“The Prince of Journalists”

A Critical Biography of E.S. Dallas

Graham Law

With a Foreword by Jenny Bourne Taylor

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By Graham Law with Jenny Bourne Taylor.
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Abbreviations

HCCP = House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (ProQuest)

NUKA = News UK Archive, NRA 19359 *The Times.*

ODNB = Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary.

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Foreword

By Jenny Bourne Taylor

On a drizzly day in October 2025, armed with a picnic and cleaning materials, Graham Law and I made a pilgrimage to Kensal Green Cemetery in northwest London to uncover and, if possible, restore the grave of E.S. Dallas, the journalist and critic with whom we have been preoccupied for the last several years. Founded in 1833 to accommodate the dead of the growing population of the metropolis, Kensal Green is a large, sprawling area, now rich in wildlife, which hosts the graves of (amongst many other Victorian writers) Harrison Ainsworth, Wilkie Collins, Thomas Hood, Leigh Hunt, William Makepeace Thackeray, and Anthony Trollope. To guide us, we had a map of the site, a location number for the grave, and, most useful of all, a photograph of the tombstone of Isabella Glyn, Dallas's ex-wife, which is situated not far away. We were initially unsuccessful in finding Isabella's grave, but were finally aided by a most helpful groundsman, Barry, who also located the gravestone of Dallas's brother William only a couple of rows away. But although Eneas's grave must be nearby, it seems now completely covered over by vegetation – so sadly his resting-place remains undisclosed.

This physical obscurity is not reflected in Dallas's own posthumous reputation. Since the 1960s, and particularly from the 1990s, there has been a steady growth in interest not only in his perceptive *Times* reviews of the novels of the likes of George Eliot, Wilkie Collins and Mary Elizabeth Braddon, but also in *The Gay Science* (1866), his extraordinary monograph bringing together psychology, sociology and literary analysis. However, available biographical material was still patchy and often inaccurate, while the wide scope of Dallas's output and interests remained largely underappreciated. So Graham and I have been engaged in attempting to put Dallas in his rightful place as one of the most significant journalists and cultural critics of the mid-nineteenth century – a position denied him during his career as most of his work was published anonymously, and his own life ended sadly and obscurely. This project started with our edited volume *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'* (Routledge, 2024), which covers not only his literary reviews in that paper (including his first review, a scathing attack on Tennyson's *Maud*), but also his discussions of history, the fine arts, architecture, philosophy and archaeology, as well as his topical writings. This has been followed by *E.S. Dallas Elsewhere* (Routledge, 2025), a companion to the *Times* volume, largely edited by Graham, which makes available the wide range of reviews and cultural analysis that appeared in other publications, including Dallas's prescient pair of articles on 'Popular Literature: the Periodical Press' which appeared in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* early in 1859, exploring the relationship between shifts in forms of journalism and developments in political democracy. *E.S. Dallas Elsewhere* also contains many of the short reports on the Siege of Paris in 1870-71 in the *Daily News* while Dallas was the paper's Special Correspondent in the French capital. Graham has also undertaken, largely single-handedly, the mammoth task of creating the first scholarly edition of *The Gay Science* – and our work on the earlier journalism has made us aware just how much of his study of the history of criticism, and his plea that literary criticism should become a science based on an understanding of the psychological structure of the imagination, drew on and reproduced passages from his earlier, anonymous work.

Dallas himself was ambivalent about biography as a genre. In 'Currer Bell', his review of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë* in *Blackwood's* in July 1857, he is initially scathing about Gaskell's 'gossipy' style and her tendency to provide exhaustive contextual and historical material; yet he draws extensively on Gaskell's work in outlining the lives of the three sisters and their struggles as impecunious middle-class women. In *The Gay Science* too, he notes that 'history has been growing more biographical in its tendency, while biography has been growing more and more historical in tone', and asks whether 'the rise in biography betokens the fall of literature'. Yet he also suggests that 'the extension of biographical literature in our day is not necessarily to be regarded as a bad sign', and that it needs to be understood as an expression of modern individualism and of the centrality of the private sphere in national life, embodied above all in the popularity of the novel, and the move away from heroic epic forms.

We cannot know what Dallas would have made of his own biography, and in Graham Law's account he emerges not as a heroic figure, but as a complex and contradictory writer – a self-confessed Tory who was nonetheless startlingly progressive in many of his views; a man with a messy private life, seen as a bit of rake yet also having deep and platonic relationships with women. Based on meticulous and wide-ranging archival research, Law's biography traces: the Dallas family's historical roots in both Scotland and the West Indies; Eneas's own early life in Easter Ross and Fife; later in Edinburgh as a university student then a journalist; his move to London and his work on *The Times*; and his subsequent career, particularly on the *Daily News* and as a correspondent in Paris. Emerging from this meticulous research is also an invaluable picture of mid-nineteenth-century journalism – a vocation that lay at the heart of cultural and political discourse throughout the mid-nineteenth century, yet remained itself an unstable and precarious way of making a living.

Preface

Underlying this critical biography is the conviction that E.S. Dallas was one of the most innovative of mid-Victorian non-fiction writers, whether viewed in intellectual or professional terms, and from the perspective of either theory or practice. As a wide-ranging cultural critic he combined insights from the emerging disciplines of psychology and sociology in a particularly original form. As a career journalist, he self-consciously explored the genres of leading article, obituary notice, socio-political commentary and overseas correspondence (from Paris, in particular), as well as, of course, reviewing books of all sorts and conditions, while contributing alike to daily, weekly, and monthly publications. Moreover, his complex personal life raises a series of fascinating issues regarding race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, class and culture, that still resonate today. He was born to Scottish parents on a plantation in the British Caribbean during the period between the abolition of slave-trading and the emancipation of the enslaved. He was brought up in a puritanical, Presbyterian household in a Gaelic-speaking community in the highlands. In working for the press, he moved in both bourgeois and bohemian circles first around the New Town, Edinburgh and then London's West End. His early romance and marriage with a widowed Shakesperean actress several years his senior ended after twenty years in a messily protracted divorce case on the grounds of his desertion and adultery, while over the last ten years and more of his life, both via extensive correspondence and in person, he carried on intimate but apparently platonic relationships with both the elderly widow of a baronet and her separated daughter.

Reliable biographical and bibliographical information is important in contextualising the work of any author and analysing its significance, and Dallas has hitherto been rather poorly served on both fronts: the current entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* remains generally sketchy and occasionally mistaken, while the latest edition of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, lists only seven specific items by Dallas, one a misattribution. On either side of the Second World War, John W. Bicknell of Columbia University and Ronald W. Thomson of Lincoln College, Oxford, announced through the columns of the *Times Literary Supplement* (on 3 April 1937 and 10 November 1950 respectively) that they were engaged in preparing a biography of Dallas, but neither project seems to have come to fruition. However, detailed surveys of both his life and writings have appeared in two edited volumes recently prepared by Jenny Bourne Taylor and myself—one of an extensive selection of Dallas's contributions to *The Times*, and the other of his best-known critical work, *The Gay Science*. What seems necessary now is a comprehensive critical biography which attends at the same time to his public and private life, and interprets his many and varied published writings not only as rhetorical interventions but also as potential personal revelations. Such an approach seems especially important in Dallas's case as no private diaries and relatively few personal letters—the staple ingredients of Victorian biography—seem to have survived. In general, this situation reflects both the lack of public attention paid during his own lifetime to someone whose work as a journalist was almost all issued anonymously, and the fact that he left no direct descendants and only a very limited family network to help preserve his memory. More specifically, an unfortunate house fire in Henley-on-Thames after the Second World War is known to have destroyed his largest-known collection of correspondence, that to the widow and daughter mentioned above, who both had literary ambitions. Such a situation also means that, in order to piece together the story of, in particular, the first two decades or so of his life, I have had to make inferences from sets of facts culled from a wide range of miscellaneous impersonal press and public records. Notably included among the former are

the files of the *Grenada Free Press* in the West Indies and the *Inverness Courier* in northeastern Scotland; and among the latter the 'Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database' at University College, London, and, of course, the United Kingdom Census Records. Research of this kind and on this scale would clearly have been difficult if not impossible before the age of digitisation, and inevitably tends to overlook data not yet available in binary form.

Regarding methodology, this account often has to rely on a principle of triangulation, that is, that a line of narrative supported by three or more independent sources is to be accorded the status of truth.

Chapter 1: A Family Tree

When rather over forty years ago now I first came across *The Gay Science*, the best-remembered work by E.S. Dallas, and learned from the brief entry in the original *Dictionary of National Biography* that his father hailed from Jamaica, I assumed that the rather unusual forenames Eneas (or Æneas) Sweetland referred respectively to Virgil's epic hero and to sugar plantations. Indeed, after Dallas died aged only fifty-one, early in the evening of 17 January 1879 at his cheap lodgings at 88 Newman Street not far from Soho Square, more than one London press report looked to explain the trajectory of his life and career in terms of heritage. On 25 January, the day after his funeral at Kensal Green Cemetery, the sympathetic obituarist in the weekly critical review the *Athenaeum* suggested that Dallas's ability to create 'lasting works in literature' derived from his belonging to 'a family in whom literary talent was hereditary', claiming that, among other celebrities, his direct ancestors included: the Jamaican-born poet Robert Charles Dallas (1754–1824: *ODNB*), author of a volume of *Recollections* of George Byron, *his* younger brother Alexander James Dallas (1759–1817), who went to the United States and became Secretary of the Treasury, and their nephew the Philadelphia-born statesman George Mifflin Dallas (1792-1864), who had served both as American Vice President and Ambassador to Britain.[1] A few days earlier, a brief obituary in the *Pall Mall Gazette* had viewed E.S. Dallas's Caribbean background in a much more sinister light. Penned by the editor Frederick Greenwood under whom Dallas had been working as literary critic for the London evening paper, this paragraph saw the writer's failure to 'fulfil the promise of his earlier days' as owing to a lack of 'the energy, the application, the laboriousness necessary for success in literature when genius of the creative order is absent', ascribing 'the root of the mischief' as likely down to his coming 'of a West Indian family'.[2] While appraisals such as these clearly reflect the growing ideological influence of Darwinism on social thinking over the second half of the nineteenth century, it also needs to be recognized that they are based on false information.

In fact, the week following its obituary, the *Athenaeum* carried a reader's letter signed 'A. Caldor', clearly a Scot with a keen interest in family history, which not only stated that the deceased journalist came from an entirely different and much less socially distinguished branch of the Dallas clan to the celebrated poet, secretary or ambassador, but also noted that he had left the West Indies 'at the age of four' while even his parents had 'resided there but a few years'.[3] While Caldor correctly identified the parents, even he erred in several points, most significantly in

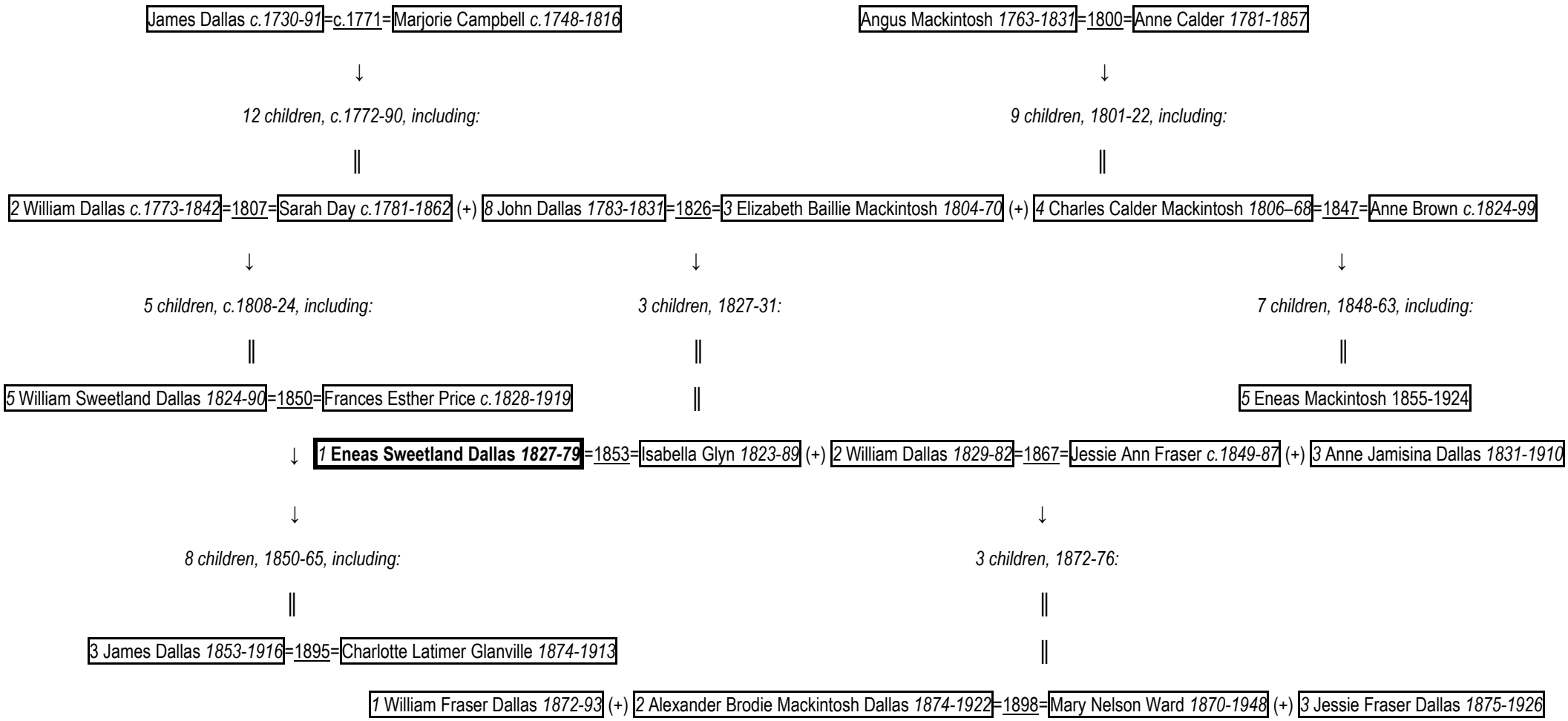
repeating that their temporary colonial home had been on the island of Jamaica. Unfortunately, a number of the mistakes found in the columns of the *Athenaeum* made their way into both Frederic Boase's *Modern English Biography* and his entry in the old *Dictionary of National Biography*, and one or two even survive in the current digital manifestation revised by Roger T. Stearn.[4] Under these circumstances, it is important in this chapter on Dallas's family background, as indeed in those following concerning Dallas's infancy in the British Caribbean and his childhood in a predominantly Gaelic-speaking community in northeast Scotland, to try to confirm the details and pin down the documentary sources. (For an overview, see *Fig. 1.1*: Four-Generation Family Tree: E.S. Dallas.)

The most reliable general source on the genealogy of the Dallas family is undoubtedly *The History of the Family of Dallas*,[5] where the details of immediate concern to a biographer of E.S. Dallas match fairly closely those retrieved from more general sources, whether public records or the contemporary press. Found in the chapter of the book devoted to 'Dallas in Galcantray', that is, the lands on the banks of the River Nairn to the northeast of Inverness, between Culloden Moor and Cawdor Castle, the key details are as follows:[6]

> John Dallas, eighth child of John [*sic.* for James] Dallas and Marjorie Campbell, m. Elizabeth Baillie, daughter of Dr. Angus Mackintosh, minister of Tain, by whom he had the following children:
>
> 1. Aeneas Sweetland,[7] b. 18th November 1827; m. Isabella Glyn, 1853, and had no issue.
> 2. William, b. 8th February 1829, a solicitor in Calcutta, afterwards of Feltham Hill, Middlesex; m. Jessie Fraser, daughter of Hugh Fraser, by whom he had one son, b. 1865 [*sic.* for two sons, b. 1872 and 1874].
> 3. Ann Jamisina, b. 20th March 1831; d. unmarried.

Earlier in the chapter we learn that E.S. Dallas's paternal great-grandfather Lauchlan (born 1697) by 1721 had moved from rural Galcantray into the city of Inverness to become 'a peutherer' (maker of household utensils from the metal alloy pewter), the business being taken over by his eldest son James (baptised 1730), though not apparently by his eldest surviving grandson William (baptised 1773), who seems to have moved to England, and whose eight children included the distinguished entomologist William Sweetland Dallas (1824-90).[8] John Dallas himself was baptised in Inverness in 1783,[9] but, like several of the sons of James Dallas, must have decided to make a living elsewhere.

Figure 1.1: Four-Generation Family Tree: E.S. Dallas



Key

nnnn-nnnn	Years of birth and death
=nnnn=	Year of marriage
(+)	Sibling relationship
n before name	nth child of marriage

Understandably, *The History of the Family of Dallas* tells us nothing more regarding the family of E.S. Dallas's mother, but here the gap can be filled mainly from documents relating to the Church of Scotland. The third of ten children, Eliza(beth) Baillie Mackintosh (1804-70) was born on 12 July at Tain, north of Inverness on the Dornoch Firth, in the Church of Scotland manse where her father Angus Mackintosh (1763–1831) had been appointed minister in 1797, following a five-year stint at the Chapel-of-Ease for the Gaelic-speaking community of Glasgow.[10] A fervent evangelical like his father, Eliza's young brother Charles Calder Mackintosh (1806–1868), was ordained and took over the Tain ministry in 1828, although he was to leave to join the Free Church of Scotland at the schism of 1843, commonly known as the 'Great Disruption'.[11] In turn, the mother of Eliza and Charles, Anne Calder Mackintosh (1781-1857), was the daughter of Charles Calder (1748-1812), the Minister of the Parish of Urquhart, on the 'Black Isle' peninsula between the Firths of Moray and Cromarty,[12] while her grandfather and great-grandfather 'had also been devoted and eminent ministers'.[13]

In addition, *The History of the Family of Dallas* has nothing to say of John Dallas's residence in the West Indies, although it does devote many pages to the presence of more distant members of the family on the island of Jamaica, much the largest British possession in the region. Hailing from the largely separate Budgate branch of the family, the physician Robert Dallas (c. 1710-1769), a younger son from North Newton on the Isle of Arran, emigrated in around 1730 to start a new life there. Still resident around Kingston in 1753, he then purchased the Boar Castle estate of around 900 acres along the Cane river to the east of Kingston in the parish of St Andrew, renaming it Dallas Castle.[14] His children included those Dallas brothers who respectively befriended Lord Byron in Europe and became United States Secretary of the Treasury, though other descendants remained and made their living in Jamaica. For example, his nephew William Dallas (b. 1745) worked there as a millwright, while his grandson, Samuel Jackson Dallas (1789-1861), was a sugar plantation owner with around 150 slaves when emancipation took place in the mid-1830s, and in 1842 became Speaker of the Jamaican House of Assembly.[15] However, there is no evidence to link the Jamaica Dallases with E.S. Dallas's parents, whose three children were all born between November 1827 and March 1831 on the British Caribbean island of Carriacou, a dependency of only around 13 square miles to the northeast of Grenada, not far from the coast of South America and nearly a thousand miles south and east of Jamaica. Records show that the couple were married by Revd. Angus Mackintosh at the Tain manse on 2 February 1826, setting off soon afterwards on the long journey to Carriacou and arriving towards the end of April. Though new to the mother, for already rather over a decade the far-off island seems to have been the residence of the father, who had clearly returned briefly to his homeland to marry a partner over twenty years his junior. Although the slavery records digitised at University College, London, suggest that John Dallas began to purchase land on Carriacou only from around 1817, apparently he was appointed by the governor to serve a three-year term up to November 1815 in the public office of Town Warden for the port of Hillsborough, the only urban settlement on the island.[16] It thus seems likely that John Dallas had first left northeastern Scotland for the West Indies before reaching the

age of thirty. And, as we shall see in greater detail in subsequent chapters, in the summer of 1830 when he was less than three years old, Eneas himself seems to have been taken back to northern Scotland with his little brother to be looked after by their maternal grandmother and uncle, with his parents returning to Carriacou. Even after both her father back home and her husband on Carriacou had died within a couple of months of each other towards the end of 1831,[17] Eliza Dallas appears to have stayed on the island with her baby daughter until the spring of 1835. By then government compensation had been secured for the emancipation of the enslaved people she had inherited. As a result, Eneas and his younger brother may have been separated from their mother for almost five years and only met their little sister following her fourth birthday.

All this seems to be far from sufficient to characterize the journalist as belonging to 'a West Indian family'. In short, if E.S. Dallas exhibited hereditary talents, they must have had little connexion with literature, while any inherited defects could have had nothing to do with his infancy in the Caribbean. In his case at least, the Social Darwinian argument from blood and soil seems entirely misplaced. Among the aims of this biography perhaps the most important is to arrive at a more convincing and satisfying explanation for the complex trajectory of his life.

Ch. 1: A Family Tree: Notes

[1] 'Mr. E.S. Dallas', *The Athenaeum* (25 January 1879), pp. 122–23, p. 122.

[2] [Frederick Greenwood], 'Occasional Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette* (21 January 1879), p. 8b. It should perhaps be noted that rather later, in an article that went on to award high praise to E.S. Dallas's reviews for *The Times*, another distinguished editor, T.H.S. Escott, was to employ the phrase 'West Indian temperament' metaphorically to characterize journalists who habitually failed to meet deadlines (see his 'Literature and Journalism', *Fortnightly Review* 91 (January 1912), pp. 115–130); there, for example, he suggested that George Sala, whose heritage was more Italian than Caribbean, 'united with mental qualities falling little short of genius the West Indian temperament' (p. 120).

[3] A. Caldor, 'Mr. E.S. Dallas', *The Athenaeum* (1 February 1879), p. 152c.

[4] In particular, Dallas was not 'brought to England at the age of four', nor did his father ever train or work as 'a physician'.

[5] See James Dallas, *The History of the Family of Dallas, and Their Connections and Descendants from the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh: Privately Printed [Constable], 1921). A Fellow of the Linnean Society, Curator at the British Museum, and Secretary of the Antiquarian Society, James Dallas (1853–1916) was the third child of E.S. Dallas's first cousin, the distinguished Victorian entomologist William Sweetland Dallas (1824–90), who was born in Scotland but conducted his scientific career in the main south of the border. *The History of the Family of Dallas* was completed following the author's death by 'C.S.R.', probably the family historian Charles S. Romanes (1851–1922). D. Warrand's brief review describes the book as 'very welcome' to genealogists, and relatively free of errors given that responsibility for the final text had to be handed on to a second scholar (*Antiquaries Journal* 2:2 (April 1922), pp. 155–56, p. 155.

[6] James Dallas, *History of the Family of Dallas*, p. 409.

[7] According to *History of the Family of Dallas*, this seems to the first occurrence within the extended Dallas family of the forename 'Aeneas/Eneas'; however, the name seems to have been used quite commonly among highland families as an alternative to Angus (forename of E.S. Dallas's maternal grandfather), that is, an anglicised form of the Gaelic Aoghas/Aoghus/Aengus, and thus does not necessarily suggest any reference to classical literature. In fact, the fifth child of E.S. Dallas's maternal uncle, born in 1855, was also named Eneas. The forename 'Sweetland' seems to have been used in the Dallas family only after 1793, when Lilias Dallas (c.1774–1847), the eldest sister of E.S. Dallas's father, was married to George Sweetland, Deputy Paymaster-General to the British army at Gibraltar (p. 395); it thus seems to carry no reference to West Indian sugar plantations.

[8] James Dallas, *History of the Family of Dallas*, pp. 394–96; the use of pewter was in decline by the late eighteenth century.

[9] On 17 May, according to the Old Parish Registers, Inverness, Births 098/50, p. 83.

[10] See the entry for 'Angus Mackintosh', Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, VII, pp. 72–73.

[11] See the entry for 'Charles Calder Mackintosh', Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, VII, p. 73.

[12] See the entry for 'Charles Calder', Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, VII, p. 47.

[13] *Disruption Worthies of the Highland*, p. 54.

[14] The place name 'Dallas Castle' lives on in Jamaica today, while the surrounding region and its main public school are both called 'Dallas'.

[15] The Jamaican-born Mowbray Morris (1818–74: *ODNB*), Office Manager at *The Times* from 1847, who was immediate supervisor of E.S. Dallas's work for the newspaper, was in fact married to one of the daughters of Samuel Jackson Dallas.

[16] See Donald R. Hill, *The Impact of Migration on the Metropolitan and Folk Society of Carriacou, Grenada* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Musuem of Natural History, 1977), p. 207: 'On November 25, 1815 . . . John McLean replaced John Dallas . . . as Hillsborough Warden'.

[17] Angus MacKintosh died on 3 October 1831 (see the inscription on his gravestone in Saint Duthus Collegiate Churchyard, Tain) and John Dallas on 3 December 1831 (see his tombstone in Harvey Vale Cemetery, Carriacou); the news of her father's death is likely to have reached Eliza Dallas shortly before her husband died.

Chapter 2: In the West Indies

As we have seen, Eneas Sweetland Dallas was born and spent the first few years of his life on the tiny British Caribbean island of Carriacou, to the northeast of Grenada, in the period between the abolition throughout the Empire of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807 and the formal emancipation of the enslaved inhabitants under the Act of 1833. Like many European settlers on the island at that time both his parents were Scottish-born, owning and managing a number of plantations still dependent on enslaved labour and devoted to the cultivation of sugar cane for the production of molasses, refined sugar and rum. This chapter attempts to answer as clearly as possible two overlapping sets of questions: generally, what were the prevailing physical and social conditions during the period in question? and, specifically, in what circumstances did the Dallas family live and how did they interact with the local community both free and in bondage? Finding evidence to provide detailed answers to the second set is obviously even more challenging.

* * * * *

Although only around 13 square miles in area, Carriacou is the largest of the Grenadine chain of islets between Grenada to the south and St. Vincent to the north. This chain in turn forms part of the southern 'Windward' portion of the arc of smaller islands in the eastern Caribbean Sea known as the Lesser Antilles. Roughly in the shape of a mirrored upper-case 'L', Carriacou has a north-south ridge with a number of peaks over 600 feet above sea level, the highest being High North at around 950. The coastline offers a series of bays, with Tyrrel's to the southwest providing much the safest anchorage (see the map). The average daytime high temperature today is over 30 Celsius throughout the year on the island, which, like much of the Caribbean, has its rainy season from June to November. However, Carriacou experiences considerably less annual rainfall than Grenada 25 miles south, so that, with no rivers and few springs, its agricultural potential is rather restricted.[1]

The name seems to mean 'island surrounded by reefs' in the Kalinago or Igneri language of the indigenous Arawakan people, who first encountered European voyagers in the late fifteenth century. Claimed though not colonised for the King of Spain in the 1520s, Grenada was settled first by the French from 1649. By that time, of course, there had already been almost a century of predominantly British slave trading between West Africa and the larger Caribbean islands, beginning with Hispaniola (today's Haiti / Dominican Republic). French control continued until 1763, when, under the Treaty of Paris that brought an end to the Seven Years' War, all of the Windward Islands were ceded to the British crown. However, Grenada and its dependencies were again briefly occupied by French forces between 1779 and 1783 during the period of the American Revolution.[2] Thereafter the majority group among the islands' European inhabitants shifted decisively from those of French to British origin.[3] From before the turn of the nineteenth century, to help satisfy the apparently

insatiable cravings for sweetness in the United Kingdom,[4] with the help of irrigation ponds and water cisterns, production on Carriacou shifted significantly from cotton to sugar cane.[5]

Fig. 2.1 Physical Map of Carriacou in the 1820s, showing the location of the Dallas Estates
(Reproduced in edited form with permission from the Urquhart Family Archives, Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire)

All the same, several smaller plantation owners of Gallic origin were still there on the eve of emancipation, such as Gabriel Collet, or Angélique Rouvier, and economic contacts with the French islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe to the north persisted. Even today many locations on the island retain French names such as Chapeau Carré peak or Ance la Roche bay.[6] Douglas Hamilton has argued generally that, while 'Scottish imperial activity' began well before the Act of Union of 1707, the British acquisitions of 1763, if not representing a 'stunning new departure for Scottish people', did stimulate a significant 'upsurge in Caribbean enterprise and settlement' from Caledonia.[7] His statistical estimates concerning emigration over the second half of the eighteenth century suggest that the Windward Islands in particular received 'a higher proportion of Scots': this may have been as large as '40 per cent of the white population', as opposed to around 24 per cent for the British West Indies as a whole,[8] and this in a period when the Scottish population represented only around 15 per cent of that of Great Britain. Moreover, Nicholas Draper has shown that, based on an analysis of the millions of pounds in compensation payments to plantation owners following emancipation, 'Scotland played a disproportionately large part in the story of British and Irish slave ownership'.[9] Already by 1784, the year after E.S. Dallas's father was born at Inverness, alongside apparently English names such as Wilson, Bartlet and Boyd, there were estates on Carriacou owned by planters from Caledonian backgrounds like the Urquharts, Grants, Mackays, and Munros. And, as we shall soon see, on the eve of the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire, the three largest landowning families on the island all came originally from northeastern Scotland.

* * * * *

When he died on 3 December 1831 from causes unknown at the age of only 48,[10] John Dallas was one of the three representatives of the island of Carriacou in the House of Assembly of Grenada at St. George's, having been elected just over a year earlier at Hillsborough by his male white peers.[11] (On 30 January 1832, a few weeks after his untimely death, a new bill was passed by the Assembly to permit all 'the free Coloured and free Black Inhabitants of these Islands' to vote, although there were still land-ownership qualifications to serve as representative.)[12] At his death, E.S. Dallas's father also seems to have been the second largest landholder on Carriacou with over 900 acres in his possession.[13] This was significantly in advance of the three estates totalling just over 600 acres to the north of the island held by William Urquhart (d. 1847) of Craigston, Aberdeen, but far behind those of George McLean (1780-1850) who then owned more than 1000 acres in his own right and controlled a further 1500 as attorney for the absentee Dorothea Milne to whom he was related by marriage. By the late 1820s in total John Dallas himself seems to have had control of five estates on Carriacou, altogether housing around 350 enslaved people. The five plantations were: Retreat, a small property to the southwest (58 acres; owner from 1817); La Breteche on the east coast (238 acres; owner from 1823), where John Dallas may have resided before his marriage;[14] L'Ance la Roche to the northwest (260 acres; owner from 1823);[15] Harvey Vale to the south over Tyrrel Bay (336 acres: agent for the absentee owners, the Davidsons, from 1826), where

the Dallas family seem to have lived;[16] and Mount Sinai, a small inland property towards the north on the central ridge (57 acres; agent from 1826 and owner from 1829).[17] This steady expansion over not much more than a decade suggests that his economic activities were reaping healthy profits. As expected, his estates seem to have been devoted principally to the production of sugar, molasses and rum: the contemporary Craigston map of the island estates shows a windmill at La Breteche for crushing cane and a boiling house at Harvey Vale for purifying the juice.[18] The handwritten registry for 1829 records slaves employed on board John Dallas's sloop, which was presumably required for transportation both between the coastal estates and to and from St. George's and other Grenada ports.[19] Although E.S. Dallas's father is thus recorded as only beginning to purchase land on Carriacou from around 1817, before that he seems to have served a standard three-year term ending in late 1815 as Warden of Hillsborough, the only town on the island.[20] The Governor of Grenada, then General Frederick Maitland near the end of his six-year stint from 1805, seems unlikely to have offered such an appointment, which under Grenadan law included a role equivalent to that of police superintendent, to someone with no experience of life in the West Indies. We can thus assume that E.S. Dallas's father must have arrived in Carriacou in his later twenties, probably by about 1810, and was perhaps initially employed as a plantation manager or overseer; he would thus have lived around twenty years on the island in all. Other significant questions to which I have been able to find no answer are: what connexion drew John Dallas to Carriacou in particular? how much capital did he bring with him from Scotland? and how much, if anything, did his marriage add to his wealth?

Inevitably, the most detailed record of the civic lives of the European settlers on Grenada and the Grenadines during this period is to be found in the columns of the two newspapers published at the capital of the main island. These were the *St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette*, founded in the final decade of the eighteenth century, and the *Grenada Free Press and Weekly Gazette*, starting up in July 1826. The former was issued bi-weekly (typically) on Saturday and Wednesday, until the mid-week slot was taken over by the latter journal. Unfortunately, the extant files of both papers are severely damaged in places and far from complete, with the breaks in the run of the *Chronicle* particularly gaping.[21] Nevertheless, in addition to departments devoted to intelligence, and sometimes fiction, copied from journals published back home, whether in Scotland, England, or France, and regional news from larger British Caribbean colonies such as Barbados and Jamaica, the surviving issues reveal extensive local coverage. Among other affairs, there are regular reports of the debates and decisions in the island parliament, of legal processes involving both rebellious or runaway slaves and settlers delinquent in paying taxes or settling debts, of the buying and selling of movable, immovable and human property, and of sailing vessels arriving and departing with details of their passengers and freight. In these columns we can also catch glimpses of the representatives of specific estate families as they perform various civic duties.

