VICTORIAN PERIODICALS REVIEW

"A Holy Warfare against the Age": Essays and Tales of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*

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The *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1856) lasted a single year, after which financial constraints brought its publication to an end and its youthful contributors dispersed.[1] Despite its short life, the magazine was remarkable for its effect on the lives of its contributors and the topical range and literary quality of its contributions. Modeled loosely on the Pre-Raphaelite *Germ* (1850), its 776 densely printed, ornamented pages offered a surprisingly broad range of tales, poems, essays, and political reflections. Edward Burne-Jones, one of the original founding "brothers," described their intentions in a letter to his cousin Maria Choyce: "We may do a world of good, for we start from new principles and those of the strongest kind, and are as full of enthusiasm as the first crusaders. . . . No mere purpose of writing for writing's sake has prompted one amongst us, but a sole and only wish to teach others principles and truths which they may not know and which have made us happy. . . . We have such a deal to tell people[,] . . . so many fights to wage and opposition to encounter that our spirits are quite rising with the emergency."[2] In her *Memorials*, Georgiana Macdonald, the *Magazine*'s sole acknowledged female contributor,[3] characterized the *Magazine* more straightforwardly as an "assured place for the publication of original work."[4] Richard Watson Dixon, the Oxford "brother" who first conceived of the magazine, described its aim as the "dissemination of the ideas and principles of art which had now become well-fixed among us."[5] Its underlying ideal, he further noted, was to "advocate moral earnestness and purpose in literature, art, and society . . . [based largely] on Mr. Ruskin's teaching."[6]

In a letter to Georgiana Macdonald, Dixon's co-founder Cormell ("Crom") Price reported that it was "unanimously agreed that there shall be no shewing off, no quips, no sneers, no lampooning in our Magazine,"

which would consist "mainly [of] Tales, Poetry, friendly critiques and social articles."[7] The articles which followed hewed to these modest guidelines rather well. Atypically for a general review, the editors devoted almost half the magazine's contents to original short stories, prose romances, and poetry. The magazine was not illustrated, but its editors struck copies of Thomas Woolner's medallions of Tennyson and Carlyle for purchase by readers—an indirect echo of the *Germ*, to which Woolner had contributed. In reviewing contemporary works, writers for the magazine went out of their way to commend the efforts of authors and artists whose contributions they believed had been unjustly ignored or attacked in the press. They vindicated Tennyson's *Maud* (1856) and Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (vols. 1–4, 1846–56), for example, and loyally defended Robert Browning's "obscurantism," the Pre-Raphaelite circle's artistic endeavors, and two of Shakespeare's seldom-performed plays (*Titus Andronicus* and *Troilus and Cressida*). In keeping with their respect for the "fine Arts, wherein Truth appears in its most loveable aspect,"[8] Vernon Lushington appraised "Two Pictures," Burne-Jones commented on "Mr. Ruskin's New Volume," and Morris contributed essays on the "Churches of North France" as well as "Death the Avenger, and Death the Friend," an appreciative commentary on woodcuts by the German artist Alfred Rethel.[9]

The range of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*'s non-belletristic essays was also wider than one might expect, including "The Barrier Kingdoms" and "The Prospects of Peace" (studies of imperialist policy in the Near East and Eastern Europe); "Unhealthy Employments" and "Lancashire and *Mary Barton*" (critiques of harsh industrial conditions and unjust labor relations); and "On Popular Lectures," "The Work of Young Men in the Present Age," and "Woman, her Duties, Education, and Position" (on working people's lack of access to education and the situation of women).[10] In accord with then-current practice, contributors did not sign their work, and consequently authorship of several of the magazine's essays and tales is unknown or contested.[11] Until very recently, literary critics have commented primarily on the poems and prose tales by William Morris published in the magazine.[12] In what follows, I will concentrate on selections by other contributors, considering some of the ways in which the magazine's essays and prose tales hewed to its founders' aims. I will argue that the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* offers an interesting case study of cross-influence and collaboration between a tightly knit group of editors and contributors and that its contents exhibit a non-doctrinal, secular, and art-catholic approach to religion; zeal for educational reform; and faith in the power of intellectual inquiry and idealized art to effect social transformation.

The Contributors

Eight of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*'s *spiritūs rectores* were from Oxford and two from Cambridge. William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones were from Exeter College; Charles Faulkner, William Fulford, Richard Watson Dixon, and Harry Macdonald were from Pembroke; Cormell Price was from Brasenose; Godfrey Lushington was from Balliol; and Wilfred Heeley and Vernon Lushington were from Trinity College, Cambridge. Most of these young men had "come up" to read theology, but only two of them actually took orders. All were avid consumers of recently published books and articles, which they read aloud to each other in their rooms.[13] They debated the merits and limitations of these works in nightly conclaves of the sort William Fulford described in his quasi-autobiographical tale "Cavalay": "How far away appeared the world with its care . . . to these young, ardent, careless men! How they felt the influence divine of night in revealing the beauty and the wonders of poetry and art and nature! This was their real education, not the lectures in Livy and Aristotle read unwillingly in the day-time."[14]

First, who were the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*'s ten original projectors? William Morris (1834–96) served as the first editor of the magazine and contributed about a third of his annual income to its maintenance. His earliest prose romances and first five published poems appeared in the magazine, and as contributions waned in the project's final months, he and William Fulford became its principal mainstays. Some of the magazine's other contributors might be called polymaths. Vernon Lushington (1832–1912) was a former member of the Cambridge Apostles who had begun the study of law. The son of a distinguished abolitionist, he became an ardent Positivist, admirer of Comtean ethics, and lifelong friend of Morris.[15] As a contributor to the magazine, however, he was notable as a commentator on Carlyle and reviewer of Pre-Raphaelite paintings. Vernon's twin brother Godfrey Lushington (1832–1907) was a graduate of Balliol College and an active participant in the workers' education movement. He later became under-secretary of state at the Home Office and a vigorous advocate of prison reform. Similarly possessed of broad interests, Cormell "Crom" Price (1836–1903) took a degree in mathematics, studied law as well as medicine, and worked as a tutor in Russia before becoming headmaster of United Services College.

