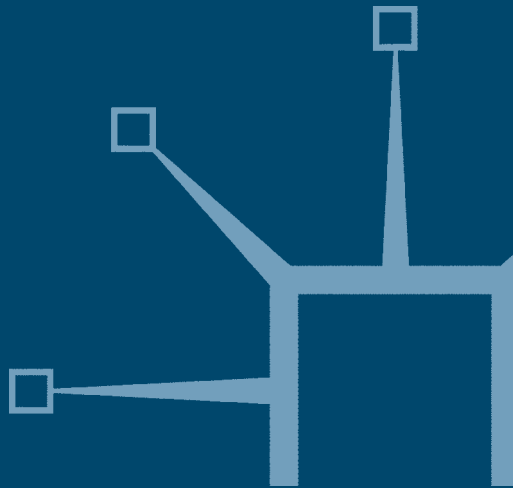# Individualism, Decadence and Globalization

## On the Relationship of Part to Whole, 1859–1920

Regenia Gagnier

*Language, Discourse, Society*

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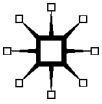
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# Individualism, Decadence and Globalization

**On the Relationship of Part to Whole, 1859–1920**

Regenia Gagnier

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# Contents

# Acknowledgements

John Currin's sexy "Hobo" (1999), from our own *fin de siècle*, is individualized because her face is that of the artist's wife, the artist Rachel Feinstein. She is global because she is a traveller. And she is decadent because her body, like her Watteau coloring and Botticelli hair, is a reference to the anatomical conventions of early Renaissance painting in Germany. Currin imagined his hobo "in a soup kitchen, with a hilarious line of basically good-looking sexy homeless people."**\***

It is a decadent but utopian image, reflecting back on a lineage of homeless, even stateless, free spirits of the kind studied in this book. My alternative choice was Arnaldo Roche-Rabell's "We Have to Eat" (1986), the truer, racially individuated, face of global migration and inequality, a decadent fact.

But the temperament of this book and its protagonists – Edward Carpenter, Charles Darwin, John Davidson, Friedrich Engels, Edith Lees, Charles Godfrey Leland, Eleanor Marx, Alice Meynell, John Stuart Mill, William Morris, and the rest – is ultimately one of hope, the ontogeny of which is summarized in its final pages: "For humans are unique among animals in the extent to which they use technology to enhance and transform their environments, which in turn transform them, their world, and the earth. We are determined in both senses, of biology and will, to make our own histories through interaction with our natural, social, and technological environments. Reflection on this natural history of change and difference makes us know deeply that things can and will change, and hope is the natural consequence of the genetic under-determination of the human phenotype."

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**\*** *Paint Made Flesh*, ed. Mark W. Scala (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press: 2009), 68.

The book is dedicated to John and our sons, Gabriel and Julian Gagnier Dupré.

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REGENIA GAGNIER
Devon, December 2009

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# Introduction: Individuals-in-Relation

This book began with points to which I kept returning since I began to write on the nineteenth century and social theory. These included, first, Holbrook Jackson's description of the 1890s as "a decade singularly rich in ideas, personal genius and social will" whose "central characteristic was a widespread concern for the correct – the most effective, most powerful, most righteous – mode of living."[1] Second, the compatibility in that period of individualism and socialism that has been increasingly difficult for later generations to comprehend. Third, polarized reactions to the excesses of modernization that could culminate, on the one hand, in political action to the point of physical force (William Morris) and, on the other, in hagiography and religious conversion (J. K. Huysmans). And fourth, the intricate dissection of relationships of symmetric and asymmetric mutuality. It also began with the experiments of people who attempted to live their lives creatively, as if they were works of art, and treated decorum as formed behavior, civility as formed interaction, beautiful objects as formed labor, beautiful Nature as formed matter, games as formed competition, ascesis as formed self, and, often, socialism as formed society, forming self-interest for the social good: people, that is, who embodied and performed detachment as both critical and aesthetic. I also repeatedly returned to an anatomy of the will, what Jackson called "social will," but also to individual will, when functional but also when occult, diseased, and weak, as in the acrasiacs and figures of resentment of the *fin de siècle* and after. What connected these points, which could not be pursued in depth amid other projects, was a particular problem in conceptualizing the relation of parts to wholes, especially the individual to larger social units.

*Individualism Decadence and Globalization* is a genealogy of liberalism from the individual in the abstract to the concrete individual in the

couple or parent–child dyad, in the workshop and commune, in the state, and in cosmopolis or world. It follows nineteenth-century formulations of the relationship of part to whole in both science and culture and argues that this analytic of relationship – locating the appropriate units of analysis amid changing functions and relations – is more conducive to understanding than identity, essence, property, or linear causality. This chapter introduces some social, aesthetic, and scientific models of individualism and globalization and shows how they evolved from different conceptions of the relationship of part to whole.

In a passage that had resonance across every area of life in the period, the psychologist Havelock Ellis defined Decadence in 1889 as when the individuation of parts led to the disintegration of the whole, and a Decadent style in literature as an anarchistic style in which everything was sacrificed to the development of the individual parts. His language is biological and functional.

> The individual is the social cell. In order that the organism should perform its functions with energy it is necessary that the organisms composing it should perform their functions with energy, but with a subordinated energy, and in order that these lesser organisms should themselves perform their functions with energy, it is necessary that the cells comprising them should perform their functions with energy, but with a subordinated energy. If the energy of the cells becomes independent, the lesser organisms will likewise cease to subordinate their energy to the total energy and the anarchy which is established constitutes the *decadence* of the whole. The social organism does not escape this law and enters into decadence as soon as the individual life becomes exaggerated beneath the influence of acquired well-being, and of heredity. A similar law governs the development and decadence of that other organism which we call language. A style of decadence is one in which the unity of the book is decomposed to give place to the independence of the page, in which the page is decomposed to give place to the independence of the phrase, and the phrase to give place to the independence of the word. A decadent style, in short, is an anarchistic style in which everything is sacrificed to the development of the individual parts. (1889)[2]

Whether one thought this sacrifice of whole to the development of the part was a sign of Degeneration, or, as I think, of thought-experiments on the limits of self and other, this was the key tension at the end of the

nineteenth century. Stylistically and literarily, how did the deep internality or particular perspective of a narrator or character relate to the larger, more social structures of plot or narrative? (Morris, like Hegel, understood this to be the problem of modern literature, as Romantic art dissolved into excessive internality and subjectivity.)[3] Socially, how did individual needs and desires relate to the needs and desires of others; and how did nations or states relate to other nations or states? Many *fin-de-siècle* figures opposed narrow egoism, domesticity, and nationalism with larger social visions.[4] This tension of independence versus interdependence, specifically of individual development threatening the functioning of the whole, constituted the anxiety of liberalism after a century of its development.

While Ellis was theorizing abstract relationships of part and whole, he and his lesbian wife were living in what she described as a "semi-detached" marriage, in which the partners were financially and sexually independent but emotionally connected, what I call "symmetric mutuality." Edith Lees Ellis's novel *Attainment* (1909) was based in Lees's experiences in the Fellowship of the New Life, established with Edward Carpenter and future Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald in the early 1890s, and its communal boarding-house in London, and it explores through fiction the kinds of relationships of asymmetric mutuality that will be a main theme of the book.[5] Like the women's writing discussed in Chapter 2, it focusses on intense relationships of varying degrees of solubility and separation between husbands, wives, and their lovers; parents and children; middle-class employers and their servants; political and affective comrades and adversaries. Its theme is the right relation of self to others.

Lees's *Attainment* has no epiphanies and few actions except the decisions or choices that people make every day. These are experimental, contingent, "scrappy,"[6] and achieved through chance encounters through work, commitment, or just geographical proximity. After three years in the commune, her mother's death determines that the protagonist returns to Cornwall, where she concludes that the Brotherhood of the Perfect Life was an "experiment" (300) that has taught them certain lessons, the main one being that "We are so absurdly interdependent" (302). The protagonist Rachel further reflects that "Love ruled the [house] in a curiously unconscious way" (309), while the rules and principles that the inhabitants hammered out at house planning meetings meant little. The emphasis is on how little the rules and principles meant in practice, but I must also note that "Love" should not be taken sentimentally. Unlike Morris's pious motto for the Socialist

League "Fellowship is Life," Lees quipped of her experiences in the Fellowship of the New Life, "Fellowship was Hell." Love for the communards was a self-reflective stance toward others to be cultivated as a daily function or practice, a passion and a discipline to be struggled with, subject to will as well as desire. It is neither a therapy to redeem their lives, a commodity to embellish them, nor a banner to march under.

## 1    Individualisms

The theorist of economic firms Julie A. Nelson has diagrammed a continuum of relationships of the kind that the Ellises explored at the end of the nineteenth century. Nelson is illustrating the individualistic basis of contemporary social life, but also attempting to model it for maximum cooperation.[7] On one pole, separative-separative (total independence) indicates that the action of one party cannot have any effect on the other. On the other pole, soluble-soluble (total interdependence) indicates merger, in which the individuals must be completely melded into one unit. Separative-soluble indicates when one party is autonomous, active, and in control, and the other is supportive and/or subordinate. One extreme form of the separative-soluble relation, domination, is likely to elicit the complex interdependence of Hegelian master/slave dialectics in terms of recognition. While the separative extreme recognizes individuality without recognizing relation, and the soluable extreme recognizes relation without recognizing individuality, the image of individuals-in-relation recognizes that people are both socially constituted and individually unique. Once individuals-in-relation are recognized methodologically, we can see relations of mutuality, when individuals-in-relation treat each other with attention and respect. This includes symmetric mutuality, or mutuality between similarly-situated persons, equals, as well as asymmetric mutuality, or mutuality in relations characterized by unequal power, status, ability, or resources. The methodological recognition of asymmetric mutuality opens up the possibility of relations of respect among people with different levels of power and status, and different roles, such as young and old, innocence and experience, student and teacher, apprentice and master, nonexpert and expert. The most important possibility of these would be reciprocity or influence upwards as well as downwards, when the normal hierarchy can be reversed. Like all modern social institutions, both firms and markets are individuals-in-relation. People work better, Nelson concludes, when they are supported, empowered, and

allowed to draw on their own creativity (influencing upwards), than when they are treated as potential shirkers who have to be brought under control (influenced downwards). While Nelson as an economist is interested in the optimal functioning of the whole based in the optimal functioning of individuals in relation, she may not be emphasizing *function* sufficiently. The Ellises did emphasize the changing functions of both parts and whole – or their dysfunction in decadence – and the part–whole relationships studied here will often appear as functions rather than identities. Ultimately I conclude that decadence is not a fixed state but a relation of part to whole within systems that change. Individuation as progress (autonomy) and individuation as decadence (alienation or isolation) are differently imagined relations to the whole.

Victorian literature and biography approached the problem of the individual in social relations pluralistically, with rational, psychological, evolutionary, ethical, and political models. Because they were typically synthetic rather than reductionist, they were often scrappy, but we can easily abstract the main models that influenced public debate from key theorists. Even in these theory-laden models of individualism, note how clearly the functioning relationship of part to whole emerges.

1. *Rational*: In the *locus classicus* of western individualism, John Stuart Mill argued in *On Liberty* (1859) that although there had been a time when men of strong will had had to be subdued for the good of society as a whole, "Society has now fairly got the better of individuality; and the danger which threatens human nature is not the excess but the deficiency of personal impulses."[8] Against the repressive desublimation of modern mass media, or what Mill called the threat of stagnation due to the suppression of diversity, he proposed social tolerance and absolute liberty of thought and discussion, limited solely by society's right to self-protection. His critique of dogmatism, authoritarianism, and intolerance of any kind was as outraged and thoroughgoing as Nietzsche's, though more abstract. That is, it relied solely on reason or ideas to effect toleration. Mill sought liberty through Reason, or the mind's ability to pursue a course to achieve an end. For Mill, Reason was always in the service of an objectively, that is, socially, good end. Thus economic freedom and inheritance, for example, should be limited by taxation to benefit the State. While Mill's argument is a rhetorical *tour de force*, he formulated an abstract individual who appeared to be entirely rational, neither buffed about by passions and emotions nor dependent on others in making decisions. Thus his

parliamentarian as formulated in *On Representative Government* (1861), once elected for his judgment, was under no obligation to consult further with his constituency. As Freud and many others have pointed out, the political program was somewhat compromised by the abstract rationality, or naïve psychology.

2. *Psychological*: Yet Mill's was by no means the only formulation of individualism in the nineteenth century. As early as 1819, the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer had noted that self-conscious individuation divided the human from the nonhuman animal. Here reason, the individual's ability to plan and pursue his own interest, gives rise to the possibility of dissimulation that further leads to the distance or lack of transparency between us, increasing the individuation:

> In the lowest species every trace of the individual character merges with the common character of the species, and only the physiognomy of the species remains. We know the psychological character of the species, and from that we know exactly what is to be expected of the individual. In the human species, on the other hand, every individual requires to be studied and fathomed separately, and because of the potential for dissimulation which first emerges only with the faculty of reason, it is extremely difficult to predict how he will behave.[9]

Just as Adam Smith had recognized the human capacity for symbolic language as the condition of possibility for barter and trade, and consequent wealth creation, so our potential for dissimulation, through language, in pursuing our interests, and our consequent difficulty in predicting how we may behave, inform Schopenhauer's pessimism. The individual's potential dissimulation in pursuit of self-interest threatens the development of the social whole.

3. *Evolutionary*: On the other hand, for Herbert Spencer, all Progress was progress toward individuation, and humankind would necessarily become, through inevitable individuation, perfectly fit for purpose in an organic social state. It is the classic statement of Victorian optimism, in which a perfectly functioning division of labor evolves with social consciousness and symbiosis.

> Progress, therefore, is not an accident, but a necessity. Instead of civilization being artificial, it is a part of nature; all of a piece with the development of the embryo or the unfolding of a flower ... [A]s

surely as the same creature assumes the different forms of cart-horse and race-horse, according as its habits demand strength or speed; as surely as a blacksmith's arm grows large, and the skin of a labourer's hand thick; as surely as the eye tends to become long-sighted in the sailor, and short-sighted in the student; ... as surely as a disregarded conscience becomes inert, and one that is obeyed active; as surely as there is any efficacy in educational culture, or any meaning in such terms as habit, custom, practice; so surely must the human faculties be moulded into complete fitness for the social state; so surely must the things we call evil and immorality disappear; so surely must man become perfect. (1857)[10]

Spencer's cultural evolution of Progress would be a guiding light of the New Liberalism at the end of the century. Today biologists would call it phenotypic adaptive plasticity.[11]

4. *Ethical*: Samuel Smiles's *Character* (1871) was a follow-up to his extremely popular *Self-Help* (1859), which promoted the individual's capacity to improve and educate the self. *Character* attempted to enlist the individual in the social project, again through habit and imitation.[12] Still known today for his biographies lauding the achievements of "heroic" engineers, Smiles's exempla possessing the supreme qualities of "truthfulness, chasteness, mercifulness, integrity, courage, virtue, and goodness" (vi) must be active if they are to motivate not just his readers but the nation as a whole. Great men "stamp their mind upon an age" (22). Not like "bad patriotism," which "shows itself in boastings ... howlings, gesticulations, and shrieking ... in flying flags and singing songs," but in "practical, efficient force – compounded of will, which is the root, and wisdom, which is the stem of character" (12). Without will and wisdom, life will be "indefinite and purposeless – like a body of stagnant water instead of a running stream doing useful work and keeping the machinery of a district in order" (12). Character for both men and women – for Smiles also proposed a normative character for women – linked the individual to the State. The decline of "character" implied national decline.

5. *Political*: Moral character in global politics was also the topic of Walter Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* (1872), an evolutionary psychology applying the principles of natural selection and inheritance to political society. Bagehot asks why there are nations and why so few of them progress. He proceeds to explain social selection and the diffusion of national types of character. National change comes

not through precept, argument, or doctrine (Mill), but rather (as in Smiles) through imitation of admired types and social rejection of nonadmired types. His example of national character-making is North American:

> A great number of persons agreeing in fundamental disposition, agreeing in religion, agreeing in politics, form a separate settlement; they exaggerate, teach their own creed, set up their favourite government; they discourage all other dispositions, persecute other beliefs, forbid other forms or habits of government. Of course a nation so made will have a separate stamp and mark. The original settlers began of one type; they sedulously imitated it; and (though other causes have intervened and disturbed it) the necessary operation of the principles of inheritance has transmitted many original traits still unaltered, and has left an entire New England character – in no respect unaffected by its first character.[13]

In this cultural evolution, nation-making begins with imitable moral types, rejection of nonconformists, and laws enforcing the type. In national infancy, as in any time of social mobility, the rules were fixed and followed rigorously because people had to feel confident that they could be learned. If the rules could be learned, then social aspirants, which included almost everyone by Bagehot's time, could follow them and progress up the ladder. As Bagehot explained, uneducated people will imitate; at times of social mobility, they need connected and coherent habits. As society becomes richer and choice becomes freer, manners decline, for there is no longer the need for forms of politeness that command respect. Manner, says Bagehot, "gets regularly worse as you go from the [traditional] East to the West; it is best in Asia and altogether bad in the western states of America" (150). And choice is the definer of progress. In Bagehot's final chapter VI "Verifiable Progress Politically Considered," he concludes that one nation may be called better than another when it can kill or control another, when it possesses more means of happiness than another, and when it can control nature or its environment. Nations come into being because they select – in the biological sense – a national type that inspires imitation, and they flourish when, through tolerant discussion, they allow for freedom and choice. While Mill and Schopenhauer's models of the individual tend toward Nelson's separative pole,[14] Spencer, Smiles, and Bagehot's – as expressed evolutionists – are more concerned with human interdependence in specific national environments. Schopenhauer, Spencer, and

Bagehot are within traditions of philosophical anthropology, situating human individuation in continuity with Nature. In all cases the relative function of the individual and state were interdependent and mutually constitutive.

## 2   Decadent individualism

Bagehot's observation that national character was attenuated when a society became sufficiently affluent for freedom and choice had been perceived by others fearing that too much individuation and choice threatened collective well-being. Theories of individualism and nation – with Progress, the defining ideologies of nineteenth-century Britain – were widely disseminated at this time when the nation was culturally consolidated (the National Trust was established in 1895, the National Portrait Gallery in 1896, the National Gallery of Modern Art [Tate] in 1897, and the creation of the Dictionary of National Biography from 1885 to 1890). Matthew Arnold, who was Millian in his crusade against dogma, nonetheless worried about the decadence of individualism, the "depression and ennui" unknown to "less enlightened but perhaps healthier epochs" resulting from too much self-conscious individuation: "The predominance of thought, of reflection, in modern epochs is not without its penalties, in the unsound, in the over-tasked, in the oversensitive."[15] Lionel Johnson reflected in 1891 on their "age of afterthought, of reflection…when thought thinks upon itself, and when emotions become entangled with the consciousness of them" (64).[16] In the essay I began with, Ellis referred to Paul Bourget's "restless unceasing self-analysis…struggling between life and the ideal" (op. cit. 49). But in his similar definition, later approved by György Lukács in his critique of Ernst Bloch, "Realism in the Balance" (1938), Nietzsche expressed the age's fear:

> What is the sign of every *literary* decadence? That life no longer dwells in the whole. The word becomes sovereign and leaps out of the sentence, the sentence reaches out and obscures the meaning of the page, the page gains life at the expense of the whole – the whole is no longer a whole. But this is the simile of every style of decadence: every time, the anarchy of atoms, disintegration of the will, "freedom of the individual," to use moral terms, – expanded into a political theory, "*equal* rights for all." Life, *equal* vitality, the vibration and exuberance of life pushed back into the smallest forms, the rest *poor* in life. Everywhere paralysis, arduousness, torpidity *or* hostility and

chaos: both more and more obvious the higher one ascends in forms of organization. The whole no longer lives at all: it is composite, calculated, artificial, an artefact.[17] (original italics)

Here is Spencer's increasing individuation as threat. Yet many New Women seized the opportunity of such self-conscious reflection on individuation to analyze relationships of autonomy and independence. In a sentence that typified their entire genre, "I was analysing, being analysed, criticising, being criticised," George Egerton (Mary Chavelita Dunne) described in fiction her encounter with her lover Knut Hamsun in *Keynotes* (1893).

By 1902, the "new liberal" C. F. G. Masterman feared both that the masses would overwhelm and replace the individual's role in society and that the masses themselves had become atomized individuals. In his figure of a South American rainforest (which is unjust to the vital function of mangroves as an ecosystem of sea and shore), noble trees are overwhelmed by lush, infinitely varied parasites, an anarchy of riotous competition. Ultimately the competition among life forms – "the gorgeous, wonderful beauty of decay" – is suicidal, and in Masterman's metaphor of tropical forest a literal wasteland prevails:

> Only always at length the end. Some inexplicable change; slowly, imperceptibly, the torrent of life has overreached itself; the struggle has become too terrific; the vitality is gradually dying. And then, as the whole mass festers in all the *gorgeous, wonderful beauty of decay,* comes the mangrove – dark-leafed, dank, slippery, unlovely, sign and symbol of the inevitable end. And with the mangrove the black-marsh and the reeking, pestilential mud. Until at length all the glory and life and struggle of tropical forest has passed away for ever; and in its place stretch the wide spaces of sullen swamp, and dull, gnarled, fruitless trees, and the silence of stagnant, scum-coated pools, and the salt, interminable, tideless sea.[18] (*From the Abyss* [1902], my italics)

Masterman provides an objective correlative for Mill's fears of social stagnation, but here it is a consequence of too much competition and too little distinction among diversity (repressive desublimation). As Chapter 1 will show, Victorian liberals and the special school who called themselves Individualists tried to balance support for democratization with a deep sense of individualism increasingly at odds with mass society.

Bloomsbury intelligentsia could observe that progress and decadence were "interchangeable terms."[19] Individualism was progressive because increasing differentiation led to perfect fitness for purpose, whether in the division of labor, natural selection, or stylistics. Progress was decadent because increasing individuation led to the disintegration of the whole. In similar formulations, moral character, as the alignment of individual development with the goals of the state (what we now call governmentality) was precisely what Bohemians – both soft Bohemians such as Bloomsbury and hard Bohemians such as Verlaine or Jarry – resisted. Freud, too, in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930) saw the overwhelming of the individual by the mass as inevitable: "All progress and civilization are away from individualism toward the herd or mass: the happiness of the individual is directly opposed to creation of a great human community."[20] There were poles of separation and solubility: Spencerian individualists and free marketeers feared a nanny state, where individual freedoms were curtailed. Arnoldeans feared social atomism.

## 3   Integrative systems and models of life

In essays of 1886–1894, Darwin's "bulldog" Thomas Huxley argued that Individualism reflected the state of war in Nature, which was "anti-social and anarchic," and that any attempt to equalize society would subvert relations of asymmetric mutuality as natural as mother and infant.[21] Although the Victorians themselves often used evolutionary theory, natural selection, competition, and so forth, to explain their social institutions, and vice versa, and Victorian liberalism typically understood relationship in terms of the tensions between individual cells and larger social units, the pluralistic and cooperative models of the Victorians that ran alongside the deterministic and competitive models were actually closer to our contemporary science. Contemporary philosophy of science, especially genomics and integrative systems biology, offer alternatives to methodological individualism and competition that the Victorians thought but could not prove. Here I shall begin with the most recent work and then return to the Victorians.

To comprehend the functioning of the genome requires an understanding of its complex interaction with the many chemicals within a cell *and* with wider processes in an organism's environment. This is why living things are unlike machines, which until very recently have been understood as working as the direct result of the interaction of

static, well-defined parts.[22] While machines are things composed of discrete, bounded things, organisms are dynamic processes whose parts are constantly changing, and whose parts have characteristic histories with causal powers. In the Spinoza Lectures on "The Constituents of Life," the philosopher of science John Dupré concludes that "The practice of identifying object-like constituents from this hierarchy of interconnected processes is inescapable, but it is a massive abstraction from the ever crucial [that is, causally significant] dimension of time."[23] Here "time" includes both local micro-metabolisms as well as global ecological and evolutionary time.[24]

Dupré considers the distinction between microbes and what he calls macrobes. Microbes, the dominant terrestial life form even in terms of biomass, making up over half of contemporary life, have generally been thought of as independent single-celled organisms. But it is increasingly clear that they typically form complex multi-species communities. Macrobes, more familiar forms of multicellularity – plants and animals (including humans) – are just one way in which cells form cooperative associations. Some biologists have considered that while no doubt competition among cells may well lead to evolutionary trends, it may be that what they primarily compete over is their ability to cooperate with other cells. Altruism, in its technical biological sense of assisting another organism at some cost to oneself, far from being the fundamental problem for evolutionary biology that it has often appeared, may turn out to be ubiquitous in the living world.[25] Biologists are increasingly offering models of "natural" cooperation and altruism rather than the competitive, individualistic models that have been abstracted from but did not exhaust mid-Victorian liberalism. The biologist and philosopher Lenny Moss describes living organisms as "complex signalling systems in which all the micro-components – cytoskeleton, extra-cellular matrix, cell adhesion molecules, second messengers, enhancers, transcriptional regulators, chaperones, small RNAs, etc. etc. – are active, semantically multivalent players in an on-going conversation."[26] Kim Sterelny considers that "The intuitive picture of [benign or internally cooperative] organisms and the [external battle zone] organism-boundary seems to be undermined in both directions."[27] Alfred Tauber describes the immune system in its ecological context as "deep organic connection…in which a web of molecular links communicate the presence of 'the other.' "[28]

Note Dupré's description of "promiscuous microbes," which have hitherto been characterized as asexual, that is, parthenogenetic,

or restricting the flow of genetic material from a single parent to an offspring:

> As has become increasingly clear over the last several decades, from the perspective of genetic exchange, microbes are not so much asexual, as massively promiscuous. Microbes have a number of different mechanisms for exchanging genetic material, and they use them fully. They have mechanisms for so-called conjugation, exchanging genetic materials in a way analogous to macrobe sexuality; DNA is transferred from one organism to another by phages, viruses specific to microbes; and they can incorporate free DNA from the environment. It also appears that these mechanisms can facilitate DNA exchange between distantly related forms, even across the three domains at the base of biological classification [i.e., the three superkingdoms archaea, bacteria, eukarya]. Because of the prevalence of these processes, typical microbes will include genetic material from numerous distinct lineages.[29]

With this revolutionary understanding of evolution, can an individual be taken to exclude its obligatory symbionts, or those things that co-exist with it and without which it would be seriously dysfunctional? If even microbes are cooperative and participate in causal chains upwards, downwards, and laterally, it is highly unlikely that much more complex macrobes such as humans, couples, political parties, or nations can be sufficiently understood beginning with individuals or that their choices/actions/products can be analyzed by methodological individualism.

In fact, historians and philosophers of biology are currently rethinking the basic units and processes of evolution and development.[30] What is an individual? What is a species? What is a system? Should we understand these in terms of processes rather than statically definable things? Fitness has been taken to mean reproductive fitness at the level of the individual (selfish genes, etc.), but group fitness as differential persistence might be an equally salient measure. The minimum context of the transference of information might be the community (defined as integrative assemblages of typically diverse cells), with the maximum context the biosphere itself. Microbes have been discovered to have sociality, complex multi-species communities, cooperative behavior, learning (behavior altered by experience), flexibility, and development (changing form). Pamela Lyon has even described a bacterial "Esperanto" to facilitate communication across species.[31] Just as Esperanto was a late

Victorian cosmopolitan aspiration, so the questions above – what are individuals, groups, and systems? what is fitness and the unit of selection? – were all nineteenth-century questions, that now, in light of contemporary microbiology and systems analysis, can be reopened. It may be that current developments in systems biology will support Victorian conceptions of interdependence.

## 4   Victorian integrations and models of life

We shall consider the understanding of individuals in society in what a theoretical biologist calls the "speculative orgy of the late nineteenth century."[32] In the sixth edition of *The Origin of Species* (1872) Darwin distanced himself from too deterministic a view of natural selection as (in Herbert Spencer's term) "survival of the fittest." In the 1859 and 1860 editions, he had already begun to represent natural selection as a benign, slow-acting, unconscious process that relied on the relations between organisms in terms of every kind of interaction – "a web of complex relations" – rather than competition alone.[33] And *The Origin*'s chapters on natural selection are filled with delicate, complex, and almost hidden interrelations: "Here we see that cattle absolutely determine the existence of the Scotch fir" (ibid., 60)…"[T]he structure of every organic being is related…to that of all other organic beings with which it comes into competition for food or residence" (64).…"Let it be borne in mind how infinitely complex and close-fitting are the mutual relations of all organic beings to each other" (67). Darwin had followed Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1833) in emphasizing organic interdependence: "Every new condition in the state of the organic or inorganic creation…gives rise to a new order of things, and may make a material change in regard to some one or more species."[34] And Lyell himself defined his notion of uniformity or slow, non-catastrophic change as "a principle of endless variation" (ibid., 277). Such views were sufficiently widespread that in *London Labour and the London Poor* (1861–2), the social explorer Henry Mayhew rejected Malthus in favor of organic chemistry and a doctrine of "universal compensation" that revealed "each mutually dependent on the other, and so contributing each to the other's support."[35] And the great anarchist Peter Kropotkin claimed that he was following Darwin when he wrote in *Mutual Aid: a Factor of Evolution (*1902), "we maintain that under *any* circumstance sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life. Those species which willingly or unwillingly abandon it are doomed to decay; while those animals which know best how to combine, have the greatest chances

of survival."[36] By the 1870s, the polymathic Friedrich Engels researched what was posthumously published as "The Dialectics of Nature." But pre-genetic Darwinism could take Engels only so far; and Marxist biologists in the twentieth century could go little further. With the current explosion in molecular biology, models of cooperation, exchange, and adaptation might liberate us from the rigidities of social Darwinism and competitive individualism and revive Victorian pluralism. We might also revive the philosophical anthropology that rejected the dualism of mind and body, rational and sentient humanity, and reaffirmed the continuity between the human and natural worlds.

In *Darwinism, War and History* (1994), Paul Crook provided the most thorough analysis to date of the historical debates about "Man's place in nature" (the title of Huxley's essay of 1863) in relation to altruistic evolutionism or "peace biology" versus conflict Darwinism or biological militarism.[37] Crook shows that Darwinism was always multivalent, capable of generating a spectrum of ideological derivatives. Darwin himself increasingly favored social cooperation over individualistic struggle, as the means by which *groups* achieved mastery over their habitat, and thus environmental success (20). After Darwin, it was often biologists, beginning with Huxley and Alfred Russel Wallace, who most avidly fought the "imperial" claims of biological science. Crook concludes that "While Darwinism was translatable into almost every available idiom of political and social discourse, its usage in justifying war and generating a violent image of *Homo pugnax* has been exaggerated in the historical literature. That literature has undervalued Darwinism's peace implications and especially Darwinism's capacity for assimilation into traditional value systems" (192).

Crook was interested in the biology of war and peace as mechanisms of selection and showed pervasive ideologies of both from Darwin through World War I. More interesting from the perspective of individualism in relation to the social unit were those theorists of part and whole who considered the functions of both the part and the whole. In his philosophical anthropology (the "Gay Science" of the 1880s), Nietzsche writes of relationship as "dynamic quanta in a relation of tension to all other dynamic quanta: their essence lies in their relation to all other quanta, in their 'effect' upon each other. The will to power is not a being nor a becoming but a 'pathos,' an occasion, event, a suffering."[38] His idea is that every specific body attempts to extend its force, but it continually encounters similar efforts on the part of other bodies and ends by coming to an arrangement ("union") with those sufficiently related to it. They then conspire together for power

(ibid., par. 636, p. 340). Socialism for Nietzsche was a means of agitation employed by individuals organizing collectively in order to attain power. But the political goal was not a social order as such but a means for making possible many individuals: socialism was a mediating activity – a function of cooperation – between two states, rather than an end in itself. This was consistent with Wilde's well-known and witty defense of individualism, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism" (1891), and indeed with most British socialism in the second half of the nineteenth century (including Marx's), a socialism that (paradoxically for more recent and less imaginative critics) charged the State with the development of individuals.

When Walter Pater came to understand the force of the idea of evolution – what he called the "modern" idea – he described scientific abstraction as a mere snapshot of processes that are continuous and ever changing, and the individual as a temporal conduit through which recombinant forces flowed. Note that Pater rhapsodizes on what Nancy Armstrong calls "polygenetic" stories. Whereas mainstream Victorian literature concerned itself with how to harness the individual's energy for social purposes, polygenetic fiction towards the end of the century "explores the alternative possibility that humanity is nothing but points of intensification through which desires circulate to form one all-encompassing and mindless…mass of humanity."[39] Pater writes, echoing Darwin's "web of complex relations":

> What is our whole physical life…but a combination of natural elements to which science gives their names? But those elements, phosphorus and lime and delicate fibres, are present not in the human body alone: we detect them in places most remote from it. Our physical life is a perpetual motion of them – the passage of the blood, the waste and repairing of the lenses of the eye, the modification of the tissues of the brain under every ray of light and sound – processes which science reduces to simpler and more elementary forces. Like the elements of which we are composed, the action of these forces extends beyond us: it rusts iron and ripens corn. Far out on every side of us those elements are broadcast, driven in many currents; and birth and gesture [i.e., gestation] and death and the springing of violets from the grave are but a few out of ten thousand resultant combinations. That clear, perpetual outline of face and limb is but an image of ours, under which we group them – *a design in a web, the actual threads of which pass out beyond it.* This at least of flame-like our life has, that it is but the concurrence, renewed from moment

to moment, of forces parting sooner or later on their ways.[40] (my italics)

In this heraclitean image of influence, Pater represents individuation in moments of relationship and relationship in moments of individuation with causal significance upwards, downwards, and laterally. In a work entirely nostalgic of Pater's *Belle Époque,* Evelyn Waugh described the upper classes as "little spinning planets of personal relationship; particles of energy group and regroup themselves in separate magnetic systems…The centripetal force of our own worlds and the cold, interstellar space between them."[41]

Such theoretical models give us methodological grounds for a post-liberal analysis of Victorian (and our contemporary) institutions. Jock Macleod has explored networks of journals, newspapers, publishing houses, ethical societies, social reform groups, and literary and political circles of advanced or "new" liberalism, that is, social (as opposed to economic) liberalism, during the print boom from the 1880s to World War 1.[42] Macleod distinguishes between first-level networks – relatively small with specific agendas – and second-level networks, when journalists, writers, and other intellectuals who shared one or more first level networks grouped themselves around a major daily or weekly extending networks indefinitely, in terms they called organic. First-level networks of the New Liberals might include the Bedford Debating Society, Toynbee Hall and other settlements, Friends of Russian Freedom and the Rainbow Circle, the Fabian Society, the London Ethical Society, the South Place Ethical Society. Second-level networks would be those who brought their shared experience from these to influential positions with the *Speaker*, *Daily Chronical*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Daily News*, publishers Unwin or Heinemann, or the Historical and English Associations (both founded 1906).

Adapting John Burrow's formulation in *Whigs and Liberals* (1988) that political theories are vocabularies we inhabit rather than doctrines to which we subscribe, Macleod emphasizes the organic vocabulary they inhabited, with their central concept "life," meaning a sense of diversity, reciprocity, open-endedness and potentiality.[43] He cites G. H. Lewes that "the highest form of existence is…that moral and intellectual condition which is determined by the fullest consciousness – emotional and cognitive – of relations"[44] and Spencer's insistence on the active intervention of each thing upon the being of each other thing. Such statements have recently been interpreted by Stefan Collini and Christopher Herbert as part of a radical epistemology of altruism,[45] but I am more interested in

the methodological implications.[46] J. A. Hobson thought that "the constant minute interaction of all the parts in social life renders their separate investigation impossible where the inquiry is related to the oneness of the organism."[47]

In the characteristically titled chapter "The Heart of Liberalism" in his foundational *Liberalism* (1911), L. T. Hobhouse defined this prevalent term "organic" as:

> A thing is called organic when it is made up of parts which are quite distinct from one another, but which are destroyed or vitally altered when they are removed from the whole. Thus, the human body is organic because its life depends on the functions performed by many organs, while each of these organs depends in turn on the life of the body, perishing and decomposing if removed therefrom. Now, the organic view of society is equally simple. It means that, while the life of society is nothing but the life of individuals as they act one upon another, the life of the individual in turn would be something utterly different if he could be separated from society.[48]

Hobhouse continued that the progress of society as a whole (specifically the nation-state) depended on the rational choices of its parts (individuals, classes, and political parties) which in turn were made possible by the whole. The organic perspective was meant to justify the intervention of the liberal State on behalf of Progress.

> The ideal society is conceived as a whole which lives and flourishes by the harmonious growth of its parts, each of which in developing on its own lines in accordance with its own nature tends on the whole to further the development of others…The progress of society like that of the individual depends, then, ultimately on choice…The heart of Liberalism is the understanding that progress is not a matter of mechanical contrivance, but of the liberation of the living spiritual energy. Good mechanism is that which provides the channels wherein such energy can flow unimpeded, unobstructed by its own exuberance of output, vivifying the social structure, expanding and ennobling the life of mind.[49]

Emphasizing the functional interdependence of part and whole, the new liberals also resisted the conception of evolution as fundamentally competitive, in favor of what Michael Freeden has called progressive social thought's "co-operative-altruistic version of Darwinism."[50] While

the most extreme example was perhaps Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: a Factor of Evolution*, the cooperative philosophy had been present in Spencer. As with the competitive version of social Darwinism, the question is no longer which came first, the biological or the social theory, but, genealogically, how they interfaced and adapted and for what purposes.

Macleod's method of understanding new liberalism not as a body of theory but as a web of social networks and institutions with multidirectional causal properties, as evidenced in the periodical press, is becoming more familiar.[51] In another such study of organic networks, Ana Parejo Vadillo has mapped the routes of women writers living within a few blocks of one another in Kensington: Alice Meynell, Olive Schreiner, Katharine Tynan, Jean Ingelow, Marie Corelli, Clementina (Kit) Anstruther-Thomson, A. Mary F. Robinson, Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), and the Stephen sisters. In the same few blocks also resided their male counterparts Henry James, Max Beerbohm, Frederick Leighton, John Millais, Walter Pater, Leslie Stephen, and, until 1889, Robert Browning.[52] We might emphasize their socio-economic sufficiency (in Nietzsche's sense) for relation (i.e., their shared social class), but here I want to stress their equally close social and domestic, as well as literary and artistic, interdependence with the Marx–Engels–Aveling parties, William Morris's Firm, and Annie Besant's social work and internationalism. They constituted interpenetrating and mutable domestic, artistic, and political circles.

One individual family can illustrate the conversations, responses, and adaptations through time. Four lower-middle-class sisters named Macdonald became through marriage the Kiplings, the Burne-Joneses, the Baldwins, and the Poynters, causal functionaries, that is, in empire, the artworld, government, and the Royal Academy, respectively.[53] As these evolved into the more elite circles of the 1890s, the group called the Souls (see Chapter 4) experimented with cultural philanthropy toward the working classes through the Kyrle Society and the Home Arts and Industries Association (HAIA), and, by the Great War, through their own families.[54] In studying the end of the century one cannot forget that the knighted Edward Burne-Jones was the lifelong best friend of the communist William Morris, or that Georgina Burne-Jones, the painter's wife, was Morris's beloved, if not lover. And there is no doubt after *William Morris at Home*, which includes the communist's personal recipes, that Morris was the first champagne socialist, equally at home at private dinner parties and in mass demonstrations. Morris will serve less as an individual here than as an example of a macrobe in multidirectional causal chains.

My approach to individual authors and their work is not on individual lives or works but rather their networks, as they are acted on, and act on, others and literary history. The principle is that there are historians of trees and historians of forests. Historians of forests know that they cannot write without historians of trees; but historians of trees are less likely to appreciate that the fact that an individual tree is in a forest equally affects every aspect of the tree. This is as true of a poem in literary history as a tree in an eco-system or an individual in social institutions. When Darwin wrote that "cattle absolutely determine the existence of the Scotch fir," he meant that the individual species could not be an exclusive unit of analysis. The sociologist Randall Collins summarizes the methodological point for cultural history:

> Mind is not a substance or an entity. ... Thought is always linked in a flow of verbal gesture from human body to body, among mutually focused nervous systems, reverberating with shared rhythms of attention. Its symbols represent general and abstract viewpoints because they are communicable markings, activities of taking the stance of all the members of the network. ... The individual thinker, closeted in privacy, thinks something which is significant for the network only because his or her inner conversation is part of the larger conversation. ... If a brain flickers and brightens with statements which are true, this happens only because that brain is pulsing in connection with the past and anticipated future of a social network.[55]

## 5 Globalization

To move between the trees and the forests is to introduce concepts of globalization that were central to how the *fin de siècle* experimented with part and whole. In Edward Carpenter's autobiography, he writes of the people who came through his farm at Millthorpe, for which he gave up his fellowship at Oxford and which he shared with working-class families, local steel workers, and sandal-makers and visionaries from India.[56] He chronicles guests from the Society for Psychical Research, the Vegetarian Society, the Anti-Vivisectionists, Hermetic Society, Theosophists, the Democratic Federation, Socialists, Anarchists, Feminists, Suffragists, and Trade Unionists. These pilgrims came to debate the relations between classes, between the living and the dead, between humans and vegetable life, between humans and nonhuman

animals, and between men and women. Carpenter devoted his own research to the relation of the individual to the Universal Self. He particularly tried to understand East–West relations by comparing Western individualism, private property, and commercialism with Eastern nonDifferentiation, communism, and spiritualism. He was also much exercised by the relation of Western critical analytic thinking to Eastern traditional, especially synthetic, knowledge.

Although Carpenter is often read as an imitator of Whitman – Lees said he was the feminine to Whitman's masculine and Ellis said he was Whitman and water – his *Towards Democracy* (1881–1902) is notably less nationalist than Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855), and less imperialist. Under the pressures of economic globalization, devastatingly depicted in Mike Davis's *Late Victorian Holocausts* (2002), many writers, like Carpenter, viewed western civilization itself as the egotism of a part that threatened the survival of the whole.[57] And here is where the Decadent figure became more like the biological figure of cancer – when one cell exceeds the regulating system of the organism and develops at the expense of the whole. If Decadence indicated when the individuation of parts endangered the survival of the whole, the enormous transfers of wealth from India, Latin America, and China to Europe and North America – what Davis calls the late Victorian "making of the third world" – was seen by perceptive governors and travelers as precisely the Decadence of the West. See Ruskin's description of Europe and its empires as baptized in Turner's light: "Light over all the world. Full shone now its awful globe, one pallid charnel-house, – a ball strewn bright with human ashes, glaring in poised sway beneath the sun, all blinding-white with death from pole to pole."[58] Much of the really morbid literature of the Decadence – the genre that Brian Stableford has particularly collected[59] – indicates European awareness of the death in the empire, culminating in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899). The Indian followers of Rabindranath Tagore and Yeats's Irish Renaissance (also known with melancholic irony as the Celtic Twilight) rejected Western Decadence for pre-industrial and indigenous movements. The period that Davis studies of the great famines in India and China of the 1870s through the 1890s, exacerbated by laissez-faire economics that saved the West while letting the rest of the world starve, was also the period during which economics as a discipline moved from a socially based political economy to methodological individualism.[60] Indeed Stanley Jevons plays the role in Davis's book of discovering the weather and price correlations revealed through the international grain market.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the inequality of modern nations was seemingly fixed for the twentieth. Yet India and China did not enter modernity as the helpless "lands of famine" enshrined in Western imagination. They were made so by British policy on trade deficits and export drives, overtaxation and merchant capital, foreign control of key revenues and developmental resources, imperial and civil warfare, and a gold standard favoring Britain. Davis studies a cycle of three droughts (1876–78, 1888–91, and 1896–1902) when British policy subjugated some fifty million peasants throughout the empire to starvation, concluding that "imperial policies toward starving 'subjects' were often the exact moral equivalent of [The Holocaust]" (22). Whereas Pre-Raj India and the Confucian administration of China under Fang Guancheng had developed protective measures that prevented mass peasant starvation, "what seemed from a metropolitan perspective the nineteenth century's final blaze of imperial glory was, from an Asian or African viewpoint, only the hideous light of a giant funeral pyre" (7). In *ReOrient* (1998), a monograph attempting a new "perspective on the whole world," André Gunder Frank lamented that he did not have the conceptual apparatus to move from his anthropocentric analysis of global trade to an "ecocentric" analysis of just the sort that Davis now exemplifies when he calls his book a "political ecology of famine."[61] In a study of both climatology and political economy, he analyzes the respective influences of drought and policy on agricultural production, focussing on India, China, and Brazil, but following the global repercussions of the El Niño climate system more widely.[62]

Carpenter himself anticipated Davis's "political ecology of famine," concluding his travel book on Ceylon and India with an indictment of British economic policy toward India.[63] *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta* (1892) is particularly valuable as a *fin-de-siècle* meditation on part in relation to whole. Like most travel books – including Ruskin's or Dickens's on Venice, Morris's on Iceland, Alice Meynell's, Vernon Lee's and J. A. Symonds's on Italy – it must be treated suspiciously as an account of another culture, but it tells us a great deal about the authors as they measure their own lives in relation to the other culture. Carpenter thought that England in 1892 was "already witnessing the beginning of the end of the commercial regime and becoming accustomed to the idea that it is only a temporary phase" and that England would eventually adopt some of the positive aspects of Indian social structure, which he compared to trade unionism: "everyone knows their place, so they are saved from the unbridled license and insane scramble

of the West; it restricts the outward world and so develops the inward; it narrows life and so causes one to reach higher – beyond western materialism" (324–34, 356). He thought that Annie Besant's Theosophical Society had done much to integrate and modernize ancient conceptions of nondifferentiation to the benefit of western culture and to neutralize what he felt was the uncritical passivity of Hindu culture.[64] While the Transatlantic and European conversations and adaptations of Decadence have been well studied, from Poe through Cram in the US, Tennyson to the 90s in Britain, Baudelaire to Mann in Europe, it is now time for more global perspectives on Decadence, exploring how non-western cultures perceived these crises of individuation and interdependence, separation and solubility.

According to Frank, in historical terms the rise of the West came late, around 1800, and was brief. Rather than Europe incorporating the rest of the world into its world-economy/system called the industrial revolution or capitalism, it belatedly joined an already existing global economic system in which the division of labor was flourishing with commercial and financial linkages through worldwide money markets and capitalism was just one mode of production among others (as it still is). China and India especially, but also Southeast and West Asia, were more important to this world economy than Europe until about 1800, when European states used the silver extracted from the Americas to buy entry into established and expanding Asian markets.

Contrary to the views not just of the Mills, Macaulay, Marx, and Weber, but of most Europeans living in the nineteenth century (though actually already known by Adam Smith), the productive commercial and institutional mechanisms supposedly unique to Europe were already operating in Asia, whose economy expanded from 1450 to 1800. In 1750, Asia's share of world GNP was over 80 per cent, although its population was only 66 per cent of world population. Two-thirds of the world's people produced four-fifths of total world output. Nor were the economies of sixteenth-century Portugal, seventeenth-century Netherlands, or eighteenth-century Britain more "advanced" than the Chinese Min/Qing or Indian Mughal. And even the Persian Safavid and Turkish Ottoman empires carried greater political and even military weight than any or all of Europe. As *The Times Illustrated History of the World* (1995) put it:

Although it is difficult to "measure" the economic output of early modern Asia … every scrap of information that comes to light confirms a far greater scale of enterprise and profit in the East than in

the West. Thus Japan, in the second half of the sixteenth century, was the world's leading exporter of silver and copper, her 55,000 miners surpassing the output of Peru for the former and of Sweden for the latter. Though Western sources tend to stress the role of eight or so Dutch ships which docked in Japan each year, in fact the eighty or so junks from China were far more important. It was the same in south-east Asia: the Europeans...[and] their ships were outnumbered ten-to-one by Chinese vessels; and the Europeans' cargoes consisted in the main, not of Western wares but of Chinese porcelain and silk.

The output of both commodities was stunning. In Nanking alone, the ceramic factories produced a million pieces of fine glazed pottery every year, much of it specifically designed for export – those for Europe bore dynastic motifs, while those for Islamic countries displayed tasteful abstract patterns...In India, the city of Kasimbazar in Bengal produced, just by itself, over 2 million pounds of raw silk annually during the 1680s, while cotton weavers of Gujarat in the west turned out almost 3 million pieces a year for export alone. By way of comparison, the annual export of silk from Messina...Europe's foremost silk producer, was a mere 250,000 pounds...while the largest textile enterprise in Europe, the Leiden "new drapery," produced less than 100,000 pieces of cloth per year. Asia, not Europe, was the centre of world industry throughout early modern times. It was likewise the home of the greatest states. The most powerful monarchs of their day were not Louis XIV or Peter the Great, but the Manchui emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1722) and the "Great Moghul" Aurangzeb (1658–1707).[65]

This means that the industrial revolution and its use by Europeans to achieve a position of dominance in the world economy cannot be explained on the basis of factors "internal" to Europe, a European miracle, or a phoenix-like rise. Rather, as Frank shows, the decline of the East preceded the rise of the West (see esp. pp 354–7). The rise of the West entailed the further deteriorations in the East that are detailed in Davis's book. Yet the "Rise of the West" was but a blip in what is evidently today returning to the Asian Age.[66] In Etienne Balibar's terms (following Foucault), European power, like American power, was and is the efficient use of the Other's power.[67]

By no means of Frank's camp, but agreed on this, the historian Gordon Johnson has described what he considers the appropriate way

to think of Britain's empire – as shifting relationships in dynamic transnational webs:

> The focus might profitably be on tracking patterns of volatile and shifting relationships between countries and economies. Those relationships would ebb and flow, and they would be handled differently in different periods and circumstances. And, crucially, what was happening independently and internally with other societies and economies would be as important in explaining the nature of British imperialism as anything that was happening in Britain itself. If the British Empire is a species of global networking, then it requires for explanation not just the dynamism from the metropolis, but interaction with dynamic developments elsewhere. A better understanding of Britain's historic empire…might help us…to gain insight into what we bundle into "globalisation" in the contemporary world.[68]

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Martin Bernal's *Black Athena* (1987), Amir Samin's *Eurocentrism* (1989), and J. M. Blaut's *The Colonizer's Model of the World* (1993) made considerable impacts on the study of cultures in contact and adaptation. Frank himself cites these cultural studies as the antecedents of his economic analyses. If his thesis about the non-exceptionalism of Europe and North America sounds offensive or just wrong, it is because it is contrary to the dominant ideology of neo-liberalism in which we have lived until recently, in which individuals or nation-states were seen as static entities in hierarchical systems rather than functions within dynamic relationship. The last chapter of the book deals with global relationships, specifically transnational, with an emphasis on relationships rather than national myths.

Chapter 1 supplies a context for much recent work on liberalism, analyzing models of the individual. Much of it is based in nonfiction prose, as modernity's self-conscious reflection, but I also take up particular cases of literature and art. There has been a rise in studies of the culture of Victorian liberalism, in part as an alternative to the reduction of freedom to free markets, or trade, in current political parlance.[69] My interests here are as much philosophical as historical, focussing on distinctions between political, economic, and social freedoms that contributed to the cultural crisis of liberalism.

Chapter 2 – a more intimate, experiential treatment of self and other – shows how these models of individualism were inflected by gender in the work of the New Women, Female Aesthetes, and socialist

individualists of the Fellowship of the New Life. While the New Women are typically distinguished from the Female Aesthetes by political, economic, and aesthetic agenda, I pursue the period's part/whole problematic through models of independence and autonomy. Since the 1980s studies of New Woman literature have flourished,[70] as have studies of the writers whom Talia Schaffer productively distinguished as the Female Aesthetes.[71] Focussing on this women's literature of relationship, and in conjunction with feminist economists working on theory of the firm (especially Nelson), I develop an analytic of autonomy and independence and of social will.

Chapter 3 is on Decadent individuation, interiority, and the will. The Victorians were astonishingly sophisticated psychologists of social relations, but for every recognition of what they called the latent furniture of the mind or the hidden springs of action there was an equal desire for will to harness or control unconscious or irrational motive and thereby to make the individual free to progress.[72] Postcolonial studies have added tremendously to our understanding of psychology at the height of the empire also through analytics of Self and Other. Following these and then Daniel Pick and John R. Reed on will, I explore the problem of Decadent individuation through the complex and often contradictory concepts of the will, which was simultaneously a social (social will), physiological (the materiality of the will), and psychological concept and often the negation of "rational" choice.

Chapter 4 explores the ethical relations of cultural philanthropy and rational recreation, or the bringing of arts and crafts to working-class communities and the "lower" classes.[73] I suggest that the question we must ask of philanthropy generally is, what are they making, people or products? If people, are philanthropists making themselves or others? The main case study considers the philanthropist, Romany Rye, and philologist Charles Godfrey Leland and the non-Christian and occult roots of Victorian philanthropy. Leland as a philologist whose dream of a common language inspired concrete service to the poor (narratology, art history); Leland as a romantic aesthete whose stereotypes participated in global extinction narratives (demography, history); Gypsies as romantic rovers (poetics); as complex identities and histories (ethnic studies); as victims of persecution (ethics, politics): the chapter draws together the various kinds of evidence to understand some hidden springs of Victorian philanthropy.

Chapter 5 concludes with Europe as a functional relation rather than an identity and cosmopolitanism as an inevitable ongoing process rather than an ideal state.[74] It contributes to the work of others who are

expanding the idea of late Victorian radicalism from class to religion, ecology, and tolerance of difference generally, as well as Mike Davis's expansion of the *fin de siècle* to the global context.[75] The chapter ends with a methodological note on the appropriate unit of analysis. I have added an Appendix on the extraordinary case of J. K. Huysmans's life-long meditations on part and whole.