Here John Dallas emerges clearly as a pillar of the white community on Carriacou, serving at different times as Member of the House of Assembly at St. George's, Town Warden for Hillsborough, and, for the island as a whole, Road Commissioner, Agent for Population Returns, Justice of the Peace, and Officer of the Carriacou Regiment, the part-time local militia. These roles clearly brought him into close contact with like-minded citizens, including the neighbouring plantation owner George McLean and the Anglican rector William Nash, who had both lived on the island a good deal longer and of whom we shall soon learn more. On 11 October 1826, for example, the front page of the *St. George's Chronicle* records McLean, Dallas (both listed as JP), and Nash forming the committee to appoint a new 'Clerk of the Parish of Carriacou', while a few weeks earlier all three had played key roles in the regular regimental Muster on the Parade-Ground at Hillsborough. On that occasion, just a few months after John Dallas had returned from Scotland with his new bride,[22] the *Grenada Free Press* reported that, to the 'surprise and gratification' of the regiment, 'a superb and beautiful pair of Colours, presented by the fair hand of Mrs. Dallas, a donation from the worthy and respected Colonel of the Regiment, George M'Lean, Esquire, which having been consecrated in due form by the Reverend Mr. Nash, their Chaplain, were given in charge to the senior Lieutenant and Ensign'.[23] At that time John Dallas himself was still a Captain, though by April 1829 he had been promoted to Colonel of the Regiment on the retirement of McLean after well over twenty years' service.[24]

Not long afterwards Carriacou was put forward as the template of a progressive plantation economy, mainly on account of the principles and practices of its largest estate owner, George McLean, whose family hailed from Alness, Ross-shire, about twelve miles south of Tain, the family home of E.S. Dallas's mother. This was in a lengthy report carried in a Bristol newspaper in summer 1833,[25] and widely reprinted in the English provincial press, which lauded Carriacou as '[t]he model of all slave islands' and the location most appropriate 'for an experimental system of emancipation'. In particular, the article praised: the 'system of task work' which encouraged the enslaved labourers to complete quickly the daily or weekly work assigned on their plantation, in order to make time for their own enterprise, such as raising chickens to sell at the market in Grenada; and the attention paid to the 'daily instruction' of the children in bondage concerning both religious and secular matters, whether 'on each estate' or at the 'school in the small town'. Although the educational activities were conducted 'under the superintendence of the clergyman', the report assigned the responsibility for these positive developments generally to 'Mr. M'Lean, the principal proprietor', arguing that the current 'state of the island shows how much one man of intelligence and activity may effect'. The proof of his success, it was suggested, was that over the last seven years the enslaved population of the island had naturally increased by 60 persons per annum (rather over 2%), as against the slight decrease seen on both Grenada and St. Vincent.

* * * * *

For nearly half a century before emancipation throughout the British Empire, there had been an active debate on the issues concerned, whether social and economic, or moral and spiritual. This had continued from

even before the unsuccessful tabling of a Slave Trade Bill in 1792 (under pressure from the recently founded Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade), through the passage in 1807 of the Slave Trade Act rendering illegal the buying and selling of new human chattels on British territory, up to the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act which enabled within five years the step-by-step manumission of all enslaved persons. This public discussion, perhaps at its most animated in the 1820s, took place at the colonial periphery as well as the metropolitan centre, and not only in legislative bodies but also via the press.[26] Broadly speaking, there were three major positions: conservative, fighting to maintain the system of slavery itself; gradualist, advocating a step-by-step approach to emancipation; and radical, demanding a rapid end to all human bondage. The following are put forward as representative expressions of the three stances published in the metropolis, and dating from the period when E.S. Dallas's father was resident in the West Indies.

The conservative position is encapsulated in the eight lengthy, numbered letters signed 'A West Indian Proprietor' and addressed to the editor of *The Times* (published there between 29 December 1823 and 3 February 1824), which were later collected as *A Refutation of Various Calumnies against the West India Colonies*. According to the Preface to that volume, the letters were written 'for the purpose of repelling the calumnies industriously circulated against the Colonial Legislatures, and the West India Planters, and of giving a more faithful and accurate picture of the real situation of the Negro population in the colonies'.[27] The gradualist position is probably best seen in the shilling pamphlet of 48 pages entitled *An Appeal to the Christian Philanthropy of the People of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Rev. John McCannon Trew, Anglican rector of a Jamaican parish. In anticipation of their eventual freedom, as part of the process of amelioration, Trew demanded (in his subtitle) the prompt 'religious instruction and conversion of three hundred thousand negro slaves', while stressing in the opening pages that he would 'neither be found declaiming against the Colonists, nor setting myself up as the champion of the existing state of things on this side of the water'.[28] The radical position is perhaps most powerfully expressed in a series of articles and reviews concerning 'Negro Slavery' appearing in the *Christian Observer* between September 1823 and November 1826, and reprinted under the same title in a volume of nearly 180 pages, probably in late 1826.[29] Launched in 1802 by Zachary Macaulay and other members of the Clapham Sect, the *Observer* was an ecumenical Anglican monthly with a good deal of sympathy towards other evangelical groups such as the Society of Friends. In a generally sympathetic review of Trew's pamphlet, the *Observer* criticised the author for blaming 'the Abolitionists' for being concerned only with the 'temporal condition' of the enslaved and not their 'moral well-being'.[30]

It should be noted that all three positions seemed reconcilable with Christian beliefs, so that the debate between them sometimes took place within the established church itself. In October 1824, for example, the *Observer* carried a scathing review of a pamphlet by an Anglican clergyman in Burton-upon-Trent, defending West Indian slavery on the grounds that 'the present race of negroes, being descended from "Ham the father of Canaan," have, by the course of Providence, been bond-servants from the earliest times'.[31] Finally, offering

such representative expressions of the three stances should be helpful in attempting to ascertain the position on such issues of E.S. Dallas's father, in particular.

* * * * *

Among the limited evidence surviving, there are strikingly contrary signals regarding John Dallas's character as a slave owner. According to Donald R. Hill, an anthropologist writing in 1977, there then remained on Carriacou folk memories of John Dallas as a 'particularly cruel master'. There Hill cites an anecdote of extreme brutality recalled by an older male informant named Sugar Adam: 'In those days a white man in Harvey Vale was beating them so much. They used to put a woman that [have] belly big, dig a hole, and put a woman leg down, belly inside the hole and they beat them until they make child. This white man ... die in Harvey Vale. The day he die a cannon go on hill cause he was too bad. ...'[32] While in no way casting doubt on the cruelties both systemic and casual underlying such cultural recollections, it seems that this might be a case of mistaken identity.[33] I have found no historical documents to support such a characterisation of John Dallas in particular, and, indeed, there are a number which tend to cast doubt on it.

The most relevant information relates to the advanced views of the Rev. William Nash, a secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), who served as Anglican rector on Carriacou for the first third of the nineteenth-century.[34] As early as 1806, correspondence now held at Craigston Castle, Aberdeen, records the rector being described as 'a dangerous person to remain in the Colony' by William Robertson, manager of the Urquhart estates on Carriacou. This was on account of his interference in a case of what the clergyman judged to be the unjust and excessive punishment of a group of slaves.[35] There Robertson also stated that Nash was 'despised by every white person on the Island; no one speaks to him, nor does any body go near his Church'.[36] A couple of decades later, Nash is recorded as condemning slavery itself as '*an execrable system of oppression, under which, in order to endure existence, it was necessary to suppress every generous sentiment, to stifle every tender emotion, to forget they were men …*'.[37] Even the *Christian Observer*, where his views were regularly cited, occasionally found the rector's views rather too advanced; in the review of Trew's pamphlet in the issue of November 1826, for example, the editor comments that '[w]e do not pretend to explain the reasoning of Mr. Nash' after he is quoted as arguing that those in bondage are well able 'to connect moral causes with physical effects' and thus to ask, '*If our masters are really so desirous of promoting our happiness in the next world, why do they not give us an earnest of it by attending to our comfort in this?*'.[38] Most significantly from our point of view, earlier in the same paragraph, it is made clear that in his recent efforts 'to communicate some oral religious instruction to the Negro children on their estates', the rector of Carriacou was greatly indebted to 'the aid of two planters, Mr. Dallas and Mr. Maclean'.[39]

This public affirmation of a cooperative association between George McLean, William Nash and John Dallas from the mid-1820s suggests that, since no Presbyterian minister was appointed to Carriacou until after emancipation, the Dallas family were likely to have been members of the small congregation at the Anglican

church at Hillsborough,[40] and of course that Nash officiated at the father's funeral. More generally it also implies that the principles and practice of John Dallas as a plantation owner were rather more likely to have been progressive than reactionary. In addition, he seems to have been relatively unusual in choosing to live with his spouse and bring up a family in a community where the white population was heavily male-dominated.[41] Still today, in the hillside cemetery at Harvey Vale, there stands one of the largest tombstones, inscribed 'Sacred to the Memory of John Dallas Esq. | Who departed this life 3rd. Dec. 1831 | Age 48 years', which was erected 'In testimony of affection and respect | For the best of men | And the kindest of husbands … by his | Disconsolate widow Eliza Baillie Dallas'. It records that 'His latter end was peace | And he died firmly trusting for pardon | And acceptance | To the merits of his saviour', and concludes 'LUX VENIT' ('The Light is Come', from John 3:19, King James version).[42] Such an epitaph seems to go well beyond the conventional requirements of another Latin tag, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum dicendum est* (literally, 'of the dead nothing but good ought to be said').

Unfortunately, these seem to have been among the few words of Eliza Baillie Dallas preserved for posterity from her stay at Harvey Vale, while I have found no memories of his infancy on Carriacou recorded by her eldest child. Although the current ODNB entry states that E.S. Dallas left the island 'at the age of four', that is, not long after the death of his father,[43] information scattered in the extant Grenadan newspapers and other documents in fact suggests a different narrative. The *Grenada Free Press* reports that 'John Dallas, esq., lady and family' departed for London on board the *Mexborough* on 3 June 1830, while only 'John Dallas, Esquire, and Lady' returned on the same vessel on 9 January 1831.[44] Moreover, the *St. George's Chronicle* records 'Mrs Dallas, and daughter' departing for Greenock on the *Nestor* as late as 25 April 1835.[45] In between, through 1832 the *Free Press* carries notices signed by Eliza Baillie Dallas calling meetings regarding her deceased husband's affairs:[46] in mid-1834 she oversees the preparation of the Colonial Slave Registry for the estates then in her possession,[47] while in early 1835 the *Chronicle* reports her Claims and Counter-Claims regarding Compensation for the enslaved people she inherited.[48] In conjunction, these press extracts suggest strongly that, in the summer of 1830 the Dallases took their two little boys (then aged only about 2½ and 1½) back to Scotland to live with their maternal grandparents and uncle in Tain, and that the parents returned to the island without their children early in 1831, only a couple of months before Eliza Dallas gave birth to her third child. On December 3rd the same year, Eliza found herself a widow at the age of only twenty-seven when her husband died suddenly on Carriacou. However, along with baby Ann, she seems to have remained on the island for rather over three years until spring 1835, presumably to sort out the financial affairs of the family through the confusions of emancipation, and to ensure that compensation was received. In consequence, the two boys appear to have been separated from their mother for almost five years, and met their little sister for the first time when she was already four.

* * * * *

One approach available in attempting to compose a picture of the domestic life of the family during its brief stay on Carriacou is to refer to the detailed slave registry for Harvey Vale submitted at the end of 1829, in comparison with the previous and subsequent lists, with a special emphasis on the young people held in bondage.[49] As usual, these listings are divided by sex and include Name, Age, Colour ('black', 'mulatto', or 'cabre', that is, of mixed race, respectively, black and white, or black and mulatto), Country ('african' or 'creole', meaning born in the West Indies), Conspicuous Marks (few noted, predominantly regarding older males),[50] and Remarks (none). The 1829 file lists 107 males and 111 females,[51] while those previous (late 1825)[52] and subsequent (mid-1834)[53] include 98/108 and 116/130 names respectively. Nevertheless, there is a good deal of continuity between the three registers, and the large majority on each is noted as both 'black' and 'creole'. As expected, the number of those designated 'african', with several noted as having 'country marks on the face', declines from 41 to 35 to 28 over the three registration points (1825, 1829, 1834); by 1834 the oldest male and female members of this group, 'Arthur' and 'Venus', are recorded as 76 and 89 respectively. The number of those noted as 'mulatto'/'cabre', the latter in particular, remains relatively stable at the three checkpoints (10/7; 13/8; 15/8); among the younger adult females listed as 'mulatto' is 'Henrietta' who appears in 1825 at the age of 16 and has reached 24 by the 1834 register. Regarding those under the age of 16, the numbers for 1825, 1829 and 1834 (with male/female breakdown) respectively were 60 (33/27), 67 (37/30), and 98 (49/49), that is, in round numbers, 29%, 31%, and 40% of the totals; for those under the age of 7, the respective figure are 23 (15/8), 38 (21/17), and 66 (33/33), that is, 11%, 17%, and 27%. Whether these increasing proportions of the young in bondage should be seen as representing a callous willingness to exploit the labour of children, or an admirable concern to prepare for an approaching emancipated future, is perhaps open to question. In 1829 the two little creole boys named 'Esop' and 'Daniel', the former listed as 'black' and the latter 'mulatto', seem to have been very close in age to Eneas and William Dallas, while in 1834 three-year-old Dolly (noted as 'black' and 'creole') must have been of an age with Ann. Among the striking aspects of all these figures is the higher proportion of female slaves on Harvey Vale—almost 53% in 1834, for example, as against just under 49% at the two Urquhart estates at the same time.[54] However, it is difficult to be sure whether this simply reflects a different economic balance between field, factory (at the windmill and boiling house, in particular) and domestic labour, or whether other factors might be involved. In any case, it seems very likely that the three little Dallas children would often have been looked after by a nursemaid who was in bondage.

On 29 April 2003, among the 'Travel and Topographical Pictures' on auction at Bonhams, there was an oil painting long held in the family of George McLean and likely to date from around 1818.[55] It depicts a family group among coconut palms at one of the McLean estates on Carriacou, probably, judging from the windmill near to a handsome white mansion in the background, that of Dumfries, adjacent to the Dallas property at La Breteche. The four figures depicted are: a pensive-looking Janet McLean née Urquhart (1791-1876), the wife or more likely widow of George's elder brother John McLean (who was married 2 April 1812 but died on 18

February 1816); her two infant children Joanna and Dorothea, who are gathering flowers (both born on Carriacou and then around three and four years old); and, in the background, a darker-skinned young maid wearing a bright red headscarf (described as 'their favourite enslaved woman, Didi').[56]

Fig. 2.2. A Nursemaid in Bondage on Carriacou: Oil painting (24 x 20 in.) formerly owned by the Maclean family (Unidentified painter, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Janet_MacLean_her_daughters_and_their_favourite_slave_Didi.jpg)

A parallel example, from only a little further afield, can be found in the life of George Webbe Dasent (1817-96: *ODNB*), who was a senior colleague of E.S. Dallas as assistant editor at *The Times*, but perhaps better known as a student of Scandinavian languages and culture. Dasent was born and brought up in the British West Indies on St. Vincent, the son of the attorney-general of the island, although the family returned to England around 1831, where GWD's academic education took place. His most celebrated work was probably the translated edition of Asbjörns and Moe's collection of Norse folk stories, featuring a lengthy scholarly introduction on 'The Origin and Diffusion of Popular Tales' which stressed the common origins of Indo-European mythologies.[57] This was reviewed for *The Times* by E.S. Dallas, who went on to evaluate at least one other major new collection of folklore.[58] Within the year a 'much enlarged' second edition of Dasent's work appeared with a rather more universalist emphasis, which included an Appendix of 'Ananzi Stories', brief folktales with a cunning spider as protagonist originating in West Africa, and intended to illustrate the common elements linking folkloric materials from beyond as well as within Indo-European cultures.[59] In his introduction to the Appendix, Dasent writes: 'The Negroes in the West Indies still retain the tales and traditions which their fathers and grandfathers brought with them from Africa.'[60] Regarding the provenance of these tales, writing in the third person of 'his early childhood' on St. Vincent, Dasent himself suggests that he 'remembers to have heard such stories from his nurse, who was an African born; but beyond a stray fragment here and there, the rich store which she possessed has altogether escaped his memory. The following stories have been taken down from the mouth of a West Indian nurse in his sister's house, who, born and bred in it, is rather regarded as a member of the family than as a servant.'[61] Dasent's own childhood memories of course must date from around 1820 or so, only a few years later than the McLean painting. In the absence of any documentary evidence, it is tempting to speculate whether, around a decade later, Henrietta, the young mulatto woman, might similarly have served as nursemaid in the Dallas household at Harvey Vale and told similar tales to the little children.

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The one issue here about which there can sadly be little doubt is the revisionist character of E.S. Dallas's own mature views on the British West Indian slavery system and its aftermath. Here the key evidence is the notice of Anthony Trollope's account of his travels around the Caribbean, primarily on Post Office business, published in late 1859 on the eve of the American Civil War.[62] The first instalment of the two-part review, covering the West Indian islands only, appeared on 6 January 1860 in *The Times*;[63] there Dallas's immediate superior, the Jamaican-born Office Manager, Mowbray Morris, was decidedly sympathetic to the cause of the Confederacy. Significantly, the review was reprinted *verbatim* in a New Orleans monthly devoted to 'Southern Institutions, Commerce, Agriculture, . . .'.[64] There it was given the title 'A Picture of the West Indies' and introduced as a 'paper worth the perusal of Northern and Southern readers'—this for the reason, clearly more satisfying to an audience in the South, that it showed 'the results of negro emancipation—how the

colonies have been ruined—what palliatives in the way of coolies have been applied, and what must be the inevitable future'.[65] Trollope devoted eight detailed chapters to Jamaica alone but only one to the Windward Islands as a whole, so that he had almost nothing to say about Carriacou in particular ('very pretty, though not . . . very productive');[66] thus Dallas organized his review around the broader social and moral questions: 'Negroes, coolies, and planters; what is the position of each, and what are the rights of each?'[67]

Regarding the first group, Dallas mimicked Trollope's willingness to rely on racial stereotypes of the emancipated Afro-Caribbeans underpinned by Social Darwinist thinking ('[a] servile race, peculiarly fitted by nature for the hardest physical work in a burning climate').[68] He also shared Trollope's unwillingness to recognize the traumatic impact of enslavement on both the individual psyche and social mentality of those in bondage. Regarding the second group, that is, the impoverished indentured labourers brought over *en masse* from South and East Asia to many British West Indian islands as substitutes for the liberated slaves in order to keep the plantation system intact, the reviewer also adopted Trollope's economic liberalist stance. This meant that their working/living conditions need not be considered since they had voluntarily engaged in labour contracts ('[no] English labourer is more free than these Coolies').[69] Concerning each of these two questions, Dallas consistently expressed an animus against the philanthropical aims of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society rather more marked than that found in Trollope, who had simply argued, 'Is it not the case that the Anti-Slavery Society has done its work?'.[70] Instead, the human sympathies of both authors were reserved almost exclusively for the white planters. These were understood to have suffered economically not only from inadequate compensation for the loss of their emancipated labour force, but also (with greater validity) the removal of sanctions against sugar and other commodities produced more cheaply in jurisdictions still permitting slave labour. These of course included locations both in the Caribbean (such as Cuba and Puerto Rico) and elsewhere in the Americas (most notably the southern United States). Dallas's careful description of the complex set of activities managed by the owner of a West Indian sugar plantation—though it does have a rather light-hearted parallel in Trollope's volume[71]—must reflect the journalist's acquired knowledge though obviously not his childhood memories of his father's role as planter:

> Few persons in England have realized to themselves what a planter is and what prodigious business he undertakes. He is a farmer, a manufacturer, and a distiller all in one. He has to run all the risks incident to each of these branches of business, and to be conversant with all their details. First of all he has to grow his crop of canes, which require the most unremitting attention through . . . 14 months before they reach maturity. When the crop is ready he is not in the position of the wheat-grower, who sends his corn to the miller, or of the cotton-grower, who disposes of his bales to the manufacturer of calico. He must himself turn manufacturer, and that, too, in a branch of business which requires ample and complicated machinery. He must have his boiling-houses and his trash-houses,[72] his water-power and his steam-power, his vacuum pans and his filtering bags.[73] He must not only make sugar, he must make

> rum. There is no division of labour. The planter is involved in an accumulation of trades which makes him peculiarly sensitive to the fluctuations of the labour-market and the sliding of rival tariffs.[74]

Suggesting that the British West Indian settlers retained a much stronger attachment, both material and sentimental, to their homeland than the French or Spanish, Dallas concluded: 'After all, capital has some rights, and the planters deserve some consideration . . . we ought to have some sympathy for a class of men who rely on the mother country as they do'. He thus recommended Trollope's 'book of travels as the most useful, if not the most brilliant, volume which he has yet published'.[75]

Clearly the opinions articulated in the *Times* review were not those of Dallas alone; they derived from a genre of reactionary discourse promoted by Thomas Carlye, consistently echoed the views expressed in Trollope's travelogue, and were generally consistent with the editorial line of the powerfully influential newspaper in which they appeared.[76] Yet the reviewer's revisionist opinions—which if anything are more forcefully pressed than those in Trollope's volume—are bound to take on a particularly ironical colouring when we encounter them in the context of the writer's family background and childhood. It would be difficult to make a case that from his infancy E.S. Dallas might have come to blame the pain of his long separation from his mother on the process of emancipation itself, given that the academic training which qualified him for his position at *The Times* seems to have been financed from the funds that she thus received, as inheritor of her deceased husband, in compensation for the liberation of the enslaved people on distant Carriacou. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters concerning Dallas's early life back in Scotland.

Ch. 2: In the West Indies: Notes

[1] Beth H. Mills, *Family Land in Carriacou, Grenada and its Meaning within the Transnational Community: Heritage, Identity, and Rooted Mobility* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2002), pp. 41–44.

[2] Mills, *Family Land in Carriacou*, pp. 44–46.

[3] Based on the family names in the Census data for 1776 and 1790, it has been suggested that between those years the proportion of French cotton planters on Carriacou may have declined from around 44% to 33% of the total, while that of Britons increased from 43% to 48%; see D.B. Ryden, '"One of the Finest and Most Fruitful Spots in America": An Analysis of Eighteenth-Century Carriacou', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 43:4 (Spring 2013), pp. 539–570; p. 554 (Table 2).

[4] Then per capita consumption of sugar in Britain was around ten times that in France; see T.M. Devine, 'Introduction: Scotland and Transatlantic Slavery' in T.M. Devine, ed., *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 1–20; p. 6. The addition of significant amounts of refined sugar to milk tea was, of course, one among a number of contributory practices.

[5] See: Mills, *Family Land in Carriacou*, p. 57; Ryden, '"One of the Finest"', p. 570. In 1776 Carriacou produced 133,497 pounds of sugar and 772,763 of cotton, while the equivalent figures for 1823 were 2,063,640 and 384,676, that is, during slightly less than half a century, sugar production rose by a multiple of more than 15 while cotton production fell to under a half; see Donald R. Hill, *The Impact of Migration on the Metropolitan and Folk Society of Carriacou, Grenada* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Musuem of Natural History, 1977), pp. 205–7

[6] Mills, *Family Land in Carriacou*, pp. 45–46.

[7] Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 4.

[8] Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean*, pp. 23–24.

[9] Devine, *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*, p. 174.

[10] Although announcements of the birth of all three Dallas children have been located in the *Grenada Free Press*, I have not been able to find any report of their father's death; the first indication is a notice to creditors of the estate of the deceased dated 'Carriacou. January 12 [1832]' in the same newspaper (see note 26 below). There seem to be no surviving issues of the *St. George's Chronicle* between 1828 and 1834, while those for the *Free Press* of 14 and 21 December 1831 are both missing.

[11] See the *Grenada Free Press*: 'On Friday last an election …', (3 November 1830), p. 364, where the election results are given, and 'Minutes of the Honorable House of Assembly' (20 April 1831), p. 128, where it is reported that John Dallas was eventually able to take his seat as 'a new member'. In the prior Assembly elections of April 1827, a new member named John Dallas had been elected for the united parishes of St. Patrick and St. Mark on Grenada itself, who the following year tabled a bill to make public a number of private roads on Carriacou (see *Grenada Free Press*, 'An election for six members …', 25 April 1827, p. 305, and 'Minutes of the Honorable House of Assembly', 30 July 1828, p. 346); however, it seems likely that this was a different man of the same name, as there is no record of John Dallas owning land on the island of Grenada that would have entitled him to stand in such an election.

[12] See *The Laws of Grenada and the Grenadines: From the Year 1766 to the Year 1852*, ed. William Snagg (Grenada: Davison, 1852), pp. 214–22.

[13] See H. Gordon Slade, 'Craigston and Meldrum Estates, Carriacou, 1769–1841', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 114 (1985), pp. 481–537, p. 485, where John Dallas is recorded as then in possession of 888 acres. The information derives from a redrawn version of a map now held at the British Library entitled 'A New and Accurate Map of the Island of Carriacou in the West Indies', surveyed by Walter Fenner in 1784 and showing plantation boundaries. Slade (pp. 481–82) also suggests that the redrawn version, found in the archives of the Urquhart family at Craigston Castle, Aberdeenshire, dates from *c.* 1785–96, but this seems far too early; based on information in the Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database, including that concerning the holdings of John Dallas, the Craigston estate map appears rather to date from the mid to late 1820s.

[14] The notice of John Dallas's death in *The Times* (4 February 1832), p. 4, presumably inserted on behalf of his family read: 'On the 3d of December last, John Dallas, Esq., of Breteche estate, Carriacou, and member of the Assembly of Grenada.' The surveyed Craigston estate map shows a smaller house at Breteche.

[15] A large 'For Sale' notice signed 'John Dalllas' appeared in the *Grenada Free Press* (27 July 1831), p. [1], regarding 'L'Ance la Roche Estate . . . . consisting of 266 Acres of Land, a good Dwelling House and other buildings, with or without 25 or 30 well disposed negroes'; however, there seems to have been no purchaser as the property was still in his hands when he died five months later.

[16] The notices in the *Grenada Free Press* of the birth of both of the two younger Dallas children indicate that this took place at 'Harvey Vale Estate, *Carriacou*' (11 February 1829, p. 44, and 23 March 1831, p. 98); that for Eneas reads simply 'at *Carriacou*' (28 November 1827, p. 613). The Craigston estate map shows a rather larger house at Harvey Vale. No information remains concerning the Dallas's place of residence, though a reference point might be taken from the following detailed description of the dwelling on Belvidere Estate, a slightly smaller cotton plantation (200 acres) to the northwest of Carriacou, which was advertised for sale by John McLean in the *St. George's Chronicle and Grenada Gazette* (3 May 1815, p. [1]): 'A Dwelling-House substantially built of stone, &c. and only finished about three years ago; it is two stories high with excellent Cellars; the first story consists of a commodious Drawing Room, Dining Room and Parlour, papered and very neatly finished; and the upper story of three Bed Rooms . . . There is also a Gallery upstairs,

and a Platform in front of the whole length and part of one end of the House . . . There are eighteen large Sash Windows in the two Stories.'. After a detailed description of the outhouses, location, etc., the large advertisement recommends that 'Belvidere is a convenient and most desirable situation . . . for any Gentleman having a family . . . who intends to spend the remainder of his life in this Country.'

[17] See Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database. Claimant: John Dallas. In addition, Dallas seems occasionally to have acted as agent for temporarily absent estate owners or executor for deceased slave owners. Most notably, in 1823 he acted as attorney for the six estates held by George McLean and worked by well over a thousand slaves. According to the population returns submitted to the Secretary for the Colonies in London, the relative figures for whites, free coloureds/blacks, and the enslaved in Carriacou were 74, 192 and 4830 in 1812 and 63, 209, and 4395 in 1820 (Colonial Office: 'II. Slave population, papers and returns, presented pursuant to address, relating to the slave population of Dominica, Grenada, ... &c. 1823', HCPP, 1823 (89), pp. 18–19). For reasons of both internal and external security, under colonial laws that were not always strictly enforced, from the eighteenth century West Indian plantation owners had typically been required to employ a minimum number of white overseers in proportion to the number of enslaved workers. There was considerable variation according to both time and place, with a ratio of one to twenty perhaps standard; following the Grenada slave insurrection/rebellion of 1895 there was obviously considerable concern about such issues throughout the colony.

[18] Slade, 'Craigston and Meldrum Estates', p. 485.

[19] See Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: Carriacou Island: General Registry, 1829' (T71/304 p. 92), The National Archives, Kew.

[20] See 'Way and Town Wardens', *St. George's Chronicle* (25 November 1815), p. 6: '*Carriacou*. John M'Lean, Esq. for 3 years, in the room of John Dallas, Esq. whose time has expired.' In fact, since John McLean died early in 1816, his term seems to have been completed by his younger brother George; the same newspaper reported in 'Saint George's' (18 December 1819, p. [3]), that John Dallas had again assumed the post of Town Warden on the expiration of the term of George McLean. This of course suggests that the position was compatible with the regular activities of a plantation owner or manager.

[21] The only nineteenth-century years for which there remain *any* issues of the *Chronicle* are 1801, 1810, 1815, 1819, 1826–27, 1835–37, and 1840, while the *Free Press* has at least some remaining for 1826 through to 1833.

[22] In 'Ship News', *St. George's Chronicle*, 29 April 1826, p. [1]), it is recorded that 'Mr John Dallas and Lady' had arrived on board the schooner *Lady Struth* from St. Lucia a week earlier on 22 April, so the couple must have left Scotland not long after the wedding ceremony.

[23] 'The circumstance …', *Grenada Free Press* (21 September 1826), pp. 20–21; p. 20.

[24] See 'Promotions and Appointments: Carriacou Regiment of Militia', *Grenada Free Press* (22 April 1829, p. 121): 'Major John Dallas to be Lieut.-Colonel, vice George M'Lean, resigned.'

[25] 'West India Slavery', *Bristol Mirror* (15 June 1833), p. 4e; by a visitor from St. Vincent, dated 2 May 1833.

[26] For example, in 'To the Public', *Grenada Free Press* (7 September 1826), p. [1]), the manifesto in the opening issue, it was suggested that, 'The momentous question regarding these Colonies, which has so long agitated the Mother Country and ourselves, shall claim a due portion of our attention. In our humble opinion, the danger of our situation is by no means abated; and we shall not fail to keep a watchful eye on the motions and actions of the *Dramatis Personae* so deeply concerning in this Political Drama.' It concluded by requesting that contributions to the debate by colonial readers be 'couched in moderate and becoming language'.

[27] 'A West India Proprietor', *A Refutation of Various Calumnies against the West India Colonies* (London: T. and G. Underwood, 1824), p. iii.

[28] J.M. Trew, *An Appeal to the Christian Philanthropy of the People of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: J.M. Richardson, 1826), p. 4.

[29] *Negro Slavery* (London: Ellerton and Henderson, n.d.).

[30] 'Review of Rev. J. Trew's Appeal for Negro Slaves', *Christian Observer* 26 (November 1826), pp. 677–92, p. 578; reprinted as 'Negro Slavery No. XVI: State of Religious Instruction among the Slaves in the West Indies', *Negro Slavery*, pp. 165–80; p. 166.

[31] See: Rev. B. Bailey, M.A., *The House of Bondage. A Dissertation Upon the Nature of Service Or Slavery Under the Levitical Law* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1824), p. 44; and 'Review of Pamphlets on the Abolition of Slavery', *Christian Observer* 24 (October 1824), pp. 62–40, reprinted as 'Negro Slavery No. XIII: Is Negro Slavery Sanctioned by Scripture?' in *Negro Slavery*, pp. 117–32.

[32] Hill, *Impact of Migration*, p. 206; the same informant, a key participant in the annual 'Big Drum' festival, is cited on more than a dozen occasions, and is described as 'probably the best known Carriacouan to folklorists and anthropologists' (p. 202).

[33] In Beverley A. Steele, *Grenada: A History of Its People* (London: Macmillan, 2003), p. 200, it is stated regarding a Free Coloured slave-owner resident in Carricou, that her 'estate was managed by John Dallas, who was a Major in the Carriacou regiment, and with whom Judith Phillip [*sic*.] had children'; this must again be a case of mistaken identity, as both the Legacies of British Slave Ownership Database (Claimant: Judith Philip) and Lorna McDaniel's article ('The Philips: A 'Free Mulatto' Family of Grenada', *Journal of Caribbean History* 24:2 (November 1990), pp. 178–94), provide clear evidence that the estate manager in question was Edmund Thornton and that their three children raised on Carriacou were born in the last decades of the eighteenth century, long before John Dallas could have arrived on the island.

