole, and even of the working classes as such. The text propagates a sense of community and loyalty among working men which is valued higher than that of other domains of the heroic: "It was a greater deed than the capture of an enemy's colours on the battle-field" (ibid.). The military realm once again functions as a contrasting form of heroism against which the selflessness and loyalty shown by the miners on both sides of the shaft is set as superior.

Other articles similarly heroise the actions of miners and often stress their endurance and unhesitating behaviour in face of danger. So, for example, two men entering a destroyed salt mine in "The Subsidence of Land in the Salt Districts of Cheshire" are described as "daring and experienced" and praised for continuing on their way through the "breast-high" water (The Subsidence of Land in the Salt Districts of Cheshire, *CJ*, 22 Jan 1881, 61), although having extinguished one of their candles. Similarly, a text which describes a visit to a coal mine partially destroyed in an explosion, praises the daring of the "heroic searchers" (After An Explosion, *CJ*, 7 Aug 1886, 511) trying to rescue their fellow-workers. Further, stress is put on the fact that the "gallant band of rescuers" (ibid.) are "always ready to risk their lives in helping others" (ibid.) and nevertheless remain humble: "most mining heroes […] [are] modest and rarely mentio[n their deeds]" (The Subsidence of Land in the Salt Districts of Cheshire, *CJ*, 22 Jan 1881, 61). The loyalty described in the rescuers in "After an Explosion" persists beyond death so that they "bore out also the bodies of the dead; and not till then, yielded to the numbing, stifling influence of the poisonous vapours, which left them aching and ill for days" (After an Explosion, *CJ*, 7 Aug 1886, 511).

The heroism as represented by the miners is distinctly a working-class heroism and one which is linked to the miners' specific profession. The act of going underground every day is in itself already considered brave and this bravery is then depicted as being even more heightened in situations of danger. The men shown in the texts are moral exemplars; they show a high degree of loyalty towards their peers, do not hesitate to come to their aid – and do so voluntarily – and above all regard the lives of their fellow-workers higher than their own. Selflessness and

an orientation towards the common good are at the heart of the heroic miner as represented in *CJ* and the communal tendencies of the heroes within their community offer a means of identification to the audience.

Prize-Winning Heroic Acts

As has been observed, an increase in texts which present acts of lifesaving as heroism occurs after the institution of the Albert Medal and the awards given by the Royal Humane Society. It is not surprising then that there are also a number of articles which explicitly deal with those awards and their winners. The text "Little Heroes" in 1882 focuses especially on children's acts of lifesaving since "[t]he heroism of men and women is often chronicled and rewarded" (Little Heroes, *CJ*, 16 Dec 1882, 806), yet that of children is not mediated to the public as often. With the account of young medal winners of the Royal Humane Society, the text wants to rectify this situation.[200] In short anecdotes, it retells the "many examples of youthful heroism" (ibid., 807) in saving other children from drowning. The accounts emphasise the "little heroes'" unhesitant behaviour, their readiness of action, "presence of mind" (ibid.), the risk they took regarding their own safety, and stress the fact that self-denying acts of bravery are bound to neither age nor class. The children represented come from different classes, one girl saves her governess which clearly indicates that she comes from a comfortable middle-class background, other "act[s] of courage and devotedness" (ibid.) show children playing in the rather shabby environment of a canal (cf. ibid., 806).

"Heroes of Peace", another text which gives accounts of incidents honoured by the Royal Humane Society, sets the acts described in a broader context. Taking up the discussion about the moral state of British society, the text rejects the diagnosis that "as a race we are deteriorating, and that the Englishmen of today are not equal to those of former ages in spirit and daring" (Heroes of Peace, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1885, 353),[201] as the recipients of The Royal Humane Society are evidence to the contrary: "the claimants for these rewards are more numerous, and the deeds for which these rewards are asked are not inferior, in self-devotion and heroism on the part of the rescuers, to any of the past ages, be they ever so noble" (ibid.). The reference to the growing number of these acts of "self-devotion and heroism" (ibid.) is interestingly a positive one and the heroism of the "claimants"

200 In this specific case, as well as regarding other articles which retell factual contemporary events of lifesaving, this argumentation is slightly askew since it represents actions which have already been publicly honoured through the awarding of the medal and/or other forms of public attention.

201 In connection with the headline – which implicitly includes its counter-image of the 'heroes of war' – the article reflects the more traditionalist and past-oriented side of the ongoing debate about heroics, which not only favoured leader figures but also clung more to an ideal of a battling hero.

(ibid.) seems not to be belittled by the fact that they are not singular examples of this form of heroism. On the contrary, the high number of awards given is seen as a proof of the heroic potential of society at large: "Never before has the number of rewards in a single year been so great. These figures in themselves, one would think, are a sufficiently potent answer to the criticism to which we have alluded" (ibid.). The article then gives examples of awardees and their deeds, ordered by the different ranks of awards, starting with the highest. The winner of the "Stanhope Gold Medal, which is awarded every year to the hero of the most meritorious case" (ibid.), is a man who, after another passenger on a steamship had gone overboard, jumped right after the non-swimmer and "for forty minutes supported him in the water" (ibid.). With considerable admiration, the text states: "Such a deed as this needs no extolling. Its singular daring is patent" (ibid.).[202] Daring, bravery and gallantry are then the three characteristics attributed to all of the examples. The mentioning of gallantry as a core feature of this form of heroism can be related to the phrasing of the Stanhope Medal award, which rewarded the "most gallant rescue".[203] Many of the cases rewarded concern distress at sea, and the heroism of professionals at sea, such as navy men, and civilian passengers, like the Stanhope Medal winner, are regarded as equally heroic.

What is emphasised is the "ready manner in which help" (Heroes of Peace, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1885, 354) was given, the fact that their actions were voluntary (cf. ibid.)[204] and, most importantly, the fact that their attempts "exposed [them] to the same risk" (ibid.) as those they wanted to help. The heroes of the Royal Humane Society in the representation in *CJ* are thus not chiefly praised for their bravery and daring alone, but, evoking *CJ*'s heroic imaginary, most importantly for the fact that they acted selflessly and regarded the lives of others higher than their own without hesitation.

Remarkably, the text only refers generally to the "ten women and girls and sixteen quite young persons" (ibid., 355) who received the medal in 1885, and then gives only one example of an instance of "female heroism" (ibid.), that of Alice Ayres, a servant-girl who saved several children from a burning house, but lost her own life in the process. Where bravery and daring had been the words used to describe the heroism of the men at sea, Ayres is portrayed in terms of sacri-

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202 The contradiction between the singularity of the deeds and large number of these seeming singular actions is not reflected in the text. This brings up the general difficulty in *CJ* to integrate exceptionality in its idea of heroism, which most of the time clearly utilised heroes as role models.

203 Quoted in W. H. Fevyer / Craig P. Barclay: Acts of Gallantry, vol. 3, Luton 2013, p. 3.

204 In my opinion, the act of volunteering to help is what connects the navy men and the civilians, since both of them are not professionally obliged to help someone in distress. The military men might be bound more strongly by a military codex which includes loyalty towards their comrades, but unlike, for example, coastguards, it is not their job description to save others.

fice. The focus is put even more strongly on the self-denying quality of the attempt to save another's life than on the courage it takes. Ayres is called a "noble" woman who "sacrificed" (ibid.) herself for the wellbeing of others. She is described as repeatedly going into the burning house to rescue the children of her employers[205] although she "herself nearly suffocated by smoke" (ibid.) in the process. Despite her own physical weakness, she does not stop "until she had rescued all the children […] through her own life" (ibid.). After finally having secured the lives of the children, she jumps from a window but misses the mattresses which had been laid out for her safety. The emphasis on her selflessness is repeated in the last lines of the text, which also speaks to the dissemination of stories about everyday acts of heroic lifesaving: the

> […] disregard of her own safety, as shown by Alice Ayres, was even greater than that exhibited by the light-keeper's daughter. Granted that Alice was but a poor servant-girl in a squalid part of the town; but if one has been celebrated in verse and received a well-earned renown, it should surely not be sufficient for the other to dismiss her, perhaps to a pauper's grave, with only a line in the daily papers to record her death. (ibid.)