The book looks outward to a more global dialog on how western liberal individualism might be perceived outside the West. I have tried to present the cultural history neutrally, as history, rather than polemically, trying to capture both positive and negative aspects of Enlightenment, so that others may judge its scope and limits at two highly self-conscious moments, then and now. It is clear that what appeared as *fin de siècle* in Europe appeared as a pinnacle moment of possibility in, say, Japan, and such distinct global temporalities are what I shall explore collaboratively in the future.[76] But there are certain aspects of modern interiority and exteriority that this period was particularly attentive to that might be salutary in our contemporary cross-cultural dialog, and I have hoped to establish those here, e.g., the philosophical anthropology that reintegrates the cultural, technological, and natural worlds, or the history of the senses that integrates new forms of media and technology with human subjectivity and group interiorities.

Finally, because my historical focus has been the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain, it is worth a comment on why four out of five chapters touch on the rise of fascism. In the case of Chapter 1, the theorists of individual development became concerned with how the individual came to relinquish individuality to the mass. In Chapter 2, the threat of unruly marginals was countered by the "rigors" of the fascist phalanx. In Chapter 3, the individual will turns to national will. And in Chapter 4, the late Victorian romance of the Gypsies' freedom became the threat of asocial work-shy races to the Nazis. It is not surprising that the Victorian promise of individuality would come in conflict with modern political and market massification. Theorists of fascism have shown that fascisms take root when the expectation of freedom is frustrated and group emotions replace rational debate, and so the States that promise the most individual freedom would be most exposed to fascism.[77] While I could not go into detail about the developments of the mid-twentieth century, neither could I ignore them among the trials of individualism in modernity, not least because they are still a possibility.

# 1
# The Ironies of Western Individualism

This chapter analyzes conceptions of individualism from the middle of the nineteenth century to the interwar period by specifying the contexts in which these conceptions functioned. The Spencerians were concerned with the individual in relation to the State; Arnoldians with individuals in relation to national character; and Freud and Adorno in relation to war and massification. Major secondary critics like Colin Campbell and Ian Watt were concerned, later, with the Protestant ethic under increasing consumerism and its effects on individual subjectivity. With primary sources from Spencerian Individualists, through Arnoldian culturalists, to Freudian philosophical anthropologists, it would be distorting to systematize the speculative orgy. Rather, in approaching these distinctly scrappy sociological, psychological, and physiological (or instinctual) thought-experiments on the scope and limits of individualism, my aim is to establish the extra-individual units of analysis in which the individual was always conceived in relation to others, whether coteries, classes, nations, the market, or the State. Having clarified distinctive contexts for the conceptual development of individualism in this chapter, remaining chapters will discuss in more detail the specific social environments in which the individual evolved.

## 1.1   Spencer and the Individualists, or the individual and the state

Essential to the story told in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was its many ironies that yoked Hobbesian self-interested rationality and the altruism of the civic humanists into a theory of social Progress: the irony that selfish individuals could make an altruistic society; that the pursuit of

profit could be an ethical failing in an individual but lead to the wealth of all; that saving could be good for the individual but bad for society; that the individual was the basis for social understanding. In the course of the nineteenth century, this ironized theory of social Progress was enhanced by theories of individual development across the spectrum of knowledge.[1] Individuation provided many "little narratives" of perfection that contributed to general flourishing, including but by no means limited to political economy's division of labor, Darwin's origins of different species and Tree of Life, and the increasingly democratic polyphony of the novel, its increasing perspectivalism and differentiated streams of consciousness.

In Smith the division of labor was the source of differences between people: "When [the philosopher and the street porter] came into the world, and for the first six or eight years of their existence, they were, perhaps, very much alike, and neither their parents nor playfellows could perceive any remarkable difference. About that age, or soon after, they come to be employed in very different occupations. The difference of talents comes then to be taken notice of, and widens by degrees, till at last the vanity of the philosopher is willing to acknowledge scarce any resemblance."[2] Smith believes that the distinctive "trucking" disposition, made possible by human language, gives rise to human differences: "without the disposition to truck, barter, and exchange ... all must have had the same duties to perform, and the same work to do, and there could have been no such difference of employment as could alone give occasion to great difference of talent" (16). Although non-human animals evolve according to different "geniuses," they lack the capacity for a language that allows them to trade or truck with one another and therefore are doomed to repeat the same low-level tasks in perpetuity: "The strength of the mastiff is not in the least supported either by the swiftness of the greyhound, or by the sagacity of the spaniel, or by the docility of the shepherd's dog. The effects of those different geniuses and talents, for want of the power or disposition to barter and exchange, cannot be brought into a common stock, and do not in the least contribute to the better accomodation and conveniency of the species" (16). Thus individuation through the division of labor in Smith allows for interdependence and productivity where there would have been just continuous undifferentiated effort for all without it. This cooperative individuation through trade constituted the Progress of the wealth of nations.

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Smithian or political economic account of Progress as deriving from the division of labor and

advances in technology was transformed by the influence of evolution-ary biology[3]. Drawing explicitly on political economic models, Herbert Spencer biologized the division of labor calling it the law of organic progress – consisting in the change from the homogeneous or simple to the heterogeneous, complex, unique, or individuated. All Progress is progress toward individuation:

> The investigations of Wolff, Goethe, and von Baer have established the truth that the series of changes gone through during the development of a seed into a tree, or an ovum into an animal, constitute an advance from homogeneity of structure to heterogen-eity of structure. In its primary stage, every germ consists of a sub-stance that is uniform throughout, both in texture and chemical composition. The first step is the appearance of a difference between two parts of this substance; or, as the phenomenon is called in physiological language, a differentiation. Each of these differentiated divisions presently begins itself to exhibit some contrast of parts: and by and by these secondary differentiations become as definite as the original one.[4]

Spencer conjectures that the scope of the process is literally universal, that all things participate in a grand division of labor that differenti-ates and individuates: "If the nebular hypothesis be true, the genesis of the solar system supplies one illustration of this law … Whether it be in the development of the earth, in the development of life upon its sur-face, in the development of society, of government, of manufactures, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through successive differentiations, holds throughout" (3–4). His examples of increasing complexity include the global market, languages, human physiology, and transnational ethnic types – the European is more heterogeneous or individual than the Australian, the Anglo-American the most heterogeneous, complex, or individual, and therefore the most advanced, of all. Spencer's explan-ation of this universal transformation of sameness into difference or the homogeneous into the heterogeneous is the history of multiple effects from single causes: "Every active force produces more than one change – every cause produces more than one effect … From the law … it is an inevitable corollary that during the past there has been an ever-growing complication of things" (ibid., 32–3).

Individuation according to function or division of labor leads to the many "little narratives" of perfection that we cited in the Introduction

above: the power of the blacksmith's arm, the thick-skinned laborer's hand, the long-sightedness of the sailor and short-sightedness of students, the habitual conscience of the Kantian. Under the influence of Darwinian biology and armchair anthropology, Spencer had biologized the division of labor, making differences between people evolutionary, or organically purposive.[5] The logic of his system with respect to what he called the "higher races" was toward increasing individuation, voluntary cooperation, and mutual aid in a division of labor and markets. The culmination of the "higher races" was the "civilized" Man of Taste with certain "character" developments that will be discussed below.[6]

With respect to the lowest races, as he called them in *Descriptive Sociology* (1874), the logic of Spencer's system converged with evangelical conceptions, in which, for example, savages and barbarians acted upon impulse for immediate gratification, whereas civilized Man's instincts were modified by Reason and restraint. Thus unlike the savage or barbarian, modern Economic Man's instinctive aversion to labor was offset by his desire for wealth, or, in his sexual economy, his instinct for immediate gratification was offset by the sublimation of his sexual appetite ("saving" rather than "spending"). This evolutionary cultural determinism was mutually reinforcing with political economy's notions of restraint, abstinence, or saving.[7]

For Spencer, human evolution had entailed the transition from a "militant" social type to an "industrial" or cooperative type. In the militant mode, the State dominates every aspect of the individual's existence. Rights of the individual are not recognized, the economic system is under the direction of the ruling elite, and property is held in common by the community.[8] The industrial type is made possible by an improvement in individual moral "character," which is the work of many generations (*The Man Versus the State*, 1884). Thus for Spencer socialism, even in 1884, belonged to the past, an earlier form of development.

Spencer's reputation was at its height in the 1880s, and his followers were called "Individualists." The linchpin of their system was the concept of "character," which included both a descriptive and a normative element. The descriptive element was simply the idea of a settled disposition; the normative concept of character included specific habits of action of a desirable kind, inflected by gender, and associated with self-restraint, perserverance, effort, courage, self-reliance, thrift, sense of personal responsibility, duty, and so forth. In Spencer, the moral qualities that formed "character" were similar to physical powers

to the extent that each required exercise to develop. With character, the State becomes unnecessary. The threat that State action posed to character – that a paternalistic State might undermine the development of individual will, that is, that a nanny state would infantilize the people – was their persistent argument against the State. For the neo-Hegelians, or "philosophical organicists," however, like D. G. Ritchie and Bernard Bosanquet, Spencer's organic processes of social evolution could become "conscious" via an active State and shaped to human-kind's own ends. For other moderate Individualists, Spencer's moral improvement became a matter of reforming the environment – today, the developmental niche – within which the individual functioned, so it was not incompatible with socialism.

In "From Freedom to Bondage" (1891), Spencer uses character to discredit socialism: "My opposition to socialism results from the belief that it would stop the progress to a higher state and bring back a lower state. Nothing but the slow modification of human nature by the discipline of social life, can produce permanently advantageous changes" (Taylor, 22). As it is, he points out, "we feel more pains than we have evolved to assuage; there will be a lagtime for our will to catch up with our senses," but this "lagtime" cannot be hastened by State interventions, only by gradual individual evolution. One of his followers, the author of *Individualism: a System of Politics* (1889) Wordsworth Donisthorpe, felt that "grandmotherly government" would "enervate self-rule or will": "It is the ability to make such rules, to obey them, and to enforce them, which make the Anglo-Saxon race what it is, a colonising people, a people fit for self-government. And it is the weakening and supplanting of these contractual rules in all departments of activity by rules emanating from a central legislature which will some day, if persisted in, reduce the Englishman to the level of his continental neighbours" (ibid., 35). For Thomas MacKay ("Empiricism in Politics," 1895) too, "attempts to improve the delicate mechanism of the harmonious progression inherent in a free society by the forceful action of the State, must result in reaction and hinder the growth of the social instincts" (ibid., 53). The Spencerian Individualists insisted on the advances of character that would render a State unnecessary. The individual would be self-, not State-regulated.

Moderate Individualists like Ritchie and Bosanquet proposed that a State could provide the conditions for equal access to "character" development; while critical of Spencer's extreme individualism, like him they upheld the place of "character" in a progressive temporality. In "The Constant Evolution of Society" (1891), Sidney Webb sounded

like Pater in his Heraclitean mood: "Whatever may be the advantages and conveniences of the present state of society, we are…now sure of one thing – that it cannot last…It is the constant flux of things which underlies all the 'difficulties' of Individualism" (Taylor, 145). Webb considers that "the lesson of evolution in social development is modern Socialism, or self-conscious regulation" (148). He deplores the "degradation of character" caused by the demoralization of excessive wealth. Speaking to the Fabian Society in 1890, Bosanquet proposed the "socialisation of the will" (198), defending the State as but "machinery that will assist morality" (188). He concluded that "in dealing with the social organism, [the Socialist] is dealing with a structure whose units are the characters of men and women; and that in so far as he neglects to base his arrangements on the essence of character – that is, in the social or moral will – so far he is not dealing with the social organism as an organism." The debate between the Individualist Auberon Herbert and the socialist economist J. A. Hobson anticipated Margaret Thatcher's famous phrase; Hobson wrote, "To Mr. Herbert there is no such thing as Society, he does not even use the term…The thing called Society is to him merely an aggregate of individuals" (241). While the Individualists concerned themselves with the political and coercive scope of the State, others addressed the cultural and affective domain of the nation.

## 1.2 Arnold the culturalist, or the individual and the nation

In addition to the socialists and philosophical organicists who thought that a State was needed to provide the conditions for individual "character" to flourish, were the culturalists, who were also not so sanguine as Spencer that human perfection was biologically inevitable. Many of these feared that individualism itself had derailed them. By the mid-nineteenth century, the dominant political State that repressed individual initiative attacked by Smith in the *Wealth of Nations* was appealed to as a *cultural* force to unify atomistic Economic Men each maximizing his self-interest. It was precisely this fear of "selfish" or competitive individualism – as opposed to the more benign, mechanistic "self-interestedness" mutually benefitting all in Smith[9] – that led to Matthew Arnold's *Friendship's Garland* (1866–71) and the more important *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), which offered aesthetics or "Culture" as a solution to anomie, anarchy, and class conflict. (*Culture and Anarchy* was subtitled *An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*.) At stake was the future of

individualism itself: the Enlightenment's individual progressively regulating herself for the social good or the self-interested, self-maximizing individual of competitive "hedonic" society, as people came to fear it in the course of the nineteenth century.[10] As Spencer and his critics shared assumptions about the ultimate importance of individual character development, without or with State support, Arnold argued for the State to counteract the excesses of individualism, only to deplore the diminishment of the individual when it was threatened.

"Perfection, as culture conceives it," wrote Arnold in *Culture and Anarchy*, "is not possible while the individual remains isolated. The individual is required … to carry others along with him … [This is] at variance with our strong individualism and materialistic civilization."[11] In the chapter called *Doing As One Likes*, Arnold first introduces the idea of anarchy and, with anarchy, the State: "The central idea of English life and politics is *the assertion of personal liberty … but as feudalism dies out … we are in danger of drifting toward anarchy*" (117). A State is needed "to control individual wills in the name of an interest wider than that of individuals" (117). Freedom without what Arnold calls right reason equals anarchy. And Arnold knows that for the British, as for Kant and Hegel, freedom is at present available only to those at the forefront of Progress. With his customary irony he admits that "It never was any part of our creed that the great right … of an Irishman, or, indeed, of anybody on earth except an Englishman, is to do as he likes; and we can have no scruple at all about abridging, if necessary, a non-Englishman's assertion of personal liberty" (121). Arnold is ironic here, but he was well aware of contemporary Prussian historians – the conflict theorists Hegel, Leopold von Ranke, and Heinrich von Treitschke – who theorized the dynamics of power and rationalized state violence.

Arnold's "principle" of the relation of the individual and social group to the State is developed in this section – "Doing as One Likes" – and the next, on class conflict, "Barbarians, Philistines, and Populace"; for class egoism is as destructive to Culture as individual egoism. Arnold's "principle" must distinguish the self-regulating bourgeois subsuming desires to the Right Reason of the State from the maximizing self-interested individual or class of political economy:

> Now, if culture, which simply means trying to perfect oneself and one's mind as part of oneself, brings light, and light shows us that there is nothing so very blessed in merely doing as one likes, that the really blessed thing is to like what right reason ordains … We have got

a much wanted principle, a principle of authority, to counteract the tendency to anarchy.

But how to organise this authority?…How to get your *State*, summing up the right reason of the community? (123–4)

As the individual's warring passions must be harmonized by the regulating will, so the State's social groups must harmonize according to their "best selves" for the good of the whole. Like many Victorian social critics, Arnold admired the Germans for their commitment to duty, unity, and the State against Anglo-American individualism (161 and throughout). Yet according to the peculiarities of the British class system he figures his State as an individual whose different capacities had to be harmonized. Thus a "hard middle class" that tended toward machinery (work and money) and instrumentality ("the one thing needful") needed the complementary aesthetic virtues of the aristocracy – "beautiful" ease, serenity, politeness, and their more "sublime" "high spirits, defiant courage, and pride of resistance" (125–34). For its part, the aristocracy needed the complement of ideas, lest its serenity degenerate, as it had under current conditions, to futility and sterility. Similarly, the idea of "country" or nation was a *sentiment* that needed a State's complementary "muscle" or "working power" (ibid.), recalling Smilesian *action* that had to accompany all ideas of the good. The role of supporters of Culture is to align self- or class-interest with the social good and then to activate or operationalize it (146).

Given that the problem is selfish individualism, it is perhaps ironic that Arnold figures the social body as an individual relying on distinct capacities: the middle class provides energy and muscle, the aristocracy provides external refinement, and the working class provides labor and emotes. The term *Philistine*, representing the self-satisfied pursuit of wealth, "gives the notion of something particularly stiff-necked and perverse in the resistance to light and its children; and therein it specially suits our middle class, who not only do not pursue sweetness and light, but who even prefer to them that sort of machinery of business, chapels, tea-meetings, and addresses from Mr. Murphy, which make up the dismal and illiberal life on which I have so often touched" (140). For their part, the aristocratic Barbarians' culture "was an exterior culture mainly…consisting principally in outward gifts and graces, in looks, manners, accomplishments, prowess" (141).

Yet beneath these "divisions" in English society "is a common basis of human nature" (148): this universalism grounds both Arnold's ideas (1) that individual passions and interests can be harmonized and (2) that

the State itself can operate like a self-harmonizing individual. Although Arnold himself has "for the most part, broken with the ideas and the tea-meetings of [his] own [middle] class," he feels a common humanity with the aristocracy whenever he hunts (or indulges leisure) – "I never take a gun or fishing-rod in my hands without feeling that I have in the ground of my nature the self-same seeds which, fostered by circumstances, do so much to make the Barbarian" (144) – and with the working classes whenever he acts impulsively, without restraint, or irrationally – "Who, whether he be Barbarian or Philistine, can look at [the working classes] without sympathy, when he remembers how often … he has found in his own person the eternal spirit of the Populace, and that there needs only a little help from circumstances to make it triumph in him untameably" (144–5). Just as all classes share some commonality in human nature, each class provides a few who do not conform to its "Ordinary Self" but pursue perfection, "and this number is capable of being diminished or augmented … in proportion both to the force of the original instinct within them, and to the hindrance or encouragement which it meets from without" (146).

It is at this point that Arnold introduces the idea of a universal authority or regulating will to which each class will yield its self-interest in the service of its "best," or social, "self": a State-endowed Academy, a State Church, a national press, or the other forms of culture that might unify and control a society increasingly atomized or factionalized by competitive individualism. If we want individual freedom, Arnold concludes, in which individual freedom means enlightened self-interest rather than selfishness, "the State must act for many years to come" (162). Arnold's efforts were continuously to elevate self-interest above the selfishness associated with competitive individualism, even though – because he subscribed to a universal "human nature" – he could not but figure individuals, classes, and society as a whole as an individual "self."

In *Friendship's Garland*, in which Arnold archly employed Europeans, especially Germans, to criticize British competitive individualism, he also (again archly) used America to represent the democratic spirit of the age, the *Geist* behind which Britain lagged. The Americans showed "a feeling for ideas, a vivacity and play of mind, which our middle class has not, and which comes to the Americans probably from their democratic life with its ardent hope, its forward stride, its gaze fixed on the future" (30). "Arminius," Arnold's European mouthpiece in *Friendship's Garland* (and ancient Teutonic hero beloved in *Volk* mythology), warns the British that the Americans "have got the lead" in equality and democracy and therefore in trade: "After 1815, we [Europeans] believed

in [Britain] as nowadays we are coming to believe in America ... unless you change, unless your middle class grows more intelligent, you will tell upon the world less and less, and end by being a second Holland" (27).[12]

Yet in just three years time, when Arnold wrote the last addition to *Culture and Anarchy*, the Preface, he had come to fear democracy as much as selfishness. America's spirit of democracy or "Geist" had degenerated to economic individualism and massification. America now represented "that chosen home of newspapers and politics ... without a general intelligence" (243), only "partiality of interestedness," not the "totality" of vision that Culture now had to stand in for (252). "The best which has been thought and said in the world" – the hierarchical, evaluative idea of Culture and aesthetics that Arnold's name has come to evoke – was explicitly introduced in the Preface to oppose the "fanaticism" of religious sects. Under conditions of mass education, Arnold has been taken as representative of narrow and elite notions of culture; yet *Culture and Anarchy* is an extended polemic against the selfish interestedness of competing individuals, classes, and religions. In other terms that will be discussed with Nietzsche below, it is a polemic against a fanatical will to truth and the violence that corresponds to it.

In the last essay he ever wrote, "Civilisation in the United States" (*Nineteenth Century*, April 1888), Arnold uncannily said that he had waited long enough to pronounce on the much publicized American "character":

> I found myself inclined to follow the example of the Greek moralist Theophrastus, who waited, before composing his famous *Characters*, until he was ninety-nine years old. I thought I had perhaps better wait until I was about that age, before I discussed the success of the Americans in solving the human problem.[13]

By the human problem Arnold means what he calls the problem of "civilization": "conduct, intellect and knowledge, beauty, social life and manners" (491). Granting that the United States seemed to have solved "the political and social problem" of "freedom and equality, power, energy, and wealth" (489), Arnold praises US institutions at the forefront of modernity and democracy, particularly in contrast to British class and hierarchy; he praises the US for providing access to more of the comforts and conveniences of life; he praises them for dispensing with invidious titles like Esquire, whose only function is to distinguish gentlemen from working men; he praises American women for their

freedom and self-confidence that make them a source of pleasure to "almost everyone" (494). But he rejects wealth and wider access to a rising standard of living – that is, he rejects purely economic notions of progress – as the measures of "Civilization":

> Do not tell me only, says human nature, of the magnitude of your industry and commerce, of the beneficence of your institutions, your freedom, your equality; of the great and growing number of your churches and schools, libraries and newspapers; tell me also if your civilisation – which is the grand name you give to all this development – tell me if your civilisation is *interesting*. (495)

"Interestingness" will be the door that allows European individualism to slip back in, an individualism that is not necessarily competitive or materialistic, but psychological. Arnold proceeds to define the sources of interestingness as distinction and beauty, "that which is elevated and that which is beautiful" – both of which are associated precisely with the kinds of hierarchy and distinction that the greatest happiness of the greatest number in America had ostensibly compromised. Due to its constitutional ethos "glorifying the average man" and to an irreverent Press, the Americans to Arnold lacked a sense for distinction, for awe, and for respect – for, in short, individual difference.

Arnold concludes his last published work with a stark contrast pointing out that America's genius – its wealth, democracy and equality – was also its tragedy. Calling the British malady its social distinctions, its "upper class materialised, middle class vulgarised, and lower class brutalised" (503–4), he concludes that the American "predominance of the common and ignoble, born of the predominance of the average man," was a malady, too. Reifying and polarizing British hierarchy and US equality, Arnold rejected them both in favor of German Idealism.[14] Following Arnold up to a point, in "The Soul of Man under Socialism" (1891) Oscar Wilde tried to solve the problem of individualism versus equality by proposing a State that provided access to all, so that each could develop individual distinction and beauty. Wilde drew heavily on Arnold's ideas on the role of the State in promoting Culture in "The Soul of Man" when he proposed a welfare and industrial State as precondition of a "New Individualism" characterized not by machinery or wealth but by Christlike inwardness (Christlike inwardness also being a favorite trope of Nietzsche's indicating a psychological complexity opposed to both aristocratic smoothness and lower-class formlessness, unselfconsciousness, and lack of restraint).[15]

The Spencerian Individualist G. J. Goschen's "Laissez-Faire and Government Interference" (1883), summed up the transatlantic debate. The essay includes a long passage on why the State is expanding in the UK and not in the US or the colonies. Goschen elucidates the "individualist" character of the old country as if it were a consciousness with psychological depth and complexity, self-inspected and self-regulating, versus a Rabelaisian unconsciousness at large in the Americas associated with the free market and its expansion:

> The philanthropic and sensitive element is always infinitely stronger in the old country; its civilisation is more complex, more crowded, more honeycombed with anomalies, more running into extremes. The colonies have more breathing space. There individual energy can expand with less encroachments on neighbours' interests. The first instinct of man for untrammeled liberty, confidence in himself, has not yielded to the acquired taste for that regulation, control, interference, and inspection. (Taylor, 79)

Europe (including Britain) was more complex, restrained, and psychological because it was more crowded spatially and temporally. It had developed consciousness of others proximate to itself, and its many histories led to complex lines of causality in the relationship of the parts to the whole. Compared to this, America appeared a naïve land of open frontiers and no history.[16] Even Engels thought that unconstrained by Britain's "medievalisms," the American "working class" had evolved unselfconsciously as it were in ten months in 1886 into class consciousness.[17]

## 1.3   Psychological individualism

The New Woman's focus (in the next chapter) on the individual's emotions in intimate relationships would oppose Civilization to massification, psychological realism to social realism, and anticipate the élite preciosity of Bloomsbury Modernism. In middle-class British culture, the refined emotions in intimate relationship that characterized civilized taste were opposed to the mass *national* emotion that absorbed the individual under the State in Fascism. When Clive Bell wrote *Civilization: an Essay* (1928) as an "investigation into the nature of our leading war-aim," he saw the individual threatened on all sides by fascism, Philistinism, and trade unions.[18] England, Bell points out, "has cherished … a respect for privacy superior far to anything enjoyed

by Continental countries. The English eccentric, the crank, the genius, driven by the prevailing atmosphere into odd holes and corners" (85) is now under threat from mass society, "the season-ticket holders on the one hand, and the trade unions on the other" (86). If they "succeed in doing their worst, it is probable that within a few decades England, disgarlanded of genius, character, and originality, will appear naked in her normal barbarity…She will have eliminated her individualism" (86). Between the alleged barbarism or competitive individualism of the United States and the consummate civilization or social civility of France, the British had forced themselves into a unique state of individualism:

> The life of a first-rate English man or woman is one long assertion of his or her personality in the face of unsympathetic or actively hostile circumstances. An English boy born with fine sensibility, a peculiar feeling for art or an absolutely first-rate intelligence, finds himself from the outset at loggerheads with the world in which he is to live. For him there can be no question of accepting those national conventions which express what is meanest in a distasteful society.…English youth is likely to become more and more aware of himself and his own isolation. (80)

In his resistance to Philistinism, which Bell, following Arnold, sees as the pursuit of wealth and work as ends in themselves, best exemplified by the Americans, the middle-class English youth grows more and more individualistic: "Daily he becomes…more of 'a character'" (81).

Yet Civilization at its highest requires not polarized independence but fraternal autonomy, which is why France is more civilized; the English youth's French compeer has his "rough corners gently obliterated by contact with a well-oiled whetstone, and is growing daily more conscious of solidarity with his accomplices in a peculiar and gracious secret" (Bell, 81). The more hostile the British environment is to beauty, humor, social amenities, the more the British youth is driven to combative independence, "that magnificently unmitigated individualism and independence which have enabled particular English men of Genius to create the greatest literature in all history and elaborate the most original and profound and fearless thought in modern" (82).

Bell's notion of Cosmopolitanism, the rejection of prejudicial notions of difference, which is central to the concept of Civilization developed by his mentor Roger Fry, is based in a refined individualism in which class and taste replace race and nation altogether: "a civilized

man sympathizes with other civilized men no matter where they were born or to what race they belong and feels uneasy with brutes and philistines though they be his blood-relations living in the same parish" (Bell, 97).[19] These men will recognize each other across race and nation through their rational control of instinct and their "deliberate rejection of immediate satisfactions with a view to obtaining subtler" (142). Their defining characteristic will be "the acquisition of self-consciousness and a habit of reflection … [a] Self-consciousness, which leads to examination and comparison of states of mind" (58–9). Bell concludes, positively, that civilization is artificial and unnatural, and he stunningly turns the Victorians on their head with the realization that "Progress and Decadence are interchangeable terms" (142). This progressive, decadent man "will discriminate. He will have peculiar wants and particular desires" (156).

For Bell, civilization requires the existence of a leisured class, and a leisured class requires the existence of slaves, "who give some part of their surplus time and energy to the support of others. If you feel that such inequality is intolerable, have the courage to admit that you can dispense with civilization and that equality, not good, is what you want" (175, see also Goodwin, 2001). He concludes that, "[i]t is amongst the receivers of unearned income that you must seek that leisured class which uses money as a means to good" (183). For Bell, British individualism has led to the autonomy of a small group but also to the denial of social autonomy altogether; the independence of what he calls the "Civilized nucleus" or "Civilized core" depends on the receipt of unearned income. Deploring the atomistic, competitive individualism of the United States and the massification of fascism, Bell appealed to his own rentier class for the refinements of Civilization. All parts are related to the whole, but some parts are refined individuals and others are aggregate masses.

Bell's distinction between individual and mass had roots in the highest cultural authority – Matthew Arnold's in "Civilization in the United States," discussed above. The proponents of "Civilization" outside the US typically feared what in *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930*)* Freud called "the psychological poverty of groups," in which "individuals of the leader type do not acquire the importance that should fall to them and the bonds of society are chiefly constituted by the identification of its members with one another."[20] "The present state of America would give us a good opportunity for studying the damage to civilization which is thus to be feared" [ibid.], writes Freud. In considering the United States, Arnold had also feared for psychological complexity.

The idea, running from Arnold and Dostoevsky through Nietzsche to Bell, Freud, and Heidegger, was that *réssentiment* leads to a rich inner life and that pleasure and indulgence lead to formlessness and shallowness. Americans seemed short on internal life and psychological depth, largely because, due to their democracy, knowledge, technology, and wealth, they were effectively satisfied with external reality or superficies.[21] Old-world Europeans, on the other hand, burdened with the complexity of shame, guilt, resentment, envy, desire, etc. arising from social hierarchy and inequality, seemed much more lively inside themselves. Even their group or collective interiorities, as in Bloomsbury, produced more complex relationships.

Henry James put it negatively in his book on Hawthorne, suggesting that Americans *had* no relationships in the European sense: "The absent things in American life that an English or French imagination would find appalling," he said, were "No state, in the European sense of the word, and indeed barely a specific national name.[22] No sovereign, no court, no personal loyalty, no aristocracy, no church, no army, no diplomatic service, no country gentlemen, no palaces, no castles, nor manors, nor old country houses, nor parsonages…no sporting class."[23] While the Old World novelist would think that "if these things are left out everything is left out…The American knows that a good deal remains; what it is that remains," concludes James, "is his secret, his joke, as one may say" (ibid.). The deep, interdependent psychology of the Anglo-European was thus opposed to the smooth materialism of the independent Americans.

The ideas that would culminate in James's *Hawthorne*, of a virtuous but superficial New World and a corrupt but (in Arnold's term) *interesting* Old World, were developed from 1853 to 1860, when Nathaniel Hawthorne and his wife Sophia resided in Europe, as American Consul in Liverpool and then in Italy. This was probably the most significant literary decade of the nineteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic. Ruskin published *The Stones of Venice* and continued with *Modern Painters*, William Michael Rossetti edited *Ruskin, Rossetti, and Pre-Raphaelitism*, and Tennyson, Rossetti, Morris, and Swinburne published some of their most notoriously "fleshly" poems. Fitzgerald translated *The Rubaiyat*. Alexander Bain published *Senses and Intellect* and *Emotions and Will*. Darwin published the *Origin of Species*, Mill *On Liberty*, and Smiles *Self-Help*, while in the US Thoreau's *Walden Pond*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, and some of Emerson's most nationalist writings appeared.

In Leslie Stephen's Introduction to Hawthorne's European novel *The Marble Faun* (1860), Stephen finds fault with Hawthorne's digressions

into the details of Roman life. Hawthorne was overwhelmed by Rome: "Those mighty objects will not be relegated to the backgound, and condescend to act as mere scenery. They are, in fact, too romantic for romance."[24] In his own Preface, Hawthorne admitted that "Italy was chiefly valuable…as affording a sort of poetic or fairy precinct, where actualities would not be so terribly insisted upon as they are…in America. No author…can conceive of the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace prosperity, in broad and simple daylight, as…in my dear native land…Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens and wall-flowers need ruin to make them grow" (xv).

*The Marble Faun* is a moral fable of innocence and evil, a novel of relationships within "a small circle of isolated feeling" amid the "tempestuous sea" (377) of history in Rome and one of the most aesthetic novels of Transatlantic aestheticism. Based in actual American women's artist colonies in Rome,[25] chapter 1 begins "Four individuals…happened to be standing in…the sculpture-gallery in the Capitol at Rome" (1). The small band of friends includes two independent women painters (Miriam an original and Hilda a copyist, a European and an American, respectively), one sculptor (Kenyon, an American man), and one comparatively feeble-minded Italian beauty (Donatello, a male of ancient aristocratic lineage) who resembles the marble Faun of Praxiteles. Miriam will come to be identified, marvellously, as an incarnation of the incestuous Beatrice Cenci, raped by her father; Donatello will become her devoted blood-bond through his instinctive commission of the crime of murder, and will share her doom; the Americans will be humanized through their vicarious induction into history, sin, and forgiveness, and then they will return home.

Hawthorne associated Italy with Europe and Roman Catholicism, as the product of centuries of human weakness and need. Miriam comes from a chthonic world infused with mystery and uncertainty. The American Kenyon and Hilda, on the other hand, live in a world of virginal Protestant simplicities, where right and wrong are clearly defined. Donatello's instinctive crime of passion – the desire to protect his Beatrice – is a foil to Kenyon's laborious need to understand the Fall, sin, and redemption, and then to express his insight in the form of lectures and artworks. Hilda, as a Puritan tending the 400-year-old shrine of the Virgin, emblematizes the novel's ambiguities as evoked long ago by Frederick Crews: "An attack on Roman Catholicism or a prelude to conversions; a work of homage to Western history or a declaration of independence from it; a hymn to America or a satire on

its moral fastidiousness; … a tribute to feminine purity or a muted plea against sexual hypocrisy. Each irresolute theme is evidently submerged in gloomy ambivalence."[26]

In one complex passage, the American discovers fine vintage. It is a highly cerebral, reflective, tasteful description, and hinting of decadence and disenchantment, replete with American ambivalence about Europe:

> Sipping, the guest longed to sip again; but the wine demanded so deliberate a pause, in order to detect the hidden peculiarities and subtle exquisiteness of its flavour, that to drink it was really more a moral than a physical enjoyment. There was a deliciousness in it that eluded analysis, and – like whatever else is superlatively good – was perhaps better appreciated in the memory than by present consciousness. One of its most ethereal charms lay in the transitory life of the wine's richest qualities; for, while it required a certain leisure and delay, yet, if you lingered too long upon the draught, it became disenchanted both of its fragrance and its flavour. (187)

The other American, Hilda-the-Dove, is soul-cured in an act of confession in which she does not believe by a Priest she knows is corrupt. She also matures from innocence to experience, although her intellect remains pristinely manichaean, American. Our point is similar to Crews's: that Hawthorne was ambivalent about the aesthetics of the old culture with respect to the shallowness of the new, that he loved the ruins of Rome while he disapproved of its corruption, that in comparison America failed to be "interesting" to the writer of Romance.

From Hawthorne's fascination with Roman Catholic guilt, to Vernon Lee's fascination with the nooks, crannies, and tunnel passages of Venice that she associated with the secrets of the soul, there was a fear of losing individual distinction and psychological depth to the mass and open spaces of America. The stereotype endured. As late as 2005, the writer Rachel Cusk describes her family's return to the UK after her childhood in California's sunny surfaces and sentiment. What she developed in Britain was self-conscious and censorious internality:

> There are no shadows in England, just as in California there is no rain. My memories of my childhood distinctly lack the dimension of water with which the rest of my life has been drenched. They lack, too, unhappiness. If there was unhappiness in California, then it was of a dry, unthriving sort. The sun brought everything to the surface.

There was no inside, no interior, just light and shade and ventilated spaces in which everything was clear and distinct and concrete.

The fogs and mists and damp days, the drizzle and the slanting rain of England bred a different sort of emotion. English hearts, like English houses, struck me as being eerie. Thick-walled, dark and cold, they were full of ambivalent meditations. In England, you did not simply like or dislike: you judged, you sentenced and you punished. A whole new language of correction and discipline and propriety was used to cut up our behaviour, much as we were now cutting up our food, the English way. The sense of a social order, a hierarchy, was painfully, artificially instilled in us, like the steel bolts and pins that surgeons use to replace shattered bones. There had been no such hierarchy in America, just money or its lack. We became what we had never been before – self-conscious – and bit by bit this consciousness revolved and turned outwards, until we too began to mark the distinctions between people that made them, so we were told, better or worse.[27]

## 1.4   Individualism as biology or instinct

Freud's "Civilization and Its Discontents" (1930), probably the most famous essay on Civilization, was published within a year of Bell's. Here, Civilization, or what Freud calls the "cultural super-ego," literally takes over the individual's powers, regulating the unruly id-like social body until the individual, which Freud equates with instinct, is obliterated altogether. Figuratively, Freud displaces the structures of mental life onto the social body, defining "the decisive step of Civilization" as "the replacement of the powers of the individual by the power of a community."[28] Yet Freud's individual is the product not of British refinement, or American competitive selection, but of German instinct. Civilization can only be achieved by (1) "character formation," or the turning of a correction of an instinct into a "character trait," e.g., correcting or redirecting the anal eroticism of children into the "anal character" of the civilized adult; (2) the sublimation of instinct, as in the turning of sexual love into "Christian" love; or (3) the renunciation of instinct (97). And Freud does not think that these corrections, sublimations, and renunciations will ultimately triumph except in the cases of a few "leaders." For one thing, women, representing as they do the interests of the family and sex life – representing, in fact, life – are allied with instinct (193), whereas "the work of civilization has become

increasingly the business of men" (103), in which unruly life is opposed to the management of "business." For Freud, the happiness of the individual is directly opposed to the creation of a great human community (140): "The two urges, the one towards personal happiness and the other towards union with other human beings, must struggle with each other in every individual; and so, also, the two processes of individual and of cultural development must stand in hostile opposition to each other…[T]his struggle between the individual and society is a dispute between the economics of the libido, comparable to the contest concerning the distribution of libido between ego and objects" (140–1). He criticizes the communists not because of their attack on property, but because they naively believe that property is the source of aggression. Rather, aggression is innate to the organism, and a group of organisms can only overcome their respective aggressions by turning them toward another group, the proverbial Others (113–14).

Ultimately for Freud, despite its becoming the business of men, Civilization, or "the ethical demands of the cultural super-ego," may fail. The human capacity for Progress as self-overcoming and self-improvement (adaptive plasticity) is limited:

> The cultural super-ego does not trouble itself enough about the facts of the mental constitution of human beings. It issues a command and does not ask whether it is possible for people to obey it. On the contrary, it assumes that a man's ego is psychologically capable of anything that is required of it, that his ego has unlimited mastery over his id. This is a mistake; and even in what are known as normal people the id cannot be controlled beyond certain limits. If more is demanded of a man, a revolt will be produced in him or a neurosis, or he will be made unhappy. The commandment, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," is the strongest defence against human aggressiveness and an excellent example of the unpsychological proceedings of the cultural super-ego. The commandment is impossible to fulfil; such an enormous inflation of love can only lower its value, not get rid of the difficulty. Civilization pays no attention to all this; it merely admonishes us that the harder it is to obey the precept the more meritorious it is to do so. But anyone who follows such a precept in present-day civilization only puts himself at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* the person who disregards it…At this point the ethics based on religion introduces its promises of a better after-life. But so long as virtue is not rewarded here on earth, ethics will, I fancy, preach in vain. (143)

Freud concludes his great critique of Progress and Civilization with the individual's resistance to the cultural super-ego: "when one surveys the aims of cultural endeavour and the means it employs, one is bound to come to the conclusion that the whole effort is not worth the trouble, and that the outcome of it can only be a state of affairs which the individual will be unable to tolerate" (145). Freud's human species made up of instinctual aggressions, the control of which he calls "the economic task of our lives" (96), is chained by biology. He can be controlled by social norms, but this will mean that he is never happy in his body. In *The World as Will and Idea* (1818) Schopenhauer had written, "I call the body the objectivity of the will."[29] The body's will to live, its sexual and aggressive instincts, were like the force of gravitation, the force that germinates and vegetates plant life. Nietzsche, who regarded himself as Schopenhauer's successor, modified Schopenhauer's will to live via Darwinism into a conception of the will to power.[30] Each of them saw the individual's life-force in aggressive competition with others and with the demands of civilization, the herd, the masses, slave morality, and so forth. One knowledgeable writer on individualism sees Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Freud as exemplary of "bourgeois thinking" in their uniform conception of individuals as "isolated, self-sufficient monads in opposition to culture."[31] It is more accurate to say that they countered Idealist traditions of Progress with biological humans in specific material conditions of the family or the state. Yet in desublimating the goals of Progress and Civilization they tended to overstate the role of instinctual drives. We shall see the dialectics of Ideal Progress and Civilization versus biological instinct in more detail in the next chapter, on New Women.

Yet in this light we should recall that in 1930, the year of Freud's essay, the same physiological language of "conscious", Unconscious, instinct, and affect was used in Russian to other effect to describe the synergy of the revolution of 1917:

Marxism considers itself the conscious expression of the unconscious historical process. But the "unconscious" process, in the historico-philosophical sense of the term…coincides with its conscious expression only at its highest point, when the masses, by sheer elemental pressure, break through the social routine and give victorious expression to the deepest needs of historical development. And at such moments the highest theoretical consciousness of the epoch merges with the immediate action of those oppressed masses who are farthest away from theory. The creative union of the

conscious with the unconscious is what one usually calls "inspiration." Revolution is the inspired frenzy of history.[32]

Trotsky's description of the physiology of revolution shows brilliantly how group interiority – in this case between the Marxist theory-producing intelligentsia and the masses – was conceived organically.

Freud indicts the communists for their naïve faith in Eros's ability to triumph over Destruction, once property has ceased to divide humankind. At the end of "Civilization and Its Discontents" he mocks the socialists for their "fresh idealistic misconception of human nature" – never better expressed than in the quote from Trotsky – but adds off-handedly "I do think it quite certain that a real change in the relations of human beings to possessions would be of more help [in furthering Civilization] than any ethical commands" (143). Having clarified the reality of psychic life, Freud abandons the empire of biology and concedes to culture.

In these cultural stereotypes, individualism often meant market competition in the US, psychological complexity and refinement for the Anglo-European, and biology or instinct for German science. As the individual was often conceived in opposition to the masses, the masses could mean something different to each as well. Market competition recognized only competing individual interests; it did not recognize the idea of individual vs. Civilization. Indeed in the US – with some notable exceptions such as left-leaning European immigrants on the East Coast, or northern-migrating Blacks with religious communities – the development of the individual competitor was tantamount to the progress of Civilization, i.e., Progress as economic progress. This was the stereotype – of the technological society *par excellence* – that has persisted in the critiques of the Frankfurt School, Heidegger, and down to Baudrillard today. The Anglo-European middle class, on the other hand, could see all masses as threats to individual refinement, and recoiled against the "American" massification that obliterated the psychological individual. The Freudians, criticizing German Idealist traditions, saw them as not threat enough to tame the animal bundle of instinct that each individual member could not rise above. Only the communists, and only at the moment of revolution, saw the masses as the creative union of the conscious with the Unconscious collective, the inspired frenzy of history. They distinguished between *resentment*, which many socialists felt against those who hoarded the good things of the earth, and socialism, which is motivated by sympathy for the downcast and indignation at injustice.

In the 1930s, in "The Psychological Structure of Fascism," Georges Bataille analyzed the split between the communists and the fascists, both of which were "heterogeneous" to the "homogeneous" Establishment, in terms of the fascists' affective identification with the leader.[33] Twenty years later, Adorno wrote an essay called "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda" (1951) asking how individuals are turned into the masses.[34] Freud had claimed that the bond that integrated individuals into a mass was of a libidinal nature and always constructed in opposition to others. In a group one could throw off the repression of unconscious instincts, and it was but a short cut from violent emotions to violent actions. Adorno followed Freud in seeing fascism as a rebellion against the repressiveness of civilization, but it was "postpsychological" in that it took civilization's standardized mass culture, robbed of autonomy and spontaneity, and simply *reproduced* it for fascism's own purposes. "Fascists fail to develop an independent autonomous conscience and substitute for it an identification with collective authority which is…irrational, heteronomous, rigidly oppressive.…The phenomenon is adequately expressed in the Nazi formula that what serves the German people is good. The pattern reoccurs in the speeches of American fascist demagogues who never appeal to their prospective followers' own conscience but incessantly invoke external, conventional and stereotyped values which are taken for granted and treated as authoritatively valid without ever being subject to a process of living experience or discursive examination" (178n.11). Adorno continues that prejudiced persons generally display belief in conventional values instead of making moral decisions of their own. Through identification with the great little man, they submit to a group ego at the expense of their own ego ideal that becomes virtually merged with external "values", where "values" becomes the buzzword of totalitarian formations. The psychological liquidation and externalization of the subject that surrenders itself to the group anticipates "the postpsychological de-individualized social atoms which form the fascist collectivities." One of the basic devices of fascist propaganda is the concept of the "great little man, a person who suggests both omnipotence and the idea that he is just one of the folks, a plain, red-blooded American" (Adorno, 136, 127). This leads to a society of repressive egalitarianism, the transformation of individuals into members of a psychological "brother horde." The point is that, unlike in consenting collectivities, autonomous individuals do not become part of a mass. Dependent peoples become part of the mass. Freud did not use the language of dependence but of "libido" or "passions," in

other words, of dependencies on feelings that must be suffered and not subject to self-conscious control.

The politicizing and externalizing of the psychological as understood by Freud and Adorno was tantamount to the abolition of psychology (136) as the great bourgeois nineteenth century knew it. It is where the early critiques of American market society's shallow psychology, later epitomized in economic theories of revealed preference and rational choice, led: a mass consumption society ruled by great little men controlled by slogans or "values" such as what serves the American economy is good. Politically, it paralleled the assertion of national independence over autonomy with other states. As Nietzsche mused in *The Will to Power*, "One desires freedom so long as one does not possess power. Once one does possess it, one desires to overpower" (see note 37 below). This absence of a rich internal life and capacity to make complex moral decisions – the absence of sympathy and understanding, the foundations of successful democracy – is what Santayana pointed to when he said that the United States had passed from barbarism to decadence without the intervening civilization, barbarism meaning the unconsciousness of the savage, decadence meaning extreme self-consciousness, and civilization, the state of a conscious life with others.

## 1.5   Economic individualism

Thus we have seen at least three individualisms developing from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century: 1) Spencer's self-regulating individual whose development is either underwritten or undermined by the State; 2) Arnold's competitive individuals who require a State to integrate and harmonize them; and 3) an individual of distinction and Beauty or Taste, cultivated and enabled or undermined by a State, but certainly threatened by massification. Each of these models may be related to historical economic conditions: 1) the Progressive Enlightenment "Civilizing" model; 2) the crudely self-maximizing Economic Man abstracted from Political Economy; and 3) the economics of choice, preference, and Taste, as it developed after the Marginal Revolution in economic thought and the wider access to consumer goods that characterized both sides of the transatlantic marketplace. The rational, disciplined citizen subsumed private desires to social needs; the competitive individual, for whom rationality meant only individual self-maximization, had (in Hume's terms)[35] only to do with the means to achieve his particular ends, not with the worthiness of

those ends in themselves; and the hedonic modern consumer pursued a flourishing fantasy-life. Readers of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature will think of countless instantiations of each model.

We have seen how such models not only always appear in relation to larger units or perceived wholes – the State or the nation or the horde – but also depend on interiorities and exteriorities. Theorists who have focussed on forms of subjectivity associated with economic individualism have traced the perhaps counter-intuitive conjunction of fantasy and industriousness central to modern market society. In *Myths of Modern Individualism* (1996), Ian Watt traced the transformation of the myths of Faust, Don Quixote, and Don Juan that revealed particular modern forms of individualism exhibiting solitude, narcissism, and the claims of self over the claims of society. Following a common thread in political economy that used the "character" of Crusoe to represent Economic Man, Watt sees Crusoe's solitude as an expression of the individualism at the center of his psychology. He cites Crusoe's egoism – "Everything revolves in our minds by innumerable circular motions all centring in ourselves. We judge of prosperity and of affliction, joy and sorrow, poverty, riches, and all the various scenes of life…by our selves…our dear self is…the end of living," – and Crusoe's tendency to judge his friends not as ends in themselves but as means to his own advantage. "One of the objections to the capitalist system," says Watt in his discussion of Friday, "is that it tends to treat other people, and especially workers, as marketable commodities; this tendency is found in quite uncritical form in Crusoe's behavior" (Watt 1996, 168). On the absence of women on the island, Watt remarks, "When Crusoe does notice a lack of 'society,' he prays for the company only of a male slave…Crusoe is too completely dominated by the rational pursuit of material self-interest to allow any scope either for natural instinct or for higher emotional needs" (169). Citing James Joyce's 1912 lecture on Defoe, Watt summarizes the "character" of Crusoe, a character frequently evoked by economists themselves, as a *national* character of "the stiff upper lip. It is not a collective lip; it is, for the most part, uncritically egocentric, and it flourishes exceptionally well on a desert island" (171). Watt follows Joyce in the claim that Crusoe embodies "the whole Anglo-Saxon spirit: the manly independence; the unconscious cruelty; the persistence; the slow yet efficient intelligence; the sexual apathy; the practical…religiousness; the calculating taciturnity" (171). Watt ultimately traces western individualism to its Christian roots, invoking Louis Dumont's classic *Essais sur l'individualisme* (1983), in which

individualism began with the individual soul in relation to God and eventually came to emphasize the social and political primacy of the individual, including Crusoe's economic independence. Crusoe was for Watt the extreme pole of Nelson's separative self.

Without reference to the history of feminist theory that anticipated him, Alain Renaut also distinguished a humanism that values autonomy (as in the classical individual's subordination to the polis) from a modern ontological individualism that values independence or separation. Renaut focusses on distinctions between a masculinist independence eliminating all values except self-affirmation, and thus giving rise to irreducible differences, and a relational autonomy compatible with submission to a common law or State.[36] Modern individualism as independence often inclines toward competitive individualism, consumer culture, and the kind of isolation that Renaut calls "monadology," or mind closed in on itself and separated from others.[37] Renaut also invoked Dumont's contrast between hierarchical Indian society "that valorizes the social whole and disregards or subordinates the human individual" (Nelson's "soluble") and Western individualism "valorizing the independent and thus essentially nonsocial moral being" (Nelson's "separative"). In the next chapter we shall pursue these distinctions between individual autonomy and independence in the context of the New Women.

Colin Campbell's *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (1987) probably went furthest in comprehending how the modern individual of consumer society balanced internal fantasy life and external work ethic. Campbell attempted to understand how the explosion in material consumption that characterized the late eighteenth century could be reconciled with Weber's Protestant ethic, how the agents of Protestant ethic were susceptible to hedonism. In asking whether eighteenth-century consumers emulated the aristocracy (the Veblenian thesis) or enacted a bourgeois revolution of their own, Campbell first distinguished classical hedonism as pleasures directly responding to specific external stimuli, from modern imaginative hedonism, as states, dispositions, or "characters" that are only in part a response to external stimuli. The modern hedonist possesses the special power to conjure up stimuli in the absence of any externally generated. Campbell described "the central insight" into modern consumer culture: "that individuals do not so much seek satisfaction from products, as pleasure from the self-illusory experiences which they construct from their associated meanings."[38] Campbell calls this

modern, individuated, imaginative hedonism – that we associate with "lifestyle" – "self-illusory hedonism":

> The spirit of modern consumerism, or self-illusory hedonism, is characterized by a longing to experience in reality those pleasures created and enjoyed in imagination, a longing which results in the ceaseless consumption of novelty. Such an outlook, with its characteristic dissatisfaction with real life and an eagerness for new experiences, lies at the heart of much conduct that is most typical of modern life, and underpins such central institutions as fashion and romantic love. The romantic ethic can be seen to possess a basic congruence, or "elective affinity," with this spirit, and to have given rise to a character type and ethical conduct highly conducive to the adoption of such attitudes. (205)

Campbell believed that illusory enjoyment is necessarily individualistic and cannot, by its very nature, be communal. This does not mean that individuals may not sit side-by-side while lost in private worlds of their own, as may be the case with audiences at concerts, plays, films, computer games, or fashion catwalks, but modern hedonism is essentially monadological fantasy.

Campbell traced a lineage from Calvinism's profound emotional receptivity to inner signs of election to Romanticism's self-conscious and self-reflexive emotion. He concluded that the Protestant ethic gave rise to two distinct models of the individual: one of rationality, instrumentality, industry, and achievement, and another an emotionalist interiority. He contrasted these indigenous or endogenous middle- and working-class ethics – often highly gendered, we might add – with an aristocratic ethic, which as we have seen in Arnold's portrayal was external rather than internal, mannered rather than active, impassioned or emotive. The aristocrat, like the dandy, was a public figure existing in relation to others and was not known for internality (162); the self-illusory hedonist – or the modern imaginative consumer – lives largely in his own fantasies. Interestingly, Campbell saw Aestheticism, the treatment of life as art (*contra* Mario Praz's *Romantic Agony*), as precisely not indulging Romantic emotions nor creating the restless longing of the Romantic, but reverting to an aristocratic detached ethic rather than an emotive one, citing Wilde's "all bad poetry springs from genuine feeling" (199). That Romanticism's limitless possibilities grounded Protestant consumerism shows what Weber called the irony

of social action or others have called "the cunning of reason" (209). The cultural logic of modernity lies in the tension generated between "the creative dreaming born of longing" and the "rationality expressed in the activities of calculation and experiment" (227). "Upon this tension," Campbell concluded (in terms more ethnocentric than we would use and certainly less critical than Watt's), "the dynamism of the West depends" (227). Weber's "iron cage of economic necessity meets the castle of romantic dreams" as "individuals strive through their conduct to turn the one into the other" (227).