[34] Nash is referred to frequently in Mary Cornelius, *Becoming Catholic: Religion and Society in Colonial Grenada, 1763–1838* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2020); for example, citing Colonial Office records in the National Archives at Kew, she suggests

that in 1806 Governor Maitland of Grenada received a representation from two slave owners on Carriacou, one George McLean's elder brother John, accusing Nash of inciting 'dangerous opinions about liberty into the Negroes minds' (pp. 102–3).

[35] According to Slade, 'Craigston and Meldrum Estates', pp. 499–501, Nash himself gives a brief but graphic account of the punishment, which was carried out by judicial order: 'A scene followed which I will not harrow up my feelings to describe at full length, though I cannot pass it over altogether in silence. I am sorry to say that I observed from my windows, sanguinary exultation in the looks and gestures of many to whom I had attributed a better heart. It was a Triumph. Whilst the lacerated flesh of the wretched sufferers was writhing under the agonizing lash, their "inward man" was outraged by the malignity of Insult. One of the Constables was so bespattered with human gore, that he could not sit down to dinner, till he had shifted his clothes.'

[36] Slade, 'Craigston and Meldrum Estates', pp. 504–5.

[37] Cited in 'Religious Instruction of the Slaves', *Christian Observer* 24 (May 1824), pp. 290–97; p. 292.

[38] 'Review of Rev. J. Trew's Appeal for Negro Slaves', pp. 687–88.

[39] 'Review of Rev. J. Trew's Appeal for Negro Slaves', p. 687. In terms of the taxonomy of positions on the institution of slavery held by planters and clerics in the southern states of America put forward in *Dred*, Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1856 follow-up to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Maclean and Nash find their fictional counterparts respectively in the exemplary characters Edward Clayton and Father Dickson. The novel was noticed at length in *The Times* ('Dred', 18 September 1856, p. 10b-f), though not by E.S. Dallas but by his fellow reviewer Samuel Lucas, the Bristol lawyer, whose family wealth came from the sugar business.

[40] The only other place of Christian worship on the island was the Catholic church ('a wooden church located on a hill overlooking Hillsborough harbour') under Father Guis, which seems to have been attended mainly by the French and Free Coloured inhabitants (Cornelius, *Becoming Catholic*, p. 119).

[41] According to the travelogue [Henry Nelson Coleridge], *Six Months in the West Indies in 1825* (London: Murray, 1826), p. 111, there were then little more than 'forty ladies' living on 'Grenada and the Grenadines as far as Carriacou' so that, elsewhere in the British West Indies, these islands suffered a bad reputation regarding male sexual morality.

[42] See Christine David, *Folklore of Carriacou* (Barbados: Cole Printery, 1985), pp. 15–16.

[43] Law and Taylor give a similar account in their 'Chronology of the Life and Career of E.S. Dallas' in *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'*, pp. xxxv–xlv; p. xxxvi.

[44] See 'Shipping and Commercial List', *Grenada Free Press* (9 June 1830), p. 186, and (12 January 1831), p. 14.

[45] See 'Maritime Register', *St. George's Chronicle* (25 April 1835), p. 133.

[46] See, for example, two Notices signed by E.B. Dallas in the *Grenada Free Press*: (18 January 1832, p. 26, reading, 'All persons having demands against the estate of John Dallas, late of Carriacou, Esquire, deceased, are requested to render the same, duly attested, to the subscriber.'); and (28 November 1832, p. 400, announcing 'A Meeting of the Creditors of the late John Dallas … to take place at the Town of Hillsborough … on the 5th day of December next').

[47] See Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: Carriacou Island: General Registry, 1834' (T71/328 pp. 85–97; pp. 89 and 97), The National Archives, Kew, where the listings for Breteche/L'Ance la Roche and Harvey Vale estates are both signed by E.B. Dallas, on 7 and 9 September 1834, respectively.

[48] See 'Office of Assistant Commissioners of Compensation: Public Notice', *St. George's Chronicle* (28 February 1835), p. 65, where claims are recorded by 'Eliza Baillie Dallas, widow and relict of John Dallas' for 117 enslaved persons at Breteche/L'Ance la Roche and 246 at Harvey Vale, with the trustees under the will (George McLean and Duncan Blair) also mentioned; a successful counter claim regarding the Harvey Vale estate was subsequently made on behalf of the absentee owner, Thomas Davidson, M.D.

[49] In his first recorded publication appearing soon after he left the University of Edinburgh (Unsigned, 'The English Language', *North British Review*, 13, August 1850, pp. 373–98), Dallas notes that 'it has always been cheaper for slave-holders to import or buy slaves than to rear them', just as it proves 'easier to take a word ready made from another language, than to find or coin one in our own' (p. 375).

[50] Such marks could include 'country marks' (presumably tattoos or brands) and disfigurements such as scars and missing digits or limbs; the registers for the estates owned by William Urquhart seem to list a noticeably higher number of entries of the second category than those of George McLean and John Dallas, though the significance of the difference is unclear.

[51] Submitted on 12 January 1830 by John Dallas, as agent for Doctor Thomas Davidson, M.D., representing the owners, 'the heirs of William Davidson'; see Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: Carriacou Island: General Registry, 1829' (T71/304 pp. 80–87), The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom).

[52] Submitted on 13 January 1826 by George McLean, as attorney for the owner William Davidson; see Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: Carriacou Island: List of Slaves, 1825' (T71/289 pp. 86–92), The National Archives, Kew. At that point John Dallas would have been back in Scotland, since he was married at Tain on 2 February 1826; he was to assume the role of agent for the Davidsons soon after his return.

[53] Submitted on 9 September 1834 by 'E.B. Dallas Widow and Executrix of the late John Dallas'. See Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: Carriacou Island: General Registry, 1834' (T71/328 pp. 89–97), The National Archives, Kew.

[54] Indeed, the preponderance of females among the enslaved seems to have been even greater on the Dallas's Breteche estate—57% in 1834.

[55] See: https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/english-caribbean-school-early-19th-century-207-c-7ftvir4232.

[56] The Colonial Slave Registry: 'Grenada: St Andrew, St David, Carriacou, and the Grenadines, 1817' (T71/267 p. 228) records a 17-year-old black creole female named 'Didy' in bondage on Dumfries estate.

[57] G.W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (Edinburgh: Edmonton and Douglas, 1859), pp. ix–lxxxviii.

[58] [E.S. Dallas], 'Tales from the Norse', *The Times* (1 February 1859), p. 10a–d.

[59] G.W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: Edmonton and Douglas, 1859), pp. 483–507.

[60] Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (2nd ed.), p. 483.

[61] Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse* (2nd ed.), pp. 483–84.

[62] Anthony Trollope's volume (*The West Indies and the Spanish Main*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1859) was divided into 23 chapters, of which, leaving aside the Introduction and Conclusion, II–XV focussed on the islands of the Caribbean (including French and Spanish possessions as well as British), while XVI–XXII covered South and Central America, plus the Bermudas, which were treated separately by Dallas in the second part of the review issued on 18 January.

[63] [E.S. Dallas], 'The West Indies', *The Times* (6 January 1860), pp. 4b–f.

[64] Unsigned, 'A Picture of the West Indies', *De Bow's Review* 28 (June 1860), pp. 729–38. Such reprinting, without permission but with acknowledgment of the source, was commonplace in the nineteenth-century press; Dallas himself is unlikely to have been aware of it.

[65] 'A Picture of the West Indies', p. 729.

[66] Trollope, *The West Indies*, p. 164.

[67] [Dallas], 'The West Indies', p. 4b.

[68] [Dallas], 'The West Indies', p. 4b.

[69] [Dallas], 'The West Indies', p. 4c.

[70] Trollope, *The West Indies*, p. 220. From 1823 the British term 'Anti-Slavery Society' had served as shorthand for the Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, and from 1839 for the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society founded by Joseph Sturge. Thomas Carlyle, whose reactionary views clearly influenced both Trollope and Dallas, had referred sardonically to Sturge's creation as the 'Sluggard and Scoundrel Protection Society' (Unsigned, 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question', *Fraser's Magazine* 40, December 1849, pp. 670–79; p. 670).

[71] There Trollope remarks festively that 'the sugar leaves him [the planter] fit for your puddings, and the rum fit for your punch' (*The West Indies*, pp. 107–8).

[72] Where the dry cane from which the juice has been extracted is stored for fuel.

[73] Respectively, for boiling the juice and for removing its impurities.

[74] [Dallas], 'The West Indies', p. 4b–c.

[75] [Dallas], 'The West Indies', p. 4d.

[76] In Chapter VII of his posthumously published *Autobiography* (2 vols; Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1883; written 1875–76), Trollope himself recognised how important Dallas's review had been in promoting his writing career: 'The view I took of the relative position in the West Indies of black men and white men was the view of the *Times* newspaper at that period; and there appeared three [*sic.* for two] articles in that journal, one closely after another, which made the fortune of the book.' (I, p. 175).

Chapter 3: In the Highlands and Lowlands

This chapter covers the life of E.S. Dallas in Scotland from around age three to seventeen, including his experiences as a schoolboy variously in the northeastern and east central areas of the country. As we shall see in more detail towards the end of this chapter, his critical writings for the periodical press include quite a number of discussions of Caledonian history and culture, concerning both the highland and the lowland regions. However, I have only been able to locate a handful of brief passages which record personal memories of life in Ross-shire in the north up to the age of about twelve, or in Fife-shire further south as a teenager.

A couple of these anecdotes are set during his childhood in and around the town of Tain, located towards the mouth and on the south bank of the Dornoch Firth. This is in the highland region known informally as 'Easter Ross', that is, the eastern portion of Ross-shire. The first is found in a letter likely dating from the late 1860s to Lady Emma Wood, where, following his condolences on the recent death of her own 'little dog', Dallas recalls 'as a boy with my brother and an uncle of about your own age going to bury a puppy named Joseph under an apple tree and we all sang the 100th psalm over the grave—"All people that on earth do dwell, Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice!"'.[1] The brother and uncle must be little William Dallas and their mother's younger brother Charles Calder Mackintosh, and the setting the four acres of agricultural Glebe land housing the New Manse at Tain. This had been constructed at a cost of over £850 in 1823-24, when the Presbytery decided that the early eighteenth-century Old Manse, a step north on the other side of Manse Street, was too cramped and inconvenient for the growing family of the then minster, Angus Mackintosh, Eneas's grandfather.[2] Given the absence of his mother and little sister from the scene, this is likely to date from the period when both were still in the West Indies, that is, not later than the spring of 1835, with Eneas himself still less than eight years old. Charles, of course, had taken over as Church of Scotland minister for the Parish of Tain in the autumn of 1831 on the death of his father.[3] Sadly, there is no mention in his surviving letters to Emma Wood, or indeed elsewhere, of his grandmother Anne Calder Mackintosh, who seems likely to have been the primary carer for Eneas and his brother for over four years during their infancy, and who lived on for around a quarter of a century after her husband died.[4]

The second anecdote is found in the course of the discussion of pleasure in the fifth chapter of *The Gay Science* (1866), in illustration of the point that 'our feeling and choice of delight is perfectly distinct from our opinion of it'.[5] There, Dallas retells the story of a friend who 'never enjoyed any food so much as a barley bannock and some milk, which once, when he lost himself in childhood among the Ross-shire hills, and became faint with hunger, he got from some quarrymen who were eating their simple dinner, and kindly offered him a share.'[6] He even repeats that the friend recalls 'that meal with the poor quarrymen, and their great sandy fingers, as it were a banquet of the gods'. The intimacy of this detail suggests that the memory might in fact be the author's own,[7] especially when we learn that the New Manse was located off the Quarry Road which ran

southwest out of the town and steeply up the Hill of Tain (almost a thousand feet above sea level), passing near the now disused sandstone quarry. Around three miles from the centre of the town, this seems to have furnished the massive white blocks from which Dallas's new home, school, and church were alike constructed. The building of these three large, bright, four-square modern edifices within a single decade tells us something about not only the economic state of the town, but also the standing of the Mackintosh family in the community.

* * * * *

Fig. 3.1. Sketch Map of Tain

(From 'Reports upon the Boundaries … in Scotland', HCPP 1831-32 (408), pp. 30-31. Reproduced with revisions by permission of the National Library of Scotland according to the Creative Commons Attribution [CC-BY] License)

The parliamentary burgh and ecclesiastical parish of Tain overlapped geographically, and each of the two entities produced a significant survey which together can function roughly as bookends to the period in which Eneas Dallas lived there. Relating to the 1832 Reform Act and presented to the House of Commons in April of that year, the 'Reports upon the Boundaries of the Several Cities, Burghs, and Towns in Scotland, in Respect to The Election of Members to Serve in Parliament' included for each entity simply a page of key economic and demographic data, along with a sketch map showing proposed new boundaries. (This forms the basis of the map presented in Figure 3.1.) The reports for Tain and Dornoch, the town on the opposite Sutherland bank of the Firth, offer a striking contrast, although both bays were increasingly clogged with sandbanks which prevented their use as ports for shipping while offering the opportunity for a casual game of golf. Between the Censuses of 1821 and 1831 the population of Tain had risen from 2,861 to 3,078, with the number of dwellings increasing even more steeply from 583 to 665, while in Durnoch there were corresponding sharp declines from 630 to 504 and 137 to 116. Thus the commissioners concluded that the latter was 'a place of no importance …

and its situation does not appear to give any probability of a change for the better', while the former had 'improved of late years, and may be considered in a thriving condition'. In particular, it was pointed out that, in addition to the 'many new houses', Tain possessed 'a good Academy, which has attracted a number of families to the Town for the education of their children'.[8]

The later ecclesiastical report was rather longer and more complex. Compiled in principle by the Church of Scotland minister responsible for each parish, *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* (1834-45) replaced the original reports dating from the 1790s. Covering the Synod of Inverness as well as that of Ross and Cromarty, the fourteenth volume included a 21-page survey of the 'Parish of Tain', drawn up by a local antiquarian, the Rev. William Taylor, under the supervision of the minister Charles Mackintosh, and dated August 1837.[9] Divided into five sections covering Topography, Civil History, Population, Industry, and Parochial Economy, it offered a wide-ranging analysis of not only the religious but also the social and cultural character of the community, with a particular concern with the declining role of the traditional Gaelic tongue under the pressures of modernisation. Between the last Census and 1835 the population was reported to have fallen back to 2915, due in part to the ravages of cholera in nearby villages, while over roughly the same period 'the value of houses in the town has … fallen nearly a half'.[10] Among the recent constructions, there was uniform praise for the new Tain Royal Academy at the northwest of the town, 'which was built about twenty-five years ago, is one of the handsomest and chastest erections in the north of Scotland; and is greatly set off by its fine large play-ground, which has been of late tastefully planted, walled in, and railed'.[11] Built around the same time on the eastern edge of Tain, the New Church, comfortably accommodating 1200 as opposed to the 750 squeezed into the late mediaeval Old Church of St. Duthus, was much less appreciated. It was 'a substantial, but rather heavy-looking edifice', with 'a tower … its great desideratum',[12] and 'not constructed on the best acoustic principles'.[13] Moreover, there was a charge for all the 'sittings' in the new building, while the old was left to the ravages of both local boys and the elements, when it could have been 'rendered a commodious place of worship for the Gaelic congregation'.[14] Indeed, the vernacular question was also addressed elsewhere. There was a paragraph devoted to 'Languages' in the Population section,[15] where it was noted that, though generally 'Gaelic has of late rapidly lost ground', there was a growing divide between the town itself (where it was now 'never heard among the children on the streets') and the surrounding countryside where it remained the dominant tongue. And, in the 'Miscellaneous Observations' that concluded the survey, it was suggested that, while such modernisation might be beneficial in the long term, 'no Highlander watching the process in its immediate effects can look on it without regret. The stream of traditionary wisdom descending from our forefathers has been interrupted in its flow; the feelings and the sentiments of a race, distinguished for high feeling and noble sentiment, will not transfuse themselves into a foreign tongue; and the link of connection between the present and the past generations has been snapped.'[16] In the term employed by Margaret Dineley, Dallas thus spent his childhood in 'a community in transition'.[17]

For over fifty years from the end of the eighteenth century, the Mackintosh family were at the centre of institutional Christianity in Tain. E.S. Dallas's maternal grandfather Angus and his uncle Charles were both well-known within the highland church community as distinguished and fervently evangelical ministers, while his mother seems to have shared their beliefs, if we can judge by the inscription on her husband's tomb at Harvey Vale. Angus Mackintosh (1763-1831) was born at Strathdearn, the village still known for its Tomatin distillery on the main road south from Inverness; he attended the Fortrose Academy on the Black Isle, and then King's College, Aberdeen, where he received his MA in 1784. After working as a tutor and schoolmaster nearby, he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery at Tain in 1789. English was apparently his second language, and for five years he was appointed to preach at the Gaelic Chapel in Glasgow, though he returned in 1897 as minister for Tain, where he conducted services in both languages and attracted an increasingly large congregation. There he married a daughter of Charles Calder, the Church of Scotland minister at Urquhart, and raised a large family with her, so that soon not only a new church but also a larger manse was required. An evocation of his appearance and character is found in *The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire* by Revd. John Kennedy of Dingwall. 'Tall and of a massive figure, a dark complexion, a face full of expression, and a bearing peculiarly solemn and dignified',[18] according to Kennedy, 'he seemed to wear an air of sternness. His love did not lie on the surface … it was too precious and too sanctified to be given in intimate fellowship to any but to those whom he could embrace as brethren in Christ'.[19] A more sympathetic portrait comes close to his end in autumn 1831: 'Walking in his garden, shortly before his death, leaning on the arm of his son, he stopped at a certain spot, each time he made a circuit on the walk around it. Standing, for the third or fourth time, in the same place, he pointed to a withered tree hard by. "There am I, Charles," he said, and then burst into tears.'[20] The setting of this moving scene must of course also be the grounds of the new manse where the puppy Joseph was to be buried just a few years later.

Charles Calder (1806-68) was the second oldest surviving child of Angus and Anne Mackintosh. Charles did not marry until he was in the early forties, but presumably played a parental role to his nephews while their mother was still in the West Indies. Charles himself had clearly been brought up and educated to take over his father's ecclesiastical position, and he was indeed ordained as successor to the ministry at Tain in the summer of 1828. However, apparently due to a long bout of illness, he did not take over from the increasingly frail Angus Mackintosh until a couple of years later, when Eneas and William had already started living at the Manse. Charles had been an early student at the Tain Royal Academy, before reportedly attending university in Aberdeen from age 11,[21] and in Glasgow from 16; he must have had a good command of Gaelic as well as English, since, according to another 1837 report, he was then conducting church services in both languages.[22] The same report suggests, however, that he was thus severely overworked and had been 'suffering from bodily infirmity during the four years' since becoming 'sole minister of the parish'. In his 'Biographical Sketch',[23] his friend and colleague Wiliam Taylor describes Charles Calder Mackintosh as a much

gentler person than his father, ‘very amiable and reverent from childhood’ but in ‘always delicate and often feeble health’ on account of his ‘severe studies’ in youth. (Dineley suggests that he suffered from periodic bouts of depression.)[24]

Nevertheless, he was heavily involved in the revivalist movement that swept Easter Ross around 1840, and in the ‘Great Disruption’ three years later, when more than 450 out of the total of around 1200 ministers seceded from the Church of Scotland.[25] A particularly large number of northern evangelical ministers ‘came out’ of the established Kirk to form the Free Church of Scotland, following an ideological struggle lasting almost a decade and led by Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847: *ODNB*), who became the Moderator of the new institution. According to the brief history of *The Kirk in Scotland* by John Buchan, himself raised in a Free Church manse:

> The new Free Church must remain to all time a model of bold and provident organisation. … From the start it undertook all the duties of a national communion. In its first year it built five hundred churches; it founded and carried on schools and religious ordinances in every part of the land; it established its own colleges, and it supported its own ministry. … Since every overseas missionary but one had joined it, it carried on its shoulders the whole missionary burden of the Church it had left. It had as its leaders the ablest theologians and the most popular preachers in Scotland, and it had among its rank and file the flower of her youth.[26]

Taylor cites a contemporary account describing Charles Mackintosh serenely receiving the news of the vote in the House of Commons that made schism inevitable, standing in the sunlight among the evergreens just beyond the porch of the New Manse that ‘he now would have to leave without stipend, and not knowing what was before him’. The congregation both Gaelic- and English-speaking ‘accompanied him out, with very few exceptions’, to worship ‘with him in a wooden building, hurriedly erected for temporary use’ on the links at Tain,[27] although a permanent edifice had been constructed south of Queen Street already by the autumn of 1844.[28] Mackintosh remained as Free Church minster at Tain for a further twenty years, marrying and raising a family there in the Free Church manse erected by 1848 before being ‘translated’ to Dunoon on the west coast in the mid-1850s.

Presumably Eliza Dallas also had a reasonable command of ‘the old language’, though there is no evidence that this was passed on to her children. What little information remains concerning the young family at Tain during the later 1830s derives mainly from the occasional column in the local weekly press in Inverness, in particular concerning the Tain Royal Academy, where all of the classes were conducted in English. On 18 January 1836 Eliza Dallas received from the state the healthy sum of £2925 18s 3d in compensation for the liberation of 117 enslaved people on the Carriacou plantations. Before that, it seems possible that the three children may have attended the much cheaper parochial school, where the instruction consisted ‘chiefly of English reading, writing and arithmetic’, though there were also ‘several Latin and Greek scholars’,[29] and that Ann may have continued to do so even after the award. The following year we find Eneas and William enrolled at the Tain Academy, a coeducational school, though generally with separate classes for girls and boys at the

senior level. Dineley reports that the 'majority of pupils, both boys and girls, came from the parish',[30] while Dallas himself later recalled that one of his school pals, a 'close ally in those young days, when friendship is not friendship but a passion' but now sadly dead, was the eldest brother of the publisher Alexander Strahan.[31] Although *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* noted that the school had been '[e]rected and liberally endowed by subscription',[32] it did not mention that a large proportion of the donations had come from the West Indies.[33] Affiliated to the established church, the Academy not only had a rector teaching 'arithmetic, geography, mathematics, and natural philosophy' but also instructors 'of the languages, namely, Latin, Greek, and French, and … of English reading, grammar, and writing'. There was also 'a library attached to the academy for the use of the pupils', apparently the only one in the town if we overlook the 'public reading-room … at which several newspapers' could be found.[34] The columns of the weekly *Inverness Courier* show Eneas and William Dallas both being awarded prizes following the oral examinations at the end of the academic year in both July 1838 and 1839.[35] In 1838 Eneas (age 10) was '2nd dux' in both his Grammar and Latin classes, while William (age 9) came 1st in Arithmetic. In the following year, both boys were this time listed as hailing from 'Cariacoo', and 'Æneas' won honours in English, Latin, Geography and Arithmetic, while William appears for Geography and Arithmetic only. Neither boy shows in the equivalent lists in the *Courier* at the end of the two previous academic years, although in 1836 the rival *Inverness Journal* records Charles Calder Mackintosh playing a prominent role at his *alma mater* as Minister of the parish church. On 5 July he opened the examination proceedings with a prayer and the following day closed the prize-giving ceremony with 'a short, but impressive and appropriate address to the Students'.[36] Unfortunately, after her belated return from Carriacou, no record of the activities in Tain of the widowed Eliza Dallas has been found apart from a couple of reports concerning her involvement in charitable work; in early 1837, for example, collections for the India Mission were 'transmitted from Tain, through Mrs Dallas', with Eliza herself contributing around four shillings and her nineteen-year-old sister Jemima over twelve.[37] This perhaps suggests that, despite the funds recently received as compensation, the widow still had to careful with her spending.

* * * * *

And we learn little more about Eliza Dallas throughout the next stage of her life with her growing children in east central Scotland. According to the decennial Census taken in June 1841, recorded as aged 35 and 'of Independent Means', she was then found resident with her three children, now aged 13, 12, and 10, in St Andrews, 'outside of North Street Port', that is, just outside the mediaeval town walls near the North Street gate, as indicated on the map in Figure 3.2.[38] Located on the east coast of Fife, the ancient burgh of St. Andrews stands around 160 miles southeast of Tain but only thirty miles northeast of Edinburgh. After a long period of decline, the town had started to expand from the early decades of the nineteenth century. The 1832 Boundaries Report shows that between the 1821 and 1831 Censuses, the population of the parish had increased from 4899

to 5621 and the number of dwellings from 828 to 877, some of them clearly outside the mediaeval walls (see the map).[39]

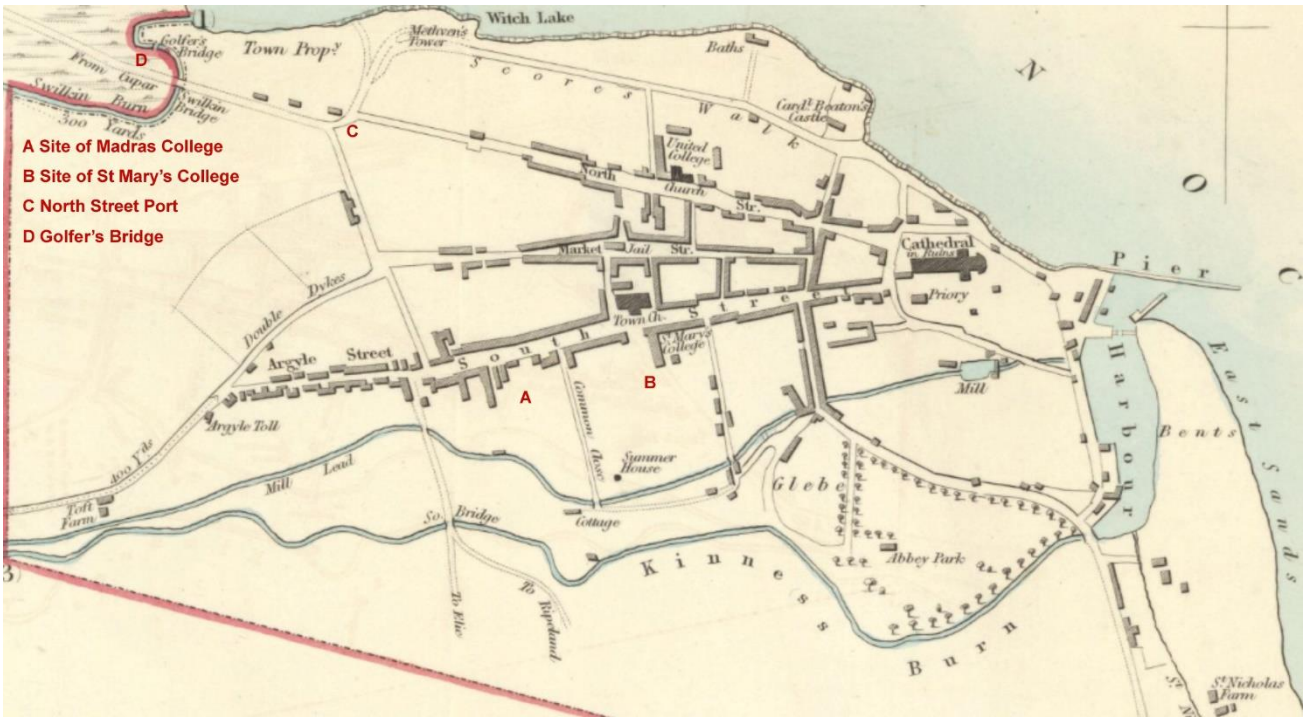

Fig. 3.2. Sketch Map of St. Andrew's

(From 'Reports upon the Boundaries … in Scotland', HCPP 1831-32 (408), pp. 76-77. Reproduced with revisions by permission of the National Library of Scotland according to the Creative Commons Attribution [CC-BY] License)

Even then the town was synonymous with its early fifteenth-century university and mid-sixteenth-century golf links, both proudly claimed as the oldest in Scotland. Yet, as the Boundaries Report noted, a 'very munificent Donation has lately been made to the Town, by Dr. Bell, for promoting Education, which may probably give a stimulus to other improvements'.[40] The reference was to the Rev. Andrew Bell (1753-1832: *ODNB*), a native of St Andrews best known for the system of education he developed for the East India Company in Madras, where, due to the limited number of teachers, capable senior scholars were appointed as 'Monitors' to oversee the progress of groups of junior pupils. Bell's 'Donation' consisted of a trust set up in 1831 amounting to £120,000, part of which was set aside to amalgamate the existing grammar schools into a new academy. Thus in the year following his death, the Madras College was founded at St Andrews off South Street, close to what is now known as the West Port, with a handsome new quadrangular edifice in Elizabethan style, and quickly became a flourishing co-educational seminary with around 800 pupils from all social classes. The lengthy survey of the Parish of St Andrews in the relevant volume of *The New Statistical Account of Scotland* devoted over three pages to the new institution.[41] Dated January 1838, this account lists teachers employed in the following eight subject areas, with the first two also boasting an assistant instructor: 1. English and English

Grammar; 2. Greek and Latin; 3. Arithmetic; 4. Mathematics and Geography; 5. Writing; 6. Drawing; 7. the French, German, and Italian Languages; and, 8. Church Music.[42] There were two rates of fees depending on the income of the pupil's family, with '[a]bout 150 children of the most indigent of the citizens … selected by the trustees to receive a gratuitous education'.[43] At the front corners of the property on South Street there were 'two commodious dwellinghouses, harmonizing in their architecture with the principal building, … erected for the use of the English and classical masters, who are thus furnished with the means of receiving each a considerable number of boarders' and between those dormitories and the school itself there was 'an extensive area covered with gravel, where the pupils of the institution enjoy air and exercise'.[44]

Although even closer to the famous Golfer's Bridge across the Swilcan Burn, the lodgings of the Dallas family were less than half a mile from the new school. Thus we must assume that Eliza Dallas had left Tain primarily to advance her (male) children's educational prospects, though perhaps also with the likely loss of the New Manse already in mind. (There is evidence that, on the 1843 Disruption, she too 'came out' with her children and joined the Free Church at St. Andrews.)[45] The two boys, though apparently not Ann, were then enrolled at Madras College. According to reports in the local press, Eneas himself attended the Madras from the autumn of 1839 until the summer of 1845, consistently winning prizes along with his younger brother in the annual examinations, and serving as monitor in his senior years. In 1840 through 1842, for example, the early August issues of the weekly *Fife Herald*, show him winning honours in the classics every year, plus special prizes for 'Diligence and General Improvement' in the first year, and 'The Best Arithmetician' ('value one guinea') in the third.[46] Given his later linguistic proficiencies, we can also perhaps assume that Eneas took advantage of the courses in modern European as well as classical languages. During the equivalent examination period in 1845, at the end of his time at the school, the weekly *Northern Warder* reported that in 'the first … mathematical class, the third place, first rank was held by Mr Aeneas Dallas, St Andrews, his number, as declared by the competitions being very nearly equal to the other two'. This information was included as part of an article contesting the prejudiced view that 'the Free Church students are idle and illiterate' by showing that only 29 out of 120 students in the year 'belonged to the Free Church, and of that number the names of 18 appear in the honorary lists'.[47]

Again, surviving recollections of his time at St. Andrews are few and far between. In an editorial paragraph dating from 1868, during his first visit to Edinburgh while a schoolboy at the Madras he recalls attending the new General Assembly of the Free Church led by the Moderator, Dr Thomas Chalmers. There,

> Seated next me I saw an elderly, hard-featured, sober-looking man, leaning with both hands on a stick and eyeing the stick with great earnestness, scarcely even moving his eyes to right or left. My attention was soon directed to the speaker above me, who had opened the discourse of the day. The fervidness of his eloquence, his great command of language and the strangeness of his manner, excited my attention in an unusual degree. I wished to know who it was, and applied to my neighbour, the sober-looking, hard-featured man. "Pray, sir, can you tell me who is speaking now?" The man turned on me a defiant and contemptuous look for my ignorance and

> answered, looking reverently at the cane on which his hands were imposed, "Sir, that's the great Docther Chawmers, and I'm haudin' his stick!"[48]

Earlier, in a letter to the publisher John Blackwood dating from 1855, he refers with nostalgia to the grounds of St. Mary's College, next door to the Madras and home to the University's Faculty of Divinity, recalling 'pleasant memories of the jargonelle pears in the principal's garden long, long ago'.[49] In the same letter he reminisces about playing 'the royal game of golf on that superb links … there are few sensations in life equal to that of giving a good hit to one of Allan Robertson's golf balls'. A few months later, he recalls the occasion when Blackwood himself, 'the personation of Maga' (referring to the prestigious monthly *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, where many of Dallas's own articles would thereafter be published) visited the course at St Andrews. He remembers: 'you were pointed out to me on the links putting … at the short holes, & with what awe I gazed on you … These Madras younkers [youngsters] expect that as Maga is the first of magazines, you shall be the first of golfers'.[50] Dallas's experience in the sport was to prove a valuable asset in the English capital as well as the old Scottish town, as it later served to facilitate his social integration with the senior staff on *The Times* at the Royal Blackheath Golf Club.