One of the two originators from Cambridge was Wilfred Heeley (1833–76), whose departure from the group at midyear to assume a post in the Bengal Civil Service was a significant loss. Another founder was Richard Watson Dixon (1833–1900), who contributed a critical study of British foreign policy, essays on labor relations, and an article on Shakespeare's lyric poetry. He later became a poet, historian of the Reformation, and

canon of Carlisle. William Fulford (1831–97) was also a founding member who edited the magazine from February through December. An ardent Tennysonian, he later became a cleric, poet, and teacher. Another important member of the circle was Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98), a gifted artist and the son of a Birmingham frame-maker who contributed several tales and literary reviews to the magazine. Burne-Jones's future wife, Georgiana Macdonald (1840–1920), daughter of a Methodist minister, contributed a poem, "The Porch of Life," to the magazine when she was fifteen years old. After Burne-Jones's death, she followed her natural reformist inclinations into active feminism and participation in local (Rottingdean, East Sussex) politics. Georgiana's older brother, Henry (Harry) Macdonald (1835–91), may have been invited for social reasons; he has been credited with one review and possibly a short story. Like Edward Burne-Jones, Charles Joseph Faulkner (1834–92) was William Morris's close friend. He was also a gifted mathematician who earned three firsts at Oxford and later served as a founding partner in Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Co. before returning to Oxford as a tutor, praelector, and later Bursar at University College. He also accompanied Morris on his journeys in Iceland and vigorously supported the Socialist League. The identities of other contributors remain uncertain, but they probably included Richard Campbell (1832–1912), later a legal scholar; Lewis Campbell (1830–1908), an Oxford don and classics tutor; Bernard Cracroft (1828–88), a Gladstonean Liberal politician; and William Aldis Wright (1831–1918), a Cambridge tutor and literary scholar.[16]

Reformist Religion

For centuries, students at Oxford were required to affirm allegiance to the thirty-nine Anglican Articles to apply for a degree. An act of Parliament in 1854 moderated the law to require only knowledge of Anglican doctrines rather than adherence to them, but many fellows and administrators bitterly opposed this modification, and it took an appeal to the House of Lords by a titled non-establishment Anglican to give it the force of law in 1856.[17] All the contributors to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* who entered the university between 1851 and 1854 would have been well aware of this barrier. Crom Price was thus the sole Oxford "brother" who went up with some expectation that he would (probably) not have to affirm allegiance to the "articles" as a condition of graduation. For the other members of the brotherhood, there was a great deal of uncertainty during the interregnum period, 1855–56. Indeed, this may have been the reason that Morris left Oxford in 1855 but did not apply for his degree until 1856.[18]

All the contributors—including the two who later took orders—seem to have shared the view that religion should be conceived in broad and

undogmatic terms. One of these latitudinarian essayists was Bernard Crac-roft, the author of the magazine's sole article devoted entirely to religious questions, "The Skeptic and the Infidel," in which he reviewed Francois Guizot's *Méditations et études morales* (1852) and William J. Conny-beare's *Perversion, or the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity* (1856).[19] Cracroft dismissed dogmatic claims of certitude in secular and religious matters alike, asking "Have not thousands of errors been orthodoxies in their day?"[20] He further argued that skepticism not only regulated rational inquiry but ethical integrity as well:

Toleration is not the question of one, but of all nations and times. . . . In the estimation of society, I know that a freethinker is one who considers himself at liberty to think just as it suits his convenience and his vices. . . . But when the same word with the same meaning is applied to men, who, for thinking themselves free from any intellectual allegiance to other men's opinions, only consider themselves *more than ever* bound to the truth, such as they really conceive it to be, it is a gross calumny. . . . Doubt is the primary dissolvent of error, the harbinger of approaching truth.[21]

Similarly, when Wilfred Heeley, one of the founding "brothers," reviewed Charles Kingsley's reformist *Sermons for the Times* in the January 1856 issue, he went out of his way to praise Kingsley's advocacy of direct social action and "loving God and his neighbor" since "selfishness and self-wrought isolation are the very root and ground of sin, and of all viola-tion of God's order."[22] He also argued that these were "dark days for the Church of England, when its priests and laymen are litigating about altar-cloths and credence tables; when, among high and low, mint and anise and cummin [*sic*] seem to have taken the place of the weightier matters of the law, truth and righteousness."[23] Heeley commended J. A. Froude's *History of England* (1856) for its "[reassertion of] the principle which has lain at the root of all religions, whatever their name or outward form[,] . . . the fundamental axiom of all real life, that the service which man owes to God is not the service of words or magic forms, or ceremonies or opinions; but the service of holiness, of purity, of obedience to the everlasting laws of duty."[24] In a similar spirit to Heeley's praise of the doctrinally latitudi-narian "earnest and noble-hearted" Kingsley and "his guide and friend," the Christian socialist Frederick Maurice,[25] Vernon Lushington recalled in the April number Carlyle's observation that "we see men of all kinds of professed creeds attain to almost all degrees of worth or worthlessness."[26]

R. W. Dixon, one of the two original "brothers" who took orders, later remembered the religious tenor of the group in 1855–56, writing, "Jones and Morris were both meant for Holy Orders: and the same may be said of the rest of us, except Faulkner: But this could not be called the bond of

alliance. We never spoke of it to one another: and I am sorry to say, for my own part, that it was not contemplated, or kept before the mind. The bond was poetry, and indefinite artistic and literary aspiration: but not of a selfish character, or rather not of a self-seeking character. We all had the notion of doing great things for man: in our own way, however: accord-ing to our own will and bent."[27] The heterogeneity of their views appears in Crom Price's diary entry for May 1855: "Our Monastery will come to nought, I'm afraid; Smith has changed his views to extreme latitudinarian-ism, Morris has become questionable on doctrinal points, and Ted is too Catholic to be ordained. He and Morris diverge more and more in views though not in friendship."[28] Whether or not Burne-Jones was "too Catho-lic" for ordination, Price's last sentence correctly characterized the two friends' political differences in later life.[29]

Respectful allusions to Christianity appeared only briefly in the mag-azine's fiction and essays. For example, Burne-Jones's "A Story of the North" features a quondam pagan Danish leader who "anticipated" his people's conversion to Christianity in 965.[30] Likewise, in a five-part disqui-sition on Thomas Carlyle, Vernon Lushington argued that the great sage was not a "Christian of the dogmatic sort . . . but in passages scattered here and there in his works may be gathered views of the scope of the Christian Gospel, and the work it has done in the history of men, not large only, and profound, but most heartfelt, and feelingly persuasive."[31] Such tributes defined Carlyle as a progressive thinker who had recast religious ideals in metaphorical terms. Similarly favorable mentions of Carlyle appear in Wilfred Heeley's "Macaulay," Bernard Cracroft's "The Skeptic and the Infidel," and Godfrey Lushington's "Oxford," the latter of which evokes a time when "no Dryasdust need fear literary taste being forced on too quickly in the hot-bed of University Patronage."[32] He further hopes for a reformed university "when all Professors give lectures, all heads of houses are Abbot Sampsons, [and] all Fellows chosen by merit"; undergraduates will enjoy discussing Carlyle and Macaulay, and Oxford will not be "shy of the great writers, as Mill and Carlyle, who are shaping the thoughts of the next generation."[33]

Religion, for these young men, was thus not a doctrinal "tie that bound" but a mildly activist and anti-materialist "religion of humanity" tempered by nostalgic respect of the sort expressed in Morris's review of Browning's *Men and Women*, in which "Cleon" and "Karshish" "[told] of the desires and doubts of men out of Christianity . . . in the days when Christianity was the true faith of a very few unknown men, not a mere decent form to all the nations."[34]

Educational Reform: Godfrey Lushington and William Fulford

The "social topic" which most preoccupied contributors to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was education, which inspired articles on university organization, women's education, and various forms of educational outreach.[35] Not surprisingly, these intelligent young men who had spent several years in an elite but antiquated educational establishment were influenced by the efforts of John Ruskin, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and others at the Workingmen's College in London.[36] Their progressive aspirations for education are particularly apparent in Godfrey Lushington's scathing critique of the stultifying mores of Oxford University and William Fulford's proto-feminist "Woman, her Duties, Education, and Position."