These lines, which *CJ* took from the up-market weekly *The Queen*, do not only show that the article itself is behind on the occurrences after Ayre's death,[206] but also display a criticism of a growing celebrity cult, even regarding the representation of common heroes. Through the comparison of Alice Ayres' actions and those of Grace Darling,[207] the famous "light-keeper's daughter" (ibid.), the text on the one hand criticises the massive medial presence of Grace Darling, but on

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205 The relationship between Ayres and the family is described as a professional one although, in fact, she helped in the household of her sister and the children were her nieces and nephews. This is remarkable given the fact that the fire on Union Street and Ayre's death had been a very public affair, as had been the funeral and a memorial service held on 10 May 1885. As John Price argues, the attendants of both events can be presumed to have mostly come from the working classes. cf. Price: Everyday Heroism, pp. 22–23. Thus, at least *CJ*'s London audience, through the coverage in other papers (e.g. in *The Queen* from which the present article says to have taken their information, or the *Illustrated London New* [1842–2003] which printed an illustration of Ayres which was reproduced widely), but also a wider audience, would have already been familiar with the particulars of the event.

206 By the time the article had appeared in *CJ*, Ayres had been praised in many a "verse" (Heroes of Peace, *CJ*, 6 Jun 1885, 355) and had *not* been buried in a pauper's grave but had been given a funeral at Isleworth Cemetery which was attended by 10,000 mourners and received a lot of public attention. Interestingly, Ayre's sister, brother-in-law and the two children whom she could not rescue were buried in a different and less prestigious cemetery. Cf. Price: Everyday Heroism, pp. 58–59.

207 Grace Darling, daughter of a lighthouse keeper on one of the Outer Farne Islands off the Northumbrian coast, had, together with her father, saved nine members of the paddle steamer "Forfarshire"'s crew in September 1838 by rowing out to their wrecked ship in harsh weather. Interestingly, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* until today gives "heroine" as Darling's decisive trait, where the dictionary would normally note a person's profession. Cf. H. C. G. Matthew: Darling, Grace Horsley (1815–1842), in: Lawrence Goldman (ed.): Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2010, DOI: 10.1093/ref:odnb/7155.

the other hand also seems to perceive a different public treatment according to a hero's class.[208] Ayres, the "poor servant-girl" is suspected to receive a different public treatment than Darling, who is regarded as higher up the social ladder. The prediction that the heroic girl might not enter the public memory also implies there are other heroic acts of members of the lower classes which never come to the attention of society at large.

Though being clearly mistaken in the prediction of Ayres ending in a "pauper's grave" (ibid.) and not being publicly recognised, the text about the Humane Society and its awardees clearly puts forth the claim that members of all social classes are capable of heroic acts and that these should be publicly rewarded. However, selfless behaviour is still at the centre of this form of heroism, which is constituted by acts of self-denying courage in which the heroes risk their own life for that of another. Further stress is put on the fact that the acts of heroism thus represented are *peaceful* acts, in opposition to the military heroism which is more frequently acknowledged through awards and medals.[209] As spontaneous acts representing the individual's virtuous character, they cannot be planned and therefore can never be deliberately seeking attention or fame. This might act as an explanation for the fact why *CJ*, which on the whole so often emphasises that a hero should *not* seek public recognition, argues *for* rewards and public attention for this specific form of heroism.[210]

On the whole, all texts about heroic acts of lifesaving particularly stress the selflessness of their protagonists. They show a social form of courage in their acts, in that the men and women do not hesitate to risk their own lives in order to save another's. Using examples of the middle and predominantly of the working classes, this form of heroism is established as a distinctly working-class type of heroics.[211] This would have allowed the readers of *CJ* to identify with the

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208 Not only was she celebrated in poems by Swineburn and Wordsworth, but frequently painted; her autograph could be bought and she had received a large number of financial donations – even £50 from Queen Victoria. Cf. Hugh Cunningham: Grace Darling. Victorian Heroine, London 2007, p. 174.

209 Apart from the examples cited above, "Medals and Medal-Collecting" in 1892 explicitly states that "But as in our time these rewards are given, for instance, by the Royal Humane Society to celebrate individual heroism in the saving of life, so in former days they were sometimes, though rarely, given as an *incentive to peace* as well as by way of reward in war." Medals and Medal-Collecting, *CJ*, 20 Feb 1892, 125, emphasis mine.

210 In the specific comparison of public attention for Grace Darling and Alice Ayres it is further noteworthy that the text criticises the public celebration of Darling, who was still alive when the public furore around her person began, while the dead Ayres could have no selfish advantages from public attention.

211 Furthermore, both the acts of lifesaving at sea and in the mines are situated in realms removed from civilisation. The sea, a space with a history of heroic tales, as a representation of the supremacy of nature acts as a catalyst for daring, physical individual heroic acts. The environment of a mine, however, though removed from the civilisation above ground stands for the progress of society and is clearly centred on a working-class collective rather than on individuals.

protagonists – with the exception of the earlier adventure-tales of saving lives in exotic climes – and imagine themselves in similar kinds of situations. In that respect, the texts can be seen as guidelines for appropriate behaviour in exceptional circumstances and propagated both group loyalty (again in specifically *working-class* form) as well as loyalty towards strangers. Though presenting similar core-values to those discussed in the context of different domains of heroism, the heroics of lifesaving as shown in *CJ* are fundamentally different in one aspect: the periodical *encourages* acts such as these to be disseminated and publicly recognised. The highly situational and often singular character of the acts might provide a possible explanation for this. On the other hand, everyday heroism such as that shown above might have been considered a domain of the heroic with greater access to members of the working classes. Thereby, public acts of appreciation in this context could have been seen as acts of validation for the working classes as such. Nevertheless, the various calls for public acknowledgement of acts of lifesaving seems anachronistic in the context of the journal's general propagation of more *silent* forms of heroism.[212]

Heroic Work

The social effects of urbanisation were apparent in all parts of Victorian society. A growing anxiety regarding the emerging working classes could be perceived among the propertied classes. The fear of a revolutionary class of labourers which would be able to destabilise the wealth and status of the established middle and upper classes grew steadily over the course of the century. Although attempts such as those of the Chartists did not prove successful in the long run,[213] social anxiety regarding the working classes and their potential for upward mobility remained.[214] Though not in a revolutionary manner, the working classes[215] still saw their potential power within the economy and thus the nineteenth century saw

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212 Especially in light of the fact that lifesavers such as Grace Darling did receive the kind of attention and glorification that *CJ* criticised so often.

213 For a detailed discussion of Chartism and its consequences see for example Chase 2008, Finn 1993, Royle 2006 [1996] or Shaw 1995.

214 This anxiety, as Lara Baker Whelan argues, became especially apparent in the suburban space, which came to be occupied by members of both the middle and the working classes. Frequently, this environment could be seen "as a site of terror as middle-class anxiety about the lack of social homogeneity in the suburbs grew". Lara Baker Whelan: Class, Culture and Suburban Anxieties in the Victorian Era, London 2010, p. 11.

215 Though the term working classes often evokes a homogenous notion, the plural already indicates that it covered a broad spectrum, not only professionally, but socially as well. Charles Booth in his *Life and Labour of the People in London*, a survey which he began to conduct in the 1880s and which led to the impressive *Maps of London Poverty* in 1889, differentiates six main categories of the working classes: "high-paid labour", "regular standard earnings", "small regular earnings", "intermittent earnings", "casual earnings" and the "lowest class" Cf. Charles Booth: Labour and Life of the People, London 1902 [1889].

the establishment of trade unions and utilisation of strikes.[216] In the context of this middle-class fear regarding the loss of supremacy, the distinctly positive depiction of the working classes in *CJ* – which in terms of its editors and contributors was clearly an upper-middle-class paper – is striking. It reaffirms the didactic motives of the periodical, but could however, in its validation of existing structures rather than a promotion of radical social change, also be read as an attempt to stabilise existing societal norms.

Over the course of the period under examination, a growing number of articles which heroise the manual labour of the working classes can be found in *CJ*. These articles show a tension: on the one hand, the texts call the work life, and especially the work ethos, of working-class men heroic and thereby mark the labourers as ranking on the topmost end of a moral scale. On the other hand, though, the texts always also show a didactic agenda and depict the men as – despite their moral excellence – still needing further education. The workmen are represented as heroic *despite* the fact that they could still improve themselves.