* * * * *

Again, E.S. Dallas's mature critical writings on Scottish affairs can help to compensate for the paucity of personal recollections. Especially during his early years as staff writer at *The Times* (from August 1855), it is evident that he was regarded as an expert on affairs in 'North Britain'. Thus he was often asked to compose leaders (on Scottish university education, lunacy, …), obituaries (of Caledonian historians, judges, …), and, most frequently, book reviews in that field. The strict policy of the newspaper on journalistic impersonality ensured that there was nothing explicitly autobiographical, but these texts still allow us to detect long-standing attitudes and opinions on matters both ethnological and ecclesiastical. Regarding Gaelic culture and mythology, the most telling article is again a notice of a collection of folk-tales edited by J. F. Campbell of Islay,[51] which was published in *The Times* in late 1860.[52] Although Campbell's narratives, transcribed in both the source language and English translation, were orally collected throughout the western highlands and islands only, they allow Dallas to comment more generally on Gaelic traditions. Indeed, a good number of the tales were collected by Campbell's collaborator in Wester Ross, the gamekeeper Hector Urquhart. Dallas cites Urquhart's evocation of his childhood at Pool Ewe, where 'it was the custom … for the young to assemble on the long winter nights, to hear the old people recite the tales or 'sgeulachd,' which had been transmitted through many generations'.[53] Dallas stresses that the *sgeulachd* belong to the common people, and indeed precisely from that derive their cultural importance: 'One of the storytellers is a blind fiddler, another a sawyer, another a crofter, and almost all are of the uneducated class – fishermen, stableboys, paupers, drovers, labourers, farm-servants, servant-maids, travelling tinkers, shoemakers, gamekeepers, gardeners, quarrymen, and pipers.' He also notes that one of the main obstacles to the preservation of Gaelic folklore remains the attitude of the local clergy: 'Almost all the

Gaelic scholars are ministers, who naturally despise such vain imaginations, and teach the people to despise them also.'[54] He thus concludes that Campbell's unique collection is especially valuable: 'a very rich one, … thoroughly characteristic' which 'while it will please the lover of tales, will also give much food for thought to the historical inquirer' into comparative mythology.[55]

Dallas's scepticism regarding the Calvinist and Presbyterian foundations of the Church of Scotland are best seen in a review covering two books published in Edinburgh in 1860, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland* by Rev. John Lee, and James Dodds, *The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters*.[56] The reviewer was rather more sympathetic to Lee's detachment than to Dodds's fervour ('we find none of this vapouring in the pages of Principal Lee'),[57] but nevertheless roundly denies their unanimous opinion (then shared with most of Scotland) 'that Calvinism is incontrovertible and that the Presbyterian government of the Church is infallible'.[58] Specifically, he is not afraid to characterise the Kirk's 'Calvinistic doctrines' as 'propaganda' and its 'Presbyterian government' as an 'inquisition'; further, he even mocks 'that absurd egotism which even in this 19th century could represent the disruption of the Scottish Kirk in 1843 as an epoch in the history of the human race'.[59] Probably, in investing much of her compensation fund in the academic education of her eldest son, Eliza Dallas had hoped that he would follow the path of his grandfather and uncle into the manse. According to an obituary report, this had been the intention behind Dallas's education, 'but an unfortunate personal defect forced him to employ his talents in some other manner.'[60] If so, the defect seems less likely to have concerned sex and alcohol than the increasing difficulty of assenting to the 1647 Westminster Confession of Faith, the standard of doctrine, subordinate only to the Bible, of both the established Church of Scotland and the breakaway Free Church. As we shall see in the following chapter, on leaving the Madras, and presumably with his mother's agreement if not approval, Dallas was to advance not into the Free Church College on the Mound (today's Edinburgh New College), founded in 1846 during the aftermath of the 'Great Disruption', but into the more venerable halls of the University of Edinburgh. There, his early encounter with the Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Sir William Hamilton, seems to have rapidly extinguished any lingering embers of evangelic fervour.

Chapter 2: In the Highlands and Lowlands: Notes

[1] Undated letter to Lady Emma Wood, cited in Roellinger, 'E. S. Dallas: A Study', p. 1. There is also a letter from Lady Wood to Dallas which suggests that he had been reminiscing to her of the kitchen in the Manse at Tain, for she replies jestingly, 'There is what I suppose to be a full account of your Uncle's kitchen range, in the "Old Curiosity Shop." It struck me at the time that Dickens meant it as an advertisement.' (E.C. Wood to E.S. Dallas, Monday, 29 July [1872], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 197–99; p. 199).

[2] See the PDF file 'Report on Manse House by Easter Ross and Tain Civic Trust (WP 004485)', Scotland's Urban Past Project 2015, pp. 18 and 21.

[3] Both Emma Wood and Charles Mackintosh were born shortly after the turn of the nineteenth century, and it must be this to which Dallas refers in the letter ('about your own age'), since at the time of writing she would already have been in her late sixties while at the time of the event the uncle would still have been in his late twenties.

[4] According to Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, VII, p. 73; Anne Calder Mackintosh died on 23 January 1857.

[5] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I, pp. 150–51.

[6] In northern Scotland, bannocks are flat, round unleavened loaves of barley or oatmeal dough, traditionally cooked on a 'bannock stane', a flat round of sandstone placed directly on a fire. In 'The Poor Man's Kitchen' (*Cornhill Magazine* 1, June 1860, pp. 745–54: 749), Dallas suggests that there is only 'one mode of preparing oatmeal which all Englishmen relish—namely, when the finer qualities of the meal are baked into those thin cakes, which are obtained in perfection only in the north of Scotland'.

[7] Again in his 'Poor Man's Kitchen', Dallas tells the somewhat similar story, attributed to the Rev. Thomas Guthrie, of a hungry Englishman 'bemisted' in the highlands who relishes a meal of 'sowens' (a pudding made from fermented oatmeal) prepared for him by a Gaelic-speaking cottage woman, although the mixture resembles 'dirty water' before it is cooked (p. 749). It seems very likely that the quarrymen who shared their simple meal with the lost child would also have had Gaelic as their native language.

[8] See HCPP 1831–32 (408), pp. 26–27 (Dornoch) and 30–31 (Tain).

[9] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland: Volume XIV. Inverness-Ross and Cromarty* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1845), pp. 280–300.

[10] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 292.

[11] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV pp. 291–92.

[12] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 292.

[13] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 296.

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 293.

[16] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 300.

[17] See Margaret Anne Dineley, *A Comparative Study of the Responses of Three Highland Communities to the Disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Open University, May 2005), p. 49.

[18] Revd. John Kennedy, *The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire* (Edinburgh: John Maclaren, 1861), p. 72

[19] Kennedy, *The Days of the Fathers*, p. 73.

[20] Kennedy, *The Days of the Fathers*, p. 74.

[21] In his *Times* Obituary, 'Death of Lord Chancellor Campbell' (24 June 1861, p. 9b–f), Dallas notes that Campbell was only a little over ten when he entered the University of St. Andrews with the intention of becoming a minister, since 'No man in Scotland can enter into holy orders unless he has passed through a curriculum of eight years' study, four being devoted to the classics and philosophy, and four more to theology' so that, for financial motives, 'the freshmen are often mere boys' (p. 9b).

[22] See *Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Johnston, 1838), pp. 296–97, where the information on the Parish of Tain, supplied by Rev. Charles Calder Mackintosh on 27 September 1836, states that the average attendances at the Gaelic and English services were respectively 1100 and 900–1000.

[23] Rev. William Taylor, *Memorials of the Life and Ministry of Charles Calder Mackintosh, D.D., of Tain and Dunoon* (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1870), pp. 23–53; reprinted in abbreviated form as 'Charles Calder Mackintosh, D.D.' in *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands: Another Memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh: John Greig, 1877), pp. 53–60.

[24] See Dineley, *A Comparative Study*, p. 199.

[25] See Dineley, *A Comparative Study*, p. 1.

[26] Buchan and Smith, *The Kirk in Scotland*, p. 79.

[27] Taylor, *Memorials of the Life and Ministry*, p. 47.

[28] See 'Tain Free Church', *Inverness Courier* (23 October 1844), p. 2f.

[29] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 297.

[30] See Dineley, *A Comparative Study*, pp. 127–28: 'For example, in 1832, about 75% of both male and female pupils came from families resident in Tain', typically 'children of comparatively high status parents'.

[31] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 11 February 1863, Blackwood Papers, NLS, MS.4180.

[32] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, XIV p. 297.

[33] See S. Karly Kehoe, 'From the Caribbean to the Scottish Highlands: Charitable Enterprise in the Age of Improvement, c.1750 to c.1820', *Rural History* 27:1 (2016), pp. 37–59. There Kehoe shows generally how much the foundation of academies in northern Scotland depended on money from the West Indian slave plantations, and, in particular, that, in the case of the Tain Royal Academy, 'the total donated between 1800 and 1818 had been £7,666, with £2,062 (twenty-six per cent) coming directly from the Caribbean' (pp. 47–52; p. 50), with Grenada quite high on the list.

[34] *Fourth Report of the Commissioners,* pp. 297–98.

[35] See 'Tain Royal Academy', *Inverness Courier* (25 July 1838), p. [1], and (17 July 1839), p. 3.

[36] See 'Tain Royal Academy', *Inverness Journal* (22 July 1836), p. [1].

[37] See 'India Mission: Penny Subscription', *Inverness Courier* (18 January 1837), p. 3.

[38] See National Records of Scotland, Census 1841, 453/8 pp. 5–7.

[39] See 'Reports upon the Boundaries … in Scotland', HCPP 1831–32 (408), pp. 76–77 (St Andrews).

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *The New Statistical Account of Scotland: Volume IX. Fife-Kinross* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1845), pp. 449–97.

[42] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, IX pp. 484–85

[43] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, IX p. 485.

[44] *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, IX p. 484.

[45] See 'The Students', *Northern Warder* (1 May 1845), p. 6, where Aeneas Dallas is listed among the Free Church scholars to receive academic honours in his senior year at Madras College.

[46] See 'Madras College, St. Andrews', *Fife Herald* (6 August 1840), p. 3c–e, (5 August 1841), p. 1b–f, and (11 August 1842), p. 1a–e.

[47] See 'The Students', *Northern Warder* (1 May 1845), p. 6.

[48] See 'Table Talk', *Once a Week* (4 April 1868), pp. 306–8: p. 308b.

[49] This was to excuse his generous review in the *Daily News* of a 'very able & very dull' volume by the recently appointed master, the theologian John Tulloch; see to John Blackwood, Saturday [7 July 1855], Blackwood Papers, National Library of Scotland, MS.4109 ff 93–96.

[50] To John Blackwood, 6 October 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 79–82.

[51] J. F. Campbell, ed., *Seann Sgeulachdan Gaidhealach: Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (2 vols; Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1860).

[52] [E.S. Dallas], 'West Highland Tales', *The Times* (5 November 1860), p. 10c–e.

[53] [Dallas], 'West Highland Tales', p. 10c.

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] [Dallas], 'West Highland Tales', p. 10d.

[56] [E.S. Dallas], 'Histories of the Kirk', *The Times* (10 October 1860, p. 6c–e.

[57] [Dallas], 'Histories of the Kirk', p. 6d; Lee was 'Principal of the College' at Edinburgh University from 1840–59, that is, including the period from 1845–50 when Dallas was matriculated.

[58] [Dallas], 'Histories of the Kirk', p. 6c.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] See 'Obituary', *Academy* (25 January 1879), p. 74.

Chapter 4: At Edinburgh University

After leaving Madras College in St Andrews, Dallas was to spend most of the following decade in Edinburgh; this chapter covers the first part of that period when he was enrolled as a university student. Based on the matriculation rolls, Roellinger shows that 'Aeneas Sweetland Dallas' registered in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Edinburgh in the autumn of 1845, still giving his domicile as 'St Andrews, Fife', that he was also enrolled as 'Eneas' for the academic sessions 1846-47 and 1849-50. However, having completed only three of the four required years of the programme, he did not in fact receive a degree.[1] Here, the aim is first to give a general picture of the character of the institution at the mid-nineteenth century, and then to focus particularly on the significant connections that Dallas made there among the faculty as well as the student body, both of course exclusively male at this time and indeed until the final decades of the nineteenth century.[2]

* * * * *

The lengthy ecclesiastical account of the Parish of Edinburgh filed in the summer of 1845 includes a detailed report on the condition of 'The University' around that period.[3] The senate was then made up of the holders of the 32 professorial chairs, seven of which had been founded after the turn of the nineteenth century, with their salaries then ranging from £50 to £300, and the annual fees each charged varying from 2 to 4 guineas per student.[4] The chairs were divided between four faculties, those of Arts, Divinity, Law, and Medicine, the last being the most recently founded.[5] Regarding the curriculum in the Faculty of Arts, candidates for the MA had to be 'in the fourth year of their academical studies, and must have attended the classes of humanity, Greek, mathematics, logic, rhetoric, moral and natural philosophy'.[6] Classes typically took place five times a week with 'oral lectures and demonstrations … the means of instruction employed',[7] and there were two annual sessions, Winter from the first Tuesday of November to the end of April, and Summer from the first Monday of May to the end of July.[8] In the Academic Year 1844-45, the year before Dallas himself enrolled, among a total of 971 regular students matriculated, 466 were in the Faculty of Arts, of whom 164 came from Edinburgh and 20 from Fife, with 26, 4 and 14 hailing respectively from England, Ireland and the 'Colonies and Foreign Countries'.[9] The personal freedom of the student body was stressed, as '[n]o academical dress is worn; no preliminary tests or examinations of proficiency are required on first entering the classes; and every student is at liberty to attend whatever church he is a member of'.[10] Moreover, in Grant's tercentenary *Story of the University of Edinburgh* published in 1884, it was pointed out that, because graduation in the Arts was no longer required for ordination in the established church, over the last century and a half 'all desire for the M.A. degree seemed to have expired, [and] attendance on the Arts classes became purely voluntary'.[11]

In his 1860 article on 'Student Life in Scotland', Dallas himself had made a similar point, though he noted that the system had recently been changed.[12] There, he also notes other significant differences from the English university system as exemplified by Oxford and Cambridge. The absence of residential colleges meant

that Caledonian universities were 'planned on the model of a day-school', so that there was in fact 'little student life in Scotland'.[13] However, this meant that student fees were consequently much lower so that 'a university education is within reach of all classes, and covers a much larger area of the population in Scotland than it does in England'.[14] To attach some flesh to these bare bones, we need now to turn to the relationships Dallas established with both professors and fellow students during his years at the university, as evidenced in both published writings and private letters. Such documents show that, in the main, he spent his student years at Edinburgh studying Logic and Metaphysics under Sir William Hamilton, Moral Philosophy and Political Economy under John Wilson, and Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* under W.E. Aytoun. He clearly enjoyed a broad and stimulating liberal education in their classes, and was later to write enthusiastic *Times* reviews of books published by all three at Blackwood and Sons in Edinburgh.

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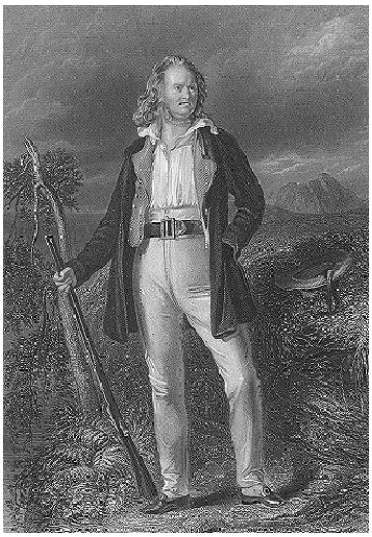
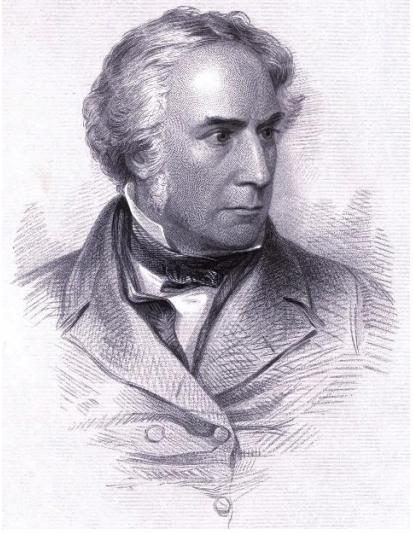
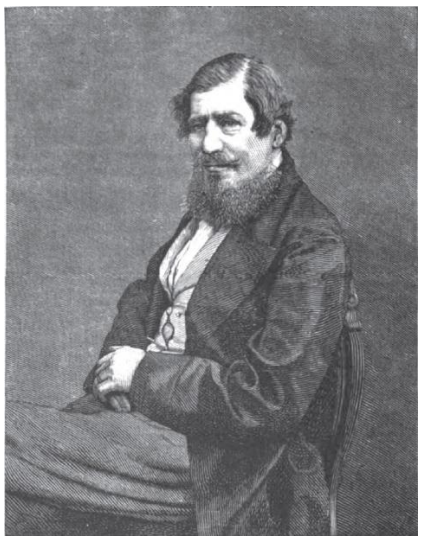

Figs. 4.1-4.3 John Wilson, William Hamilton, William Aytoun

4.1 Christopher North in his Sporting Jacket, Frontispiece to *Recreations of Christopher North*, 3 vols (Blackwood, 1868), volume I

4.2 Frontispiece to John Veitch, *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart.,* (Blackwood, 1869)

4.3 From *Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh* (Cassell, 1885), II p. 208

The oldest of the triumvirate, John Wilson (1785-1854: *ODNB*) resigned his professorship due to poor health in the summer of 1851 and passed away in spring 1854, around a year before Dallas left Edinburgh for good to advance his career as a journalist in London. Wilson was best known as the literary persona 'Christopher North' created for *Noctes Ambrosianae* ('Nights at Ambrose's Tavern'), the series of Edinburgh dialogues for *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, by turns whimsical and satirical, which he wrote in large part. He was no expert in either Moral Philosophy or Political Economy, having obtained the professorship in a competition with Hamilton in 1820 mainly owing to Tory support on the Town Council, but also in part because of his literary flare and flamboyance. It was probably these qualities that especially earned the young Dallas's admiration, though he also described the professor as taking 'the very first place among the critics of his time'. This was in one of

his first reviews for *The Times* in October 1855, evaluating the opening volume of Wilson's edited works, the first of four devoted to his *Noctes* dialogues.[15] After a brief introduction imagining John Wilson as a lion just as that other great critic Samuel Johnson was often pictured as a bear, Dallas launches into an evocation of his own first attendance at the professor's lectures:

> We shall never forget our visit to his class-room. We could hardly find a seat and many were standing. The door of the ante-room creaks, and in strides, with a bounding step, eight miles an hour, as if he trod Benvoirlich after the deer, a strong, broadbuilt man in black,—gown flung loose over his arms, and long golden hair floating dishevelled over his shoulders. He mounts the rostrum, puts down his roll of MS., and lays out his watch—five minutes past 12. … He pores over his MS. and can't decipher it. It is a mass of confusion—the backs of old letters, the backs of old proofs, flyleaves torn out of books, note paper, letter paper, China paper, blotting paper, all dashed over with hieroglyphics, 20 words to a page. He gives it up in despair, puts his hands in his pockets, turns from the class, and looks out at the grated window. Dead silence and suspense—the lion at bay. In a moment he wakes up, seizes the watch,—10 minutes past 12,—folds the riband round his forefinger, looks thunder and lightning over the heads of his students, and with a voice every tone of which suggests the epithet of Chrysostom or Goldenmouth,[16] first slowly, word by word, then faster and faster until it becomes a torrent, discourses most excellent music, invests philosophy with life interest, stalks a subtlety, courses a problem, earths an objection, ferrets a motive, with a zeal which brings the blood to the faces of the young fellows, fills that calm academic haunt with profane cheering, and reminds every listener of the Greek legend that the virgin goddess of the hunt is in very truth twin sister to the god of poetry and eloquence.[17]

Elsewhere, however, Dallas makes a distinction between Wilson and those professors at Edinburgh who conducted their classes 'with spirit': 'What Christopher North knew of human nature he told to his pupils in the most glowing terms; but literally the students sat down before him day after day without knowing each other's names … He was a splendid lecturer—but he was only a lecturer; and lecturing is little more than half the work of a professorship.'[18] Wilson's name appears on a number of occasions in Dallas's correspondence with John Blackwood from late 1854 now preserved in the Blackwood Papers at the National Library of Scotland, initially focussed on his contributions to the Maga but becoming increasingly personal as time goes on. There the professor is referred to on occasion familiarly as 'Christopher' and even 'old Xopher'.[19] While Dallas was still composing the Wilson review for *The Times*, he had written to Blackwood emphasizing his Caledonian roots and his alienation from London society: 'I enjoy the Noctes more and more. My wife is a capital dramatic reader—& Scotch to the bargain. You would be highly amused if you heard her as I do every evening reading these rare dialogues. I don't know what the Times people will say to my article: I regard Wilson as the greatest of English critics & am writing up to that idea. I daresay it will startle the Cockneys to be told so …'.[20] All the same, there is no sign of Wilson's name or ideas in either of Dallas's books on the subject of criticism.

After a series of rebuffs, William Hamilton (1788–1856: *ODNB*) was finally elected in 1836 to the Chair in Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh. The current *ODNB* entry by David Finkelstein suggests that the resistance may have been due to the fact that 'on the personal side, Hamilton was aggressive and opinionated in discussion, and in a university that took the literary qualities of the classics more seriously than their philosophical qualities, his erudition may have seemed more awkward than attractive'. It might also have added

that Hamilton's resistance to the evangelical forces on the Town Council played a significant part.[21] As regards Dallas himself, his debts to Hamilton were more decidedly intellectual, so that it is not inappropriate to describe him as a disciple. His first book, *Poetics: An Essay on Poetry*, published by Smith, Elder in London in November 1852, just over a couple of years after he left the university, was inscribed: 'To | Sir William Hamilton, Bart., | Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh | This Little Work | is | Dedicated | In Token of | The Admiration, the Regard, and the Obligations | of | a Pupil.' Fourteen years later, in his second monograph *The Gay Science* (2 vols; London: Chapman and Hall, November 1866), Dallas described his mentor as 'the greatest thinker that Britain has produced in the present century' (II Ch. X, p. 14). There he not only leant heavily on Hamilton's understanding of associationist psychology and mental latency as a central element in the concept of the 'Hidden Soul' (I Ch. VII), but also explicitly employed his definition of the concept of Pleasure as the foundation for his exploration of the 'first principles of Criticism' (I Ch. X). Yet it is clear that Dallas was deeply impressed not only by Hamilton's philosophical theories but also by his pedagogical methods. These he described on two occasions, initially in a *Times* review in May 1859 then in greater detail less than a year later in the *Cornhill* article already cited.[22] For the sake of space I will quote the first only:

> Perhaps there never was a class in any University into which so much life was thrown as into the class over which Sir William presided. It was a class conducted on democratic principles. On three days of the week the Professor lectured; on the other two days the students were masters of the field, and on these occasions one after another would stand up in his place, now to volunteer a report of the previous lectures, now to attack the theory which the Professor had propounded, now to state any of the results of his reading which bore on the subjects discussed in the class. It was a sort of half-conversation, half-debate between Sir William Hamilton and his pupils, in which he met them on almost even terms; and it is a curious illustration of the equality on which they met, that the honours of the class were awarded at the end of the year by vote, and the vote of the Professor had no more value than that of any student. The system worked well, for it was generally found that he agreed with the award of his students, and in any case he succeeded in thoroughly awakening their interest …[23]

Moreover, Dallas notes that outsiders must also recognize 'the majestic presence of the man, that noble brow, those dark flashing eyes, that manly voice, which rang through the dim class-room like a sledge-hammer on an anvil, the bursts of familiar talk with a couple of hundred students at once', if they are to begin to understand 'the idolatry with which he was regarded by his pupils'. [24]

William Edmonstoune Aytoun (1813-65: *ODNB*), had been appointed professor at Edinburgh only in autumn 1845, at the same time that Dallas entered as a student, and had married John Wilson's youngest daughter in the spring of 1849. The *ODNB* entry, again by David Finkelstein, suggests that the professor only had 30 students in his class in the first year though its immediate popularity soon increased that figure many times over. However, among Dallas's journalism there seems to be found no similar thrilled evocation of the lectures of the Professor of Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres*,[25] though as many as five of his works—both volumes of his own poetry and editions or translations of the verse of others—were reviewed in the main positively by his former pupil in *The Times*. The first and most ambivalent belongs to late 1856 when Blackwood had published

Bothwell, Aytoun's long historical poem on 'the sad story of Mary, Queen of Scots'.[26] In the first half of the notice, Dallas had reiterated his strong opinion, earlier articulated in his savage evaluation of Tennyson's *Maud*, that 'the prevalent taste for poetry is essentially a bad one', in particular attacking what, following Aytoun, the literary press had recently labelled the 'spasmodic school'.[27] He suggested that the school's invariable theme was 'disease—hectic beauty, morbid crimes, monstrous characters, … all expressed in the most curiously wrought language', and saw Aytoun as almost alone among the poets in setting himself resolutely 'in opposition to a system so radically vicious' and instead seeking 'for his motives in the vicissitudes of the common lot and the passions of our common humanity'.[28] At the same time, in the second half of the review, Dallas suggested that, in adopting for the first time the form of the 'soliloquy' (dramatic monologue) in his latest work, Aytoun had put himself in danger of falling into the errors of the spasmodics themselves.

This ambivalence hints at a decided lack of personal sympathy between teacher and pupil. This is an inference which also finds support among the many references in the Blackwood correspondence to Aytoun, who had been a regular contributor to Maga since the mid-1840s. When John Blackwood reported that Aytoun had read the *Bothwell* review and claimed that 'the story could be told in no other form', Dallas had responded with some irritation that 'He must be right if he says so, because both on principle & from inclination no man is less likely than he to slide into soliloquy'.[29] A more complex case that requires some explication is found almost a year earlier, when, while suggesting to Blackwood that he was 'glad to hear what you tell me' regarding Aytoun's stance on contemporary poetry, Dallas offered a partial acknowledgment that, during and following his days at the university, he had in fact been quite close to some of the young spasmodics. He writes: 'I used to hope greater things from the Gander Rednags than I do now, & to think that with perfect truth in your criticisms Maga was too severe in applying these standards to younkers'.[30] The specific reference is to Aytoun's March 1854 article 'The Two Arnolds', formally reviewing recently published collections of poetry from Matthew and Edward Arnold, but at the same time mercilessly mocking under the respective nicknames 'Gander Rednag', 'John Tunks' and 'Mr Guffaw' the two youthful spasmodic poets Sydney Dobell,[31] and Alexander Smith, as well as their senior supporter George Gilfillan (1813-78).[32]

At the same time, Aytoun took the opportunity to launch an even more venomous attack on the work of a young critic: 'We have seen, and perused with real sorrow, a recent treatise upon "Poetics," which we cannot do otherwise, conscientiously, than condemn. The author is no doubt entitled to praise on account of his metaphysical ability, which we devoutly trust he may be able to turn to some useful purpose; but as to poetry, its forms, development, machinery, or application, he is really as ignorant as a horse. It is perfectly frightful to see the calmness with which one of these young students of metaphysics sits down to explain the principles of poetry, and the self-satisfied air with which he enunciates the results of his wonderful discoveries.'[33] While the author was not named, there could be no doubt that the reference was to the short monograph *Poetics* appearing under the signature E.S. Dallas. Two other things are also clear: first, that Aytoun's barbs seem

aimed at his colleague Hamilton as well as his self-confident pupil; and second, reading between the lines of Dallas's later letters to Blackwood, that by then he must have understood precisely by whom he had been so publicly insulted.[34] This may help to explain the devastation that Dallas seems to have experienced when in summer 1865, despite warm letters of recommendation from John Blackwood and Charles Dickens, among others, he was rejected for the position of Professor of Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* at Edinburgh University in the place of the recently deceased Aytoun.

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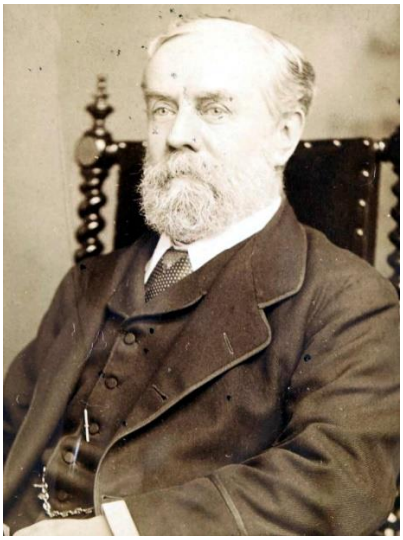
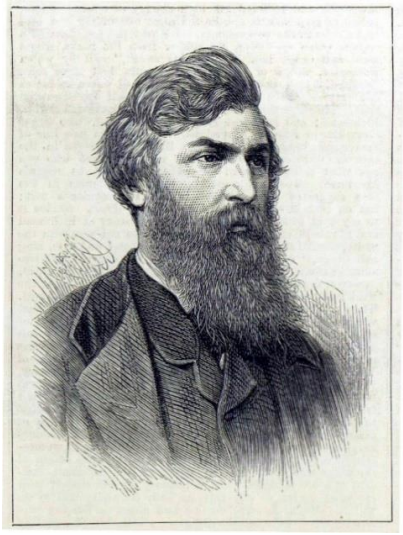


Figs. 4.4-4.6 Thomas Spencer Baynes, Eneas Sweetland Dallas, and Sydney Thompson Dobell in Later Life

4.4 Photograph by Thomas Rodger, Image courtesy of University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums

4.5 Photograph by M. Bingham, of Rue de Larochefoucauld, Paris, from *Illustrated London News* 8 February 1879, p. 129

4.6 From Frontispiece to *The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, ed. E.J. (London: Smith, Elder, 1878)

Turning specifically to Dallas's peers at the university, while the precise relationships are by no means always clear, it seems safe to suggest that he belonged to a circle of men at different stages of their academic careers who represented two overlapping interests, that is, scholars owning allegiance to William Hamilton and poets associated loosely with the 'spasmodic school'. Moreover, most were to go on to contribute to the *Edinburgh Guardian*, a new weekly journal combining the roles of newspaper and review which survived for a little over two years from April 1853. Writing in 1895 when he was almost the only surviving member of the circle, John Skelton (1831-97) offers thumbnail sketches of many of 'these college contemporaries'. In addition to Dallas himself, Skelton mentions Thomas Spencer Baynes (1823-87), Sidney Dobell (1824-74), Alexander Smith (1829-67), Alexander Nicolson (1827-93), and Patrick Proctor Alexander (1824-86), adding Henry Calderwell (1830-97) and John Veitch (1829-94) in a footnote.[35] A few had attended Madras College in St. Andrews, notably Skelton and Alexander whose stays there overlapped with that of Dallas. Most had studied under Hamilton in the Faculty of Arts as Edinburgh—Baynes, Veitch and Calderwell were in fact to go on to become professors respectively at St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. The exceptions were the poets Dobell,

Alexander and Smith, who were never students of Edinburgh University and only moved to the city around the early 1850s,[36] with Smith in fact hailing from a proletarian background in Glasgow.

Three members of the circle remained connected closely enough to Dallas's *alma mater* to be asked to contribute to the 1856 university collection of *Edinburgh Essays*: Skelton as advocate, Smith as university secretary, and Baynes as assistant professor.[37] Much the most interesting from our perspective is Baynes's biographical essay on Hamilton, where he not only ably summarizes his mentor's philosophical theories and explains his pedagogical methods, but also describes his personal qualities. He writes: 'Always accessible to his students, none ever found him preoccupied or engaged when they entered his private room to submit a doubt, ask a question, or make a request. He listened, not only with patient courtesy, but with real interest …'.[38] Further, he evokes how the professor encouraged his pupils to engage in physical as well as intellectual activities. Thus stimulated, together they 'breasted the ridge of the lion's nose in climbing to the top of Arthur's Seat; or, skates in hand, brushed through the frozen reeds to test the strength of the ice on Duddingstone Loch; or walked up from Newhaven in the winter moonlight after a breezy sail on the blue Firth …', with even the consumption of 'bannocks and usquebaugh' recommended after such healthy exercise.[39] The lengthy passage devoted to this topic offers an extremely detailed, if somewhat romanticised depiction of communal student life in the Edinburgh of the late 1840s.