## 1.6   Thought-experiments on the scope and limits of individualism

These models of individualism may clarify some obscurities of the *fin de siècle*. Walter Pater's "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* has often been taken as the height of solipsistic individualism: "each mind keeping as a solitary prisoner its own dream of a world."[39] While Pater himself consistently resisted this interpretation of his words in the "Conclusion,"[40] it is well known that his influence had fallen fatally on the side of an Aestheticism that seemed to occlude moral reasoning with monadology. The members of the Rhymers Club influenced by him "looked to an inner vision, not out toward the world around them, and drifted ever deeper into their private worlds of rarefied emotions," dying, as one critic observed, as soon as their respective constitutions would decently permit (ibid., 161). W. B. Yeats recalled feeling "alone amid the obscure impressions of the senses" (ibid., 164). According to Gerald Monsman, "both Hopkins and Pater struggled to describe in what precise way the solipsistic prison of the self could be opened to the higher life" (ibid., 172).

Pater dramatically extended his meditation on the precise way the solipsistic prison of the self could be opened to the higher life in *Marius the Epicurean* (1885).[41] While his contemporaries almost unanimously saw the novel as the product of an elite mind above the concerns of ordinary readers, they also saw *Marius* as essentially about the relation of Self to Other. Mary Augusta ("Mrs Humphry") Ward saw the epicurean protagonist "bent on claiming an entire personal liberty" and isolating himself from the human stream.[42] A reviewer in the American *Harper's* (May 1885) equated *Marius* with Decadent self-absorption and claimed with quintessential heterosexual banality that "had Marius only fallen in love he would have been much less absorbed in himself…there would not have been this long tale of a subjective and contemplative

life to tell" (ibid., 138–40). More sophisticated, the Emersonian philosopher George Edward Woodberry admitted that "though [Marius] is said to have got much from companionship, one sees love operative in him very seldom, and then it is a very silent and unexpressed love" (ibid., 150). Woodberry concluded that "the exclusive reliance on [Marius's] own impressions, the fact that in metaphysical belief the world is only his world and in actual living the experience is individual – all this holds in it a basis of ultimate incertitude" (ibid., 149). More recently, the philosopher Richard Wollheim attributes Pater's failure as a critic not to his skepticism, nor to his empiricist metaphysics, but to *not* allowing himself to pursue or will his own vision: drawn to the visual, Pater discerned in it temptation and illicit pleasure.[43] Like Marius, he failed in romantic love.

Yet as Woodberry wrote, "it is only by love, as [Marius] perceives, that any reconciliation between the lover of beauty and the multitudinous pitiful pain which is so large a part of the the objective universe can be obtained" (*Critical Heritage*, 149). This reference to the universality of pain returns us to the methodological individualism of late Victorian economics. The object of classical political economy as Adam Smith perceived it in *The Wealth of Nations* was to fulfill "the needs and desires of the people" (*Wealth*, 397 and throughout). The object of neoclassical economics under the Marginal Revolution after 1870, was to maximize individual choice and preference without comparing or ranking needs intersubjectively. It is a maxim of Stanley Jevons's utility theory that intersubjective comparisons are impossible; as Jevons says, we cannot "compare the amount of feeling in one mind with that in another...Every mind is thus inscrutable to every other mind, and no common denominator of feeling seems to be possible."[44] Here, as in comparable passages in Carl Menger's *Principles of Economics* (1871), are the origins of Vilfredo Pareto's theory of optimality (1906), the linchpin of modern welfare economics: since intersubjective comparisons of value are impossible, each mind keeps as a solitary prisoner its own dream of a world, the criterion of optimality is met when no possible redistribution is such that at least one party gains utility (subjectively defined) and no one loses any. There is no common metric that allows comparison between individuals. If there are no grounds for assessing inequalities in utility, there can be no grounds – no *economic* grounds – for advocating redistribution, as Lionel Robbins argued against Pigou's welfare economics in the 1930s.[45] This abandonment of intersubjective comparisons of value shows the decline of universal conceptions of human nature that had grounded Arnold's and other Victorians' belief

in the more positive aspects of individualism, and in a State that could harmonize its warring factions into an individual-like totality.[46]

This world, as particularly theorized in late Victorian economics, in which we cannot compare the amount of feeling in one mind with that in another and where every mind is thus inscrutable to every other, is Pater's as well as Pareto's. It is the world that Pater and other writers of the *fin de siècle* struggled with, simultaneously attracted by its individual pleasures, tastes, and choice, and repelled by its asociality, its exclusion of relative considerations of, say, need or pain. *Marius the Epicurean* is a classic psychodrama in every sense, agonistically acting out maternal benevolence against paternal indifference. As Pater's critics have pointed out, in *Marius* world-historical ideas – Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Christianity – are represented as characters in relation to Marius. I would call them characters representing alternative (alternative here because Marius has freedom) models of individualism: the empiricist's – and neoclassical economists' – prison of unshareable sense and experience; the independent ego impervious to Others' pain; the autonomous but protective maternal. As a child raised by a widow, Marius learned maternity as "the central type of all love…unfailing in pity and protectiveness."[47] With his friend Flavian, he learns Epicureanism: "the desirableness of refining all the instruments of inward and outward intuition, of developing all their capacities, of testing and exercising one's self in them, till one's whole nature became one complex medium of reception towards the vision…of our actual experience in the world" (82). The consequence of Marius's youthful epicureanism is (a traditional Western philosophical crux) an empiricism that shades into solipsism: "He was ready now to conclude…that the individual is to himself the measure of all things, and to rely on the exclusive certainty to himself of his own impressions. To move afterwards in that outer world of other people, as though taking it at their estimate, would be possible henceforth only as a kind of irony" (76). At one point, Marius had "almost come to doubt of other men's reality" (97).

Another model of individualism is personified in the Stoic "character" (in both senses) of emperor Marcus Aurelius, who denies the senses altogether in his doctrine of the "Imperceptibility of pain," as in his preoccupation with papers of State while seated at the horrors of the Roman amphitheatre. (On other occasions, Marcus Aurelius equally denies his own pain.) "There was something in a tolerance such as this, in the bare fact that he could sit patiently through a scene like this, which seemed to Marius to mark Aurelius as his inferior now and

forever" (158). Identifying in Stoicism a morbidity, an aesthetic deadening, Marius ultimately determines that perception of another's pain is the ultimate refinement or *aesthesis* that will differentiate the highest form of Civilized Man: "The practical and effective difference between men will lie in their power of insight into those conditions [of suffering], their power of sympathy" (244), which returns Marius to "the sentiment of maternity" (246) and then, via St Cecilia, to Christianity. Spencer had written that there would be a lagtime for our will to catch up with our senses, that modern humankind could feel more pain than we had power to assuage. Marius's aesthetic development to feel others' pain and then to act to assuage it illustrated the finest evolution of "character."

It is Marius's habit throughout his life to "review" "loss and gain" in "the commerce of life" (149, 264, and passim). In his "final account" (264) at the point of death, the ethical is also the aesthetic: Christian sympathy consists not in the morbid self-scrutiny of Protestant signs but in the refined Catholic sensibility to others' pain. This interpretation can explain the convergence of otherwise discordant elements of Pater's aesthetic: its sensationism, elitism, diffidence, ethics, and economies of taste. More significantly, it overcomes the division between individual and mass, the part and the whole. Thus Marius has, as Pater himself said, nothing immoral about him. He used refined senses (epicureanism) to feel the pain of others (Christianity) – not as an illusory hedonist but as an ethical epicurean. Compared to this, erotic or romantic love – the desire and pursuit of the whole – was crude.[48]

A second illustration of the refinements of late Victorian individualism is from the same era as *Marius*, the ironies of Edward Burne-Jones's painting "The Golden Stairs" (1880). The painting at the Tate Gallery shows a wealth of virgins with delicate musical instruments disappearing down a spiral staircase into a curtained interior closed off to the spectator. Most critics of the Victorian Pre-Raphaelites concur that their images reveal the painters' psyches rather than the models. Rossetti said as much in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood's manifesto "Hand and Soul" (1850)[49] and Christina Rossetti memorialized her brother's model forever, "Not as she is , but as she fills his dream" ("In an Artist's Studio").

In 1879, when Burne-Jones's painting was almost complete, the artist decided to add portrait heads on to the model's repeated body – the heads of his closest female family and friends. But although these were some of the best known Beauties in London – Margaret Burne-Jones, the artist's daughter; May Morris, the daughter of William; Mary Gladstone,

daughter and secretary to William; Mary Stuart Wortley, patron, collector, and painter; and Frances Horner, called "high priestess of the Souls" – their portraits were not recognized by the viewing public. None of the original portrait "heads" was aware that she had been selected by the artist; nor did the women, any more than the public, apparently, recognize themselves when the painting was shown.[50]

To the contrary, the painting was criticized for its repetitious faces, lack of emotion, and blandness – its lack of individuality – and contrasted unfavorably with the early Italian masters. Burne-Jones defended his aims as solely "the expression of character and moral quality, not anything temporary, fleeting, accidental." He wrote that he had no time for the individual's feelings, passions, or emotions: "Of course my faces have no expression in the sense in which people use the word. How should they have any? They are not portraits of people in paroxysms of terror, hatred, benevolence, desire, avarice, veneration, and all the passions and emotions…It is Winckelmann, isn't it, who says that when you come to the age of expression in Greek art you have come to the age of decadence? In fact you only want types, symbols, suggestions. The moment you give what people call expression, you destroy the typical character of heads and degrade them into portraits which stand for nothing."[51] He wanted the portrait heads – recapitated onto the body of the one, now decapitated, model Antonia Caiva – to look like classic coins. The individuals, with all their "passions and emotions" were, to his mind, "nothing."

His fellow Pre-Raphaelite G. F. Watts also considered the individual to be too common in the Age of Individualism: "I have purposely abstained from any attempt to make the figures seem real…knowing that familiarity produces a sense of the commonplace."[52] And Whistler himself said that he "tried to eliminate the possibility of reading an emotional reaction of any sort into the model's countenance."[53] Yet as Anne Anderson shows, these particular women, de-individualized on the Golden Stairs of male fantasy, were actually some of the most active and avant-garde women of the day. The paradox is that the Victorian allegory of the most conventional Beauty, guaranteed to comfort the male psyche, in real life constituted the most threateningly individualist women.

The roots of the "characterlessness" of the Ideal precede the Victorians. Andrew Eastham has argued that while Hegelian "character" indicated a dominant passion, Pater rejected tragic individuality.[54] Pater saw in Medieval art a theater of congealed souls, frozen in perpetual expression without detachment, universality or play. In "Diaphaneité" (1864) Pater

writes (contra Ruskin's grotesques) of his preferred "moral expressive-ness" that is "characterless" before expressive energy is congealed into fixed individuality. The value of adolescence to admirers of classical art like Schiller and Pater was precisely in its characterlessness, the smooth-ness of a vacuous face showing something of the detached indifference of the Gods. Similarly, in A. W. Schlegel, Shakespeare's supreme gift was the "indifference" of universality (see Eastham 30–45).

Building an analytic frame of differently nuanced individualisms, one might go on to look at other instances of "character." "Character" in the novel (as a genre) is like the individual in the State, nation, horde, or market, to different degrees controlled by larger structures or plot, unregulated free-market stream of consciousness or centrally planned by authorial hand. Spencer thought that with the full development of character, the State would wither away. With the full development of psychologism and subjectivism after the *fin de siècle*, the high Victorian plot of social relations also withered away. Whereas the classic Victorian novel gave us models of autonomy or solubility, *fin-de-siècle* characters often represented the tensions of independence or separation. We might analyze Browning's dramatic monologues in a similar fashion, speci-fying how much their psychic life illustrates Campbell's self-illusory hedonism and how much, like *The Ring and the Book* (1868), it tries to integrate and harmonize the dreaming, competitive, needy voices into a social and formal whole. Literary history shows sustained critique of the scope and limits of individualism: as competitive; as progressively cooperative; as arrested in America by the cult of the comman man; as fetishized in Britain as the distinctive mark of the Man of Taste; as hedonic consumer, often figured as a dreaming woman. The difficulty for the Victorians from Rossetti to Wilde to the New Women to Virginia Woolf was to find a third way between the competitive egoisms (includ-ing competition between the sexes – see especially John Lane's Keynotes series), the isolated solipsisms, the illusory hedonism, and other forms that individualism took in the second half of the nineteenth century, while remaining true to their notions of society and the Progress of the whole.

In 1920 the American poet in London Ezra Pound reflected on Aestheticism in Britain. His group the Imagists had been published in *The Egoist: an Individualist Review* since its founding in 1914. While Pound felt that aestheticism had become isolated, subjectivist, impos-sible in a mass commercial age, he was ambivalent, for he too grieved for the lack of Beauty, distinction, and the heroic. He attributed to the failed poetic persona Hugh Selwyn Mauberley a "series of curious heads

in medallion."[55] Making "no immediate application of" the "relation of the State/to the individual" (74), only seeing "the month more temperate/ Because this beauty had been" (74), Mauberley's poetry had become entirely subjective:

> Nothing, in brief, but maudlin confession,
> Irresponse to human aggression,
> Amid the precipitation, down-float
> Of insubstantial manna,
> Lifting the faint susurrus
> Of his subjective hosannah.
>
> (75)

Unable to connect his poetry to the world, all that remains of the minor poet Mauberley is an oar on which is written:

> "I was
> And I no more exist;
> Here drifted
> An hedonist."

*The Egoist* had begun as *The Freewoman* and then the *New Freewoman*. Having introduced the Imagists, serialized Joyce and Wyndham Lewis, and published T. S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent" in its last issue, it folded in 1919. Many thought that it had abandoned its feminism and collective action in favor of anarcho-syndicalism and Stirneresque individualism. Pound moved on to *Blast* and Futurism.[56]

# 2
## New Women, Female Aesthetes, and Socialist Individualists: the Literature of Separateness and Solubility

Although it is always dangerous to write history while it is being lived, the current consensus is that in the last quarter of the twentieth century modern Western societies entered a third stage of technocracy. The first had been the industrial revolution; the second was the mass transmission of cinema, radio, and television; and the most recent is called the Information Age. The first is associated with liberal individuals with deep subjectivities enabled, as we shall see, by a women's literature of intimate relationship. The second, the period of literary modernism, produced the sublime hopes of democracy, the masses, socialism and then fascism, in which the "rigors" of fascism opposed the threats of femininity and the masses, and literature often took sides formally and substantively. The third is in the process of producing biotechnological individuals, in which the eugenicists' dream of parthenogenesis attempts to diminish the traditional role of women even while science itself – genetics – is becoming more feminized.[1] In this chapter I consider the models of individualism introduced in the previous chapter through the lens of gender.

## 2.1  The New Woman literature of relationship

The New Woman was the term applied to self-consciously modern women at the *fin de siècle*.[2] Largely a media construction, it was always contested, not least by the women themselves, but it has come to indicate a public representation in literature, art, and the media of self-conscious female

modernity, in which modernity may be taken to mean the pursuit of material well-being and economic independence, scientific knowledge, and political emancipation. Women were both active shapers of individualist ideology and the object of theories of instinct. In her famous critique of marriage as a social institution (1897), Mona Caird first followed Spencer in seeing monogamy as a condition of Progress, but went on to consider the lack of individuation in inseparable couples not just "irritating" but "an index of united *degeneration.*"[3] In the debates that Caird's essay generated, popular science writer Grant Allen argued for progressive individualism through sexual selection:

> It is a mark of disease to have too frequent and too universal sexual impulses. It is a mark of health and of high development to have them relatively seldom, relatively strong, and powerfully specialised upon particular individuals. The higher types are the most selective….That advance in discriminativeness is a leading feature in evolutionary progress.[4]

Caird's and Allen's respective emphases on individual distinctiveness may be analyzed by way of the distinction introduced above between autonomy and independence, or Nelson's degrees of solubility and separation. Feminist theory of the last thirty-five years has held that for both groups and individuals the pursuit of independence tends to eliminate all values but self-affirmation and thus gives rise to irreducible differences that in turn, in both nation-states and individuals, increase the likelihood of conflict. Autonomy, on the other hand, is relational, and compatible with submission to a common need or even common law. New Women were certainly individuals with diverse interests and goals; yet if there is anything common to the many women included under that name it would be their assertion not of independence (separation) but of autonomy. It is still rare for women to assert independence, Hobbes's or Nietzsche's "pure differentiation" or radical difference. (See Nietzsche's dictum in *Will to Power* cited above: "One desires freedom so long as one does not possess power. Once one does possess it, one desires to overpower."[5]) Having rarely possessed power, women have rarely desired to overpower. What New Women wanted, collectively, was freedom, autonomy, not "power over" but "power to," empowerment. Their focus on individuation was particularly *fin de siècle*, acting on Spencer's dictum that all Progress was progress toward individualism through increasing differentiation. They perfected a psychological type, and there were attempts to make that type the bearer of

Progress. This type took the individual, rather than the group or class, as the primary social unit, thereby differing from the social models of mid-century. Yet what clearly emerges in New Woman literature is the difference between independence or separateness and autonomous individuals in relation.

This difference distinguishes New Women writing from that of men writing about new women, from the suggestive Hubert Crackanthorpe to the assertive Grant Allen. Hubert Crackanthorpe's collection *Wreckage* (1893) was called "little documents of hell" because it crystallized the conflicts of independence between competitive male and female egos.[6] This competition between the sexes – their struggles for autonomy on the women's part and dominance on the men's – made Crackanthorpe's stories particularly attractive to the British School of psychoanalysis, in its early stages more concerned with masculine struggles for independence than with feminine quests for relational autonomy. The most famous New Woman novel by a man, Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (1895), like the Crackanthorpe published in John Lane's Keynote Series, represents a woman negating all relations.[7] Herminia Barton refuses all help from her family, declines an offer of marriage from a Fabian socialist, and is determined to bring up a daughter entirely independent of social constraints. When her daughter rejects such independence and seeks relationships, Herminia drinks prussic acid. The narrator concludes with Nietzschean purity: "Herminia Barton's stainless soul had ceased to exist forever."[8]

Women-created New Women were not so rigidly independent. They wanted autonomy, individual development, but they wanted it through *relationship*. New Women literature primarily analyzes feelings in dyadic or sometimes triadic relationships. There are hundreds of stories, but the themes are relatively few and constant: relationships between wives and husbands; between wife, husband, and the wife's alternate object of desire, who typically inspires extended fantasy; relationships between an aspiring woman author and male Jamesian master who exploits and casts her off, often stealing her work or objectifying her self for his own art; relationships between woman who wants autonomy and man who therefore cannot recognize her as a woman or dependent. These relationships are scrutinized self-consciously, as if with thermometers of pleasure and pain.

The New Women were testing the limits of autonomy and emotion, constraint and freedom, at the level of the individual person and body. Within a few years Freud will have offered a theory of affect in his Lecture on "Anxiety" (*Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, 1916–17),

in which affect is a triple "combination" of bodily discharge, perception of that motor action, and a qualitative assessment of pleasure or pain, held together by an indefinable "core" experience.[9] We note that the term Freud chose to describe the "combination" (*Grundton*) was translated "keynote" – not only the title of the George Egerton volume that for many epitomized New Womanism but also the title of John Lane's series so identified with its authors and themes of gender relations. Freud describes affect in the following way:

> And what is an affect in the dynamic sense? It is in any case something highly composite. An affect includes in the first place particular motor innervations or discharges and secondly certain feelings; the latter are of two kinds – perception of the feelings that have occurred and the direct feelings of pleasure and unpleasure which, as we say, give the affect its keynote. But I do not think that with this enumeration we have arrived at the essence of affect. We seem to see deeper in the case of some affects and to recognize that the core which holds the combination we have described together is the repetition of some particular significant experience.[10]

We shall not follow Freud in pinpointing the nature of that particular significant experience. The point here is to show how the feminine self-analysis of "the perception of the feelings that have occurred and the direct feelings of pleasure and pain" appears as tension between autonomy and independence in the literature. In George Egerton's story "Now Spring Has Come," published in *Keynotes*, the protagonist sees her lover after a year's absence:

> Feel happy? No, I was numb in one way and yet keenly alive to impressions. I felt as if my nerve-net was outside my skin, not under it, and that the exposure to the air and surrounding influences made it intensely, acutely sensitive. I seemed to see with my sense of feeling as well as my sight. You know how in great cold you seem to burn your hand with an icy heat if you suddenly grasp a piece of iron; well, I felt as though I was touched by glowing shivers; that sounds nonsense, but it expresses the feeling. Why? I don't know why. I was analysing, being analysed, criticising, being criticised.[11]

When George Egerton's *Keynote*s was satirized by "Borgia Smudgiton" (Owen Seaman) as "She-Notes" in *Punch* (17 March 1894), it was precisely this intense self-analysis that he mocked: analyzing, being

analyzed, criticizing, being criticized.[12] The phrase captures the essence of New Woman literature as it experiments with the scope and limits of autonomy in women's personal and professional lives.

Egerton had come across the novel *Hunger* by the Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun, fell in love with the "plot-less" book (first-person male writer, starving and writing amid absurd and disturbing incidents), went to visit the author with a proposal to translate the book into English, and evidently also proposed marriage. Hamsun did not take up the offer of marriage but allowed her to translate his book. Egerton later dedicated her collection of short stories *Keynotes* (1894) to Hamsun, which includes "Now Spring has Come," about their affair. Egerton's translation, censoring *Hunger's* more erotic encounters, was published in 1899 and not re-published before 1920, when Hamsun won the Nobel Prize for Literature for *Growth of the Soil*. She then congratulated herself in her new Introduction that she had discovered Hamsun in the 1890s. Hamsun married an upper-class divorcée towards the end of the 1890s, gambled her money away, divorced, and then married an actress with a rural background similar to his own, whom he shackled to the farm in a bid to return to the land.[13]

In Angelique Richardson's Introduction to a wide-ranging collection of short stories by New Women and men, she emphasizes the modernity of the genre as well as the women and draws direct parallels with the rise of psychoanalysis. She cites approvingly Bliss Perry's 1902 judgment ("The Short Story" *Atlantic Monthly*, 90: 249–50) that the short story writer "deals not with wholes, but with fragments; not with the trend of the great march through the wide world, but with some particular aspect of the procession as it passes."[14] She continues to make explicit links with the interpretive practices of psychoanalysis, citing Egerton.

> The relationship between the new fiction and the new discourse of psychoanalysis is summed up by Egerton: "if I did not know the technical jargon current today of Freud and the psychoanalysts, I did know something of complexes and inhibitions, repressions and the subconscious impulses that determine actions and reactions. I used them in my stories." Freud published his first work, *Studies on Hysteria*, co-authored with Josef Breuer, in 1895, and *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1899. The rise of the short story and the birth of psychoanalysis coincided; both are underpinned by a fascination with the working, the knowing, and unknowability, of the mind. The titles of short stories, and collections, at this time signal

self-consciously their relations to the mind, to moments; they suggest moods, emotions, situations rather than narratives; Egerton's *Keynotes*, *Discords* (1894), including "A Psychological Moment," and *Symphonies* (1897), D'Arcy's *Monochromes* (1895) and Grand's *Emotional Moments* (1908). Stutfield complained: "Psychology – word more blessed than Mesopotamia – is their never-ending delight; and modern woman, who, if we may believe those who claim to know most about her, is a sort of enigma, is their chief subject of investigation." In *The Psychological Women*, Marholm wrote that "to comprehend the woman of today … to read the secrets of her inner and concealed experience … that were worth our pains! … But how read this hidden writing? – how open these concealed and locked chambers?" Just as the analysand looks to the analyst to be read, so the short-story writer expects the reader to read actively, to work from fragments, traces, dreams even; the short story offers itself up for analysis. Like the analyst, the reader must work with the materials they are given: William Dean Howells, writer, socialist and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1871–81, wrote in 1901: "a condition that the short story tacitly makes with the reader, through its limitations, is that he shall subjectively fill in the details and carry out the scheme which in its small dimensions the story can only suggest." Through his systematic investigation of the unconscious, Freud developed the idea that active parts of the mind are not immediately open to inspection either by an onlooker or by the subject. He would define the task of the analyst as "to make out what has been forgotten from the traces which it has left behind or, more correctly, to *construct* it". (lxviii–lxix)

Examples of the aesthesis of New Woman fiction are everywhere, in which aesthesis is reminiscent of the Paterian ascesis – the focussed self-analysis of feeling that leads to a kind of overcoming, a self-control, a form. In Victoria Cross's "Theodora: a Fragment" (*Yellow Book* V [1895]) – and note the modern emphasis on fragmentary experience to be interpreted in fragmentary genre – a man debates internally a possessive versus an aesthetic appreciation of Theodora, who has aroused his "vague, undefined curiosity" with her queer appearance, like "a young fellow of nineteen" (17). We should first note how sensation immediately gives rise to reflection on it, which is characteristic of the period. This reflection produces the hedonic calculation of pleasure and pain in the individual in tension with altruism or love of the other for her own sake.

I felt a keen sense of pleasure stir me as I watched her rise and stand, that sense of pleasure which is nothing more than an assurance to the roused and unquiet instincts within one, of future satisfaction or gratification, with, from, or at the expense of the object creating the sensation. Unconsciously a certainty of possession of Theodora to-day, to-morow, or next year, filled me for the moment as completely as if I had just made her my wife. The instinct that demanded her was immediately answered by a mechanical process of the brain, not with doubt or fear, but simple confidence ... And the lulling of this painful instinct is what we know as pleasure. And this instinct and its answer are exactly that which we should not feel within us for any beloved object ... To love or at least to strive to love an object for the object's sake, and not our own sake, to love it in its relation to its pleasure and not in its relation to our own pleasure, is to feel the only love which is worthy of offering to a fellow human being. ... I had not learnt this lesson yet.[15]

The process of his thought enacts the *ascesis* or self-overcoming of, in this case, sexual predation. But this ascesis is only possible through the self-conscious assessment of each sense experienced by the dyad, an instantaneous process of critique and self-critique based in the feelings themselves.

Her glance met mine, full of demands and questionings, and a very distinct assertion of distress. (18)

This, in the state of feeling into which I had drifted, produced an irritated sensation. (18)

There are a million slight, vague physical experiences and sensations within us of which the mind remains unconscious. (18–19)

That look seemed to push away, walk over, ignore my reason, and appeal directly to the eager physical nerves and muscles. (19)

Walking always induces in me a tendency to reflection and retrospection, and now, removed from the excitement of Theodora's actual presence, my thoughts lapped quietly over the whole interview, going through it backwards, like the calming waves of a receding tide. (20)

I thought on in a desultory sort of way, more or less about Theodora, and mostly about the state of my own feelings. (21)

The narrator's interest in Theodora is notably more affective than biological, that is, as in Freud, it is driven by the mind or imagination rather

than reproductive instinct. He acknowledges, "Certainly the genius of the genus in me was weaker than the genius of my own individuality … For Theodora was as unfitted … to become a co-worker with me in carrying out Nature's aim, as she was fitted to give me as an individual the strongest personal pleasure" (20), and "In me, it was the mind that had first suggested to the senses, and the senses that had answered in a dizzy pleasure, that this passionate, sensitive frame, with its tensely-strung nerves and excitable pulses, promised the height of satisfaction to a lover. Surely to Nature it promised a poor if possible mother, and a still poorer nurse" (21). The characters are creatures of Taste, discrimination, preference, and pleasure associated with individualistic habits of consumption rather than the species' production and reproduction.

In George Fleming's "By Accident" in *Little Stories About Women* (John Lane, 1898), a woman fantasizes about her lover on her deathbed, and even then she reflects on her own feelings, ignoring her attendant anguished husband:

> Now, as he watched her and drew long breaths of sorrow, and sat with his sleek, grey head dejected, bowed upon his other hand, what was there in common between his sensations of the universe and hers? To-morrow would come for him. To-morow he would still be moving about, alive and moving, warm and alive, in a world of living people; while she – since that first sickening moment, when the carriage began to slowly swing over, that was what she felt most – the loneliness of it all. The loneliness of life, of death; the loneliness of every separate, isolated, incommunicable human experience. (in Showalter, 82)

In Vernon Lee's *Lady Tal*, a Jamesian novelist observes an aristocratic woman with no individuality: "Lady Atalanta's face, like those great stone masks in Roman Galleries and gardens, concealed the mere absence of everything … Lady Tal had read other people's books, and had herself written a book which was extremely like theirs. It was a case of unconscious, complete imitation" (Showalter, 215). While noting the detachment and formalism historically associated with the elite, the Jamesian novelist cannot dissociate his own feelings from hers any more than he can dissociate his work about her from her inferior work: "He saw, all of a sudden, that he really had been over-estimating Lady Tal's literary powers. It appeared to him monstrous. The thought made him redden. To what unjustifiable lengths had his interest in the novel – the novel in the abstract, anybody's novel; and (he confessed

to himself) the interest in one novel in particular, his own, the one in which Lady Tal should figure – led him away!" (Showalter, 253). In Edith Wharton's "The Reckoning" (1902), a woman on the verge of dissolution of her marriage "recovered a torturing acuteness of vision. Every detail of her surroundings pressed upon her: the tick of the clock, the slant of sunlight on the wall, the hardness of the chair arms that she grasped, were a separate wound to each sense…He remained near the hearth, his elbow resting on the mantel shelf. Close to his hand stood a little cup of jade that he had given her on one of their wedding anniversaries. She wondered vaguely if he noticed it."[16] Many more examples of acute self-consciousness and the reckoning of relationship could be cited from Victoria Cross, George Fleming, Vernon Lee, Kate Chopin, Olive Schreiner, Netta Syrett, Edith Wharton, and others. This psychological assessment of the scope and limits of autonomy and independence, solubility and separation, within relationship, much rather than polemics about marriage or art, seems to me the lasting contribution of New Woman literature.

In *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987) and *How Novels Think* (2005), Nancy Armstrong argued that the female subject in mid-Victorian fiction became central to the modern idea of self-regulating individuality.[17] New Woman fiction marks a later stage of that development, in which the modern psychological individual that became the subject of psychoanalysis began its self-analysis through the meticulous calculation of pain and pleasure – affect – aestheticized in the narrative. This self-analysis in the continuous alternation between expression and constraint, was figured in Alice Meynell's "A Woman in Grey"[18] by the woman on her bicycle. She is poised between freedom and constraint, temper and judgment, danger and security:

> She fled upon unstable equilibrium…her own…her machine's.…She had learned the difficult peace of suspense…she had seated herself upon a place of detachment between earth and air…she had made herself, as it were, light, so as not to dwell either in security or danger, but to pass between them…she would not owe safety to the mere emotionlessness of a seat on the solid earth, but she used gravitation to balance the slight burden of her wariness and her confidence. She put aside all the pride and vanity of terror, and leapt into an unsure condition of liberty and content.[19]

There were attempts to place this self-analyzing, self-regulating, balancing New Woman at the forefront of Progress and Civilization.

In "Eugenia," Sarah Grand writes of her protagonist: "She was…essentially a modern maiden, richly endowed with all womanly attributes, whose value is further enhanced by the strength which comes of liberty to think, and of the education out of which is made the material for thought. With such women for the mothers of men, the English-speaking races should rule the world."[20] After having toyed with his ideas and emotions throughout the novel, Eugenia rejects the decadent male (otherwise known as a sophisticated man of the world). Her disgust with him provides a new model – as we shall see, a chilling new model – for the twentieth century – eugenic youth's purity and judgmentalism: "I object to his opinions; his mind is a rotten conglomerate of worn-out prejudices. And I object to his debility; he has to substitute alcohol for good nerve and muscle, and there is a general suspicion of taint in him that I have no word for, but feel, and it repels me. His husk is attractive, I allow, but I am not going to marry the husk of a man" (168). She also rejects his city, London, with "its wealth and its squalor and its teeming population" that stifles "the better feeling" (161): "It is all haste and crowding and no hope. Individuality is lost in the mass, and with individual traits go the recognition of individual joys and sorrows, those items of emotion of which we are always so intensely conscious in ourselves" (162).

Female autonomy did not come without a cost. Karl Beckson has noted how threatening the articulate, self-conscious, desiring, and self-overcoming women were to men of the period. Ernest Rhys, a Welsh mining engineer who turned to writing and founded the Rhymers Club in London, was shattered when he met Edith Lees on a picnic of the Fellowship of the New Life. She made him think of an "imminent new race of women whom I, as a decadent Victorian male, might well have reason to fear."[21] In *Six Chapters of a Man's Life* (1903), Victoria Cross imagines a male perspective on the autonomous woman, here called (after her earlier sketch in *The Yellow Book*) Theodora. Like Cross's *Self and the Other*, this novel opposes the selfish pleasures of sex to attention to the beloved for her own sake. The narrator, Cecil Ray, is a confirmed bachelor of 28 who is bored by women. Through the generosity of a friend, he meets the captivating Theodora, an epicene figure with a boyish physique and moustache. Throughout their courtship, Cecil is obsessed with her lack of "will," her "absolute submission" to him.[22] Yet while he is obsessed with his domination of Theodora, she herself and the reader rather see her actions as autonomous. She cross-dresses freely, openly dislikes children, and has no desire for a traditional relationship with Cecil.

In her time, Victoria Cross (1868–1952) or Annie Sophie (legal name) or Vivian Cory (by which she was usually identified) was known for the daring of her "sex novels."[23] Associated with *The Yellow Book* from 1895 when "Theodora: a Fragment" was published, she was born at Rawalpindi in the Punjab into a well-known Anglo-Indian family. One of her two sisters was Adela (aka Violet) Cory, who wrote love and erotic poetry under the name "Laurence Hope." While her sister led the romantic life with a dashing Colonel – e.g., cross-dressing, disguising as a Pathan, and killing herself with poison when he died – and often appears in Cross's fiction, Cross herself was a wealthy maiden lady whom no one could believe wrote what she did.[24] *Six Chapters of a Man's Life* demonstrates the authorial and narrative gender-bending that pervades her fiction, as well as its imaginative investment in understanding male violence.

I have said that New Woman literature pursues psychological more than biological or reproductive roles. With the exception of the professionalism of writing itself, neither is it about the division of labor. Cecil's very vague job is something of a surveyor on the site of Nineveh, and he is eager to return to "the East," where (in familiar Decadent mythology) death can come quickly and one is therefore emboldened to seize the pleasures of the moment. In England, on the other hand, one falls into habits of ambition for the harvest of tomorrow (a well-known political economic theory of climate). Theodora opts to accompany Cecil to the East despite the dangers, disguising herself as his male companion. Toward the end of their stay in Port Said, she persuades Cecil to enter a brothel where dances are performed for male spectators. She and Cecil are so aroused by an exquisite dancing "figure in the carpet" (207) that he kisses her on the mouth in view of the Egyptians of the house. They thereby comprehend her femininity and inform Cecil that while he must go they will keep Theodora in the house for a week before returning her to him. Although they give their word, which Cecil does not doubt, that she will be returned alive after seven days, Cecil's instinctive suggestion is that he should shoot her to save her from the shame.

Theodora sensibly protests that she would prefer to live and begs him not to shoot her. It has taken me some time to understand the violence of Cecil's response:

> I longed to destroy her now, as I had once longed to possess her, to shatter and burst those eyeballs and blot out their light for ever, to lay open the temples and transform them into a shapeless bleeding

mass, to keep her mine now as I had made her mine then. To check those quick heart-beats, to see the veins drain out their blood, and the whole malleable body grow damp and pulseless, would have been to me now the keenest supremest pleasure, surpassing even the ultimate moment of possession. ... Those lips that I had known I would rather see mutilated and blackened, streaming with blood from my own hand, than know they had been pressed, smiling, by another. (216–17)

In order to understand this reaction we might turn for a moment to Klaus Theweleit on the men who wanted to strangle women with their bare hands before the Mongolians (i.e., Russians, or communists) took them, to reduce them, in the same terms, to a "bloody mass" or dead nature rather than give them up to the enemy. The reduction of women to "bloody mass" or dead nature was a theme that was to run through Freikorps literature.[25]

Theweleit's magisterial study of Freikorps literature 1918–1945, *Male Fantasies I: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, shows the extremes of solubility and separateness in the worldview of men who were first soldiers in World War I, then irregulars serving domestic repression (especially of socialists), and finally Nazis. In the literature by and about them, the soldier-males ceaselessly voice their oneness with the German people and fatherland; the homeland soil, native village or city; their uniform; other men, inclusive of comrades, superiors, and subordinates; the troops, parish, or community-of-blood; weapons; hunting and fishing; and animals, especially horses. They rarely mention women as objects of love, though mother and what Theweleit calls the "white nurse," or the lady wife or sister devoted to the Corps, may be briefly mentioned.

Most women are presented as threatening, enervating, indecent, and aggressive – and allied in the men's minds with a communism that contaminates, engulfs, and negates. The "male fantasies" that Theweleit collected systematically reduced the hated working-class women and communists to "a bloody mass," but they also reduced the women the soldier males tolerated to *dead nature* by processes of idealization that devivified, also a kind of killing. Theweleit believes that these men meant not only to dissolve the object (women) but also themselves, and he claims that in the Freikorps we see the failure of ego-development or individuation. In traditional psychoanalytic theory, this failure to individuate, the basis of psychosis, arises in the pre-Oedipal relation with the mother. Unable to differentiate himself, the soldier-male *screens* himself with hard boundaries against wives, "white" mothers, and sisters, but he *destroys* proletarian women, "rifle-women," and erotic women. All

of whom – all life in fact – are threats to the soldier-male's carapace of a self. Hence his goal is always to de-vivify, to transform life into death.

However, unlike Freud, who posited a "death drive" according to which human aggression is a biological given of the species, Theweleit, following object-relations theory, sees the Freikorps' murderousness as a specific effect of gender and race relations. When the Freikorps robbed women and the masses of their autonomous life, by reducing them to "bloody masses," they reshaped reality anew into the large, englobing blocks that would serve as the building material for the Third Reich. As Theweleit shows with the support of hundreds of illustrations, the monumentalism of fascism would seem to be a safety mechanism against the bewildering multiplicity and diversity of the masses. In his chapter "Floods, Bodies, History," Theweleit shows how the soldier-males perceived themselves as "steely individuality" holding out against the tides of communist massification threatening Germany (they liked to call themselves "Prussian"); but he sees them rather as carapaces of steel with nothing inside – no egos, but walled fortresses with no inhabitants. Rather than their stated goal of "rekindling the fire of enthusiasm for national honour and national feeling in each individual" (390 and passim), the carapaces that formed the Nazi columns in the Entry March of the Banners or the Standards of Victory at Nüremberg rallies had merely dammed the flood of disorderly life, channeled the mess into orderly columns. It was reported that in those rallies "You couldn't see the individual people," only the *gestalt* columns in service to the state (429–30).

Georges Bataille has written in "The Psychological Structure of Fascism" of the transformation of ragged, disorganized individuals into a purified geometric order with common purpose: "*Human beings* incorporated into the army are but negated elements, negated with a kind of rage (a sadism) manifest in the tone of each command, negated by the parade, by the uniform, and by the geometric regularity of cadenced movements…In fact, the mass that constitutes the army passes from a depleted and ruined existence to a purified geometric order, from formlessness to aggressive rigidity…Thus the implied infamy of the soldiers is only a basic infamy which, in uniform, is transformed into its opposite: order and glamour."[26] The men without egos threatened on all sides finally found union with others in that armoured millipede. As Auden wrote in a poem about the armoured male, without individuality, affect, or expression, "The Shield of Achilles":

> Congregated in its blankness stood
> An unintelligible multitude.

> A million eyes, a million boots in line,
> Without expression, waiting for a sign.

Whether or not Theweleit was right about the aetiology of fascism, the Freikorps soldier-males did write repeatedly of their "steely individuality" and had a conception of masculine independence that – despite its bloody dominance over others, reducing them to pulpy mass – somehow was transformed into those anonymous columns.[27]

In the event, Victoria Cross's Cecil shares the male fantasy but not ultimately the conduct. He does not kill Theodora, and when she is returned to him degraded and disfigured by disease, he duly learns to love her "unselfishly, for herself" (230). On their way back to England, however, Theodora throws herself overboard and Cecil renounces egoism, thus concluding the paradigm of will as domination (Cecil), will as autonomy (Theodora), and will as consent (a union of egoless love), all played out against the backdrop of "Eastern" pursuit of sensation against rigid British self-control. Egyptians degrade and disfigure her, and she drowns herself in the flood: others accomplishing for Cecil the male fantasies of separateness and domination without his direct agency. Cecil and Theodora's relationship (even their explicit rejection of parenthood) does not contravene current evolutionary psychology on the male modules for jealousy, or male rage against women having sex with other men. What is more interesting to the cultural critic is Victoria Cross (aka Annie Sophie, or Vivian, Cory) herself in light of Theweleit's findings, for she is a woman who presumes to write six chapters of a man's life and to present male domination and separateness in order to draw a moral of unselfish love. A British poster from the First World War (see Theweleit 135) entitled "Red Cross or Iron Cross?" advertizes the unselfish love of English nurses in contrast to domination. Yet the "Victoria Cross" was the highest British military honor for "acts of conspicuous bravery in the presence of the enemy." Even among women writers, there was clearly ambivalence with respect to autonomy and independence, or solubility and separateness.

In Cross's *Self and the Other* (1911), she returns to the East to explore the contrast between eastern altruism and western individualism. It seems clear that it is only the force of individualism in Cross's imagination that makes her construct an "Indian" perspective of altruism, individualism's mirror image. If we were to begin with the collective or whole rather than individual as the basic social unit, altruism would have no more place than egoism. In the first paragraph the student Francis Heath does "not hold with making friends, they are always far

more trouble than pleasure. I had one mistress and one friend … my mistress was knowledge and my friend was myself, the great Ego, and all other human affections and attachments I passed by as disturbing influences."[28] But then he meets an altruistic Indian nurse, Naranyah, and he begins to lose himself: "The Ego had woken with a struggle to find itself chained and helpless, bowed to the Will and Caprice of another" (58). She represents sympathy, feeling, helpfulness, while he represents Ego, cognition, thought. When they kiss the first time, "I was purified from my life of hateful self-concentration" (83). The novel contains Cross's signature moments of shocking sexual violence and diatribes against children, but in the end the male ego is ultimately subdued. Naranyah's "beauty taught me the great secret that religion tries in vain to teach, to ignore myself, to live wholly for another" (231). "Living with Naranyah hourly and momentarily was for me like a fanatic living under the physical and visible eyes of his God … In the close communion in which we lived gradually there became hardly any individuality, any privacy of thought" (231).

At nineteen, Naranyah sacrifices herself for Francis in the plague in Constantinople. He cuts his own throat as she dies, but he survives and returns to the Indian Civil Service, devoting himself to the State. He never smiles again; his room becomes a shrine to her; his epitaph is inscribed with hers on their mutual grave. The novel abounds with idealist references to the lover of Soul. The fetishism of the object, the devivification of that which threatens the self, the reorientation toward the State are closer to the literature of fascism than New Woman critics have recognized. The moral of unselfish love has much less force than the stark dichotomies of self and other, leaving the individual isolated and alone or utterly dissolved in service to the State.

## 2.2   The female aesthetes

If the New Women focussed on the establishment of autonomy, the struggle between men and women, self and other, the women writers called by Schaffer the "female aesthetes" explored interdependence aesthetically. Peter Brooker has suggested that Bloomsbury diverged from international modernist movements in its peculiarly British focus on personal relationships, especially cultivating gender diversity (Brooker, 167). Rosamund Marriott Watson and Alice Meynell's intense explorations of interdependence are much closer to Bloomsbury's self-conscious aestheticism than to Victorian fiction.

While women of all classes were moving into public- or work-space, male "designers" were beginning to colonize the home, displacing the less pretentious home decorators of an earlier era.[29] Some women responded to this commercialization of the domus with a formalist aesthetic as Aesthetic as the men's. Thus Rosamund Marriott Watson, who ran a fashion column in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, perfected the idea of woman as consumer, whose taste reflected her choices and preference. Marriott Watson, who also published poetry under the name of Graham R. Tomson from 1886 to 1894, referred exclusively to the form, not function, of women's wear, making no reference to the woman who might wear the garment, but only to its contrast of line and colour, turning the dress away from human wear and tear (and dirt) toward the functionlessness of sculpture: she refers not to the hem of the gown that trails on the ground but the *foot*, like a pedestal. Marriott Watson does not write as Ruskin or Mayhew had done, of textile and couture production in conditions of exploitation, but she rather aestheticizes with the timelessness of the mythic Orient: "[The] gown reminds you of Japan, of course, as all good decoration must" (Schaffer, 115). The woman of Taste must be able to interpret such distinctions, to "read" the garment and exercise judgment.

Even more parodically, Mariott Watson analyzed the *ascesis* (the much-praised aesthetic economy of discipline and restraint) of mourning as a "poetics of clothing," a Whistlerian palette of black, grey, lavender, and white, which, like the rigid rhyme-scheme of a sonnet, simultaneously confined and expressed great feeling. She analyzed formal mourning as "the poetry of sorrow" and embroidered the phrase as "the shadow of consolation in the language of variegated woollens" (Schaffer, 116), "that dawn of comfort (in heliotrope and grey) to which the deep night of sables has perforce to give place" (117). Like Symons's Symbolist poets, she interpreted broken patterns as expressing emotional fragmentation: the cloud of black skirt bewails the dead relative, while the silver-lined bodice rejoices in the legacy. Marriott Watson can express laughter between the tears because formal mourning is not about grief but the *performance* of grief. She uses aesthetic form to distance herself from the everyday woman's world of cleaning, clothing, and grieving.

Alice Meynell also employed the formal properties of art – meter and color – to aestheticize everyday life. An industrious woman, who nonetheless impressed everyone with her beauty, Meynell ran a literary and publishing partnership with her husband, raised seven children, and in the 1890s while serving the Catholic Revival also wrote a weekly

column for the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Here I want to distinguish between Marriott Watson's formalist distinctions of Taste that identified the discriminating individual and Meynell's more substantively ethical aesthetic.

In Meynell's "The Mother," from "Mary, the Mother of Jesus" (1912), she also analyzes an economy of self; a mother's love is an imperfect model of the self-less love that would, if it were perfect, be distributed through the multitude. "Self is not locked up in the maternal heart, there to be cherished, as it is by the egoist, or to be crushed and silenced as it is by the Saint. In the mother, self is not lost, but loses all its evil by the passionate personal love that distributes it among sons and daughters..."[30] "Incomplete in regard to the extent of the world and human kind" – that is, not yet universally transferable – maternal love "nonetheless passes down through her children's children, and thus finally are bound together the generations, the bundle of the living." This is what the Counter-Decadent Richard Le Gallienne meant when he perceived that "the onward movement of the world [was] embodied in women" (Schaffer, 24). Meynell observed in "The Mother" that while filial love pervaded French literature it was most reticent in British. Indeed, the reticence about love for the mother, she said, was "a matter of national self-approval," corroborating the stereotypes in Chapter 1 above of the British valorization of independence over French notions of autonomy.

"The Rhythm of Life" (1893) is a lyrical meditation on recurrence in the day to day repetitions in women's lives, in the cycles of reproduction and domesticity, in the metricality of disease. It begins with the high aesthetic pronouncement, "If life is not always poetical, it is at least metrical" (216). Life may not provide poetic justice, but at least it provides order. Meynell points out that while many peoples worship the sun and moon, many more worship just the moon, the moon's phases being "the symbol of the order of recurrence" (218), hence her name, The Measurer. The tragedy of life is that we acknowledge this order too late. And here Meynell's language becomes advisedly gendered. Men, in particular, are obtuse to the rhythms of human affairs:

> For man...is hardly aware of periodicity. The individual man either never learns it fully, or learns it late. And he learns it so late, because it is a matter of cumulative experience upon which cumulative evidence is long lacking. It is in the after part of each life that the law is learnt so definitely as to do away with the hope or fear of continuance.

That young sorrow comes so near to despair is a result of this young ignorance. So is the early hope of great achievement. Life seems so long, and its capacity so great, to one who knows nothing of all the intervals it needs must hold – intervals between aspirations, between actions, pauses as inevitable as the pauses of sleep. And life looks impossible to the young unfortunate, unaware of the inevitable and unfailing refreshment. It would be for their peace to learn that there is a tide in the affairs of men, in a sense more subtle … than the phrase was meant to contain. (218)

Only in the last sentence does Meynell reveal the law of continuous regeneration that has driven this reflection on periodicity – "The rhythmic pangs of maternity" (219) in which the intervals and pauses fortify and enable the desired birth. Thus the high aesthetic pronouncement is also highly feminine, a feminine aesthetic of rhythm and recurrence that comes from the day to day repetitions in lives with children, the elderly, and the ailing, the constitutive relationships of women's lives. It is a critique of linearity and progress as profound as the modernism of Woolf and Joyce.[31]

Meynell's "The Colour of Life" can compare with Tuke's paintings of boys bathing in Cornwall, Symonds's "In the Key of Blue," and Auden's "In Praise of Limestone," among the great aesthetic paeans to unheroic everyday life that counter more linear heroic ambitions. In "The Colour of Life" (1896) Meynell again vivifies a formal property, in this case color rather than rhythm. She opposes the red of bloodshed – of life violated – to the color of life:

Red has been praised for its nobility as the colour of life. But the true colour of life is not red. Red is the colour of violence, or of life broken open, edited, and published. Or if red is indeed the colour of life, it is so only on condition that it is not seen. Once fully visible, red is the colour of life violated, and in the act of betrayal and of waste. Red is the secret of life, and not the manifestation thereof. It is one of the things the value of which is secrecy, one of the talents that are to be hidden in a napkin. The true colour of life is the … modest colour of the unpublished blood. (219)

Meynell laments that "for months together London" cannot see the color of life for people go darkly covered, which introduces the London boy stripping down for an illicit dip in the Serpentine, whose nakedness

returns to off-season London the color of life: "At the stroke of eight he sheds … the hues of dust, soot, and fog, which are the colours the world has chosen for the clothing of its boys – and he makes … a bright and delicate flush between the grey-blue water and the grey-blue sky" (220). The passage shows the formalist dictinctions of the connoisseur as in Marriott Watson: the reduction of the boy to "figure" and the emergence of color and character through contrast and juxtaposition. The boy is so entirely aestheticized, so absorbed into the colors of the landscape, that we are surprised when Meynell suddenly gives him voice: "All the squalor is gone in a moment, kicked off with the second boot, and the child goes shouting to complete the landscape with the lacking colour of life. You are inclined to wonder that, even undressed, he still shouts with a Cockney accent" (220).

Vita Sackville-West said that few other women and certainly no man could have written Meynell's studies of childhood, and Sackville-West was noticeably impressed by Meynell's apparent ability to write with her children playing under her table (ibid., 18). Their proximity probably had something to do with Meynell's precise, as Sackville-West says, "unsentimental," record of children's feelings. As she returned to the aestheticized boy the Cockney voice, so she gave her literary children autonomy. "The Child of Tumult" concludes, accurately, "It is only in childhood that our race knows such physical abandonment to sorrow and tears as a child's despair; and the theatre with us must needs copy childhood if it would catch the note and action of a creature without hope" (ibid., 298). Many readers would agree, now many years after Freud, with her earliest judgment of Dickens: "Neither Hugo nor Eliot has written quite like Dickens, from within the boundaries of a child's nature, from a child's stage of progress, and without the preoccupation and attitude of older experiences" (298). Her own view, by contrast, is not within childhood but is rather that of the caring, observant, yet precise, unsentimental mother. Sally Shuttleworth has discussed how Meynell's *The Children* (1896) was ranked lowly as typical of "undirected observation" in the Victorian Child-Study movement, and categorized with collections of letters and artistic interpretations.[32] The highest ratings given by the scientific community were to their own direct experiments and statistical surveys.

Yet Meynell's aestheticism remains focussed on the living forms that give form to the art. In "In the Village of Oberammergau," she recounts an annual production of the mystery play in which the village's "most perfect man" plays Christ and then keeps his brown hair the length depicted by the painters as he goes about his daily work (288). She

writes that it is a pity that the Bavarians imitate the artistic traditions of Italy and that their art is so dependent on Raphael and Tintoretto, for their living production is superior. Watching the village theatricals she testifies: "There was a wild breeze in the mountains, and I saw the hair of Christ lifted, and His cincture fluttered. I saw His tired breast rise upon a breath" (289).

There has been a resurgence of interest in Meynell's poetry and prose in the last few decades, and especially since Schaffer.[33] While it re-values both Meynell's prose and poetry, composed during a period when the genres were productively mixing in prose-poems and aesthetic writing generally, it also deconstructs the mystique of this mother of eight, revered by Meredith and Patmore, editor of *Merry England*, and President of the Society of Women Journalists, so that the refined beauty, private woman, and aesthetic sensibility give way to the professional woman in Kensington, the seat of both commercial and political power at a time when the two were aligned in the modern metropolis.[34] While re-valuing the poetry, Ana Vadillo situates Meynell in the fashionable, authoritative, and feminine centre of department stores and consumer culture as a traveller on London transport, reflecting on the city from behind the safety of the train-window. As an Establishment-controlled social space, Kensington was also the home of Olive Schreiner, Katharine Tynan, Jean Ingelow, Mary Robinson, Violet Hunt, Marie Corelli, Clementine Anstruther-Thomson, and Vernon Lee, not to mention Henry James, Max Beerbohm, Frederick Leighton, John Everett Millais, Walter Pater, and Robert Browing; and Meynell's house was near its High Street, Kensington Gardens, and Bayswater Station. Attending to the aestheticism of Meynell's writing, Vadillo concludes that Meynell "does not enter the space of the city" in her writing, but "describes it from the outside as a detached, desensitised passenger" separated by "the transparent caesura" (from Michel de Certeau) of the train's window. I would emphasize, rather, the acute reflectiveness or self-reflection made possible by Meynell's detachment or distance. Yopie Prins depicts Meynell's self-overcoming of passion for a lost beloved in formal verse forms: "a formal relation that is but understood as a detachable form of intimacy; not her own passion, but a disciplined affect that produces passion as its effect" (*Fin-de-Siecle Poem*, 277). I see an intense self-consciousness of the dialectics of separateness and solubility as central to Meynell's psyche, to her communities at home and abroad, and to her art.