The text "Working-Men", which reviews the 1867 book *Some Habits and Customs of the Working-Classes*,[217] exhibits this tension. The article praises the book for its authenticity, since it was "written by one of themselves" (Working-Men, *CJ*, 18 May 1867, 317) and the author has gone about the book in a "fair trustworthy, modest" (ibid.) way. By marking the author as a member of the group of "[m]echanic" (ibid.) working men, the virtues attributed to him in the opening passage already act as a description of the whole class of working men. Quoting from the book, they are described as follows: "'Working-men, as a body […] have many virtues: they are honest, industrious, and provident, and none but themselves can know with what fortitude they face the hardship incidental to their sphere of life, or how they are to each other in the hour of need […]'" (ibid., 318). Affirming this evaluation, the reviewer then calls the working men described as such "heroic" (ibid.). The heroism of the workers as depicted in this contribution is therefore clearly a moral one and despite dealing with manual labourers, their heroism is an abstract one. It is not the usage of their hands as such that is praised, but the way they go about the work and their relation with their co-workers. While the virtues of honesty, industry and providence refer to the men's work ethos, which manifests itself in specific "traditions and customs" (ibid., 319) of individual workplaces, the fact that they help each other "in the

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216 The trade unions are noteworthy in the context of this study since they not only campaigned for appropriate wages and work-place safety, but were often dedicated to the idea of self-help and often were linked to Friendly Societies which gave workers the opportunity to educate themselves.

217 The book referred to is: Thomas Wright: *Some Habits and Customs of the Working Classes*, London 1867. The first edition of the book calls the author "A Journeyman Engineer" in set print and only gives his name in a printed signature, the last name of which is hard to read and probably the reason why the article in *CJ* falsely refers to the author as "Mr Bright". Working-Men, *CJ*, 18 May 1867, 317–320.

hour of need" (ibid., 318) stresses the relational character of their collective heroism. What is "deemed heroic" (ibid.) about the workers is, on a more abstract level, their work for a larger group, the fact that they "endure" (ibid.) exhausting manual labour for their fellow-workers and for their "wi[ves] and children" (ibid.). What further contributes to the workers' heroism is their humility, the fact that "none but themselves" know about their moral "fortitude" (ibid.). Their exemplary morals are not on display, which makes their heroism conform with *CJ*'s heroic imaginary. By referencing the communal aspect not only to their fellow workers but to the men's families as well, their heroism also gains a domestic facet and benefits the integrity of intact familial structures.

Despite this moral excellence identified in the workers by both the reviewed book and the reviewer, the latter criticises the "lack of education" (ibid.) among members of the working class. The text attributes this to two factors. On the one hand, it is shown as a political and institutional problem caused by the fact that access to education was still limited among the working classes.[218] Furthermore, the existing educational institutions accessible to the lower classes are criticised for not teaching the children properly and only letting them memorise knowledge which "evaporates in the first six months after leaving" (ibid.) the school. On the other hand, the text also identifies the likelihood of working men to be prone to vices and spending their time with "brutal and brutalising sports" (ibid.) rather than engaging in measures of self-education in their leisure hours. The text justified its own didactic cause by juxtaposing the validation of the whole group of working men in the heroisation of their selfless work morale with the educative effort still to be made. Since these very men and their women and children were part of the target audience and the societal group which the publication wanted to educate further, the text both states the necessity of their own didactic endeavour but at the same time – by means of herorization – encourages the workers that they have already accomplished something which they can now build on. Interestingly, the heroism of the represented workers is closely linked to their work life and a sort of moral professional codex they adhere to. The heroism as represented of the working man is therefore a *collective* and *communal* form of heroism. Though *CJ* continuously defines its idea of heroism in contrast to the military hero, this concept of class heroism in its adherence to duty for a larger group clearly draws on a model of military heroics.[219]

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218 The Elementary Education Act which encouraged schooling for children between the ages of five and thirteen was only to be passed three years after the article appeared in *CJ*, and schooling was not made compulsory until 1880. Even after that, the fees which needed to be paid and the fact that financial state support for education was not established until the 1890s, meant that many working-class children still did not receive a formal education.

219 Similar to the military hero, the motivation for the heroic professional conduct can still be a private and individual one, such as wanting to provide for one's family. Cf. Working-Men, *CJ*, 18 May 1867, 318.

The collective form of heroism which adheres to and exemplifies a specific professional codex is also put forth in various articles dealing with individual professions, of which I will present a selection in the following. One example can be found in an article from 1874 dealing with "The Street News-Boys of London" which – again collectively – calls the actions of the news-boys "heroism" (The Street News-Boys of London, *CJ*, 21 Feb 1874, 114). Although the boys and young men are described as mostly taking up their profession out of necessity – "because they have been brought up to no trade, and but little capital is needed [for the selling of newspapers]" (ibid., 113) – they still feel a "duty" (ibid.) towards the larger group of news-boys. The trade is subsequently described as one with clear principles regarding where which kinds of publications are to be sold, a clear hierarchy, but also a strong bond between the workers and a moral code they adhere to (cf. ibid., 113–114). The latter is illustrated by an anecdote about a man "at the *Swiss Goat's Horns*, who sells papers to the bus passengers in the morning, but he never has sufficient number; no boy would, however, be found to come and compete with him" (ibid., 114). The boys' behaviour exemplifies a collective moral codex which forbids them to take advantage of weaker parts of their community for the sake of any possible individual interest. However, the text still – like the more abstract article on working men – bemoans the lack of education that often brings the boys into the profession in the first place.

The heroic morality of working in a community is also shown in "Pitmen, Past and Present". The pitmen working together – in this specific case in a village entirely made up of miners and therefore a community which is also bound together in private life through their profession – are shown as "exhibits of true heroism" (Pitmen, Past and Present, *CJ*, 30 Oct 1886, 699). In contrast to the articles heroising miners' extraordinary work in accidents, this text praises the ordinary everyday working life and the men's work ethos, the way they behave "amongst them" (ibid.). The specific setting in an all-miners' village is interesting in so far as its description allows an assessment of the text's opinion on miners "in general" (ibid.). In the description of the community, the aspects of loyalty and decency are striking; the text even compliments the village's school, which can – again an emphasis on the strong bond within the community – only be kept up because "all the workers, whether married or single, agreed to pay a weekly sum" (ibid). Furthermore, the absence of crime in the village is stressed and the fact that the leisure activities – which in the view of many observers at the time constituted a possible danger for the working classes – are ones designed to benefit the "physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual well-being of the populace" (ibid.).

Nevertheless, the situation of the heroic workers is depicted as being worthy of improvement. In the case of the miners, the often poor working conditions are criticised as well as the fact that their hard work and long hours affect the domestic life of families: many children "did not know their fathers, as the chil-

dren were asleep all the time the father was at home" (ibid., 697). Yet even this criticism is related to a communal aspect, since the fathers take on the strenuous work for the benefit of their families.

The examples of heroic workers stress the relational and communal function of heroism in *CJ*. The heroic everyday life of the workers is governed by a concern for the well-being of a larger group and motivated by a professional codex. Though depicting different professions, the texts all stress the importance of loyalty and solidarity towards the larger group. None of the texts show individual heroes, but heroise the workers as a collective. In that, the texts can serve as role models for the readers and a connection of the heroism in the text to all members of the working classes easily be drawn, while still calling for further measures to improve the situation of the working class. As the text about the news-boys concludes: the heroic acts could have been intended to show the readers that, through dutiful and loyal behaviour, they themselves could be part of the heroic "character of England" (The Street News-Boys of London, *CJ*, 21 Feb 1874, 115).

Domestic Heroism – The Everyday Life of Women

> *It is true.* Such heroism as this, such utter forgetfulness of self, for the sake of some dearer self in husband or child, is not a rare thing among women. We rejoice to know of this sublime strength of love put forth in many a character deemed commonplace, and in circumstances that may and do happen every day […]. (The Professor's Wife, *CJ*, 26 May 1860, 329)

Although many of the abstract values motivating the heroic, which are so often stressed in *CJ*, are open for identification to men and women alike, a number of texts construct a specific kind of female heroism which is linked to the domestic sphere. This form of heroism is not necessarily a passive one or limited to the private sphere – although the ideal of women at home can be found in many texts in *CJ* – but one which is in all cases *motivated* by a longing for domestic stability and integrity. Especially in fictional texts, various examples can be found in which the determination to preserve domestic bliss enables the female characters to perform acts which transgress the contemporary gender norms. Nevertheless, this form of heroism can be described as fundamentally domestic, since the domestic sphere is its starting point, motivation and final goal.