Elsewhere Dallas himself offers a rather more gritty picture of the life of the '22-pounders' among his fellow students, that is, those who come from proletarian families and have to survive on as little as £22 a year, including around £10 for class fees.[40] Such impoverished scholars are shown not residing in a 'palace' in the New Town but sharing 'a garret raised thirteen stories over the Cowgate'.[41] They may have to wear 'the cast-off clothes of the parish minister' and are lucky to eat a dinner consisting of 'a herring and three potatoes', while sympathetic professors 'make a point of inviting them to breakfast or supper as often as they can, and give them a great feed'. The poor students need to engage in part-time work most days of the week, and even on Sundays as church ushers, earning as little as 3*d*. an hour; there are those 'who work at bookbinding or printing, who make pills and potions in druggists' shops, who are copying-clerks in lawyers' offices, who report for the newspapers, who keep the butterman's books,—in order to maintain themselves at college'. Dallas concludes: 'I suppose that fully one-third of the Scottish students are steeped in poverty. The struggle of some of these men upwards, in the face of terrific odds, is almost sublime'.[42]

Among the Hamilton disciples, the one most intimate with Dallas was undoubtedly Thomas Baynes, who was to write the 'Diary of Juniper Agate, Esq.' for the *Guardian*, a comic column based on the opinions of a middle-aged Pooterish character. Skelton pictures the two 'in the early fifties (and long afterwards) [as] bosom friends', although he adds 'but no friends could be more unlike'; Baynes was 'vigilantly honest' and 'without guile', while Dallas had 'recklessly and foolishly squandered' his greater gifts.[43] In two private letters dating from 1856, we see Dallas warmly recommending Baynes as a reviewer to the editor of *Blackwood's Edinburgh*

Magazine, and requesting a distinguished contact to do the same when Baynes applied unsuccessfully for the professorial post at the University of Edinburgh formerly held by William Hamilton.[44] Instead Baynes moved to London for a period, writing for *The Leader* under Edward Pigott. Ten years later, in a footnote to *The Gay Science*, Dallas tells an amusing story of his 'college days' when he was combing the Edinburgh libraries for what he took to be a mediaeval title concerning aesthetics; however, his 'friend, Professor Baynes, had been already on this track, and with some laughter exploded on me the information that the book I was hunting for could have nothing to do with the fine arts, though it might have much to do with the black.'[45]

Among the poets, ironically, Sydney Dobell seems to have been the closest to Dallas's heart. In the spring of 1854, for the *Edinburgh Guardian* Dallas had written a generous review of *Balder*, the second volume of verse from 'Sydney Yendys', strikingly different in both position and tone from his more slashing approach to the spasmodics in *The Times* less than two years afterwards.[46] A decade later in *The Gay Science*, Dallas praised Dobell's literary abilities on two occasions, first referring to him as 'one of our subtlest poets' and later warmly acknowledging his personal help with a verse translation from the Provençal.[47] Dobell's own views on the relationship are revealed in the first volume of *The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, edited by his wife's companion Emily Jolly after the poet's death.[48] There, one early letter describes a meeting with both Dallas and Smith, where the former's *Poetics* is described by Dobell as revealing 'some profound critical qualities that indicate one born to be a critic, and a universality of acquired knowledge which betokened one educated for criticism', while also pointing out his 'strong perceptive faculties … united with a sensitive mouth all quivering with feminine appreciation, but capable nevertheless of settling into wide judicial quiet'.[49] Later in the volume, the editor summarizes an 1854 letter describing 'a strawberry-and-cream feast (a favourite Edinburgh summer entertainment) at Mr. Dobell's rooms in Abercrombie Place' where Baynes, Dallas, Smith and Nicolson were among the guests, including a number of amusing conversations occurring '[a]fter the feast [when] the whole party were driven in open carriages to Craigcrook, at the foot of Corstophin'.[50] (Dallas's own letters from the early 1850s show him resident at 37 Northumberland Street—roughly parallel to Abercrombie Place in the New Town district of Edinburgh—although it is uncertain whether he had resided there while a student.)[51] In the following chapter, where Dallas's work for the *Edinburgh Guardian* is described in more detail, we will return to both Baynes and Dobell, among other members of the circle of disciples and poets.

* * * * *

Appearing in August 1850 when its author was only twenty-two, Dallas's first identified publication must have been written while he was still enrolled at the university.[52] His only public offering before the appearance of *Poetics*, the short monograph on the science of aesthetics, the article had little directly to do with his studies under Professor Hamilton. Although it was published in the *North British Review*, the eclectic Edinburgh quarterly founded in the wake of the Great Disruption to combine religious and secular interests while maintaining a focus on Scotland, Dallas's contribution also had nothing particular to say about North British

issues. Indeed, the editorship had just been taken over by the philosopher and theologian A.C. Fraser,[53] who had recruited a group of distinguished English contributors and adopted a more cosmopolitan policy. Entitled 'The English Language', Dallas's article was formally a review of recent general works on linguistics. However, the three volumes in question were dismissed in the first paragraph, so that the author could focus instead on questions that they hardly addressed: 'what have been the past, and what are the present tendencies of the English tongue, with regard to the matter it employs, and whether these may be deemed for good or evil'.[54] The main argument was that, over many centuries and for predominantly cultural reasons, the language of the English nation had come to much rely much too heavily on classical borrowings from southern Europe and needed to be encouraged more consciously to reclaim its northern Germanic roots. In the concluding paragraph, citing a patriotic verse from Elizabethan times,[55] Dallas viewed this task as especially urgent in the context of the nation's expanding imperial role: 'A language is not ours to use as we list; it belongs to all times, and for the present we are entrusted with its keeping. Let it be known also, that English bids fair one day to become the language of the civilized world … It speeds from land to land, from sea to sea; they talk it in India and in America, the furthest East and the utmost West; at Gibraltar too, and at Capetown, the rounding points of Europe and Africa …'.[56] Although, as we shall see in the following chapter, the first steps in Dallas's career as a journalist were all taken in Edinburgh, we can perhaps interpret the content of his initial publication as an earnest of his ambitions to progress to the imperial capital. Since many of his university peers were to remain in North Britain, this meant that in London he would soon have to form a largely new circle of friends and colleagues in a very different social milieu.

Chapter 4: At Edinburgh University: Notes

[1] See Roellinger, 'E. S. Dallas: A Study', pp. 3–5. It is possible that his failure to register for the academic year 1847–48 may have been due to shortage of funds.
[2] See Robert D. Anderson, 'The Construction of a Modern University', in Robert D. Anderson, Michael Lynch, and Nicholas Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: An Illustrated History* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), pp. 103–207.
[3] See 'City of Edinburgh', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland: Volume I. List of Parishes: Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1845), pp. 614–759; within that report 'V. Educational and Literary Institutions' occupies pp. 670–707, of which the first third (pp. 670–83) is devoted to 'The University'.
[4] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 679.
[5] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 674.
[6] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 675.
[7] *Ibid*.
[8] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 674.
[9] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 681.
[10] 'City of Edinburgh', p. 675.
[11] Alexander Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh During its First Three Hundred Years* (2 vols; London: Longman, 1884), I, p. 281.
[12] See [E.S. Dallas] 'Student Life in Scotland', *Cornhill Magazine* 1 (March 1860), pp. 366–79; p. 368; the systemic changes designed to persuade student to complete the course of study and proceed to graduation had in fact been instituted in 1858.
[13] [Dallas] 'Student Life in Scotland', p. 366.
[14] [Dallas] 'Student Life in Scotland', p. 374.
[15] [E.S. Dallas], 'Professor Wilson', *The Times* (10 October 1855), p. 6d–f; p. 6d.
[16] Referring to Saint John, the fifth-century archbishop of Constantinople, famous for the eloquence of his sermons.
[17] [Dallas], 'Professor Wilson', p. 6d.
[18] See [Dallas], 'Student Life in Scotland', p. 378.
[19] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, e.g., 6 October 1855, and undated [May 1857], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 79–82, and MS.4123 ff 113–4, respectively.
[20] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 27 September 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 77–79.
[21] For details of Hamilton's ideological struggles with the Council from the 1830s, see Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, II, pp. 62–67; and T.S. Baynes, 'Sir William Hamilton', *Edinburgh Essays by Members of the University, 1856* (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1857), pp. 241–300; pp. 267–73. The institution only became independent of the control of the Town Council with the Universities (Scotland) Act of 1858.
[22] See [Dallas], 'Student Life in Scotland', pp. 377–78.
[23] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy', *The Times* (13 May 1859), p. 7a–e; p. 7a.
[24] *Ibid*.
[25] However, in his 'Student Life in Scotland', p. 377, Dallas does list Aytoun among the professors at Edinburgh who conducted their classes 'with spirit': 'The common idea of a professor is, that of a man wearing a gown, and reading dull lectures every day for an hour to students, some of whom are taking notes, while the rest are dozing. Professor Blackie, Professor Aytoun, Professor Ferrier, and the late Sir William Hamilton would give to any one entering their class-rooms a very different idea of what a professor ought to be.'
[26] [E.S. Dallas], 'Aytoun's Bothwell', *The Times* (27 December 1856), p. 4c–e; p. 4d.
[27] [E.S. Dallas], 'Maud and Other Poems', *The Times* (25 August 1855), p. 8c–d. Aytoun's position was, of course, heavily influenced by Thomas Carlyle, who, as articulated most clearly in 'Characteristics', *Edinburgh Review* 54 (December 1831), pp. 351–83, viewed modern self-absorption as a sickness resulting ultimately from the fall of man from 'paradisiac Unconsciousness' (p. 353); generally on this connexion, see W. David Shaw, *The Lucid Veil: Poetic Truth in the Victorian Age* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), pp. 63–66.
[28] [Dallas], 'Maud and Other Poems', p. 4d.
[29] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Monday [29] September 1856, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 88A/B.
[30] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 January 1856, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 73–74.
[31] Sydney Dobell had published his first volume of verse, *The Roman: A Dramatic Poem* (1850), under the anagrammatic / anadromous pseudonym 'Sydney Yendys', which Aytoun had mockingly transformed into 'Gander Rednag'.
[32] [W.E. Aytoun], 'The Two Arnolds', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 75 (March 1854), pp. 303–14.
[33] [Aytoun], 'The Two Arnolds', p. 305.
[34] Despite such knowledge, Dallas seems to have continued to respect Aytoun's critical writing; when, for example, he was recruiting contributors for *The Mirror*, the new London weekly newspaper and review that he was to edit, he wrote to John Blackwood 'I want Aytoun if possible' (11 February 1863, Blackwood Papers, MS.4180).
[35] See John Skelton, *The Table Talk of Shirley* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1895), p. 43.
[36] Dobell in fact began to reside in Edinburgh only from the end of 1853; see *The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, I 298–303.
[37] See in *Edinburgh Essays by Members of the University, 1856*: Skelton's 'Early English Life in the Drama', pp. 42–94; Smith's 'Scottish Ballads', pp. 204–40; and Baynes's 'Sir William Hamilton', pp. 241–300.
[38] *Edinburgh Essays*, p. 194.
[39] *Edinburgh Essays*, pp. 290–91.
[40] See 'Student Life in Scotland', *Cornhill Magazine* 1 (March 1860), pp. 366–79, especially pp. 367–73.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 368.
[42] *Ibid*., pp. 371–72.
[43] Skelton, *Table Talk of Shirley*, p. 39. Under his regular penname 'Shirley', Skelton was also later to write a decidedly mixed review of Dallas's *Gay Science*; see: 'Mr. Dallas on The Gay Science: The Laws and Functions of Criticism', *Fraser's Magazine* 74 (December 1866), pp. 771–86, where the author's frequent illustrations were described as 'often admirable [but] … at times trivial, and at times far-fetched' (p. 771).

[44] See: to John Blackwood, 25 November 1856, Blackwood Papers, NLS, MS.4116 ff 81–82; and to David Ramsay Hay, 19 May 1856, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329; in both, Baynes is referred to as 'the favourite pupil' of Sir William Hamilton.
[45] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I p. 14, and II p. 246.
[46] See [E.S. Dallas], Review of Dobell's *Balder*, *Edinburgh Guardian* (11 March 1854), pp. 151–52, and 'Maud and Other Poems', *The Times* (25 August 1855), p. 8c–d.
[47] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I p. 82.
[48] *The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, edited by 'E.J.' (2 vols; London: Smith, Elder, 1878).
[49] *Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, I pp. 339–40.
[50] *Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, I pp. 389–90.
[51] The earliest located is to David Ramsay Hay, 13 June 1853, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329. Geoff Palmer has recently written on how profits from the West Indian slave trade funded both the Scottish Enlightenment, and the construction of Edinburgh New Town. See 'Preface to Slavery', *The Enlightenment Abolished*: *Citizens of Britishness* (Penicuik, Edinburgh: Henry Publishing, 2007), pp. 16–42.
[52] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The English Language', *North British Review* 13 (August 1850), pp. 373–98. The whole article was in fact immediately reprinted, with acknowledgment but of course without Dallas's knowledge, in the (New York) *Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science and Art* 21 (November 1850), pp. 232–46.
[53] Fraser was to succeed William Hamilton as professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Edinburgh on the latter's death in 1856. On the foundation and early years of the *North British Review*, see William Garden Blaikie, *An Autobiography: 'Recollections of a Busy Life'* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), pp. 136-47. Blaikie became editor of the quarterly in 1860, and, though he does not mention Dallas's first contribution a decade earlier, he has this to say about his second on 'The Sicilian Game' from November that year: 'There were some departments where, in common I suppose with most editors forty years ago, much difficulty was found. The political department was one of these. I thought myself fortunate in securing the help of Eneas Dallas, who had at one time been a student in New College, but, attaching himself to literature, had become a writer of leaders in the Times. But he did not do much for us, and I daresay his political convictions were not so firm, nor perhaps so liberal as we should have liked.' (p. 143).
[54] [Dallas], 'The English Language', p. 373.
[55] Dallas here quotes four lines from Samuel Daniel's 'Musophilus' (1599): 'And who in time knows whither we may vent | The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores | This gain of our best glory shall be sent, | To enrich the unknowing nations with our stores?'.
[56] [Dallas], 'The English Language', p. 398.

Chapter 5: Journalism in Edinburgh

Much of the period after E.S. Dallas came down from university was spent working in the Scottish capital on a weekly newspaper. As we shall soon see, employment for at least eighteenth months as a journalist on the *Edinburgh Guardian* not only paid the bills and gave Dallas an invaluable general training in the workings of the press, but also brought him into contact with a number of individuals who were afterwards to prove of considerable importance in his intellectual and social life. Most of this chapter will be dedicated to a detailed exploration of these developments. However, between the end of his studies at Edinburgh University and his joining with a number of college friends on the team at the *Guardian*, there is a gap of rather over two years which first needs to be filled. This must be done much more concisely, if only because so little information is available.

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According to the decennial Census taken on 30 March 1851, the twenty-three-year-old 'Eneas Dallas' (born 'West Indies') was then resident not in the Scottish capital but 'by Turnpike' in the tiny Norfolk village of Cringleford, nearly three miles to the southwest of the city of Norwich. There he was recorded at work as a 'Private Tutor', living only with an unmarried 'House Servant' aged thirty-nine and named Maria Harden who hailed from 'Suffolk'.[1] No further details of what is likely to have been Dallas's first extended stay in England have come to light. The Census shows that the adjacent dwellings were occupied by the local-born families of a 'farmer' and a 'labourer', while *Kelly's Directory* for 1853 suggests that the total population of the parish was under 200, with the gentry almost exclusively clergymen, and the local traders including a miller, wheelwright, tailor and plumber in addition to several farmers. Who Dallas was tutoring, in what, and how he came by the post must remain mysteries. We can assume that he was in need of paid employment to reduce his dependence on his mother's diminishing funds, but it also appears that he took the opportunity to join millions of others in visiting the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park.[2] Events before and after suggest that he can have stayed in Norfolk for no more than twelve months, perhaps roughly during the academic year beginning in autumn 1850. Prior to that period, Dallas would still have been attending university classes himself, while the subsequent formation of the Aesthetic Society in December 1851 suggests that he was probably back in Edinburgh by then.

The Aesthetic was the brainchild of David Ramsay Hay (1798-1866: *ODNB*), the innovative Edinburgh decorative painter and design theorist, who, most recently in *The Geometric Beauty of the Human Figure Defined* (Blackwoods, 1851), argued that aesthetics could be evaluated on fixed mathematical principles in relation to the symmetries and proportions of the human body, thus attracting the attention of thinkers such as William Hamilton. The Hay archive at the National Library of Scotland shows that the founding members of the Society included mathematician Philip Kelland and anatomist John Goodsir, both professors at Edinburgh

University, and that there were around half-a-dozen meetings each year where scientific papers were presented. The archive also includes Dallas's earliest surviving correspondence, which suggests that the young man (Hay was thirty years his senior) probably acted as secretary to the Aesthetic Society from its beginnings. We shall return to the intellectual relationship between Hay and Dallas shortly, when we look at some of the latter's articles and reviews in the *Edinburgh Guardian*.

Of course, the young author's monograph on *Poetics: An Essay on Poetry* appeared in a single volume from Smith, Elder in London towards the end of 1852 and work on it must have occupied much of his time and energy during the period after leaving the university. Dedicated as we have seen to his primary university mentor, *Poetics* is an extraordinarily ambitious work. Following in what Alba Warren termed 'the metaphysical tradition of criticism',[3] it starts from Aristotle, as its title suggests, before drawing on the work of Hobbes, Francis Bacon, Adam Smith, Kant, and Schelling, and of course Hamilton himself, in order to develop objective criteria to analyse both 'poetic feeling' and 'Poesy', the art through which it is expressed. According to Dallas, since—whether given or received—pleasure consists in '*the harmonious and unconscious activity of the soul*', its analysis involves recognising the 'three great laws' of 'Activity', 'Harmony', and 'Unconsciousness'.[4] However, although Dallas devotes a couple of brief chapters to 'The Law of Unconsciousness', *Poetics* consists mainly of an overview, in conventional aesthetic terms, of the forms and language of poetry, of critical approaches, and of the position of the poet. In both Book Third: The Art of Poetry and Book Fourth: History of the Poet he relies on a tripartite division of poetic form into the lyric, epic and dramatic. In the final Book Fifth: The Worth of Poetry he seeks to distinguish its 'Beauty', 'Truth', and 'Good', concluding with a bow to the New Testament: 'Like our most holy faith, [poesy] is favourable to all the ends of morality, but it is not satisfied by that righteousness which is of the law, and which we call virtue. It would fain put Love instead of Law …'.[5] In *The Outward Mind* (2017), Morgan's fine study of 'Materialist Aesthetics in Victorian Science and Literature', it is argued cogently that *Poetics* represents an attempt to explore the conceptual problems of developing a science of aesthetic experience capable of engaging with an art 'whose medium is language and therefore not obviously susceptible to the positivist empiricism of mental physiology'.[6] Certainly Dallas's Introduction presents the work as a response to the challenge laid down by the Cambridge polymath William Whewell, in his recent lecture on the Great Exhibition: 'To discover the laws of operative power in literary works, though it claims no small respect under the name of Criticism, is not commonly considered the work of a science.'[7] Written before Dallas had any practical experience of working for the press, however, the main limitation of his first monograph is its academic formalism, which, as the brief description above suggests, insists without giving any clear reason that all ideas go by threes.[8]

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Issued at 4½d on Saturdays between 16 April 1853 and 16 June 1855 (just after the repeal of the stamp duty on newspapers),[9] the *Edinburgh Guardian* was advertised as 'a First-Class Weekly Newspaper like the London

Examiner, *Spectator*, and *Leader*, mainly distinguished by Original Articles on Politics and Literature, but combining with these the fullest digest of Social, Commercial, and General News'; the claim, apparently justified, was that 'Edinburgh … has never, until the establishment of the *Guardian*, had such a paper'.[10] According to the official returns, the average weekly number of stamped copies rose from rather under 1500 in 1853 to just over 2500 the following year, perhaps aided by the innovation of illustrated supplements.[11] The journal was published in Edinburgh initially by Joseph E. Cupples at 279 High Street (in front of the Royal Exchange), with its chief editor James Watson Finlay, who had previously been responsible for both the *Berwick Advertiser* and *Falkirk Herald*.[12] The journal's entry in the *Scottish Newspaper Directory* for 1855 characterized its politics 'as liberal and progressive' though 'not tied to the opinions of any party'; given that Finlay actively supported Collet Dobson Collet in his struggle against the taxes on the press,[13] they seem in fact to have verged on the radical. Forty years later, Skelton recalled that from the beginning the team of young journalists had been instructed to create '… a weekly paper from which the Whig, and the Whig only, shall be severely excluded. The lion shall lie down with the lamb; ultra-Tories and ultra-Radicals shall work harmoniously together; and in fact, gentlemen, you are welcome to ventilate any paradoxes, or heresies, or superstitions you like, so long as you vigorously assail the common enemy.'[14] Among the circle of disciples and poets discussed in the previous chapter, apart from Dallas himself, Alexander, Baynes, Dobell, Nicolson, Skelton, Smith and Veitch were all contributors, along with the maritime novelist George Cupples (1822-91) and the English Christian socialist Gerald Massey (1828-1907); members of Finlay's editorial staff included James Carmichael (1831-94) and William Henderson Murray (d. 1858). According to Skelton, his own contribution was the weekly column on 'Things in General' and Baynes regularly supplied the amusing 'Diary of Juniper Agate', while Dallas's role was to compose the 'critical and artistic articles', a brief which included writing reviews of not only books, but also lectures, exhibitions and dramatic performances (the last typically over the signature 'Opera Glass').[15] In the course of a detailed obituary on the untimely death of W.H. Murray, a contemporary newspaper adds the information that Murray himself, who had also previously worked at the *Falkirk Herald*, wrote a 'large proportion of the political articles' as well as the 'Weekly Narrative' of current events, that George Cupples provided stories and reviewed the novels while Gerald Massey supplied much of the verse, and that other talented occasional contributors included the poet Patrick Scott (who penned the comic 'Bony Fidy Traveller'), James Hogg of the *Stirling Journal* (1823-76), and J.F. McLennan.[16] McLennan was also affiliated to the London progressive weekly *Leader* (1850-60), and indeed there seems to have been a good deal of ideological sympathy between that paper and the *Edinburgh Guardian*.[17] The article thus concluded with good reason that 'Finlay had succeeded in gathering around him the most brilliant staff of contributors ever engaged at one time on a Scottish journal'.[18]

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One of Dallas's first close intellectual encounters via the columns of the *Edinburgh Guardian* was in the summer of 1853 with his mentor at the Aesthetic Society, David Ramsay Hay. On Monday, 13 June, Dallas wrote to Hay

from 37 Northumberland Avenue, informing him that he would soon receive the previous Saturday's *Guardian* containing an article relating to his ideas on art education, and at the same time thanking him for a complimentary copy of his *Orthographic Beauty of the Parthenon*, which would be reviewed in two parts in the journal the following month. Emphasizing the need for art education for the consumer as much as the producer, the earlier article pointed to the pedagogical value not only of major public exhibitions like that in London in 1851 or the similar event planned for Paris in 1855, but also of critical writing.[19] Here Dallas singled out for special praise the works of 'Mr Ruskin on the one hand, and Mr Hay on the other, the former treating of the metaphysics, the latter of the mathematics of architectural beauty'.[20] In the lengthy notice of Hay's latest volume, however, Dallas opted to establish a degree of critical distance from his mentor. Most of the review was dedicated to explaining in detail the geometrical bases of Hay's theory and to demonstrating its mathematical validity, but in a couple of brief paragraphs at the end the journalist raised major questions about the implications of the theory, undermining the author's claim that 'the mystery which has hitherto hung over the beauty of the human figure and of the Grecian architecture has been removed' by his calculations.[21] Instead, Dallas insisted that '… no merely mathematical law can ever satisfy the mind as an explanation of the beautiful; only in the abysmal depths of metaphysic is it possible to find the basis of a satisfying theory' and concluded even more forcefully that 'The rules of art are not rails for the train of ideas to run upon; when received into the consciousness of the artist, they are of no more positive value than the fingerposts on a line of railway telling an engineer the nature of the gradient.'[22]

In autumn the same year, again via the columns of the *Guardian*, there was a further seminal encounter, one in many respects parallel to that with Hay, this time with the art historian John Ruskin (1819-1900: *ODNB*), who was nine years Dallas's senior.[23] Here, though fragments only of Ruskin's side of the correspondence seem to have survived, the engagement was to lead to a lifelong intellectual friendship based on mutual respect combined with constructive disagreement. On the last two Saturdays in October Dallas contributed reviews of the final two volumes of *The Stones of Venice*, while on the third Saturday of November he reported on the author's series of public lectures on art and architecture at the Queen Street Hall, Edinburgh, where he probably made personal contact with the eminent author. The notice of Ruskin's second volume was almost entirely positive: describing the book as 'far in advance of all Mr Ruskin's previous works', Dallas praised 'the greater catholicity of its feeling' both in terms of 'the extension of his religious sympathies' and the softening of Ruskin's 'antithesis between nature and art, divine work and human work'. The notice concluded with a brief reminder of Hay's theories, and their complementary relationship with those of Ruskin.[24] In his review of the final volume a week later, however, Dallas distanced himself from the historian's revisionist views.[25] While still lauding Ruskin's ethical stance on architecture, which increasingly recognised sociological as well as metaphysical values, Dallas expressed serious doubts concerning the 'leading idea' of the concluding volume of The *Stones of Venice*, that is, the architectural antithesis maintained between mediaeval and renaissance, Christian and

pagan, gothic and classical, with the former extolled and the latter repudiated. While acquitting Ruskin of 'arrogant pretensions' in asserting that most of the edifices of the last three hundred year were 'worthless',[26] Dallas insisted that it must 'not be supposed that … we accept his conclusions. We do not.'.[27] In his report on 'Mr Ruskin's Lectures', Dallas gave over much of his space to evoking the orator's appearance and style (both described in mildly mocking tones as 'eminently clerical'), and concluded with a stern rejection of the sermon he preached on the vast superiority of Gothic to Greek architecture: 'When … the true nature of art is fully understood, and its historic development faithfully traced, it will be found that Mr Ruskin's judgment on this subject must be seriously modified, if not reversed.'[28]

Dallas appears to have remained in personal contact with Hay for at least a few years after leaving Edinburgh. His last extant letter dates from the autumn of 1857, where he reports dining with a colleague on the staff of *The Times*, where he encountered 'some fellows at his table who disputed your theory—and I had a hard stand up fight for it.'[29] At the same time, he seems to have established social contact with Ruskin and his family not long after arriving in London. There is a letter from Ruskin's father to a visiting American scholar dating from autumn 1856, inviting him to dinner with 'Mrs. Ruskin, myself, and son' to meet 'Mr. Dallas, formerly editor of the *Edinburgh Guardian* and now attached to a great London paper'.[30] The early intellectual highlights of the surviving correspondence between Dallas and the son date from late in the summer of 1859 and show how their friendship throve on constructive argument. During that period Ruskin wrote two lengthy letters while travelling on the Continent with his mother and father, which clearly form part of an extended debate initiated by critical comments in a couple of Dallas's reviews in *The Times* from the beginning of the previous year. In the first review, in touching on Ruskin's recommendation of both private charity and public intervention in his *Political Economy of Art* (1857), Dallas had complained of its author's 'helpless ignorance of the first principle of political philosophy';[31] in his later letter from Bonneville Ruskin still maintained that 'There is no way in which that verse, "The Fool hath said in his heart, No God," was ever so completely fulfilled as in the modern idea that Political Economy depends on Iniquity instead of Equity …'.[32] In the second review, in discussing what was soon to be called 'the battle of the styles' (between mediaeval and renaissance models for new public buildings), Dallas offered high praise concerning the work of the architect George Scott;[33] in his earlier letter from Thun, Ruskin in turn was happy to mock: 'Nice sensible discussions you're having in England there about Gothic and Italian, aren't you? And the best of the jest is that besides nobody knowing which is which, there is not a man living who can build either. What a goose poor Scott … must be, not to say at once he'll build anything.'[34] Such exchanges clearly did no long-term harm to the relationship: Ruskin's last extant letter to Dallas, written less than six months before the latter's death, thanks him warmly for a 'kind letter' reporting on the 'clear and bright sunset life of Lady Wood.'[35]

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During 1854 Dallas's most significant intellectual encounter in the columns of the *Guardian* was probably his indirect engagement with W.E. Aytoun, then and for a good few years more still Professor of Rhetoric and *Belles Lettres* at Edinburgh University. As we saw in the previous chapter, Aytoun used his article on 'The Two Arnolds' in the March 1854 issue of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* to launch a facetious *ad hominem* attack not only on Alexander Smith, Sydney Dobell and other young 'spasmodic' poets, but also on a young 'metaphysical' critic, his former student Eneas Dallas. The latter's response took not only the immediate form (as early as 11 March) of a defensive notice of the first part of Dobell's *Balder*, but also led to a more considered review of the *Poems* of Matthew Arnold six months later, neither of which mentioned Aytoun by name, however. In between, in the May issue of *Blackwood's*, Aytoun had published 'Firmilian: A Tragedy', ostensibly an unsigned notice, with extensive extracts from the work under review, of a verse drama by the unknown poet T. Percy Jones, but in reality a parody both of Dobell's poem and of sympathetic evaluations of it such as that by Dallas in the *Guardian*.[36] Further, just a few months later in the August, Blackwood and Sons had continued the fun by actually publishing a volume by T. Percy Jones, entitled *Firmilian: Or, The Student of Badajoz. A Spasmodic Tragedy*, complete in fifteen scenes with a Preface by the supposed author.[37] Few if any reviewers seem to have fallen into the trap of taking the book at face value, and most thoroughly enjoyed the hoax, so that the satire clearly achieved its intended effect as Dobell was persuaded to abandon his plan of writing two further instalments of *Balder*, aiming to show 'the Progress of a Human Being from Doubt to Faith, from Chaos to Order'.[38]

Like Dallas's *Poetics* just over a year earlier, the first instalment of Dobell's *Balder* was published in a single volume from Smith, Elder in London; the work is a tragic verse drama of over 7,000 lines in forty-two scenes, largely given over to the monologue of the protagonist, the intensely self-absorbed young poet who, like Hamlet, finds thought more congenial than action, so that the only decisive event occurs when, at the very end of the volume, he puts his disturbed wife out of her misery by taking her life. In Aytoun's 'The Two Arnolds' itself, the facetious tone extended beyond the section devoted to mocking 'the rising race of poets' and 'young students of metaphysics', where Dobell's work was only mentioned in passing ('our young friend Gander Rednag … has omitted to send us his last volume').[39] This section was preceded by an opening paragraph that made fun of reviewing multiple volumes by poets with the same given name ('in Argyllshire alone there are fifty thousand [Campbells]'),[40] and followed by evaluations of the two collections under review, which concluded that Matthew's theoretical preface was better than his poems, but that it was fortunate that Edwin was 'as yet, altogether free from poetical theories'.[41] In his veiled responses, Dallas himself studiously avoided such ironies, and in fact, in contrast to most of his other contributions to the *Guardian*, the review of Matthew Arnold's collection, in particular, seems to be rather flat.

The spring review of *Balder* does feature an extended purple passage exploring the general 'question that perplexes so many thinking minds of the present day. How shall a man be—be a man, not a puppet; a

reality, not a seeming?',[42] which was reproduced with only minor revisions over a decade later in the final chapter of *The Gay Science*.[43] But Dallas struggles somewhat when he undertakes the more specific task of justifying the work of his fellow contributor, taking refuge in the slightly perverse view 'that the deficiencies of the poem as a whole are to be attributed rather to the necessities of the subject than to the weakness of the poet'.[44] And when he tries to demonstrate the unity of the poem's form and theme, he ends in a confusion of mixed geographical metaphors that would have startled Joseph Conrad:

> … it will be seen that, notwithstanding the apparent formlessness of the poem, the form, such as it is (a long, drawn out, monotonous soliloquising, as of an interminable snake, ever repeating the same curves as it writhes along the ground), is in perfect harmony with the idea to be expressed; and if you have ever crossed, however rapidly, or even skirted the borders of that awful region wherein Balder has lost himself, you will admit the force and the truth of the poet's delineation, and feel in your inmost soul that Sydney Yendys is not merely a master of words, not merely a blower of soap-bubbles, but has explored the central Africa of the human heart, has breathed its hot and blasting air, trodden the scorched and barren sands …[45]

Dallas's return to the topic of contemporary poetry in the autumn issues of the *Guardian* is rather clumsy at the formal level. What is presented as a two-part review of a pair of collections of verse each headed by a lengthy preface—the new revised edition of Matthew Arnold's *Poems* from Longman and, from David Bogue, the third edition of *The Ballad of Babe Christabel* by Gerald Massey—in fact turns out to consist of two almost independent and decidedly incomplete notices. The first ends abruptly: 'We had more to say about Mr Arnold, but must leave him here as our space is filled. We must therefore also defer Gerald Massey till next week.'[46] Dallas's one effort to unite the two articles is by recalling the tripartite structure of poetic form that he had laid out in *Poetics*: both Arnold and Massey are seen as breaking away from the current dominance of the Dramatic—as exemplified by works like *Balder*—through explorations respectively of the Epic and the Lyric. By this stage, Dallas has clearly moved perceptibly closer to Aytoun's position. Though he carefully refrains from employing the term 'spasmodic', in the opening of the Arnold article Dallas is now overtly critical of the general tendency of contemporary poets to 'look almost exclusively within', so that modern verse is 'characteristically subjective and self-conscious'.[47] And when he turns specifically to the volume under review, he tends to follow Aytoun's line in preferring the theoretical perceptions of Arnold's Preface to the epic pretensions of poems such as 'Sohrab and Rustum' which heads the collection.[48] Thus in this case, Dallas tends to respond to the humiliating personal attack by his former professor, not by distancing himself from the aggressor but rather by gradually assimilating himself to the latter's position.