In her book *In Italy*, Venice represents a communal people, living in full view, without solitude or need. Unselfconscious as individuals, they are conscious only that they are "Venetians":

> None of their painters seems to be aware of that peculiar reserve, nor of the look they all wear as conscious Venetians. Theirs is the incomparable city; theirs is St. Mark's, grave and fantastic; theirs the Lombard tower, plain and joyful; theirs are the two columns seaward; theirs the Gothic tracery and the Renaissance rectangle, the whole distinction of the city and the isles, and they put on their ownership visibly…for them the square of little shops glows with the electric light, for them the band plays Wagner. Nowhere else may you see thus a great city in absolute self-possession. (242–3)

Venetians are self-possessed because all of them possess all of Venice. They have no need to envy or resent. Meynell remarks that Venice is the always rebuked city; it is not raised without rehearsing its pride and falls: Ruskin's "whore." Yet Meynell concludes her account with the opposite image of a Venice of working girls who keep the shops, canals, and streets tidy: "But, in fact, the rebuked city has innocent ways that would do any other city honour. Her streets are clean – the sea-streets and the stone. And much of this disregarded honour of Venice, and good report of her holiday and summer evenings, is to be ascribed to the young Venetians, those girls of dignity" (244). Venetian Girls are an external people, not individuals with interiority but always in groups, arm in arm, laughing or indifferent, but always taking pride in their city. Earlier, in the opening passages of the book, Meynell has contrasted the English proprietor whose view "shows nothing that is not his own…or a jock-in-the-green cottage with its poverty stifled in ornamental ivy" (233) with the Piedmontese dwellers for whom "Nothing is hidden except extreme sickness, birth and death…The villagers live outside their narrow doors, and their illnesses are brief. You cannot persuade them to keep to their beds until the eve of death" (ibid.). Italy's inhabited, self-possessed streets contrast with England's land of the manor and covered cottage: the whole people of externality, "drama," and the divided people of privacy, in-doors. Meynell's detached observation of the undetached Italians allows her to see the shame of British inequality.

Meynell also explicitly contrasts British men's embarrassment about domestic life with Italian men's appreciation, repeatedly referring

to the intimate dramas of Goldoni and Gallina. Just as her Venice is one of house-keeping rather than Doge and naval wills to power, the drama she praises is of cooks, housewives, and husbands. Yet, unsentimental, her most disturbing stories are of horrible domestic stress of shopkeepers she glimpses in "At a Station," whose suicidal despair she cannot help but see, and of the girl "Ippolita" who does not marry and is no longer a child, and who therefore has no role in the public drama of hegemonic Italian domesticity. The lack of solitude, the complete publicity, that she projects on to Italian life renders it "innocent" and "childish" to Meynell, who is thereby self-accused of the modern disease of privacy, interiority, and solitude, to which Britain has progressed.

She moves in and out of London's crowds and the degrees of separateness and solubility she has witnessed there ("Solitude" in *Landscape*). There is the "partaken solitude" of mother and newborn, the only, she says, shared solitude. There is the "absolute un-selfconsciousness of desert solitaries" who have no self. These she contrasts with the metropolitan absence of solitude: "If there is a look of human eyes that tells of perpetual loneliness, so there is also the familiar look that is the sign of perpetual crowds. It is the London expression; and, in its way, the Paris expression, a 'quickly caught, though not interested look'" (275). Meynell's detachment allows her to aestheticize the relationships of modernity, from our shared solitudes to the atomistic crowds of the metropolis.

## 2.3   Edith Lees: socialist individualist

Another writer on Edith Lees and women activists of her time has said that she chose them "not because they are particularly well known or influential, but as signs of the times, historical clues to the varied ways in which a particular kind of politics was lived."[35] Edith Lees (1861–1916), or Edith Mary Oldham, Mrs Havelock Ellis, was one of the founders of the Fellowship of the New Life and was closely involved with its cooperative boarding house, Fellowship House, in Bloomsbury 1891. Other members of the household included Lees's companion/servant Ellen Taylor, Agnes Henry, Sydney Olivier of the Colonial Office, and future Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. It was an experiment in collective living whose motto was "the cultivation of a perfect character."[36] Lees's novel *Attainment* (1909) dramatizes the difficulties they ran into over money, housework, and personal incompatibilities, after which Lees married another Fellow, the sexologist Havelock

Ellis, and then went to live in Moor Cottage at Carbis Bay near St Ives, Cornwall, where she turned her energies to writing.

In the collective prefatory materials to her *Stories and Essays* (1924), contemporaries remembered her as "the most tolerant person I have ever met": "Not from indifference … but from sheer width of human understanding – aptly symbolized by her eyes."[37] Charles Marriott, a neighbor in Cornwall, compares her with George Sand and "an imaginary spectator." In Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, the Imaginary Spectator was the normative regulator, the one whose sympathetic reactions to one's actions would assess their moral character and thereby teach one ethical norms. Marriott wrote of Lees, "Most of us who are at all self-conscious know the experience, when we have blundered in life, of an imaginary spectator, ironical, compassionate, or reproving, in the image of some acquaintance" (vii). Lees herself seems to have used her friends in a similar capacity. George Ives writes in the Preface to the second volume, "Forerunners," that "she discusses those personalities of the present who seemed to her the fore-runners of a coming future" (II, vi). Lees's own Preface says that she was writing unapologetically about her friends: Edward Carpenter was "a trusted friend for 25 years"; Olive Schreiner was another close friend "through my husband's life-long friendship for her." Havelock Ellis, another fore-runner, "has been an education in the matters always nearest to my heart" through over twenty-five years of marriage. James Hinton, the only one she did not know personally, "was a revelation as to what is possible, and not possible, in the coming relationships of life and love" (Preface n.p.). They each gave "without desire or hope of reward or even of understanding … as mothers give to their children" (Preface).

Havelock Ellis, who also wrote a prefatory note to each volume, says that the story "Dolores" (1899) was her earliest short story. It is notable for capturing the boredom of middle-class women. A bored wife finally persuades her superior workaholic husband to take her out to a Spanish dance-hall (he calls it a "low hole") for a night of sensation. The husband sympathetically reflects on his wife's moods and "thanked God he was not a woman" (I, 4). The story then triangulates the perspectives of the patronizing but sympathetic husband and the two women. The Spanish dancer Dolores "gave the lie to her name Our Lady of Sorrow" and "danced life into [the English woman's] tired brain" (13). The English woman and the dancer regard each other and "each felt in the others' look the inevitableness of her lot as a woman. No dancing for Dolores, no husband's care for Ju, could alter that" (17). The two women kiss and Ju is torn away by her husband, leaving the reader to reflect not on the

individuals so much as the spinning planets of personal relationship forming and reforming (see the Introduction above).

In "The Epistle of A Mother" Lees writes of the sensuous ecstasy of motherhood, though Ellis indicates in his preface that this was actually about two boys not her own but neighbors in Cornwall. She concludes by moving in with both "sons" and daughters-in-law on their invitation, for the boy sees "that a man's more maternal than he knows and a woman's motherhood is not a bit a cosy…but a kind of battle-axe weapon with a tiger" (46). Her friends tell her that their "domestic experiment is bound to end in disaster. But is not that what wise people always say of any new move?" (47). The keynote of Lees's short stories is the difficulty of relationships that are often cross-class and always gender-bending.

In *Attainment* Lees dissects the relationships of Fellowship House, only changing the names of her friends. A daughter in a very bourgeois family, Rachel moves from Cornwall to London to experience the great world. Leaving a father who is living vicariously through her (soluble/soluble), and a mother who is letting go (separative/separative), and accompanied by her servant Ann (separative/soluble), she finds missionary work in the slums until she meets a William Morris figure who tells her to read Marx and find her "real self" before she tries to be selfless for others (106–7). She turns from missionary Christianity to socialism and begins to distinguish "rank individualism" (141) from active individuals living interdependently with certain definite obligations. Further inspired by a visionary returned from the East, based on Lees's knowledge of the charismatic spiritual leader James Hinton, Rachel and fellow socialists, including a Kropotkin figure, begin to advocate "the freedom, the education, and the perfection of the individual" (158), now believing that "only internal reform will lead to external reform in the community" (159). Appealing to Goethe ("to live in the whole, the Good, and the beautiful" ) and Kant (that each should be an end in herself not a means to another's end), they found the Brotherhood of the Perfect Life, whose members have no servants, no titles, no unearned income, and no sex. What they have are Whitman's phrases on their notepaper.

For three years the Brotherhood muddles on: the middle-class members' attempts at manual labor are a cause of mirth for the former servants, who good naturedly choose to serve their cheerfully hapless erstwhile masters (see 196, 248). They increasingly settle into small groups of two or three to sort out their personal problems and dilemmas, most of which are romantic. The house becomes a

touchstone for countercultural appeals, from communist to temperance to nudist societies.

The two women do in fact get married when they return to Cornwall. Ann marries the farmer she had left and Rachel a comrade from London, but they sit overlooking the sea on an August night "beyond motion and beyond speech" (313). As discussed in the Introduction above, the novel has little plot, except the choices people make every day, and no epiphanies. It shows, however, a contrast between theory or planning and practice in the characters' co-existence, and in that it was a foil to the Fabian ambitions for the managed State that many of the Fellowship's peers advocated.[38] The characters serve as imaginary spectators for each other, and in many ways like good mothers as Meynell, the mother of seven, and Lees, the mother of none, conceived them: through sympathy regulating each other's actions into normativity.

Lees's other major experiments were with gender role reversals. In her fiction, these are less pronounced than in her sketches of her friends. Each "forerunner's" gender identifications are complex. Carpenter's "whole work shows the feminine as against the masculine voice of Whitman" (II, xvi), and he "has realized the truth that no occupation is a sex monopoly, but a chance for free choice, capability and division of labour" (5). Of Ellis, whose interest was in "this greatest modern problem – the problem of sex" (II, 30), she writes "It may interest those who believe in the emancipation of women to know that economically he and I have lived as the man and woman of the future will most certainly live – interdependent with regard to matters having to do with love, and independent in all things concerning money" (32). Elsewhere she called theirs a "semi-detached marriage," in which the wife was economically independent and had separate living space if not necessarily a separate household.[39] She writes of the excitement felt at the opening in London of Ibsen's *Doll's House* as "either the end of the world or the beginning of a new world for women … we almost cantered home" (41) – "we" being the radical and feminist circle of Dolly Radford, Schreiner, Eleanor Marx, Lees, and Mrs Holman Hunt. Oscar Wilde, another forerunner, she also classified as feminine (54).

Lees sees gender ambiguity as leading to demands for freedom, but freedom within constraint. Her ultimate calls are for self-control and responsibility toward the whole, sexual freedom for individuals but eugenics through education for the whole. "The individual's ethical right to self-assertion in love, and society's right to limit the self-assertion on behalf of the race" (II, 75) is her formulation in the essay on the Swedish feminist Ellen Key. "The first demand is based

upon the immense differences between individuals' erotic needs…The second demand follows the evolutionary birth of a new ethical principle – eugenics" (ibid). Like an imaginary spectator, Lees balances sexual freedom with rational reproduction: "Ellen Key thus demands not only a new moral freedom but a new understanding and limitation of that freedom" (76). Another of her "forerunners," the dramatist and healer Frederik van Eeden, also supported eugenics, but thought that it must come slowly through education and self-control (81). Van Eeden's project was "the transition from self to Self, from the temporal self to the Ego, the Eternal" (85). James Hinton was "literally obsessed by the problems of personal desire and social destitution" (13)…"the problem he set himelf to solve was how to combine personal love needs and universal love needs" (20). Similarly, Key wanted "the absorbed domestic mother to merge into the maternal stateswoman" (67). On the death of Schreiner's baby, Lees recalls that "her complex personality has found refuge in other channels, but the maternal in this woman anxious to serve the home and the larger home, the State, is very real and deep" (49). Throughout these forays into sexual freedom and reproductive restraint, Lees explains that her forerunners were all "experimenters" who themselves failed occasionally to live up to their ideals. Hinton's idealism was so attractive to women that some of them never forgave him for his inability to maintain individual relationships.

Throughout these writings of a socialist and feminist committed to the larger whole, Lees emphasizes individualism, especially in her forerunners. Stella Browne's "Memory" to volume II remarked on Lees's "individuality" (n.p.). Carpenter is "so individual a man…He is a true democrat, but he is almost aristocratic and certainly autocratic in his plea for serene individualism in democracy" (1, 4). Ju in "Dolores" has "strangely individual" hands (I, 1). Wilde is such an individualist that "His real pose would have been to imitate other men" (54). There was no contradiction between individualism and socialism. There was, however, a conflict between natural selection as competitive individualism and cooperation, a conflict which Lees identifies with gender. Carpenter, Wilde, and Hinton were "feminine" not because they acted effeminately, but because they took society and social relations, not the individual, as the basic unit of analysis. Personally, they also preferred the company of women, especially when it was non-instrumental, to the competitive world of men, selecting for productivity.

# 3
## Decadent Interiority and the Will

The modern roots of Decadence as a relationship of parts or extremities to the whole were in 1830s American Gothic and British Aestheticism. Edgar Allan Poe elevated disease, perversity, and decay to new heights of artistic expression. Although Poe's succcess in the United States was trivial until he was discovered by Charles Baudelaire, his perversity and Alfred Tennyson's celebrity – in the words of the latter's Ulysses "I am become a name" – were the two touchstones of decadence: the naturalistic uniqueness of the individual psyche and the recognition of modern "brand" or personal commodification that would be central to modern individualism. Baudelaire took up the first in *Les Fleurs du Mal*, censored by the French state in 1857, and the latter in the figure of the Dandy in *The Painter of Modern Life* (1863). He had begun translating Poe (culminating in 5 volumes) in 1848, and thereby turned from Romantic nature to more fragmented urban perspectives and personalities.

In his "Further Notes on Edgar Poe" (1857) – and it is significant that it is fragmented "Notes" rather than a complete *Life and Letters* – Baudelaire reappropriated the intentionally negative phrase of his critics, "a literature of decadence," in a revolutionary, affirmative way. He described a literary *progress* (ironically parodying the great theme of the age) from infancy, through childhood and adolescence, toward a mature decadence. He then asked why he should be blamed for "accomplishing the mysterious law" of progress and "rejoicing in our destiny." He figured the Decadence as a sunset, grand couturier, not a white light of Truth but a *son et lumière* of changing colors and perspectives.

> That sun which a few hours ago was crushing everything beneath the weight of its vertical, white light will soon be flooding the western horizon with varied colours. In the changing splendours of this

dying sun, some poetic minds will find new joys; they will discover dazzling colonnades, cascades of molten metal, a paradise of fire, a melancholy splendour. ... And the sunset will then appear to them as the marvellous allegory of a soul, imbued with life, going down beyond the horizon, with a magnificent wealth of thoughts and dreams.[1]

In "The Decadent movement in literature" (*Harper's*, Nov. 1893) and *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (1899), Arthur Symons divided the Decadence between the Symbolist poets Baudelaire and Mallarmé seeking the truth of appearance to the Soul and prose Impressionists such as Edmond and Jules Goncourt seeking the truth of appearance to the senses. Their qualities included an intense self-consciousness, restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement, spiritual and moral perversity. Decadence was "a disease," but nonetheless a disease of "truth", reflecting the scientific spirit of the age. In a backlash that would have epochal consequences for the artworld, the physician and writer Max Nordau in *Degeneration* (1893 in German, 1895 in English) used the same writers as exempla, adding Wilde and Friedrich Nietzsche for their egoism, Ibsen for his feminism, and Zola for his naturalism. Taking the disease literally, Nordau institutionalized the pathologization of the artworld that would progressively desublimate art in the twentieth century.[2] Culture could henceforth be attacked as an index of the social diseases of modernity. Specifically, health, muscularity, and masculinity, were opposed to a decadent, feminine Art.[3]

Decadent authors were allegedly too wedded to the aesthetic, i.e., to the part without critical distance on the whole. The more isolated the image or symbol, the clarity of depiction, the more it reflected the psyche of the beholder, and the more the individual monomania threatened perspective on the whole. In Poe's short story "Berenice" (1835), the protagonist turns his monocle on his own obsession, via his beloved victim's teeth: "Then came the full fury of my monomania, and I struggled in vain against its strange and irresistible influence. In the multiplied objects of the external world I had no thoughts but for the teeth. For these I longed with a frenzied desire ... They alone were present to the mental eye, and they, in their sole individuality, became the essence of my mental life."[4]

Modern Decadence was identified as the choice and fantasy of the individual psyche, detaching it from the social whole. Even when sexual obsession was the apparent cause of the decadence, as in so much literature on the subject, in the 1890s it was characteristically sex in

thought rather than in action: the dream of sexual freedom (as in Oscar Wilde"s "The Portrait of Mr. W.H." [1889]), or freedom from gender constraints, or freedom from reproduction (as in the New Woman literature). Tennyson's *Poems* of 1832, the poems of languor rather than politics – e.g., "The Lady of Shallott," "The Lotos-Eaters," and "The Palace of Art" – evoked a stance of Inaction that was later elaborated in Oscar Wilde's *Intentions* (1891) and in the American Ralph Cram's *The Decadent: the Gospel of Inaction* (1893). This state of reflection, obsession, or critique was the necessary component of Decadence, a gospel, as Cram put it, in an age of industry, of inaction.

In *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man* (1918), Thomas Mann invoked his own magisterial *Buddenbrooks* (1901) as describing the degeneration of a bourgeois way of life into the subjective-artistic.[5] For Mann, those born around 1870 were compelled into a decadence that could be described by the two faces of Nietzsche: Nietzsche *militans* and Nietzsche *triumphans.* Nietzsche *militans* was critical, psychological, post-Christian; but those who were then young would transcend the introspective moment and adopt Nietzsche *triumphans'* anti-Christian and anti-spiritual – in fact, traditionally aristocratic – notions of nobility, health, and beauty. They would have the "emancipatory will" to reject decadence and nihilism.

In W. B. Yeats's *Autobiographies: the Trembling of the Veil* (1922), Yeats captured the reflective quality of the Decadents that led them intently to criticize the Establishment, but, as Mann said, lent them equally the imaginative will to transcend it: "Why should men who spoke their opinions in low voices as though they feared to disturb the readers in some ancient library, and timidly as though they knew that all subjects had long since been explored…live lives of such disorder and seek to rediscover in verse the syntax of impulsive common life?"[6] Yeats accused them of too much introspection. He memorialized the young men of his youth as the "Tragic Generation" and their myths have lived on, so much so that recent critics have wondered whether their seedy glamor has obscured more worthy artists. Their artist Aubrey Beardsley of *The Yellow Book* died at 26; the psychological author Hubert Crackanthorpe at 31; the poets Ernest Dowson and Lionel Johnson at 32 and 35 respectively; John Davidson suicided at 51; and their brave publisher Leonard Smithers died of an overdose. Wilde, as essentially a "man of action" for Yeats, was exceptional among the Tragic Generation, and surpassed their rhyming in his mastery of many genres (society comedies, biblical spectacle, fiction, essays, prose poems, and poetry). Nonetheless he was dead at 46 after public humiliation and imprisonment, and most subsequent critics have included him among the heroes martyred to art.

Then in his naturalist phase, Joris-Karl Huysmans, the author of *A Rebours* (1884), the so-called "breviary of the Decadence" (Symons), biologized their self-destructive will: "it all comes down to syphilis in the end."[7] His decadent protagonist, Duc Jean Floressas des Esseintes, enjoys self-imposed isolation in order to construct highly personal canons of language, literature, clothing, and cosmetics. He has prepared a Black Feast, and in this, as in his canon-construction, he nods to Decadence in its classical sense of "coming after." Yet whereas the Roman Black Feast or funereal dinner was moralized as exposing the decadence of the guests or politicized as displaying the power of the host, i.e., as producing the *social* effects of cathartic pity and fear, Des Esseintes' invitations merely request spectators at "a funeral banquet in memory of the host's virility" (27). Whereas Black Feasts in Petronius, Seneca, Domitian, and Tacitus are all action and violence, in Huysmans they are all spectatorship and passivity. Des Esseintes chooses to go to London to experience Englishness, but turns back at the Channel. He can no longer even shit on his own, but administers self-applied enemas. Arthur Symons saw Huysmans as analyzing "the sterilising influence of a narrow and selfish conception of art, as he represented a particular paradise of art for art's sake turning inevitably into its corresponding hell. Des Esseintes is the symbol of all those who have tried to shut themselves in from the natural world, upon an artificial beauty which has no root there, worshipping colour, sound, perfume, for their own sakes, and not for their ministrations of a more divine beauty. He stupefies himself on the threshold of ecstasy."[8] I analyze Huysmans's lifelong search to reconcile part and whole, culminating in religious oblation, in the Appendix. Here we might argue, following John R. Reed in *Victorian Will*, that such inward retreats were a way for the mind to control its environment and thereby a manifestation of a solipsistic will.[9] In Huysmans, Decadence is also a category of Taste, the construction of a private canon or gesture that defines the self through its choices, as in Nietzsche's Hellenism or Pater's highly idiosyncratic Renaissance that reaches from twelfth-century France to eighteenth-century Germany. As in Wilde's astonishing lists in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) or "The Sphinx" (1894), these private canons often interpellated specific audiences, which interpellations annoyed the mass-oriented Nordau. Such milieux with their tastes and collective interiorities prefigured Huysmans's later transcendent searches for community (see Appendix).

Decadence was thus a pan-European and trans-Atlantic phenomenon that entailed a falling away from or a rejection that could also be a creative repudiation. In Baudelaire and Walter Pater it was overheard as a

dying fall or cadence. In Nietzsche, it was a negation of the status quo, or a transvaluation of values. In Wilde, it was a dandiacal strategy of self-differentiation. What is essential is the non-absolute value of this usage. Creative repudiation can mean creative destruction or war (Davidson) as easily as critique (Wilde, Nietzsche). Death can imply rebirth. As Baudelaire's figure suggested, the dominant organic metaphor of decay and degeneration could turn seamlessly into a cross-fertilized compost of amazing light and color. Decadence and Progress could be the same thing. It was in fact the United States rather than Old Europe that represented decadence for Baudelaire in 1857: "A nation begins in decadence and starts in fact where others end up…Young and old at one and the same time, America chatters and drivels away with astonishing volubility" ("Further Notes on Edgar Poe," 189).

## 3.1   Decadent interiority

"Progress and Decadence are interchangeable terms," wrote Clive Bell in *Civilisation: an Essay* (1928), in which the modern emphasis on individualism was both progressive and decadent (see Chapter 1 above). Yet by the *fin de siècle* increasing differentiation had threatened the integrity of the whole. Through most of the nineteenth century, *Reason* had meant the mind's ability to improve the world. Only toward its end and in the twentieth century did *rationality* come to mean an individual's chosen path to get what he or she wanted irrespective of the quality of the choice. The Good, the True, and the Beautiful as universal or collective consensus could give way to individual choice as taste, or mood, or lifestyle (Arnold's "Doing as One Likes").[10] The individual choice or preference could further be seen as monomania, as in Poe's *Berenice* or Wilde's *Dorian Gray* and *Salomé* (1893). Following Nisard and Paul Bourget, Ellis analyzed Decadence as when the individuation of parts led to the disintegration of the whole, and a Decadent style in literature as an anarchistic style in which everything was sacrificed to the development of the individual parts.[11] The poet Lionel Johnson refined further in 1891. In English literature, decadence described "an age of afterthought, of reflection. Hence come one great virtue, and one great vice: the virtue of much and careful meditation upon life, its emotions and its incidents: the vice of over subtlety and of affectation, when thought thinks upon itself, and when emotions become entangled with the consciousness of them."[12] The article was followed by Ernest Dowson's "Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae sub Regno Cynarae," in which the poet introspects on whether he has been faithful to his

lover, concluding that it depends on his own mind: "I have been faithful to thee, Cynara, in my fashion." Many, like Matthew Arnold in "On the Modern Element in Literature" (1869), followed Hegel and Schiller in worrying about the cost of this self-reflection in "a state of feeling unknown to less enlightened but perhaps healthier epochs – the feeling of depression and the feeling of ennui. Depression and ennui; these are the characteristics stamped on how many of the representative works of modern times."[13]

The emphasis on introspection made nerves, rather than the more Romantic-Victorian Senses, characterize the Decadence. If sensation as in Sensation fiction indicated the outside world coming in through the senses – sight, hearing, taste, and touch – then the nerves that preoccupied the Decadence pointed to the psyche inside coming out, imposing itself on the world. One of the period's customary figures is synaesthesia, when a stimulus applied in one modality produces a sensation in another, as when sound or scent produces a visualization or color. Synaesthesia is sensation filtered through the psyche, the inside coming out. The tortured John Davidson's alleged "ennui and hypochondria" were exacerbated by Gosse's poem "Neuraesthesia" in *Russet and Silver* (1894).[14]

The New Woman authors' emphasis on relatedness distinguished them from the isolation or independence of the male Decadents.[15] The latter were described by the philosopher Vernon Lee (Violet Paget) in her tale "The Virgin of the Seven Daggers" (1889), in which Lee parodies the male egoism of Don Juan. Here the independent hero-male can only be saved by the blessed mother, a model of interdependence. As in so much of the Decadence, the issue is not whether Don Juan sleeps with men or women, but whether he ever escapes his own mind to connect with others at all, the kind of mind that Pater called in the "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* (1893) "that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced ... keeping as a solitary prisoner its own dream of a world."[16] Modern literature is arguably the dialog between individual independence or separateness and interdependence with others, from Leopold Bloom's disintegration, to Molly's integration; from Eliot's solipsism in The *Waste Land* (1922) ("I have heard the key/ Turn in the door once and turn once only/ We think of the key, each in his prison,/ Thinking of the key"); to Ezra Pound's tragic conclusion to *The Cantos* (1969), "I cannot make it cohere"; to Gertrude Stein's intersubjective dyad in *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933).

## 3.2   The mirror and the (street)lamp: subjectivity and technology

In Thomas Hardy's early novel *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (1873), on church res-
toration in Cornwall, Hardy contrasts the village artificer in stone with
the London social atom: "In common with most rural mechanics, he
had too much individuality to be a typical 'working-man' – a resultant
of that beach-pebble attrition with his kind only to be experienced
in large towns, when metamorphoses the unit Self into a fraction of
the unit Class."[17] Hardy attributed the decline of individualism to the
reification of socio-economic class in the division of labor. Yet there
was an alternative tradition that saw urban divisions of labor as the
source of individual freedom. W. E. Henley used the division of labor
in his *In Hospital* (1888) and *London Types* (1898) to characterize the
diversity of types in London that distinguished them from what Marx
had called in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) the lack of differenti-
ation in the country, or "the idiocy of rural life." The *fin de siècle* saw
a series of volumes of poetry celebrating the multiplication of types in
London: Amy Levy's *A London Plane-Tree* (1889); Henley's *In Hospital*,
*London Voluntaries* (1893) and *London Types*; Lawrence Binyon's series
of *London Visions* (1896 and 1899); Ernest Rhys's *A London Rose* (1894);
John Davidson's *Fleet Street Eclogues* (1893); and Arthur Symons's
*London Nights* (1895). Henley used these types' class-based idioms in
dramatic lyrics and monologues; throughout the 1890s he also com-
piled and edited a dictionary of *Slang and Its Analogues* (1890–1904), a
groundbreaking work in lexicography, using language to differentiate
the geography of the metropolis.

Yet the Literature of the Pavement, as Arthur Machen and others called
it, remained as much about interiority as interpersonal exchanges. In
"Jenny" (1881), Dante Gabriel Rossetti's persona began by objectifying
the street-walker ("Lazy, laughing languid Jenny/ Fond of a kiss and
fond of a guinea"), but ended objectifying himself ("And must I mock
you to the last/ Ashamed of my own Shame – aghast").[18] There is a
noirish line in *De Profundis* (1897), Wilde' long letter to Alfred Douglas
from prison, that objectifies Wilde's comparable self-scrutiny and self-
contempt, when he reflects on the way that he and Douglas, after having
flaunted bourgeois morality, appealed to bourgeois law in conversations
with their solicitors: "when in the ghastly glare of a bleak room you
and I would sit with serious faces telling serious lies to a bald man."[19]
In Arthur Symons' "White Heliotrope" (1897), the couple regard each

other through their mutual self-absorption (that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced):

> The mirror that has sucked your face
> Into its secret deep of deeps,
> And there mysteriously keeps
> Forgotten memories of grace;
> And you, half dressed and half awake,
> Your slant eyes strangely watching me,
> And I, who watch you drowsily,
> With eyes that, having slept not, ache.

In Symons' "Stella Maris" (1897), the "Juliet of a night" whose "heart holds many a Romeo" is matched only by the speaker who has "sought on many a breast/ The ecstacy of love's unrest." He does not even know why he recalls her, she being but a serial lover, "neither first nor last of all." Yet, unlike Eliot's awful daring of a moment's surrender that an age of prudence can never retract, Symons does not repent with North American Puritan shame but endlessly repeats in his mind the anonymous pleasures:[20]

> Child, I remember, and can tell
> One night we loved each other well,
> And one night's love, at least or most,
> Is not so small a thing to boast...
> That joy was ours, we passed it by,
> You have forgotten me, and I ...
> Won an instant from oblivion.

The division of labor that produced diversity of type also produced regularity, reproduction of type, and mechanical rhythms of subjectivity, the repetition of obsession as opposed to Meynell's natural rhythms of life in Chapter 2 above. The sexual promiscuity so celebrated in the 1890s induced the ennui of the mechanical lover – the "love-machine" – of Swinburne's "Faustine" (1862).[21] In Swinburne's "Triumph of Time" (1866), life is wrung dry as a wafer, and broken as bread, but no body and no blood is transubstantiated, just offered up in obsessively metrical sacrifice of self to lover:

> I had wrung life dry for your lips to drink,
> Broken it up for your daily bread:
> Body for body and blood for blood,

> As the flow of the full sea risen to flood
> That yearns and trembles before it sink,
> I had given, and lain down for you, glad and dead.

The second generation Arts and Craftsmaster John Paul Cooper perceived the mechanical rhythms of modern life as threats to the movement's individualism: "art is intuition and intuition is individuality, and individuality can never be repeated."[22] The duality of Progress (later called the Dialectic of Enlightenment) was epitomized in the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens. "*Citius*, *altius*, *fortiu*s," – faster, higher, stronger – the motto signified a European dream of individual perfection through perfect competition, Spencer's idea of progress. Yet as the means – perfect competition – were mechanized, the end result was the Taylorization of the athlete. F. W. Taylor began his career in sport, and Taylorism culminated in the "totalization of sport," in which wealthy nations produced athletes through sophisticated and expensive technical intervention. Henning Eichberg has studied the "Anthropology Days" of the 1904 Olympics, which pitted indigenous peoples against one another with the consequence that they failed to prove themselves competitive.[23]

The rapid interface of technologies and subjectivities characterizes the period: the rise of the giant corporation, mass production, and mass consumption; the development and distribution of electrical energy (see Richard Le Gallienne's "iron lilies of the Strand" in "Ballad of London" [1895], in which the metropolis is the "Great City of Midnight Sun", not for its northern lights but for its streetlamps); aviation and motor vehicles (see Davidson's "ever-muttering, prisoned storm/ the heart of London beating warm" ["London," 1894]); the emergence of mass politics, mass media, and mass sport, by way of which the body of ordinary people, denoted as "the masses", was growing into a major participant in public affairs, popular culture, and leisure activities; the birth of quantum mechanics, relativity physics, and the beginning of the systematic study of genetics.[24] In his extensive work on Victorian mass media, Patrick Brantlinger has written of the flourishing of sociological theory between 1880 and 1914: Ferdinand Tonnies's analysis of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, Emile Durkheim's of "anomie" and suicide, Georg Simmel's of the marketplace and exchange, Vilfredo Pareto's of elites versus masses.[25]

These developments and analyses revealed the division of labor that both individuated and reproduced types, that brought freedom as well as anomie and bureaucracy. They offered individuals unprecedented

scope and choice, so that progress was toward individualism. However, the same techniques, as Hardy had said, tended to mechanize, routinize, massify. As crowd psychology grew, Sigmund Freud's *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930) turned Spencer on his head. Freud, who it is increasingly clear should be recognized with Nietzsche as one of the two key philosophers of Decadence, feared that Individualism, as a socio-biological drive toward self-assertion, would be overwhelmed. All progress and civilization were away from individualism toward the herd or mass (see Chapter 1 above).

Yet with their constant attention to interiority/exteriority, the mirror and the lamp, their continuous reflection on self and other's mutual effects, *fin-de-siècle* writers were trying to create less polarized social forms. Durkheim (1858–1917) was at this time theorizing the irreducibility of societies, the idea that social systems, customs, languages and "group emotions" exist outside individual consciousness, on which they have an effect greater than the mere sum of the effects of other individuals.[26] In much of this literature we find Durkheimian moments when in the streets of London or in the bedroom they achieve a solidarity or isotropy based not in I:It or Us:Them (as in mass sport) but rather in the subjectivity of "us." They find a group interiority that is the self-conscious result of organisms transforming and being transformed by environment.

For example, Yvonne Kapp distinguished Edward Aveling's rebelliousness and resentment (class hatred) from a socialism that is moved by sympathy and the amelioration of misery and injustice. She calls Aveling an anarchic individualist and egotist. Eleanor Marx's "amour-propre," on the other hand, was invested in her service, not her ego.[27] When Marx began to cohabit with Aveling, a married man, she wrote to all her friends so that they need not be exposed to embarrassment. She wrote to Dollie Radford and Edith Nesbit that she had "a power very strongly developed of seeing things from the 'other side'" (vol. II, p. 16). Her last defense of Aveling before killing herself with the prussic acid he may have bought for her was a letter to her half-brother (Karl Marx's illegitimate son) Freddy Demuth. In that letter she explained that moral disease like Aveling's was, like physical disease, incomprehensible to the healthy, but for that reason the healthy were enjoined to compensate for it:

> I do see more and more that wrong doing is just a moral disease, and the morally healthy (like yourself [i.e., Demuth]) are not fit to judge of the condition of the morally diseased. Just as the physically

healthy person can hardly realise the condition of the physically diseased.

In some a certain *moral* sense is wanting, just as some are deaf, or have bad sight, or are otherwise unhealthy. And I begin to understand that one has no more right to blame the one disease than the other. We must try and cure, and, if no cure is possible, do our best. (vol. II, 688)

Eleanor Marx and others at the *fin de siècle* felt a sense of compensatory wholeness or solubility in which the deficiencies of one could be compensated by another: to each according to need, from each according to ability.[28] What is striking in Eleanor Marx's formulation to Demuth out of the depths of her personal anguish is that the economic program has also become a psychological program. They achieved this group interiority without public confessionalism on the one hand or Bloomsbury exclusivity (Us:Them) on the other, but rather through practical engagement, in Marx's case with socialism, in Lees's with cooperatives, and in Symons's with the pavement and music-hall.

## 3.3   John Davidson's philosophical anthropology

In his 1772 *Essay on the Origin of Language*, Gottfried Herder laid the groundwork for a philosophical anthropology that we are only now beginning to appreciate in empirical terms.[29] Herder associated the under-specialization of the human organism and its relative physical weakness – what Nietzsche would call its "unfinished" state – with its capacity for enhanced directed attention. Where other animals had more acute sensory perception, for example, humans were no longer at the beck and call of any particular "natural" frequency. Humans are weaker, slower, less insulated but also more "detached" from any particular natural context. A consequence of this unfinished "human condition" is both a condition of possibility (of our "humanity") and a basis of a new kind of need. What is lost in the human organism in the way of a precise and powerful coupling with a particular natural environment can, but also must, be compensated for by other means. For Herder, language and culture are both enabled and required as such compensation: particular contingent "folk" forms of life that give particular form, shape, style, normative substance, and anchor to our existence.[30] Herder was not in a position to elucidate the organismic basis of human detachment and its socio-cultural compensation, that is, the molecular, cellular, developmental, physiological, and neurological bases that we

are beginning to understand. And, polarized into narrowly preformationist, social-evolutionary camps on one side and narrowly culturalist, ethnographic practices on the other, anthropology since has not sustained an adequate dialog between the natural and human sciences. Yet such a dialog is commencing with our recognition of the under-determination of the developmental niche in which genes (biology) and environment co-evolve. And such a dialogue is still audible in John Davidson's uses of Engels, Aveling, Haeckel, and Darwinian biology in his poetry.

Holbrook Jackson devoted an entire chapter to Davidson in *The 1890s*, claiming that "The 1890s had no more remarkable mind and no more distinctive poet than John Davidson" (215):[31] "As early as 1888, [Davidson was] concerned about something new in art, something elastic enough to contain a big expression of modernity ... which in John Davidson more than in any other British writer of the time was more than half reminiscent of the classical Greek sense of eternal conflict, but without the Greeks' resignation" (221). Jackson sees Davidson's contribution as "sympathy with pain" (226) and remarks upon Davidson's vision of life as "matter seeking ever finer and more effective manifestations," finding its "will in poetry, above all, in English blank verse" (227).[32] Jackson concludes of Davidson's *Testaments* that "You lay these later works down baffled and unconvinced, but reverent before the courage and honesty of a mind valiantly beating itself to distraction against the locked and barred door of an unknown and perhaps non-existent reality" (233). The "reality" was a consistently materialist one that philosophical anthropologists since Herder and Schopenhauer have tried to understand: the co-evolution of Nature and humankind.

The son of a Scots evangelical minister, Davidson became one of the most outspoken philosophical materialists of the age. His life was shattered between metaphysical ambitions and a Kantian sense of duty toward his wife and two sons, which kept him continuously on the edge of the abyss (his customary figure) of abject poverty.[33] Davidson's empathy with the Darwinian struggle evolved as an unflinching materialism that saw itself as a will to power as knowledge. In his dramatic monologue "Testament of a Vivisector" (1901), heavily influenced by Schopenhauer, Darwin, and Nietzsche's ideas of will via Havelock Ellis, the protagonist has been abandoned by wife and children and pursues his trade in rapt isolation, his monomania obscuring all larger social and ethical relations.[34] The vivisector sees carving up living creatures as the "zest" of scientific inquiry: matter is "thought achieved,

unconscious will" (11, 13, passim). The desire to escape from it is "matter warring with itself" (15), the dialectics of nature, of Enlightenment. Initially he "began to hew the living flesh,/ I seemed to seek…The mitigation of disease" (16). He soon begins to "study pain" (22, 23) for its own sake, until there is only pain, pain as knowledge, whether in the heat of the sun or the contractions of maternity. Davidson does not perceive Meynell's dulcet rhythms of recurrence but the creative destructions of Will to knowledge. This is the end of the "Testament of a Vivisector":

> To the Materialist there is no Unknown;
> All, all is Matter. Pain? I am one ache –
> But never when I work; there Matter wins!
> And I believe that they who delve the soil,
> Who reap the grain, who dig and smelt the ore,
> The girl who plucks a rose, the sweetest voice
> That thrills the air with sound, give Matter pain:
> Think you the sun is happy in his flames,
> Or that the cooling earth no anguish feels,
> Nor quails from her contraction? Rather say,
> The systems, constellations, galaxies
> That strew the ethereal waste are whirling there
> In agony unutterable. Pain?
> It may be Matter in itself is pain,
> Sweetened in sexual love that so mankind,
> The medium of Matter's consciousness,
> May never cease to know – the stolid bent
> Of Matter, the infinite vanity
> Of the Universe, being evermore
> Self-Knowledge.

>                                    (25–7)

In the primordial soup of the spinning universe all creation implies detachment, which causes pain, compensated by sexual love. Davidson followed the "Vivisector" with "Testament of a Man Forbid" (1901), a dramatic monologue of an iconoclast cast out from human society who finds strength to endure in the natural world. The last line, after many that were acknowledged by commentators to be of exceptional poetic beauty, was "The cliffed escarpment ends in stormclad strength," (ibid. Testament II, 29). "Testament of an Empire-Builder" (1902) begins with a Parable, "A Protagonist came into the market-place, and began to sing

songs that had not been sung before" (Testament III, 7), for which he is killed. The Testament proper is a vision of Heaven and Hell as Britain and its empire, showing the dependence of the English Heaven on the Hell it has produced for the rest of the world, and concludes that the Empire-Builder is "tenfold a criminal" (80).

> No other name for Hastings, Clive, and me!**\***
> I broke your slothful dream of folded wings,
> Of work achieved and empire circumscribed,
> Dispelled the treacherous flatteries of peace,
> And thrust upon you in your dull despite
> The one thing needful, half a continent
> Of habitable land! The English Hell
> For ever crowds upon the English Heaven.
> Secure your birthright; set the world at naught;
> Confront your fate; regard the naked deed;
> Enlarge your Hell; preserve it in repair;
> Only a splendid Hell keeps Heaven fair.
>
> (81)

In debates with Kantians, Davidson argued that behind appearance/ phenomena was irony, and this is the irony of empire. He also wrote that "My Testaments are addressed to those who are willing to place all ideas in the crucible and who are not afraid to fathom what is subconscious in themselves and others" (Testament I). The *Testaments* were widely and almost uniformly positively reviewed with respect to Davidson's strengths as a poet, even when reviewers were shocked or baffled by his philosophy. The terms are respectful: "sincerity," "courage," "individuality," "authenticity" of voice.

Davidson's last *Testament* was sufficiently authentic that it was entitled "The Testament of John Davidson" and published the year before his suicide off a cliffed escarpment in Penzance. Its Dedication was addressed to the House of Lords; begins with diatribes against women's suffrage, property rights, and socialism; and conceives of the English as Overmen. Its thesis is that there is no Other World, only matter raised to self-consciousness in humankind, which in the poem will be represented by himself, Davidson, the first new Man. The Prologue is an epithalamion called "Honeymoon," in beautiful verse on lovers rising in a natural setting. The Testament proper begins with a splendid account of matter

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**\*** Hastings and Clive were governors of India.

in the heavens; once the narrator (or Protagonist) descends, it becomes a cross between the scope and drama of Wagner's *Gotterdammerung* and the intimate individuality of Nietzsche''s *Zarathustra*.

> For men must still descend to earth to die.
> "None should outlive his power,"
> I said. "Who kills himself subdues the conqueror of Kings:
> Exempt from death is he who takes his life:
> My time has come."
>
> (46)

He continues with suicidal self-assertion:

> By my own will alone
> The ethereal substance, which I am, attained,
> And now by my own sovereign will, forgoes,
> Self-consciousness; and thus are men supreme:
> No other living thing can chose to die.

The alternative is growing old and losing power:

> Clystered and drenched and dieted and drugged;
> Or hateful victim of senility,
> Toothless and like an infant checked and schooled.
>
> (47)

(Davidson's suicide note spoke of cancer, though no evidence has been found that he had cancer.) Speculating that when he dies "the Universe shall cease to know itself" (50), he undergoes a sublime moment on the mountain top with the Virgin Goddess. He and she conjoin in operatic agons/arias on the conflict between Gods and Men. He recounts his defeat of Apollo – her brother – singing of "bisexual electrons" (96). The magnetism of the Universe is natural and sexual selection. He invokes Darwin:

> Thus did I sing the greatest miracle,
> The origin of species … and showed the God …
> Sex, from the ether strained
> As lightning, male and female, first and last
> Delimitation of eternity:
> Immaculate, discarnate, twofold sex,
> Electrons …
>
> (100)

He sings to the Goddess of evolution through detachment, metabolism, and increasing individuation:

> Wherein the ether lightened into life
> Organical ...
> Bacterial ...
> That sped through differentiation, changed
> Environment and series manifold,
> By natural selection and sexual
> Into the rose, the oak-tree and the vine,
> And into men and women.
>
>                                                    (101)

He explains to her that men project the Gods from their own feelings and emotions; and then the Goddess tells her story ("Silent noon in Arcady..."), when the Olympian Gods were defeated by the monotonous Jehovah. When she wonders why she alone had survived, for Athena was also a virgin, John Davidson replies that, unlike her, Athena represented merely the sterility of thought. She was

> A sexless one;
> Not from Jove's loins, but from his head she sprang:
> When the end came she was the first to fade.
>
>                                                    (117)

He rejects idealism for materialism, persuades the Goddess to give up her virginity, they make passionate love and then die and descend to the Hell of the Gods, from which Davidson alone returns to "cohabitate with Eternity" (142). The Testament concludes with an Epilogue, "The Last Journey," which is brief and lyrical, calming after the passions.

The effect of the poem, a suicide aria, is more uplifting than its Wagnerian cast of characters would suggest. This is largely due to the conviction of the science of bouncing electrons, swirling galaxies, lush vegetation, human and vegetable fecundity representing an organic continuity of Nature and human kind, a philosophical anthropology.[35] In a poem enacting the Kantian sublime, Davidson is both dissolved and, in the cosmic combat, individuated.

## 3.4   The biological will

Davidson's persona in the dramatic monologue "Thirty Bob A Week" (1894) anticipated not just T. S. Eliot's Prufrock, Sweeney, Gerontian,

and masses of clerks pouring over London Bridge in the *The Waste Land*, but also Joyce's demotic *Ulysses: a Day in the Life of Dublin* (1922). Eliot wrote of the poem's "complete fitness of content and idiom," while the clerk questions the fitness of survival on thirty bob a week (about £100/$150 per week at today's values): his ironic "Pillar'd Halls" is "half let"; his wife and he cough to cover up the sound of their lovemaking to the children. He is self-divided by "the devils" of class hatred and right-eous rage, on the one side, and "the simpletons" of self-loathing and self-contempt, on the other (92). Too experienced in the school of hard knocks to believe in Progress, but too proud to believe in social deter-minism, the clerk opts for individual will and Spencerian "survival of the fittest" ("complete fitness of content and idiom"):

> And it's this way that I make it out to be:
> No fathers, mothers, countries, climates – none;
> Not Adam was responsible for me,
> Nor society, nor systems, nary one:
> A little sleeping seed, I woke – I did, indeed –
> A million years before the blooming sun.
>
> I woke because I thought the time had come;
> Beyond my will there was no other cause ...
>
> I was the love that chose my mother out;
> I joined two lives and from the union burst;
> My weakness and my strength without a doubt
> Are mine alone for ever from the first.[36]

This is voluntarism with a self-hating vengeance, an insistence on independence not just from society and parents but at the level of the sperm.

   Yet while the clerk's class has adopted this Smilesian self-help verging on Nietzschean will at its most separatist – "that no one has given man his qualities, neither God, nor society, nor his parents and ances-tors...there is no being that could be held responsible for the fact that anyone exists at all, that anyone is thus and thus, that anyone was born in certain circumstances, in a certain environment" (Nietzsche)[37] – his is no paean to Progress. Consumed with resentment, he knows that there is no reason on the part of his class for Reason, that there is nothing "proper" – his own – or fitting about his life on thirty bob a week. The poem concludes with a mere mechanical struggle for sur-vival, as pointless and doomed as the trenches would be for the next

generation, by which time Davidson will have thrown himself off the cliffs at Penzance.

> It's a naked child against a hungry wolf;
> It's a playing bowls upon a splitting wreck;
> It's walking on a string across a gulf
> With millstones fore-and-aft about your neck;
> But the thing is daily done by many and many a one;
> And we fall, face forward, fighting, on the deck.

The idea of Will as biological, like the force that drives the plant to grow or the cancer to spread or the species to multiply, joined science and society. It derived from the *Naturphilosophie* of Friedrich Schelling and became a full-blown vitalism, or philosophy of the will, in the early years of the nineteenth century with Marie-François-Pierre Maine de Biran. The followers of Mesmer considered it the faculty that controlled universal energy.

In the most thorough study to date, the 500-page *Victorian Will*, John R. Reed does not discuss this biological dimension of will that had been so much a part of European philosophy.[38] Focussing on free will and determinism, Reed concludes that the difference between Romantic and Victorian poets lies in a constriction from expanding circles of possibility to Kantian autonomy and self-discipline. Achieving the Sublime – the reassertion of self after its dissolution (as in *Testament of John Davidson*) – or the world-historical ambitions of the Victorians at home and abroad (see Davidson's "Testament of an Empire-Builder") required exceptional strength of will. This could either be a personal *ascesis*, as assertion of autonomy over one's "lesser" passions and emotions, or what some today call governmentality, the internal self-regulation disposing one toward large social systems (see Chapter 5 below). I would like to supplement Reed's understanding of Victorian will as self-control by way of late Victorian organicism, to recapture the biological dimension of will.

Davidson's literary influences were Arthur Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. For Schopenhauer, inspired by Buddhism, the will was an ultimately meaningless striving for survival throughout nature. Because will is the fundamental metaphysical principle, our lives are dominated by willing, and consequently filled with struggle, conflict, and dissatisfaction. Human suffering is only given respite by art and only eliminated by the cessation of desire. The desperate quality of will in Schopenhauer and the reduction of will to desire in *The World as Will and Idea* (1819)

are due to his emphasis on its manifestation in the individual body, and frequently in the individual sexual body. The individual becomes one through his identity with his body, and desire or will is always located in this individual body: "I call the body the objectivity of the will.…It is called pain when an impression is opposed to the will and pleasure when it is in accordance with the will. Pain and pleasure are immediate affectations of the will in its manifestation, the body."[39] In chapter XLIV "On the Metaphysics of Sexual Love," choice is no more than reproductive choice.

> The state of being in love, though it may pose as ethereal, is rooted in the sexual impulse alone; indeed, it is only a more closely determined, specialised, and individualised sexual impulse. With this firmly in mind we will consider the important part played by sexual love in all its degrees and nuances, not only on the stage and in novels, but in the real world.…The ultimate purpose behind all love-affairs…really is more important than all other purpose in human life, and is hence entirely worthy of the profound seriousness with which everyone pursues it. For what is decided by this means is nothing less than the *composition of the next generation*…Just as the being, the *existentia*, of these future people is conditioned by our sexual impulse generally, so their nature, *essentia*, is entirely conditioned by individual choice in the gratification of the impulse, that is, by sexual love, and is in every respect irrevocably determined by this. This is the key. (vol. III, 340, author's italics)

What presents itself to individual consciousness as sexual impulse is "simply the will to life" (III, 341) in what Schopenhauer calls the "greatest" and "truest" of all "purposes" and "choices," the creation of "the individual personalities of the next generation" (III, 342). As if parodying Foucault's revelation of sex as Truth, Schopenhauer's will amounts to the post-Goethean biologization of Romanticism:

> Can there, indeed, of all the purposes on earth, be any which is greater or more important? It alone corresponds to the depth with which passionate love is felt, to the seriousness with which it presents itself, the importance which it attributes even to the trifling details of its own time and place. Only in so far as this purpose is assumed to be the true one, do the difficulties, the endless exertions and annoyances endured for the attainment of the love-object, seem appropriate. For it is the future generation, in all of its *individual determinateness*, that

is struggling into existence by means of those efforts and exertions. This future generation is already astir in that wary, *specific and capricious choice* made to satisfy the sexual impulse – *the choice which we call love*. (III, 342, my italics)

This "will to live of the *new individual*" is what makes sense of Davidson's "I was the love that chose my mother out;/ I joined two lives and from the union burst": "From the moment when their eyes first meet with longing," writes Schopenhauer, "this new life is kindled, and it announces itself as a future *individuality*, harmoniously and well integrated. They feel the longing for an actual union and fusion into a *single being*…In this child the qualities passed on by both parents are fused and united in one being, and so they will live on" (III, 343, my italics).

It was this individualism located in the wilful sexual body that Nietzsche and then Freud – not to mention D. H. Lawrence – took from Schopenhauer, and it was this element that accounts for their pessimism. Nietzsche followed Schopenhauer, via Darwin, in seeing the body as the objectivity of the will. The soul, he said, was only a word for something about the body, and the body is a configuration of natural forces and processes. Nietzsche's world ceaselessly organizes and reorganizes itself as the fundamental disposition, the will to power, gives rise to successive arrays of power relationship. (Again, see Davidson's "Testament of an Empire-Builder," where the kingdom of loquacious beasts' refrain is "Man overcomes.")

In Nietzsche's philosophical anthropology ("the gay science" of the 1880s), he asked what kind of creatures we are at home – at home in both diverse cultures and in nature. Given our natural and cultural constitutions, what has the unfinished human animal become through history? He worked out the relationship of individual body to society in his notes published in 1901 as *The Will to Power*.[40] In "The Will to Power in Nature" (Book III, Part II), he denies necessity, cause and effect, in favor of "dynamic quanta in a relation of tension to all other dynamic quanta: their essence lies in their relation to all other quanta, in their 'effect' upon each other. The will to power is not a being nor a becoming but a 'pathos,' an occasion, event, a suffering" (Ibid., par. 635, p. 339). His idea is that "every specific body strives to become master over all space and to extend its force, but it continually encounters similar efforts on the part of other bodies and ends by coming to an arrangement (union) with those sufficiently related to it. They thus conspire together for power" (ibid. par. 636, p. 340). In Book III, Part III, "The Will to Power as Society and Individual," Nietzsche struggles with a dialectic

of individual who sometimes wants freedom, or power to, and other times wants domination, or power over. For example, Individualism is merely a modest and unconscious form of the "will to power" because it only liberates the individual from the overpowering domination by society: it does not liberate him as a person (par. 784, p. 411). Socialism is merely a means of agitation employed by individualism: one must organize collectively in order to attain power. But what it desires is not a social order as such but a means for making possible many individuals. "One desires freedom so long as one does not possess power. Once one does possess it, one desires to overpower; if one cannot do that (if one is still too weak to do so), one desires "justice," i.e., equal power" (par. 784, p. 412). While Nietzsche was inconsistent in whether the desired power was enabling or dominating, he was consistent on the biological dimension of will in a fully historical (materialist) ontology.

