

trial in *Adam Bede*, we learn that midday light ‘fell on the close pavement of human heads’.² The conceit is so striking, the globular heads scaled down to cobbles and viewed implicitly from the exalted dock of the defendant, that there can be little doubt of George Eliot’s having had it in mind—whether subliminally or not—when she imagined her own scene. Her elation over the congratulatory letter that Dickens wrote to her when *Scenes of Clerical Life* appeared (‘There can hardly be any climax of approbation for me after this’³) and the (qualified) paean to his art she adduced in ‘The Natural History of German Life’—‘We have one great novelist who is gifted with the utmost power of rendering the external traits of our town population’⁴—leave little doubt that she would have read most (if not all) of his novels, and *Oliver Twist a fortiori*, given its celebrity.

As a competent Latinist Eliot would naturally also have read the *Aeneid*. Gordon Haight observes that ‘Horace she naturally quoted most frequently, but Virgil, Cicero, Persius . . . are some of the others who came easily to her mind’.⁵ We should feel no surprise, therefore, to find an additional pathos imparted to Hetty Sorrel’s plight by a quotation from this poem:

The bright hearth and the warmth and the voices of home,—the secure uprising and lying down,—the familiar fields, the familiar people, the Sundays and holidays with their simple joys of dress and feasting,—all the sweets of her young life rushed before her now, and she seemed to be stretching her arms towards them across a great gulf.⁶

That metaphoric ‘great gulf’ develops an infernal colour from the blent-in reference to *Aeneid* 6, where the souls of the underworld rush to the brink of the Styx and stretch out

‘hands in yearning for the further shore’ [tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore].⁷

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⁷ *Virgil with An English Translation by H. Rushton Fairclough*, 2 vols (London, 1967), I, 528–9.

ATTRIBUTIONS OF AUTHORSHIP IN THE OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE MAGAZINE

CONJECTURES about the identities of the *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*’s anonymous contributors have been offered over the decades by several scholars and memoirists, among them H. Buxton Forman, Georgiana Burne-Jones, J. W. Mackail, Walter Gordon, Robert Hosman, Jean Marie Baissus, Helen Timo, and most recently, Roger Simpson.¹ The aim of this brief note is to consider three more recent scholarly assessments.

1 The first is Eugene LeMire’s introduction to *The Hollow Land and Other Contributions to the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1996). Setting aside the scholar-forger Buxton Forman’s attributions, LeMire reexamines the identifications provided by Morris’s contemporaries: J. W.

¹ H. Buxton Forman, *The Books of William Morris* (London: F. Hollings, 1897); Walter J. Gordon, ‘The Pre-Raphaelites and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*’, *Journal of Rutgers Library*, xxix (1966), 42–51; Robert Hosman, ‘*The Germ* (1850) and *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1856)’, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, iv (1969), 36–47; Helen Timo, ‘A Church Without God: William Morris’s “A Night in a Cathedral”’, *Journal of William Morris Studies*, iv (Summer 1980), 24–31; J. M. Baissus, ‘William Morris and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*’, *Journal of William Morris Studies*, v (Winter 1982), 2–13; LeMire, intro. *The Hollow Land and Other Contributions to the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (Bristol, 1996); Roger Simpson, ‘William Fulford Revisited’, *The Review of the Pre-Raphaelite Society* 5.1 (Spring 1997); the Rossetti Archive, <<http://rossettiarchive.org/>>, *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, <[docs/ap4.093.raw.html](http://rossettiarchive.org/ap4.093.raw.html)>. Simpson notes that although Fulford was alive in 1870 when Forman sought information about the authorship of the *Magazine*’s contributions, apparently no attempt was made to seek the opinions of its primary editor (18).

² George Eliot, *Adam Bede*, ed. Carol A. Martin (Oxford, 2008), 386.

³ Quoted in Gordon H. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (Oxford, 1968), 251–2.

⁴ Quoted in Stephen Wall (ed.), *Charles Dickens: A Critical Anthology* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 98.

⁵ Haight, *George Eliot*.

⁶ Eliot, *Adam Bede*, p. 346.