We can see this trajectory even more clearly if we move ahead to Dallas's first contribution to *The Times* less than a year later, his slashingly negative review of *Maud, and Other Poems*, Tennyson's latest collection of verse.[49] There he launches a salvo against contemporary poets in general, who are 'so analytical and self-conscious that we should rather expect to see them professors of metaphysics in a Scotch university than poets soliloquizing in a poet's nooks'; and, now using Aytoun's pejorative epithet repeatedly, he accuses the Poet Laureate himself, of sending out 'a poem which is the perfection of spasmodic form'.[50] Unsurprisingly,

the most outraged reaction to these criticisms was found in the (Edinburgh) *Daily Express*, which had only recently taken over from the *Guardian* and still employed quite a number of Dallas's former colleagues. In another powerfully *ad hominem* attack probably penned by Gerald Massey, this condemned the reviewer's 'total incompetency by nature to judge of poetry … intolerable flippancy of intellect, only slightly disguised by the pompous *Times* manner'.[51] If Dallas was aware who the critic was, he must have been grieved since he had reviewed Massey's *Ballad of Babe Christabel: With Other Lyrical Poems* with considerable personal warmth on two separate occasions: not only in September 1854 in the *Edinburgh Guardian* but also a few months later in the April 1855 issue of the monthly *Eclectic Review*. In the former Dallas wrote sympathetically of Massey's background in trade, suggesting that he represented a model for Charles Kingsley's proletarian hero Alton Locke. There he praised Massey's project of singing 'songs which shall live in the hearts of the people, and help to keep alive there the sacred fires of hope and charity', citing moving examples from the passionately political verses as well as the lyrics of romantic love.[52]

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Undoubtedly, however, Dallas's closest encounter via the columns of the *Edinburgh Guardian* was with the widowed Shakesperean *tragedienne* four years his senior, with whom he would soon embark on a dramatically troubled marriage partnership that survived for around twenty years. Towards the end of the 'Opera Glass' column on 'The Theatre' of 13 August 1853, it was noted that, among other 'birds of passage', 'Miss Glyn' was shortly to give a series of performances at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh.[53] Isabella Glyn (1823–89: *ODNB*), was born in a strict Presbyterian family in the Scottish metropolis, the daughter of an architect named James Gearns. However, she adopted the maiden name of her mother (also Isabella) when she began her career as an actress under the guidance of Charles Kemble, following the early death in 1846 of her first husband Edward Wills. At the age of twenty-four, she made her first professional appearances playing Lady Constance in Shakespeare's *King John* in Manchester late in 1847, and Lady Macbeth at the Olympic Theatre in London the following January. A reviewer at the latter performance noted that the *débutante* was 'a brunette, rather tall, of a well-proportioned figure and expressive features. Her eyes are large and dark, and she has a prominent intellectual fore-head', adding that, though she suffered a good deal from first-night nerves, the demanding part 'was played in a manner which proved incontestably that Miss Glyn has in her the true elements of the acting art'.[54] She also quickly acquired a rather combative reputation. In the summer of 1851, after a couple of successful seasons at the Sadler's Wells Theatre where she had starred opposite the actor-manager Samuel Phelps (1804-78) in, most notably, *Antony and Cleopatra*, she impetuously quit her engagement after the first week of her third season when she was required by Phelps to play the part of Gertrude to his Hamlet.[55] William Paine's contemporary photographic print of her as the dejected Queen, with Phelps as the angry Prince, suggests a majestic but already rather portly figure.[56] Major William Blackwood was later to describe her as 'a nice, frank, honest-hearted creature, with a tremendous pair of eyes, good eyes, but rather loud'.[57]

Fig. 5.1 Signed Portrait of Isabella Glyn Fig. 5.2 Miss Glyn as Lady Macbeth, *Macbeth* I v
Engraved from Daguerreotypes by William Paine of Islington
Tallis's Dramatic Magazine, and General Theatrical and Musical Review 2 (December 1850)

The performances reported by Dallas in the *Edinburgh Guardian* in the autumn of 1853 in fact represented Glyn's third visit to the Theatre Royal in as many years. Dallas must have been in Norfolk when, as part of a first protracted provincial tour, she made her *début* in her native city as Queen Katherine in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* on 17 March 1851—the first of a dozen performances, also again including Lady Macbeth and Lady Constance. However, he appears to have seen her perform on her return for six nights in early February the following year, when she appeared not only as Lady Macbeth once again but also as Beatrice in the comedy *Much Ado About Nothing*.[58] Then the critic in the *Caledonian Mercury*, noted that, while still occasionally portraying 'the more youthful heroines of Shakespeare' the actress showed greater inclination to 'revive certain of the matronly heroesses'.[59] Around eighteen months later, Glyn set off on an extended theatrical sweep of the major cities of northern England and central Scotland; this started off at the Theatre Royal in Manchester in late August 1853, picked up Liverpool and Sheffield on the way, before heading to Edinburgh in the first half of October, looping back to Newcastle, and ending the tour in with a lengthy stint at the Theatre Royal, Dunlop Street, Glasgow during November and December. Coverage in the bi-weekly *Caledonian Mercury* shows that Glyn's briefer season at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, lasted for twelve nights

from Monday 3 to Saturday 15 October, of course omitting Sunday the 9th; the series began with her performance of Bianca in Milman's *Fazio*, and ended with her benefit night as Lady Macbeth, with appearances in between as Julia in Sheridan Knowles's *The Hunchback*, the heroine in Garrick's *Isabella*, Belvidera in Otway's *Venice Preserved*, Florentia in Catherine Crowe's *Cruel Kindness*, and Katherine of Arragon in *Henry VIII*.

In his article devoted to 'Miss Glyn' in the *Edinburgh Guardian*, Dallas mentions the other, local performers only very briefly as an afterthought. Instead, his evocation of the visiting star's stage presence is noticeably more detailed and more powerful than any encountered elsewhere among theatrical reviews in the journal, focusing not only on the physical seductiveness but also the intellectual subtlety of the performance. Thus, while suggesting that 'of all the charms with which Miss Glyn fascinates an audience, her eye is the most potent',[60] he notes that at the same time this 'displays great intellect, for we commonly find that while the expression of emotion belongs chiefly to the mouth and the lower part of the face, that of intellect belongs to the eye and the upper part'.[61] He concludes an analysis of her style of acting which is described variously as classical and statuesque, calm and sculpturesque, as follows: 'The countenance of Miss Glyn … speaks long before her tongue moves; the words are slow of coming; there are long intervals of silence which would be intolerable in an ordinary performer. Altogether the effect of such acting is marvellous and not soon to be forgotten.'[62] The *Guardian* journalist's fulsome praise of the Shakesperean actress and its consequences seem to have become renowned throughout Scotland. When, along with her husband, Glyn returned to Edinburgh to perform at the end of 1861, this unfortunately coincided with the visit of Charles Dickens to give readings of his stories, so that her audience was sadly diminished. The *Banffshire Journal* commented:

> Miss Glyn … is on a starring engagement at the Queen's Theatre for the week, and playing to wretched houses. The beggarly array of empty benches seemed to have a deteriorating effect upon her acting. It was manifestly inferior to those performances which Mr Dallas as 'Opera Glass,' criticised so favourably for the now defunct *Edinburgh Guardian*, of which he was one of the staff, and which warmth of praise appealed so strongly to the heart of the fair tragedienne that she could not refuse him her hand.[63]

Ironically, the most detailed account of the romance itself derives from newspaper coverage of the divorce case at Westminster in May 1874, which suggests that Glyn and Dallas first met face to face in Edinburgh in October 1853 and agreed to marry there and then. In the (London) *Morning Post,* for example, Glyn's counsel is reported to have stated in opening the case that

> … in December, 1853, Mrs. Dallas, the petitioner, was playing at the theatre at Glasgow, under the name of Miss Glyn, but she was a widow, her name being Wills. Prior to that she had made the acquaintance of the respondent, who was a gentleman connected with literature, and he proposed to her, and she accepted the proposal. He called at her lodgings at Glasgow on the 9th of December, 1853, and he produced an English Prayer-book, and, reading the marriage service, he read out those portions of it incidental to the ceremony of marriage. He said that he took her to be his wife, and she responded by saying she took him to be

her lawful married husband. In the course of the ceremony he placed a ring on the petitioner's finger, and thus ended the ceremony. The petitioner's maid and the lady of the house in which the petitioner was staying were present at the marriage. The former had died since,[64] and the petitioner could not now find the then owner of the house in which she resided at the time of the marriage.[65]

Theatre advertisements in the Glasgow press suggest that on the evening of this ceremony Glyn appeared again as Lady Constance in what was promised to be 'Positively the Last Night of *King John*'.[66] The Divorce Court at Westminster confirmed that such an informal marriage was then indeed valid under Scottish law, although it appears that the couple may have kept the union concealed from friends and family for over eighteenth months, until they went through a second formal ceremony at St. George's, Hanover Square on 12 July 1855. No memories of the courtship seem to have been recorded by Dallas himself, although it is tempting to read in an autobiographical light a comment on love scenes from one of Dallas's last reviews of a triple-decker novel: 'Most marriages, in fact, are as inscrutable as the pairing of birds. Two creatures of a sudden single each other out, no one knows how or why, and forthwith the marriage knot is tied.'[67]

* * * * *

Throughout 1853-54 Dallas seems to have written articles only for the *Edinburgh Guardian*, but apparently ceased to contribute at least six months before the paper closed in mid-June 1855. Moreover, from towards the end of 1854 there is evidence of Dallas approaching other Edinburgh publishers regarding articles rather too long for a weekly journal. His overture to 'The Editor of Blackwood's Magazine' in the December offering a pair of articles on 'the actual state of our Stage Literature' was only to bear fruit in the Maga in February 1856 with the appearance of 'The Drama',[68] a long article which recycled material from a couple of his 'Opera Glass' reviews of burlesque shows at the Theatre Royal, and suggested that in the contemporary drama pantomime performances were as worthy of attention as classical plays. If the Shakespearean *tragedienne* whom he had recently married read the article carefully, she might have felt a sense of betrayal. Be that as it may, other lengthy book reviews had been accepted by the *Eclectic Review* and *Hogg's Instructor* before Dallas left Edinburgh in May 1855. This pattern perhaps suggests that, even before the end of 1854, Dallas was already planning to move to London not only to advance his own journalistic career but also to be able to live there with his actress wife who was once again appearing regularly at metropolitan theatres.[69] All the same, Dallas wrote to John Blackwood shortly after his formal marriage with the tragedienne at St. George's Church, 'The fact is that I have married lately—married Miss Glyn, & wish that my income be large enough to take her off the stage. My happiness would then be complete.'[70] However, as we shall see in the following chapters, Glyn clearly had a mind of her own on such matters. Not coincidentally, it seems to have been around this period that Dallas decided to change his image by growing a full beard; in mid-May 1855 he wrote amusingly from London to apologise for not bidding farewell personally to D.R. Hay and his family in Morningside before leaving the

Scottish capital, because ‘I was a little ashamed to call on ladies—considering the state of my moustache of which every hair seemed to be making little private experiments as to the best direction to grow in’.[71]

Chapter 5: Journalism in Edinburgh: Notes

[1] See Public Record Office, 1851 Census HO107/1818, p. 7.

[2] Among the comments on the Great Exhibition in his article on 'Schools of Design' (*Edinburgh* Guardian, 11 June 1853, p. 6b–d), Dallas recalled 'seeing among the philosophical instruments in the Crystal Palace a compass, supported by two bronze dolphins …' (p. 6c). Dallas was later to serve as Paris correspondent for *The Times* for the duration of the 'Great French Exhibition' of 1867.

[3] Alba H. Warren, Jnr., *English Poetic Theory, 1825–1865* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1950), p. 128; Warren devotes an entire chapter to Dallas's *Poetics*, pp. 126–151.

[4] E.S. Dallas, *Poetics: An Essay on Poetry* (London: Smith, Elder, 1852), pp. 17 and 22.

[5] Dallas, *Poetics*, pp. 290–91. See especially Paul's epistle to the Romans, 13: 9–10: '… if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. | Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.' (King James Version).

[6] Benjamin Morgan, *The Outward Mind: Materialist Aesthetics in Victorian Science and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), p. 75.

[7] See Dallas, *Poetics*, p. 3, citing William Whewell's lecture on 'The General Bearing of the Great Exhibition on the Progress of Art and Science', delivered on 26 November 1851, and published in *Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition of 1851: Delivered Before the Society of Arts, Manufacturers and Commerce* (London: David Bogue, 1852), pp. 1–34; p. 6.

[8] Probably the most balanced account of the book's strengths and weaknesses is Shaw, *The Lucid Veil*, pp. 252–56, where *Poetics* is described as 'Dallas's intermittently original but perverse monograph' (p. 252).

[9] With the abolition of the newspaper stamp, the weekly *Guardian* was replaced by the (Edinburgh) *Daily Express*, with which Dallas was not involved; see W.H. Fraser, *Edinburgh History of Scottish Newspapers, 1850–1950* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), pp. 72–73. There was, however, a minor scandal in the Edinburgh press in the autumn of 1855, involving the *Edinburgh News* and the *Daily Express*: when the *News*, in reporting Dallas's marriage to Isabella Glyn, referred to him as 'one of the editors of the late *Edinburgh Guardian*', the *Express* quickly retorted that 'Mr Dallas was not at any time, or in any sense "one of the editors" … His connection with that journal was limited to furnishing occasional contributions to its columns'; to this the *News* replied that Dallas 'if not an editor, was certainly one of four persons, named, Baines [*sic.*], Dallas, Nicholson, and Finlay, who gave to the *Guardian* both position and fame', suggesting that there might be economic motives behind the ungracious repudiation. The entire episode was reported in a number of Scottish papers, including the *Stirling Observer* in 'Scottish News: A Personal Paragraph' (20 September 1855), p. 4d. See also the perhaps related incident cited in note 50.

[10] See the journal's full-page advertisement in e.g *Athenaeum* (22 October 1853), p. 265.

[11] HCPP 1854 (117) and 1854–55 (83), the Newspaper Stamps Returns for 1851–53 and 1854, respectively; annual average calculated by dividing the total number of stamps issued (54,600 and 112,000) by the number of weekly issues (37 and 52). The issue of the *Guardian* for 30 July 1853 claimed: 'Since the change in the shape of the paper, and the publication of the Illustrated Supplement, our circulation has increased more than one half, and we are daily receiving great additions to our list of subscribers.'

[12] There have been unsubstantiated claims that both Baynes and Dallas served as chief editor of the *Guardian*; see [Skelton], *Table Talk of Shirley*, p. 42–43, where he writes: 'Besides his work at college, Baynes had undertaken to edit the *Edinburgh Guardian*'; and in the author's entry in the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, Beth Palmer suggests that Dallas both 'founded and reviewed for the *Edinburgh Guardian*' (p. 159).

[13] To test the limits of the stamp legislation, from October to December 1854, at the height of the Crimean War, Finlay had published in Edinburgh the unstamped daily (Edinburgh) *War Telegraph*; see Collet Dobson Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge: Their Origin and Repeal* (2 vols; London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), II, pp. 5–6, which offers first-hand confirmation that Finlay was the man responsible. Citing a paragraph in a column of 'London Correspondence' initialled 'D.G' and syndicated widely in the provincial press a quarter of a century later, at the time of Dallas's death, Fraser, *History of Scottish Newspapers* (p. 73) states erroneously that 'the *War Telegraph* … was edited by Eneas Sweetland Dallas'; see, e.g., *Rugby Advertiser* (5 February 1879), p. 2a, where it is claimed that '… long before his connection with the *Times*, Mr Dallas edited the *War Telegraph*, which was established in Edinburgh during the Crimean war'. There is no contemporary evidence to support such a claim.

[14] [Skelton], *Table Talk of Shirley*, pp. 245–46. Another detailed account of the formation of the team of young journalists at the *Guardian* is found in an article in the *Scottish Standard* of 16 July 1892, cited at length in W.J. Couper, 'A Bibliography of Edinburgh Periodical Literature', *Scottish Notes and Queries* 4:6 (December 1902), pp. 90–91; p. 90:

> At the time when it was first started the group of great men who had given to Edinburgh its high reputation in the literary world was in course of being broken up, but there was a number of much younger men of considerable ability, trained to literature under their influence, who still dreamt of maintaining the literary tradition of the northern metropolis. Among these Spencer Baynes, then assistant to Sir William Hamilton, Skelton, Dallas, and one or two others, were at this time intimately associated in their literary work. Baynes with his academic prestige, his unflagging activity and fertility in suggestion, his ready wit and ready pen, may be said to have been the central figure and life of the group. At the outset their interests appear to have been largely of the academic literary kind. ... Then, however, there arose above their literary horizon a journalistic projector, one may almost say a journalistic adventurer, of the name of James Watson Finlay …

[15] [Skelton], *Table Talk of Shirley*, p. 246. Yet Skelton must also have contributed book reviews on occasion: it was his enthusiastic notice of Bronte's *Villette* in the issue of 3 December 1853 that elicited a warm letter of thanks sent by the author via E.S. Dallas (see p. 280).

[16] See 'The Late W.H. Murray, Esq., Editor of the Edinburgh Daily Express', *Newry Herald and Down, Armagh, and Louth Journal* (3 August 1858), p. 2g.

[17] There seems to have been a good deal of ideological sympathy between the *Edinburgh Guardian* and the progressive London weekly *The Leader* (1850–60). John Ferguson McLennan (1827–81: *ODNB*), who hailed from Inverness and became known in 1865 for his highly original anthropological study of *Primitive Marriage*, worked for the *Leader* from 1853–55, and may have been responsible for the lengthy and remarkably sympathetic review of Dallas's *Poetics* which appeared there on 15 January 1853 (pp. 64–66). Dallas seems to have become acquainted with McLennan in Edinburgh in the early 1850s; in February 1855 he wrote to David Ramsay Hay regarding the latter's recent volume on *The Harmonic Law of Nature Applied to Architectural Design* (Blackwoods, 1855): 'If you have not sent a copy of your new treatise to the "Leader," I will direct Blackwood to send a copy to | John F. Maclennan Esquire | 21 Castle Street | (here in Edinburgh) it will be reviewed in that Journal at some length. Maclennan is an able mathematician and a very clever writer, and is much interested in your theory. The Leader has great authority in matters literary and aesthetic.' (8 February [1855], Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329).

[18] 'The Late W.H. Murray', p. 2g.

[19] [Dallas], 'Schools of Design', p. 6d.

[20] [Dallas], 'Schools of Design', p. 6b.

[21] [E.S. Dallas], 'The Orthographic Beauty of the Parthenon', *Edinburgh Guardian* (23 July 1853), p. 5b–6a; p. 5c.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] In his *The Lucid Veil: Poetic Truth in the Victorian Age* (London: Athlone Press, 1987), p.95, W. David Shaw interprets Dallas's thinking on poetics in *The Gay Science* as a response to 'Ruskin's theory of the Imagination Associative', which he sees as inadequate because it fails to recognize that 'the conscious mind of the greatest artists can never fully control the success of what is really an unconscious operation …'.

[24] [E.S. Dallas], 'The Sea Stories', *Edinburgh Guardian* (22 October 1853), pp. 4b–5a. Dallas later recycled the final passage in *The Gay Science*, Ch. 3: The Despair of a Science, I, pp. 50–51.

[25] [E.S. Dallas], 'The Fall', *Edinburgh Guardian* (29 October 1853), pp. 5a–c.

[26] See Ruskin's 'Explanatory Note' to the third volume of *The Stones of Venice*, in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XI, p. 357.

[27] [Dallas], 'The Fall', pp. 5a–b.

[28] [E.S. Dallas], 'Mr Ruskin's Lectures' *Edinburgh Guardian* (19 November 1853), pp. 4b–5a.

[29] See E.S. Dallas to D.R. Hay, 17 October 1857, Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329.

[30] John James Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton, 3 November 1856; cited in Cook and Wedderburn, eds, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XXXVII, p. 685.

[31] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The City, Its Sins and Its Sorrows', 2 January 1858, *The Times*, p. 8a–c, p. 8b, reviewing Thomas Guthrie*, The City, Its Sins and Its Sorrows*: *A Series of Sermons* (1857).

[32] See John Ruskin to E.S. Dallas, 4 September 1859 (from Bonneville); cited in Cook and Wedderburn, eds, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XXXVI, pp. 317–19.

[33] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Gothic Architecture', 16 January 1858, *The Times*, p. 12b–e, p. 12b, on George Gilbert Scott*, Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future* (1857).

[34] See John Ruskin to E.S. Dallas, 18 August (from Thun); cited in Cook and Wedderburn, eds, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XXXVI, pp. 315–17.

[35] John Ruskin to E.S. Dallas, 8 July 1878; cited in Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XXXVII, p. 251.

[36] [W.E. Aytoun], 'Firmilian: A Tragedy', *Blackwood's Magazine* 75 (May 1854), pp. 533–51. Among other witticisms, the concluding paragraph suggested: 'If, therefore, unintelligibility, which is the highest degree of obscurity, is to be considered a poetic excellence, we are afraid that Jones must yield the palm to several of his contemporaries …' (p. 551).

[37] This is signed 'T. Percy Jones | Streatham July 1854' and concludes modestly: 'I am not arrogant enough to assert that this is the finest poem which the age has produced; but I shall feel very much obliged to any gentleman who can make me acquainted with a better.' (p. xi).

[38] See the 'Author's Prefatory Note' to Sydney Dobell, *Balder: Part the First* (2nd ed.; London: Smith, Elder, 1854), pp. iii–iv, p. iv.

[39] [Aytoun], 'The Two Arnolds', pp. 303–5.

[40] [Aytoun], 'The Two Arnolds', p. 303.

[41] [Aytoun], 'The Two Arnolds', p. 313.

[42] [E.S. Dallas], 'Balder. Part the First', *Edinburgh Guardian* (11 March 1854), pp. 151b–52c, pp. 151c–52a.

[43] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, II pp. 301–4.

[44] [Dallas], 'Balder. Part the First', p. 151c.

[45] *Ibid*.

[46] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Poems by Matthew Arnold', *Edinburgh Guardian* (2 September 1854), pp. 559a–60b; p. 560b.

[47] [Dallas], 'Poems by Matthew Arnold', p. 559a.

[48] Matthew Arnold in fact serves as an important point of critical reference in *The Gay Science*; see, for example, Ch. II: The Science of Criticism, I, pp. 38–40, where Dallas explains in detail the difference between his own views and those articulated recently by Arnold in *Essays in Criticism* (Macmillan, 1865).

[49] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Maud and Other Poems', *The Times* (25 August 1855), p. 8c–d.

[50] [Dallas], 'Maud and Other Poems', p. 8c.

[51] (Edinburgh) *Daily Express*, 1 September 1855, p. 4a–b, cited in Ian Carruthers's doctoral dissertation, 'E.S. Dallas as Reviewer of Contemporary Literature' (1970), p. 49, where the remarks are attributed to Massey, who must have known who the author of the review was.

[52] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The Ballad of Babe Christabel by Gerald Massey', *Edinburgh Guardian* (16 September 1854), pp. 590c–92b; p. 591b. In the later review, Dallas judges that Massey's preface is 'conceived in excellent taste, is full of good and true feeling, and will add respect and sympathy to the admiration which his poetical gift has otherwise awakened' ([E.S. Dallas], 'Massey's Ballad of Babe Christabel', *Eclectic Review* 5thS9, April 1855, pp. 415–27; p. 416).

[53] [E.S. Dallas, as 'Opera Glass'], 'Miss Glyn', *Edinburgh Guardian* (8 October 1853), pp. 4c–5a, p. 4c.

[54] 'Olympic', *Athenaeum*, 29 January 1848, p. 120. See also J.A.H., 'Portrait Gallery (No. II): Miss Glyn', *Tallis's Dramatic Magazine, and General Theatrical and Musical Review* 2 (December 1850), pp. 37–39.

[55] See her fiery letter to the editor of the *Daily News*, under the title 'Miss Glyn and the Management of Sadler's Wells Theatre', (23 August 1851), p. 3d, where she wrote of 'the petty jealousies and poor rivalries that prevail in the mysterious region behind the scenes: my audiences may be assured that they are on the best side of the picture. The back of the canvas is very ugly.'

[56] Gabrielle Enthoven Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, S.930–2014.

[57] Cited in Margaret Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and His Sons, Their Magazine and Friends*, II, p. 476.

[58] In his report on Glyn's performances in autumn 1853, Dallas recalled: 'In the part of Beatrice, for example, which she acted in Edinburgh last year … she seemed to be suggesting some point of character, by her persevering attempts to unloose a troublesome knot in which the strings of her mask had been tied.' ('Miss Glyn', p. 5a).

[59] 'Theatre-Royal', *Caledonian Mercury* (5 February 1852), p. [2]d.

[60] [Dallas], 'Miss Glyn', p. 4c.

[61] [Dallas], 'Miss Glyn', p. 51.

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] See the report on the simultaneous visits of 'three London notabilities' (Dickens, Shirley Brooks, and Dallas) to the Scottish capital in the *Banffshire Journal* (3 December 1861), p. 5b. Dickens wrote to his eldest daughter, 'Miss Glyn, or Mrs Dallas, is playing Lady Macbeth at the theatre, and Mr. Shirley Brooks is giving two lectures at the Philosophical Society on the House of Commons and Horace Walpole' (to Mary Dickens, 27 November 1861, [Pilgrim] *Letters of Charles Dickens*, IX pp. 523–24).

[64] The maid is probably identifiable; the *Northampton Mercury* (17 June 1865), p. 5d, reported the death on 'the 7th instant, at 6, Hanover Square, London, [of] Zilpah, third daughter of the late Mr. John Hodson, farmer, Finedon, aged 40, and fourteen years the faithful servant of Mrs. E.S. Dallas, of the former place.' A year younger than her mistress, Zilpah Hodson also acted as a witness when the couple were married formally by licence in London on 12 July 1855 (St. George's, Hanover Square, Parish Marriage Register, No. 291, p. 146), and was resident with them as 'Ladies Maid' at the Census of April 1861 (Public Record Office, Census 1861 RG9/40, p. 4).

[65] See 'Court of Divorce: Dallas v. Dallas', *Morning Post* (11 May 1874), p. 9e.

[66] See Advertisement, 'Theatre Royal, Dunlop Street', *Glasgow Herald* (9 December 1853), p. 2a.

[67] See his unsigned review of *Sheen's Foreman* by Emma Wood, *Pall Mall Gazette* (22 April 1878), p. 10.

[68] E.S. Dallas to the Editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, 11 December [1854], Blackwood Papers, NLS MS 4104.

[69] Advertisements in the weekly theatrical paper *The Era* show her at the Royal St. James Theatre from October 1854 (in *The King's Rival* by Taylor and Reade) and from March 1855 at the New National Standard Theatre, Shoreditch (in *Antony and Cleopatra* with Henry Marston as Antony). Earlier in 1854 she seems to have been performing mainly in the north of England.

[70] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 August 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 69–70.

[71] See E.S. Dallas to David Ramsay Hay, 15 May [1855], Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329.

Chapter 6: Advance to Mayfair

Little more than five years after moving to London, E.S. Dallas appeared already to have reached the pinnacle of a career in the newspaper world. According to his colleague on the London press George Augustus Sala, who first met him around that time, he was then 'accounted a Prince among journalists'.[1] In the sadly moving response to his friend's premature demise, Sala recalled how Dallas 'had come up from Edinburgh … to take the town by storm as the leading reviewer of the *Times*. How he was courted, and flattered, and caressed! Strikingly handsome in person, graceful in mien, gentle in manner, with a melodious voice and a winning smile, he had almost everything in his favour.' The Census year of 1861 thus provides a good vantage point from which to chart his journey from the cheaper side of Edinburgh's New Town to Mayfair at the heart of London's West End, and to take stock of both gains and losses along the way.

* * * * *

According to the household survey of April 1861, Eneas S. Dallas (born 'West Indies, British Subject', with his occupation recorded as 'Journalist') was then resident at 6, Hanover Square, in the borough of Westminster along with his wife (her profession as an actress not listed), his mother-in-law Isabella Gearns, and four servants including the ladies maid Zilpah Hodson who had been present at the couple's informal marriage in the Glasgow lodging house back in 1853.[2] Judging from his letters back to Edinburgh, Dallas must have made the journey, then still around eight hours by express train, from Edinburgh to London on Saturday, 12 May 1855.[3] On arriving in the metropolis Dallas seems to have lived alone in temporary lodgings in Mayfair or Marylebone, initially at 28 Maddox Street (just south of Hanover Square)[4] and by early July at 9 Allsop Terrace (on the Regent's Park).[5] However, not long after their second marriage ceremony later that month, witnessed by Gearns and Hodson, the couple seem to have begun to reside together at 55 Grosvenor Street (off Grosvenor Square),[6] before settling for over a year from the November nearby at 12 Park Street (parallel to Park Lane).[7] The only story surviving from that period comes from the American novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne, who describes visiting there late on 4 April 1856: 'I went with Mr. D. to take supper at his house in Park Lane. … [he] is the husband of the former Miss — the actress, and when we reached his house, we found that she had just come home from the theatre, and was taking off her stage-dress. Anon she came down to the drawing-room, a seemingly good, simple, and intelligent lady, not at all pretty, and, I should think, older than her husband. She was very kind to me, and told me that she had read one of my books—"The House of the Seven Gables"—thirteen years ago; which I thought remarkable, because I did not write it till eight or nine years afterwards.'[8] It was not until the end of 1856 that Dallas and his wife moved to 6, Hanover Square,[9] the handsome residence just around the corner from the church where they were united for the second time, and in which they were to live together for over a decade. There Dallas and Glyn hosted not only glittering dinner parties with the cream of the West End, but also *impromptu* suppers with bohemian actors, artists and journalists.[10] From around 1857

Dallas was to join the Royal Blackheath Club where he played rounds of golf with senior staff at the newspaper,[11] and from early 1862 the theatrical and artistic Garrick Club where, as today, membership was limited to men, though there were many portraits of celebrated actresses (Miss Glyn perhaps included) hanging on the walls (see Fig. 6.2).[12] There he rubbed shoulders with the likes of W.M. Thackeray, Anthony Trollope, W.H. Russell, John Millais, Shirley Brooks and Charles Reade.[13] We should perhaps note here that, at the same Census point, Dallas's mother and unmarried sister Ann were then living in lodgings at the village of Duddingstone, Midlothian, southeast of Edinburgh,[14] while his brother William was working as a solicitor in British India at Calcutta,[15] and his uncle Charles Calder Mackintosh was enjoying the twilight of his clerical career as Free Church Minister at the seaside resort of Dunoon, Argyll.[16] Thus Dallas had no home in the glens to return to, and there is no sign of him maintaining regular contact with the other members of his Scottish family.