In recent research on the history of psychology, Daniel Pick considers Nietzschean philosophy beyond his scope; however, surveying the primary psychological literature on identity during the period he does include the biological dimension of Victorian will.[41] Pick contends that between the career launches of the two Vienna-based doctors Franz Anton Mesmer in the 1780s and Sigmund Freud in the 1880s the Mills' vista of mental autonomy, with the independent, rational subject of Bentham, came under intense skepticism. A tradition of biological determinism informed positivist criminology and psychiatry after 1870 and threatened the idea that the social deviant could be considered as a self-possessed individual. Mesmerism, which potentially implicated all subjects, healthy or sick, led to further doubts about mental autonomy. In a tradition that extends from Mesmer through Braid, Charcot, Bernheim, Tardé, to Freud, the rational self began to be undermined via evolutionary naturalism and degenerationism. Alongside research into atavism and savage survivals from the past, and hypnotic enslavement, slowly emerged a preoccupation with the irrational peculiarities of normal psychic life. Unconscious memory, somnambulism, and multiple personality posed challenges to the notion of the autonomous self.[42]

Investigators described modern pathologies of body and will. After Mesmer, it was sometimes argued that powerful magnetic and electrical forces literally ran through the body of the leader to the followers. While the magnetic theory of fascination declined, interest in the activity that might flow from such inter-subjective influences gathered force. Where did rational persuasion cease and subliminal sway begin? Fred Kaplan exhaustively covered the popularity of mesmerism at mid-century in *Dickens and Mesmerism* (1975) and Pick calls Dickens's last

novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* (1870) "a story of drugs and dependency, fascination and repulsion, in which invisible psychic forces ride roughshod over the power of individual intentions" (ibid.). Pick cites some of the most popular novels of the *fin de siècle* as evidence of interest in the problem of influence and attenuated or weak will: *A Rebours* (1884), *Jekyll and Hyde* (1886), *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891), *Trilby* (1894), and *Dracula* (1897).

Having initially held Spencerian notions of an inevitably progressive moral will, Doctor Henry Maudsley in *Body and Will* (1883) seemed to lose confidence in the rational will: "Only by a close objective study of the unconscious operations of thought-generating organic matter shall we ever attend at the birth of thought," he argued.[43] In the highly influential *Diseases of the Will*, Théodule Ribot (Professor at the Collège de France) began such a taxonomy of volitional pathology: wills rendered useless from outside or inside, incapacitated through torpor or other people, through heredity and environment, through inexplicable states of psychic paralysis. Trying to disaggregate normal from pathological fields, he found maladies of the conscious will throughout everyday life.

The meticulous, even obsessive, transcriptions and analyses that did not distinguish between health and disease defined empirical science and its literary offshoot Naturalism. Indeed it was this lack of distinction between health and disease as both equally the subject of knowledge that made progress and decadence, or, in scientific terms, evolution and Degeneration, interchangeable. Brian Stableford, who has collected the most extreme literature of Decadence, sees syphilis as the key cause of the movement, as many of its writers suffered and died from the disease. For Stableford, where most saw health and Progress the Decadents saw disease, which they clinically, or, in literary terms, Naturalistically, described. They were thus the forerunners of the pathology of everyday life of Freudian psychology.[44] The most extreme Decadent literature aestheticizes the nervousness of dying as an intense form of living, as in Davidson, and as knowledge itself. There was only matter, and the highest form of it was self-consciousness through self-expression.

In this way, vitalism or philosophy of the will at the *fin de siècle* linked the European philosophical tradition from Fichte to Sartre. While all animals are "objects-in-themselves," humans are also "objects-for-themselves," self-conscious; while other animals have essences (the spider spins, the bee hives) humans are contingent, they have choice, they are thrown by their unfinishedness into freedom.

Davidson's clerk, consumed with resentment and driven by this will to power, was a familiar type in the period. Asserting his independence and self-reliance to the point of indominability, he is kin to the protagonist of W. E. Henley's poem "I[n] M[emoriam] R. T. Hamilton Bruce," popularly known as "Invictus" (the Unconquerable).

<div align="center">

Invictus
Out of the night that covers me,
Black as the Pit from pole to pole,
I thank whatever gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears
Looms but the Horror of the shade,
And yet the menace of the years
Finds, and shall find, me unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate,
How charged with punishments the scroll,
I am the master of my fate:
I am the captain of my soul.

(*In Hospital,* 1888)

</div>

"Invictus" was made familiar to contemporary US audiences by antigovernment mass murderer, career security guard, and decorated war hero Timothy McVeigh, who read part of the poem out at his public execution at thirty-three years old. McVeigh admitted to bombing the Murrah Federal Building 19 April 1995 in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and injuring more than 500. Before the atrocity, McVeigh traveled from state to state preaching against the government who he felt were depriving the militia movement of their rights and weapons, extinguishing by slow degrees the Will of the Founding Fathers in the Constitution. McVeigh was a sociopath of a peculiarly late-twentieth-century kind: abstract and calculating in thought, and media- or celebrity-seeking in intent. He allegedly referred to the children whom he had blown apart in the government building as "collateral damage" and told his biographers that he had chosen the Murrah Building "because its location would provide excellent camera angles for media coverage."[45] What he

shared with Davidson's fictional clerk was a rage for independence and an indomitable will of his own, and the resentment that proves one's inescapable interdependence.

## 3.5　Social will

Today in contemporary philosophy, the will is a faculty or set of abilities that yields the mental events involved in initiating action. Typically seen in terms of individualism as in Rational Choice theory, we also have ways to analyze political or collective will in political psychology; behaviour mobilization and participation; advertising and public opinion; electoral reform and direct democracy; and the role of affect and emotions in politics and political scandal.

The Victorians were equally eager to contextualize and collectivize the will, to explore those Durkheimian group interiorities that made for mass resentment and hysteria as well as solidarity and progress. The will existed in each individual person, but also collectively, in society, and could operate through the group or species. Debates about will were increasingly to be cross-referenced to diagnoses of national character and the health of nations, as always with the Victorians, ambiguous or speculative in the degree to which national will was biological ("racial") or cultural. In the most notoriously inspiring of nineteenth-century political idealisms, "To the Italians" (1871), the unificationist Guiseppe Mazzini had called up "the free and enlightened consent of the governed, and the power of directing the national life and making it fruitful."[46] Post-unification, Cesare Lombroso argued that the modern state was threatened by a criminal breed whose actions were driven by the force of their own atavistic natures. In the cases of "born criminals," mind was but the expression of the body, and actions followed from the endowment of the past. In "Nationality" (1862), Acton used the notion of will to unify multinational states. Refuting racist politics in "What is a Nation?" (1882), Ernest Renan also claimed that there was something stronger than race or nation: will. Nations, Renan reminded his adversaries, were, like titles and great fortunes, as founded on forgetting the past ("oblivion") as on what was held in common. In the founding document of modern Zionism, *The Jewish State* (1896), Theodor Herzl defined the collective personality of Jews as the nation who willed to endure and who used its external enemies and "its two thousand years of appalling suffering" to feed its will.[47] As late as 1959 in *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon employed the notion of a "will to liberty" to describe what was expressed in the third phase

of national consciousness, specifically in its "literature of combat." In Fanon's Hegelian formulation, "it is a literature of combat because it assumes responsibility, and because it is the will to liberty expressed in terms of time and space."[48]

The articulation and mobilization of social will was analyzed in terms of part to whole, not only in the national, multinational, class, and racial groupings above, or Millian representative democracy, but also in their literatures. Ortwin de Graef, Dirk de Geest, and Eveline Vanfraussen have described fascist literature's premise as the palingenesis of a territorially established political entity, rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the morally bankrupt state and its decadent culture.[49] The fascist author is the exemplary incarnation of the People – the expresson of the People's will – against capitalist and individualist modernity, parliamentary democracy, misguided technology, rampant urbanization, commercialism and internationalism. This author is virile, dynamic, self-contained but not self-absorbed. Leading authority on fascism Robert O. Paxton has argued that although the restoration of a threatened patriarchy comes close to being a – if not the – universal fascist value, fascism cannot be understood as an ideology.[50] Unlike scriptural- or doctrinal-based ideologies, the incoherence of fascist doctrine does not seem to be a problem for its adherents. "Being in accord with basic scriptures simply does not seem to matter to fascist leaders, who claim to incarnate the national destiny in their physical persons. Feelings propel fascism more than thought does." Fascism, that is, is a social physiology rather than an ideology, an expression of the mood, or Will, of the people.[51] With this description we can see how precariously poised were most of the literary movements of the early twentieth century between national interiority and a range of internationalisms.

The Irish Literary Renaissance countered a materialistic and global Englishness by way of a chthonic Irish literature and theater, including models of heroic will, epic vision, classlessness, and emotion connected with the land. Kasturi Chaudhuri has compared Yeats's antipolitical nationalism with that of Rabindranath Tagore, who "valued the inner life or soul of the people" more than the political *concept* of the nation.[52] This comparative context may be developed in relation to the European concept of the *Volk.*

Scott Ashley has contextualized the morbidity of the European Decadence with the postcolonial decline of the Atlantic "Celtic Fringe."[53] Edward Tylor's anthropology after 1871, Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth* (1884), and James Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1890) linked the decimation of Ireland and other colonial peoples to Degeneration

at home (see Stevenson's *The Beach of Falesá* [1892] and *In the South Seas* [1896], which were parallel to his planned but unwritten work *The Transformation of the Scottish Highlands*). Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, Wales and Brittany had suffered depopulation, famine, and linguistic persecution since the late eighteenth century. Cornwall, still clinging to the last relics of its language in 1700, had seen it bleed to death with remarkable rapidity by 1800. By the 1890s Irish, Gaelic, Breton, Welsh, and Manx were with good evidence being described as dying languages by both their champions and their detractors, and during the last decades of the nineteenth century several attempts were made to reverse the rapid erosion of Celtic speakers, the most famous of which was the founding of the Gaelic League in 1893. Yet despite these institutional efforts, all non-native speaker revivals were posited on images of decay and death. Hence the Irish Literary Renaissance is also known as the Celtic Twilight.

Collecting ballads and folklore in Brittany from rural laborers and artisans marginalized by industrialization at the *fin de siècle*, Anatole Le Braz talked of the "songs turned to sighs." In 1896, Elisabeth and William Sharp, creators of the Hebridean peasant-visionary "Fiona Macleod," published *Lyra Celtica: an Anthology of Representative Celtic Poetry*, which duly inspired the pan-Celtic vision of W. B. Yeats, John Millington Synge, and Augusta Gregory. Consistent with the Symbolist roots of his early poetry, Yeats saw in the everyday existence of the people symbols to move Ireland to action. Synge invested much of his adult life studying Irish in Dublin and Paris, spending part of his summers among Irish speakers on Aran (1898–1902) and in the Kerry Gaeltacht and the Blasket Islands (1903–5). He was initially disappointed by the triviality of indigenous *parole* rather than what he had anticipated as "the real spirit of the island." Yet witnessing mourners at a funeral, he came to understand, as Samuel Beckett would with a vengeance, that "talk of the daily trifles veils them from the terror of the world": "In this cry of pain the inner consciousness of the people seems to lay itself bare for an instant" (Ashley, "Atlantic Celtic", 191). What Synge heard in the indigenous peoples was a tragic vision comparable to that in the Greek myths of the wild Peloponnesus. And so it was to tragedy that the Irish Renaissance returned: the inward-looking soul of a people expressed in song against Weber's mechanized iron cage.

British writers also explored the will in terms of ethnicity and internationalism. William Morris and Edward Carpenter expressed in the 1880s ethnic ecologies replete with icons of priapic labor and desire for the laboring body of the proletariat. But there were two crucial

distinctions between the Morris/Carpenter vision and the German Volk's. The first was not gendered: the virile body in service of protecting others was ultimately chivalric, aristocratic, rather than mass, and it was equally accessible to women: as with Yeats's and Lady Gregory's Cathleen ni Houlihan (Ireland), women in Morris are as virile as the men, and men are as protective of the weak as are women. And, second, it was labor that constituted the transformative power of the biological will in Morris and Carpenter, not the sterile reflective thought – the scientific will to knowledge – that drove the Vivisector and Nietzsche himself to destruction, nor the desperate sexuality that drove Schopenhauer. The laboring body in Morris and Carpenter is more akin to the maternal figures in Meynell than the rigid Freikorps soldier-male, terrified of absorption in the mass even while his identity is only in the armored millipede of the phalanx. Creative labor, like "the pangs of labor" in childbirth, remains physiological in Morris and Carpenter. Morris claimed that he felt a warmth in his tummy when he saw a beautiful piece of work; and see Carpenter's outdoor bathing, writing in a shed outdoors, sandals, sustainable clothing, and the rest. The duality of local and global was crystallized in Morris's socialist romance *Pilgrims of Hope* (1885; see Chapter 5 below), in which voice and speech uniting the generations is breathed from the virile bodies of father and mother, and the folk (in this case the French *Communards*) are poised between the beloved soil and the socialist International. While these physiological expressions of the will of the people countered sterile idealisms, they were also double-edged. The followers of Carpenter and Morris, like John Hargrave's Kibbo Kift and its descendents in the Woodcraft Fold (see Leslie Paul's *The Child and the Race* [1926] and *Angry Young Man* [1951]), viewed western civilization as a disease and the simple green utopia and indigenous peoples as the cure. Like their European counterparts, they tended toward fascism.

Finally, the choice between decadent interiority or openness to connection was illustrated by the forced migrations to London of the unemployed from the provinces. The Spencerian Individualists (see Chapter 1 above) defined Energy of Will as self-originating force, "the soul of every great character," and the basis of the self-governing state. Along with the political philosophers who made up the Individualists were the clerks themselves, who rejected Davidson's and Dostoevsky's combative and resentful clerks, Forster's Leonard Bast, or Eliot's massified hordes going to work over London Bridge. Submerged in the mass, they worked well and taught themselves. According to Jonathan Rose in *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001),

the authors of so many clerks' autobiographies "were not isolated or alienated: they depict themselves as part of a large and lively community of philosopher-accountants."[54] W. J. Brown, who worked in a room with 200 other boy clerks, described their vitality at work such that their bodies worked mechanically, "unconsciously," while they employed their consciousness in a will to collective knowledge.

> I had the elementary schoolboy's love of crowds, the slum kid's love of the prolific life of the mass. And here I was back in the mass. ... There was no rule against talking, and as, after a while, the work itself could be done mechanically, without engaging more than a fraction of one's conscious mind, conversation went on all day long. Two hundred boys, coming from many different parts of the country, freely intermingling, exchanging experiences and ideas with each other, can act as a tremendous educational force one upon the other. We discussed, argued, and disputed interminably; approving, questioning and debating every proposition under the sun, and in the process adding enormously to our stock of ideas and knowledge. (407)

Far from Eliot's city of faceless masses, London offered these office workers unequaled scope for identity and liberty precisely because they were anonymous. V. W. Garratt, migrating to London from Birmingham after World War I, found that the city's crowds stimulated individuality by giving poor men access to art, literature, music, and independence not available in the village:

> From the moment I entered [London] it became my spiritual home. The splendid paradox of sharing its surging life and law and order, with a fuller sense of one's individuality and freedom than is to be gained in the smallest village, give it an atmosphere from which no provincial visitor can ever escape. ... Individuality can spread its plumage without public restraint and you can as well stand on your head in the Strand as use it to express an opinion without the danger of having it knocked off. (Rose, 411)

These individualist autodidacts thriving in the metropolis saw the North American modernists as deracinated, imitating hypersophisticated European decadents. Admirers of Wilde like F. Holland Day and Ralph Cram in New England educated boys at Day's farm Little Good Harbour in the ways of European culture, a paideuma that produced the author of *The Prophet* (1923) Kahlil Gibran. Yet Richard Church

(b. 1893), the son of a postal carrier, raised and educated in South London, judged their modernist style the "dreadful self-consciousness of so many *deraciné* Americans, aping the hyper-civilized European decadent. [It] has always given me the sensation of being in the presence of death, of flowers withered because the plant has been torn from its taproot in a native soil. Even the novels of Henry James have for me this desiccated atrophy, unsimple and pretentious" (Rose, 416). These are the people whom Eliot, Forster, Davidson, and James himself in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886) reduced to their function in the division of labor.

When working-class autodidacts like Aneuran Bevan did fear the "abominable brutality of the majority" (Rose, 423) that would overrun individual dignity they turned to A. R. Orage's *New Age* and the Modernist journal *The Egoist: an Individualist Review*. They responded enthusiastically to Nietzsche and the Uruguayan philosopher José Enriqué Rodo, who combined economic egalitarianism with intellectual elitism. Edwin Muir (b. 1887) wrote: "The idea of a transvaluation of all values intoxicated me with a feeling of false power. I, a poor clerk in a beer-bottling factory, adopted the creed of aristocracy, and happy until now to be an Orkney man somewhat lost in Glasgow, I began to regard myself somewhat tentatively as a 'good European'" (Rose, 428). We shall turn to these "good Europeans" in the final chapter. From the separateness of emerging national literatures/mother-tongues to the rival solubilities of economic globalization and socialist internationalism, the will of the people expressed itself by turning inward to ethnicity or outward to larger relationships.

# 4
# The Unclassed and the Non-Christian Roots of Philanthropy[1]

> Why do I love these better than pictures, and with a more than fine-art feeling? Because on the roads, among such scenes, between the hedge-rows and by the river, I find the wanderers who properly inhabit not the houses but the scene, not a part but the whole. These are the gypsies, who live like the birds and hares, not of the house-born or the town-bred, but free and at home only with nature.
>
> (Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Gypsies*, 1882)

> In one little public-house parlor [near Sheffield] was that curious atmosphere of democracy which is utterly free from philanthropy, patronage, or snobbery. "I go in and out accepted" is as true of Carpenter as of Whitman.
>
> (Edith Lees [Mrs Havelock Ellis], "Edward Carpenter", II, 8)

John Davidson was a great admirer of the novelist George Gissing, who has come down to us as the novelist of *réssentiment*.[2] Davidson's resentful clerk in "Thirty Bob A Week" (1894) could have been a character in Gissing. Beginning with an altruistic mission, to cure disease, Davidson's Vivisector soon became the opposite of the philanthropist: the deranged scientist in pursuit of knowledge at any price. In *The Whirlpool*, partly inspired by Davidson's life – the painful waste of urban poverty whirling in unutterable agony but sweetened in sexual love – Gissing is more closely allied to the Decadence than we often think, his Netherworld of London slums as infernal as Davidson's tortured cosmos.

Gissing's abiding status as, in his own term, Unclassed, marks the life torn between the Fine and the Good. The Fine is the domain of good literature, good art, and good Taste that Gissing is attracted to in the 1890s novels *The Emancipated*, *New Grub Street*, *Born in Exile*, *The Odd Women*, *The Whirlpoo*l, and culminating in *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* of 1903. The Good is the world of just social and gender relations that was absent in the novels of the 1880s: *Workers in the Dawn*, *The Unclassed*, *Demos*, *Thyrza*, and *The Nether World*. The Fine and the Good come into conflict whenever Gissing and his readers are so repelled by the human products of immiseration and exploitation that their disgust prevents their sympathy, and then when their disgust and lack of sympathy lead to guilt and self-condemnation. Bernard Shaw similarly expressed self-disgust and self-condemnation in "The Economic Basis of Socialism" in the *Fabian Essays*. Like Gissing, he is less concerned here with the economic interdependence of rich and poor than with their ethical psychodrama, the socio-psychological *impossibility* of separation:

> The more you degrade the workers, robbing them of all artistic enjoyment, and all chance of respect and admiration from their fellows, the more you throw them back, reckless, on the one pleasure and the one human tie left to them – the gratification of their instinct for producing fresh supplies of men. ... [T]hey breed like rabbits; and their poverty breeds filth, ugliness, dishonesty, disease, obscenity, drunkenness, and murder. In the midst of the riches which their labor piles up for you, their misery rises up too and stifles you. You withdraw in disgust to the other end of the town from them; you appoint special carriages on your railways and special seats in your churches and theaters for them; you set your life apart from theirs by every class barrier you can devise; and yet they swarm about you still: your face gets stamped with your habitual loathing and suspicion of them; your ears get so filled with the language of the vilest of them that you break into it when you lose your self-control; they poison your life as remorselessly as you have sacrificed theirs heartlessly. You begin to believe intensely in the devil. Then comes the terror of their revolting; the drilling and arming of bodies of them to keep down the rest; the prison, the hospital, paroxysms of frantic coercion, followed by paroxysms of frantic charity. And in the meantime, the population continues to increase.[3]

Here, in 1889, Shaw was still promoting "artistic enjoyment" for the workers. Cultural philanthropy, or the bringing of art to the working,

or in some novels, "lower" classes, was a late Victorian negotiation between ethics, our conduct toward others, and aesthetics, which especially in this period indicated sensuous human activity that gave pleasure for its own sake. The Unclassed were those whose Tastes were at odds with their environments but who nevertheless felt called upon to attempt the negotiation. While different models of philanthropy informed Gissing's fiction, including some of the charity organizations in the metropolis that provided models for his philanthropic characters, this chapter strays beyond the paths of General Booth (Salvation Army) and Octavia Hill (Ruskinian tenant estates), in fact to some of the stranger Establishment figures in Victorian philanthropy: those who were called to contribute to *cultural* philanthropy. Before turning to the case of Charles Godfrey Leland, however, I shall establish the milieu he rejected.

## 4.1   Victorian cultural philanthropy: people making people, and some people making things

In *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (2003), Lauren Goodlad studies the "paradox" of Victorian philanthropy, the planned building of character in a liberal nation of self-reliant individuals.[4] This chapter supplements this well-traveled road of autonomous character-building versus bureaucracy and social engineering with a study of cultural philanthropy. The cultural philanthropists brought arts and crafts to the poor. As with any philanthropic movement, the questions we must ask – and I think the questions that the Victorians actually did ask – of the purveyors of philanthropy are these: What are they making – people or products? If people, are they making other people or themselves? If other people, are they making them to be autonomous, free, ends in themselves, or means to one's own end, one's reflected glory? In the case of cultural philanthropy's "recreative learning", a person was to be formed through the production of a product. That was Ruskin's, Marx's, Morris's and Gissing's great insight, the link between form, forming, and in some cases de-formation. This productive process was as true of the philanthropists themselves as it was of those under their pastorship.

   In concluding one of her articles on the Home Arts and Industries Association (HAIA), Anne Anderson justifies the organization whose mission was to bring art to the poor as "a vocation for educated women whose lives would have otherwise been 'unproductive'."[5] Anderson's work on the HAIA, and Diana Maltz's on the Kyrle,[6] allow us to

rethink the term "productive." "Unproductive" was frequently used to describe the HAIA by Arts and Crafts members. William Morris's biographer J. W. Mackail wrote that Associations like the HAIA "had been formed chiefly by the energy or caprice of individuals. Some of them were direct attempts at following the teaching of Ruskin. Others represented a mixture of charity and patronage, and their only effect was to multiply the production of amateur incompetency ... on the whole they were of little value either as productive or as educational agencies" (Anderson, 317). Mackail's terms suggest a socialist craftsman's indictment of individualistic voluntarism: caprice, individuals, amateur, incompetence, value, productive, agency. His notion of productivity is based on the production of objects of a certain quality made by organized/collective labor. In the counter-ideology of his time, voluntarism was linked with individualism. In philosophy voluntarism is the ability to act according to one's own will, self-dependently, not determined by external cause. If Goodlad's paradox was Victorian pastorship of autonomous individuals, the seeming paradox of cultural philanthropy was that its agents were voluntaristic or autonomous individuals while its recipients were part of their mission. Art education and appreciation were taught not only to civilize or subjugate the working classes but, more idealistically, to teach them to be free themselves, as the teachers were free – that is, free within constraints. In this case the characteristically bourgeois constraints included self-regulation and social duty. As Anderson says, Art allowed the upper classes to discharge their social obligations. She cites Arnold Toynbee's view that the middle and upper classes had sinned against the poor by "offering charity not justice" and that it was their duty "to devote our lives to your service" (312). This view was the basis of Ruskinian paternalism as critiqued by Wilde in "The Soul of Man under Socialism": Wilde said, "Charity creates a multitude of sins," and "The Poor should either steal or go on the rates, which is considered by many to be a form of stealing."[7]

The most idealistic view was that the working classes were evolving. The working classes would grow more mobile, more rational, more able to acquire and conserve property, even the beautiful property that was eeked out of the HAIA workshops. They would also feel the freedom that their economic conditions obscured. According to Walter Besant: "No life can be wholly unhappy which is cheered by the power of playing an instrument, dancing, painting, carving, modelling, singing ... It is not necessary to do these things so well as to be able to live by them, but every man who practises one of these arts is during his work drawn out of himself and away from the bad conditions of his life."[8] Later on,

in *Civilisation* (1928), Clive Bell would also claim that the working-class pupil who may never return to leisure or freedom in her life would nonetheless be sustained by the "glimpse of paradise" that reading at school could offer.[9] (And see Henry James's *Princess Casamassima* (1886) for a thought-experiment on this premise. It fails: the working-class protagonist commits suicide.) Besant praised the "great voluntary movement of the present day: It is the noblest thing the world has ever seen" (Anderson, "Society and Social Duty", 316).

The issue of cultural philanthropy is self in relation to other with respect to possession of the good things of the world: it is by definition an ethical relation. The Kyrle were fundamentally urban, with branches in the capital, Birmingham, Bristol, Leicester, and Nottingham, and its members predominantly professional artists and architects. The HAIA were essentially rural and dominated by the landed elite. Both provided designs for the amateurs to execute; both were concerned with social regeneration, the HAIA particularly committed to stemming the depopulation of the countryside. The Kyrle were always solicitous for funds, blaming the Society's genteel unobtrusiveness for its lack of support (it folded after the death of Octavia in Hill in 1912). The HAIA had less trouble getting subscriptions. The goal of both, said Mrs Eglantyne Jebb, the founder of the HAIA, was "to bring the joy and innocent recreation of art … into the people's lives, a splendid and priceless gift from the rich to the poor" (Anderson, "Victoria's Daughters", 13).

The HAIA, in Jebb's account, evolved from an earlier confederation known as the Cottage Arts Association. This smaller society had about forty classes in various parts of the country and it was the success of these classes that led to the formation of the HAIA. According to Jebb, writing in 1885, the Association began "through the efforts of a few individuals who, in different parts of the country, held classes on Saturday afternoons for teaching handwork of a recreative description to working boys" (Anderson, "High society", 321). Tuition, first given to "provide a useful occupation for winter evenings" (331) and a small extra income – which might have been better provided by raising wages – began by sending occasional beautiful objects home, making goods for personal enjoyment, and then developed into a cottage industry, which revitalized local economies. Anderson sees the doctrine of self-help in action, not only for the working participants but especially for "the way that art was used to legitimize the actions of women and to widen their own boundaries." The benefits to the provider, in her view, "outweighed those of the recipients, allowing the upper echelons of society to claim their place as good citizens" (14).

We begin to see here a differentiation between the philanthropic women's work as the production of selves, and Mackail's men's work as the production of product, which tension focusses the dialog between socialist Arts and Crafts, which produced beautiful objects and labor politics,[10] and women's philanthropy, which produced women's autonomy and beautiful Souls. The list of the Committee of the HAIA show the selves the women produced, including five Souls, the elite group that managed so much of the political and art world at the *fin de siècle*: the Countess Brownlow, the Countess Cowper, the Lady Elizabeth Cust, the Countess of Pembroke, and the Hon. Mrs Percy Wyndham.

Ian Fletcher, who taught many of the best critics of the *fin de siècle*, was in love with the Souls as the apex of Aestheticism: flower maidens, he called them, lost in timeless reverie, as though part of the design of an oriental carpet. "Not since the Heian world of Japan in the tenth century, and not for a long time to come, is such a circle likely once more to cohere…. For twenty years the women moved, part of society, yet superior to it; the men were continuously and conspicuously in government, but their male children in particular were shadowed by their splendid mothers."[11] Yet fuller studies of the Souls reveal the tensions of the women's splendid self-development in relation to their families. For all their altruism in the HAIA, the Soul Mothers killed their children with their kindness, never bestowing on them autonomy, never seeing them as ends in themselves. Their boys learned duty to family, school, college, country, and never learned to differentiate themselves for themselves, until the last mass they submerged themselves in was the War. "Well, if Armageddon is *on*," said Rupert Brooke laconically to J. D. Squire in August 1914, "I suppose one should be there" – as if it were one of their mother's garden parties. The private sensibility and public urbanity that constituted the Souls' ethic is captured by the Secretary of State George Wyndham's phrase that he possessed a "power to bring happiness and their hearts' desire to those I am fond of. I have that power because I have no great wishes for myself."[12] Thus Hugo Charteris of the Elcho family could write home after his younger brother was mowed down in the trenches, "The only sound thing is to hope the best for one's country and to expect absolutely nothing for oneself in the future" (ibid., 210). The Soul Fathers wanted nothing for themselves for they had everything already; the Soul Mothers basked in the reflected glory of their sons; the sons died to a man in the trenches, publicly out of duty to country but in fact out of habit to their families. It was the soldiers' sweet acquiescence as sacrificial victim, not as masculine victor, that made one of the first

reviewers of Wilfred Owen write that their "sacrificial love passes the love of women."[13]

The list of HAIA VIPs indicates how seamlessly they negotiated the making of beautiful artefacts, the making of working-class artisans, and the making of themselves as society's guardian angels, or Souls. In addition to the Souls, the list includes among other patrons of art and philanthropy Alexandra, Princess of Wales and later Queen, Maurice B. Adams (architect for Bedford Park), Eustace Balfour of Holland Park, Joseph Comyns Carr (Director of the Grosvenor Gallery), Sidney Colvin (Keeper of Prints at the British Museum), T. C. Horsfall (organizer of public arts exhibitions in Manchester), Frederick Leighton (President of the Royal Academy of Art and the Kyrle Society), E. J. Poynter (PRA), Lady Stanley of Alderley (philanthropist), G. F. Watts (artist), and the Countess of Warwick (exhibitor).

With such extensive networks of patrons and a mission of cross-class exchange, Art and Design and other outlets of cultural philanthropy exhibited predictably diverse motives. Questions arising in the most recent research ask whether cultural philanthropists offered vocational training or a liberal education, applied or high art, recreation or Taste?[14] Recreation is an action of a builder or maker, and its result is a product or object for use; Taste is a capacity that distinguishes its bearer, and its result is a certain kind of person. Were particular philanthropists offering working people vocations or cultivating in them middle-class Taste? Henry Cole established a training School (1852–73) and introduced the language of Goals and Targets, culminating in the famous Payments by Results, or what we call today Performance-related pay, whose object is productivity and product. Edward Bird supported fine arts ateliers for the industrial workforce, whose object was the elevation of Taste. G. F. Watts's refusal to individuate in his painting (see Chapter 1 above) was matched by Mary Seton Watts forbidding the Compton Potters' Art Guild to carve signatures on their churches, supporting her idea of socialist anonymity. In work on the East End Missions, Meaghan Clarke has traced informal ethnography in museums as the upper classes viewed the lower classes viewing the pictures.[15] One clear function of philanthropy was social voyeurism as the classes learned to negotiate differences in tastes and responsibilities. The ethos of the New Education promoted by the Kyrle and the HAIA was to learn by doing, and the philanthropists themselves were doing just that: learning. As the HAIA came to be more centralized in London, it turned away from the liberal ideals of educating children toward disciplined vocational training. Jebb left

and her co-founder Charles Godfrey Leland went to study Gypsies in Eastern Europe.

That is to say that one of London's pillars of philanthropy abandoned the institutional apparatus to study Gypsies in Eastern Europe. Who was Charles Godfrey Leland?[16] One of the Unclassed figures of the Victorian Establishment – in Gissing's sense of those, like himself, whose tastes and sentiments were incongruous with their environments, those who were torn between the Fine (aesthetics) and the good (ethics) – the case of Leland illustrates the strange tastes of these Unclassed as they commingled with outcasts. We now turn to some of the less explored springs of Victorian philanthropic action.

## 4.2   Gypsy lorists: the non-Christian roots of philanthropy

Charles Godfrey Leland was born in Quaker Philadelphia[17] in 1824, the son of a rich commission merchant in the family that had settled Massachusetts, and, as well as being a distinguished charity organizer and educationist, was a master of folklore, student and friend of gypsies, and of Italian witches. Raised by Irish and black servants who taught him fairy lore and Voodoo, and evidently laid the foundations of a lifelong bond with marginal peoples, he entered Princeton in 1841. He and the university were mutually unimpressed, and he later considered that its failure to teach him contributed to his independence from mainstream culture throughout life. When he was 21 years old in 1845, he left Princeton for Europe. As a student at Heidelberg and Munich, he cultivated an affection for German philosophy, drinking, and pubs that would also be lifelong and that became the basis for his popular comic poetry in German patois, *Hans Breitmann's Ballads* (1869–71). Progressing his grand tour to France, he resided in the Hotel du Luxembourg, the headquarters of revolutionaries and the original *vie de Bohème*, and participated in the revolution of 1848, sending eye-witness accounts of the barricades on 24 February back to the US. Returning home, he fought through his journalism for the cause of abolition in the US Civil War, and then fought physically in the Battle of Gettysburg. For a time he was Inspector of oil prospecting in Tennessee, Indiana, and West Virginia, traveling extensively in the wild – down white rivers, with post-war brigands, and Southern guerrillas, where he was accepted among them, as he seemed to be accepted, throughout his life, among all marginal peoples. Wherever he went in canoe or on horseback, he promptly decorated his room with "crossed

canoe paddles, bunches of locust thorn, or deerhorns on the walls"
(Pennell I, 285).

At forty-five, after he had worked continuously in paid employ-
ment for 21 years, his father and younger brother died and he was left
wealthy but in a state of nervous collapse. He resigned his position
on the Philadelphia Press and in 1870 he moved back to England and
began his life-long study of the Gypsies. In Epping Forest, at Oatlands
Park, at the Hampton races, he became intimate with those on the road,
and, a dedicated amateur philologist, learned their language, Romany.
With Matty Cooper, the then King of the English Gypsies, he went
through Hindi and Persian dictionaries writing down every word that
Cooper remembered or recognized. When Cooper proposed to Leland
that they should set out "on the drum" together with donkey, cart, and
tent, Leland browned his face and hands in order to be dark enough to
pass. Cooper enlisted a Gypsy woman to cook and support them by tell-
ing fortunes. By the use of his newly acquired language, Leland could
soon scarcely walk two miles without making the acquaintance of some
wanderer on the highways. He would take his staff and sketch-book on
a day's pilgrimage, and as he strolled by some grassy nook he would see
the gleam of a red garment and find a man of the roads with wife and
child. He would sit in their camp, hearing stories and talking familiarly
in their language.

Leland found in the Gypsies a natural politeness that always showed
itself when they were treated with respect – a cheerfulness, a grateful-
ness, and an instinctive refinement. Skill in begging implied the pos-
session of every talent they most esteemed: artfulness, cool effrontery,
the power of arousing pity, and provoking generosity. We shall return
to these skills.

Travelling in Wales with Gypsies, Leland discovered Shelta Thari,
the so-called Tinkers' language, an ancient bardic language based on
preaspirated Irish Gaelic and related to Romany. He collaborated with
Cambridge Professor Edward Palmer on a collection of English-Gypsy
songs that seemed to him like the songs of Native Americans, with no
form or meter perceptible to them. He felt that one who spoke Romany
could never be a stranger, for he encountered English Gypsies in Egypt,
Greek Gypsies in Liverpool, French Gypsies at Geneva, a Gypsy family
in a beer garden in Hamburg, and so forth. These reminded him of the
polyglot vagabonds of Philadelphia: Italians, Czechs, Croats who spoke
the Slavonian languages; tinkers who spoke Shelta; Voodooists whose
magic was similar to the pre-Christian magic practised by Gypsies.
Simultaneously, Leland moved in Society in London with Carlyle,

Tennyson, Bulwer Lytton, Browning, Wilde, Caroline Norton, and founded the Rabelais Club with his close friend Walter Besant.

In 1879, Leland returned to Philadelphia, where he conducted an evening school for the teaching of the minor arts, embroidery, wood-carving, and decorative design to 200 children and women. He began to write educational works on incorporating hand work into schools and founded the Industrial Art School. He fell in now with Walt Whitman, who was also known to admire the Gypsies for their kindness and sympathy. He hosted Oscar Wilde, with whom he shared an enthusiasm for art schools, and Matthew Arnold, whom he thought a prig (Pennell II, 100). Following the success of his Philadelphia School of Industrial Design, Mrs Jebb, who had read his books, and Leland co-founded in England the Cottage Arts Association. When it became bureaucratic, he went to Tuscany to study witches. Just as respectable Philadelphians claimed not to have heard of the Voodoo sorcerers with whom Leland consorted, the educated Italians denied the witches of Tuscany with whom he lived. Initiated into Witch-lore of the Romagna by an inform-ant called "Maddalena," he spent his last years obsessively collecting bric-a-brac from curiosity shops around Florence and "wrestling with problems of will and sex" (Pennell II, 340).

His book on hypnosis and self-hypnosis, *Have You a Strong Will? How to Develop Will-Power, or any Other Faculty or Attribute of the Mind, and Render it Habitual by the Easy Process of Self-Hypnosis* (1899), makes it clear that Leland did not believe in magic "if we mean by that an inex-plicable contravention of law,"[18] and his references to witches, demons, and devilry in *The Gypsies* are what he calls "general and Oriental only. There is no Satan in India" (*Gypsies*, 127 and passim). Leland believed in the powers of will, self-control, and sympathy, always stressing that hypnotism and "self-fascination" should not be deployed as power over others but as power to do things oneself (see esp. *Will?*, 212).[19] In reflecting in his seventies on the subliminal self and the train-ing of the Will, he had found that by willing to be free from vanity, envy, and irritability, he had eliminated most bother from his mind. He attributed these powers of will, self-control, and sympathy to the Gypsies, and it is these that ally him with the Smilesian school of character-building. Leland had glossed Matthew Arnold's poem "The Scholar-Gipsy" (1853), explaining how gypsy fancy bound that of others: "Following on thousands of years of transmitted hereditary influences," Gypsy chiromancy (*dukkerin* or telling the future) was no more or less than "instinctive intuitive perception" (*Gypsies* 225) or sympathy with others, a highly developed skill in "reading" other

people.[20] In both cases – of Arnold's Scholar-Gipsy and the Gypsies the scholar Leland studied – the Gypsy represents imagination and sympathy, whole unfettered communicative interaction, and Knowledge before the rationalization of the disciplines, for Arnold at Oxford and for Leland in social welfare.[21] Yet what was a poetic image for Arnold was a scientific discovery for Leland, the Gypsies' inherited ability to harness the physiological powers of Will.

In mastering their language, lore, and music, Leland was, wrote his niece, "a mystery to the people of mystery" (Pennell II, 131). George Henry Lewes had said of Leland, "To tell fortunes to Gypsies is the last word in cheek" (Pennell ibid., *Gypsies* 63). But the cheekiest thing Leland did was to use his knowledge of the wanderers' ways to support the outcasts of society. From his philology, his experience of a common language spoken across the nations, he came to believe in social harmony. Cosmopolitanism, or tolerance of difference and the possibility of communication across the nations, was a signal aspiration at the *fin de siècle* (see Chapter 5 below), and Leland saw the Gypsies and the Jews as the original cosmopolitans. (In *The Gypsies* he contrasted some Gypsy visitors with his native bourgeoisie, to his own embarrassment: "Amid the inquisitive, questioning, well-dressed people, the Gypsies bore the pressure with the serene equanimity of cosmopolite superiority, smiling at provincial rawness. I confess that I was vexed, and considering that it was in my native city, mortified" [93].)

From the Gypsy art of begging, Leland learned the arts of successful philanthropy. Yet Gypsy interdependence, which is absolute within the culture and the necessary environment to cultivate the sympathy of *dukkerin*, was antithetical to the individualistically-motivated bureaucracy of organized charity, and so when the Cottage Arts Association turned into a bureaucracy, Leland fled. It is significant that it was not Christian charity that led to Leland's philanthropy but the Gypsies' non-Christian performativity: artfulness, cool effrontery, the power of arousing pity and provoking generosity. Finally, Victorian philanthropists, particularly those of the *fin de siècle*, were stranger and more adventurous than our Weberian, Smilesian, or Fabian models, and the late Victorian springs of action were more occult. Leland wanted to found a Gypsy and Wanderers' Society for those who cultivated "all who form[ed] the outside class of creation" (Pennell II, 367). He bypassed mainstream philanthropic hierarchies for new – yet the most ancient – forms of connection.

## 4.3   Philanthropy's other: the persecution of the Gypsies

Leland's story is pleasing to a cultural historian and literary critic because it is a narrative – a narrative crowded, as Oscar Wilde would say, with incident. It is also an exemplum from the discipline of philology – the love of words that promoted especially during this period a dream of common languages. Leland was in fact delighted by all language, including natural signs and conventions communicating brotherhood and secret kinship: the blue smoke from the willow indicating hidden Gypsy camps, their red and yellow kerchiefs, their expressions of gratitude in little gifts, the first fixed look from the eyes that instantaneously identified to the Rye the gypsy or the witch. That a philologist and gypsiologist dreaming of a common language was one of the sources of late Victorian philanthropy adds a new perspective in the character-bureaucracy debate, one of the "cosmopolitanisms from below" that political theorists have identified.[22]

Yet these narratives and exempla, so pleasing to critics and cultural historians, are stories that must be supplemented. Current gypsiology by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists puts this narrative in historical perspective and critiques it through the prisms of ethnic studies.[23] Leland conceived the idea of the Gypsy Lore Society in 1874 and finally founded it in 1888. Its membership included Leland's co-author Edward Palmer, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge; the Archduke Joseph of Austria, who had conducted experiments for the welfare of his Gypsy subjects; and the astonishingly erudite explorer and linguist Sir Richard Burton. Their mission was to collect songs and ballads before the Gypsies disappeared. For all their subjective love of their data as testified in Leland's philological and anthropological corpus, the Gypsy lorists participated in the extinction narratives that described western views of peoples who did not conform to their ideas of progress. The Romany Rais, as they called themselves, saw themselves as friends of the Gypsies who wrote about what Arthur Symons called "the last romance left in the world" before their "race" would be disappeared forever.

From the first scholarly study, Henreich Grellmann's *Dissertation on the Gypsies* (trans. 1787), the Gypsies had been constructed as against Progress, especially economic Progress, true to their alleged roots among the northern Indian Jat tribe. The Gypsies were nomads, travelers, without land or property. As Patrick Brantlinger's *Dark Vanishings* (2003) suggests, little affronted advocates of Progress so much as nomads without property, whether they were hunter-gatherers abroad

or Gypsy itinerants at home.[24] Yet for Leland and the lorists, their propertyless wanderings represented freedom, closeness to nature, and generosity. Their language, Romany, was evidence of their racial purity, lack of assimilation, and ostensible endogamy. The Lorists' racial narrative was meant to counter a hegemonic discourse, as read in the vagrancy laws passed from the fourteenth through the nineteenth centuries, that combined Gypsies with vagrants and criminals and from which they were not distinguished in Britain until the Caravan Sites Act was amended in 1968. The race narrative of Leland and the lorists, confirmed through the discipline of philology, was specifically constructed to counteract the legal and criminological discourses of the State.

The first sixteen pages of Leland's *The Gypsies* (1882) includes some of the nineteenth century's most romantic writing, in which the Gypsies represent Nature at its most unselfconscious and endangered. A few quotations show how Leland attributes to the Gypsies the very qualities that led to their persecution.

> In Spain one who has been fascinated by them is called one of the *aficion*, or affection, or "fancy;" he is an *aficionado*, or affected unto them, and people there know perfectly what it means. ... He feels what a charm there is in a wandering life, in camping in lonely places, under old chestnut-trees, near towering cliffs, *al pasar del arroyo*, by the rivulets among the rocks. (9)

> I find the wanderers who properly inhabit not the houses [in a picturesque painting] but the scene, not a part but the whole. These are the gypsies, who live like the birds and hares, not of the house-born or the town-bred, but free and at home only with nature. (10)

Leland returns repeatedly to the Unclassed attraction felt by himself and other *aficionados* of Gypsydom: "It is apropos of living double lives, and playing parts, and the charm of stealing away unseen ... to romp with the tabooed offspring of outlawed neighbors, that I write this" (274–5). Gypsies are a liminal race, and to have no feeling for them is to have none for Nature itself:

> They are human, but in their lives they are between man as he lives in houses and the bee and bird and fox, and I cannot help believing that those who have no sympathy with them have none for the forest and road, and cannot be rightly familiar with the witchery of wood and wold. (12)

Like Nature, Gypsies are in danger of being disappeared.

> And it is gradually disappearing from the world. ... No doubt the newer trend to higher forms of culture, but it is not without pain that he who has been "in the spirit" ... and in its quiet, solemn sunset, sees it all vanishing. It will all be gone in a few years ... Gypsies are the human types of this vanishing, direct love of nature, of this mute sense of rural romance, and of *al fresco* life, and he who does not recognize it in them, despite their rags and dishonesty, need not pretend to appreciate anything. ... Truly [Gypsies] are but rags themselves; the last rags of the old romance. (13)

> The day is coming when there will be no more wild parrots nor wild wanderers, no wild nature, and certainly no gypsies. Within a very few years in the city of Philadelphia, the English sparrow ... has driven from the gardens all the wild, beautiful feathered creatures, whom, as a boy, I knew. ... So the people of self-conscious culture and the mart and factory are banishing the wilder sort, and it is all right, and so it must be. ... But as a London reviewer [Arthur Symons] said when I asserted in a book that the child was perhaps born who would see the last gypsy, "Somehow we feel sorry for that child." (15–16).

Leland sees this vanishing as a loss of organicism to decadent internalism and separation, showing that the internality and provincialism explored in our previous chapter were also in dialectic with the loss of Nature:

> Is joyous and healthy nature to vanish step by step from the heart of man, and morbid, egoistic pessimism to take its place? Are overculture, excessive sentiment, constant self-criticism, and all the brood of nervous curses to monopolize and inspire art? (77)

In his chapter on Welsh gypsies, Leland describes ideal types of natural selection, outside culture. The male is a *Gorgio*, not a Gypsy but an agricultural laborer who "went native." The couple's keynote is lack of self-conscious internality:

> He was by far the handsomest young fellow, in form and features, whom I ever met among the agricultural class in England; we called him a peasant Apollo. It became evident that the passional affinity which had drawn this rustic to the gypsy girl, and to the roads, was according to the law of natural selection, for they were wonderfully

well matched. The young man had the grace inseparable from a fine figure and a handsome face, while the girl was tall, lithe, and pantherine, with the diavolesque charm which, though often attributed by fast-fashionable novelists to their heroines, is really never found except among the low-born beauties of nature. It is the beauty of the Imp and of the Serpent; it fades with letters; it dies in the drawing-room or on the stage…the devil-beauty never knows how to read, she is unstudied and no actress…It is not of good or of evil, or of culture, which is both; it is all and only of nature, and it does not know itself. (190–1)

Leland comprehends that his *aficion* for the Gypsies is modernity's romance with its disappeared organic past. He describes the Cambridge don Edward Palmer in equally romantic terms, accepted among all cultures and hospices:

It is rumored that he has preached Islam in a mosque unto the Moslem even unto taking up a collection, which is the final test of the faith which reaches forth into a bright eternity. That he can be…a Persian unto Persians, and a Romany among Roms, and a professional among the [academics], is likewise on the cards, as surely as that he knows the roads and all the devices and little games of them that dwell thereon. Though elegant enough…when he kisses the hand of our sovereign lady the queen, he appears such an abandoned rough when he goes a-fishing that the innocent and guileless gypsies, little suspecting that a *rye* lies *perdu* in his wrap-rascal, will then confide in him as if he and in-doors had never been acquainted. (199)

The Gypsies represent the freedom and wholeness that are lost to one-dimensional rational man: "In this book the gypsies, and the scenes which surround them, are intended to teach the lessons of freedom and nature. Never were such lessons more needed than at present" (14).

The "dark vanishings" Brantlinger studied are the presumed extinctions, presumed self-extinguishings, of people not deemed to be, or to be capable of being, civilized, those who cannot participate in Western Progress. By focussing exclusively on extinction, Brantlinger makes clearer than most postcolonial critique since Fanon how closely extinction was the reverse narrative of Progess and civilization. The death of the primitive was as inevitable, as inescapable, as the Progress of the West. It also contributes a richer explanatory frame for race than color. For the Victorians especially, "race" represented an aggregation

of properties – nature, nomadism, propertylessness, relative absence of firearms and technology, and sex – that contradicted western notions of technological and economic progress. In this model, the superficially white or phenotypic, as in the Irish case, could be structurally primitive, and therefore as inevitably disappeared as aboriginals of color in the colonies.

The most lethal aspect of extinction discourse was probably its stress on the inevitability of the vanishing. The sense of doom was rendered all the more powerful by the belief that at least some (chosen) peoples might progress, that Progress was providential or natural, and that races were separated from each other by biological essences that translated as "fit" and "unfit" to survive. The dominant literary mode for this extinction discourse is elegy, or *Ubi sunt?*, as in *The Gypsies*. When the civilized bearers of Progress regard those whose disappearance they anticipate, they see, paradoxically, the last representatives of romance, of all that western man can no longer be. Such is the white man's burden, the dialectics of enlightenment.

Brantlinger shows that modernity (as a race) intermittently saw the ironies of Progress, and sometimes went native or regressed. In his *Autobiography* (1771), Benjamin Franklin noted that the Carlisle Indians must have been doing something right, because whites captured by them often did not want to return home.[25] In *Letters of an American Farmer* (1781), J. Hector St John de Crèvecoeur pointed out that thousands of Europeans had assimilated into Indian families and refused to return, but he knew no examples of the reverse, a point subsequently confirmed by historians.[26] As late as Alfred Russel Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* (1869), Wallace concluded, about an altogether different population geographically, that "among people in a very low stage of civilization we find some approach to a perfect social state" (Brantlinger, 186).

This discourse of inevitable disappearance before the forces of modernity is an alternative context for Leland and the Lorists, and it exposes the desire and dread that haunt the *fin de siècle*. The Celtic Twilight of the Scottish Highlands, the decline of Celtic languages and communities, and the Gypsies were part of a global demise of peoples who did not fit western notions of technological and economic development. Like the North American Iroquois, the African Bushmen, and the South Sea Islanders, the Gypsies also represented a kind of freedom, close to Nature, and a proverbially "fascinating beauty."

Despite his personal affection for the land of Hans Breitmann, Leland had claimed that Gypsies were antipathetic to a German tendency toward

self-consciousness and systematizing (*Gypsies*, 82). In time, his roman-tic stereotype was used against them. In 1903, the year after Leland died, the German state of Wurttemberg promulgated a Struggle Against the Gypsy Nuisance decree, followed by other states. A Conference of German States agreed that the Gypsy way of life – travelling – rather than racial purity defined them; but that their life-style was "work-shy" and therefore "asocial." Traveling with children was forbidden in Bavarian law in 1926. In 1928, Frankfurt established a concentration camp for Gypsies.[27] The Nazis came to power on an anti-crime wave that by 1935 targetted beggars, vagabonds, prostitutes, pimps, and the "work-shy". When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, Bremen adopted the Law for the Protection of the Population against Molestation by Gypsies, Travellers, and Work-Shy, with the first round-up of beggars and vaga-bonds by Nazi storm-troopers in 1933. Ancient accusations of espionage based on itinerant lifestyles and intimate knowledge of the countryside were fully revived from the 1930s in expulsions and restrictions on gypsy mobility. The "asocial" were taken into preventative custody and placed in concentration camps. The first large-scale arrests of Gypsies destined for camps took place when Himmler ordered the Gestapo to take action against the "work-shy" (including, but not specifically directed against, Gypsies), who were sent to Buchenwald and Auschwitz to re-form their personalities and to provide slave-labor for the new SS economic enter-prises. Other individual Gypsies were sent to the camps during the war years for various offenses grouped under the name "asocial conduct" (Lewy, 167). By 1938, "asocial" behavior was defined as "not adapted to the life of the community" and "persons without a criminal record who sought to escape the duty to work" (Lewy, 25). Shades of the prison house closed on the Gypsy rovers, for the very reasons that Leland had loved them.

In 1942 Otto Thierack, Nazi Minister of Justice, proposed the pol-icy of "Extermination by Work" as a way to rid the German people of asocials unhampered by the necessity to pursue any legal criminal evidence (169), and from 1943 there followed a sharp increase in Gypsy sterilizations. Yet unlike Jews, Gypsies were allowed to stay together as families in the camps. In the Auschwitz family camp, Gypsies were tat-tooed with a number, shorn, disinfected, and forced to attach to their clothes a black triangle signifying "asocial." Nazi racial hygienists were convinced of the ultimate genetic origins of social differences such as itineracy and "work-shyness." Josef Mengele was chief physician to the Gypsy family camp, and studied twins from there and throughout Auschwitz. The stories were of Mengele as Vivisector, personally killing

twins simply to resolve disputes over diagnoses and then dissecting the bodies while still warm. Survivors wrote of his "fascination" with human pain (Lewy, 161). As in Davidson's poem "The Vivisector" (see Chapter 3 three above), "Fascination" now was in the hands of science, not the Gypsy's eye.