This is exemplified in a tale under the telling title "A Homely Heroine". The fictional story appeared on the cover page of *CJ* in January 1874 and centres around the young Scottish girl Kristie who, from girlhood, is extraordinary compared to others of her age and gender. She is an orphan, "remarkably tall", has "masses of thick soft brown hair", a "large mouth" and "arms, which were rather long" (A Homely Heroine, *CJ*, 31 Jan 1874, 65). Also, she has "a difficulty of utterance", but is pious, her religion "truly [being] a part of herself and of her daily life" (ibid.). She grows up with Archie, a "delicate, puny boy" who is – in con-

trast to Kristie, whose "heart is infinitely greater than her intellect" (ibid.) – described as very intelligent. The two lose track of one another in their youth yet meet again by chance working for the same farmer. The farmer, being fond of the two, gives them a shepherd's cottage to start their own living. They marry and go on to live in the solitude of the Scottish wilderness. Whenever they return to a more densely populated area, however, they are the cause of ridicule because of the odd impression which the couple leaves. Not only is Kristie her husband's opposite in intellect, but they also contrast each other in terms of physicality. What she has in strength, he is lacking, being "two or three inches" smaller than his wife, "little and slight" and having "a fair boyish face, which made him look younger than Kristie" (ibid.). The couple, which seems to transgress gender norms, settles for more traditional roles once they have a child. Archie herds the sheep on his own, while Kristie's "occupation" (ibid.) is to stay in the cottage with their child.

Having been established as a loving, yet somewhat unusual family, the story turns to the act of "homely" (ibid.) heroism by Kristie alluded to in the title. The scene is set on New Year's Eve and the landscape around the cottage already foreshadows the looming danger:

> The sun was low in the west, enveloped in a strange reddish haze; behind the hills to the north, great masses of heavy clouds were rolling up, piled on above another; a bitter icy wind whistled down the valley, bearing on its wings an occasional snow-flake; while to the south the great range of hills rose up, clear and distinct in the slight mantle of snow, against the purplish sky. (ibid., 67)

Kristie is waiting for her husband to return and eventually, after night has fallen, she leaves the cottage and her child to search for him. The way is icy and dangerous and Kristie is frightened by the remembrance of several deaths which have occurred in the area due to bad weather conditions. She hesitates, "but there was no other way; it was life or death and she must hasten on: […] but her foot slipped, and she narrowly escaped falling. […] [S]he had to trust more to memory for the path than actual sight" (ibid., 66). Rather than trusting in god, the young woman, previously described as pious, trusts in her own abilities and courageously goes on until she finds Archie lying motionless on the ground. He regains consciousness and says goodbye to his wife, since he is sure that no help could come in time to save him. Kristie then replies: "Mony a time, Archie, have I wondered why the Lord gied me my great strength and my lang arms, but I see it now, and if it be His will, I will save you this nicht" (ibid.). In her heroic action, her physical nonconformity seems to find its godly legitimisation. She carries her husband homewards,

> she felt as if she could overcome everything, and soon was within a few yards of their own door. Then her strength utterly failed; she struggled with beating heart and labouring breath against her weakness as if it were some physical obstacle; and she did manage,

> though how she never know, to reach the house, enter the door, place Archie on the long settle by the fireside, and then fell on the floor perfectly unconscious. (ibid., 68)

It is significant how her strength only diminishes once she comes close to her own domestic realm again, in which her role is that of a housewife. It is worth examining more closely what constitutes the young woman's act of heroism. On the one hand, it is characterised by her extraordinary strength, made possible through her rather unwomanly physique and her courage to face the dangerous weather, despite the fact that a number of people have already died in similar conditions. The features which, on a practical level, enable her to perform her act of heroism are the very characteristics which had been used at the outset of the text to other her, which make her not conform to the norms of the time. She is an orphan, of no remarkable intellectual capacity, yet possesses physical strength which she cannot utilise in her daily life described as consisting of knitting and rocking the cradle. However, it is this abnormality which makes it possible for her to save her husband: she is strong enough to carry him and her faith in god gives her the trust that nothing will happen to her infant child alone at home (cf. ibid., 66). Thus, Kristie's unwomanly physicality is at the core of her heroic self. However, there is a second component to Kristie's heroism, which is already spelled out in the tale's title: although Kristie sets out into wild nature, her heroism is a homely one and she essentially is a domestic hero. An ideal of domestic bliss is both the motivation and the effect of her heroic act. She is going out to save her husband, who is an integral part of her domestic life and its maintenance. She is utilising her unwomanly qualities in order to secure her status as a homely woman, as a wife. The fact that her transgression of gender norms is motivated by an existential necessity for the restoration of domestic unity is further emphasised by the fact that she loses this stamina when she returns home.[220] Having returned into the domestic realm *with* her husband, it is no longer necessary for her to act out her physical abilities, but she can instead fulfil the cliché of the Victorian woman – faint.

Similar acts of female physical heroism can be found throughout the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, yet not earlier.[221] "Some Brave Women" in September 1880 makes the domestic frame of the heroic act even more obvious; the collection of

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[220] Additionally, Kristie is presented as a humble person who does not understand "why people called her a 'heroine'". A Homely Heroine, *CJ*, 31 Jan 1874, 68. This further emphasises her actions as being motivated by private, domestic interests.

[221] Other examples include "A Heroine at the Diggings" (*CJ*, 29 Aug 1874, 560) in which a woman accompanies her brother to Australia and works at his side as a gold digger (in male disguise) to secure more money for the family. In closing, the article however feels the need to assure the reader that the young woman has stopped her masquerade by now and is happily married. Or "Eliza Warick. A Heroine in Ordinary Life" (*CJ*, 12 Dec 1874, 785–787) whose adventures in the story are anything but ordinary. Similar to the aforementioned examples, the longing for an ordinary family life is the *motivation* for her heroic acts on a Portuguese pirate ship. Furthermore, the story about the "Heroine of Lydenberg" set in the Transvaal War shows similar tendencies.

anecdotes of "brave women" are mostly set on the American continent and show them utilising their physical strength in the fight against an 'other' (be it the considered less civilised native population or wild animals) and the introduction states that:

> When the lives of those she [a generalised type of 'the woman' as such] loves are at stake, then, if ever, a woman will prove valiant; but even then, it is odd that she breaks down as soon as the danger is past. Lady Cochrane readily put her life to the hazard for her husband's sake, to shame his faltering crew into sticking to their guns; but although it is not so recorded, it would have been nothing surprising if she had indulged in a good cry when the end was accomplished and the victory achieved. (Some Brave Women, *CJ*, 18 Sep 1880, 606)

Although the stories which follow are ones of daring and physical strength, the introductory sentences clearly put the act of female heroism in a domestic frame by stating that the strength is only motivated by the endangerment of those "she loves" (ibid.) and the breakdown of such extraordinary behaviour after order is restored. This is even further stressed by the speculative retelling of the reaction of Lady Cochrane after "the victory" (ibid.). Unlike the examples discussed in chapter 4.5, the foreign setting of the heroic acts does not direct their heroism at the advancement of civilisation or society as a whole. The women shown in the examples are not transgressing gender norms in an attempt to further civilisation, but in most of the cases for the protection of domestic integrity.

The physical acts in some cases even include violence, yet the heroism remains domestic in its intention, as the example of "British Amazons" shows. The article features the story of an Irishwoman, whose husband – under the influence of drink – joins the "Lord Orrery's Regiment of Foot" (British Amazons, *CJ*, 13 May 1893, 299). After not having heard from him for twelve months, she decides to search for him. Having "provided for the welfare of her children" (ibid.), she disguises herself as a man, joins the regiment herself and leaves for the battlefield in Flanders. There, she actively participates in the Nine Year's War, is wounded yet still performs her duty in combat – all the while looking out for her husband. Despite the odds, she finally meets her husband again only for him to be killed in battle shortly afterwards. In her quest for domestic integrity, she continues to – literally – fight until she eventually meets a man who is to become her future husband and replaces the father of her children in the domestic sphere. After their return to Ireland, they lead a life with traditional gender roles, the "amazon" (ibid.) taking her place as a wife and mother again.[222]

The previous articles showed women transgressing gender norms in terms of their physical abilities with a domestic motivation. Their heroism thus results in domestic norm-conformity. However, a number of texts raise this domestic in-

[222] The last paragraph of the narrative even describes her nursing her husband after he has fallen sick, which stands in stark contrast to her violent heroic deeds in battle. This shows how her transgressive agency is lost after domestic integrity is regained.

tegrity itself into the realm of heroism. This becomes most obvious in the article "Heroines": The text, which discusses the possibility or impossibility of female heroism, concludes that the domestic sphere is the only desirable realm for female heroics. It is interesting, though, why other fields are denied to women. Firstly, the intellectual life is said not to be suited for female heroism, due to women's "unreasoning nature" (Heroines, *CJ*, 2 Aug 1884, 493). "[I]ntellectual culture belongs to the few" (ibid.) and, as the text argues, women are not, by nature, suited for that kind of profession. On the contrary, "too much" knowledge (ibid.) is depicted as being dangerous for women who – with growing knowledge – are claimed to turn into "passionless creatures", a "third sex" (ibid.).[223] As a second field of activity, philanthropy is considered; though this area may prove more suitable for women, as it requires "loving compassion" for "the common good" (ibid.), charitable work is still not deemed the appropriate place for female heroics because most of it is conducted in public, by "'women with a mission'" (ibid.), and "the woman with a mission flaunts it before the world, and gets more or less in everybody's way" (ibid.). Only if they had a "desire to remain unknown" (ibid.) could they be considered heroines, yet – so the assessment of the text – most women doing charitable work decidedly do not want to remain unknown. Finally then, the text finds the ideal place for womanly heroics in the private sphere and female dedication to husband, children and domestic integrity. These heroines "of commonplace life" possess, so the text, a "greatness [that] does not need striking incidents. Their worth makes precious those trivial atoms of which life is composed" (ibid., 494). The question of the recognition of heroic acts, which frequently creates a tension in *CJ*, is mentioned in the text as well and a seemingly easy solution is presented: the heroic mother and wife's efforts are not only recognised, but become eternal, since their "immortal influence" (ibid.) lives on in the generations to come.