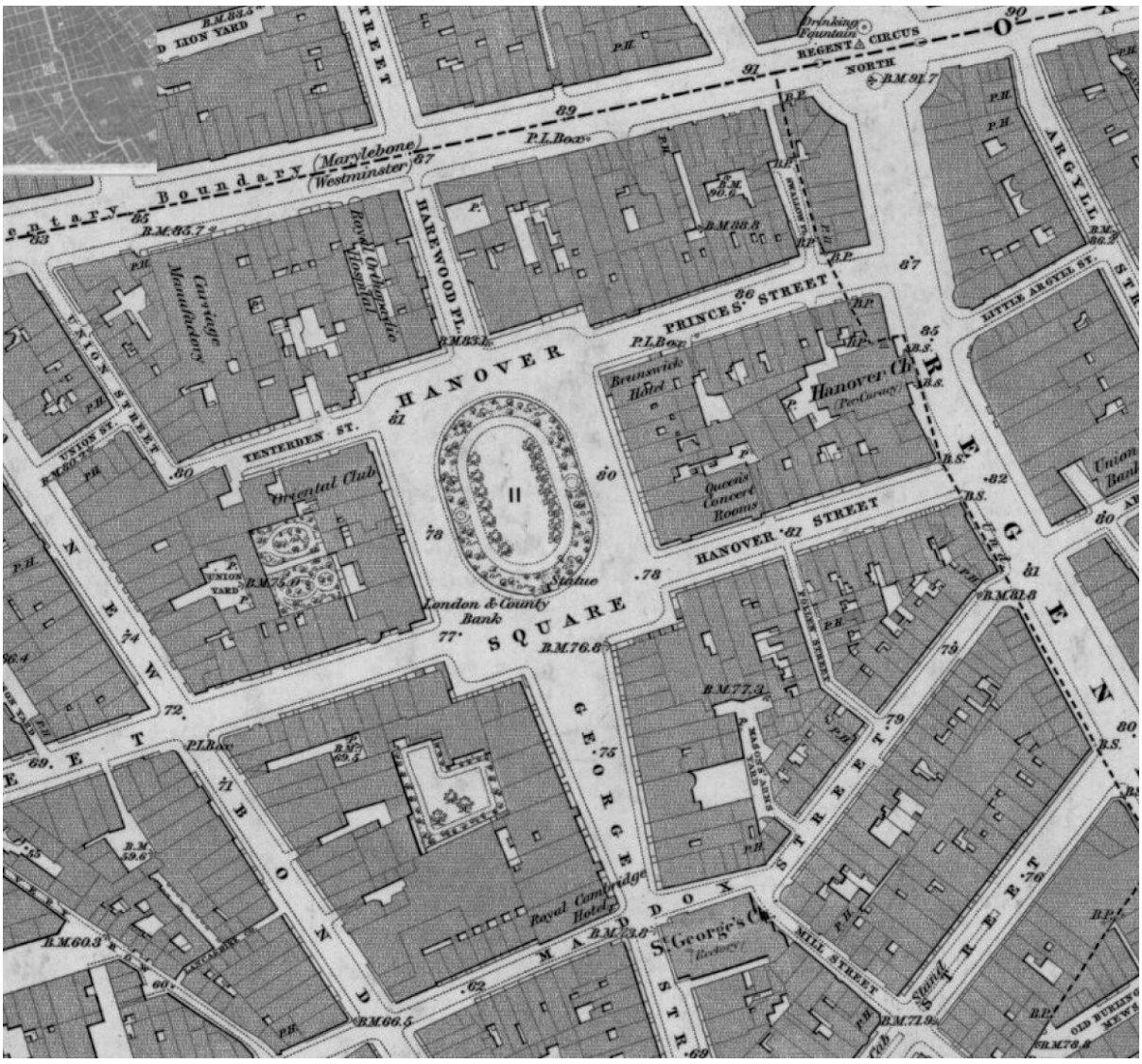

Fig. 6.1 The Area around Hanover Square
(Detail from 1870 Ordnance Survey Map, No. XXXIV [1875], National Library of Scotland [CC-BY])

The sequence of Editorial Diaries in *The Times* archive commences only in January 1857, while the coverage of the previous seventeen months via the Managers Letter Books (First Series) is rather thin. Thus most of the detailed information about Dallas's early work for the leading daily newspaper in fact derives from what has survived of his personal correspondence among the Blackwood Papers in Edinburgh, where there are significant gaps probably due to archival loss rather than breaks in communication. With those significant limitations in mind, we can calculate that, up to the Census in spring 1861, the list of Dallas's confirmed contributions to *The Times* totals 112, occupying in all close to 300 columns of the newspaper, each of which then contained around 1600 words. Those contributions, amounting to not far short of half-a-million words, can be divided into 72 book reviews (only 20 of them broadly literary, with the remainder including history, biography, travel writing, popular science, and the visual and plastic arts) and 40 others (comprising 27 editorials on the leading social and cultural topics of the day, 11 celebrity obituaries, and a couple of general articles on publishing in British India and the Wallace monument). Over a similar period the other main reviewer on the staff of *The Times*, Samuel Lucas (1818-68), an Oxford graduate who was also a member of the Garrick, seems to have contributed rather more book notices and but only a couple other articles.

Among Dallas's most insightful *Times* book reviews were those in the field of social history, most notably those of Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland* (2-9 December 1858) and Montalembert's *The Monks of the West* (3 September 1861). Perhaps even more innovative were the notices of works adopting a historical approach to the plastic and visual arts; here of particular interest are those of Gilbert Scott's *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture* (16 January 1858) and Samuel Birch's *History of Ancient Pottery* (26 May 1858), both of which reflect Dallas's serious engagement with the ideas of his friend Ruskin. All the same, it was the journalist's early literary notices in *The Times* that drew most immediate attention; these were crucial not only in recalibrating the response to already celebrated authors such as Tennyson, Thackeray or Dickens, but also in forging the literary reputations of upcoming writers as different as George Eliot, Anthony Trollope, and Mary Elizabeth Braddon. Dallas's first Dickens review, for example, was in the autumn of 1861, focusing on the aesthetic and cultural effects of serializing fiction through cheap weekly magazines as exemplified by *Great Expectations* in *All the Year Round*, which offered readers 'more of his earlier fancies than we have had for years' and encouraged the conclusion that 'the weekly form of publication is not incompatible with a very high order of fiction'.[17] Dickens's acquaintance with the journalist probably began around this time,[18] and only a couple of years later Dallas clearly felt comfortable in, say, writing to Boz to request his personal assistance in composing obituary articles on their mutual acquaintances W.M. Thackeray and John Leech.[19] When *The Times* carried the notice of *Our Mutual Friend* in late 1865, the novelist wrote immediately to offer Dallas the manuscript of his new novel in acknowledgment of the 'heartfelt gratification and unusual pleasure' the perceptive review had provided.[20] Eliot and Trollope were both quick to recognize the value in terms of both reputation and remuneration of a positive evaluation by Dallas in the newspaper.[21] Dallas's first notice of a

Braddon novel appeared only in late 1862 with *Lady Audley's Secret*, though there were to be four further warm responses to her latest work over the next couple of years.[22] Given the overwhelmingly negative early critical responses to the 'sensation' school in general and Braddon's fiction in particular,[23] it is not too much to say that Dallas's voice was uniquely powerful in directing serious attention to what proved to be the most challenging literary form of the 1860s.

Fig. 6.2 Billiard Room at the Garrick Club

Oil on canvas, by Henry Nelson O'Neil, 1869: Image Courtesy of the Garrick Club, London.

(Dallas is the heavily bearded man with thumbs cocked in the pockets of his white waistcoat to the far right of the picture, which also includes representations of Thackeray, Trollope, Millais, W.H. Russell, and Shirley Brooks, among other colleagues of Dallas)

However, the clearest contemporary evidence that Dallas had by then reached the height of prestige as a journalist for *The Times* was that, during the Census year, he was twice required to write royal obituaries, both printed with thick black borders. In mid-March he was asked to compose the report on the death of Queen Victoria's mother, the Duchess of Kent, and at Christmas he was allocated the even more sensitive task of composing the brief life of Albert, the Prince Consort, on his passing away at the age of only 42, officially of typhoid fever.[24] We should also note that by the year of the Census, Dallas was also contributing occasionally to what were then arguably the two most prestigious monthly literary miscellanies, the venerable *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and, in London, the brand-new *Cornhill Magazine* under Thackeray's editorship.[25] Between spring 1860 and summer 1861, in particular, Dallas must have spent a good deal of time attending debates in the Houses of Parliament in order to contribute a series of half-a dozen lengthy reports on

contemporary parliamentary politics to the Edinburgh monthly with its staunchly Conservative readership.[26] While the remarkable quantity, quality and diversity of the periodical material produced during his first five years or so in London can speak for itself, it must be recognised that the speed with which Dallas achieved his striking journalistic success was due in no small part to the personal recommendations that he brought with him to London.

* * * * *

For several months before he left Scotland Dallas seems to been preparing for the move, in particularly by soliciting letters of introduction to men of influence in the metropolis who might advance his career. John McLellan of the *Leader*, for example, was happy to introduce him to the Rossetti brothers,[27] while David Ramsay Hay was requested to provide a recommendation to Robert Rintoul (1787-1858: *ODNB*), Scottish founder of the *Spectator*, to which Dallas wished to 'be received as an occasional contributor'.[28] However, by far the most substantial and productive support he obtained was through the Edinburgh publishing house of Blackwood.[29] As noted in the previous chapter, Dallas had first written impersonally to the editor of *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* in late 1854, offering a series of articles on contemporary drama. Although nothing by Dallas was in fact to appear in the magazine for over a year, in the meantime John Blackwood (1818-79: *ODNB*), who had run the London office from 1840, assumed the editorship of 'Maga' in 1845, and taken over control of the firm in 1852, had developed an avuncular affection for the aspiring young journalist. After conversing at the Edinburgh office before Dallas headed to London, the two began to engage in a regular and increasingly warm correspondence that was to last for many years, meeting socially in Edinburgh or St. Andrews, central London or Blackheath, either individually or *en famille* as the occasion arose. John and Julia Blackwood, who were married as recently as 1854, seem to have first visited at 6 Hanover Square early in 1856,[30] while Isabella Dallas seems to have spent a good deal of time at 3 Randolph Crescent, the Blackwoods' house in New Town, while performing at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh in November that year.[31] From early in 1856 Dallas began to commence his letters with the salutation 'My dear Blackwood' rather than 'My dear Sir' and before the end of that year to include in the valedictions phrases such as 'My wife unites with me in kindest regards to Mrs. Blackwood …'.[32] Soon Isabella Dallas was adding cheery postscripts to her husband's letters, typically concerning her affection for pet dogs,[33] and even writing on her own account while away on a provincial tour to ask for advice about the best time to perform in Edinburgh.[34] In between intellectual exchanges concerning articles in the latest issues of Blackwood's magazine and Dallas's newspaper, the two men often chatted about their tastes in food or their mutual passion for golf.[35]


Fig. 6.3 and 6.4 John Blackwood and John Thadeus Delane

Frontispiece to Mary Porter, *Annals of a Publishing House: John Blackwood* (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1898)
Frontispiece to Arthur Irwin Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane: Editor of "The Times"* (London: Murray, 1908)

While still in his early twenties but already responsible for the new 'Metropolitan Branch' in Pall Mall, John Blackwood had shared lodgings in St. James's Square with John Thadeus Delane (1817-79: *ODNB*), then the youngest member of the editorial staff of *The Times.* According to the biography by a nephew, one morning not long after the premature death of the senior editor Thomas Barnes in May 1841, Delane had 'burst into the room in tremendous spirits, exclaiming, 'By Jove, John, what do you think has happened? I am editor of *The Times*.' Delane was to remain in that powerful position until a couple of years before his death which took place within a few weeks of Blackwood's own, and the two Johns were to remain 'intimate friends' throughout.[36] Blackwood seems to have made up his mind to supply Dallas with an 'introduction and recommendation' to Delane even before the young man left Edinburgh. Later Blackwood declared himself 'pleased with what I had seen of' the young journalist, and considered 'the specimens he showed me of what he had written exceedingly good and admirably adapted for the "Times."'[37] On 7 July Dallas reported to Blackwood that he had just met Mowbray Morris, the Office Manager, for the first time,[38] and on 7 August that he had been asked to choose a volume for his first review.[39] Before the end of the month the notice (two full columns trashing Tennyson's *Maud, and Other Poems*) had already appeared, and Dallas informed his mentor that Delane 'is so pleased with my article on Maud that he has written to me to get two other books to review'.[40] On 15 October Dallas was invited to dine at Morris's table with John Walter, the proprietor of the newspaper, and perhaps Delane also.[41] By that time, despite a minor setback when he was warned for divulging his authorship of the Tennyson review,[42] not

only had those two further notices been published, but Dallas had been offered an annual contract. This provided £300 for the year, to be paid quarterly and back-dated to 1 August 1855, 'reckoned at the rate of five guineas a column' plus extra payment should his contributions 'exceed that amount', and with the likely prospect that, at the end of that period, his position would 'be made both more lucrative & more secure'.[43] Well in advance of that, though, in the mid-December, he was called into the office by Morris and given the happy news that the newspaper was so satisfied with his progress that his salary was to be immediately doubled.[44] For the remainder of that probationary year Dallas's main task seems to have been to write editorial articles rather than book reviews, and not long afterwards he was asked to take on quite a number of obituaries. (Three or four leaders were required for every issue throughout the year, and obituaries of course could be called for at any time, while review notices were typically not in demand during parliamentary sessions when the detailed coverage consumed a couple of pages of the paper at least.) Although there are a number of lengthy gaps in the stream of correspondence with John Blackwood preserved in Edinburgh, the letters from Dallas on either side suggest that, for several years after his arrival in London, the junior journalist continued to rely a good deal on the professional advice and encouragement of the senior editor.

At *The Times*, leaders and obituaries were undoubtedly the most politically sensitive of articles, and indeed it was largely for this reason that Dallas was asked to focus on them during his early years at the newspaper. Further, even in the case of experienced members of staff, Delane exercised the power to criticise, revise and even exclude such copy at will. The two royal obituaries Dallas composed in 1861 are a case in point. After the report on the death of the Queen Mother had appeared, Dallas reported that Delane 'has been roasting me dreadfully for the article on the Duchess of Kent which he declares to be a pack of lies', although he still seemed 'glad to get somebody … to tell them'.[45] Regarding Dallas's obituary of the young husband of Queen Victoria, Delane's biographer reports that he returned from Windsor to Printing House Square especially 'to revise the biography of the Prince', and was happy to learn that 'the sympathetic … biography which appeared in *The Times* had much pleased and comforted the Queen.'[46] A more extreme example is found in the summer of 1865, when, a week or so after the death of the Professor of Rhetoric at his *alma mater*, Dallas had written to John Blackwood in Edinburgh, confirming that he had composed an obituary for *The Times* which had been flatly rejected by Delane as making 'too much' of Aytoun.[47] Yet the young Scots journalist was subject not only to this form of overt editorial control but also to a mode of self-censorship. While Dallas was often regarded as a specialist in Caledonian affairs and assigned to contribute a good number of articles in that field, he was also clearly expected to write from an English Establishment perspective. We can see this plainly in a couple of the early editorial leaders he was asked to produce, where, in particular, the stereotypes used in referring to the Scottish people suggest considerable distance if not disdain. In discussing in late 1855 the low level of success among Scottish candidates for the Indian Civil Service Examinations, Dallas concluded: 'As for moral philosophy, who has not heard that the North Britons butter their oatcakes with abstract ideas, and who

does not see that, living on such fare, it will be a great disgrace to them if in this department they do not surpass all the other candidates?'[48] And two years later, in commenting on the report of the Scottish Lunacy Commission, he began from the premise that 'the facts published in the present return exhibit an amount of ignorance, of cruelty, and penuriousness on the part of Scotchmen that is indeed astounding'.[49] The book reviews on Scottish subjects clearly allowed a little more leeway, and in a couple of exceptional cases already introduced in Chapters III and IV—the notices respectively on 'West Highland Tales' (November 1860) and 'Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy' (May 1859)—we can even catch glimpses of an autobiographical viewpoint.

At the same time, there were also significant ethical and ideological costs incurred through Dallas's dependence on advice and support from John Blackwood. Shortly after the highly favourable notice of the first part of Wilson's *Noctes Ambrosianae* had appeared in *The Times*, at Dallas's request, Blackwood wrote instructing J.M. Langford, then head of the firm's 'Metropolitan Branch', to send a further new volume to the reviewer, George Finlay's combined *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*. He concluded with an explanation that had to be kept strictly secret: 'Mr Dallas is the writer in the "Times." They took him on my introduction and recommendation. … I did a kind thing from the most disinterested motives, and it looks as if I would have my reward.' The reward was, of course, 'the increased interest likely to be shown in the "Times" concerning all the Blackwood publications', as Margaret Oliphant explained.[50] However, Dallas's work was generally allocated by either Morris or Delane, and Blackwood was perhaps overly optimistic concerning the return of favours. Although two of the first four books Dallas reviewed for the newspaper were indeed Blackwood publications, this was true of only a total of ten of the more than seventy notices he contributed before the Census. The latest works by W.E. Aytoun and George Eliot were almost the only ones guaranteed to be included, and Finlay's volume was one of many that failed to make the cut.[51] In fact, over the long term, the ideological pressure to conform to Blackwood's decidedly conservative opinions proved to be a more serious issue for Dallas, as the fine detail of their correspondence suggests.

The first *Times* article on Tennyson's *Maud* provides a simple example. In the letter of 7 August where Dallas informed Blackwood that he was now married, he also mentioned that he had received the review copy of the Poet Laureate's latest work. The following day, Blackwood replied offering his congratulations, and mentioning that in a recent letter he had again reminded Delane of the 'literary powers' of the young Scotsman.[52] At the same time he expressed the strong opinion that Maud was 'a deplorable failure', although he went on to suggest that the reviewer in the 'Maga' itself was free to offer a more favourable judgment on this 'deplorable spasm of poetry' and advised Dallas himself to '[t]ake your own view whatever it is—that will be the only way in which you will write well.' Hardly surprisingly, having sent off the completed notice to the newspaper but still uncertain when it would be published, Dallas wrote on 22 August to let his mentor know 'the view of it which I have taken. It coincides with your own …'.[53] That Christmas Day, Blackwood sent his apprentice the season's greetings with a hint of self-congratulation: 'It gives me much pleasure to hear of your success &

preferment. I feel a sort of pride in it too, as had you failed my knowledge of what men are fit for (an editor's most important faculty) would have been at fault.'[54] On New Year's Day, Dallas responded: 'There is almost nothing that cheers me so much as your letters, and I am so glad to think that I have not disappointed you. That I have so far fulfilled your expectations is one of the pleasant thoughts which make them the happiest Xmas of my life.'[55] Such pleasantries long remained part of their social discourse, but were hardly conducive to the maintenance of critical distance.

* * * * *

The nature of the young Scottish journalist's relationship with his avuncular mentor was doubly significant because *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* had naturally come to serve as the venue for articles that, for one reason or another, were not required at *The Times*. As we have seen, Dallas's first contribution to the 'Maga' had been planned if not submitted before the author headed to London, but the next handful were all initially composed with the daily newspaper in mind. In April 1857, Dallas had been given the go-ahead by Delane to write a biographical piece on 'Currer Bell'—in fact, a negative review of Elizabeth Gaskell's recent *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. However, when the article was 'very nearly finished', he discovered that his fellow reviewer Lucas had just published an enthusiastic notice of the same work in *The Times*, again under instruction from the chief editor who was unaware that Bell and Brontë were one and the same person. Since Dallas's piece was now 'useless' for Delane's purposes,[56] he promptly gave permission for it to be submitted to John Blackwood who had not yet commissioned a review for the 'Maga'.[57] Before the notice appeared there in the July issue, Dallas expressed his concern to the editor that there had as yet 'not been one unfavourable review of Mrs. Gaskell's work',[58] but was encouraged to produce a slashing critique that suggested that the *Life* was 'seasoned with as much petty scandal as might suffice for half-a-dozen biographies'.[59]

An even more interesting case in point concerns Dallas's series of articles on 'Popular Literature' which eventually appeared in the Maga at intervals throughout 1859, and of which the first two, in particular, represent his most sustained analysis of the functioning of the contemporary periodical press. On submitting the manuscript of the initial parts with a lengthy letter dated 5 October 1858,[60] Dallas started off by confessing that they also had originally been intended for the pages of *The Times*, but that Delane, whilst acknowledging 'the ability with which they … are written', had concluded that 'the chain of reasoning was too continuous for a daily paper, … more fit for a magazine or review'. Following this explanation, there was a detailed summary of the argument, decidedly distorted to render it more palatable to the staunchly Tory editor. For example, Dallas made reference in the letter to 'the tyranny of collected mobs' as well as 'mobocracy', both emotive terms signalling opposition to the extension of the electoral franchise that had no parallel in the contribution itself. Although the phrase 'We, as Tories …' was employed early in the first article to unite contributor and subscribers under the editorial line of the magazine, [61] the author clearly adopted a Liberal position (deriving from Alexis de Tocqueville)[62] regarding the revolutionary changes in serial publication taking place during the Victorian period.

Dallas argued cogently that these were generating a virtuous cycle of communication involving authors, publishers, and readers alike, serving to foster the formation of public opinion fundamental to a sound democratic future. This *Blackwood's* readers could 'look forward to … if without exultation, yet also without fear'.[63] John Blackwood seems to have accepted the contribution promptly but requested revisions largely for style—the author's defensive response dated 13 November 1858 makes reference, for example, to 'obviating your objections to the solemn and swelling tone'[64]—though it seems reasonable to assume that these objections might have expressed in a displaced form Blackwood's discomfort with the line of argument itself. Be that as it may, the impact was undoubtedly that in the later articles on 'Tracts' and 'Prize Essays' Dallas adopted a much lighter tone with more copious illustration, which media historians today are likely to find far less coherent and convincing. The contents of the major monthly miscellanies were commonly reviewed in the weekly journals, especially those published in the provinces, and there the early instalments of Dallas's 'Popular Literature' sequence attracted a good deal of favourable attention.[65] Yet John Blackwood insisted perversely when the third article appeared in the April issue that it was much 'the best of the series' thus far.[66]

In the second instalment of 'Popular Literature: The Periodical Press', even though it required journalists to subjugate personal opinion to the editorial line, Dallas stoutly defended the tradition of authorial anonymity in the periodical press, which was coming under increasing attack in the mid-Victorian years. Dallas's argument takes the form of a rhetorical question: 'Shall the English journals represent classes as heretofore … or shall they represent individuals as in America, where the editor's name is under the heading of the newspaper, and the authority of the journal is identical with his personal influence? … The anonymous is … the one postulate of the English system; and when we are asked to abolish it, the proposition really is to change the nature of the system'.[67] The term 'classes' employed here—for by no means the first time in Dallas's argument—should be understood not as referring in a narrow sense to socio-economic stratification (as in phrases like 'middle-class newspapers') but rather as carrying the broader meaning of 'civil associations' in the sense explored by de Tocqueville.[68] According to Dallas in his first instalment, the main difference between the 'parliamentary system of representation and the representation afforded by the press', was that the former offered a public voice to private individuals while the latter did so for various forms of civil association, whether national or local, secular or religious, liberal or conservative.[69] For these reasons, he judged it just as important to preserve the anonymity of the periodical press as to introduce a secret ballot at public elections.

Over and above the general public pressure on the individual journalist generated by such a system of press anonymity, the private exchanges between Dallas and Blackwood suggest that the influential advice and encouragement from the older editor by no means always resulted in the enhancement of the young journalist's critical writing. It is thus instructive to compare the form and content of Dallas's articles for the 'Maga' with those appearing in the *Cornhill*, a magazine which from the beginning carefully avoided the political partisanship of its Edinburgh rival and gave its contributors a fairly free rein. Around December 1859 the publisher George Smith

held a dinner at which Thackeray addressed the 'scholars and gentlemen' who were to contribute regularly to the new monthly of which he had recently been appointed editor, notable among them Anthony Trollope, George Sala, G.H. Lewes, Frederick Greenwood, and of course E.S. Dallas.[70] Recalling the occasion in his *Autobiography* Trollope offered thumbnails of several of those attending, including 'Dallas, who for a time was literary critic to the *Times*, and who certainly in that capacity did better work than has appeared since in the same department'.[71] Altogether Dallas was to contribute only half-a-dozen articles, all but the last under Thackeray's brief editorship,[72] with the first two in the opening volume. None of these pieces takes the form of a review or has a literary focus. A couple—'Student Life in Scotland' (March 1860) and 'John Leech' (December 1864)—overlap a good deal with material published in *The Times*, though offering a more explicitly personal perspective.[73] In one way or another, whether in terms of egalitarian principle, psychological concern, or liberal opinion, all of them seem to provide a focus distinct from that of his articles in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (perhaps with the exception of the pair devoted to the 'Periodical Press'). The first two *Cornhill* pieces—'Student Life in Scotland' and 'The Poor Man's Kitchen' (June 1860)—displayed an ethical focus on the amelioration of working-class education and diet.[74] The fourth and fifth—'On Physiognomy' and 'The First Principle of Physiognomy' (October and November 1861)—reflected a marked interest in how to understand unconscious mental activity that had been originally sparked by William Hamilton's university lectures.[75] The third and the last—'Oratory' (November 1860) and 'John Leech' (December 1864)—explored the arts of public speaking and political caricature less from the position of the artist than that of the audience.[76] Together, these articles point towards the extraordinary originality of *The Gay Science* where Dallas attempted to bring together innovative psychological and sociological understandings of the conditions of modernity.

* * * * *

If George Sala's phrase 'a Prince among journalists' was intended to evoke not just prestige, power and personal appearance but also wealth, it seems not to be entirely appropriate. As explained in the previous chapter, shortly after moving to London E.S. Dallas had suggested to John Blackwood that he intended 'to take [Miss Glyn] off the stage' as soon as his own income allowed him to do so. Yet, as we have also noted, the actress was still performing with some regularity five years later. In the metropolis stage appearances may have been less common than public readings, such as the popular Shakesperean series at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, in May 1859,[77] but there were a number of 'provincial' performances that took her as far away as Ireland and Scotland, including the already mentioned theatrical returns to her old home in Edinburgh towards the end of both 1858 and 1861. Clearly Isabella Dallas was strong-willed as well as 'loud' and showed no intention to retire, but it also seems that the household must have remained in need of her financial contributions. From the beginning of 1856 Dallas seems to have been earning at least £600 a year from *The Times* alone, and in autumn 1858 he informed Blackwood that he had recently purchased the lease of the property at 6 Hanover Square at a reasonable price so that, after letting 'the business premises & the stables behind', he was only

paying £110 a year for 'home and taxes' and could recoup more than double that if the unused upper part of the dwelling were rented out.[78] Yet their later correspondence also reveals not only that late in 1859 Dallas had arranged to borrow from the house of Blackwood the sum £300 at five per cent annual interest, that is, £15 per year,[79] but also that the debt has swollen to over £400 by late 1867 and was still outstanding in early 1873.[80] What the sizable newspaper salary was being spent on is far from clear, but perhaps Blackwood should have included as part of Dallas's professional counselling the celebrated advice of Dickens's Mr. Micawber in the twelfth chapter of *David Copperfield* (though perhaps omitting the flailing metaphors): 'Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen nineteen and six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds ought and six, result misery. The blossom is blighted, the leaf is withered, the god of day goes down upon the dreary scene, and—and in short you are for ever floored.' As we shall see in the following chapter, among Dallas's efforts over the 1860s to increase his income substantially in order to avoid being permanently 'floored', were short-lived stints in the position of literary editor at two different metropolitan weekly journals and an unsuccessful application for an academic post back in the Scottish capital.

Chapter 6: Advance to Mayfair: Notes

[1] See his 'Echoes of the Week', *Illustrated London News* (25 January 1879), p. 78. Sala had contributed this column for over a quarter of a century beginning in 1860.

[2] See Public Record Office, Census 1861 RG9/40, p. 4. It is unclear when Dallas's mother-in-law began to reside at Hanover Square.

[3] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, [Tuesday], 8 May 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 67–68; the letter opens, 'As I propose going to London on Saturday next …'.

[4] See E.S. Dallas to D.R. Hay, 15 May [1855], Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329; the letter is clearly written just after his removal to London, and addressed from '28 Maddox Street, Regent Street'. One anecdote survives from his days in Maddox Street, when Skelton (*Table Talk of Shirley*, pp. 48–49) cites a letter of 25 May 1855 received from T.S. Baynes: 'Dallas was not at home; and, though I called again, and he was twice here yesterday, we missed each other till the evening, when I met him at the Standard Theatre, where Miss Glyn is now acting. I was late, but saw her in *Taming the Shrew*, as "Catherine," which she acted with great spirit, throwing into the character so much of thoroughly human—nay, woman-like—petulance and contradiction as to make it essentially credible, which in the comedy it scarcely is.' A few months later, now aware that Dallas was married to Glyn, Baynes gave the opinion that he was 'likely to succeed on *The Times*, I should fancy. Those articles of his have great spirit, breadth, and dash about them.' (to Skelton, 15 October 1855, cited in *Table Talk of Shirley*, p. 51).

[5] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Saturday [7 July 1855], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 93–96; the letter opens, 'I have delayed until I could send you at the same time my new address …' and is headed '9 Allsop Terrace, Baker Street'.

[6] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 August 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 69–70; addressed from '55 Grosvenor Street, Grosvenor Square', the letter includes the news that '… I have married lately—married Miss Glyn …'.

[7] See, e.g., E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 18 Nov. 1855 and 10 December [1856], MS.4109 ff 83–84 and MS.4116 ff 85–86; both letters are addressed from '12 Park Street, Park Lane', the former opening '(Please to observe change of address.)'.

[8] See *Passages from the English Note-Books of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (2 vols; London: Strahan, 1870), II pp. 4–5. The supper consisted of 'Welsh rabbit and biscuits, with champagne and soda-water', and, since the Office Manager of The Times was also there, the conversation mainly concerned the newspaper. On Saturday 8 April 1856, Hawthorne recalls attending a second supper party there, where he met Charles Reade among other guests (pp. 12–13). Hawthorne served as American consul in Liverpool from 1853-57, while his *The House of the Seven Gables* was first published at Boston in April 1851 by Ticknor and Fields.

[9] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Monday [29] December 1856, Blackwood Papers, NLS, MS.4116 ff 88A–B; letter addressed from '6 Hanover Square W.' and ending with New Year greetings.

[10] For example, John Skelton (*The Table Talk of Shirley*, pp. 76–77), recalled around the beginning of the 1860s often going with Dante Gabriel Rossetti to 'knock up Dallas in Hanover Square for a rubber—Rossetti liked a rubber, though he was a poor player, and rather addicted to abstruse speculations on the reasons which had induced him to play the wrong card—and finish the evening with whisky-and-soda and poetry over the fire.' An example of a formal dinner party would be that recalled by George Sala around thirty years later (G.A. Sala, *The Life and Adventures of George Augustus Sala*, 2 vols; London: Cassell, 1895, II, pp. 15–16), where among the distinguished guests gathered at the mansion of the journalist and the 'talented *tragédienne*' were Sir Edward Landseer and James Hannay.

[11] See, e.g., E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 25 April [1857], Blackwood Papers, MS. 4123 ff 99–100, where Dallas mentions in passing, 'I am off to Blackheath to play the old fogie with [John] MacDonald …', referring to one of the managers at *The Times*.

[12] See 'Sir Charles Taylor and others (Forty three members in the billiard room of the Garrick Club)' by Henry Nelson O'Neil, ARA, Garrick Club Collections, URL: <https://garrick.ssl.co.uk/object-g0793>. The club also owns a small oil portrait of Glyn as Constance in *King John*, presented in 1865 by the artist, Henry Wyndham Phillips. See: <https://garrick.ssl.co.uk/object-g0266>.

[13] See, for example, John Blackwood to his wife, 17 June 1863, cited in Mary Porter, *Annals of a Publishing House: John Blackwood* (Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 1898), p. 94, where he writes: 'I dined last night with Dallas at the Garrick Club party. Thackeray, Shirley Brooks, Paget, and Charles Reade. We had capital fun.'

[14] See National Records of Scotland, Census 1861, 684/13, p. 14.

[15] See E.S. Dallas to Major William Blackwood, 8 October [1858], Blackwood Papers, MS.4130 ff 163–64; the letter discusses the meeting in Calcutta between Dallas's brother and the Major's son, expressing the hope that 'they will see a good deal more of each other in the long years during which they must both remain in India'.

[16] See 'Charles Calder Mackintosh, D.D.' in *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands: Another Memorial of 1843* (Edinburgh: John Greig, 1877), pp. 53–60; p. 59.

[17] [E.S. Dallas], 'Great Expectations', *The Times* (17 October 1861), p. 6c–d; p. 6d.

[18] See Dickens to Mary Dickens, 27 November 1861, *Letters* IX, pp. 523–24, which suggests that he and Dallas may have first met in Edinburgh where Isabella Glyn was performing in *Macbeth* and Dickens was giving readings.

[19] See Dickens to Dallas, 2 January 1864 (*Letters* X, pp, 332–33) and 12 November 1864 (*Letters* X, pp. 452–53).

[20] See Dickens to Dallas, 30 November 1865, *Letters* XI, pp. 117–18.