In the most authoritative study to date, Guenter Lewy explains why the Nazi persecution of the Gypsies had not been treated heretofore:

> Hardly any Gypsies belonged to the intellectual class. Moreover, some of the most basic tabus of Gypsy culture regarding ritual purity and sexual conduct had been violated in the concentration camps, and survivors therefore were reluctant to talk about what had happened. Subjects such as compulsory sterilization could hardly be discussed at all. Inquiries by outsiders were hampered by the suspicion with which Gypsies have traditionally regarded the non-Gypsy world – the result of centuries of harassment and persecution. (Lewy, viii)

Lewy concluded that Gypsies were considered nuisances and a plague but not a major threat to the German people. Their "asocial" propertyless mobility was increasingly but not consistently treated as racial, which was why their treatment differed from that of the Final Solution to the problem of the Jews. Leland, however, often did treat Jews and Gypsies equally as the cosmopolitan races of greatest antiquity, those who traveled the earth but remained "reserved unto themselves":

> Among all the subdivisions of the human race, there are only two which have been, apparently from their beginning, set apart, marked and cosmopolite, ever living among others, and yet reserved unto themselves. These are the Jew and the gypsy ... Go where we may, we find the Jew – has any other wandered so far? Yes, one. For wherever Jew has gone, there, too, we find the gypsy. (*The Gypsies*, 18)

Today historians and anthropologists as well as most Roma are inclined to see Gypsy as an ethnicity or identity rather than a race. For ethnic Gypsies, the main component of the core culture remains traveling or nomadism. In England alone in 2004 the traveling community including gypsies, showpeople, and bargees (who live on canals) numbered 350,000.[28] Specialists now see heterogeneous groups of migrant workers with developed socio-economic contributions to the diverse societies in which they live. They speak of complex identities

that partake of both traditional gypsy nomadism and the nationalities of their local habitations.

However, the racialism once hypothesized by the philologist-lorists has continued in the search for common origins in population genetics. Even today, some Gypsiologists of the "racial" or "primordialist" persuasion seek to distinguish the Gypsies deriving from the great migrations or diaspora of AD 500 to 1000 from our mere New Age Travellers by their DNA. The social historian David Mayall concludes, "Issues relating to the nature of identity, identity formation and its development and evolution, counter-identities, change over generations, national differences, varied experiences and the elusiveness of self-identity are problems which cannot, indeed must not, be simply ignored or swept away in pursuit or defense of some mythical or mystical essential whole."[29]

Leland as a philologist whose dream of a common language inspired concrete service to the poor (narratology, art history); Leland as a romantic aesthete whose stereotypes participated in global extinction narratives (demography, history); Gypsies as romantic rovers (poetics); as complex identities and histories (ethnic studies); as victims of persecution (ethics, politics). After the holocaust of Nazi science that burned away his world, it may be hard to conjure up the Romany Rye of Victorian philanthropy. Yet poor children in Philadelphia and rural workers throughout Britain lightened their labor and winter evenings learning applied arts because Leland had learned from the Gypsies. He did not have our hindsight on the dialectics of Progress and extinction at the end of the century, and he could not have foreseen how threatening their freedom would be to modern efficiency and productivity. While he never liked the "hothouse" in-doors aesthetes, Leland aestheticized the living. In Venice, tiring of museums and galleries he wrote to his niece and biographer, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, herself an international art-critic of repute:

I don't care for endless repetitions of the Holy Wet Nurse Maternal idea ... and as little do I care that this or that man attained to a greater or less degree of skill or inspiration. It is worth something to see and know it but it is not worth a thousandth part of what Ruskin and the aesthetics think it is. Suppose Raphael paint a Virgin ... One can see many women as beautiful everyday ... and I had rather see one of them than all the pictures in Italy ... I see from afar, yet coming rapidly, a great new age when Humanity will be ... the subject of Art – yea *Art itself* ... Just imagine all the money and time and thought now

given to Art directed to Education and Humanity! (Pennell II, 288, Leland's italics).

A connoisseur of the great Gypsy music of Eastern Europe, Leland repeatedly insisted that its pleasure derived from the musicians "being thoroughly delighted with themselves, which is all that can be hoped for in art, where the aim is pleasure and not criticism" (*Gypsies*, 44).[30] The art that gave the worker pleasure was the basis of Leland's cultural philanthropy, as it was also the basis of William Morris's socialism.

Reviewing international aid workers' accounts among the wretched of the earth, David Cornwell (aka John le Carré) mentions the unconventionality of the relief workers: "Some are what conventional society would call misfits, because the only true kinship they can feel is with the world's victims. Some, by their own admission, are war junkies who live for the adrenaline rush of the front line. Others can't rest till they've encountered the final heart of darkness without a gun and witnessed the worst of what man can do to man."[31] Cornwell contrasts these extreme Samaritans with "the institutionalised functionaries of global disaster, so integrated with the towering bureaucracy of world aid and so familiar with its weaknesses they are actually a part of the problem they think they're solving" (ibid.) The cultural philanthropists in their own terms brought the light to "Darkest London" (General Booth of the Salvation Army and Margaret Harkness) and brought the "Abyss" (Jack London, Mary Higgs) and the "Whirlpool" (Gissing) to light. Unlike the bureaucrats, they felt the bond with those they visited. Like the Roma, they kept their identity while roaming the earth, part of the scene, as Leland said, rather than the house. These cultural philanthropists were the Unclassed. In Holbrook Jackson's *The Eighteen-Nineties*, the great critic described a decade "singularly rich in ideas, personal genius and social will…whose central characteristic was a widespread concern for the correct – the most effective, most powerful, most righteous – mode of living".[32] This ethical imperative was negotiated aesthetically through the *déclassments* of cultural philanthropy.

# 5
## Good Europeans and Neo-liberal Cosmopolitans: Ethics and Politics in Late Victorian Cosmopolitanism and Beyond

> History is marked by alternating movements across the imaginary line that separates East from West in Eurasia.
>
> (Herodotus, *The Histories*)

> We are good Europeans, Europe's heirs, the rich, superabundant, but also abundantly obligated heirs of two millennia of the European spirit ...
>
> (Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*)

> Il n'y pas d'histoire de l'Europe, il y a une histoire du monde!
> (Marc Bloc)

In a recent discussion of "Victorian Internationalisms," the term *cosmopolitan* was used to designate the domain of individual feeling or ethics of toleration in contrast to the more geopolitical terminology of "inter-" or "trans-national."[1] For Goodlad and Wright, the tendency of cosmopolitanism to evoke individual ethos rather than cultural, social, or political process suggests the merits of exploring complementary terms (ibid. 15). They then go on to discuss authors with "more complicated subject positions than 'European or American first'" serving other ends than conventional "European" hegemony.

This chapter focuses on late Victorian cosmopolitanism as just such subject positions serving other ends than conventional hegemony. It argues that what is at stake in maintaining the ethical-political continuum is a conception of individualism that is not the "unimpeded

personal sovereignity" (10) Goodlad and Wright associate with cosmopolitanism and contrast with politics, but a conception of individual development that takes the social as the fundamental unit of analysis. Following on earlier chapters that have traced part/whole relations across both natural and social domains, we shall conclude that relations of individual to social or part to whole might best be conceived as functions rather than identities.

We shall explore two key notions of late Victorian cosmopolitanism, the Good European and the Education of the Emotions or passional enlightenment, at a moment when many perceived no conflict between individualism and the social state and when the cosmopolitan critic of the modern nation could be a "citizen of the world" without falling into the depoliticized idealism that that phrase often evokes today. Using the exemplary case of William Morris, the chapter moves between past and present, contrasting Morris's substantive cosmopolitanism with current liberal neo-cosmopolitanism and seeing his work in light of current models to move beyond western exceptionalism. Yet it also demonstrates that cosmopolitanism's engagement with Europe was part of its progressive potential rather than merely its failing. Cosmopolitanism should not be contrasted with internationalism but with current forms of globalization that tend toward domination. On the poles of solubility and separation or autonomy and independence, cosmopolitanism represents autonomy within relationship, with mutual influence.

## 5.1   Rejecting identity for function: the Good European

In *Europe: a Nietzschean Perspective* (2003) the political theorist Stefan Elbe raises recent concerns with the European Union, currently constituted as a market. Policy makers want an "identity": "Europeans aren't falling in love with a common market":

> [O]ne of the pressing questions confronting European policy-makers is whether a peaceful, united, and prosperous European Union can be brought about without the articulation of an underlying idea of Europe. Many committed Europeanists remain deeply sceptical as to whether the political project of Europe can ultimately flourish in the absence of such a unifying vision ... How ... can one possibly ask millions of citizens to think in European terms, to give up the usual national state framework and to adopt a new entity with a symbolic value reduced to rules, regulations and quotas?[2]

While diversity is greatly valued, policy makers think that "Europe" needs underlying unity. Elbe thinks that this underlying unity might begin with Nietzsche's nineteenth-century idea of Good Europeans.

In Nietzsche's *fin-de-siècle* analysis Europe had emerged as the Christian continent, the Occident defined in relation to the Orient. When God "died," or Europe began to secularize, intellectuals began to question not God's existence but rather the disillusionment evoked by that secularization. Sacred truth was replaced by scientific truth and then the truth of the nation. As each of these was delegitimated through the catastrophes of the twentieth century, they were replaced by what Nietzsche had predicted as The Last Man. The Last Man was rational economic Man – blinking, shallow, selfish, egotistical, abandoning both the idealisms and *Machtpolitik* of the Victorians and bringing an end to their progressive history in his modest pursuit of individual self-interest. The "free spirits" or "Good Europeans" that Nietzsche wanted to replace him with are marked by a "dangerous curiosity for an undiscovered world [which] flames up and flickers in all the senses."[3]

We can easily concede the depths of Nietzsche's personal resentment: he was the child of a Lutheran country pastor who owed his pastorate to the king, who hankered after the nobility and despised the rabble, who was physically weak and insisted throughout his life that he could only *breathe* in the mountains.[4] He was nonetheless one of the principal critics of European and especially German nationalism, imperialism, and militarism. For Nietzsche, the Good European was the cosmopolitan writer. Under the heading *Learning to write well*, Nietzsche composed a vision of international cooperation through communication. The European, especially the German, must learn to think and write better, "inventing something worth communicating, and actually knowing how to communicate it, something translatable into the languages of our neighbors; making oneself accessible to the understanding of those foreigners who are learning our language; working toward the end by which everything good is common good, and by which everything stands free for the free."[5] While, for reasons that we shall explain, Nietzsche thought that it would fall to Europeans to "guide and oversee civilisation as a whole," he was nonetheless adamantly anti-nationalist: "Whoever preaches the opposite, whoever does *not* trouble himself about writing well and reading well … in effect will show the nationals a path along which they will become ever more *national*: such a one aggravates the sickness of the century – is an enemy of good Europeans, an enemy of free spirits" (ibid.).

Defining "modern human beings" as without homeland and mixed in race and descent, Nietzsche concluded that "we are not very tempted to participate in that mendacious racial self-aggrandizement and ill-breeding that proclaims itself a sign of the German way of life, something that is doubly false and indecent for a nation that has a 'sense of history.' In a word…we are *good Europeans*."[6] It is noteworthy that the good European does not express herself in speech, which is tied to nationalism and the Volk, but in writing, which extends, as Nietzsche says, beyond nation.

Nietzsche uses the term "European" to critique nation because Europe had confronted nihilism, rendering it modern or disenchanted. The ethos of modern Europeans is the freedom or openness to question both Christian and scientific, religious and secular, will to truth; to reject nationalism; and to experience nihilism as freedom to build new worlds (see Elbe, 107). These are the attributes of the persons he called alternately Good Europeans and free spirits. Nietzsche was suspicious of politicians and marketeers who used the vision of Europe for their own ends ("The Last Man"). He was interested in the making of a certain kind of critical and creative person, in possession of both rational and emotional capacities.

In Edward Carpenter's *The Healing of Nations* (1915), he cites this work of Nietzsche in a discussion of "These fatuous empires with their parade of power and their absolute lack of any real policy – this British Lion, the Russian Bear, these German, French and American Eagles – these birds and beasts of prey – with their barbaric notions of greed and war."[7] Carpenter cites the troops "in the trenches and the firing-lines, who have given their lives – equally beautiful, equally justified, on both sides" (183). He gives examples of sociability between Germans, Japanese, and Chinese, and dramatizes the famous cease-fires and spontaneous fraternizations of Christmas 1914 between opposing lines in Northern France (200). Carpenter quotes from *Human All Too Human* (vol. ii, Colm trans. 1911), where Nietzsche had urged the strongest nations to disarm: "Better to perish than to hate and fear; and twice better to perish than to make oneself hated and feared" (239). We shall return to Carpenter as an exemplum of the anti-nationalist, creative, and critical Good European.

Nietzsche's idea of a unified Europe mediating between its neighbors because of its particular history of disenchantment has continued up to the present. In *We, the People of Europe?* (2004), Etienne Balibar considered three ways that Europe might mediate between our contemporary US American version of *Machtpolitik* and the rest of the world.[8]

Immanuel Wallerstein had called on Europe to oppose US foreign policy under the Bush Administration on the principle that multipolarity is better than a superpower. Timothy Garton Ash had argued that Europe should check American power not because it was American but because it was unchecked, on the principle that as in the US itself systems of checks and balances work best in the balance of powers. And Edward Said had pointed out how US religious fundamentalism prolonged the ideological association of elect nation with manifest destiny; when this mission was added to US networks of money and power that controlled national elections and national policy, US domination was so dangerous that Said urged Americans themselves to call on Europe as the only available economic counterforce.

Balibar rejected Wallerstein's, Garton Ash's, and Said's formulations of Europe as mediator by rejecting Europe as an identity. He would rather see Europe as a borderland, an agent or actor whose actions grounded its power rather than its "sovereign" power legitimating its action, rather like Nietzsche's view cited in Chapter 3 that socialism was a means to empower individuals. Balibar concluded like Carpenter, with spontaneous collective agency, new solidarities, and the cessation of hostilities:

> What I suggest is that we need to explore a completely different path, where power does not predate action but is rather its result…It is action, or agency, that produces the degree and distribution of power, not the reverse. As Michel Foucault used to explain, agency is "power acting upon power"; therefore it is the (efficient) uses of *the other's power*…For the same reason, a "collective identity" is not a given, a metaphysical prerequisite of agency, and it is certainly not a mythical image that could be forcefully imposed upon reality by inventing this or that historical criterion (for example, "Christian Europe"). It is a *quality* of collective agency, which changes form and content in time, as new agents come into play and new solidarities are built among those who, not long ago, were ignoring or fighting each other. (221)

Using Fredric Jameson's figure of the Vanishing Mediator, Balibar explores the possibilities for Europe to use its own fragilities and indeterminacies, its own "transitory" character, as an effective mediation in a process that might bring about a new political culture (234). Europe's exceptional historical character, in particular its global expansion,

competition between its imperialist powers, followed by the "striking back" of its empires, make it uniquely suited to this function.

A similar position of Mediator was claimed for Britain by the late nineteenth-century historian John Seeley, author of *The Expansion of England* (1883), who described Britain's position as no fixed identity but as mediator between the Old and New Worlds. The description is racist, but it is also conscious that Britain is a function as much as an identity:

> The same nation which reaches one hand towards the future of the globe and assumes a position of mediator between Europe and the New World, stretches the other hand towards the remotest past, becomes an Asiatic conqueror, and usurps the succession of the great Mogul. How can the same nation pursue two lines of policy so radically different without bewilderment, be despotic in Asia and democratic in Australia, be in the East at once the greatest Mussulman power in the world and … at the same time in the West be the foremost champion of free thought … resist the march of Russia in Central Asia at the same time that it fills Queensland and Manitoba with free settlers?[9]

The history of European changes marked by Balibar and the self-reflection on that history studied by Nietzsche may qualify Europe as mediator in a world where power is contingent and mobile. The late Victorian idea of Europe as function rather than identity is also practical when the polar structures that historically identified it continue to change. The definition of "Europe" still in the dictionaries is of a "continent in the West part of Eurasia, separated from Asia by the Ural mountains on the East and the Caucasus Mountains and the Black and Caspian Seas on the South East. Excluding the former Soviet Union and Turkey." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the idea of modern Europe was taking shape, it was specifically a reaction to Ottoman power. Winston Churchill, always a proponent of a European Union, traced its aspiration to when King Henry Navarre of France "laboured to set up a permanent committee representing the 15 … leading Christian states of Europe. This body was to act as an arbitrator on all questions concerning religious conflict, national frontiers, internal disturbance, and common action against any danger from the East, which in those days meant the Turks."[10] Described as a continent, defined by waters to the west, north, and south, no obvious geographical feature

divides "Europe" from the "continent" of Asia to the East. Russia is similar on either side of the Urals. Turkey, like Russia, is part-Europe, part-Asia. Whatever Europe is geographically, it is not a continent and Turkey is no longer its Other.

As things stand, identified as a common market, the European Union has 27 diverse states with three more – including Turkey – waiting in the wings, and at least another 14 neighbor states who, as borders with more neighbors multiply, may wish to be included. Nations whose citizens have the right to appeal to the European Court of Human Rights include Turkey and Russia. The European Court's remit to uphold human rights extends to the Bering Straits, opposite Alaska. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe extends well beyond the European members of NATO to virtually the whole northern hemisphere. Furthermore, in popular culture, states that compete in European football and the Eurovision song contest extend the idea of Europe in popular consciousness, which may ultimately be the most significant boundaries of all. Yet as late as 1983 Europe was not included in the last revised edition of Raymond Williams's *Keywords: a Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. That Williams did not consider Europe or European a significant cultural category is simply one more reminder of how Britain's borders have extended. Of course Islam, Muslim, and Turks were not there either.

What does it mean to say that Europe emerged as the Christian continent? The main creeds of institutional Christianity were the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Reconciliation, Atonement or Forgiveness of Sins. The main motive was the possession of the one Truth, a motive that Christianity shared with Islam. The comparatist of world religions S. A. Nigosian says that the net effect of three hundred years of the Crusades

> was to embitter relations between Christians and Muslims permanently. Although most religions engage in varying degrees of conflict and persecution, only two religions have attempted to exterminate all rivals and dominate the globe...From the first time they collided, both Christianity and Islam displayed exclusive, uncompromising, intolerant, and aggressive attitudes. By proclaiming a monopoly on absolute truth, each regarded all other religious values and spiritual qualities to be false and invalid. Both felt a pressing need to convert the whole world to the truth each upheld. To that end, both used military force unhesitatingly. The record on both sides is stained with acts of violence, barbarism, and atrociousness.[11]

*Islam in Britain 1558–1685* by Nabil Matar (1998) would suggest that this antipathy is an overstatement, perhaps written in light of Victorian manichaeisms and corresponding *ijtihad* themselves. Matar shows an "alluring" mutual interest between Muslim and Christian law in Britain from the mid-sixteenth century until the death of Cromwell in 1658.[12] But in Europe on the Christian side, the violence, barbarism, and atrociousness continued from the Crusades, through the Inquisition, the Persecution of the Jews, the Conquest of the Americas, the Reformation, the spread of Protestantism, and Missionary Evangelism. The disenchantment of which Nietzsche writes is the disenchantment with religion and distaste for Church dogma after a millennium of religious wars. Robert Pogue Harrison captured Nietzsche's tone with his Conradian description of the western metropolis (in this case, London) as dark, then Enlightened, and now in decline; it had progressed from the barbarism of sense under the Roman conquest to the barbarism of reflection (Vico's term) under Christian hypocrisy.[13]

Europe or the West including Europe and the Americas was historically distinguished from Asia and the Orient. In the nineteenth century, to this geography was added a temporal element known, at least for Europeans, as Progress. For the Victorians were obsessed with time, particularly world-historical time, as in evolution or Progress with a capital P, or, alternatively, degeneration or decadence. If European was a dubious geographical designation that the Victorians moralized with ideas of Progress, the "Victorians" as a designation was also temporal, pertaining to the reign of Victoria (1837–1901) from its earliest usage in 1875. After Victoria's death, the designation itself was de-moralized when Victorian, meaning particularly *mid*-Victorian, came to be seen as prudish, priggish, strait-laced, or just old, antiquated, or fossilized (as in the OED and Roget's *Thesaurus*). The *fin de siècle*, because of its doubts, skepticism, and rejections of identity and one Truth, was more often annexed to modernity than Victorianism.

It is arguable that the economic, political, legal, and cultural functions of Europe – especially as a mediator always on the move – today are better than a European identity that in the past has proven fatal. "Identities" are usually accompanied by an emphasis on "shared values," which are often constructed in opposition to others' "values." Rhetorical reifications of identity values can harden hatreds, whereas what is needed is not to start with identities or values at all but rather to begin with problems to be solved or wants to be negotiated. This is what Nietzsche meant when he said that if they were to be Good Europeans the Germans should "invent something worth communicating, and

actually know how to communicate it, something translatable into the languages of our neighbors; making oneself accessible to the understanding of those foreigners who are learning our language; working toward the end by which everything good is common good, and by which everything stands free for the free." German power should derive from its activities or function, not from its identity or essence.

It was prescient of Nietzsche to comprehend the changing or modern functions of Europe. To counteract a "spiritless," "institutional" or "bureaucratic" perception of the European Union, Elbe returns to Nietzsche's idea of "free spirits." These express western or Christian individuality without being individualists, selfish, or egotistic. They do not need the authority of one truth; they can live outside one home and without private property; and they can experience each of these as freedom to solve problems and build new worlds. Elbe concluded that Nietzsche's Good Europeans would want to see a Europe that would avoid nationalism and racism; would remain open to those who currently remain outside the borders of the European Union; would not seek to impose its freedom on others, but would equally not shy away from exemplifying a commitment to a deep experience of freedom; and would address the problem of the increasing globalization of the "last man" or economic individualism through the cultivation of reflective depth (120–1). The Good European was both ethical and political, concerned with the right relationship of self to other, and critical of power inequalities between them.

## 5.2   Neo-liberal neo-cosmopolitans

The years of Nietzsche's productivity precisely coincided with the revival of socialist internationalism in Britain, Europe, the Americas, and Australasia, culminating in the Second International. Late Victorian individualism was always in this global context of possibility about the social state. For Nietzsche, as for many late Victorians, socialism's redistributions of wealth were merely the precondition of increased and enhanced individualism. Our contemporary notions of neo-cosmopolitanism, often based in political or property rights, may rely on thinner notions of individualism or "unimpeded personal sovereignty."

In a final section entitled "Current Thinking" of *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (1996), Derek Heater concludes that "the role of the individual *qua* world citizen is [now] central".[14] With the advance of global civil society – that is, societies increasingly given to individual property

and individual political rights – the possibility arises of global governance. World citizenship, or identity as a member of the human race, is a stance of responsibility for the condition of the planet; a recognition that the individual is subject to a moral law above one's own municipal law; and a responsibility to promote world-government. In the same year, 1996, Martha Nussbaum argued for making world citizenship the focus for civic pedagogy.[15] She traced a lineage from the Stoic Marcus Aurelius to his Victorian followers Emerson and Thoreau. Whatever else we are bound by and pursue, she argued, we should recognize that each human being counts as the moral equal of every other: "Human Personhood, by which I mean the possession of practical reason and other basic moral capacities, is the source of our moral worth, and this worth is equal."[16] She traced Stoic norms that have subsequently been invoked to justify domestic and international political conduct, including renunciation of wars of aggression, constraints on the use of lies in wartime, an absolute ban on wars of extermination, and humane treatment of prisoners and of the vanquished. For peacetime, she included duties of hospitality to aliens working on national soil and denunciation of all projects of colonial conquest.

Nussbaum sustained intense criticism from as wide a range of interlocutors as Judith Butler and Charles Taylor to Gertrude Himmelfarb and Hilary Putnam, typically because her approach to rationality seemed disembodied and insufficiently situated.[17] In the following year, she published a revised call for cosmopolitanism in a collection of essays on Kant's "Perpetual Peace".[18] There she traced a thicker history of the kosmou-polites, or world-citizen, beginning with Diogenes the Cynic's famous reply when asked where he came from, "I am a citizen of the world". He refused to be defined by his local origins but was part of rational humanity. Nussbaum now conceded that we all have at least two communities: a local community of practical reason getting by from day to day and a global community of argument and aspiration.[19] Far from the passions or emotions being opposed to Reason, the central goals of the world citizen would be the overcoming of prejudice and the complete extirpation of anger, both in oneself and surrounding society. She linked world citizenship to this goal of passional enlightenment or enlightenment of the emotions. In linking Kant to this tradition of passional enlightenment, she quotes his famous conclusion, one of the great descriptions of how Progressives think:

However uncertain I may be ... as to whether we can hope for anything better for mankind, this uncertainty cannot detract ... from the

necessity of assuming for practical purposes that human progress is possible. This hope for better times to come, without which an earnest desire to do some thing useful for the common good would never have inspired the human heart, has always influenced the activities of right-thinking people.[20]

Nussbaum concludes, "this hope is, of course, a hope in and for Reason."[21] Reason, we may remind ourselves, is essentially the mind's ability to plan and pursue a course of action. In Kant, and Nussbaum here, it is also an action for the Good and not opposed to the emotions: a passional enlightenment.

If one key aspect of the new cosmopolitanism is the education of the emotions, a second is the situatedness of the global citizen, even in times of unprecedented mobility.[22] In the wide-ranging collection *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (1998), editors Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins called for a cosmopolitics to match capitalist globalization; they also called for a new personnel, not the Stoics, Kant, or first-world intellectuals, but the servants, helpers, companions, guides, bearers, and migrant workers who are particular rather than universal world-citizens, postcolonial diasporic or migratory cosmopolitans.[23] We should note here the diversity we would anticipate among these neocosmopolitans, with the diasporic bringing perhaps senses of loss or nostalgia, while the migratory may bring more positive feelings of new or better lives to come. The editors of *Cosmopolitics* rejected Kantian and Stoic theory for "actually existing cosmopolitans," who may in the present be united through religious activity, or include political activists who seek models outside their own cultures, or be entertainers (whom Mayhew and Mill would have called cultural "enrichers") who are global icons such as Bob Marley. Like Robbins, Scott Malcolmson in the same volume also included "everyone on the market with goods, both merchants and sellers of labour": "All of these existing cosmopolitans involve individuals with limited choices deciding to enter into something larger than their immediate cultures".[24] I shall return to the degree to which choice and decision are involved.

In one of the most cited papers in the *Cosmopolitics* collection, Anthony Appiah quoted Gertrude Stein's "America is my country and Paris is my hometown" (*An American and France* [1936]) as an example of the cosmopolitan patriot, or the rooted cosmopolitan, who takes her roots with her as she moves about the world.[25] Appiah de-coupled the cultural nation from the political state, in which the nation is

"dependent upon will or pleasure", while the state is formal or procedural, regulating our lives through forms of coercion (ibid., 96). For Appiah, cosmopolitanism flowed from the same sources as political liberalism, "for it is the variety of human forms of life that provides the language of individual choice", and patriotism flowed from liberalism for "the state carves out the space within which we [can] explore the possibilities of freedom" (Ibid., 106). "The cosmopolitan ideal – take your roots with you – is one in which people are free to elect the local forms of human life within which they will live" (Ibid., 95). Appiah argued that the best state – the state he would choose to live in – is the state that provides the most choice for the greatest number. We must note, however – and this distinguishes liberal cosmopolites like Appiah from the late Victorians – that Appiah's emphasis is on political freedoms of speech, religion, lifestyle, while the economic status quo is assumed. The emphasis is on the freedom to move about in the world and to participate freely in world governance, from situated, or "discrepant", localities that appear to be markets in labor, goods, and services.[26] The neocosmopolitanisms from North America are typically economically neoliberal, emphasizing choice but assuming market conditions rather than the substantive freedoms and equalities the late Victorians demanded.

The new cosmopolitanisms, or the cosmopolitanisms from below, are meant to distinguish themselves from the old cosmopolitanism, typically associated with a unitary appeal to universal Reason, the Enlightenment, or at least the West, as well as from "aesthetic" or consumer cosmopolitanisms of limited access. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen remind us that "aesthetic cosmopolitanism", or consumption / Taste, from the Cosmocrats (global economic elite) to world music, has given the theory a bad name.[27] In other essays in their same volume, reiterating again the individual civic basis with which we began the discussion, the sociologist Ulrich Beck considers whether cosmopolitanism is moving toward "a legally binding world society of individuals" (61); Stuart Hall questions whether such liberal cosmopolitanism sufficiently recognizes that the individual is not only related to cultural meanings but also dialogically constituted by the existence of the Other (28); and Craig Calhoun queries whether cosmopolitanism is not the latest effort to revitalise liberalism – in which emphases have too often fallen more on property than democratic rights (93). These issues of cosmopolitanism as a world society of democratic individuals but on unequal national playing fields, in which liberal political freedom and choice are differently constrained economically and militarily, seem

likely to provide the ground for whatever institutions of governance – whether formal (UN) or informal (mass media) – are to come.

Historically, Robert Fine and Robin Cohen provide an illuminating analysis of four key cosmopolitan moments, when cosmopolitanism seemed beckoned by circumstance: the ancient Greek city-state, or equality through reason; Kant's work of 1785–97, around the French Revolution, when the rise of nationalisms urged something like a Leviathan-contract (Kant's "unsocial sociability") between nation-states (ibid., 139–45); post-World War II, when impediments to new world orders had often been associated with "cosmopolitan" Jews or international threats; and our current context of radical uncertainty as to whether or not the world can be governed (see also Tomlinson, 240). I am arguing here that the late Victorian period was another such moment, both because ethnic identities were emerging within and across States and because liberal freedoms were developing alongside international socialist aspirations and responsibilities.

The new cosmopolitanisms are situated, vernacular, rooted, discrepant, and might include forced or diasporic migrants – like the Communists, Jews, and dependents of 70,000 dead Communards deprived of their means of livelihood who fled Paris in the last quarter of the nineteenth century – as well as the elite cosmopolitan intellectuals of the coteries, such as the Anglo-American artistic or same-sex communities in Italy. Political theorists believe that the new cosmopolitanisms have a renewed urgency due to international migrations, multiculturalism, global social movements, and war. Revived are the ancient questions, can the world ever live in peace, not necessarily a Kantian perpetual peace but even a momentary and fleeting cease-fire? And what do we share, if anything, as human beings distinctly embedded in thick but always interdependent environments?

Some cultural critics have rejected cosmopolitanism specifically as a global *politics* in favor of affective, elective affinities. Thus Lauren Goodlad prefers the term "queer internationalism" for E. M. Forster's attraction to the Other's difference. "Queer" because Forster is attracted specifically to the Other's difference, and "internationalism" because for Forster difference begins with national difference.[28] In *Affective Communities*, Leela Gandhi also used the late Victorian period's homosexual, animal welfare, spiritualist, aesthetic, and utopian socialist communities to illustrate affective affinities outside a formal politics and that resisted state governmentality.[29] Gandhi also uses the term "queer" to illustrate how Mahatma Gandhi countered Indian hypermasculinity in emergent Indian nationalism, which had itself countered Britain's

effeminization of India. Against state-supported forms of non-relation, Leela Gandhi opposes the communities that felt affinities across "vastly different phenomenologies and ontologies" (86): other religions, other races, other species, and so forth.

While I agree with Goodlad and Gandhi on the progressive value of the elective, affective affinities they locate in certain communities of the *fin de siècle*, where I differ is in their opposition between affect and "governmentality," or State-directed self-regulation. Their idea of affect is too individualistic and that of governmentality is too coercive, creating an opposition between individual and state that derives more from Foucauldian notions of governmentality than from the *fin de siècle*.[30] Carpenter, Wilde, et al., were not averse to self-discipline, or what Pater called "ascesis"; rather, their "affect" was, with varying degrees of success, disciplined and self-conscious. (As Wilde said, all bad poetry was a response to spontaneous emotion.) While postcolonial critics rightly emphasize the coercion of governmentality in the colonial context, for western critics of market societies and globalization like Carpenter, the problem may not be too much governmentality or self-discipline but too much perceived choice, or too little restraint. The "hybridities" that Goodlad, Gandhi, and I value in the late Victorian period may have been vitiated by consumerism's easy choices and emotive gratifications.

In building a new cosmopolitanism, I would prefer to combine more classic conceptions of self-governance with contemporary appreciation of embodied affect through the ancient idea of *oikeiosis*. With a history of unsettled translation, *oikeiosis* has meant conciliation (Cicero), a desire for society (Grotius), the domestic instinct (Whewell), appropriation, love, familiarization, affinity, well-disposedness, affection, and endearment (from contemporary classicists).[31] *Oikeiosis* is a rational *natural* order that ensures that animals are immediately drawn toward what serves and preserves them. Associated with an image of concentric circles, it is not an individual's psychological state or disposition, but a process informing behavior toward others. As a pebble dropped in water creates a spreading set of circles, so in psychological materialism the self-concern at work in *oikeiosis* tends systematically to broaden its scope to encompass not just the individual but a progressively larger domain of those around her – the immediate family, household, city, to the whole of rational humanity. In the outer circles, cosmopolitan concern does not equal flat moral universalism (or deontology, in which my commitment to the world is as obligated as that to my family), but is rather a final stage, as the self-concern already at work in the

infant systematically expands to wider circles of inclusion, providing normative guidance in action. Understanding *oikeiosis* as an impulse to preserve oneself and to feel affection for one's own constitution, self-consciousness becomes not a *Cogito* ("I think") but a comprehending affect, not a knowledge of one's own psychological state but of one's own bodily constitution. It follows that its main role is not to prop up the knowledge that I exist in a particular identity (I am) but rather to guide or motivate what I do or how I act. This kind of evolutionary development of social consciousness or what is called elsewhere the evolution of morality seems more promising than both deontological and identity-based cosmopolitanisms.[32]

## 5.3   William Morris and the education of the emotions

We said above that many of the neo-cosmopolitans are also neo-liberal, emphasizing choice but assuming market conditions rather than the substantive freedoms and responsibilities demanded by the late Victorians. If we are to understand late Victorian cosmopolitanism, we need to give up vulgar notions of socialism that see it as incompatible with individualism or with the freedoms and choice that modern citizens have come to expect. But we also need to give up modern market notions of individualism that see it as unimpeded personal sovereignty.

In his quest to reconcile freedom and equality, William Morris did not sacrifice the Fine to the Good. The Fine, also called Taste, implies the capacity to make distinctions on the basis of individual choice and preference, the domain of the aesthetic. The Good is the realm of our conduct toward others, the domain of ethics and politics. Morris and those associated with him were exemplary in bringing the Fine and the Good together. As he said, "variety of life is as much an aim of true Communism as equality of condition, and nothing but an union of these two will bring about real freedom".[33] Socialism expert Ruth Kinna has argued that Morris distinguished his creed from anarchism in that he was for an individuality that also required a conception of public or social good.[34] With this harmony of individual and social, Morris also included, among the conditions of individuality, freedom from authority and satisfaction of material needs. He was for the expression of creative individuality without being methodologically individualist. He knew that the unit of analysis had to be society rather than individual monads, that only when society provided for all equally could individuals then develop fully according to different needs and capacities. He was also anti-authoritarian and anti-bureaucratic because both led to

passivity, in the case of authority passivity of thought and in the case of bureaucracy passivity of responsibility. As both social and active, Morris shared in classic western conceptions of the Good as inconceivable without action, the Good not as contemplative but active. It has often been pointed out that unlike the Fabians, who were socially bureaucratic and conventional in their personal lives, and unlike the SDF (Social-Democratic Federation) under Hyndman, which was directed to working-class people who were multiply constrained, Morris's Socialist League was the party of educators, idealists, anarchists, and disciples of the unconventional Engels. Kropotkin said that while Morris could have gone all the way with the masses, he could not go with parties, with all their "wire-pulling and petty ambitions."[35] Kropotkin also thanked Morris for preventing socialism in England from taking the authoritarian and functionalist character that it had in Germany.

Morris's sensuous freedom or creative development that made him impatient with parties and bureaucracy extended to his unconventional tastes. It will always be one of the more charming refinements of history that a political agitator of such virility should spend his last years printing beautiful romances. In *William Morris at Home* David Rodgers calls Morris "the first champagne socialist". Rodgers explains, "Until the radical changes in society came about, it would hardly be fair to sacrifice his family and employees to save his own conscience."[36] Others have less apologetically put it that Morris was not given to sentimental personal gestures. What is important about Morris's taste is not the actual products of his or his firm's artisan- and craftsmanship, or even his poetry or romances. These were just by-products of what he valued, the sensuous and intellectual labor of making them. Morris wanted not art but to create the conditions that would create artists. That socialized infrastructure would be but the basis on which individuals could freely develop was the essence of *fin-de-siècle* socialism, which was distinctive for its freedoms and toleration, and its aesthetic choices. In the course of the twentieth century, socialism's dual emphases on freedom and equality bifurcated. The West committed to markets and procedural freedoms of speech, dissent, lifestyles, while socialist states committed to substantive freedom from want in housing, education, and health. Today, where wealth has increased and markets have prevailed over planning, people do seem to want to possess the good things of the earth, they do want to choose these things for themselves, and they do want to possess the pleasures of both activity and leisure. For the foreseeable future, we need to recognize that tastes and choices matter for people living above necessity, and that whether

we like it or not markets are the present way of distributing them. While there is fear, terror, hatred, and incomprehension of The (globalized) Market, everyone loves souks, bazaars, shopping, and farmer's markets. So Morris's insistence that individuality not be sacrificed to equality but that equality be the enabler of individuality makes his socialism more acceptable to contemporary liberals. The tragedy that no socialist at the *fin de siècle* would have believed is that over a hundred years later most people in the world are no nearer taking "pleasure in their labor" than they were in the nineteenth century. Ceaseless competition ensures a division between work and leisure for most of us. Since Morris's individualism is premised on creative development in work, it still remains a romantic ideal for most.

So the question is, what is the relation of individuals like Morris, those with the opportunity to live comparatively free, creative lives, to everyone else? In the Introduction I discussed the great famines in India and China of the 1870s through the 1890s, exacerbated by laissez-faire economics that saved the West while letting the rest of the world starve. This was also the period of refined environmentalism at home. The Edinburgh Environment Society (1884), the Selborne League (1885), the Selborne Society for the Preservation of Birds, Plants, and Pleasant Places (1886), the Society for the Protection of Birds (1889) and the Coal Smoke Abatement Society (1898) joined the Rational Dress Society (1881), the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877), the Anti-Vivisection Society (1875), and other protectors of large and small environments, in a *fin-de-siècle* flourishing of ecology. The Manchester Vegetarian Society founded in 1847 had 5000 members by 1900. In order to comprehend this juxtaposition, we need something like the "Systems" approach favoured by eco-critics, which emphasizes the interrelatedness of local and global environments and species.[37]

While systems analysis or dependency theory in politics has been eclipsed by neo-liberalism's methodological individualism in recent decades, it is currently making a comeback in the physical sciences, in biology, molecular biology, microbiology, climatology, and in genomics. The late Victorian "Back to the Land – Back to Nature" movements, and the eco-criticism that has studied them, have heretofore focussed on the climatic conditions, food chains, soils, animals, solar, wind, and water powers at home. Yet in their collective interaction with the environment they were beginning a critique of individualism and independence. And Mike Davis in *Late Victorian Holocausts*

has begun to show the global disasters besetting the world in the same period, for which British and European economic policies were in part to blame.

We know from Florence Boos, Martin Delveaux, Peter Gould, and Jan Marsh's work, as well as from eco-criticism more widely, that the period of 1870–1900 was the most fecund period of environmentalism in western history before 1970.[38] It was also a period of a widespread cultural cosmopolitanism, showing the proliferation of late Victorian cosmopolitan periodicals: *Cosmopolis*, *Cosmopolitan Critic*, *British and Foreign Review*, and *The Cosmopolitan*.[39] These were different from earlier engagements with culture outside Britain in their linguistic competence as well as in their stance that perhaps other cultures might have something to offer. At mid-century, the established view had been that Britain had been spared a European-style revolution by its political and economic freedoms, best embodied in its own language. Sabine Clemm, who has studied in detail the meanings of "Europe" and "Continental" in Dickens's very popular mid-century journal *Household Words* (1850–1859), concludes that *Household Words*'s general attitude toward other countries changed in the context of Britain's colonial expansion, becoming decreasingly tolerant.[40] Only at the end of the century did the cosmopolitan journals open up the attraction of cultural interaction, and it is in light of this cosmopolitan development that we should begin to see the *japonismes*, *chinoiséries*, *arabesques*, and other exoticisms of the *fin de siècle* – in part, of course, as a development of commodification and economic globalization, but also more idealistically and experimentally.

I now return to Morris as the educator of the emotions in his literature and the great writer of pilgrims, travelers, and refugees. As early as *The Earthly Paradise* (1868–70) his Wanderers are asking just this: what do we share, if anything, as human beings distinctly embedded in thick but always interdependent environments? Very early in Morris literary criticism (1937) Dorothy M. Hoare pointed out how deeply Morris's translations from the Icelandic sagas and Edda poems misunderstood the originals. Morris perceived correctly that the Sagas were individualistic, "not overburdened by religion," illuminating of personality and character, without the intrusion of self-consciousness, possessing a clear sense of value, and about general common life, all of which he admired.[41] What his translations failed to capture was their violence and tragedy. Hoare thought that Morris was too leisurely, pleasant, and discursive, whereas the ancient Sagas were constrained, hot, and tragic. I would put it that Morris was less interested in tragedy – "man" alone

in the world – than in ethics, in our proper conduct toward each other, through an education of the emotions.

Nussbaum remarked on the loneliness of world-citizens, from Marcus Aurelius to Thoreau, and one can reflect on May Morris's description of her beloved father as "an intensely lonely man."[42] May cites *The Pilgrims of Hope* (1885–86) lines "that wall of distance, that round each one doth grow,/ And maketh it hard and bitter each other's thought to know." The poem is a passional enlightenment, in Nussbaum's sense, or a refusal to bifurcate reason and emotion, in which the love of humanity as such triumphs over personal betrayal, political failure, and every incitement to hate.[43] A man, Richard, with a small inheritance and his lover from the country go to London. He is cheated out of his inheritance by a lawyer but is content to live by his labor. Influenced by communists he takes to agitating and is imprisoned. His wife stays with their son, and sings to him the most beautiful lullaby in the language, in praise of the mother's voice, and the mother-tongue:

> So mayst thou dimly remember this tale of thy mother's voice,
> As oft in the calm of dawning I have heard the birds rejoice,
> As oft I have heard the storm-wind go moaning through the
>    wood,
> And I knew that earth was speaking, and the mother's
>    voice was good.[44]

When Richard is released, they take up with another communist, Arthur, and, despairing of solidarity in London, they join the communards in France, leaving the boy at home. Richard is aware of Arthur's affair with his wife, as Morris was aware of Jane's affairs over 25 years with his friends, but he is not bitter.[45] At least he is not *consciously* bitter: in the narrative the wife and Arthur are killed in the rising. Richard returns to England to look after his son:

> I came not here to be bidding my happiness farewell,
> And to nurse my grief and to win me the gain of a wounded life,
> That because of the bygone sorrow may hide away from the
>    strife.
> I came to look to my son, and myself to get stout and strong,
> That two men there might be hereafter to battle against the
>    wrong;
> And I cling to the love of the past and the love of the day to be,

> And the present, it is but the building of the man to be strong
>   in me.

<div align="right">(Ibid., 408)</div>

Morris was equally committed to a nativist love of the land and socialist internationalism, what we would call a situated cosmopolitanism. He is also as interested in interdependence in personal relationships as in politics. Florence Boos has pointed out that *Pilgrims of Hope* is unique among both communist and epic literature in that it is equally feminist and socialist.[46]

Above I used the term affective or elective affinity. When Goethe first applied the scientific term for the chemical process "elective affinity" (*Wahlverwandtschaft*) to amorous or libidinal relationships, he intended something very like what Morris's protagonists learn. *Elective Affinities* (1809) described the chemical/social process like this. In all the phenomena of nature, the first thing we observe is that things adhere to themselves. Just as each thing has an adherence to itself (*oikeiosis*), it must also have a relationship to other things. Those natures which, when they meet, quickly lay hold on and mutually affect one another we call affined. (Antithetical qualities make possible a closer and more intimate union.) The affinities become especially interesting when they bring about divorces. When there has occurred a separation and a new combination, we have an elective affinity, because it looks as if one relationship were preferred to another.[47] This process of self-preservation, attraction to another, separation from the past, and new combination is repeatedly what Morris's fictional encounters show, a willingness to endure the pain of separation and the compensation of new connection or attachment.[48]

All Morris's biographers concur that his deepest commitments are in *A Dream of John Ball* (1886–87) on the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. As in *News from Nowhere*, the Poet-Guest is always outside, lonely: "I walked along with the others musing as if I did not belong to them," he introspects.[49] John Ball says of him, "Thy speech is like ours and yet unlike, and thy face hath something in it which is not after the fashion of our day" (ibid., 268). After the first battle, his friend Will Green describes the fallen enemies, and the Poet is moved by his struggle to overcome his anger: "I looked at him and our eyes met to see how wrath and grief within him were contending with the kindness of man, and how clear the tokens of it were in his face" (ibid., 253). The self-overcoming of anger was of course one of the classic signs of the cosmopolitan. Another was religious tolerance. The Priest John Ball tries to draw the

Guest into religious dispute. Urged to express his views on religion and the afterlife, the Guest replies, "Friend, I never saw a soul, save in the body; I cannot tell" (ibid., 263).

On the eve of the battle after which Ball will be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and the Guest will awake, the two complete their exchange of tales of the hope to come and despair at the immediate future (which turns out to be the fifteenth through the twentieth centuries), the past dreaming the present and the present dreaming the past. My point is that time-travelers are also cosmopolitan, world-citizens, and Morris used the languages of world-historical literature – medieval chivalric, Icelandic, and Marxist – to inform his writing, architecture, and design. In what is arguably the first modern cosmopolitan poem in English, *The Earthly Paradise*, he retold cycles of pagan, medieval, and Norse myth and legend, in composing which we know that he learned to control his natural irascibility, extirpate anger, forgive enemies, and cultivate fellowship under inhospitable conditions. His first work, *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858), traced the psychology of the unfaithful wife; *The Earthly Paradise* made peace with rivals.

In a collection acknowledging Eleanor Marx's contribution to feminism – for Eleanor Marx was like Morris equally committed to feminism, socialism, and art, and was like Morris a linguist and translator of world literatures – John Stokes unconsciously or not describes her like Morris's Guest, ejected from the feast he helped prepare in *News from Nowhere*, "a world that Eleanor Marx helps to make possible but which she never completely inhabits, never witnesses."[50] The category of World Literature is arising, not in the sense of the former Comparative Literature, based in national identities and distinctions, but in a more global economy of literatures as political and economic forces in their own right. This is the import of Pascale Casanova's *The World Republic of Letters*, and we can expect much more emphasis on this global economy of literatures in the future.[51] Morris's cosmopolitan romances, what were they but the classic definition of romance – the quest for the objects of personal and social desire – in as many languages as he could read. In this definition of romance, the ethnic differences of the wanderers, knights, pilgrims, or questors are less prominent than the elaboration of their common needs and desires.

In addition to the importance of world literatures to the creation of cosmopolis, we should also note Morris's recurrent figure of the Guest: Morris is always the Guest as narrator; his works are typically centred on the reception of Guests and Others of foreign lands. One of the great pleasures of reading the *Icelandic Journals* and diaries is Morris's

enthusiasm as a guest, consuming great fishes and chocolate, attempting to converse in Icelandic with his hosts, describing the minutiae of domestic architecture of the bonders, thanking them always for their hospitality.[52] In Derrida's late writings on cosmopolitanism, reflecting on the establishment of European cities of refuge, Derrida, like Morris, *defines* ethics as hospitality: "Hospitality is culture itself and not simply one ethic among others. Insofar as it has to do with the *ethos*, that is, the residence, one's home, the familiar place of dwelling, inasmuch as it is … the manner in which we relate … to others as our own or as foreigners, ethics *is* hospitality."[53]

In her essay "Dystopian Violence: William Morris and the Nineteenth-Century Peace Movement," Florence Boos traces Morris's pacifism from the unpublished 1880 essay "Our Country Right or Wrong" to his last recorded statement on the subject in 1893 in an unpublished lecture on communism "Changed Times." She puts great weight on the following as representing Morris's mature view on war and terror:

> As to the attempt of a small minority to terrify a vast majority into accepting something which they do not understand, by spasmodic acts of violence, mostly involving the death or mutilation of non-combatants, I can call that nothing else than sheer madness. And here I will say once for all, what I have often wanted to say of late, to wit, that the idea of taking any human life for any reason whatsoever is horrible and abhorrent to me.[54]

While Boos acknowledges that Morris's literary writing is nonetheless filled with war and battle, she attributes this to his admiration of personal courage and self-sacrifice, and describes such armed conflict as mostly ritualistic and allegorical. Even the butchery and conflagration of *Sigurd the Volsung* she calls "elegiac cartoons of muscular paganism" emulating loyalty, persistence, and courage (ibid., 29). This underscores the individuality and ethical centrality that I have attributed to Morris and is characteristic of epic, which is antithetical to current strategical and game-theoretic approaches to conflict. She points out that in any case Morris gave up this bellicose romance from 1878, just as he was turning to antiwar politics, and she finds consistent pacifism in Morris's essays and political actions. In linking Morris to the history of anti-war movements, Boos cites Joseph-Pierre Proudhon, who "anticipated Morris's view that a true revolution would be economic and social rather than political" and military, and she concludes that

Morris recognized that most wars of his time were commercial, imperialist, and unjust.[55]

## 5.4   Alternatives to religious and European exceptionalism

Both forced and voluntary Victorian cosmopolitans conceived of themselves and were perceived by others as international comrades, international feminists, translators, Europeans, and even world-citizens. In thinking how these radicals preserved autonomy while recognizing interdependence, how they preserved their individuality while maintaining responsibility toward others, we must adopt a skepticism toward Victorian myths that Nietzsche could only begin to understand. Such myths include religious and European exceptionalism.

We noted before that Europe was not a continent in any geographic sense. What sense other than historical ethnocentrism can it make for the dictionary to say that Europe is a continent in the west part of another continent called Eurasia, while the much more numerous Indians have but a subcontinent, and while China is but a country? Europe was distinctive because of its religion, when it opposed itself to Islam. But in the course of European history, European religion came to develop another source of distinctiveness, also allied to its individualism, its optative quality. The sociologist of religion Robert Bellah, following the evolutionary psychologist Merlin Donald, distinguishes between theoretic, or critical and scientific, dimensions of human culture and mythic (which he defines as narrative) and mimetic (which he defines as bodily enactive) dimensions. Freedom of religion as something that we can choose, as if from an interdenominational menu, is a very modern idea. It is theoretic religion, whereas most religions in the world are mythic and mimetic. People inhabit them like fish in water. "It is worth remembering that in its modern usage, the term religion is only about two hundred years old," writes Bellah, "In [traditional] societies religion is a dimension of the whole of life, the conscious expression of a way of life. ... That religion is basically a private belief system and that churches are voluntary associations of like-minded believers is a modern and Protestant idea."[56]

What this means is that for most people in the world religion is not primarily a matter of beliefs or ideas at all, but a way of living in the world. It was the theoretic or conceptual nature of religion in the West that, for Nietzsche, made it slip so easily into the dogmatism of science. In *Adam's Peak to Elephanta*, Carpenter frequently marveled that his interlocutors were so casual in their admission that none of them

"believed" in the Hindu deities and myths, but they nonetheless partici-
pated fully in the daily, even hourly, rituals of the faith. Comprehending
that religion in India was in Bellah's terms more narrative and bodily
enactive than theoretic, Carpenter looked critically at the Western
obsession with critical thought:

> Nothing strikes one more as marking the immense contrast between
> the East and the West than, after leaving the Western lands, where
> the ideal of life is to have an almost insanely active brain and to
> be perpetually on the war-path with fearful and wonderful projects
> and plans and purposes, to come to India and to find its leading men –
> men of culture and learning and accomplishment [who Carpenter
> claimed were more consistently intelligent than Westerners] –
> deliberately passing beyond all these and addressing themselves to
> the task of effacing their own thought, effacing all their own projects
> and purposes in order that the diviner consciousness may enter in
> and occupy the room so prepared. (165–6)

As Bellah argues, theoretic culture rarely inspires ethics or politics;
hence the ethical and political crises Nietzsche predicted for the West
in the twentieth century. What strikes one about the atheisms, agnos-
ticisms, and transcendentalisms of the late Victorian radicals is that
while institutional religions were just one idea among many for
them, ethics and politics were both mythic and mimetic. Morris's and
Carpenter's epic romances are mythic, in Bellah's sense of "ethically
and religiously charged narrative" (12) and their total commitment
to the value of work, or pleasure in labor, and to sensuous activity
generally is mimetic, in Bellah's sense of bodily enactive. That is, they
were indifferent to religion as ideas in favor of stories and labor as eth-
ics and politics. The *fin-de-siècle* socialists were essentially ethical and
political, where others are essentially religious, and we today may be
essentially economic.