Their heroism is one of "sacrifice" (ibid.) and its characteristics are: "tenderness, gentleness, self-forgetfulness, suffering. The last may not be universal, like the rest. But the highest love can only exist where suffering has touched the object loved" (ibid.). The prototypical heroine designed in the article is thus clearly modelled after an interesting combination of both working- and middle-class women. In showing suffering as the characteristic which crowns the heroic love for one's family, the text clearly refers to more precarious households of the working classes which struggle to make ends meet and keep their family fed and healthy. On the other hand, the heroine whose scope is restricted to the domestic sphere clearly mirrors an ideal of middle-class femininity in which women were not required to work in order to contribute to the family's finances. In its heroisation of the domestic woman, the text wants to mediate a middle-class

[223] On a – from today's perspective humorous – side note, the text argues further that women should have a limited education so that they can still be impressed by the knowledge of men "to tell her about". Heroines, *CJ*, 2 Aug 1884, 493.

ideal, yet also reveals that it wants to appeal to and offer a means of identification to a lower social rank. In this creation of a heroism which wants "to remain unknown", the text is in line with the other meta-heroic reflections in *CJ*, all of which struggle with the public nature of heroism, necessarily created through its mediality. "Heroines" thus again tries to imagine a form of heroism which is unmediated. In its focus on female heroes, the text further takes up the contemporary discussion of women and their role in a public environment,[224] and clearly takes the side of those who locate women exclusively in the domestic sphere.

The influence a heroic woman is said to have over her family is also emphasised in the essay "Good Form". The text states that a "hero" (Good Form, *CJ*, 3 Jan 1891, 9) can only be someone who follows the "social rules […] needed to preserve the harmony and decorum in daily life" (ibid., 7). The hero of everyday life in this case is a stabiliser, an enabler of harmony and peaceful community. This virtue of "Good Form" is put on the same level with values that have already appeared regarding the heroic: "Patriotism, Virtue, Honour, and even Love" (ibid.). Form, which the text decidedly distinguished from "Etiquette" (ibid.), a related, yet more superficial form, needs to be mediated to children from birth onwards. Though "flexible" (ibid.) and hard to define, form is defined as a codex for appropriate behaviour. Among the characteristics mentioned are politeness, courteousness, chivalry, negative examples are "self-indulgence and luxuriousness" as well as "elbo[wing]" (ibid.) one's way to one's goals. In short, "Good Form" can be seen as behaviour guided by "morality" (ibid.) and strongly mirrors the virtues of private heroism seen above. In the context of the articles on heroic women, domestic integrity and education, one could see this as an appeal to educate one's children to become 'heroes' themselves.

A celebration of female ordinariness, yet from a male perspective, can be found in the poem "My Heroine". In the vein of Shakespeare's Sonnet 130, the male speaker praises the 'plainness' of his wife. As the object of comparison, the speaker criticises contemporary ideals of fashion and beauty. He states that

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224 For scholarship on the idea of separate spheres and the 'woman question' see for instance Lynn Abrams: Ideals of Womanhood in Victorian Britain, in: BBC History 9, 2001, pp. 1–9; Cynthia Curran: Private Women, Public Needs. Middle-Class Widows in Victorian England, in: Albion. A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 25.2, 1993, pp. 217–236; Leonore Davidoff: Gender and the "Great Divide". Public and Private in British Gender History, in: Journal of Women's History 15.1, 2003, pp. 11–27; Eleanor Gordon / Gwyneth Nair: Public Lives. Women, Family, and Society in Victorian Britain, New Haven 2003; Patricia Hollis: Women in Public 1850–1900. Documents of the Victorian Women's Movement, London 2013; Linda K. Kerber: Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place. The Rhetoric of Women's History, in: The Journal of American History 75.1, 1988, pp. 9–39; Robert B. Shoemaker: Gender in English Society 1650–1850. The Emergence of Separate Spheres, London 2014; John Tosh: A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Cass Home in Victorian England, New Haven 2007 or Amanda Vickery: Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History, in: The Historical Journal 36.2, 1993, pp. 383–414.

"She's not accomplished – no, indeed, poor dear. / I dare assert / She does not know the latest slang – I fear / She's not a flirt" (My Heroine, *CJ*, 29 Nov 1879, 768). About her looks he says that "Perhaps she has not Mrs L – y's eyes, / Or rose-leaf skin, / But still so sweet a face to criticise / Were downright sin" (ibid.). The speaker thus established his "girl I know" (ibid.) – it is only later revealed that she is his wife – as an honest and sweet woman, in contrast to the fashionable "flirt[s]" with beautiful eyes, who go out at night to "bet" and to smoke "A cigarette" (ibid.). She is not only described as faithful, but above all shows domestic skills: while other women lust for entertainment, she works around the rural home (indicated by the mentioning of a "five-barred gate", ibid.) and her "*cakes* / Are just divine" (ibid.). Her attire is rather practical than of the latest fashion and she decorates the house with flowers from her garden. Her hair of "modest brown" (ibid.) is not artfully made every day, but worn "in a simple knot behind" (ibid.), so as not to be in the way during the hours of work at home. On the whole, the speaker constructs his "Heroine" (ibid.) as a devoted housewife, who – as her practical outfit and her chores imply – does not have any servants but carries out all household work herself and seems rather plain in comparison to the women about town, who lust for entertainment whereas the woman described seeks domestic happiness in baking cakes. It is this plainness which the speaker seems to cherish about his wife, which turns her into his "heroine".

The final two stanzas give the poem a surprising twist with the woman herself speaking: instead of being delighted by her husband's praise, she tells him off for making her "the subject of your stupid rhymes" (ibid.). Her agitation makes clear that she herself would rather be fashionable than a devoted wife confined to the domestic sphere and even threatens him with "Domestic strife" if he ever were to write more of what she considers "nasty, spiteful things" (ibid.) about her. The two speakers of the poem represent two different perspectives on women in the domestic sphere. The woman's addition at the end of the poem shows that women's confinement to the private sphere and the question of which recreational activities would be appropriate for them was already a topic being widely discussed in British society in the late 1870s. On the other hand, the husband speaks for the majority of the time (six of eight stanzas), the poem's title is written from his perspective, and by the time she speaks herself, he has already established his wife's intellectual plainness. Therefore, the theme of the praiseworthy domestic, unassuming heroine still dominates the piece.

The values propagated in the articles about heroic women are similar to those exhibited in other domains of the heroic: the women are shown as devoted, persevering,[225] humble and above all selflessly working for the greater good of their

[225] Interestingly, none of the texts about female domestic heroism include the idea of social ascent or bettering oneself so often connected with perseverance in other contexts.

family. Although these private moral virtues occur in many different contexts in *CJ,* for example in relation to soldiers, medical professionals or men working in the colonies, they are only used in regard to women in a distinctly domestic frame. Although a number of texts show women physically transgressing contemporary gender norms, all of the narratives are embedded in a domestic framework through the women's motivation and their longing for a family and its stability.[226]

The article "Common-Place People" discusses the heroism of private life on a more general level and links up with the initial considerations of "What is Heroism" in chapter 4.2. "What is Heroism" had called for an unmediated form of private heroism and revealed a fundamental tension between the appeal of public recognition as a hero and the utilisation of heroism to stabilise existing societal norms. "Common-Place People", a fictitious dispute between a husband and a wife, illustrates the difficulty of judging the legitimacy of publicly renowned heroism in comparison with a more private kind of heroics. The husband, narrator of the article, poses the "knotty question" (Common-Place People, *CJ*, 10 Jan 1857, 18) of "common-place people", their talents and contributions to society. He himself is undecided in this respect and ponders the significance of "the vast body of mankind […] who are neither detestably bad nor admirably good" (ibid.). On the one hand, he believes that those 'average' people take themselves too seriously in the present age, since "[n]o one is insignificant to himself; and the most common-place being in the world would assuredly be the last person to suspect the small degree of his own value in the social scale" (ibid.). He diagnoses a want for "*prestige*" (ibid.) in the whole of the population despite their class or talents and criticises the focus on "deceitful" (ibid.) appearance: "Let a man quote from one or two abstruse books, interlaid his conversation with Latin and Greek, comb his hair but seldom, and shave still less frequently, and he will find a sufficient number of persons ready to admire him as the wisest, most erudite of men" (ibid.). These statements identify a problem regarding the individual in the public sphere: on the side of the individual, the narrator criticises a growing want for public attention (depending on the particular individual this 'public' would certainly be of a different scope); this tendency is both caused by, as well as reinforces, a contorted perception of oneself and one's significance within society.