Stylistically one of the more accomplished of the magazine's essays, Lushington's "Oxford" was a well-informed assessment of life under the "dreaming spires" and a carefully considered program for awakening its sense of intellectual and social purpose. He began his dense indictment with a description of medieval Oxford, when monasteries were small citadels of literacy and "men believed that rhetoric was the art of life."[37] By contrast, in the "tempest of the Reformation," new forms of knowledge challenged the more simplistic and constricting aspects of students' faith, and the printing press made it possible for learning "to flourish in every town in the land."[38] But an "exclusive connection with the Established Church" alienated Oxford from society as a whole and relegated it to the status of an obscurantist backwater, trapped, like the speaker of "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," "between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born."[39] Lushington asserts that Oxford has not "accepted the true message of the Reformation—'let every man be sincere to himself, be tolerant to others.' Knowledge is still chilled by the shadow of ecclesiasticism; dictatorial orthodoxy and formulism is still upheld as genuine religion; reverence is still declared to consist in blind acceptance rather than in obedience after honest inquiry."[40] "Indeed," Lushington commented sarcastically, the question of "adapting education to the wants of the times has never since been raised."[41]

In Lushington's view, elite education's crassest period may have been the eighteenth century, in which "what was meant for the shelter of the poor [was] used for the enrichment of the rich," and genuine instruction at Oxford nearly ceased altogether.[42] At its worst, students chose examiners from among their friends, treating them afterwards to dinner, and college fellows, often younger sons of the aristocracy, derived their emoluments from the rise in university land values and other holdings and were moreover no longer even expected to be in residence.[43] Lushington asks, "But what did the Colleges do? Nothing. For were they not under Medic and Persian laws? Had they not sworn 'on the Holy Gospels' to maintain their

Statues inviolable? This being their position, no man need trouble himself about their history: we hasten on to the end."[44]

Lushington's indictment of entrenched interests disguised as tradition is largely confirmed by later commentators. In 1899, Morris's biographer J. W. Mackail (1859–1945), poet, classics scholar, and professor of poetry at Oxford, described the institution's condition when Morris and his friends arrived in 1853: "The Oxford of 1853 breathed from its towers the last enchantments of the Middle Ages; and still it offered to its most ardent disciples, who came to it as to some miraculous place, full of youthful enthusiasm, thirsting after knowledge and beauty, the stony welcome that Gibbon had found at Magdalen, that Shelley had found at University, in the days of the ancient order."[45] More recently, University College's archivist Robin Darwall-Smith described changes in the college between 1850 and 1881:

In 1850, University College was still an institution open only to members of the Church of England, most of whose Fellows were in holy orders, and most of whose Fellowships and Scholarships were restricted to applicants from the north-east or Kent. Undergraduates could only study classics or mathematics, and anyone with academic ambitions required private coaching. In 1881 the Mastership was offered to an eminent agnostic; most Fellows were laymen; Fellowships and Scholarships were open to all [male] comers; the range of subjects available for study now included science, law, and modern history; and College teaching could now cater for all abilities.[46]

In 1855, Lushington seemed to sense the imminence of this transition, closing his essay with a hopeful secular prophecy citing the Brotherhood's favorite poet, Tennyson: "We are on the eve of organic changes in the University. . . . Every day customs have passed away. . . . The Roman Church in England has passed away: so too will all outward Churches, and give place to new. . . . We may be thankful that the old order does change; else 'one good custom might corrupt the world.'"[47]

Indeed, the old order was changing. For example, Richard Jenkyns, the Master of Balliol during Lushington's residency, broadened the curriculum, initiated open competition for scholarships, and required fellows to engage in teaching. Lushington lauded these first steps and expressed hope that the parliamentary committee, which had opened degrees to non-Anglicans, might carry it further: "This work will naturally be of the Augean kind. . . . To abolish sinecures, to burn the lumber of old statues, . . . to set free over-ecclesiasticised foundations, . . . to stop the ruinous system of college leases."[48] Aside from recommending the severance of Oxford from the Anglican Church, Lushington also called for an end to the institution's ties to the aristocracy and their commercial counterparts, who could afford to

pay £600 for a three-year degree: "Every undergraduate is a gentleman. It was not so once. . . . Oxford must open her doors [first], and welcome in all classes, all religions, all forms of knowledge."[49] As in Matthew Arnold's "Buried Life," those who have internalized sectarian and class prejudice "know all along that they are leading false lives, but cannot free themselves because they dare not strike the blow."[50] Such distinctions, Lushington notes, cut men "off from a thousand pleasures of sympathy . . . [and] produce men who are afraid of society, looking down upon others and secretly despising themselves for so doing."[51]

For Lushington, a genuine *universitas* would be "*catholon*" in its inclusion of every form of art as well as science, for "it is only by a constant comparison of the Practical and the Ideal that we can bring either to perfection"; further, it would embrace "new system[s] of teaching" which encourage "inquiry, giving knowledge comeliness that we should desire it."[52] Finally, such a university would abolish the harmful anachronism of clerical celibacy and all its consequences. He writes, "Sometimes I look on it simply as a joke, a lusus naturae, that men should conspire to keep each other as old bachelors. At other times, again, it seems altogether mournful, that the usefulness and happiness of so many worthy men should be thus thrown away."[53]

As the essay drew to a close, Lushington conjured a utopian vision of the "Oxford of the future," in which a dreamer is guided through a reformed future Oxford by a "veiled female figure" bearing a wand.[54] Eager to see familiar places, the dreamer notices new buildings: a museum in which students copy paintings by Turner and Holman Hunt, a conservatory in which Mendelssohn's *Elijah* is being performed, and a laboratory in which a professor and his eager students work into the night. As the ghost guides him further on his journey, the dreamer sees middle- and lower-class students walking in the streets and enters a narrow attic room where a poor student reads books borrowed from the Bodleian library. "Mark him," says the ghost, "he is to be a second and a greater Johnson."[55]

Lushington's essay is notable for the scope and specificity of its critique of Oxford's system of governance and intellectual mediocrity. Also prescient in another direction were the educational views expressed by William Fulford in "Woman, her Duties, Education, and Position."[56] Inspired by a pair of lectures in which Anna Jameson had called for the establishment of women's colleges on the pattern of mechanics institutes,[57] which provided access to previously excluded populations, Fulford endorsed higher education for women, asserting that educational equity has been blocked by "prejudice, fashion, jealousy, [and] moral cowardice."[58] This prejudice, he contends, begins at an early age: "Boys of a family play at cricket, row, jump, wrestle, &c., [while] girls are limited in their exercise to walking."[59] A young woman's formal education ends at the very stage