Morris's ideas about Christianity *qua* social institution were much
like his ideas about bureaucracy generally and are clearly expressed
in *The Commonweal*. Christianity was not an identity for him but a
social institution consistent with external conditions. When Socialism
was realized, its theory of life would be all-embracing and Christian
ethics would be absorbed within it. Until then, Christianity had taken
the various forms that social, political, and economic circumstances
have forced on it, most recently the commercialism of modern market
society.[57] By the eighteenth century, Morris said, religion in England

was "recognized as a State formality, but having no influence whatever on the corporate life of the country, its sole reality a mere personal sentiment, not at all burdensome to the practical business of life."[58] For Morris the main Christian ethic – the essential ethic – was hospitality: the treatment of the Guest or Other.

In comprehending that modern religion had been relegated to the status of either corrupt bureaucracy or ineffectual personal sentiment, and in turning his capacity for reverence toward the creative process, Morris was typical of *fin-de-siècle* artists. The only contemporary I can think of whose hatred of the age and reverence for beautiful things could match Morris's in intensity was J. K. Huysmans in France (see Appendix). Such a shocking juxtaposition as Morris and Huysmans is instructive. Although their passions against civilization and for art were equally intense, their temperaments were opposite. Morris was all sensuous action and energy, mythic and mimetic. Huysmans is static and theoretic, unable in his own terms to give up skeptical, critical thought for the unselfconscious love he sought to emulate. While Morris did not, like Huysmans, characterize the vulgarity specifically as "Americanization" (he rather followed Engels and the Marx–Avelings in a more generous attitude toward America's workers), he did share Huysmans' disgust with the materialism of modern life, including contempt for the "big business" (Huysmans) of institutional religion. They both turned to medievalism: Morris to medieval Iceland and Huysmans to medieval alchemy, the Occult, and ultimately to an oblation that in no way compromised his contempt for the clergy. Equally frustrated with modernity, Morris chose collective action and Huysmans the apolitical miracle of individual grace, again showing the possibilities of solubility and separateness. They both predicted cataclysmic twentieth centuries.

I shall conclude with the myth of European exceptionalism in the nineteenth century. The European Forum Alpbach is Austria's and one of Europe's foremost think-tanks for political, economic, and scientific policy, established to provide politicians with fundamental information for making decisions. As recently as 2005, its program was *Europe – Strength and Weakness*. Its seminar "Why the West?" was on the rise of modernity as a uniquely European development comprised of the rise of modern science, modern constitutional government, and modern industrial capitalism. In addition to the expected seminars on economic growth, risk, competition, finance, globalization, etc., there was a session of particular interest to humanities scholars. "Images of Europe" was on the stereotyping of national characters in literature,

and encounters in "international novels" between representatives of Europe and other cultures.[59]

As a thought experiment we might try to name an author whose identity is European. George Eliot is English, James is American, Flaubert is French. Nietzsche (despite his wish to be Good European) is German. But there are "international novels" precisely because, in relation to non-western cultures, novels and novelists were historically aggregated as European. There can be the comparative category of the European novel without there being an identifiably European author. Europe, again, is a function rather than an identity. In the nineteenth century, development rather than nationality was the primary term in the encounter between East and West.

The interdependence of East and West was common knowledge as far back as Herodotus and was only forgotten in the nineteenth century. "History is marked by alternating movements aross the imaginary line that separates East from West in Eurasia," wrote the so-called Father of History.[60] Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), the founder of the Historical School, historicist par excellence, reiterated "There is no history but universal history – as it really was" (ibid.). And contra Nietzsche, more recently Marc Bloc alluded to the earlier views with "Il n'y pas d'histoire de l'Europe, il y a une histoire du monde!" (ibid.).

We have said that the Victorians were obsessed with time, particularly world-historical time, which they rewrote in their social theory to such effect that we are only now uncovering the error. If we are to listen to the systems analysts in biology, ecology, economics and politics, we must question the nineteenth-century question, "Why the West?" We must question the Victorian understanding of Europe as the Rise of the West, as the bearer of Progress, in short, as exceptional in nineteenth-century terms. While always a lover of the land called England – which he wrote in *News from Nowhere* could be loved like the fair flesh of the beloved – Morris was not only not jingoistic, but he actively rejected the whole theme of western progress and European exceptionalism that we are only now beginning to dismantle. Put simply, and now following not only Davis in *Late Victorian Holocausts* but also the systems analyst André Gunder Frank in *ReOrient* (1998, ibid.), far from being the autonomous miracle of industrial capitalism progressively leading barbarous Others to the end of history in free market exchange, Europe and North America only came to dominate the globe by building on divisions of labor, markets, and finances already established by China, India, and Turkey. As Frank formulated it succinctly, far from being an unprecedented miracle of industrialization and progress, Europe and

North America used silver extracted from the Americas to buy a ticket on a long-running Asian train. On this train, the division of labor was already flourishing with commercial and financial linkages through world-wide money markets and capitalist finance.[61]

Morris began his first literary works hating the Age into which he was born and under no illusions that it was the end of history. He looked for alternatives in whatever climates and languages he could find them. His disenchantment and then critical engagement with his own age, combined with his hospitality toward guests and others, may be his most precious legacies in our current crises. Most people remember from "How I Became a Socialist" (1894) that the leading passion of his life apart from the desire to produce beautiful things had been a hatred of modern civilization. What is often forgotten is that the passion to produce beautiful things was coupled with the study of history:

> To sum up, then the study of history and the love and practice of art forced me into a hatred of the civilisation which, if things were to stop as they are, would turn history into inconsequent nonsense, and make art a collection of the curiosities of the past, which would have no serious relation to the life of the present.[62]

Far from being escapist nostalgia, I take Morris's medievalism, such as it was, as a resistance to turning history into pure ideology or inconsequent nonsense: a keeping before our minds images of freedom that are not relegated to leisure-time and of choice that is collective as well as individual.

Every study of cultural and social analysis should implicitly begin with the question, what is the appropriate unit of analysis? In Kant, the idea of a whole was a regulative principle, and a whole/part was better than a means/end or cause/effect analytic in capturing the meaning of natural purpose.[63] We have reconsidered the basic units and processes of evolution and development, in which the speculative orgy of the late nineteenth century is matched by that of the twenty-first. Whereas fitness has until very recently been taken to mean reproductive fitness at the level of the individual organism, or even molecule, new pluralistic ideas about levels of selection suggest attributions of fitness to the social group, community, or even the biosphere. The unit of analysis is shifting from the individual to the developmental niche in which interaction takes place between nature, culture, and technology. While this

shift from individual unit to developmental niche is general in comprehending complex natural and scientific or technological systems, as reflected in theories of Emergence,[64] it is significant here for the human sciences. For humans are unique among animals in the extent to which they use technology to enhance and transform their environments, which in turn transform them, their world, and the earth.

In the most cited paper in philosophy of science in recent decades, Peter Machamer, Lindley Darden, and Carl Craver propose a New Mechanism that emphasizes both entities and activities in the production of change.[65] Mechanisms, the producers of change, are constituted by both entities, the things that engage in activities, and activities, the processes (or sub-mechanisms) whereby the entities affect one another. If the unit of analysis is the developmental niche, the analyst must specify the object of analysis – dyad, family, community, state, world; the entities that constitute this object; and the salient activities or functions of these within the whole.

Individuation and globalization are mechanisms comprised of entities and activities within systems that change, and history is the record of that changing. This book has employed an analytic of part and whole on a period of intensely creative social experimentation in order to keep alive models of freedom that are not confined to free markets, choice that is more than consumer choice, liberalism that is not neo-liberalism, and an individualism that is more than the maximization of self-interest. Beginning with the Victorians' own terms of individualism, companionate couples of both and "intermediate" sexes, community, and cosmopolis, and their definition of Decadence as when the part takes over at the expense of the whole, we have come to see that, in complex systems of the kinds we have been discussing, relation cannot be thought independently of function. Insofar as "identity" thinking – whether of the gene or the dyad or the race – denies relatedness to other units, it prevents us from understanding how things work. The immensely important ecological thought of Darwin showed that identities were not fixed but evolved through interactions. Decadence was not a fixed state but a relation of part to whole. Individuating could be liberating or repressive; coupling could be progressive or degenerate. Europe was a function with respect to its actions in the world – power acting upon power – rather than a practical identity. Individuation as Progress (autonomy) and individuation as Decadence (separation or domination) were differently imagined relations to the whole.

So historians of forests cannot do without historians of trees, but the reverse is also true. The unit of analysis is the functional relationship

of part to whole, which is always changing and must always be specified. In a 2007 interview with the anthropologist Prina Werbner, Stuart Hall expressed his reservations about the term "cosmopolitan."[66] Not wanting to identify with the elite cosmocrats benefiting from economic globalization ("globalization from above"), Hall nonetheless expressed solidarity with the "vernacular" cosmopolitans who, not seeking the global life, were nonetheless thrown into it and remained "open to what I am not." The Afro-Caribbean Hall referred to the cosmopolitan activity of a London hospital, where his Russian nurse was learning Filipino Tagalog from the Polish cleaner. Hall preferred to think of these smaller cosmopolitan *sites* rather than self-identified *States*, local markets rather than The (globalized) Market, not a polity of large structures, but "individuals with limited choices entering something larger than their immediate cultures." Cosmopolitans as little people getting by, tolerating others as best they can, clarifying, in all their languages, the wishes and struggles of the age.

Cosmopolitanism, we conclude, is a collective event in which we are always already engaged rather than an individual Taste or aspirational disposition. "Expressing" and "listening" are its essential activities, whether in the expressive form of argument, debate, and democratic action, or technology, music, and song. We are determined in both senses, of biology and will, to make our own histories through interaction with our natural, social, and technological environments. Reflection on this natural history of change and difference makes us know deeply that things can and will change, and hope is the natural consequence of the genetic under-determination of the human phenotype. It is no surprise that so many of the actors discussed in this book were polyglots who reflected deeply on diverse cultures and therefore developed the will to change: Engels and Leland each read at least nine languages, and Eleanor Marx was a simultaneous triple translator at political meetings. In Edward Carpenter's term, they were Intermediaries between their historical parts (both entities and activities, as in parts to play) and the wholes to come.

# Appendix: Interiority, Exteriority, and Mystical Substitution: the Case of J. K. Huysmans

Benedict Anderson has suggested that José Rizal, one of the first Filipino novelists, transformed Huysmans's passive decadence into active anarchic violence in *Noli Me Tangere* (Berlin 1887) and *El Filibusterismo* (Ghent 1891), and that Huysmans's *Parisian Types* inspired *El Filibusterismo's* satirical "Manila types." Rizal started out as a dandy but underwent a political conversion, transforming Huysmans in a political direction for anti-colonial and Filipino nationalist purposes.[1] In Anderson and elsewhere taken as the type of introspective apolitical decadent, Joris Karl Huysmans is notorious for a literary career that began as a Naturalist, became the prototype of Decadent, and ended as an oblate and hagiographer. He worked for 27 years as a government head clerk in the French Civil Service, converting to Roman Catholicism in the early 1890s. He never married but he was torn between domestic life with women and monastic life with art. While known for the acerbity of his prose, he was always personally represented as polite, comfortable, and civil in his conversation. In the early 1880s affianced with Zola's Medan Group, he published *Parisian Sketches*, in which he experimented with Naturalism and what he perceived as its deficiency of internality. In 1884 he published *A Rebours*, his anatomy of Taste from the perspective of one interior life. For the next decade he experimented – through lovers, hatreds, and research – with the Occult, publishing *Là-Bas* in 1891. *Là-Bas* (*The Damned*) is both a study of Satanic Black Mass and a description of a scholarly community: the protagonist Durtal (who is researching the murderer Gilles de Rais), his intellectual friend des Hermiés, Carhaix the bell-ringer of Saint-Sulpice, and his wife Madame Carhaix, who prepares the perfect meals at which they gather. In 1895,

Huysmans published what is considered by readers who know more than *A Rebours* to be his best work, the exploration of communal life in a Trappist monastery, *En Route*. What became an autobiographical tetralogy developed with his absorption in the medieval architecture, music, and art of Chartres in *La Cathédrale* (1898) and then with his own oblation in a Benedictine monastery in *L'Oblat* of 1903.

Huysmans's fictional work, which might also be supplemented with his hagiography and scholarly studies of the Occult, moves from Naturalism as pure exteriority as revealed to the senses, to Impressionism as mediation between subject and object, to solipsism or extreme interiority, to religious and artistic communities, and finally to transcendence of the self in the doctrine of mystical substitution (see below) and a Mariolatry that relinquished the self. He alternated in his later years between the semi-monastic (i.e., without vows) life of an oblate and aesthetic bachelorhood in Paris.

Beginning in Zola's Medan Group, Huysmans's writing was originally empiricist and skeptical, then solipsistic, and finally self-transcendent and communal. He achieved this final stage through imitative action and ritual. His generic metamorphoses were also transformations in his relations with the world. His oeuvre shows the concerns of part to whole in the terms of this study: both monadic and group interiority, subjectivity and objectification, desire for something greater than the self even while the prison of the self seems impossible to exit. His spiritual autobiography exposes his self-consciously unsuccessful struggle against ego and abstract thought in pursuit of embodied and active life and love.

*Croquis Parisiens* began to appear in May 1880, while Huysmans was professionally engaged with Medan. The complete *Parisian Sketches* (1880–86) show the development from verbal Impressionism that imitates the impressions on the senses like painting to a fullblown symbolism that reflects the individual psyche. He thought that while Zola's *mise-en-scènes* – department store, mines, the market – were superbly evoked, they unrealistically dominated the psychology of his characters. In the early synaesthetic *tours de force* such as the vivid olfactory crowds in "Dance Night at the Brasserie Européenne in Grenelle" or "The Folies-Bergère in 1879," Huysmans describes the acrobats (based on the English troupe Hanlon-Lees) like a painting, even to their being "gouached":

Two beams of electric light projected onto her back from the depths of the Folies envelope her, refracting off the curve of her hips,

splashing her from neck to feet, gouache-ing her, so to speak, with a silver outline; then, dividing, they pass separately through the chandeliers, almost invisible as they move, reuniting and spreading out when they reach the man on the trapeze in a fan of bluish light that illuminates the fringes of his mica trunks, sparkling like grains of sugar…The woman hurls herself through the air, flies beneath the light of the chandeliers, then, letting go of the trapeze, she falls, feet foremost, into the arms of the man, who to the shattering crash of a cymbal and to the increasingly triumphant and joyful reprise of the waltz swings her for a moment by the feet, then throws her into the net where, with her silver and azure-blue tights, she rebounds like a fish twisting and jumping in a cast-net.[2]

Only briefly does the narrator indicate, what will come to be typical, how the external senses give rise to an internal reflection. The sound of applause following the performance reminds him of "Antwerp, of the great port where, amid a similar rolling sound, you hear the 'All right!' of English sailors about to put to sea. And yet it's in this way that the most disparate place and things come together, through an analogy that seems bizarre at first sight" (38).

In part III, "Parisian Characters," after a stunning evocation of bare, sweating men in an early morning bake house beating the dough, Huysmans concludes in homage to their skill that feeds the multitude:

You worn-out Pierrots, you journeymen bakers! You, who at the hour when swarthy sewer-workers are getting ready to pump out drains, at that solemn moment when one man is picking the lock of the next man's door, and yet another is buying a mistress at a bargain price from someone else, you sweat, grumble and gasp; you begin your war-chant and your cannibal dances around dough that cries out for mercy! Stuff yourselves, howl like wolves and drink like fishes, for you share in the zealous prayers offered up to the God of the poor: "Give us this day our daily bread, O white warriors" (82).

With "The Streetwalker," "The Washerwoman," and the Bakers, the authorial view of his subject is objective; yet in the tender "Bus Conductor" he represents the internality of the man dreaming of a girl who would treat him better than his wife. "The Barber," on the other hand, is entirely filtered through the psyche of the client, first indicating the latter's loathing of being touched and then, in reversal, his appreciation of the torturer's ability to make him look younger. The

Barber is transformed from sadist to savior entirely within the psyche of the client, with no attempt at external objectification.

In part IV, "Landscapes," the generic avatar of the Situationists' "psychogeography," the filthy "industrious and miserable" river Bièvre becomes the objective correlative of the suburbs. Huysmans had a lifelong fascination with Paris's second river, exploited by numerous tanneries and other industries and by the nineteenth century polluted by every kind of human, animal, and industrial waste. Not yet succumbed to Hausmannization – the cleaning-up and widening of avenues of Paris for purposes of sanitation and, some would say, surveillance – "The Bièvre is nothing but a moving rubbish dump, but...conjure up in this vale of tears the voice of a pauper-woman at the water's edge plaintively singing one of those laments picked up by chance at the music hall...and tell me that this wailing doesn't grip you by the entrails, that this sobbing voice isn't the desolate howl of the poor suburbs themselves...the landscape is in perfect accord with the profound distress of the families who people it" (95, 106).

In the final section V "Fantasies and Forgotten Corners," Huysmans has moved into the modes of *A Rebours*, in which all that is left of the tenderness toward the downcast of *Parisian Sketches* is the "commonplace silhouettes" as Des Esseintes sees them on the rare occasions he looks out his window, or those he callously – as a social experiment to satisfy his curiosity – educates into discontent. Rather, the narrator's imagination is ignited by lists of scents in female armpits (detached from the women) and all sorts and conditions of women's breasts grotesquely objectified.

It is illuminating to contrast the French writer's depiction of the poor and the more "Victorian" moralistic perspective of his exact contemporary in England, Edward Carpenter. Compare Huysmans's "Ritornello" from *Parisian Sketches* (here in Brendan King's recent translation) with Carpenter's poems on the wretched of the earth in *Towards Democracy*.

## Ritornello

Dead, the man who beat her black and blue, left her three children, and died sodden with absinthe.

Ever since, she flounders in the mud, pushes her barrow, shouts at the top of her voice: Get it here! Get it here!

She is unutterably ugly. She is a monster: above a wrestler's neck rolls a red, grimacing face, hollowed out with bloodshot eyes

and embossed with a nose whose flaring nostrils, like tobacco pouches, swarm with spots and blemishes.

They have a good appetite, those three children: it's for them that she flounders in the mud, pushes the barrow, shouts at the top of her voice: Get it here! Get it here!

A neighbouring woman happens to die:

Dead, the man who beat her black and blue, left her three children and died sodden with absinthe.

The monster doesn't hesitate to take them in.

They have a good appetite, those six children! To work! To work! Without cease, without respite, she flounders in the mud, pushes the barrow, shouts at the top of her voice: Get it here! Get it here!³

The poem depicts in miniature the degradation of the poor and Naturalism's doomed cycles of generation in the manner of Zola. (Its title designates a seventeenth-century operatic form involving repetition and collectivity ["tutti"].) Yet in the woman's subjective shouldering of the other woman's children is the miracle, the moment of grace.

Compare Carpenter. The two poets write at exactly the same time, one aesthetically appalled and the other morally outraged by the lives of the poor. In over five hundred pages of poetry composed from 1881 to 1902, called *Towards Democracy*, Carpenter praises in a principle of inclusion children, farm-lads, women, trades, countries, continents. In part II, he turns to lives of mute desperation. In "Deep Below Deep," the boy he brings in from the mines has "a fine head," "but when he lifts it his eyes are bleared and slow with heavy lids, and they refuse to meet mine."⁴ The boy is listless, inarticulate, "crushed: I knew him for many months, but there was no thaw or change to speak of" (124). Unlike Huysmans, Carpenter situates the boy in relation to himself. "A Lancashire Mill-Hand" tells a story similar to "Ritornello":

The mother worked hardest of all: her one idea – her blind religion – being work: to bring up her children to work – never to give in.

During the last twenty-four years of her life she never missed a single work-morning being at the mill at 6 a.m. (453)

Carpenter's narrator castigates England and Empire for its neglect of these throughout the world, and whether in praise of stokers or condemnation of Parliaments the voice is the narrator's voice. He analyzes and condemns the causes of poverty, exploitation, and immiseration

creating a particularly modern, ironic form of epic: he sings of the State and its victims. But his people never sing out in their own voice like Huysmans's bawling street-seller. Huysmans is appalled by her, and appalled that she will raise others like herself (the bodily rhythm of the ritornello), but the woman's beautiful gesture, whether in the decadent Huysmans or the saintly Tolstoy, is the transformative moment of a beautiful soul. Since Huysmans is apolitical, his insight into the woman's charity can only be aesthetico-religious: a miraculous moment for which there is nothing to do but pray. (He was advised by Barbey to turn to the foot of the cross or the muzzle of a pistol.) Carpenter, on the other hand, blames with righteous indignation as he praises with unconditional love, concluding that through solidarity, against the evils of the imperial State, "it shall come about that at length/ We shall need no other world, no other worlds" (507).

Huysmans would work his way into a solidarity but it would be of another world, spiritual rather than political or amative, as a Christian soul joining the community of faith. *A Rebours* (1883) was first entitled *Seul* (Alone). At the end of that novel, Des Esseintes is still alone, and unable to believe. It concludes with Des Esseintes's prayer "Lord, take pity on the Christian who doubts, on the unbeliever who would fain believe, on the galley-slave of life, who puts out to sea alone, in the night, beneath a firmament no longer lit by the beacon-fires of the ancient hope."[5] Nonetheless, Huysmans as yet had no interest in Catholicism, and dismissed it as implausible.

He eventually rejected naturalism in favor of what he called in *Là-Bas* a "spiritual naturalism" or "enraptured realism" that he had seen embodied in a graphic crucificion by Matthaeus Grunewald.[6] The body's pain had always been the province of naturalism, but using technique more common in the lives of saints and books of martyrs Huysmans evokes spiritual torment through the senses. The problem is that the aesthetic prose that compares the congealed blood and pus of the crucified Christ to blackberry juice and Moselle wine can only distance us from the torment. I know no more decadent prose than this, in which the unity of the action is decomposed to give place to the independence of the phrase, and the phrase to the word:

> Purulence was setting in; the seeping wound in the side dripped thickly, inundating the thigh with blood that was like congealed blackberry juice; a milky pus tinged with pinkish hue, similar to those grey Moselle wines, oozed down the chest and over the abdomen with its rumpled loin-cloth. The knees had been forced

together, twisting the shins outwards over the feet which, stapled one on top of the other, had begun to putrefy and turn green beneath the seeping blood. These congealing spongiform feet were terrible to behold; the flesh swelled over the head of the nail, while the toes, furiously clenched, with their blue, hook-like horns, contradicted the imploring gesture of the hand, turning benediction into a curse, as they frantically clawed at the ochre-coloured earth, as ferruginous as the purple soil of Thuringia.

The decadent prose – "as ferruginous as the purple soil of Thuringia" – distances one from the expiring body already rotting on the cross, until:

Above this erupting cadaver rose the head, tumultuous and huge. Encircled by a ragged crown of thorns, it hung down lifeless, one lacklustre eye half-open in which a shudder of terror and sorrow could be detected; the face was furrowed, the brow craggy, the cheeks blanched; the features, crushed and defeated, weeping, while the sagging mouth, with its lower jaw racked by titanic contractions, laughed atrociously.

Through this portrait of extreme physical humiliation, Huysmans identifies Jesus with the mortal downcast for whom he atones (and notice how the familial relations duplicate those of "Ritornello"): "This is the Christ of the poor, the Christ who is one and the same with the most wretched of those He has come to save, the beggars and outcasts; ... abandoned by the father until every torture has been exhausted; ... with no recourse except to His mother who, though heeding of His childish cries, is powerless to help."

Huysmans's autobiographical protagonist Durtal's struggle is to comprehend this atonement not intellectually or aesthetically but rather, as in an Aristotelian drama, as an imitation of an action. *Là-Bas* is torn between abstract thought that invariably results in skepticism and embodied activities/rituals within distinct communities – the pious bellringers of Saint-Sulpice or the "hystero-epileptics and erotomaniacs" (231) of the Black Mass.

I have written above (Chapter 5) of the particularly cerebral or "theoretic" nature of Huysmans's religiosity. In *Là-Bas* (1891) Durtal is writing the biography of Gilles De Rais, once the companion in arms of Jeanne D'Arc and then murderer of children and perpertrator of satanic atrocities. While writing *Là-Bas* Huysmans cultivated friendships with

Satanists: Abbé Louis Van Haecke probably, and certainly Joseph-Antoine Boullan, the exorcist, rapist, and murderer. Huysmans wrote to Boullan as an evidenced-based researcher, "You will note that I ask for no initiations, no secret lore – only for reliable documents for results you obtained, in your experiments." Yet by now he was "weary" of Zola, "whose absolute positivism," he told Boullan, "fills me with disgust" (ibid.). He wanted to disprove Charcot and Maudsley's psychological theories and show that "the Devil exists."[7]

Involving himself with Satanism in Paris, especially in the form of a liaison with a possessed woman, Durtal never ceases to analyze his emotions, even amid seduction. A typical reflection is, "That habit of his of spoiling everything in advance, ruining every pleasure, destroying every ideal by analysing it and continually subjecting it to further scrutiny…In such a psychological state there was little pleasure to be derived from anything except art."[8] While such intense introspection serves to aestheticize his environment, it also is the source of Durtal/Huysmans's skepticism. At the end of *A Rebours* religion was only theoretic, a body of doctrine, which he considered, as a scientific follower of Zola, implausible. In *Là-Bas*, he begins to explore the practical side of religion, religion as an imitation of an action, enacted by its practitioners in the Church at Saint-Sulpice, who talk, eat, and commune together, and their mirror-images in the Black Mass.

In *En Route* (1895), the first of the trilogy that will end with Durtal's (and Huysmans's) oblation, Durtal is taken in by the Benedictines who comprise "the intellectual order of the Church" and he continues to struggle with the limits of reason.[9] In the cloister, the existence of the Devil is evident to Durtal in his irrepressible intellectualizing and skepticism. In considering whether he should enter the monastery at La Trappe, Durtal laments his "dryness of soul" or "want of love" (120). On his first night at La Trappe, he has abominable wet dreams, then at Chapel at 3 a.m. the monks prostrated in prayer show him that "the culture of the mind was nought, and the culture of the soul was all" (173). Of St Angela, he confirms "What a soul she had, while mine is good for nothing; instead of loving, I reason" (184). In chapter IV he tries to plumb the depths of embodied religion through the special physical attainments of the saints – their literal odors of sanctity smelling of lilies, their burning hearts that literally heated others when they clasped them in the cold, the saints whose only evident nourishment was the Holy Species or host itself, down to the present monk Brother Simeon who, like St Francis, communicates in their own languages with the animals. While the monks love him, which

moves him, there is no love for others on Durtal's part in *En Route*; his spirituality is both self-centred and cerebral. Yet he also assesses his manic reasoning as the work of the Devil, an accursed Dark Night of the Soul.

Durtal comes to understand the religious life as one of disciplined daily actions rather than abstract belief, physically performing what cannot be believed. On his last day, he wanders through the grounds, Proust-like, remembering every detail of the natural landscape trans-formed by the monks' daily applications and appreciates his bare cell as an escape from aesthetic preferences or Tastes, an extraordinary admis-sion from the period's most notorious aesthete: "Suddenly he recog-nized that La Trappe had weaned him from his preferences…he had discovered how to lose the amusement of bric-a-brac, how to extirpate that last satisfaction in the white nakedness of a cell" (305, 312). On the last page, he returns to Paris, unfavorably contrasting the Parisian writers' conversation with the prayers of Brother Simeon, the peasant swineherd.

In *En Route*, Huysmans also formulates his acceptance of the doctrine of mystical substitution or compensation, in which escape from misery is impossible and one accepts suffering as expiation for one's own and others' sins.[10] In the final book of the tetralogy, *The Oblate of St. Benedict* (1903), the touchstone of saintliness is loving enemies and forgiving trespasses, as the peasants had forgiven Gilles de Rais for murdering their children and as Carmelite nuns take on and expiate the sins of the world. (Huysmans consistently turned to women as the most perfect faithful.) The highest form is those who enacted mystical substitution in "the heroic era of the hermit life…in a vault without light, without horizon, buried till death within four walls."[11] He concludes that Mary, the Mother of the Church, who prays for all sinners, united both active and contemplative lives; then she ascended to Heaven not in illness nor age, but Dormition, the Falling Asleep of the Virgin (244). Durtal views Claus Sluter's sculptures in Dijon and reflects on the partial view of each character in his prediction of the crucifixion. Having foreseen, they "lived in the present. Only the angels weep perpetually" (226). Somewhat consoled for his own weakness, he returns to Paris, asking strength to suppress self and live nowhere but in God.

## The desire and pursuit of the whole

At 5 a.m. Durtal escapes the squalls that tear across the district of La Beauce to wait for sunrise in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Chartres.

He contemplates the Virgin's condescensions first at La Salette, perilous of access above the abyss of Le Drac, and then at Lourdes.[12] The miracle of Lourdes, he reflects ironically, was its fame spreading through the modern advertising guidebook of Henri Lassèrre. Lourdes then fell into desuetude until Zola revived it "contrary to all the data of positive science on which he prided himself" (10). At La Salette the Virgin had appeared to mystics and artists in anguish and weeping, and at Lourdes to the masses, smiling and benign. Durtal muses on the humble with their enviable freedom from thought: "These women believed guilelessly, entirely, as man believed in the middle ages. These beings … hardly able to express themselves, hardly knowing how to read, wept with love in the presence of the Inaccessible … They are unburdened with the dreadful weight of doubt" (16).

As light begins to fill the stained glass windows, replicas of the Virgin are revealed in her many global guises, each with the Child of her race: "She seemed to have come from all the ends of the earth, under the semblance of every race known in the Middle Ages: black as an African, tawny as a Mongolian, pale coffee colour as a half-caste, and white as an European, thus declaring that, as mediator for the whole human race, She was everything to each, everything to all; and promising by the presence of Her Son, whose features bore the character of each race, that the Messiah had come to redeem all men without distinction" (19). As the light of day reveals the Cathedral filling with worshippers on their daily rounds, Durtal again contrasts the simple faith of the peasants with his perennial need, weakness, and skepticism: "They prayed less as complaining than as loving; these people, kneeling on the flags, had come for Her sake rather than for their own … and he let himself melt away in the soothing sweetness of the hymns, asking for nothing, silencing his ungratified desires, smothering his secret repining, thinking only of bidding an affectionate good-morning to the Mother to whom he had returned after such … a long absence" (21–2).

Thus ends the first chapter of the failed novel *La Cathédrale* (1898) – failed because it has no plot and its characters are but voices interpreting medieval art and architecture. As the second of the trilogy that begins with *En Route* (the purgative life) and concludes with *L'Oblat* (the unitive life), it corresponds in the way of spiritual autobiography to the contemplative life, in fact contemplating Chartres' architecture and sculpture. Repulsed by the materialism of the world (which is why he detested the "American" advertising tactics at Lourdes), Husymans sought comfort in a spiritualism that was most manifest in the appreciation of stone, like Ruskin in *The Stones of Venice*. Lay reviews were overwhelmingly

positive, which shocked him, while among the Church there were questions about the sincerity and permanence of a conversion that sprang from "an exacerbated sensibility and an artistic dilettantism." An article in *L'Univers* denounced him to the Index.[13]

As critics of *The Cathedral* have noted, the novel is unreadable as a novel. Like all Huysmans's fiction after *A Rebours*, it has entire, learned chapters on natural and artificial *genres*: e.g., herbs (X), windows (XIII), symbolical fauna of the Middle Ages (XIV). With three-fourths of the novel on the cathedral itself and the remaining quarter on Durtal's angst regarding his possible oblation – his "little love, dryness of spirit…and anaemia of the soul" (310) – he still despises prayer in common and wants to be alone with the Virgin. He reflects, "Has not the Virgin other sanctuaries less frequented, less well known…where She welcomes you if you love Her in solitude?" (16–17).

Having scrutinized the relation of self to community for twenty-five years, at the end of his life, Huysmans's ideal was still the withdrawn, immured, and self-secluded, the Carmelite nuns who take on and expiate the sins of the world in mystical substitution. Unable to commit to this spirit, he saw the modern oblate's role to revive and preserve its forms in the Liturgy, plain song, and art of the Middle Ages. Unable to be part of the community, he wrote a monument to the stone building that housed it. Synechdochally, taking the head for the whole person, he blamed his intellectual temperament of the lone scholar for dividing him from the community. The political radicals of the period were equally concerned about the potentially alienating effect of disembodied ideas, and compensated for it by immersion in the daily activities of slums, working people's colleges, workshops, and political parties.

But Huysmans was never reconciled to the Church. In his novels, priests are either bureaucrats or Satanists; only the monastic brothers occasionally elicit his approval when they demonstrate a capacity to love free of thought, which he could not achieve. Nonetheless, he learned to imitate their actions. Enveloped in Dolorist philosophy, he died uncomplaining of excruciating and mortifying pain due to cancer of the jaw, which he interpreted as mystical substitution or enraptured realism ("while the sagging mouth, with its lower jaw racked by titanic contractions, laughed atrociously"). Faith was a function, a way of life, not a body of doctrine, ideas, or belief. Its community of actions, including suffering, united the parts to the whole.

# Notes and References

## Introduction: Individuals-in-Relation

1. Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), pp. 12, 17.

2. Havelock Ellis, "A Note on Paul Bourget," *Pioneer* (October, 1889). In *Views and Reviews: a Selection of Uncollected Articles 1884–1932* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932), p. 52. He was quoting Paul Bourget's *Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine,* in which Bourget described decadence as that stage of economic development "which produces too large a number of individuals who are unsuited to the labours of the common type" (51), that is, of insatiable desires but limited effort. I discuss Nietzsche's very similar formulation of 1888 below. The origin of this definition of Decadence as a distorted relation of part to whole was probably Désiré Nisard's *Etudes* of 1834, in which Nisard thought that a stylistic over-emphasis on the component parts of writing at the expense of the whole argument indicated a degeneration of French culture.

3. See Bernard Bosanquet, *History of Aesthetic* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1892), pp. 441–71.

4. See, for one compact example, Victoria Cross's *Self and Other*, in which a Western "egoist" falls in love with an Indian nurse, who transforms him mentally, spiritually, and physically. Victoria Cross [Vivian Cory], *Self and the Other* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1911).

5. Mrs Havelock Ellis, *Attainment* (London: Alston Rivers, 1909).

6. I use this term in the sense that Barbara Hernnstein Smith develops in *Contingencies of Value* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

7. Julie A. Nelson, "Beyond Small-Is-Beautiful: a Buddhist and Feminist Analysis of Ethics and Business," Working Paper No. 04–01 Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University *http://ase.tufts.edu/gdae*. Later published as "A Buddhist and Feminist Analysis of Ethics and Business," *Development* (2004) 47 (3): 53–60. Nelson originally borrowed the terms separative and soluble from the feminist theologian Catherine Keller, *From a Broken Web: Separation, Sexism and Self* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968). With Paula England, Nelson introduced these terms into feminist economics. See England's essay, "The Separative Self: Androcentric Bias in Neoclassical Assumptions," in *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, eds. Marianne A. Ferber and Julie A. Nelson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 37–53. See also Donna Ladkin, "When Deontology and Utilitarianism Aren't Enough: How Heidegger's Notion of 'Dwelling' Might Help Organisational Leaders Resolve Ethical Issues," *Journal of Business Ethics* (April 2006) 56: 87–98; "The Enchantment of the Charismatic Leader: Charisma Reconsidered as Aesthetic Encounter," *Leadership* (April 2006) 2 (2): 165–180; and "Leading Beautifully: How Mastery, Congruence and Purpose Create

the Aesthetic of Embodied Leadership Practice," *Leadership Quarterly* (February 2008) 19(1): 31–41.

8. J. S. Mill, "On Liberty," in *Three Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 75.

9. Arthur Schopenhauer, *World as Will and Idea*, ed. David Berman (London: Dent, 1995), p. 62.

10. Herbert Spencer, *Progress: Its Law and Cause* in *Essays: Scientific, Political, and Speculative* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), I: 58.

11. Phenotype – that which changes or develops – has been historically distinguished from genotype. It is from the same root as "phenomenon": appearance.

12. Samuel Smiles, *Character* (London: Murray, 1897).

13. Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics: or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of Natural Selection and Inheritance to Political Society* (London: Kegan Paul, 1885), p. 98. "Men are guided by type, not by argument…the life of teachers is catching, not their tenets" (90).

14. This is only true of Mill in *On Liberty* and *On Representative Government*, that is, while he is thinking of the (male) subject in the abstract. In *The Subjection of Women*, woman is largely constructed by her environment.

15. Matthew Arnold, "On the Modern Element in Literature" Inaugural Lecture at Oxford Nov. 1857.

16. Lionel Johnson, "A Note upon the Practice and Theory of Verse at the Present Time Obtaining in France," in *Century Guild Hobby Horse* vol. VI (April 1891), pp. 61–6.

17. Friedrich Nietzsche, "The Case of Wagner: a Musician's Problem," trans. Walter Kaufmann, Internet under "The Case of Wagner," (1888) section 7.

18. Cited in Peter Keating, ed. *Into Unknown England 1866–1913* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), pp. 241–8.

19. Clive Bell, *Civilisation: an Essay* (London: Chatto, 1928), p. 142.

20. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* vol. 21 of *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works,* trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961), pp. 140–1.

21. Thomas Huxley, "Natural Rights and Political Rights," *The Nineteenth Century* vol. xxvii no. 156 (1890–91): 174–95, p. 179. Against Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*, which argued that only labor should earn possession and urged the expropriation of landowners, Huxley argues that since nobody has any "self-made" reason for ownership – "man" does not make himself or endow himself by his own labor with the powers he exerts, e.g., mothers endow their sons, a state endows those born into it – since, that is, nobody has any self-made claim, and since everybody has a "natural" right to get whatever it can – tigers, paupers, aristocrats – we should not open the doors to George's chaos. For if so, then all races – "Exquimaux, Fuegians, 400+ million Chinese, 150 million Hindostan, etc.," will then claim British labourers' property" (195). So Huxley argued that the British maintain the status quo unless they wanted the chaos of other races' natural claims.

22. There is a New Mechanism, however, that has a more fluid notion of mechanism (see the conclusion to Chapter 5 below), but the point here is that the parts change and can interchange with other parts. The system is dynamic.

23. John Dupré, *The Constituents of Life: Spinoza Lectures* (originally presented, University of Amsterdam, May–June 2006) (Van Gorcum, 2008).

24. See Maureen O'Malley and John Dupré, "Size Doesn't Matter: Towards a More Inclusive Philosophy of Biology," *Biology and Philosophy* 22 (2007): 155–9.

25. Only selfish genes would see altruism as a problem. Altruism is always in relation to a certain background. See Sober and Wilson vs. the ultra- or vulgar-Darwinism of Dawkins/ Dennett in *Unto Others: the Evolution and Psychology of Unselfish Behavior* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1999).

26. Lenny Moss, "Facilitated Variation, Developmental Recombination and Detachment: Emerging New Models for Understanding the Evolving Organism," *The Making Up of Organisms: Mapping the Future of Biological Models and Theories* Symposium June 8–10 2006, Paris, Ecole Normale Superieure. See also Moss's *What Genes Can't Do* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2004).

27. Ibid. "Niche Construction: the Organism and Macroevolution," Paris Conference.

28. Ibid. Alfred Tauber, "The Immune System in its Ecological Context," Paris Conference.

29. John Dupré, *Constituents of Life*, pp. 20–1.

30. See papers by Frédéric Bouchard, John Dupré, Carol Cleland, Steve Hughes, Philippe Huneman, Katie Kendig, George Levit, Pamela Lyon, Richard E. Michod, Maureen O'Malley, Samir Okasha, and Minus Van Baalen at the Meeting of the International Society for the History, Philosophy and Social Studies of Biology, 25–29 July 2007, University of Exeter. George Levine evaluates some of the complex debates in the history and philosophy of science in *Darwin Loves You: Natural Selection and the Re-Enchantment of the World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006) from cultural, ethical, and political perspectives.

31. Pamela Lyon and John Opie, "Prolegomena For A Cognitive Biology", paper presented at ISHPSSB conference 2007, University of Exeter.

32. See Leo W. Buss on the Modern Synthesis – the merging of genetics with development and the merging of development with evolution – in *The Evolution of Individuality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 9.

33. See Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species,* ed. Gillian Beer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. xxii.

34. Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, ed. James A. Secord (London: Penguin, 1998), p. 269.

35. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor,* ed. John D. Rosenberg vol. II (New York: Dover, 1968), p. 161.

36. Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: a Factor of Evolution* (London: Heinemann, 1910), p. 52.

37. Paul Crook, *Darwinism, War and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Thomas Dixon's *The Invention of Altruism: Making Moral Meanings in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) appeared while this book was in press.

38. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1968), par. 635 p. 339.

39. Nancy Armstrong, *How Novels Think* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 105. Armstrong sees this anarchic tradition as a threat to both the individual and the Novel, so she marks it as "mindless." Pater saw it as an alternative to individualism *tout court*. While I appreciate the *gravitas* of Armstrong's work, both here and in *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (see Chapter 2 below), my own approach is more pluralistic – there are many models of individuals-in-relation and many forms of dissemination beyond the novel.

40. Walter Pater, "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance* (1868; 1893) ed. Donald L. Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 186–8.

41. Evelyn Waugh, *Brideshead Revisited* (London: Chapman, 1945) Book III, chapter 1, p. 4.

42. I am citing from Macleod's preprint ms. *Liberalism and Letters*, for which I am grateful to the author. Macleod follows Randall Collins's *Sociology of Philosophies: a Global Theory of Intellectual Change* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998), in which Collins traces the intellectual groups, rivalries, and networks of philosophy from ancient China, classical Greece, and European modernity.

43. See John Burrow, *Whigs and Liberals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 5.

44. G. H. Lewes, *Problems of Life and Mind* vol. 2 (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1875), p. 27.

45. The new liberals not only critiqued the Manchester School's philosophy of self-interest and rational calculation but developed their own vocabulary for altruism. See Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), esp. 62–75. See also Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003) and Christopher Herbert's work on Victorian relativity *Victorian Relativity: Radical Thought and Scientific Discovery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

46. In "The Conundrum of Coherence," Christopher Herbert argues that the argument for coherence – the interrelationship of everything – has been at the base of science at least since Darwin's "inextricable web of ... affinities" through Spencer, Karl Pearson, W. K. Clifford's doctrine of physics, structural linguistics, Gestalt psychology, the ethnographic study of culture that saw cultures as "articulated wholes" (Ruth Benedict), up to New Criticism and, negatively, New Historicism, with its all pervasive "Discipline" (*New Literary History* 35.2 [2004]: 185–206). Rather than simply compiling inventories of essentially disjunct particles of data, a principle of coherence became the vehicle of concerted explanatory analysis. In calling this history of coherence "neuralgic" – hitting a nerve in the culture – Herbert also believes Coherence to be contradictory or incoherent, in that the more interrelated everything is, the more one must abandon the principle of causality and even of reason itself. Yet it seems that Herbert's perspective is rather that of postmodernism than of either the historical proponents of Coherence or contemporary science.

    The philosophical issues are far too complex to enter into here, but much of the history and philosophy of science has been concerned with the relation of relationship – coherence – to causation. William Whewell

used the term "consilience" to mean seeking principles with as wide an explanatory reach as possible; using the same term over a century later, the sociobiologist E. O. Wilson (1998) often seems to mean some strong doctrine of physical reductionism. For a critique of Wilson's *Consilience: the Unity of Knowledge*, see John Dupré, "Unification Not Proved," *Science* (29 May 1998): 1395.

47. J. A. Hobson, *The Social Problem* (1902) (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1996), p. 61.

48. Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (1911), *www.socserv.mcmaster. ca/~econ/ugcm/3ll3/hobhouse/liberalism.pdf p. 54*.

49. Ibid., pp. 58–9.

50. Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: an Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), p. 80.

51. See also John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), *Popular Print Media* (New York: Routledge, 2004), and *Victorian Print Media: a Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

52. Ana Parejo Vadillo, *Women Poets and Urban Aestheticism: Passengers of Modernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

53. Judith Flanders, *A Circle of Sisters* (New York: Norton, 2001).

54. Jeanne Mackenzie, *The Children of the Souls: a Tragedy of the First World War* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968).

55. Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies* (1998), p. 877. And for a concise example, see Collins's sociological analysis of Wittgenstein not as a "personality" but as an effect of networks and institutions and his privilege in moving around in them (734–7).

56. Edward Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams: Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: George Allen, 1916). See also Sheila Rowbotham, *Edward Carpenter: a Life of Liberty and Love* (London: Verso, 2008).

57. Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2002).

58. John Ruskin, "Two Boyhoods," in *Unto This Last and Other Writings*, ed. Clive Wilmer (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 153.

59. Brian Stableford, ed. *The Second Dedalus Book of Decadence: the Black Feast* (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1992).

60. See Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants: Economics and Aesthetics in Market Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

61. André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), xxxvii.

62. Dr Richard Betts, Head of Climate Impacts at the Hadley Centre in the Met Office, has confirmed to me the accuracy of Davis's climatology.

63. Edward Carpenter, *From Adam's Peak to Elephanta: Sketches in Ceylon and India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1910), see esp. Appendix pp. 358–70.

64. Although I think that Parminder Kaur Bakshi overstates her case that *From Adam's Peak* is primarily a travelogue of gay desire, see also her essay in *Edward Carpenter and Late Victorian Radicalism* ed. Tony Brown (London: Frank Cass, 1990) pp. 151–77.

65. Parker Geoffrey, ed., *The Times Illustrated History of the World* (London: Times Books, 1995) p. 206.

66. See the "Rise of Asia" in global economic literature almost anywhere, e.g., "Wird die Welt chinesisch?" (*Die Zeit*, 16 July 2005), "The sun also rises – a special issue on Japan's economic revival" (*The Economist*, 8–14 October 2005), and "The Rise of China" in *The Guardian* (7 November 2005), pp. 4–5. Since this chapter was drafted, the Asian economic literature has continued to grow.

67. E. Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). See especially chapter 11, "Europe: Vanishing Meditor", pp. 203–36.

68. G. Johnson, "Red on maps, grey in minds", *Times Higher* (27 May 2005), p. 27.

69. See, for example, recent debates in *Victorian Studies* on political versus aesthetic modernity (esp. Amanda Anderson in 47 no. 2, pp. 195–203 and Elaine Hadley "On a Darkling Plain: Victorian Liberalism and the Fantasy of Agency" in 48 no. 1, pp. 92–102). Anderson attempts to recover a political modernity from the mid-Victorian period which she thinks has been occluded by a *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic modernity. She proposes that Foucault's late work on identity and governmentality might be pertinent to the *fin*, while his earlier institutional power or panopticon stage might be more relevant to high Victorianism, so that the period is divided by the career of Foucault. I believe that the distinction is less between Mill and Morris, or Arnold and Wilde, than epiphenomenal of recent theory, especially Foucault.

    In addition to Nancy Armstrong and Jock Macleod above, see also Richard Dellamora, *Friendship's Bonds: Democracy and the Novel in Victorian England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2004); Stephen G. Engelmann, *Imagining Interest in Political Thought: Origins of Economic Rationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Lauren Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Daniel S. Malachuk, *Perfection, the State, and Victorian Liberalism* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Pam Morris, *Imagining Inclusive Society in 19th Century Novels: The Code of Sincerity in the Public Sphere* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); John Plotz, *The Crowd: British Literature and Public Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); David Wayne Thomas, *Cultivating Victorians: Liberal Culture and the Aesthetic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

70. See, for example, Ann Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Ann Heilmann, *New Women Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Theresa Mangum, *Married, Middlebrow, and Militant: Sarah Grand and the New Woman Novel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998); Patricia Murphy, *Time is of the Essence: Temporality, Gender, and the New Woman* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); Lyn Pykett, *Engendering Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Angelique Richardson, *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational*

*Reproduction and the New Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds., *The New Woman in Fact and Fiction: Fin-de-Siècle Feminisms* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

71. See Talia Schaffer, *The Forgotten Female Aesthetes: Literary Culture in Late-Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Schaffer and Kathy Psomiades, eds., *Women in British Aestheticism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999); Kathy Psomiades, *Beauty's Body: Femininity and Representation in British Aestheticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Catherine Maxwell and Patricia Pulham, *Vernon Lee: Decadence, Ethics, Aesthetics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Yopie Prins, *Victorian Sappho* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); and see Ana Vadillo above.

72. For primary sources see especially *Embodied Selves: an Anthology of Psychological Texts 1830–1890*, eds. Jenny Bourne Taylor and Sally Shuttleworth (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), and for extensive analysis see Rick Rylance, *Victorian Psychology and British Culture 1850–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

73. I discuss recent work on cultural philanthropy by Anne Anderson, Meaghan Clarke, and Diana Maltz. See Meaghan Clarke, *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880–1905* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005) and Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes 1870–1900* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

74. Relevant to this discussion are Daniele Archibugi, David Held, Martin Kohler, eds. *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998); James Bohman, ed. *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal* (Boston: MIT, 1997); Josh Cohen, *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism* (Boston: Beacon, 1996); Jacques Derrida, "On Cosmpolitanism," in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness,* trans. Mark Dooley (London: Routledge, 2001); Stefan Elbe, *Europe: a Nietzschean Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003); Derek Heater, *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (Basingstoke: Palgrave – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1996); Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds. *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds. *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Balibar above.

75. See Matthew Beaumont, *Utopia, Ltd. Ideologies of Social Dreaming in England 1870–1900* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2005); Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities, Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Ruth Livesey, *Socialism, Sex and the Culture of Aestheticism in Britain, 1880–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Deborah Mutch, *English Socialist Periodicals, 1880–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate: 2005); John Stokes, ed. *Eleanor Marx (1855–1898): Life, Work, Contacts* (Aldershot: Ashgate: 2000).

76. These collaborations began with a series of five MLA panels organized by the Late Nineteenth-Early Twentieth Century English Literature Division at the Annual Conventions of 2005–2008 on Global Perspectives on Decadence,

Modernism, and Modernity and are now centred in the Global Circulation Project of *Literature Compass*.

77. For the relationship between the biological and juridico-institutional, and between democracy and fascism, in biopolitics, see Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) [1st pub. 1995], p. 144.)

# 1   The Ironies of Western Individualism

1. The relation of the Individual to the State or collective has been a problem at least since Plato and exacerbated in the West since the seventeenth century. Bibliography on individualism is enormous. I have found Martin Hollis, *The Cunning of Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) and Harold Kincaid, *Individualism and the Unity of Science* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997) particularly helpful in clarifying the issues relevant to economics and the history of economic thought. For the cultural implications of economic individualism, I have found most useful, and I discuss below, Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987); Alain Renaut, *The Era of the Individual: a Contribution to a History of Subjectivity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Ian Watt, *Myths of Modern Individualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

2. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, ed. Edwin Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 1937), pp. 15–16.

3. See *Natural Images in Economic Thought*, ed. Philip Mirowski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) and R. Gagnier "Culture and Economics," *Victorian Literature and Culture* (1998), pp. 477–84.

4. "Progress: Its Law and Cause" (1857) in Herbert Spencer, *Essays: Scientific, Political, Speculative* vol. 1 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1883), pp. 2–3.

5. For detailed history of biologism in Victorian theories of Progess, see George Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987) and *After Tylor* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Peter J. Bowler, *Evolution: the History of an Idea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989): and Michael Ruse, *Monad to Man: the Concept of Progress in Evolutionary Biology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

6. Regenia Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants: Economics and Aesthetics in Market Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). See chapter 3, "Modernity and Progress toward Individualism in Economics and Aesthetics," specifically on the economic aspects of the "civilized" Man of Taste.

7. In "Progress and Freud's Theory of Instincts," Herbert Marcuse showed the extension of Spencerian sociology into psychoanalysis. In "the vicious circle of progress" the "rising productivity of social labor remains linked to rising repression, which itself in turn contributes to raising productivity…But just as progress becomes automatic, so it cancels and negates itself, for it prohibits the enjoyment of its own fruits," *Five Lectures* (Boston: Beacon, 1970), p. 36.

8. *Herbert Spencer and the Limits of the State: the Late Nineteenth-Century Debate Between Individualism and Collectivism*, ed. Michael Taylor (Bristol:

Thoemmes Press, 1996), esp. xvii–xviii. And Paul Crook is very good on the complexity of Spencer's stadial theory. See ch. 2 "The Age of Spencer and Huxley" in *Darwinism, War and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 29–62.

9. On the distinction between Smithian self-interest and mid-Victorian fears of selfishness, see Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: an Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain 1750–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. 390.

10. Having largely disappeared since its classical history, the term hedonic re-emerged in the nineteenth-century, representing the mathematical and psychological economy of pleasure and pain. See also Gagnier (2000) and the discussion of self-illusory hedonism in section 1.3 below.

11. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy with Friendship's Garland and Some Literary Essays* vol. V of *The Complete Prose Works*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965), pp. 94–5.

12. See Immanuel Wallerstein on Dutch investment in British wars, calling Britain from Arnold's time to the Second World War a "second Holland": "this symbiotic arrangement between a formerly hegemonic power and the new rising star provided graceful retirement income for the one and a crucial push forward against the rival for the other. The pattern was repeated later in the period from 1873 to 1945, with Great Britain playing the Dutch role and the US in the English role." Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), p. 281.

13. *Matthew Arnold* in the Oxford Authors Series, eds. Miriam Allott and Robert H. Super (Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 489–504.

14. For Arnold's tendency to form abstractions into competitive oppositions, see Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), pp. 27–9. And see Arnold (1965), Commentary pp. 415–17.