The perspective *on* the individual, however, is identified as distorted as well, with criteria to judge a person's talents lacking and outward factors being the main gauge for judgement. This dynamic reinforces itself: If society is looking for outward clues for the societal worth of an individual and individuals within

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[226] One could argue that some cases discussed in the context of military heroism strive for domestic integrity as well, yet it is important to note that the regard for the family in all examples only comes up when a soldier has been severely wounded and knows that his duty towards his country is fulfilled, never before that.

society are seeking public recognition for themselves, no 'actual' proof of social benefit caused by the individual is necessary. The individuals who regard themselves as significant and know how to perform this role through their appearance will be perceived as such without society being any the better for it. The "knotty question" (ibid., 18) for the narrator is whether "common-place people" can ever be 'true' "heroes" (ibid., 17) or are only ever perceived so by putting on a façade.[227] With the opinion of the narrator's wife, the discussion takes a different turn. Rather than looking at a "set of people [who] are overrated" (ibid., 18) while average beneath the surface, she interprets "common-place people" as those who do not get any public attention *despite* being of service to their social environment or being exceptionally moral and virtuous. These men and women are seldom called heroes, since society – in this case referring to the public sphere focused on appearances – "seeks its heroes from among its peers" (ibid.) and therefore cannot recognise those heroic figures who do not conform to their outward criteria of social profit. Reflecting the discussion of gender and the public and private sphere, it is significant that it is the woman who takes the side of the private "common-place people" whereas her husband doubts that heroism without public appreciation can occur.

The narrator's wife believes that that "commonplaceism *per se* does not exist" (ibid.) because every individual is of significance to a number of others, is "admire[d]" (ibid.) and contributes to their wellbeing. The "heroes" (ibid.) she is talking about are men and women who act selflessly and according to a high moral standard for mere idealistic reasons and without an agenda for public recognition. Thus, she considers these "heroes" superior to those who are rewarded with the attention of a larger group. She gives two examples for this kind of 'commonplace heroism'. The first example is a man who was too poor to marry the girl he loved and worked hard so that, "middle-aged", he could finally marry her. The second anecdote depicts a young woman, a "merchant's daughter" who was neglected by her family for her sisters were both "more accomplished" and "more handsome". Yet she did not complain and when the family fell into misfortune, it was her who supported the whole of the family despite being treated badly before.

The examples stress the importance of domestic stability and the acts performed by the 'heroes' are directed at the benefit of the whole of the family at the – at least temporary – expense of the individual performing them. The text, like many others discussed before, foregrounds the underlying values such as "constancy […], quiet energy" (ibid.) and above all the ability to suffer for the sake of others. Though the narrator leaves the reader to be the "[j]udge" of the "knotty question" (ibid.), the stark contrast between the different kinds of "com-

[227] This links up with the considerations on false heroism in chapter 4.2 which showed a close connection between those heroes considered of no advantage to society at large but rather a personal fancy based on outward appearance and the adorer's imagination.

mon-place" people and the emphatic description of the 'silent' and 'unsung' form of heroism brought forth by the woman leave no question as to which form is more desirable. The statement that "the world's common-place people are *my* heroes" (ibid.) seems to finally settle the matter in favour of the unassuming, private individual seeking domestic peace and the happiness of the whole of its family, as opposed to their own personal – and possibly public – reward.

More generally, the text can be seen as embodying the fundamental tension of heroism as represented in *CJ*. On the one hand, it shows the attractiveness of public recognition and admiration perceived by many; on the other hand, the text propagates a veneration of the normality of life and constructs a kind of extraordinary mediocracy. In this way the text links up nicely with the initial ideas put forth in the programmatic text "What is Heroism" and presents a solution to put heroism "within the reach […] of the private citizen" (What is Heroism, *CJ*, 9 May 1857, 298): heroic normality.

4.7 Different Heroes for Different Readers?

Chambers's publishing portfolio was broad and included a variety of products from instructional tracts to educational courses, school books, collections of entertaining stories for leisure time, biography collections and school quizzes. Many of these products targeted different audiences and were intended for a range of different environments. Therefore, it is productive to take a cursory look at the usage of the vocabulary of the heroic in other Chambers publications in the second half of the nineteenth century to establish whether the usage of the semantic field as analysed above is specific to *CJ* and its target audience or can be found in other publications aimed at different readers as well.

Popular Instruction for Private Consumption

A range of material can be found which utilises the vocabulary of the heroic similarly to *CJ*. In this material, the heroic is used to denote (morally) desirable exemplary behaviour and encourage emulation on the part of the reader. This can especially be found in works of popular instruction intended for private consumption and self-study. Robert Cochrane's collection *Lives of Good and Great Women*, published with Chambers in 1888, provides role models for the contemporary female reader. In its preface, it professes that

> [n]ew books of biographies are, on the face of things, an absolute necessity. We need not forget our old heroes, our ancient ideals, and yet we may well feel that to learn something about the trials and struggles, the methods of work, and the ultimate triumph

> of those who have but recently passed away, or who are still among us, may be more helpful to us in our own place.[228]

The contents include biographical sketches of women such as Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, Mary Somerville, Angela Burdett-Coutts or Octavia Hill, almost all of whom are called heroic within the individual texts. In doing this, the book created a form of moral heroism which propagated behaviour that could be imitated by the readers and was distinctly different from the "old heroes". In this didactic approach, aimed at individual private readers, the work complied with the use of the heroic as identified in *CJ*.[229]

Another parallel to the journal can be found in the depiction of science and technology for the lower middle class. Similarly to the findings in chapter 4.5, books such as *Great Thinkers and Workers* (1888, edited by Robert Cochrane), William Chambers's *Chambers's Social Science Tracts* (1860), or *Chambers's British Science-Biographies* (1886, edited by Alleyne Nicholson) all focused on the productivity and industry of the scientists and intellectuals, yet none of them are portrayed in the vocabulary of the heroic or shown as role models.

Biography Collections

Chambers published a wide variety of popular biography collections. Books such as *Entertaining Biography* (1855), *Exemplary and Instructive Biography* (1846), *Famous Men* (1886), *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1857) or *Chambers's Biographical Dictionary* (1897) served a number of purposes. Works such as *Exemplary and Instructive Biography* fell in the category of popular education. Thus, its preface states that

> the study of Biography is profitable in two ways. Its least, though most obvious use, is to convey historical information in a pleasing manner. Its more important utility has a reference to the great Educational principle of imitation, which, though inferior to training and exercise, has a decided advantage over precept, the advantages of which it may be said, indeed, to combine with those more properly its own.[230]

By showing the readers other examples of "successful contendings with depressing circumstances", a manifestation of "similar virtues"[231] was intended.

The biographical dictionaries contained descriptions of the lives of historical and contemporary persons[232] and were intended as reference books. Though written in a matter-of-fact style, the short paragraphs also occasionally contained

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228 Robert Cochrane: Lives of Good and Great Women, Edinburgh 1888, p. 1.
229 Although none of the collections I have encountered contained reprints from *CJ*.
230 Robert Chambers / William Chambers (eds.): Exemplary and Instructive Biography, Edinburgh 1846, n.p.
231 Ibid.
232 The preface of an 1897 edition notes that it shows "the world's Upper Ten Thousand […]; still, the lower, even the lowest, have not been wholly neglected." David Patrick /

criticism and thus gave a hint at the values the contributors and editors wanted to convey.[233] The entries varied from short notes[234] to text which was up to two columns long.[235] Both the reference works and the instructional biographies only infrequently employ the language of the heroic. In the former, this may primarily be due to the traditionally unemotional and rarely narrative style of the dictionary. Also, in their aim of instructing and educating their readers, the instructive biographies in particular were located in the same market segment as *CJ* and a lack of herorization of historical actors complies with the attempt not to create celebrities, but to praise silent, unsung heroes.