"when her brother, destined for Oxford or Cambridge, first really begins to 'read.'"[60] Fulford argues that "with so short a time allowed for [women's] education, the chief thing that should be taught her is the art of learning, which is the thing she learns least of all."[61] As for the usual "suitable" subjects of study, sewing and knitting "supply no food whatsoever for the intellect"; instead, women desperately need to learn about other cultures "on a far larger scale and in a more philosophical spirit than at present" in order to conceive of other modes of life and avoid "becoming bigoted and uncharitable."[62]

Echoing reformers such as Jameson, Fulford notes that women have already exhibited intellectual brilliance. He provides examples of women who "excelled in intellectual culture," such as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Charlotte Yonge—all favorite authors of the brotherhood.[63] Indeed, he argued, it was the duty as well as privilege of every woman, as of every man, "to cultivate to the utmost that glorious intellect with which God has endowed them."[64] In his conclusion, Fulford ardently extolls the simple marriage of true minds between men and women: "I know nothing so full at once of delight and profit as true conversation. . . . What efforts then ought we not to make to break those artificial restraints which pervert this fellowship of soul into the superficialities and inanities which do but repress the intellect and cover up the heart?"[65] Several of Fulford's remarks in the essay subtly reflect the double standards of the times. But it is important to note that he wrote this essay thirteen years before the publication of John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) and twenty-three years before the establishment of the first Oxford women's colleges.[66] Although feminism per se was not a central concern of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, Fulford's essay and the magazine's generally idealizing view of women and sexual relationships reflect its authors' broadly reformist views.

Gothic and Contemporary Tales

Another innovation of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was its inclusion of prose tales that varied considerably from the domestic or realist fiction of the day. The seventeen stories published in the magazine shared common motifs, sentiments, and literary associations. It is likely that William Fulford, Edward Burne-Jones, R. W. Dixon, and William Morris wrote thirteen of these stories, but the authorship of two tales is completely unknown,[67] and the authorship of the remaining two pieces—"A Night in a Cathedral" and "The Two Partings"—has been disputed.[68] The task of attribution is complicated since all of the "brothers" shared a social conscience and common literary preferences.[69] Most seemed to admire or at least respect Tennyson's poetry, and those at Oxford often gathered

together to read and discuss the works of Tennyson, Kingsley, Carlyle, Ruskin, Yonge, and Poe. Given these common interests, it is therefore not surprising that Dixon's tale "The Rivals" bore similarities to Morris's "Frank's Sealed Letter" and the unattributed "The Sacrifice." Likewise, many of the magazine's historical tales were set in medieval France, Britain, or Scandinavia. For example, Burne-Jones's "A Story of the North" and Morris's "Svend and His Brethren" were both set in medieval Scandinavia, and Fulford's "A Night in a Cathedral" and Morris's "The Story of an Unknown Church" were set in a church that closely resembled Amiens Cathedral.

With the exception of Fulford's "Found, Yet Lost," the magazine's tales fell into two categories: stories following the romantic and emotional fortunes of young, educated men—for example, "The Rivals," "The Cousins," "Frank's Sealed Letter," and "Cavalay"—and stories recounting the romantic and emotional fortunes of medieval heroes in more remote physical and/or temporal settings—for example, "A Story of the North," "The Druid and the Maiden," and all but one of Morris's prose contributions. Veiled forms of sublimation and liminal uncertainty may be found in several of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*'s tales: "The Cousins," "The Sacrifice," "Frank's Sealed Letter," "Gertha's Lovers," "The Rivals," and "The Story of the Unknown Church."

Four tales deserve special mention as representative of the range of contributions and the writing style of their respective authors. Dixon's "The Rivals," one of the magazine's tales charting the emotional fortunes of young university students, is particularly noteworthy because it seems to be semi-autobiographical and thus provides insight into the romantic and artistic ideals of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* circle. Its hero, like its creator, was a sensitive and introspective soul who lacked financial resources and was known for having, among other talents, "some skill in judging of pictures."[70] The tale's narrator, like its creator, came from a large industrial city: Dixon from Birmingham and his hero from Liverpool. Either city would fit the following description: "I have seen the great sun sink over the town into a bank of vapours, above which curled and writhed and flew the everlasting smoke, so that I have thought of many things to which that sunset might be likened. . . . The dragons in the smoke, the mountains, woods and castles of the brick-pools, the images of sun and sunset, the waving trees . . . were stored safely up in my imagination."[71]

Arnetage, the unnamed narrator's best friend, is known for "his beauty, his intellect, his splendid temper and his everlasting cheerfulness" and shares similar literary tastes: "We read together Keats and Tennyson, to the latter of whom he introduced me. . . . He used to express his rapture in words; I sat in silence and enjoyed."[72] Here Dixon seems to allude to his close relationship with William Fulford.[73] In his memoir, Dixon describes

Fulford as "very strong and active, very clever, and immensely vivacious. We immediately fell upon poetry: and he read me a poem, 'In youth I died,' which afterward appeared in the Oxford and Cambridge Magazine. . . . Fulford this term and after became extremely intimate with me. He was absolutely devoured with admiration of Tennyson. . . . Keats the same."[74] This emphasis on friendship is central to the tale's plot, in which the narrator finds himself unable to conquer his affection for Arnetage's fiancée. After her death, he confesses his fault to his forgiving friend, and the two men mourn their loss until Arnetage also dies and the narrator is left to grieve.

William Fulford's "Found, Yet Lost" is the magazine's sole instance of a contemporary "gothic" tale, distinctive for the sarcastic social commentary of its truculent protagonist. Most likely this tale was the story described in Cormell Price's diary, as reported by Georgiana Burne-Jones in the *Memorials*: "One night they are at Fulford's home, talking about dreams and ghosts, and Fulford reads them a story he has written for the yet unnamed magazine."[75] "Found, Yet Lost" is unique among the magazine's tales in its presentation of a poor, uneducated female protagonist whose atheism and bitter self-regard elevates the narrative beyond any "dreams and ghosts" genre. Though a character who commits child murder is hardly exemplary, Fulford's story is the sole *Oxford and Cambridge* tale told from a woman's perspective, as might be consistent with his authorship of an essay supporting women's rights.

"Found, Yet Lost" recounts the confessions of Elsie Mackay, a servant and fisherman's wife, who lies dying during a violent storm in coastal Scotland. She calls Lord Lilworth, the son of the local Laird, to her bedside, and when he arrives, she beseeches him to forgive her two grave crimes. His father had seduced her when she was twenty with a promise of marriage but abandoned her soon afterward to court Lady Mary, a woman of his own class. Years later, at the urging of a meddling local midwife, she substitutes her newborn son for Lady Mary's stillborn child. Later, when the boy is still a child, she refuses to provide aid to Mary's sweet-tempered older son and heir in a "fishing accident," an act of manslaughter which ensured that that her biological son would inherit the estate. She begs him on her deathbed to forgive her. Stunned and appalled by her confession, the Laird refuses to exonerate her murder of the kind boy he had considered his brother, and he dies not long thereafter of an illness aggravated by the shock of what he had learned.