Mackail, Georgiana Burne-Jones, and his literary executors Sydney Cockerell and Robert Proctor, and argues that three *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine (OCM)* tales and essays previously attributed to Morris were the work of others.

Noting, for example, that ‘The Two Partings’, ascribed to Morris by Jean-Marie Baissus, included a pair of poems later published in William Fulford’s *Songs of Life* in 1859, LeMire correctly observes that the likelihood that Morris would have inserted anyone else’s verse into one of his tales without attribution was essentially nil (LeMire, xxvi).

The *OCM*’s ‘A Night in a Cathedral’ was more ambiguous. On the one hand, Baissus and Timo discerned a number of stylistic and thematic parallels between ‘“A Night” and Morris’s essay ‘The Churches of North France: The Shadows of Amiens’, and noted that Morris’s growing agnosticism during this period was consistent with the doubts experienced by the protagonist of ‘A Night’. This argument is, however, somewhat undercut by the fact that similar qualities are also found in Fulford’s writings of the period. Fulford’s protagonist in the *OCM* tale ‘Cavalay’ is haunted by anxieties; and though Fulford later sought a ‘living’ in orders, his most striking character in the remarkable March tale ‘Found, Yet Lost’ was an impassioned atheist.² Baissus and Timo had also pointed out that the protagonist of the May ‘A Night in a Cathedral’ identified carvings in the cathedral’s interior which Morris had singled out in his ‘Churches of North France’, but Fulford was the *Magazine*’s editor when Morris submitted the essay, and he had tramped through France with Morris and Burne-Jones the previous summer, and had visited with them the cathedrals of Amiens, Rouen, and Beauvais. Moreover Roger Simpson has recently pointed out a telling allusion in ‘A Night in a Cathedral’ to the narrator’s memories of Mozart’s ‘Requiem’; whereas Mozart was one of Fulford’s favorite composers, he is not mentioned in Morris’s writings.³

LeMire’s third query—of the suggested attribution of the essay ‘Ruskin and the Quarterly’ to William Morris or conjointly to Morris and Burne-Jones—was anticipated by Mackail when he removed it from his list of Morris’s contributions. More conclusive, perhaps, Morris’s executors, Sydney Cockerell and Robert Proctor, assigned the essay to Burne-Jones after consultation with his widow Georgiana, and other scholars have attributed it variously to Burne-Jones, or to Burne-Jones with varying degrees of advice and/or editorial help from Morris.

2 A second source of new scholarly information has been brought to light by David Taylor, in the form of a copy of the *Magazine* annotated by Morris’s contemporary and fellow contributor Vernon Lushington, one of the *OCM*’s minority of active Cantabrigians.⁴ Aside from Lushington’s own contributions (‘Two Pictures’, and ‘Carlyle’, in five parts), those of his brother Godfrey Lushington (‘Oxford’), and those of his Cambridge friend, Wilfrid Heeley (‘Philip Sidney’, 1 and 2; ‘Mr. Macaulay’, ‘Kingley’s Sermons’, and ‘Froude’s History of England’), he carefully identified forty-nine contributions out of eighty-one.

As might be expected of a friend and admirer of the Pre-Raphaelites, Lushington also identified correctly every poem by Morris or Rossetti, as well as prose tale ‘The Cousins’ by ‘Edward Jones’ and the latter’s reviews of *The Newcomes* and of ‘Mr. Ruskin’s New Volume’, though not his ‘Story of the North’. He left unattributed the contributions of a number of other Oxonians—Charles Faulkner, for example (co-author of ‘Unhealthy Employments’), as well as Cornell Price (‘Lancashire and Mary Barton’, ‘Shakespeare’s Minor Poems’) and R. W. Dixon (‘Barrier Kingdoms’, ‘Prospects of Peace’, and ‘The Rivals’). But he did identify correctly several of William Fulford’s contributions and a review of Longfellow’s *Hiawatha* by Harry Macdonald (though his name is misspelled as ‘Macdonnell’), Georgiana Burne-Jones’

Churches of North France’ are more detailed and evocative than those of ‘A Night.’