However, a different strategy can be observed in those biography collections which from the outset do not propose an educating, but an entertaining intention. For example, books such as *Famous Men*, a collection from 1886, did not contain any paratextual matter such as a preface or advertisements. In publications intended for private instruction, this material would have hinted at the author's or publisher's intentions, might have given the readers a guideline for how to deal with the text and what to take away from it. Such paratexts would also have provided them with a list of other material for further education through the adverts in the back. By not providing any of these guiding paratexts, the entertaining biographies left the text to the interpretation of the reader and thus did not object to mere enjoyment as a reason for reading the books. Interestingly, these biographies are full of language of the heroic: Lord Dundonald's biography introduces him as a "heroic seaman" in its first sentence[236] ("Lord Dundonald", 1); the "hero" George Stephenson is praised ("George Stephenson", 2)[237] and "such a hero" as Oberlin venerated ("Life of Oberlin", 31). Although the collection includes philanthropists such as John Howard, and social reformers like John Frederick Oberlin are commemorated, the collection also constructs historical figures as heroes who were not called such in *CJ*. Most notably, inventors such as Stephenson or Watt, who were never called heroic in the periodical, are heroised in the collection, and military and navy men such as Dundonald, Washington, Nelson, and Napoleon are at the centre of attention in the

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Francis Hindes Groome: Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. The Great of All Times and Nations, London/Edinburgh 1897, n.p.

233 For example, the entry on the composer Mozart noted that "[h]is carelessness, improvidence, and senseless generosity overwhelmed him with endless embarrassments." Ibid., p. 678.

234 Such as the entry on Moctezuma, which reads "Mexican emperor, ascended the throne about 1437, annexed Chalco, crushed the Tlascalans, and died in 1471". Ibid., p. 670.

235 The longer texts are mostly concerned with English worthies (e.g. Milton, Shakespeare, Nelson) and/or figures from recent history (e.g. Peel, Garibaldi, Dickens, Cardinal Newman or Napoleon to whom one of the longest entries is devoted).

236 William Chambers (ed.): Famous Men. Being Biographical Sketches from Chambers's Miscellany, Edinburgh 1886.

237 Every one of the biographies has their own page numbering, which suggests that the texts were used for individual publication as well.

work. Furthermore, details from the private lives of the men biographed are included in the texts, a practice which had been criticised in the periodical. Entertaining biographies, such as *Famous Men*, appealed to a different market than that which the publishers imagined for their periodical: in a style which focused less on moral instruction and more on entertainment and adventure, the heroic personnel did not have to act as role models and be within the realm of experience of the prospective readers, but were predominantly used as representatives of exciting and thrilling lives.

Educational Publications

Many of Chambers's publications were intended for the instruction of pupils in schools or other institutional educational contexts. Apart from subject-bound factual matter such as maths or spelling books, the company also published reading material on history or story readers in a more narrative style. Interestingly, none of the latter – which could easily have employed the vocabulary of the heroic to indicate what behaviour of historical actors or protagonists of stories was considered worth emulating or deemed unfit – utilise these semantics. For example, *Chambers's National Reading-Books* of 1873, intended for use in schools, contained stories and poems about the seasons, about landscapes and animals, as well as texts about literary men such as Marlowe or Milton and well-known figures such as Robin Hood, written in a very sober style. Similarly, *Chambers's Graduate Readers* published in 1884, sold at 7d per volume, contained stories and verse about farm life, pets or weekend vacations and stories of countryside life and interaction with animals. It is obvious that such story books were written with the practice of reading skills in mind, which explains the simple and sober style.[238] The subject matter and setting, which unless portraying a historical person was almost exclusively rural Britain, also suggests that the texts were intended to increase young readers' knowledge (e.g. about the seasons, animals or farming), yet the texts did not aim at the moral education of their readers or provide role models for them. The 1872 *Chambers's Supplementary Reader* (1872) was priced at 8d, contained illustrated "interesting and instructive reading" and was intended for the usage of "teachers and school managers".[239] Similar to the texts discussed above, the tracts about Columbus, William Tell or Lord Dundonald did not utilise the vocabulary of the heroic and focused on the mediation of facts rather than the more "entertaining" potential that a more narrative account

238 Each story opened with a list of the most complex words, which were also listed in the back of each volume as "The More Difficult Words of Three Syllables in Common Use" (cf. e.g. Chambers / Chambers: National Reading-Books, vol. 3, p. 157) with indication of stresses and syllables.

239 Robert Chambers / William Chambers (eds.): Chambers's Supplementary Reader, Edinburgh 1872, n.p.

could have offered. Other historical readers, such as *Chambers's Summary of English History*, presented the content to their readers as a list. For example, the chapter on "Waterloo – And Afterwards" reads as follows:

> 1. As soon as all the allies had withdrawn from Paris, Napoleon escaped from Elba, and once more became Emperor of the French. The great powers of Europe declared war against France.
> 2. The British under Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher, were the first to muster near the French frontier.
> 3. Napoleon defeated the Prussians at Ligny; Ney attacked Wellington at Quatre Bras, but was repulsed.
> […]
> 11. In 1829, George III. died. For nearly ten years, owing to insanity, he had taken no part in the government. During these years his eldest son, afterwards George IV., acted as regent.[240]

Similarly, *Leading Events in English History: Adapted to the Requirements of the Educational Code* in 1880 was written in a very matter-of-fact tone, listing information and omitting narrative style. Given the didactic agenda that the publishing house pursued in the use of the vocabulary of the heroic in their journal, this omission of the semantics in educational texts, especially in story books and history readers which in their display of 'great men' would have lent themselves well for the creation of role models for the young readers, is astonishing. The extraction of morals from historical events and the lives of well-known figures seems to have been missing in a type of material which was at its core didactic. Nevertheless, Chambers's tendency for moral improvement through role models is still present in the educational texts. This, however, only becomes apparent when considering the different environments in which *CJ* and the educational works would be consumed. While the journal was intended for solitary consumption at home or reading within the family, the educational texts were to be read in the institutional context of schools or other educational institutions implying a mediator (a teacher, a lecturer, …). It is this mediator, then, who fulfils the function of a role model in moral terms in the context of the educational publications. This is expressed strongly in Eliza Greenup's *Friendly Advice to Pupil-Teachers*, which was published with Chambers in 1877. The slim 31-page volume reminded teachers that it was not merely the factual instruction that lay within their responsibility – the facts would be supplied in books such as those mentioned above – but in particular the moral education which was in their hands. "[I]n order that the education of our country be effectually carried out, it becomes necessary that those who assume the office of educator or teacher be morally, intellectually and physically equal. *Morally* because a teacher must be an *example*."[241] In its conclu-

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240 Robert Chambers / William Chambers (eds.): Chambers's Summary of English History, Edinburgh 1904, pp. 53–54.

241 Eliza Greenup: Friendly Advice to Pupil-Teachers, Edinburgh 1877, pp. 7–8.

sion, the text ends with a poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and demands: "Set a high value upon your character; and if you wish to become truly great, endeavour first to become truly good. 'Lives of great men all remind us / We can make *our* lives sublime, / And departing, leave behind us / Footprints on the sands of time.'"[242]

In the institutional educational context, not Robin Hood or Wellington, Milton or Marlowe are the 'great men' whom the pupils should emulate, but the teachers who are standing before them in the flesh. It is their lives which, in the ideal sense of education and influence as shown above, become great and leave an impression on the moral advancement of the children they educate.

It has become clear that the use of the vocabulary of the heroic in *CJ* was quite specific to the publication, its didactic aim, and its intended readership. As the comparison with other publication formats has shown, words from the semantic field of the heroic were chiefly used in order to morally instruct readers outside of formal education within a setting of private consumption. Thus, the periodical regulated the personnel to whom it attributed heroic status according to this primary goal and this restriction did not apply to publications for other segments of the market, which were intended to chiefly amuse and entertain, such as the biographies. Within *CJ*'s didactic agenda the heroic was a central tool to mark and promote morally desirable behaviour.

4.8 Heroism in Chambers's Journal *– Forms and Functions*

As the examination of the dominant domains of the heroic in *CJ* – military heroism, heroism of civilisation and everyday heroism – has shown, the concept of heroism played an important role in the periodical's didactic agenda. In combination with those texts that explicitly define and reflect upon heroism, a distinct set of values of heroism have emerged, which form a heroic imaginary that the periodical evoked whenever the semantics of heroism were employed. Courage, selflessness and perseverance have been established as central properties of this heroic imaginary. All of these were utilised didactically to create a form of heroism that strongly emphasised communal aspects and was intended to inspire identification and imitation in the readers.