Such plot developments were the staple of popular fiction; what makes the tale most striking—especially when written by a man who later became a vicar—is Elsie's vigorous atheism and blunt contempt for her "betters." When her son arrives at her cottage, in a dual assault on class hierarchies and conventional religion, she enjoins him not to "call me good woman

. . . you know well enough I'm not good; no more are you, nor anybody else; though it isn't often you rich people flatter us poor. But perhaps it don't much matter that the clergyman hasn't come. I could never see what use those parsons were. They never seemed to me half as clear as the lecturer that came down in these parts once, and said it was all lies they told about hell-fire and the . . ."[76] At this point she breaks off as waves dash against the house, then continues, "No, no, the lecturer was right . . . that all they said about judgment and punishment was only lies,—lies to put money in their pockets. . . . You rich folk are always saying that fair skin and soft hand makes no difference in the nature; and so why mayn't Jenny Norton be kin to Lord Lilworth?"[77]

Poverty not only ensured a low social status but has ultimately deprived her life of value: "D'ye suppose I want to drag on this wretched life any longer, never going out into the blessed sunshine. . . . It's very well for you rich, who eat and drink of the best, and sleep the softest, and never have anything to trouble you while you're well; and, if you fall sick, have servants to wait on you, and carriages to take you out in the air;—it's very natural for you to want to live."[78] When her son recoils from the murder, she responds with a self-serving but lacerating indictment: "Didn't he have the heart . . . to marry her? Didn't she have the heart to take him from me? Didn't his family have the heart to make him cast me off? Was I worse than them? Never prate to me like that!"[79]

Although Pre-Raphaelite literature exhibited a general sympathy for women abandoned by men of higher status, few mid-Victorian tales portray a woman's resentment of the effects of class distinctions quite so bluntly. At the end of this strikingly bitter and unsentimental tale, the narrator quietly observes, in defiance of Christian orthodoxy, that the "mother and son, who had been divided in life, were joined in death—beyond which let none presume to follow them."[80] In its even-handed witness to wrong's begetting of wrong, Fulford's bleak parable of loss and class vengeance thus maintains a remarkable suspension of judgment.

Another seldom-discussed but noteworthy tale published in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was Edward Burne-Jones's "A Story of the North," a dream-laden allegory set in a romanticized "nordic" culture long ago and far away, distinctive for its elevation of style, literary resonances, and sublimated love plot.[81] "A Story" may have been influenced by contemporary works such as Carlyle's *German Romance* (1843) and Friedrich De la Motte Fouqué's tales of adventure and sublimation.[82] Tennysonian undertones also resonated in its epigraphs, diffusely melancholic settings, and final scene of a vessel fitted out for burial at sea.[83] Resemblances between this Germanic ambiance and that of Morris's "Svend and His Brethren" have been interpreted as possible signs of Morrisian authorship, but the story's rambling plot and celebration of a pagan culture's

embrace of Christianity seem more Burne-Jonesian than Morrisian. More conclusively, the tale's authorship was explicitly attributed to Burne-Jones both by his wife Georgiana Burne-Jones and R. W. Dixon.

Georgiana also reported in her *Memorials* that "in after years [Burne-Jones] was very sensitive about these early writings, and if it had been possible would have wiped out every word."[84] Nevertheless, despite its anacoluthic plot, hagiographic death-scenes, and melodramatic confessions, "A Story" is well-written. The language and diction of its chief characters resonate with Malorian as well as Tennysonian cadences, and its descriptive passages are "painterly" in ways one might expect of a fledgling artist, evoking sunrises, dreamlike landscapes, and Turnerian sunsets in carefully cadenced periodic prose.

Here, for example, is an excerpt from the scene in which the story's protagonist "Engeltram" (a pseudo-Danish variant of the German *Engeltraum*) bids farewell to his followers:

This day I go a long journey on the sea. Let, therefore, a [burial] ship be made ready and set for launching, and . . . let me be carried to the shore in my rent armour as I lie, and with the sword of my achieving with me, and there lay me in the ship, looking westward . . . for this night I rest in Asgard, the city of the gods. Then he closed his eyes, and everywhere was silence; and the sun shot up above the ridge of eastern mountains; in a moment all the valley was lighted up with orient colours, also the helmets and brazen shields of the warriors were gilded with the beams that shot afar off . . . and the ship went off into the deep sea, blown by the early morning winds, steadily, swiftly onwards, burning like a setting sun: as the sun dies daily in a flame of fire along the west—as the whole world together shall yet die, consumed with fire, so was his passing out of life. All along the shore, whosoever had survived the battle, with the women and the children, gathered out of every house, watched it nearing the dark sea-line.[85]

The passage effectively blends the nostalgic cadences of the death scenes in Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*, the imagery of Tennyson's "Morte D'Arthur" and "In Memoriam," and the sublimity of Turner's contemporary paintings of ships against the sunset.

A pastiche of improbable incidents cast in heroic language and set in a Pre-Raphaelite frame, "A Story of the North," like Dixon's "The Rivals," employs motifs of dream symbolism, sublimation, and loss. In this respect, it also resembles the stories written by his close friend William Morris, who likewise wrote two Scandinavian tales for the magazine's July and August issues. In his introduction to a reprint of William Morris's *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* tales, Eugene Le Mire remarks that "by careful structuring of meaningful detail and action the stories suggest a coher-

ence just beyond the reach of reason, but not therefore unreasonable."[86] Morris's "The Story of the Unknown Church" is an exemplary instance of such a tale, rendered effective by the consistency of its narrator's inward view of events. Appropriately, it is told in the voice of an artist and monk who is not only nameless until quite late in the narrative but also radically separated from his own past. The "unknown church," graced with his carvings as a "master-mason" six hundred years ago, has vanished, and he along with it.[87] But still he dreams, as do many of Morris's later revenants and spectral time-travelers. As he dreams, he also recalls the now-withered beauty of the countryside, its flowers and abundant fertility, the church's courtyard and graven tombs, and the church itself, whose west front he and his sister Margaret helped carve. At twenty Margaret was "very beautiful, with dark brown hair and deep calm violet eyes," and he "loved her very much."[88]