15. See my discussion of "The Soul of Man" in *Idylls*, pp. 29–34.

16. Decades later Martin Heidegger evidently came to similar conclusions regarding America's lack of history and self-consciousness. Seeing "Americanism" as a species of the "Technological" worldview, Heidegger called America efficient, practical, calculating, and materialistic, valuing success itself rather than any specific goal sought. See Mark Wrathall, "America the Metaphysical? Heidegger on the History of Our Age," 23 October 2006, University of Exeter. Choice itself is the goal, not the value of any specific choice.

17. See Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx* vol. 2 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), p. 154. Engels's view anticipated Heidegger's characterizations of "America's" endless possibilities and gigantic ambitions.

18. Clive Bell (1928), *Civilization: an Essay* (London: Pelican, 1938), p. 14.

19. See also Fry's popular descendent Kenneth Clark in his *Civilization* series, and Craufurd D. Goodwin, "Economics Meets Esthetics in the Bloomsbury Group" in *Sublime Economy: On the Intersection of Art and Economics*, eds. Jack Amariglio, Joseph W. Childers, Stephen Cullenberg (Oxford: Routledge, 2009), pp. 137–51.

20. Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961), 21: 115.

21. It is arguably the historical commitment to such materialism that made cultural "Theory" in the United States so receptive to the depthlessness of postmodernism.

22. In his most Arnoldian mode, Terry Eagleton has referred to the "ironically titled United States" (*The Idea of Culture* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1999], p. 42 ). See also R. Gagnier, "Oxford Occidentalism, or the Idea of America" (Review of Eagleton's *Idea of Culture*) in *Kenyon Review,* XXIV no. 1 (winter 2002), 1–9.

23. Henry James, *Hawthorne* Introduction and Notes by Tony Tanner (1883) (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp. 55–6.

24. Reprinted as Introduction to Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun: or the Romance of Monte Beni* (London: Dent, 1860), p. vii.

25. See ch. 2 "Emancipated Females: the Rome Community," in Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 31–59, for an account of Harriet Hosmer, Hawthorne's model for Hilda. Hosmer's "Marble Faun" dates from 1865.

26. Frederick Crews, *The Sins of the Fathers: Hawthorne's Psychological Themes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 213. See also Anne Claire Anderson, chapter 4 "Women in White Or Poor Sufferer for Another's Sin!" in *The High Art Maiden: Edward Burne-Jones and the Girls on the Golden Stairs: Women and British Aestheticism c. 1860–1900.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of Exeter, English, 2001; Malcolm Bradbury, "Introduction" to *The Marble Faun*, (London: Dent, Everyman Library, 1995); Richard Harter Fogle, *Hawthorne's Imagery: the Proper Light and Shadow in the Major Romances* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969); Robert Lawson-Peebles, *American Literature Before 1880* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2003); Hugo McPherson, *Hawthorne as Myth-Maker: a Study in Imagination* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1969).

27. Rachel Cusk, "The Water Cure," *Guardian Weekend* (26 March 2005): 39.

28. Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961), 21: 95.

29. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, 3 vols., trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: Trubner, 1883): 1/130.

30. For the most concise statement, see Nietzsche's "What is Noble?" in *Beyond Good and Evil: Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future,* trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1989), pp. 199–238.

31. Brian Morris, *Western Conceptions of the Individual* (Oxford: Berg, 1991), p. 99.

32. Leon Trotsky, *My Life* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 334.

33. Georges Bataille, "The Psychological Structure of Fascism," in *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927–1939* (Manchester: Manchester Univesity Press, 1985), pp. 137–60.

34. Theodor Adorno, "Freudian Theory and the Pattern of Fascist Propaganda", (1951) in Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt, eds. *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader* (New York: Continuum, 1985), pp. 118–37.

35. See David Hume's famous dictum that "Reason is and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them," in which a minimal reason relates means to ends

but makes no claims concerning the rightness of ends (*A Treatise of Human Nature* [Middlesex: Penguin, 1969], p. 415).

36. Renaut, *The Era of the Individual* (1997). Although Renaut does not acknowledge them, he has been preceded in his critique of individualism by a long line of feminist theorists. The locus classicus is Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). See also Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) and, specifically in relation to economic individualism, *Beyond Economic Man: Feminist Theory and Economics*, eds. Marianne A. Ferber and Julie A. Nelson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

37. Renaut illustrates by way of Nietzsche's "pure differentiation" (132) and denunciation "of the disappearance of the differentiated individual amidst the general levelling of the masses" (133). For Nietzsche, consciousness and language "accomplish a thorough corruption" from individuality and throw humankind onto the herd. Similarly the Hobbes scholar Jean Hampton stressed Hobbes's "privacy thesis": that our thoughts, beliefs, emotions are "cut off" from others and confined to the "cell walls" of our person. (See Jean Hampton, *Hobbes and the Social Contract Tradition* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986], pp. 9–10.) For Hobbes as for this Nietzsche (I shall discuss other "masks" of Nietzsche below), language is not constitutive of intersubjectivity, but is of instrumental value only. Words are needed only as "marks" to help us remember our thoughts, or as "signs" to help us communicate with others in order to pursue better the satisfaction of our innermost independent desires (ibid.). Renaut illustrates how easily such extreme, ontological, individualism can slide from independence to domination with Nietzsche's aphorism (paragraph 784) in *The Will to Power* (1888): "One desires freedom so long as one does not possess power. Once one does possess it, one desires to overpower" (Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, ed. Walter Kaufman, trans. Kaufman and R. J. Hollingdale [New York: Vintage, 1968], p. 412.) In contrast, feminist theorists have often distinguished "power to" or empowerment as autonomy from both independence and domination (or "power over"). See Chapter 2 below.

38. Colin Campbell, p. 89.

39. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, ed. Donald Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 188. See Gagnier (2000), chapter 1.

40. See Gerald Monsman, *Walter Pater* (Boston: Twayne, 1977), p. 169 and the Introduction above.

41. In the closest study to date of the novel, Carolyn Williams reads the climactic chapter 19, "The Will as Vision," as willed "relief from solitude," culminating in "an unfailing companion ever at [Marius's] side," which vision would resolve itself as Christian Hope. Williams reads the novel as "the modern dialogue of the mind with itself deplored by Arnold but represented by Pater … as the essential dialogue." See Carolyn Williams, *Transfigured World: Walter Pater's Aesthetic Historicism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), Part 3 "Historical Novelty and *Marius the Epicurean*," esp. pp. 200–217.

42. In *Walter Pater: the Critical Heritage*, ed. R. M. Seiler (London: Routledge Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 128.

43. "In phantasy," Wollheim writes, "Pater was a homosexual necrophile." "Walter Pater: From Philosphy to Art" in *Walter Pater and the Culture of*

*the Fin-de-Siècle*, ed. E. S. Shaffer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 37–8.

44. Stanley Jevons, *The Theory of Political Economy* (London: Macmillan, 1888), p. 14.

45. See R. Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants: Economics and Aesthetics in Market Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), chapter 1.

46. Recent work suggests that by the mid-nineteenth century earlier forms of sympathy and toleration had begun to contract as biological, psychological, or anthropological forms of explanation extended their domains. Studying theories of race, Cora Kaplan sees pre-1850 recognition of likeness or universalism (as in the anti-slavery banner, "Am I not a Man and a Brother?") turning to intolerance of difference: economies of sympathy gave way to economies of instinctive repulsion between races just at the moment when races were technically emancipated to intermingle as equals (Cora Kaplan, "The Toyseller," Lecture presented at the University of Exeter 17 May 1999. See also Kaplan's "Black Figures/ English Landscape," *Victorian Literature and Culture* [1999] 27(2): 501–5).

    A sociological explanation would point to the uncertainty of roles after mid-century: freed slaves, waged laborers, factory girls, and so forth: how would their growing presence impact traditional hierarchical social relations? One contributing factor suggested by this chapter is the increased emphasis on individuation in the second half of the century. The fear of difference that postcolonial critics have noted was in part fed by the perception of just how different – differentiated – people would become from one another, through the division of labor and multiplication of tastes that were essential to the modern economy.

    Also see Linda Dowling's *The Vulgarization of Art: the Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996) for the decline of universalism in the course of the nineteenth century.

47. Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean* (London: Everyman, 1968), p. 14.

48. The title of Baron Corvo's (Frederick Rolfe's) novel *The Desire and Pursuit of the Whole: a Romance of Modern Venice* (1909) is taken from Plato's parable, in which divided soulmates pursue each other until they are reunited as a "whole." For an analysis of Rolfe's novel, see Gagnier, *Insatiability*, pp. 147–56.

49. *The Germ* I (January 1850): 23–33.

50. This account of the girls on the Golden Stairs is from Anne Anderson, chapter 3: "Life into Art and Art into Life: Burne-Jones and the Golden Girls" ("The High-Art Maiden", Ph.D. dissertation, University of Exeter, 2001), p. 6. I am grateful to Anderson for allowing me to interpret her research preprint. See also Anne Anderson, "Soul's Beauty: Burne-Jones and Girls on *The Golden Stairs*," *Nineteenth Century: Magazine of the Victorian Society in America* (Spring 1998) 18(1): 17–23.

51. From A. W. Baldwin, *The Macdonald Sisters* (London: Peter Davies, 1960), pp. 142–3.

52. From G. F. Watts, "Thoughts on Art," quoted in Mary Watts, *The Annals of an Artist's Life* (London: Macmillan, 1912) vol. 3, p. 36.

53. From Richard Dorment and Margaret Macdonald, Exhibition Catalogue No. 14 (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), pp. 77–8.

54.  Andrew Eastham, "The Ideal Stages of Aestheticism: Theatricality in the Fiction and Criticism of Pater, Wilde, and James," Ph.D. Thesis King's College London 2004.

55.  *Selected Poems of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1957), p. 73.

56.  See Paul Edwards, "Futurism, Literature and the Market" in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century English Literature,* eds. Laura Marcus and Peter Nicholls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 132–51; Mark Morrison, "Marketing British Modernism: *The Egoist* and Counter-Public Spheres," *Twentieth-Century Literature* 43:4 (Winter 1997) 43(4): 439–69.

## 2   New Women, Female Aesthetes, and Socialist Individualists

1.  That is, individually-based models of competitive natural selection are being challenged by more cooperative accounts of the biology.

2.  For extended discussions of the New Woman, see Ann Ardis, *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Ann Heilmann, *New Woman Fiction: Women Writing First-Wave Feminism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2000) and ed., *The Late-Victorian Marriage Question: a Collection of Key New Woman Texts* 5 vols. (London: Routledge, 1998); Sally Ledger, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997); Angelique Richardson and Chris Willis, eds. *The New Woman in Fact and Fiction* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

3.  Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage*, Vol. 1 pp. 1–239 of *The Late-Victorian Marriage Question: a Collection of Key New Woman Texts*. Caird's critique began in 1888 with "Marriage," *Westminster Review* (1888) 130(2): 186–201.

4.  Grant Allen, "The Response by Contemporary Critics and Journalists" in Heilmann (1998) vol. 1: p. 344.

5.  Friedrich Nietzsche [1888], *The Will to Power*, ed. Walter Kaufman, trans. Walter Kaufman and John Reginald Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1968), p. 412.

6.  For an analysis of Crackanthorpe's "A Conflict of Egoisms" see R. Gagnier, *The Insatiability of Human Wants: Economics and Aesthetics in Market Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 170–1.

7.  The success of George Egerton's *Keynotes* (1893), short stories articulating women's concerns, led the Bodley Head proprietors to initiate a series in its name. It included Egerton's *Discords* (1894), Florence Farr's *The Dancing Faun* (1894), Ella D'Arcy's *Monochromes* (1895), Arthur Machen's *The Great God Pan* (1894) and *The Three Impostors* (1895), Netta Syrett's *Nobody's Fault* (1896), Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did* (1895), and others with key 1890s themes: sexuality, women's relationships, the role of the artist, psychological "studies", fantasy, masks, and so forth. See James G. Nelson, *The Early Nineties: a View from the Bodley Head* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

8.  Grant Allen, *The Woman Who Did* (London: John Lane, 1895), p. 241.

9.  These issues are discussed in Isobel Armstrong, *The Radical Aesthetic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 110.

10. Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1961) vols. 15–16, pp. 395–6. In the German edition, Sigmund Freud, "Die Angst" in *Studienausgabe* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1969): pp. 382–3.

11. Carolyn Christensen Nelson, ed. *A New Woman Reader* (Peterborough: Broadview, 2001), p. 30.

12. See Elaine Showalter, ed. *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siècle* (London: Virago, 1993), pp. 69–73.

13. See Knut Hamsun, *Hunger*, trans. George Egerton (New York: Knopf, 1920). I am grateful to the Hamsun expert Peter Jackson for Hamsun's later history.

14. *Women Who Did: Stories by Men and Women*, ed. A. Richardson (London: Penguin, 2002), p. lxv.

15. In *Daughters of Decadence: Women Writers of the Fin-de-Siècle*, ed. Elaine Showalter (London: Virago, 1993), pp. 13–14.

16. In Richardson, ed. (2002), pp. 308–9.

17. Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: a Political History of the Novel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) and *How Novels Think: The Limits of Individualism from 1719–1900* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005).

18. First published in Alice Meynell's *The Colour of Life: Essays on Things Seen and Heard* (London: John Lane, 1896). Also in *Women Who Did: Stories by Men and Women 1890–1914*, ed. Angelique Richardson (London: Penguin, 2002), pp. 177–80.

19. Alice Meynell, *Prose and Poetry Centenary Volume* ed. Vita Sackville-West (London: Jonathan Cape, 1947), pp. 211–12.

20. Sarah Grand, "Eugenia, a Modern Maiden and a Man Amazed." In *Our Manifold Nature* (London: Heinemann, 1894), pp. 139–40. I am grateful to Angelique Richardson for drawing my attention to Grand's "Eugenia" and to the eugenic aspects of New Woman literature generally. See Richardson's *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

21. Ernest Rhys, *Everyman Remembers* (London: 1931), pp. 47–8 as cited in Karl Beckson, *London in the 1890s* (New York: Norton, 1992).

22. Victoria Cross [1903], *Six Chapters of A Man's Life* (London: Pearson, 1936), pp. 33, 80, 106 and passim). I am grateful to Virginia Blain for drawing my attention to *Six Chapters*. See Virginia Blain, "Cross-Dressing in Fiction: Literary History and the Cultural Construction of Sexuality" in Terry Threadgold and Anne Cranny-Francis, eds., *Feminine, Masculine, and Representation* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1990), pp. 140–53.

23. Charlotte Mitchell, *Victoria Cross: (1868–1952): a Bibliography* Victorian Fiction Research Guide 30 (Queensland, 2002). I am grateful to Sunie Fletcher, who secured for me the Cross *Bibliography* and whose Ph.D. Thesis, University of Exeter, 2007, focusses on the literature of the female aesthetes.

24. See Shoshana Milgram Knapp, "Victoria Cross" in William B. Thesing, ed. *British Short-Fiction Writers 1880–1914* (Detroit: Gale, 1994), pp. 75–84.

25. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies I: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, trans. Stephen Conway in collaboration with Erica Carter and Chris Turner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), pp. 105 and passim.

26. Georges Bataille, "The Psychological Structure of Fascism," In *Visions of Excess: Selected Writings 1927–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 137–60, esp. 150–1.

27. A contemporary British version of the same male horror of female bodies and floods is T. S. Eliot's buttoned-up banker's suits growing ever more rigid and proper as his revulsion at his wife's menstruation grew more pathological: he ultimately agreed to have her institutionalized – walled-up – and never visited her again in the eight and a half years before she died. Eliot's disgust was shared by many of the early modernists, though his was perhaps, like his clothing, extreme. Peter Brooker concludes his chapter on this unsavory aspect of Eliot's masculinity with his judgment that the best of both Vivien and Eliot belonged to their "heterogeneous earlier period, full of its melancholy tensions of self and other, male and female" (157). See Peter Brooker, ch. 7 "The Nerves in Patterns" in *Bohemian London: the Social Scene of Early Modernism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 132–57. One could speculate further on Eliot's need as an American to differentiate himself via the British class system and its trappings. See Chapter 1 above for British fear of "American" massification.

28. Victoria Cross, *Self and the Other* (London: Werner Laurie, 1911), p. 1.

29. See Talia Schaffer, *The Forgotten Female Aesthetes: Literary Culture in Late-Victorian England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000). Schaffer's groundbreaking revival of the female aesthetes was influential on another volume that discusses many of them: Mariott Watson, Michael Field, Amy Levy, A. Mary F. Robinson, and Alice Meynell: *The Fin-de-Siecle Poem: English Literary Culture and the 1890s*, ed. Joseph Bristow (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2005).

30. All citations from Alice Meynell, *Prose and Poetry Centenary Volume* ed. Vita Sackville-West (London: Jonathan Cape, 1947), pp. 213–16.

31. Woolf's essays owe much to Meynell. Although Hermione Lee attributes the form of Woolf's "On Being Ill" to Romantic essayists Hazlitt, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, Lamb and DeQuincey, stylistically they share more with Meynell. See Lee's essay "Prone to Fancy" in *The Guardian* "Lives and Letters" (18 December 2004), pp. 36–7.

32. Paper presented at Interdisciplinary Studies Symposium, Birkbeck College, June 2004.

33. For a synopsis of this work and bibliography see chapter 2 "Alice Meynell: an Impressionist in Kensington," in Ana Parejo Vadillo, *Women Poets and Urban Aestheticism: Passengers of Modernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 78–116.

34. See Richard Sennett, "Cosmopolitanism and the Social Experience of Cities," in *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice"*, eds. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 42–8.

35. Judy Greenway, "No Place for Women? Anti-utopianism and the Utopian Politics of the 1890s," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B Human Geography 84B* (2002): 201–9, p. 204.

36. Julia Briggs, *A Woman of Passion: the Life of E. Nesbit 1858–1924* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), p. 64.

37. Mrs Havelock Ellis, *Stories and Essays* 2 vols. (New Jersey: Free Spirit Press, 1924), vi.
38. In "Fabians and Faddists: Edwardian Satirists Write the 'New Life' " in *Changing Times: Elites and the Dynamics of Local Politics* (Belgium: Peeters, 2007), pp. 107–20, on satirical treatments of radical movements at the *fin de siècle*, Diana Maltz is correct in counterposing the inner-directed FNL with the State-oriented Fabians. The perspective of the radicals as "faddists" is satirical, that is, reductive, and not one that I use in this book, which intends to see them organically in their total environments.
39. See "Semi-Detached Marriage" in Mrs Havelock Ellis, *The New Horizon in Love and Life* (A and C Black, 1921), pp. 23–31.

## 3   Decadent Interiority and the Will

1. Charles Baudelaire, "Further Notes on Edgar Poe," *Selected Writings on Art and Literature*, trans. P. E. Charvet (London: Penguin, 1992), p. 189.
2. See Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), ch. 4 "Art for Love's Sake", pp. 137–176.
3. See ibid., and also Kathy Alexis Psomiades, *Beauty's Body: Femininity and Representation in British Aestheticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).
4. Edgar Allan Poe, "Berenice," in *The Second Dedalus Book of Decadence: The Black Feast*, ed. Brian Stableford (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1992), p. 232.
5. Thomas Mann, *Reflections of a Nonpolitical Man*, trans. Walter D. Morris (New York: Ungar, 1983).
6. W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies: the Trembling of the Veil* (London: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 303–4.
7. J-K Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Penguin, 1982), p. 101.
8. Arthur Symons, *Studies in Prose and Verse* (London: Dent, 1904), p. 289.
9. John R. Reed, *Victorian Will* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989).
10. See Linda Dowling, *The Vulgarization of Art: the Victorians and Aesthetic Democracy* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996).
11. Havelock Ellis, "A Note on Paul Bourget," *Pioneer* (October, 1889). See Introduction above.
12. Lionel Johnson, "A Note upon the Practice and Theory of Verse at the Present Time Obtaining in France", *Century Guild Hobby Horse*, VI (April 1891): 61–6.
13. Cited in R. K. R. Thornton, *The Decadent Dilemma* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), p. 4.
14. John Sloan, *John Davidson: First of the Moderns* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 125.
15. See Regenia Gagnier, "Individualism from the New Woman to the Genome: Autonomy and Independence," in *Partial Answers*, Ii (Jan. 2003): 103–28.
16. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, ed. Donald L. Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 187–8.

17. Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, ed. Alan Manford (Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 87.
18. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Poems* (London: Dent, 1968), p. 72.
19. *The Portable Oscar Wilde*, ed. Richard Aldington and Stanley Weintraub (London: Penguin, 1981), p. 626.
20. For the tensions between Symons's posture of the Artist and his Cornish family's Methodism, see R. Gagnier, "Art, Elitism, and Gender: the Last of the Aesthetes," in *Review* 12 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), pp. 107–17.
21. Swinburne"s eroticized mechanical meter may have been beaten into his young body by classics tutors at school. See Yopie Prins, *Victorian Sappho* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 119–22.
22. N. Natasha Kuzmanovic, *John Paul Cooper: Designer and Craftsman of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1999), p. 155.
23. Henning Eichberg, "Forward Race and the Laughter of Pygmies: On Olympic Sport," in Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter, eds. *Fin de Siècle and Its Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 115–31.
24. See Mikulas Teich and Roy Porter, eds. *Fin de Siècle and Its Legacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
25. Patrick Brantlinger, "Mass Media and Culture in Fin-de-siècle Europe," in Teich and Porter, pp. 80–97.
26. Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, trans. W. D. Halls, ed. Stephen Lukes (New York: Free Press, 1982).
27. Yvonne Kapp, *Eleanor Marx*, 2 vols (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1972, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 271, 413.
28. This was Karl Marx's definition of the communist ideal in 1875 of what came to be called in the 1890s the "Critique of the Gotha Program."
29. Gottfried Herder, "Essay on the Origin of Language" in *On the Origin of Language. Two Essays. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johann Gottfried Herder*, trans. with Afterwords by John H. Moran and Alexander Gode (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 87–166.
30. This exposition of Herder's theory of detachment and compensation is indebted to conversations with the philosopher of biology Lenny Moss.
31. Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen-Nineties* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), p. 215.
32. It is regrettable that in the only monograph on the topic, *Rhythm and Will in Victorian Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Matthew Campbell makes no reference to Davidson.
33. A worshipper of erotic love (if sometimes a practical misogynist), his figure for poetic creativity to his publisher was graphically gynaecological: "Whenever I am delivered of a book, and a publisher has taken it, until it is published I feel like a man whose child is born, indeed, but from whom it has not been detached. Here have I been going about since November with *Fleet-Street Eclogues* hanging to my mind by the still uncut umbilical cord as it were...Do relieve me of this burden." This to the mild bookseller Elkin Mathews in Exeter and John Lane, who began his career as a junior clerk in Devon. See Sloan, *John Davidson: First of the Moderns* (1995), p. 86.

34. John Davidson, "Testament of a Vivisector" No. 1 in *Testaments* (London: Grant Richards, 1901–02).

35. Nonetheless, many Davidson aficionados prefer his last, itinerant poems, in which the doctrine of matter is subsumed within the imagery, rather than the subject of prophecy. See Sloan (1995), p. 245.

36. John Davidson, "Thirty Bob a Week," in *Poetry of the 1890s*, eds. R. K. R. Thornton and Marion Thain (London: Penguin, 1997), pp. 89–93.

37. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1968), par. 765 p. 402.

38. John R. Reed, *Victorian Will* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989). Reed supplies a full bibliography up to 1989 and conveniently organizes his book with context in Part I and literature in Part II of the early, middle, and late Victorian periods, primarily focussing on fiction.

39. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, 3 vols., trans. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp (London: Trubner, 1883), vol. 1 p. 130. See also the more recent commentary in Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Idea*, ed. David Berman, trans. Jill Berman (London: Dent, 1995).

40. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and R. J. Hollingdale, ed. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1968).

41. Daniel Pick, "Body and Will" in *The Many Faces of Evolution*, eds. P. Dassen and M. Kemperink (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

42. See also Alison Winter, *Mesmerised: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

43. Henry Maudsley, *Body and Will: In its Metaphysical, Physiological and Pathological Aspects* (London: Kegan, Paul, 1883), p. 13.

44. Stableford, *Black Feast* (1992), p. 5.

45. CNN:com/CNN/Programs/people/shows/McVeigh/profile.html.

46. In *Nations and Identities*, ed. Vincent P. Pecora (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 160.

47. Pecora, *Nations and Identities*, p. 188.

48. See in Pecora, p. 270.

49. Ortwin de Graef, Dirk de Geest, and Eveline Vanfraussen, "Fascist Politics and Literary Criticism," in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. IX, *Twentieth-Century Historical, Philosophical and Psychological Perspectives*, ed. Christa Knellwolf and Christopher Norris (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 71–89.

50. Robert O. Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism," *The Journal of Modern History* (March 1998) 70(1): 1–23.

51. Agamben calls it the transformation of natural heredity into a political task, a biopolitics (*Homo Sacer*, p. 148).

52. Kasturi Chaudhuri, "Synge and the Irish Literary Renaissance," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Calcutta, New Delhi, 2000), p. 68.

53. Scott Ashley, "Primitivism, Celticism and Morbidity in the Atlantic *fin de siècle*," in Patrick McGuinness, *Symbolism, Decadence and the Fin de Siècle: French and European Perspectives* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), pp. 175–93.

54. Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classe*s (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 407.

## 4   The Unclassed and the Non-Christian
## Roots of Philanthropy

1. I am grateful for a travel grant from the British Academy, which allowed me to complete research for this chapter.

2. Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), ch. 4 "Authentic Réssentiment: Generic Discontinuities and Ideologemes in the 'Experimental Novels' of George Gissing," pp. 185–205.

3. George Bernard Shaw, "Over Population," in "The Economic Basis of Socialism," *Fabian Essays* vol. 4 of *Democratic Socialism in Britain: Classic Texts in Economic and Political Thought 1852–1952* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1996), p. 20.

4. Lauren M. E. Goodlad, *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003). Goodlad's excellent elaboration of Victorian pastorship is complicated by her expressed need to begin and end in Foucault (she is providing a critique of early Foucault's panopticon in favor of Foucault's later essays on governmentality). If it had not been for a reduction to disciplined power on the part of some of Foucault's followers, we would not have needed Goodlad's corrective. This two-steps-forward-two-steps-back, theoretical-reduction-and-corrective is one of the hazards of disciplinary internalism. Two recent reinterpretations of Bentham that counteract the panopticon are Kathleen Blake's *The Pleasures of Benthamism: Victorian Literature, Utility, Political Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); "*Bleak House*, Political Economy, Victorian Studies," in *Victorian Literature and Culture* 25: 1–21; "Bentham, Utilitarianism, Pleasure," at the Locating the Victorians Conference (London, July 2001); "Pleasures of Benthamism: 'Panopticon' and 'Sextus' ", MLA Annual Meeting, Washington DC 2000; and Stephen G. Engelmann, *Imagining Interest in Political Thought: Origins of Economic Rationality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). In many ways, the paradox was less of a contradiction than Goodlad suggests: throughout *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* (1882), the cultural philanthropist Walter Besant preached self-help, but because he believed in the power of "culture" to reform the individual, self-help was not to interfere with the more important guidance offered from above. See Chris Waters's ch. 3 "Philanthropy and the Social Utility of Free Time" in *British Socialists and the Politics of Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990): 65–96.

   In some ways, my more occult excavation of Victorian springs of action is closer to the ideas of another recent book on Victorian society, Pam Morris's *Imagining Inclusive Society in 19th-Century Novels*. Although Morris does not deal with the *fin de siècle*, her argument that between 1846 and 1867 social inclusiveness changed from an abstract political idea to one central to popular consciousness is even more applicable to the end of the century and to philologists like Leland in search of a common language. See Pam Morris, *Imagining Inclusive Society in 19th-Century Novels: The Code of Sincerity in the Public Sphere* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

5. Anne Anderson, "Victorian High Society and Social Duty: the Promotion of 'Recreative Learning and Voluntary Teaching'," *History of Education*, 31(4) (2002): 311–34, p. 333.

6. See Diana Maltz, *British Aestheticism and the Urban Working Classes, 1870–1900: Beauty for the People* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

7. Oscar Wilde, "The Soul of Man Under Socialism," *The Artist as Critic: Critical Writings of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Richard Ellmann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 259.

8. Cited in Anne Anderson, "Queen Victoria's Daughters and 'the Tide of Fashionable Philanthropy,' " *Women's History Magazine* 41 (June 2002): 10–15, p. 13.

9. Clive Bell, *Civilization: an Essay* (London: Pelican, 1938), p. 87.

10. This is Mackail's distinction. Morris himself emphasized the aesthetic process – the sensuous activity of making – over the finished product (although Morris was not always charitable toward charity products). In fact, the HAIA's household products were not nearly so derisory as Mackail's language would lead one to expect (see Anderson's illustrations).

11. Ian Fletcher, "Some Aspects of Aestheticism," *Twilight of Dawn: Studies in English Literature in Transition*, ed. O. M. Brack, Jr. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), p. 33.

12. Jeanne MacKenzie, *The Children of the Souls: a Tragedy of the First World War* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1984), p. 10.

13. *Guardian*, 29 December 1920.

14. Such issues focussed the "Art for Life's Sake" Conference at the Southampton Institute 16–17 November 2002, organizers Anne Anderson and Diana Maltz.

15. Meaghan Clarke, *Critical Voices: Women and Art Criticism in Britain 1880–1905* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

16. I am especially grateful to Anne Anderson and Shelagh Wilson for igniting my interest in Leland.

17. Leland's niece, the arts commentator Elizabeth Robins Pennell, points out, in establishing the exceptional individuality of Leland, that Philadelphia had been founded by William Penn that his people might follow "the inner light" and freedom of belief. What follows is from Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: a Biography* 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906); Van Wyck Brooks, "Charles Godfrey Leland" in *Fenollosa and his Circle* (New York: Dutton, 1962): 217–47; from Leland's own writings, especially *The Gypsies* of 1882 here cited in the 5th edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888). Other significant books by Leland include *The Egyptian Sketch Book* (1873), *The English Gypsies* (1873), *The Book of English Gypsy Songs* (1875), *The Algonquin Legends* (1884), *The Gypsy Lore Journal* (1887–1892), *Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune Telling* (1891), *Legends of Florence* (1895–96), *Aradia or the Gospel of the Witches* (1899). His last book, published in the year of his death, was *The Alternate Sex; or Female Intellect in Man and the Masculine Intellect in Women* (1902; cited from London: Philip Wellby, 1904), in which he argued that biological sex difference in humans could be influenced by culture towards equality. Leland may be traced (misleadingly) through the Internet today by his works on Witchcraft and Wicca. See: www.controvescial.com/Charles%20Godfrey%20Leland.htm  and: www.paganism.com/ag/aradia/leland.html.

18. Charles Godfrey Leland, *Have You A Strong Will?* (London: Redway, 1899), see esp. 186–8.

19. In *The Alternate Sex*, Leland's final word on the subject, he wrote that "hypnotism is the absolute obedience to suggestion. It may be exercised by one mind upon another, or even by the mind upon itself" (67). "Religion is the combination of a sense of dependence on a master allied to a sense of mystery. ... Hypnotism is the same thing" (76).

20. Matthew Arnold began contemplating his poem "The Scholar-Gipsy" (1853) as early as 1848. The story, as he took it from Joseph Glanvill's *The Vanity of Dogmatising* (1661), was that a boy is forced by his poverty to leave Oxford and at last to attach himself to a company of "vagabond" gypsies. After he had lived with them long enough to know their ways, he meets by chance a couple of his former collegiates. He "told them that the people he went with were not imposters as they were taken for, but that they had a traditional kind of learning among them, and could do wonders by the power of imagination, their fancy binding that of others: that himself had learned much of their art, and when he had compassed the whole secret, he intended, he said, to leave their company, and give the world an account of what he had learned." Matthew Arnold, *Matthew Arnold: the Oxford Authors*, ed. Miriam Allott and Robert H. Super (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 545. Arnold glossed his completed poem as contrasting an ideal life of the mind to the actual (institutional) life at Oxford from which the students – himself, his brother Tom, and Arthur Clough – periodically escaped into the Cumnor Hills (ibid. notes 545–7). Arnold's Scholar-Gipsy had "one aim, *one* business, *one* desire" [Arnold's italics] (212), while Arnold, the institutionalized scholar, had "the infection of our mental strife." Arnold's "Scholar-Gipsy" represented "a criticism of Victorian civilisation which is also a Romantic criticism of life for its failure to match expectations" (546).

21. See Deborah Epstein Nord, "`Marks of Race': Gypsy Figures and Eccentric Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing," *Victorian Studies* (Winter 1998) 41(2): 189–210 and Nord's *Gypsies and the British Imagination 1807–1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). In the article Nord traces the way that the Gypsy figure was deployed in fiction from Austen to Eliot to test the limits of femininity. In the book she continues this theme through the female lorist Dora Yates in a chapter on the Gypsy Lore Societies. See also Paul Vita (St Louis University, Madrid) "George Borrow, Spain and the Genre of Travel-Writing" Paper presented at Victorian Europeans Conference, Royal Holloway, 23–4 June 2005.

22. See R. Gagnier, "Morris's Ethics, Cosmopolitanism, and Globalisation," *Journal of William Morris Studies* (Summer–Winter 2005) XVI (2&3): 9–30, and see Chapter 5 below.

23. For the most up to date archive, see "Gypsies, Roma and Travellers: the Interface Collection" of the University of Hertfordshire Press, which publishes leading scholarship as well as Roma memoirs and lifewriting. See: www.herts.ac.uk/uhpress.

24. Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

25. Roland Brinkworth of Yardley, Pennsylvania has informed me that of the whites captured by the Carlisle Indians, many of them who remained were women who had been captured as children and had married Indians and

had children with them. They would not leave their husbands and children upon their release in 1764. Private correspondence 6 June and 8 July 2005. Brinkworth cites *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: William H. Egle, 1883).

26. Brantlinger, p. 48
27. Guenter Lewy, *The Nazi Persecution of the Gypsies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
28. Michael North, "Talented, Articulate, Bullied, and Fobbed Off," *Times Higher* Feature (20 August 2004), p. 18. Lewy's most recent estimates were 100,000 in Germany and 25,000 in Austria in 1996 (Lewy, 213). Gypsies currently face mass deportation in Germany, forced sterilization in the Czech Republic, and eviction from their largest community sites in Britain. See Corin Redgrave "Britain's Gypsy Shame," *Guardian* (8 June 2005), p. 23.
29. David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 245.
30. For some of the most stunning descriptions of music in prose, see *The Gypsies* chapters I and II on the musical Gypsies.
31. David Cornwell, Foreword to *Another Day in Paradise: Front Line Stories from International Aid Workers*, ed. Carol Bergman (Earthscan, 2003). In "Service on the front line" Guardian "Lives and Letters" (11/10/03), p. 35.
32. Holbrook Jackson, *The Eighteen-Nineties* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), pp. 12, 17.

# 5   Ethics and Politics in Late Victorian Cosmopolitanism and Beyond

1. "Victorian Internationalisms," *RaVoN* (*Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*) No. 48 (November 2007), eds. Lauren M. E. Goodlad and Julia M. Wright, esp. section "Beyond Cosmopolitanism" of "Introduction and Keywords": 5–16.
2. Stefan Elbe, *Europe: a Nietzschean Perspective* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1–2.
3. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human All too Human,* 2 vols., trans. Helen Zimmers (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1909) vol. I Preface par. 3 p. 4 in *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Dr Oscar Levy vols. 6–7.
4. See David Farrell Krell and Donald L. Bates, *The Good European: Nietzsche's Work Sites in Word and Image* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).
5. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human All too Human*, 2 vols., trans. Helen Zimmers (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1909) vol. II par. 87, pp. 242–3 in *The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche*, ed. Dr Oscar Levy vols. 6–7. The full quotation reads: "The time for speaking well has passed, because the period of city – state civilizations has passed. The ultimate limit that Aristotle set for a great city – a herald would have to be able to make himself heard by the entire assembled community – troubles us as little as the urban communities themselves trouble us: for we want to be understood even beyond our nations. Thus everyone who wants to be properly attuned to what is European must learn how to *write well*, and *become better and better at it*. No excuses, not even if you are born in Germany, where miserable writing is

taken to be a national prerogative. However, better writing also means better thinking: it means always inventing something worth communicating, and actually knowing how to communicate it, something translatable into the languages of our neighbors; making oneself accessible to the understanding of those foreigners who are learning our language; working toward the end by which everything good is common good, and by which everything stands free for the free; finally, *preparing* now for that future condition, no matter how remote, in which the great task falls right into the hands of the good Europeans: guiding and overseeing civilization as a whole on our Earth. Whoever preaches the opposite, whoever does not trouble himself about writing well and reading well ... in effect will show the nationals a path along which they will become ever more *national*: such a one aggravates the sickness of the century – is an enemy of good Europeans, an enemy of free spirits. ... We who have no homeland are too multiple and too mixed in race and descent, as "modern human beings"; as a result, we are not very tempted to participate in that mendacious racial self-aggrandizement and ill-breeding that proclaims itself a sign of the German way of life, something that is doubly false and indecent for a nation that has a "sense of history." In a word ... we are *good Europeans*."

6. See also Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*, trans. Walter Kaufman (New York: Vintage, 1974), par. 377, p. 340.

7. Edward Carpenter, *The Healing of Nations* (London: George Allen, 1915), p. 151.

8. Etienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), see especially chapter 11 "Europe: Vanishing Mediator", pp. 203–36.

9. See Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Cited in Gordon Johnson,"Red on maps, grey in minds," in *Times Higher* (27 May 2005), p. 27.

10. Churchill Society London. http://www.churchill-society-london.org.uk/WSCHAGVE.htm/. See also "What is Europe?" *The Guardian* G2 (17 December 2004), pp. 2, 10–11.

11. S. A. Nigosian, *World Religions: a Historical Approach*, third edition (Boston: Bedford's St. Martin's, 2000), pp. 288–9.

12. Nabil Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). According to Matar, the period of mutual toleration, even attraction, ends with the Restoration of the Monarchy and return of orthodox Anglicanism. Students henceforth had to attest to acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church, which included belief in the Trinity One and Indivisible, and those who rejected it were accused of heresy. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the military and intellectual initiative slipped away from the Muslims and Britain ascended its own age of empire and progress. The Muslims shut the gate of *ijtihad* and suffered the consequences; the British Establishment, because of commercial interests and racial arrogance, sealed their ears to the wisdom of Islam.

Matar, however, notes the exceptions. Justice Syed Ameer Ali, author of the classics *A Short History of the Saracen*s (1889) and *The Spirit of Islam* (1891) retired from Indian service in 1904 and settled with his English wife in a

country manor near Newbury to devote the remaining twenty-four years of his life to a literary campaign to disabuse the British of their Anglocentrism. See also Ros Ballaster, *Fabulous Orients: Fictions of the East in England 1662–1785* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: the Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006); and www.salaam.co.uk/bookshelf/inbritain.html.

13. Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 133. Harrison defines Enlightenment as detachment from the past.

14. Derek Heater, *World Citizenship and Government: Cosmopolitan Ideas in the History of Western Political Thought* (Basingstoke: Macmillan – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), p. 209.

15. Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston: Beacon, 1996): pp. 2–20.

16. Ibid., Martha Nussbaum's "Reply," p. 133.

17. See esp. (in Cohen, ed.) Charles Taylor and Immanuel Wallerstein (pp. 119–24) and Judith Butler (pp. 45–52). Other arguments were that it was too thin to inspire loyalty (Benjamin Barber); loyalty can only move from the inner to the outer circles of caring (Sissela Bok); structural factors (economic globalization) override value preferences (the humane state) (Richard Falk). Falk proposed a "neocosmopolitanism" or a globalization-from-below to contrast with the globalization-from-above that is capital-driven and ethically neutral. Greenpeace was an example, and "cosmopolitan democracy" such as UN conferences on women, development, and environment. Further arguments against cosmopolitanism included Gertrude Himmelfarb's customary critique, that it was too high-minded, but also that it was too western, and Michael McConnell's, that it was paternalistic, that to teach values of *any* kind is an attempt to "impose values" in market culture. Hilary Putnam argued that "universal reason" should be given up in favor of situated intelligence – actual reasoning is necessarily always situated within specific historical traditions (pp. 96–7).

18. Martha Nussbaum, "Kant and Cosmopolitanism," in *Perpetual Peace: Essays on Kant's Cosmopolitan Ideal*, eds. James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (Boston: MIT, 1997), pp. 25–58.

19. "Theory and Practice," in *Kant: Political Writings*, ed. H. Reiss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 89.

20. This rational core as regulative ideal and universal was central to Kant's idea of perpetual peace. As Allen W. Wood describes Kant's project for perpetual peace: "Human history is a purposive natural process. As with all species of living things, nature's end regarding the human species is the complete development of its dispositions and faculties … Nature's means for the development of these faculties … consists in establishing relationships among human beings … making them simultaneously interdependent yet fundamentally antagonistic to one another – a relationship Kant names 'unsociable sociability'." (In Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 68).

21. Nussbaum (1997), p. 50

22. In *Re-imagining Political Community*, three distinguished political theorists see the way from national identities to global identification as a balance between communitarianism valuing diversity and cosmopolitanism valuing common rights and responsibilities. See *Re-imagining Political Community: Studies in Cosmopolitan Democracy*, eds. Daniele Archibugi, David Held, Martin Kohler (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).

23. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins, eds., *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). See also Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) and *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

24. Ibid. *Cosmopolitics*, Scott L. Malcolmson, "The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience," pp. 238 and 242.

25. Ibid., Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," pp. 91–5. See also Appiah's *The Ethics of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) and *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006).

26. Ibid., *Cosmopolitics*, James Clifford, "Mixed Feelings," p. 369.

27. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). See esp. pp. 21 and 228. Vertovec and Cohen analyse six usages of cosmpolitanism:
    - a socio-cultural condition
    - a kind of philosophy or world-view
    - a political project towards building transnational institutions
    - a political project for recognizing multiple identities
    - an attitudinal or dispositional orientation and/or
    - a mode of practice or competence.

    They also reject the false antithesis of communtarianism, a belief that moral principles and obligations are grounded in specific groups and contexts, and cosmopolitanism as a belief in overarching principles of rights and justice, or at least broader than national ones.

28. Lauren Goodlad, "E. M. Forster's Queer Internationalism and the Ethics of Care," MLA Annual Meeting December 2006. And see "Victorian Internationalisms" in n. 1.

29. Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

30. See Chapter 4 fn. 4, pp. 194 above. Here I would join Bruce Robbins in reasserting that from a progressive perspective the State can be good as well as evil, distributing orange juice as well as agent orange. Bruce Robbins, "Orange Juice and Agent Orange." Matters of State conference, University of Leuven, Belgium. 25 April 2009. Panel.

31. Wayne Martin has explored this Stoic notion of *oikeiosis* in relation to the evolution of consciousness. See Wayne Martin, "Stoic Self-Consciousness: Self-Comprehension and Orientation in the Stoic Theory of *Oikeiosis*," Sociology and Philosophy Colloquium 20 November 2006, University of Exeter, which has informed this discussion.

32. For evolutionary studies of ethics, see R. J. Richards, *Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Richard Joyce, *The Evolution of Morality* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2006); and Donald M. Broom, *The Evolution of Morality and Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

33. Review of Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* in *Commonweal*, 5:180 (22 June 1889), pp. 194–5 in *Political Writings: Contributions to Justice and Commonweal 1883–1890*, ed. Nicholas Salmon (Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 1994), p. 425. See also *William Morris Centenary Essays*, eds. Peter Faulkner and Peter Preston (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999), p. 17.

34. See Ruth Kinna, "Morris, Anti-Stalinism and Anarchy", in *Centenary Essays*, p. 219.

35. Peter Kropotkin, *Freedom*, November 1896, in *William Morris: the Critical Heritage* ed. Peter Faulkner (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 399–401.

36. David Rodgers, *William Morris at Home* (London: Ebury Press in association with the William Morris Society, 1996), p. 117.

37. As Richard Kerridge (1998) puts it, "an ecological perspective strives to see how all things are interdependent, even those apparently most separate. Nothing may be discarded or buried without consequence. Literature is not leisure, not separate from science or politics, any more than 'nature' can be separate from human life, or someone's backyard be immune from pollution. There are local ecosystems, but all are subject to the global ecosystem, a totality which excludes nothing and can be rid of nothing. This makes environmentalism a vital testing-ground for relations between post-colonial pluralism and new 'globalisation'." Richard Kerridge and Neil Sammels, eds., *Writing the Environment: Ecocriticism and Literature* (London: Zed Books, 1998), p. 7.

38. See Florence Boos "An Aesthetic Ecocommunist: Morris the Red and Morris the Green", in *Centenary Essays*, pp. 21–48; Peter Gould, *Early Green Politics: Back to Nature, Back to the Land, and Socialism in Britain 1880–1900* (New York: St. Martin's Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1988; Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land – The Pastoral Impulse in Victorian England from 1880–1917* (London: Quartet, 1982). Frank Sharp has argued that Morris's socialism actually began with his concern to preserve San Marco's in Venice, and that preservation of property for the good of all in the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings was the key to Morris's socialism. See Frank Sharp, "Morris, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, and Italy," paper given to *MLA Annual Conference* (Philadelphia, December 2004). For a full discussion of ecology and globalization in the period, see Regenia Gagnier and Martin Delveaux, "Towards a Global Ecology of the *Fin de Siècle*," *Literature Compass* 3/3 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006): 572–87.

39. Tanya Agathocleous, "Chapter One: Cosmopolitanism in Victorian Print Culture: Definitions and Circulations" in *Urban Realism and the Cosmopolitan Imagination: Visible City, Invisible World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). I am grateful to Agathocleous for a preprint of the ms.

40. Sabine Clemm, *Mapping the World in* Household Words: *Charles Dickens, Journalism, and Nationhood in the 1850s* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

41. Dorothy M. Hoare, *The Works of Morris and Yeats in Relation to Early Saga Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), esp. pp. 2–10 and 27–53.

42. May Morris, Introduction to *The Pilgrims of Hope* (from *Commonweal* I–II [April 1885–July 1886]), *The Collected Works of William Morris* (London: Longmans, 1911), Vol. 24, pp. x–xi.

43. In "*The Pilgrims of Hope*: William Morris and the Dialectic of Romanticism", *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle*, eds. Sally Ledger and Scott McCracken (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and fully in *Lyric and Labor in the Romantic Tradition* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Anne Janowitz provides a masterful history of both Romantic traditions of individualism and collectivism, how individual development and communal Progress appeared from the Romantic poets to Morris's *Pilgrims*.

44. William Morris, *The Pilgrims of Hope, Collected Works*, Vol. 24, pp. 377–8.

45. For the personal issues of relationship that Morris was dealing with, before the introduction of the Commune late in the poem's composition, see Michael Holzman, "Propaganda, Passion, and Literary Art in William Morris's *The Pilgrims of Hope*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* (1982) 24: 372–93.

46. See Florence Boos, "Gender Division and Political Allegory in *The Sundering Flood,*" *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* (1992) I.2: 12–23 and "Narrative Design in The *Pilgrims of Hope*" in *Socialism and the Literary Artistry of William Morris*, co-edited with Carole Silver (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1990), pp 147–66.

47. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Elective Affinities*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (Middlesex: Penguin, 1971). See especially pp. 51–54.

48. Goethe describes the "almost magical attraction upon one another" of elective affinities:

> When they were involved with other things, driven hither and thither by society, they still drew closer together. If they found themselves in the same room, it was not long before they were standing or sitting side-by-side. Only the closest proximity to one another could make them tranquil and calm of mind, but then they were altogether tranquil, and this proximity was sufficient: no glance, no word, no gesture, no touch was needed, but only this pure togetherness. Then they were not two people, they were one person, one in unreflecting perfect well-being…If one of them had been imprisoned at the far end of the house, the other would gradually and without any conscious intention have moved across in that direction. (Ibid., p. 286)

49. William Morris, *A Dream of John Ball, Collected Works*, Vol. 16., p. 257.

50. John Stokes, ed., *Eleanor Marx (1855–1898): Life, Work, Contacts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), p. 12.

51. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004). This is also the import of the Global Circulation Project of *Literature Compass*.

52. William Morris, *Icelandic Journals*, with an Introduction by James Morris (Fontwell Sussex: Centaur Press, 1969).

53. Jacques Derrida, "On Cosmpolitanism", in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 16.

54. William Morris, unpublished lecture on Communism (drafted 1893), cited in Florence Boos, "Dystopian Violence: William Morris and the Nineteenth-Century Peace Movement", *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* (Spring 2005) 14: 27.

55. Ibid., 17. See also Salmon, ed., p. 509.

56. Robert N. Bellah and Steven M. Tipton, eds. *Robert Bellah Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 6. I am grateful to Bellah for also sharing his monumental work in manuscript on the evolution of religion.

57. *Commonweal* 6: 217 (8 March 1890); in Salmon, ed., p. 467.

58. Ibid., p. 29.

59. See *Europe: Macht und Ohnmacht* at www.alpbach.org. p. 5.

60. Cited in André Gunder Frank, *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), Prefatory quotations n.p. Even the statement that Herodotus is the Father of History is eurocentric, for he was preceded by many outside the West.

61. See the Introduction above, especially part 5, and also Gagnier and Delveaux (2006).

62. William Morris, "How I Became a Socialist," in *Political Writings of William Morris* ed. A. L. Morton (New York: International Publishers, 1979), p. 244.

63. Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment*, trans. Werner S. Pluhar, "Analytic of Teleological Judgment" pars. 62–68 (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), pp. 239–64. See also Phillippe Huneman, "Naturalising Purpose: From Comparative Anatomy to the 'Adventure of Reason,' " *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* (2006) 37: 649–74.

64. Emergence is an anti-reductionist thesis that holds that properties that apply to a whole may not be explicable solely by the properties of the parts, that new properties emerge at different levels of organization. Emergence pertains to the relationship of micro- to macro-behavior and describes collective, self-organizing behaviors. It has important implications for biology in such fields as behavioral ecology, ecosystem studies, genetics and embryology, cell biology, neural networking, the immune system, and evolutionary theory. It also has important implications for Internet software, artificial intelligence, video gaming, print and screen media, financial markets, management theory, telecommunications networking, traffic management, urban design, and social theories of neighborhoods and cities. Emergence also applies to political movements, ethical systems, the evolution of nations, and the spread of ideas, as well as playing pivotal roles in all of the creative arts including poetry and performance. Emergence points us towards new ontological visions in many fields. In contrast to canonical understandings of the world as a fully knowable place, it conjures up a world of openness and becoming that can always surprise us and that we can never fully dominate. See http://centres.exeter.ac.uk/interdisciplinaryinstitute/archive/index.shtml.

65. Peter Machamer, Lindley Darden, Carl F. Craver, "Thinking about Mechanisms," *Philosophy of Science* (March 2000) 67: 1–25.

66. "Cosmopolitanism: Stuart Hall in Conversation with Prina Werbner" March 2006, Film by Haim Bresheeth, 2006. Screened at "Building on Knowledge: Developing Research across the Humanities and Social Sciences" Conference, Keele University, 12 January 2007.

## Appendix: The Case of J. K. Huysmans

 1. Benedict Anderson, "Nitroglycerine in the Pomegranate: José Rizal: Paris, Havana, Barcelona, Berlin," *New Left Review* (May–June 2004): 99–118.
 2. J. K. Huysmans, *Parisian Sketches*, trans. Brendan King (Sawtry: Dedalus, 2004), pp. 36–7.
 3. *Parisian Sketches*, (2004), p. 125.
 4. Edward Carpenter, *Towards Democracy* (London: George Allen, 1912), p. 123.
 5. J. K. Huysmans, *Against Nature*, trans. Robert Baldick (Middlesex: Penguin, 1982), p. 220.
 6. J. K. Huysmans, *Là-Bas; or The Damnned*, trans. Terry Hale (London: Penguin, 2001), chapter 1, pp. 3–14. See also chapter 2 "Huysmans Mystérique" in Ellis Hanson, *Decadence and Catholicism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) on Catholicism as an incarnate religion.
 7. See Robert Baldick, *The Life of J-K Huysmans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), pp. 160–1.
 8. J. K. Huysmans, *Là-Bas,* trans. Terry Hale (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 165.
 9. J. K. Huysmans, *En Route*, trans. W. Fleming, Introduction by David Blow (Sawtry: Dedalus, 2002), p. 113.
10. Huysmans described the doctrine to a suffering woman who had appealed to him for spiritual comfort:

    > Everyone is responsible…for the sins of others and must…expiate them;…God was the first to submit to these laws when he applied them to himself in the person of his Son.…He wished Jesus to give the first example of mystical substitution – the substitution of one who owes nothing for one who owes everything – and Jesus in turn wishes certain souls to accept the legacy of his sacrifice…
    >
    > Unfortunately there are fewer saints, and the contemplative orders are dwindling in numbers or becoming less austere, so that Our Lord is obliged to turn to us, who are not saints. Hence our illnesses and affliction, which undoubtedly ward off catastrophes.…One should take no account of the spiritual aridity or lethargy, or the impossibility of praying properly, which one experiences when suffering. One should simply offer up one's continuation of the Passion to God. That is all that I know, and all that I can write…about suffering. It seems to me to be the truth, and what is more a consoling truth, for one is never nearer to God, and never more accessible to his influence, than when one is in pain. (Baldick, 290–1).

11. J. K. Huysmans, *The Oblate of St. Benedict,* trans. Edward Percival (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1996).
12. J. K. Huysmans, *The Cathedral*, trans. Clara Bell, Introduction Penelope Woolf (Sawtry: Dedalus, 1997), p. 3.
13. Jean Rhodes in *Le Temps*, 1903, May, cited in Baldick, 322.

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