In opposition to traditional notions of heroism, which often centred on exceptional, genial leader figures to guide the masses, the periodical focused on a personnel which was like their intended readership. In the attribution of hero-status to rank-and-file soldiers, working men, and women exerting influence in the domestic sphere, the periodical tried to make the values which heroism embodied attractive and worthy of emulation for even the "poorest labourer" appealed to in the editor's address of *CJ*'s very first issue in 1832 (Editor's Address,

[242] Ibid., p. 31.

CJ, Feb 4 1832, 1). On the whole, the texts representing heroic acts – such as the bravery of miners or the efforts of medical men – or a state of heroism – such as the heroic normality of everyday life analysed in the last section – try to establish a relation between the presented heroes and the consumers. This relation is in most cases based on the likeness and proximity between the two, whereas attempts at herorization which involve a greater distance are shown as precarious.

However, this is complicated by the factors of class and gender in particular, which the periodical struggles to seamlessly integrate into its imaginary. Especially the herorization of women, which the periodical attempted at various points throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, proves difficult. At a time in which women were still predominantly seen in the private sphere and women's rights activists were still fighting to be heard, the periodical takes a conservative stance and paints the picture of a heroic woman as a domestic housewife with no profession or role within the public sphere. This pattern is only transgressed in colonial contexts. The spatial removal and the idea of British supremacy over a less civilised culture which needed guidance allowed women to display a more active heroism with a stronger individual agency in some cases. However, the domestic framework is nevertheless alluded to even in these instances and the educational efforts of women in colonial contexts can be related to the idea of women exerting influence over those who are still unformed and uneducated, with the colonial students taking the place of a woman's own children in a British domestic setting. Within Britain, however, female heroic agency as displayed in *CJ* seems to have been limited to the private realm. The privatisation of heroism which occurred through the continuous evoking of moral ideals and the insistence that private honour was the ultimate reward for a heroic moral disposition, however, also challenged the idea of masculinity. The shift of attention from the heroic act to a moral heroism which found its manifestation in a person's disposition and attitude rather than in active behaviour, thus also led to a change in perception of male agency, in line with middle-class emphasis on the importance of the private sphere for both men *and* women.[243] As John Tosh notes, "to an unprecedented degree, the Victorians also insisted that the home was the proper sphere of the husband, as the spouse who was more exposed to the moral degradation of the world of work, and therefore more in need of refuge and refreshment".[244]

In the mediation of predominantly middle-class ideals directed at a presumed readership of the lower ranks, class plays a crucial role in the depiction of heroism in *CJ*. Within their didactic agenda, rooted in the Scottish Presbyterian idea of equal access to education regardless of social status, the periodical wanted to

[243] Cf. Leonore Davidoff / Catherine Hall (eds.): Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850, London 2002.

[244] John Tosh: Home and Away. The Flight from Domesticity in Late-Nineteenth-Century England Re-Visited, in: Gender and History 27.3, 2015, p. 561.

symbolically empower the lower classes and thus created examples of heroes from the lower ranks. Interestingly, this was mostly achieved in fictional texts, since reports of non-fictional established heroic figures would less frequently have been located within the identificatory reach of the readership. This further shows how the heroic and its functionalisations coincide with specific genres. Examples of 'real-life' heroes were mostly presented in the non-fictional reports and essays; these, however, in most cases referred to either established hero figures (for example in the case of military heroism, which referenced military men such as Nelson of Wellington), members of the upper middle classes (such as the medical men), or heroes who had already been acknowledged in some other public form, such as the awardees of the Albert Medal or the Royal Humane Society. Thus, heroes represented in non-fiction genres were sometimes less adaptable as attainable role models for the readers. In cases of non-fictional representation of everyday and/or working-class heroism, the represented heroes, however, sometimes clashed with the periodical's proclaimed aim not to further the glorification and public adulation of individuals. In re-telling the stories, which had already been attracting public attention through the award of a prize or media attention, the contradiction of exceptionality and exemplarity becomes apparent. For example, the public attention given to Grace Darling is explicitly criticised in *CJ*, while the periodical was part of the same machinery of hero-production in their portrayal of award-winning lifesavers. This inconsistency between, on the one hand, demanding "unsung heroes" which exist without a medium and at the same time metaphorically singing their praise, is a tension which remains unresolved throughout the decades and is not reflected upon.

However, the fact that most of the texts which create and mediate heroic figures and heroic properties are fictional texts can be read as a way of dealing with this tension, since the heroisation of a fictional character could not contribute to the actual public fame of a person and to their public honour which the periodical criticised. In the fictional texts, mostly tales and only occasionally serial novels, heroism could be designed and played out in such a way that readers could identify with the represented heroes. Thereby, the periodical produced hero-figures as didactic tools to guide their readership in their processes of identity formation and moral education. Interestingly then, though on the whole opposed to the traditional idea of a single exceptional leader figure for the masses and the power dynamics involved, the periodical utilised the same dynamics. Using heroism as a marker for desirable and norm-conform behaviour, the narratives were themselves intended as guides for the readers. Thus, the power dynamics often criticised in the paradigm of the hero as a leader figure were not abandoned in the more inclusive idea of heroism, but they were only canalised differently in the didactic application of the concept. The represented heroes were seldom transgressive (with the exception of the depicted instances of lifesaving which often included a temporary transgression of a person's physical

abilities) and cannot be seen as performing boundary work in a strict sense. However, the fact that heroism was so closely defined in moral terms creates a boundary without heroic infringement. Thus, the clear definition of the desirable norm embodied by heroes results in a distinct notion of accepted social behaviour and a delineation of a social group united by middle-class values.

Throughout the period under examination, the representation of heroism in *CJ* is frequently linked to larger societal issues. Heroism, in many cases, is strongly connected to questions of national identity. This is shown, for one, in the depiction of military heroics, which – highly criticised in times of peace – was adapted for the greater concern of national integrity during times of war. Furthermore, the depiction of lifesaving in exotic settings or women's efforts of education in the colonies can also be read as stories of British supremacy in a global context.[245] Similarly, the heroisation of miners and their work ethos as the backbone of the British industry can be read as a display of the country's superiority in the industrial sector. Additionally, the heroisation of the workforce can be seen as a sign of the growing importance of the manual labourers for the functioning society and the growing democratisation, as well as a validation to counterbalance possible tendencies for unrest. This points to another major functionalisation of the vocabulary of heroism in *CJ*. Although genuinely involved in the cause of universal education and improving living conditions for the lower ranks of society, the periodical shows no interest in fundamentally changing the societal order. The attribution of heroic status to the disadvantaged in their selfless work for others can thus also be seen as a means of stabilisation of that part of society, which it was feared would become a threat to the existing order. The heroisation of the domestic woman up until the turn of the century, a time at which the women's rights movement had already gathered considerable public attention, can be read along the same lines. In a phase when societal boundaries were becoming increasingly blurred and existing structures were threatened with overthrowal, the heroisation and thus validation of the current status quo can be seen as an attempt to stabilise endangered norms. Through the establishment of attainable role models – the importance of which for individual development from childhood onwards *CJ* had stressed in many texts – and the semantic attribution of hero-status, the periodical tried to make the current situation more appealing in a larger framework of heroic selflessness for the community.[246] Much like the example of the news-boys, the periodical did not con-

[245] It is also noteworthy in this context that heroes in *CJ* are exclusively white (though not exclusively British) and no representation of the heroism of colonial natives can be found, which again stresses the idea of Western supremacy over the colonised countries.

[246] The heroic was thus clearly utilised to make norm-conforming behaviour more attractive and give it a more glamorous appeal. This, however, again points to the fundamental tension between exemplarity and exceptionality; the heroic was attractive for many for the very fact that it was commonly associated with exceptional and singular things, rather than with the mass-phenomenon which publications like *CJ* turned it into.

struct the ideal of a society of equals, but that of a society which is led by specific morals while still maintaining a fundamentally hierarchical structure.

Unlike thinkers such as Carlyle, *CJ* in its didactic mission did not perceive a lack of heroism in the present day. In imbuing heroism with a very distinct notion of selfless, community-oriented behaviour, the editors and contributors to the periodical adapted the idea of the heroic potential of a society to the contemporary age; in a growing mass society, they propagated the idea of not one person being beyond all standards, but a mass of people who heroically embody the norm.