In accord with the logic of dreams, it emerges somewhat later that his best friend Amyot had been betrothed to Margaret before leaving for the Crusades five years earlier. Walter also recalls the apprehension which overcame him as he had worked on an image of the prophet Abraham and had seen a vision of Amyot "whom I love better than any one else in the world . . . I was frightened when I saw him, for his face had changed so, it was so bright and almost transparent, and his eyes gleamed and shone as I had never seen them do before."[89] This death-like image dissolves into another in which the still-nameless narrator views from a boat a castle on whose battlements Amyot stands, unable to give or receive aid: "I thought in my dream that I wept for very pity, and for love of him, for he looked as a man just risen from a long illness, and who will carry till he dies a dull pain about with him."[90] In the last of his three dreams, the narrator walks with Amyot in a beautiful garden, but when he turns his head his friend disappears, and he feels "even more sad and sick at heart," for "it was all like a dream that he should leave me, for we had said that we should always be together; but he went away, and now he is come back again."[91] He now remembers that Amyot had returned to die, and Margaret had followed him, explaining, "I must be with him, for so I promised him last night that I would never leave him any more, and God will let me go."[92] In their honor, Walter began to work an ornamented tomb for his sister and beloved friend. This labor of love gradually became the passion of his life, and twenty years later he is found "lying dead, with my chisel in my hand, underneath the last lily of the tomb."[93]

The language and quasi-historical settings of the "The Unknown Church" are rhapsodically ornate. Its dream states, surreal deaths, misty échappées, otherwordly trysts, and liminal mental states resemble counterparts in "The Rivals" and "A Story of the North," though enacted entirely within a world of dream and loss. And all memorialize artistic sublima-

tion and the notion of redemption through loss. Even Fulford's murderous fishwife found a small measure of eros, caritas, and artistic sublimation in the end.

A Band of Brothers

The thread of connection between the poetry, reformist essays, and romantic tales published in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* is elusive but nevertheless can be discerned through close reading of the periodical's contents. Members of the brotherhood admired Tennyson as a prophet of change, advocated for contemporary art and literature, expressed generally high-minded views of women and their abilities, and defended artistic and creative endeavors against a profiteering and materialist culture. Walter Gordon has correctly remarked that the magazine "added a new dimension to Pre-Raphaelite thinking by fusing social unrest with aesthetic revolt."[94]

In their most ambitious moments, the authors of the magazine probably hoped that it might survive for a while as a reformist foil to such influential publications as the *Edinburgh Review* or the *Saturday Review*. According to Paola Spinozzi and Elisa Bizzotto, the *Oxford and Magazine*, along with the *Germ*, helped to inspire later nineteenth century "little" magazines such as the *Century Guild* and the *Savoy*.[95] Yet as Patrick Fleming remarks, "The magazine's . . . most important feature [for its contemporary audience] was not the identity of individual contributors but the fact that it was produced by college students."[96] In this context it did attract some reviews, though these were somewhat condescending. *The Athenaeum* remarked neutrally that the new publication "devotes much space to a review of the poets, old and young, and to tale-telling," and a reviewer for *John Bull* acknowledged that the "warmth of youthful sentiment imparts life and interest" to some of its tales and poetry.[97] *The Saturday Review* condescendingly (and inaccurately) prophesied that "in two or three years . . . these essayists will be excellent, sensible humdrum creatures," while still acknowledging that its authors "are trying, in their own way, to get at what is good; and they are preserved, by a familiarity with the writings of great authors, from the petty frivolity of smart writing."[98]

Although it failed to reach a popular audience, the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* served a relatively unrecognized but significant purpose: to express the ideals and concentrate the intellect of a group of strikingly gifted young men. Their desire to "improve" the world led them to examine serious political, artistic and literary questions, and the queries and observations they embedded in their reviews and critical articles suggested that they hoped to become public intellectuals. Impressively, six of them managed to realize this goal later in life. Along the way, the brotherhood's respectful reviews of contemporary writers and artists won the attention

and goodwill of those they admired: Tennyson, Carlyle, Browning, Rossetti, and Ruskin. For example, Ruskin befriended Burne-Jones and served as his mentor and patron when he was a struggling young artist.[99] Likewise, the positivist Vernon Lushington became an unacknowledged editor and amanuensis for Carlyle when he re-edited *The French Revolution* (1837) and composed *Frederick the Great* (1858–65).[100] The benefits for the others were somewhat less concrete. Fleming has argued with some justice that for Fulford the "*Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* was perhaps a hindrance rather than a boon,"[101] but on the other hand, it also provided an income and an audience for a young man without other means of support and an indeterminate future.[102] For Morris, the magazine provided an opportunity to experiment with genres he vigorously pursued in later life. For example, *Commonweal* (which Morris edited from 1885–89), like the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, might be described as a resolutely secular and disillusioned "crusade and Holy Warfare against the age."[103] The magazine's preoccupations with art, literature, economics, education, and social justice remained central to the lives of Morris, Price, Burne-Jones, Faulkner, and the Lushington brothers. Like Tennyson's Galahad, members of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* brotherhood were "rather mild youths," as Morris once put it.[104] But their Tennysonian sentiments and Carlylean appeals to work in the service of nonsectarian values helped them refine these early ideals, and (again in Morris's words) to "shut the book and write it again in [their] own way."[105]

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NOTES

1. The magazine was published by London, Bell, and Daldy. They would later publish Morris's *The Defence of Guenevere* (1858) and *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867).
2. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:124.
3. However, Fleming identifies Annie Scott Hill (1837–1902), wife of George Birkbeck Hill, as a co-author with William Fulford of three essays on Shakespeare. Fleming, "William Fulford," 310–11.
4. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:115–16.
5. Dixon, "Memoir of William Morris," 22.
6. Quoted in Caine, *Recollections of Dante Rossetti*, 36.
7. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:116.
8. Lushington, "Oxford," 243.
9. In the sole recent article exclusively on the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*, Patrick Fleming remarks that the "articles on Alfred Tennyson, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin gave the magazine an aura of hero-worship appropriate both to its age and to the ages of its undergraduate contributors." Fleming, "William Fulford," 302.

10. *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* is discussed in Gordon, "Pre-Raphaelitism and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*"; Hosman, "*The Germ* (1850) and *The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* (1856)" and "*The Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*"; Le Mire, Introduction; Fleming, Headnote; and Fleming, "William Fulford." More information on editor and contributor William Fulford has been unearthed by Roger Simpson; see "William Fulford: A Biographical Sketch" and "William Fulford Revisted."
11. The three items usually attributed to Morris are "The Two Partings," "A Night in a Cathedral," and "Ruskin and the *Quarterly*." See Timo, "A Church without God"; Baissus, "William Morris and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*"; and LeMire, introduction. In my view, LeMire's treatment is the most comprehensive.
12. For Morris's *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* poetry and tales, see Boos, *Early Writings of William Morris*, forthcoming from Ohio State University Press.
13. Most of them disliked Macaulay but admired Alfred Tennyson, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, William M. Thackeray, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë, Francis Bacon, and William Shakespeare.
14. Fulford, "Cavalay," 537.
15. Taylor, "Vernon Lushington." Chapter 3 discusses Lushington's role in promoting Comte's writings at Cambridge and to his brother Godfrey at Balliol College, Oxford.
16. Cracroft's *Essays, Political and Miscellanous* (1868) ardently defend the policies of Gladstone and the extension of the franchise in the Reform Bill of 1867. According to the *Rossetti Archive*, Cracroft graduated from Cambridge in 1853 and became a stockbroker in Austen Friar's, a London square, http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/Cracroft001.raw.html.
17. LeMire, "The 'First' William Morris," 9–14.
18. Morris wrote Crom Price in October 1855, saying, "I don't think that even if I get through Greats that I shall take my B.A., because they won't allow you not to sign the 39 Articles unless you declare that you are 'extra Ecclesiam Anglicanam' which I'm not, and don't intend to be, and I won't sign the 39 Articles." Quoted in Le Mire, "The 'First' William Morris," 9.
19. Other texts cited include François Guizot's *Meditations et Etudes Morales* (1852), Émile Móntégut's *Le Roman Religieux en Angleterre* (c. 1856), and Isaac Taylor's *Restoration of Belief* (1855). The bent of Cracroft's argument is against Connybeare, and he adduces Emerson and others in support of his own views.
20. Cracroft, "The Skeptic and the Infidel," 611.
21. Ibid., 605, 612–13.
22. Heeley, "Kingsley's *Sermons*," 62. Charles Kingsley (1819–75) was an Anglican minister and Christian socialist who at the time served as rector of Eversley and wrote novels enjoyed by the Oxford set, including *Alton Locke* (1849), *Yeast* (1851), and *Westward Ho!* (1855). See MacCarthy, *Last Pre-Raphaelite*, 53.