⁴ I am indebted to David Taylor of Cobham, Surrey for a copy of this list, now available on the William Morris Archive, <<http://morrisedition.lib.uiowa.edu/earlyromances.html>>.

² Roger Simpson, ‘n Defence of William Fulford: A Minor Pre-Raphaelite Poet’, *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, ii (1993), 24.

³ Simpson, ‘William Fulford Revisited,’ 17–18. He also notes that the descriptions of the church’s interior in ‘The

brother, as well as the work of fellow Cantabrigians such as Lewis Campbell ('Prometheus'), Robert Campbell ('On the Life and Character of Marshal St. Arnaud'), and Bernard Cracroft ('On Popular Lectures' 1 and 2, and 'The Skeptic and the Infidel').

Three of Lushington's ascriptions were somewhat unorthodox—of 'Ruskin and the Quarterly' and 'A Night in a Cathedral' to Morris, and 'The Sacrifice' to Georgiana Macdonald ('Miss MacDonnell'), but not 'The Porch of Life', which she initialled on the page. His attribution of 'The Sacrifice' to Georgiana Burne-Jones is somewhat surprising, since it is unclear why she would have freely acknowledged one youthful contribution but denied another.

3 The third recent scholarly source is Patrick C. Fleming's canvass for *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* section of the Rossetti Archive. Fleming agrees with Le Mire's and Simpson's ascription of 'A Night in a Cathedral' to Fulford, and like Le Mire attributes 'Ruskin and the Quarterly' to Burne-Jones (aided by suggestions from Morris), but breaks new ground when he credits the youthful Annie Scott Hill (1837–1902) with co-authorship (with Fulford) of three essays on Shakespeare ('A Study in Shakespeare', 'Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida', and 'Twelfth Night').

Also new is his ascription of the hortatory quasi-Ruskinian September essay 'The Work of Young Men in the Present Age' to Cornell Price. My own personal candidate would be William Fulford, in part because 'The Work...' interspersed quotations from 'In Memoriam' and William Jones's 'Patriotism: "What Constitutes a State?"' with florid exhortations to emulate the soldiers in the Crimea of the sort found in Fulford's July poem 'To the English Army Before Sebastopol'. Likewise the author's query: 'Is it nothing to save a sister from the ill effects of that false system of education and conventionalism which destroy[s] half our women?' (562) echoes the views expressed in Fulford's 'Woman, Her Duties, Education, and Position' a month earlier.⁵

⁵ For a discussion of Fulford's sympathetic poetic portrayals of women, see Roger Simpson, 'William Fulford: An Arthurian Reclaimed', *Quondam et Futurus: A Journal of Arthurian Interpretation*, ii (Fall 1993), 1–14.

Conclusion

It is well-known that authorial attributions in nineteenth-century periodicals were usually anonymous, but *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine's* anonymity reflected something deeper: its authors' and editors' conception of it as a *communal* undertaking. Friends, acquaintances, and in many cases daily companions, they shared a common trove of causes, reading, convictions, sensibilities, and freely offered suggestions. It is not surprising, then, that their contributions evince overlapping settings, motifs, locutions, and features of style. What distinguished their short-lived effort was the range of their common ideals, and a lingering sense of 'fellowship' which impelled them decades later to earnest efforts to recall who had 'contributed' what.

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ADAM BEDE AND LA SYLPHIDE

WHILE a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to George Eliot's extensive high culture and its impact on her novels, her interest in the popular aspects of Victorian culture has been less exhaustively covered. Somebody who valued *bel canto* composers and Verdi (their melodious inheritor), would have entertained no automatic contempt for ballet music, since the operatic idiom of the *primo ottocento* centred on the sublimation of such dance forms as the polacca, the galop, and the valse. Ballet, moreover, had experienced a golden age in early Victorian London, and for a while courted comparisons with the art form's *fons et origo* in Paris. Although one looks in vain for ballet references in Eliot's correspondence, a passage in Chapter 25 of *Adam Bede* proves that she was indeed acquainted with the form, while the many operatic experiences documented by her letters