23. Heeley, "Kingsley's *Sermons*," 62.

24. Heeley, "Froude's History of England," 370. Froude's was the sole historical text reviewed in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*.

25. Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72) had been dismissed from his post as professor of English history and literature at King's College, London, on account of his reformist views in *Theological Essays* (1853).

26. Lushington, "Carlyle," 194. This was the first of five essays on Carlyle published in the April, May, June, November, and December issues. In aggregate they constitute a never-published monograph.

27. Dixon, "Memoir of William Morris," 20.

28. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:109.

29. Edward Burne-Jones was initially attracted to the idea of a monastic brotherhood; throughout his life he admired Catholic iconography and rituals though he seems to have disliked the actual conduct of both Anglican and Roman Catholic hierarchies. For a discussion of his religious views (which are hard to define precisely), see MacCarthy, *Last Pre-Raphaelite*, 21–24, 29, 31, 36–37, 42–44, 47, 52, 230.

30. Burne-Jones, "A Story of the North," 35. In a similar vein, the protagonist of Dixon's "The Rivals" regrets that he cannot attain the Christian ideal of resignation. And a character in Morris's "Frank's Sealed Letter" urges his friend "in Christ's name" not to nurse his anger and grief. Although as previously noted, the protagonist of Burne-Jones's "A Story of the North" heralds the conversion of his people to Christianity, this may simply reflect his insertion of his hero into history.

31. Lushington, "Carlyle," 752. Thomas Carlyle was one of only two authors honored by the magazine with a medallion. This is not the only instance in which Lushington's exposition smoothes over difficulties in the original; see his interpretation of the doctrine of "might is right" in "Carlyle," 202, 205.

32. Lushington, "Oxford," 240.

33. Ibid., 249, 243.

34. Morris, "Review," 162.

35. In addition to the two essays discussed here, two installments of "On Popular Lectures Considered as an Irregular Channel of National Education" appeared in May and August. An essay titled "The Work of Young Men in the Present Age" (September 1856) listing teaching as a socially valuable occupation has also been tentatively ascribed to Cormell Price; however, it may have been written by William Fulford since it includes quotations from his favorite authors, Tennyson and Longfellow.

36. For background on Oxford University during this period, see Darwall-Smith, *History of University College Oxford*, 367–406; Mackail, *Life of William Morris*, 1:30–34.

37. Lushington, "Oxford," 235.

38. Ibid., 236.

39. Ibid., 236; Arnold, "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," lines 85–86.

40. Lushington, "Oxford," 237.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 239. This passage compares interestingly to Morris's description of Eton in *News from Nowhere*.

43. Lushington writes, "Had the colleges remained as they were founded, for poor men and religious men, I suspect they would have melted their plate, not for King Charles and his handsome cavaliers, but for Colonel Cromwell and his devout Ironsides." Ibid., 238.

44. Ibid.

45. Mackail, *Life of William Morris*, 1:31. His full account of Oxford, 28–34, confirms Lushington's view in "Oxford."

46. Darwall-Smith, *History of University College Oxford*, 167.

47. Lushington, "Oxford," 240. In "Morte d'Arthur," Tennyson writes, "The old order changeth, yielding place to new / And God fulfils Himself in many ways, / Lest one good custom should corrupt the world" (lines 240–42).

48. Lushington, "Oxford," 241. College leases were grants to private persons which sapped College revenues. Both parliamentary university commissions of 1850 and 1871 mandated many of the reforms which Lushington advocated: for example, they demanded that professors give a certain number of lectures, and they required that colleges contribute money toward university-wide teaching, provide buildings for teaching purposes, and permit students to live outside colleges to save expense. In 1871 college teaching and administrative posts were opened to non-Anglicans. See Salter and Lobel, *University of Oxford*.

49. Lushington, "Oxford," 243.

50. Ibid., 247.

51. Ibid. See also Arnold's "Barbarians, Philistines and Populace" in *Culture and Anarchy*.

52. Lushington, "Oxford," 253, 254.

53. Ibid., 254.

54. Ibid., 255.

55. Ibid., 256.

56. Fulford's essay was published nine years after Tennyson's *The Princess* and nearly a decade after the formation of Queen's College and Bedford College. Queen's College was founded by Frederick Denison Maurice in 1848 on progressive, non-competitive principles; it seems to have held a middle position between an advanced preparatory school and a university. Bedford College, initiated in 1849 by Elisabeth Reid, a friend of Anna Jameson and Barbara Bodichon, joined the University of London in 1900. Georgiana Burne-Jones fondly remembered Fulford's tutelage of poetry: "He had an endless interest in expounding the poets and naturally found his readiest disciples amongst the girls whom he knew. . . . He fed us with Longfellow

first of all, as the food suitable for our years, and so brought us gradually into a condition more or less fit for the revelation before introducing us to the works of his prime hero Tennyson." Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:67. In an earlier contribution, he had extolled Tennyson as a champion of women's education. Fulford, "Alfred Tennyson," 15–18.

57. Jameson, "Lectures to Ladies on Practical Subjects" and "Sisters of Charity Abroad and at 'Home.'" The latter was re-published as Jameson, *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home* (1855).

58. Fulford, "Woman, Her Duties, Education and Position," 463.

59. Ibid., 468.

60. Ibid., 469.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid., 470.

63. Ibid., 471. The brothers particularly admired Yonge's *The Heir of Redclyffe* (1853).

64. Ibid., 471.

65. Ibid., 476–77.

66. Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville College were founded in 1879.

67. See note eleven for debates over the authorship of "The Two Partings" and "A Night in a Cathedral." Two tales are not clearly attributed: "The Sacrifice" and "The Druid and the Maiden."

68. It has been suggested that Morris wrote these tales, but in his introduction to *The Hollow Land*, Eugene Le Mire makes a convincing stylistic and circumstantial case for William Fulford.

69. Their social conscience is revealed in Burne-Jones's "The Cousins," for example, when the hero pauses on his way to a social event to rescue a woman from the violence of her drunken husband, and in Fulford's "Cavalay," when the protagonist is jolted from his private disappointments and insecurities by observing the plight of the urban poor around him.

70. Dixon, "The Rivals," 37.

71. Ibid., 34.

72. Ibid., 35.

73. Arnetage may also reflect traits of Whitehouse, another early Oxford friend whom Dixon described as the "most brilliant man that was ever sent up from the School [King Edward's in Birmingham]: a most elegant scholar, splendid in composition, extremely gifted, both in mind and body: the finest actor of the great Shakespearian parts, particularly *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, that I ever heard." He left Oxford without a degree and "went abroad to Africa and America: returned to England ten years later shattered: paid me a visit of a week in Carlisle: and died shortly after. He was a poet of great elegance, to say no more. His death was about 1865." Dixon, "Memoir of William Morris," 19.

74. Ibid., 19–20.

75. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:117.

76. Fulford, "Found, Yet Lost," 156.

77. Ibid., 157.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., 160.

80. Ibid., 162. This passage echoes 2 Samuel 1:23, and further suggests the conclusion of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton*, reviewed by Cormell Price in the July issue of the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*. In chapter 38 of Gaskell's novel, the prostitute Esther is buried with John Barton—the man who had cast her out from his home on the grounds of immorality—"And there they lie without name, or initial, or date. Only this verse is inscribed upon the stone which covers the remains of these two wanderers. Psalm ciii. v. 9[:]'For He will not always chide, neither will He keep His anger for ever.'"

81. Burne-Jones contributed two stories to the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine* ("The Cousins" and "A Story of the North") as well as three essays ("The Newcomes," "Mr. Ruskin's New Volume," and "Ruskin and the Quarterly"). "The Cousins" is a tale of sensitive Victorian middle-class men of the sort mentioned earlier. Others in this category included Dixon's "The Rivals," considered above, as well as Morris's "Frank's Sealed Letter," Fulford's three-part "Cavalay," and "The Sacrifice," a tale of uncertain authorship variously attributed to Georgiana Macdonald and her brother Harry.

82. Friedrich de La Motte Fouqué, *Undine* (1811), *Sintram and His Companions* (trans. 1820).

83. Quotations from *In Memoriam*, *The Princess*, "The Blessed Damozel," and Poe's "The Haunted Palace" appear as epigraphs, and *In Memoriam* is quoted within the text.

84. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:124. The passage continues, "But the literary power which he disclaimed was proved at Oxford by the frequent 'posting' of his name on the gate of his College for English Essays and was shewn always in private correspondence. After he became a painter, he seemed to feel a kind of jealousy at the employment of any other means of expression than painting, and deliberately curbed the use of words in public, so that nothing would have induced him to make a speech or write an article."

85. Burne-Jones, "A Story of the North," 97–98.

86. Le Mire, introduction, xxviii.

87. Morris, "Story of the Unknown Church," 28. A stand-in, perhaps, for Amiens Cathedral, which Morris had visited twice and described in some detail in "Churches of North France: Shadows of Amiens," which appeared in the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*'s next issue.

88. Morris, "The Story of the Unknown Church," 30.

89. Ibid., 31.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid., 32.
92. Ibid., 33.
93. Ibid.
94. Gordon, "Pre-Raphaelitism and the *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine*," 51.
95. Spinozzi and Bizzotto, *Germ*, 196.
96. Fleming, "William Fulford," 301.
97. Review of *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine, Athenaeum*, 43; Review of *Oxford and Cambridge Magazine, John Bull*, 108.
98. Sandars, "Undergraduate Literature," 197.
99. Burne-Jones first met John Ruskin at Rossetti's studio. Rossetti, in turn, called on Burne-Jones and Morris in Red Lion Square and later invited the young men to dinner. MacCarthy, *Last Pre-Raphaelite*, 74–75.
100. Taylor, "Vernon Lushington," 111–48.
101. Fleming, "William Fulford," 313.
102. Morris engaged Fulford to tutor him for his examinations and paid him a salary of £100 to serve as the magazine's editor for eleven months. MacCarthy, *William Morris*, 99. Fulford later wrote and published four volumes of poetry between 1859 and 1865. Although he took orders, he seems to have deferred the decision as long as he could. Ordained as a deacon in 1856, he finally became a curate at St. Andrew's in 1864. Simpson, "In Defence of William Fulford," 21–27.
103. Burne-Jones, *Memorials*, 1:84. The context is a letter to Cormell Price of August 1853, in mock-elevated style, signed by "Edouard, Cardinal de Birmingham, O. J.": "We must enlist you, dear brother, in this crusade and Holy Warfare against the age, 'the heartless coldness of the times'" (an echo of "In Memoriam," st. 106, "the faithless coldness of the times").
104. Dixon, "Memoir of William Morris," 20.
105. Morris, *Collected Works of William Morris*, 3:xxii.

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Excavating Victorian Cuba in the *British Periodicals* Database

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Judging from the vast majority of Anglophone historical scholarship, Cuba's story is overwhelmingly an American drama in two acts. Act one begins with the explosion of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor in 1898 and the island's subsequent emancipation at the hands of the US military during the Spanish-American War. American troops, tourists, and businessmen then flock to Cuba for the next sixty years. Act two chronicles the abrupt end of this cozy US–Cuba relationship with Fidel Castro's successful revolution against American-supported strongman General Fulgencio Batista in 1959 and his founding of a Soviet-supported communist state on Florida's doorstep. US troops remain in Cuba on their base at Guantanamo Bay, but tourists and businessmen are barred from the country. Events in Cuba prior to 1898 tend to be summarized briefly as a Spanish colonial prequel to this American story. Even in the nineteenth century, when the colonial period does appear to involve other imperial actors, Antebellum America's efforts at annexation most often take center stage.[1]

As it did elsewhere in the Caribbean, Britain played a multidimensional—if thus far understudied—role in Cuba's history during this period. Chronically insolvent, Spain remained heavily in debt to the Bank of England throughout the nineteenth century, with duties collected on Cuba's foreign trade serving as collateral for the nation's loans.[2] By the end of Spain's civil war, the balance had grown so large that Lord George Bentick asserted Britain's right of military annexation on the floor of the House of Commons "because a sum of 45,000,000*l.* was due to British subjects upon Spanish bonds, and Cuba was hypothecated for the payment of that debt."[3] Mid-century trade figures reinforce Britain's economic presence. According to Louis Pérez, in 1850, 80 percent of Cuba's foreign trade was with three countries: the United States, Britain, and Spain; of this 80 percent share, the US accounted for 39 percent, Britain 34 percent, and Spain