[21] When Eliot was informed weeks in advance that *Adam Bede*, her first novel, was to be reviewed in *The Times* she declared that the 'best news from London hitherto is that Mr. Dallas is an enthusiastic admirer of Adam' (George Eliot to John Blackwood, 24 February

1859, Haight ed., *George Eliot Letters*, III, p. 24). And, as we saw in Chapter 2, Trollope was quickly aware that the enthusiastic notice in *The Times* of his first travel book, *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*, was from Dallas's pen, recognizing that 'by that criticism I was much raised in my position as an author … the result was immediate to me, for I at once went to Chapman & Hall and successfully demanded £600 for my next novel.' (Trollope, *Autobiography*, I, p. 175).

[22] See Graham Law and Jenny Bourne Taylor, eds, *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'* (London: Routledge, 2024), pp. xxxiv–xxxvi. Over the same period Dallas also enthusiastically reviewed sensation novels by Wilkie Collins, Ellen Wood, and Charles Reade.

[23] See, in particular, Andrew Maunder, *Sensationalism and the Sensation Debate* (London: Chatto & Pickering, 2004).

[24] See Law and Taylor, eds, *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'*, pp. xlviii–liv.

[25] See Graham Law and Jenny Bourne Taylor, eds, *The Gay Science*, by E.S. Dallas, Self-published E-book, 2024, p. xi. URL: <https://glaw.w.waseda.jp/ESD-GS/ESD-GS.pdf>. There were also occasional contributions to other monthlies, notably the reviews of major biographies of Milton and Blake, respectively in the *Eclectic Review* (January 1859) and *Macmillan's Magazine* (November 1864).

[26] These were: 'Parliamentary Duelling' (April 1860); 'The Balance of Party' (June 1860); 'The Reform Bill and the Tory Party' (July 1860); 'The Political Year' (January 1861); 'The Foreign Secretary' (February 1861); and 'The Epic of the Budget' (July 1861).

[27] See W.M. Rossetti to A.C. Steele, 31 October 1895, cited in Minna Evangeline Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters, 1820–1920: Letters from Literary Friends to Lady Wood and Mrs A. C. Steele* (London: privately printed by Thomas & Newman, 1929), pp. 159–60); there Rossetti writes: 'He [Dallas] came to me (towards 1856) with a letter of introduction from … J.F. Maclennan; and he was such a splendid looking man that I, and also Gabriel, took to him instantly …'.

[28] See E.S. Dallas to D.R. Hay, Wednesday [9 May 1855], Edinburgh University Library Special Collections, GB 237 Coll–329. There is no sign that Dallas ever in fact contributed to the *Spectator*.

[29] Generally on the firm during this period, see David Finkelstein, *The House of Blackwood: Author-Publisher Relations in the Victorian Era* (University Park, PEN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 21–47.

[30] A little earlier, John Blackwood's older brother and partner, Major William Blackwood (1810–61) had dined *chez* Dallas. He reported to his brother concerning Isabella: 'She is a nice, frank, honest-hearted creature, I should say, with a tremendous pair of eyes, good eyes, but rather loud. They are evidently very happy. There was rather a queer lot at dinner …'. He added that the couple had called on his wife and himself the next day: 'Emma liked her. She is quite unaffected and pleasant in manner. Still it is a pity for Dallas. He is evidently a gentleman both in feelings and manners.' See Margaret Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and His Sons, Their Magazine and Friends* (2 vols; Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1897), II, p. 476.

[31] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 29 November 1856, Blackwood Papers, NLS, MS.4116 ff 81–82; there Dallas begins his final paragraph, 'My wife is not yet done of telling me of thousands of pleasant chats & meetings, and all your kindnesses …'.

[32] See, e.g., E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 6 December [1856], Blackwood Papers, MS.4116 ff 83–84.

[33] See, e.g., E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 10 December [1856], Blackwood Papers, MS.4116 ff 85–88; there in her scrawled postscript Dallas's wife defends her 'Terrier tastes'.

[34] See Isabella Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 October [1858], Blackwood Papers, MS. 4130; there, from lodgings in Bradford, Yorkshire, the actress asks whether 'November [is] a better month than October' to perform in the Scottish capital.

[35] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 27 September [1855], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 77–78, where Dallas writes: 'It was very unkind of you to speak so rapturously of golf and rizzared haddies [broiled haddock] to a poor devil confined to London and uneatable London kipper.'

[36] Arthur Irwin Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane, Editor of 'The Times': His Life and Correspondence* (2 vols; London: Murray, 1908), I, pp. 25–26.

[37] Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House*, II, p. 468.

[38] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 July 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 93–94.

[39] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 7 August 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 69–70.

[40] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 27 August [1855], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 73–74.

[41] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Saturday, 13 October [1855], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109, where he writes, 'I am to dine with Mr. Walter at Morris's on Monday.'

[42] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Saturday, 5 September 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 75–76, where Dallas writes: 'I have been greatly distressed today in receiving from Mr. Morris a note enclosing extracts from some of the Edinburgh papers in which I am mentioned as reviewing for the Times. …'.

[43] See Mowbray Morris to E.S. Dallas, 12 October 1855, NUKA, Managers Letters Books, 1st series V, p. 564. Morris added two conditions to Dallas's engagement: 'first, that you preserve your incognito; secondly that you abstain from all connection with the other London newspapers.' Dallas had contributed a review of John Tulloch's *Theism* to the *Daily News* in mid-August that year.

[44] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 15 December [1855], Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 87–89.

[45] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 22 March 1861, Blackwood Papers, MS.30012.

[46] Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane,* II, pp. 38–39.

[47] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, [12] August 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[48] See [E.S. Dallas], 'We are not sure that the importance …', *The Times* (22 November 1855), p. 6d–e.

[49] See [E.S. Dallas], 'In a return which…', *The Times* (19 December 1857), p. 8d–e.

[50] Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House*, II, pp. 468–69.

[51] See Law and Taylor, eds, *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'*, pp. xlviii–liv.

[52] See John Blackwood to E.S. Dallas, 8 August 1855, cited in C. Cannon Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle for Recognition in mid-Victorian Journalism: Selected Letters of E.S. Dallas with a critical Introduction', M. Litt. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, May 1969, pp. 41–42. Blackwood wrote: 'In writing to Delane last week I mentioned you again & I feel proud that so much weight should be attached to my opinion by so undeniable a judge. I do not think that he ever found me much wrong about a man's literary powers and I am sanguine that you will do more than justify my recommendation.'

[53] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 22 August 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 71–72.

[54] See John Blackwood to E.S. Dallas, 25 December 1855, cited in Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle for Recognition', pp. 67–68.

[55] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, New Years Day [1 January] 1856, Blackwood Papers, MS.4116 ff 71–72.

[56] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 25 April [1857], Blackwood Papers, MS.4123 ff 99–100.

[57] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Monday [27 April 1857], and Thursday [30 April 1857], Blackwood Papers, MS.4123 ff 107 and 111.

[58] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 22 June 1857, Blackwood Papers, MS.4123 ff 103–4.

[59] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Currer Bell', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 82 (July 1857), pp. 77–84; p. 77.

[60] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 5 October 1858, Blackwood Papers, MS. 4130 ff.159–62.

[61] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Popular Literature: The Periodical Press' I, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 85 (January 1857), pp. 96–112; p. 99. Early in his correspondence with John Blackwell, while declaring '[n]aturally, I am a Tory, and an admirer of Disraeli's', Dallas had suggested that he had 'not had a political education' and thus requested his mentor to offer him 'a hint as to politics'; see the letter of 18 November 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS.4109 ff 83–84. Again, Blackwood might have considered that, in the long term, there could be a reward for responding to such request, and indeed Dallas's half-dozen contributions to the Maga in the early 1860s all concerned contemporary parliamentary politics.

[62] See Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. H. Reeve (2 vols; Rev. ed.; London: Longmans, 1862); more generally on this point, see Graham Law, *The Periodical Press Revolution: E.S. Dallas and the Nineteenth-Century British Media System* (London: Routledge, 2024), pp. 18–22.

[63] See [Dallas], 'Popular Literature: The Periodical Press', I p. 97.

[64] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 13 November [1858], Blackwood Papers, MS. 4130 ff. 173–74.

[65] See, for example, 'The Literary Journal', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (1 January 1859), p. 3, which quoted the first article extensively and described it as 'one of the best articles we have seen for many a day, even in *Blackwood* … written with a breadth of view and a catholicity spirit which is truly honourable to our venerable Tory contemporary'.

[66] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 18 April [1859], Blackwood Papers, MS.4138, where Dallas writes, 'I am so glad you like this article which I agree with you in thinking the best of the series'.

[67] [Dallas], 'Popular Literature: The Periodical Press', II p. 184.

[68] In 'Of the Relation Between Public Associations and Newspapers' (*Democracy in America* II, p. 137), de Tocqueville writes: 'A newspaper can only subsist on the condition of publishing sentiments or principles common to a large number of men. A newspaper therefore always represents an association which is composed of its habitual readers.' More generally on this point, see Law, *The Periodical Press Revolution*, pp. 20–21.

[69] [Dallas], 'Popular Literature: The Periodical Press', I pp. 106–107.

[70] See Lewis Melville, *The Life of William Makepeace Thackeray* (2 vols; London: Hutchinson, 1890), II, pp. 37–38.

[71] See Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (2 vols; Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1883), I, pp. 197–204; p. 204.

[72] Thackeray withdrew from the editorship following the May 1862 issue due to ill health and died in December the following year.

[73] Compare: Dallas's description of university life in his review, 'Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy', *The Times* (13 May 1859), p. 7a–e; and the obituary, 'Death of Mr. John Leech', *The Times* (31 October 1864), p. 10c–d.

[74] In 'The Poor Man's Kitchen', *Cornhill Magazine* 1 (June 1860), pp. 745–54, for example, Dallas concluded that 'The best cure for the drunkenness of the lower classes is not a Maine Liquor Law—but soup and sausages, pudding and pies; is not to shut the beershops, but to open the poor man's kitchen.' (p. 754).

[75] In 'On Physiognomy', *Cornhill Magazine* 4 (October 1861), pp. 472–81, for example, Dallas discussed the possibility of creating a physical science able to 'put a window on every heart' (p. 472).

[76] In 'Oratory', *Cornhill Magazine* 2 (November 1860), pp. 580–90, for example, Dallas argues that electoral reform has by no means weakened parliament as a forum for debate, since the source of eloquence lies 'in the audience more than in the speaker' (p. 587).

[77] See, for example, 'St. Martin's Hall: Miss Glyn's Readings', *Daily News* (10 May 1859), p. 2b, where the critic praised in particular 'Miss Glyn's rendering of the witch scenes [from *Macbeth*] … with a weird power and intensity such as we have never witnessed on the stage'.

[78] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 5 October 1858, Blackwood Papers, MS. 4130 ff. 159–62; there Dallas writes: 'You will be glad to hear that I have managed pretty well in this house at last. The man who had the lease died & I obtained it for a nominal price. The consequence is that I have let the business premises & the stables behind so advantageously that the dwelling part of the home only costs me £60 a year. But then I have to pay taxes besides—£50. However home & taxes for £110 a year is something rare in London, & if I chose to let the upper part of the house, I should get £250 for it in rent.' Later the couple seem to have resided in the upper part themselves and rented the lower, perhaps for economic reasons.

[79] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 2 January 1861, Blackwood Papers, MS.4160; there, in acknowledging payment for his latest Maga article, Dallas writes: 'Accept also my thanks for the cheque. I must have forgotten in the hurry of writing to you last to ask you to subtract from the sum you would send me the interest on £300 to the 31st of December last—that is twelve and a half month's interest—£15. 12. 6. Having made that omission I now send you 12/6 in postage stamps, and the first halves of Bank of England Notes for £15—the other halves to follow in course.'

[80] See: William Blackwood III to E.S. Dallas, 19 November 1867, Blackwood Papers, MS.4220, which implies that Dallas must have paid little of the interest due over the previous seven years; and E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 8 February 1873, Blackwood Papers, MS.4302, where, in lieu of payment of interest and part-payment of the principle, Dallas offers the copyright to a 3000-line poem that he has recently written (described as a 'rhymed novelet … all actuality—dealing with the questions of the day, London Life, the Clubs, The House of Commons').

Chapter 7: In the Editor's, but not the Professor's Chair

Money was certainly not the only motive when, in April 1863, Dallas agreed to take on the role of chief editor of *The Mirror*, a new metropolitan 'Weekly Newspaper and Review'; or when, in August 1865, he decided to enter the list of those applying for the Professorship in Rhetoric at Edinburgh University rendered vacant by the unexpected death of W.E. Aytoun; or again when, in January 1868, he took over as editor of *Once a Week*, the London illustrated literary miscellany running since 1859. Yet in each case it was not insignificant that the new position promised a regular annual income of up to a thousand pounds, while still allowing the journalist to retain his earnings at *The Times*. By the late 1860s, however, these were in steep and irreversible decline. Between 1861 and 1865 Dallas was still contributing each year an average of close to twenty substantial books notices, while from 1866 to 1870 this had been reduced to no more than a handful. In terms of total newspaper space, including obituary and other articles in addition to reviews, over the decade from 1861 to 1870 this represented a precipitous fall from well over 60 to rather less than 20 columns per annum. Even if the remuneration were set at double the original rate of five guineas per column, this would mean that by the end of the decade Dallas would have been earning little more than £200 a year from the newspaper.

* * * * *

Apart from the money, *The Mirror* project must have been appealing to Dallas for a couple of rather different reasons: first, in combining the functions of weekly newspaper and cultural review, the generic form was reminiscent of that of the *Edinburgh Guardian* where Dallas had served his apprenticeship as a journalist; and second, its proprietor was the son of the sheriff's officer in Tain, who as a child had attended both the church where Dallas's uncle was minister and the academy from which Dallas himself graduated. The new journal had a cover price of sixpence and generally consisted of forty pages in three columns, of which at least four were devoted to advertisements. The prospectus appearing a couple of weeks before the first issue stated: 'Not only will "The Mirror" … fully set forth the story of the week, it will devote ample space to the review of politics, life, letters, art, and science. Its tone will be quite independent. … It will in politics, as in literature, avoid cant, crotchets, and cliques, and reflect the healthiest thought of the time.'[1] The proprietor was the publisher Alexander Stuart Strahan (1833-1918: *ODNB*), a moderate Presbyterian whose illustrated magazine *Good Words* founded in 1860 proved the most successful religious monthly of the later Victorian decades. After moving from Edinburgh to London in 1862, Strahan began to explore a number of serial formats to reach beyond a narrowly evangelical readership, including both secular entertainment venues like the *Argosy* (1865) and ecumenical intellectual organs like the *Contemporary Review* (from 1866). Several of these were unsuccessful, most notably the *Mirror* itself which appeared in only four weekly numbers between 25 April and 16 May 1863 before its sudden demise. Regarding the content of those issues, only a couple of book reviews have been confidently attributed to Dallas,[2] although at least one general article on the role of the journalist

seems certain to be his,[3] while no other contributors have been positively identified. It also remains unclear whether the original idea for the new weekly came from Dallas or Strahan. Patricia Srebrnik's monograph on the publisher does not mention the *Mirror* at all,[4] while the journalist's private correspondence reveals a pair of equally detailed accounts that give partially conflicting answers to this question, both of which merit citing in full.

The first to John Blackwood, penned over two months before the paper was launched, suggests that the journal was Dallas's brainchild:

> … I want you to advise me on a scheme which is on foot, though for the present it is a secret. I happened casually the other day to sketch out at a dinner table the plan of a weekly newspaper which is much wanted—a genuine newspaper such as is not now to be had—the news got together not by mere scissor's work as at present, but by being all digested & rewritten by the best newswriters going. Together with the news there would be the usual leaders & reviews & essays—but the whole would be a complete reflex of the week, & in form would be thoroughly original. It would be tedious to give you on paper the details—but you can take for granted the novelty in the mode of setting forth the news which is the chief thing. Next day, little Strahan who was present and heard me came & made me an offer. I have known Strahan since he was in petticoats. He was born in the same Rosshire town—Tain—where I spent the first twelve years of my life. His eldest brother—now dead—was my school fellow … Well this plucky little bantamcock, who has just come to London, & is making a lot of money out of Good Words came to me & offered £1000 a year to edit such a paper as I have described, & extra pay for anything I may write in it. On making my enquiries I find the following—that I can keep my Times position all the same, that I am likely to get the support of the Times; that I can get assistance from the Times writers, and that if the news department is done as I wish (the original writing being as good as the Saturday Review) there ought in the first year to be a circulation of from 10000 to 20000. It must in short become the weekly paper.[5]

Although reiterating that, regarding staff, he was 'pretty well off with men on the spot', Dallas asked for Blackwood's general support in gaining the assistance of 'the Tory leaders'. More particularly, he requested help in persuading W.E. Aytoun to write for the new weekly paper, although, in fact, by then the professor's health was in rapid decline and he was contributing little even to the 'Maga'.

Dallas's second account of the creation of the *Mirror* was addressed to Edward Bulwer Lytton (1803-73: *ODNB*), as distinguished in the political as the literary world, who, abandoning his earlier radical stance, had re-entered parliament as a Conservative member in 1852 and served briefly as Colonial Secretary under Lord Derby. Lytton's fiction had long been published both in serial and in volume by the Edinburgh house, and John Blackwood had provided Dallas with a letter of introduction in spring 1860 after the latter had started writing political articles for the 'Maga'.[6] There are more than a dozen extant letters from Dallas to Lytton, mainly on literary topics and dating from the summer of 1861 through to late 1868. In response to a query from Lytton, on 26 January 1864, more than six months after the journal had failed, Dallas told the following 'pretty story connected withal':

> The proprietor was a young man named Strahan; I have known him since he was in petticoats; he is the proprietor of a religious magazine called *Good Words* which brings him in about £600 a year & has a sale each month of about 100 000. When he proposed to me to edit the Mirror, I stated that I saw but one very strong objection—"You are the owner of Good Words, you depend on a religious set of readers, and I do not see how you can run the two horses, godliness & worldliness, for the Mirror if I am to have anything to do with it must appeal entirely to a secular not a religious public." In the end he overruled that objection & I

consented to his terms which were very liberal. Now exactly three weeks before the Mirror appeared there came out in the Record newspaper a prolonged and most savage attack upon Good Words. Through six successive numbers of that paper, all men of true religion were told that Good Words should be discouraged, that its writers (Dean Stanley & others) were little better than infidels, and the men of the Record vowed a vow "to break the back of Good Words"—that was their own phrase. The attack and the first number of the Mirror came out simultaneously. But the effect of the attack upon the former was so marked that the sale of that number went down 10 000. (One "Pure Literature Society" which had subscribed for 5 000 copies refused to subscribe any more, & others did likewise.) Poor little Strahan was in a horrible fright & feared still further losses. Then out came the second number of the Mirror, and shortly afterwards it was announced in all the papers—"The proprietor of the new weekly journal, the Mirror, is said to be Mr Strahan, who is the proprietor of Good Words." The announcement flew through the country papers & by the time that the third number of the Mirror was issued, Strahan was besieged in this style—"You do not mean to say that you are the proprietor of the Mirror. Why that is a secular paper—it has articles on the opera, on the theatre, on horse-racing, all sympathising. In the last number there was an article on whist. You will be ruined. This gives point to all that the Record has been saying about your want of evangelical principles. You must shun the Mirror. Its success is nothing to you. For every copy of the Mirror that you sell you will lose ten copies of Good Words. Good Words is your sheet anchor: stick to that." Thereupon Strahan came to me & offered me money if I would take the paper off his hands. To make a long story short, the end of our discussion was that I said to him—"I do not think that at this juncture—three weeks after it has been launched—you can get the paper transferred. All I can say is that is that if you are likely to drop out, pray drop out at once. If you drop out now—it will be your failure not mine: if you drop it some weeks hence, it will be my failure in the eye of the world & not yours." The result was that he dropt it at once & paid me cash down £1000—one year's salary. I was very sorry because (apart from the annoyance which I suffered) the paper was doing so very well that it was a great pity to let so good a speculation fall. It went to the ground however and I have learned a lesson—never to have anything to do with a religious publisher.[7]

Such an explanation of the premature demise of the new paper, as due to partisan rivalry between evangelical periodicals,[8] does not seem to have found its way into the contemporary press. There, at least a couple of weeks before the appearance of the paper, 'Messrs. Strahan & Co.' and 'Mr. Dallas of the "Times"' had been identified respectively as publisher and editor;[9] during the brief period of publication there was a mixture of praise and blame;[10] while the sudden failure was most frequently put down simply to the fact that the metropolitan market was already overcrowded with similar critical weekly papers.[11] The closure of the paper after only four weeks obviously represented a substantial loss of investment money on the part of the proprietor and of working hours on the part of the editor, though at least for Dallas the thousand pounds in ready cash must have been very welcome. Clearly, however, none of it was used to reduce his debts to Blackwood at least.

* * * * *

Dallas's application for W.E. Aytoun's empty chair at Edinburgh was complexly involved with the publication of his monograph, *The Gay Science*, whose first volume appears to have been completed hastily and set up in type over a year in advance of the second, in order to bolster the candidate's *resumé*. The recruitment of a replacement as Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh began soon after the death of Aytoun at the age of only 52 on Friday, 4 August 1865. The official annual salary for the position was a mere £200, but Dallas informed Blackwood that he had heard from Aytoun himself four years earlier that,

including individual student lecture fees, 'the chair was worth £750 a year, that it was increasing every year, that it was capable of unlimited extension, & that ere long he expected to make it £1000'; Dallas added confidently that he would be able to 'make it the most popular in the University'. Moreover, he concluded the letter with the observation, 'The Professorship could not interfere with my Times work. The seven months I should be free.'[12] The Chair was among the half dozen or so sponsored by the Crown (as opposed to the Town Council, the Faculty of Advocates, or the Senate),[13] which meant that it was effectively a government appointment, with Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, in charge of the committee. Only a week or so after Aytoun died, Dallas had written to John Blackwood in Edinburgh, confirming that he had 'resolved to become a candidate for his chair'.[14] Mentioning a couple of especially formidable rivals, he added that he would thus be 'very grateful if you would give me the weight of your influence toward securing it' with both the Lord Advocate in Edinburgh and Lord Grey in London. In a postscript he added that he had just written to the now staunchly Tory Bulwer Lytton, presumably with a similar request, but did not mention that he had also appealed to Charles Dickens, a man of decidedly reformist opinions. The Scottish journalist had been acquainted with Dickens since the early 1860s, both as a fellow member of the Garrick Club and via correspondence, and the latter's collected letters reveal that Dallas had approached him regarding the Aytoun chair in mid-August 1865.[15]

But testimonials alone were insufficient, and Dallas obviously needed to embellish his *curriculum vitae* as well as gather prestigious recommendations. As we have seen, although Dallas had published a wide range of anonymous critical articles in various periodicals over the previous decade and more, his only signed publication was the slim volume *Poetics* dating from 1852, not long after he had come down from the university. There had long been rumours in the press that Dallas was engaged in writing a follow-up,[16] and the announcement of Aytoun's demise clearly encouraged him to hastily put the finishing touches to what was to be the first volume of *The Gay Science*,[17] and persuade Chapman and Hall to set it up in type immediately. With his letter to Blackwood of August 18th, written 'in the turmoil of getting all my testimonials in', Dallas had enclosed 'Vol. I of my new work. (It wants a sheet however)', noting that he was sending a similar copy to the Lord Advocate by the same post.[18] Clearly Dickens had been sent an even less complete version a couple of days earlier, for he wrote to Dallas on the 17th acknowledging receipt of a parcel the previous evening, commenting that thus far he found the subject 'admirably treated. The writing is charming, and the felicity of the illustrations very remarkable …';[19] at the same time he instructed Dallas to send the complete volume to Lord Russell as soon as available, enclosing drafts of his own testimonials to both Russell and Grey.

Unfortunately, before the end of August 1865 Chapman and Hall also began to advertise *The Gay Science* as already 'In press',[20] although readers in fact had to wait at least fifteen months for the work to be available, while the premature notices of publication also led to a degree of confusion and adverse comment among the critics.[21] After the award of the Edinburgh chair had been announced, it seems that printed copies of the first volume may also have been sent in advance to potential reviewers, including John Skelton who, under

the pen-name 'Shirley', was then acting as literary critic for *Fraser's Magazine*, where his review of *The Gay Science* eventually appeared in the December 1866 issue, though referring to material from the first volume only.[22] In mid-August that year, the editor of *Fraser's*, J.A. Froude had in fact written to Skelton asking, 'What about Dallas? Is the book ever coming out, or is the article to be broken up?', implying that the review might have been written and set up in type months rather than weeks earlier.[23] There is also the strange case of a notice appearing almost a year *before* the book was formally published, in the course of a lengthy general article on the writings of Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, by poet and critic Frank T. Marzials in the *Quarterly Review* of January 1866. While discussing Matthew Arnold's respect for the French critic, the critic had devoted a couple of pages to an evaluation of *The Gay Science*, again referring only to the first volume where Arnold's position was subject to questioning. The accuracy of the one lengthy quotation offered by Marzials suggests strongly that he had to hand a printed copy of the text.[24]

The candidates for the Aytoun chair were discussed widely in the press. Already on Saturday, August 19th, the *Paisley Herald* listed three names 'already freely spoken of' (Dr Daniel Wilson of Toronto University, the novelist George Macdonald, then attached to Bedford College, London, and Dallas himself), as well as four others ('Mr Masson, editor of Macmillan's Magazine', the Free Church Minister William Hanna, and Dallas's old Edinburgh friends, Alexander Smith and John Skelton);[25] two weeks later the same paper offered a 'complete list' of seven, with Smith having withdrawn and Prof. John Nichol of Glasgow added.[26] In late September the *Fife Herald* jumped the gun and declared that it had learned 'through a private channel' that William Hanna had been appointed,[27] although it was more than two weeks later that *The Times* published official confirmation, 'by telegram' from the Home Secretary, that the professorship had in fact been awarded to 'Professor David Masson, of University College, London' who was both well qualified and a Scot.[28] Dallas had confided to John Blackwood as early as the first Wednesday of September that he did not think he had 'any chance of getting … [Aytoun's] chair.'[29] All the same, his eventual rejection for the professorship formerly held by the teacher who had publicly mocked his first book, despite the submission for evaluation of (part of) the second, must have been particularly galling. Perhaps even more so as his work on the application had ironically coincided with a further round of negotiations with Blackwoods over how to settle his growing debt to the firm. The letter to Dallas of late August from William Blackwood III, the son of the Major, for example, had concluded, 'I trust your prospects of success for Aytoun's Chair are looking well & we shall be very glad to hear any good news regarding it.' But this must have read as something of a mockery as it followed so shortly after a proposal concerning loan security from the new junior partner in the firm: 'I now enclose the Life Insurance Policy & will feel obliged by your having it assigned over to us for such portion of the Loan as remains to be paid after the £175 you propose now to pay.' [30]

The Gay Science eventually appeared in two volumes from Chapman and Hall near the end of November 1866. In the opening chapters, Dallas sets himself the ambitious task of cultivating a 'science of

criticism', which he argues must be based on 'a science of the laws of pleasure'.[31] These 'laws' in turn need to be founded on 'a correct psychology',[32] later explored in a lengthy chapter concerning the 'Hidden Soul'—that is, the unconscious mind which lies at the source not only of artistic production, but of all creative thought.[33] (This R.A. Forsyth has described rather casually as 'Dallas's "Freudian" theory of the unconscious'.)[34] This ambitious project is made even more challenging by two additional aspirations: firstly, to provide a comprehensive overview of the historical evolution of literary criticism, drawing attention to its strengths and weaknesses; and secondly to interrogate the idea of 'the individual', both as a singular entity with a dynamic inner life, and as a social identity shaped by specific cultural processes, manifested above all in the general concept of what he terms 'the national life'[35] and within the specific forms of modern individualism. Such wide-ranging ambitions certainly help to explain Dallas's typically diffuse mode of proceeding, not only in his opening chapters, but also in his lengthy analysis of the nature of pleasure in the early chapters of the second volume, and indeed throughout the work as a whole, with its plethora of elaborations, digressions, citations and repetitions. But it is also possible to treat this diffuseness as the result of many years of meditation on the nature of 'literature', of how it is produced and circulated, and on the character of aesthetic response—a project that Dallas had pursued in a piecemeal but persistent way throughout his career as a critical journalist.

The opinions of the reviewers were polarized: at the positive pole, the *Daily News*, for example, praised the author for expressing 'with wonderful power and wealth of illustration, a thesis which most thinking men will rejoice to see so ably maintained', offering a particularly suggestive critique of the author's concept of the 'hidden soul' as the unconscious action of the mind.[36] At the negative, in the *Saturday Review*, say, this 'psychological inquiry' pursued by Dallas was written off as 'singularly flimsy and unsatisfactory', with the theory of the 'Hidden Soul' firmly rejected.[37] The Author's Preface declared roundly that the published volumes attempting to 'settle the first principles of Criticism' were 'to be followed by two more' devoted to 'the practical questions of Criticism'.[38] The fact that the remaining volumes never appeared was sometimes taken as a sign of the failure of Dallas's critical project, although it seems possible to consider the cornucopia of his critical reviews already published in periodicals, whose existence was hinted at in the number and range of extracted passages embedded in the monograph, as standing in lieu of the two unwritten volumes.

* * * * *

A weekly literary miscellany rather than a news review, *Once a Week* was a very different journal to the *Edinburgh Guardian* or the *Mirror*. Started up in 1859 by Bradbury and Evans when Dickens broke away from the publishers to found his own *All the Year Round*, its founding editor was the journalist who shared reviewing responsibilities with Dallas at *The Times*, Samuel Lucas. Lucas continued in the role until mid-1865 when it was taken over by his assistant Edward Walford.[39] Priced initially at threepence, the new lavishly illustrated paper relied heavily on contributions by artists and writers associated with *Punch*, and typically offered both verse and serial fiction.[40] These traditions continued through the new series of over eighty issues, to be collected into

three volumes, overseen by Dallas between January 1868 and July 1869. However, the journal now bore the editor's name prominently on the front page, the issue length was typically reduced to 20 pages (from 28), there were fewer illustrations of rather lower quality, and the cover price dropped to twopence. Correspondence between Dallas and the publisher in December 1867 confirms that the editor was to receive £800 per annum with his individual contributions paid for separately.[41] In a letter to Emma Wood around February 1868,[42] Dallas gave a breakdown of the costs of the first issue which totalled about £1270: the editorial content came to over £223 (including £55 for the serial instalment, £52 for a short Tennyson poem,[43] £33 for the illustrations, and £66 to the editor), plus roughly £45 for paper and printing, but with a massive £1000 for advertising. 'How many twopences are needed to pay for that?' he asked rhetorically, the answer being about 150,000.[44] Presumably the publicity for the early issues was exceptional, as under Lucas, the circulation seems to have declined from over twenty thousand in the first year to less than ten in the last.[45]

In earlier series of *Once a Week*, much of the material had been signed or initialled. But Dallas seems to have applied his principles of journalistic anonymity fairly rigorously, so that under his editorship everything but the serial and verse tended to appear anonymously.[46] Identifying his own contributions is thus not easy. With Dallas in the editor's chair, each issue concluded with a miscellany of brief items entitled 'Table Talk', which must generally have been selected and arranged by the Scotsman, and many are likely to have been written by him since they are explicitly attributed to the editor.[47] (The cost breakdown for the first issue gave the total spending on the nearly three pages of 'Table Talk' as less than £8.) A few general articles—such as 'Soho Economies' and 'Milton, or Not Milton?' (30 May and 15 August 1868, respectively)—can be identified because of passages recycled elsewhere, while a few—like 'Victor Hugo at Home' and 'More About Victor Hugo' (9 and 16 January 1869)—are written from the perspective of the editor; others seem likely candidates based on content and style alone, notably 'The Profession of Literature' (30 May 1868).[48] An exception to the rule of anonymity is found, however, in the one Christmas number supervised by Dallas, a special issue in 1868 under the title *Once a Year*. There all items are at least initialled and the initials can be clearly identified from advertising of *Once a Year* elsewhere in the press.[49] There Dallas himself contributed both the Preface and 'My Cid', a bitter-sweet poem in twenty quatrains on the death of a pet dog, his only known published work in verse.[50] Mark Lemon and Shirley Brooks, both from the *Punch* stable, also supplied items in verse, while among the many seasonal illustrations were offerings by John Millais and Luke Fildes. Representing the editor's contacts at *The Times*, G.W. Dasent contributed another of his 'Tales from the Fjeld' (adapted from the Norse folk narratives collected by Peter Christen Asbjørnsen, and earlier serialised in *Once a Week* itself). From among his Blackwood's connexions, Bulwer Lytton supplied a fantasy under the title 'The Old Dream'. There is an extant letter from Dallas to Lytton on *Once a Week* office notepaper from late September 1868 requesting 'a short story of a few pages for the Christmas number'.[51] Generally then Dallas does not seem to have experienced too much difficulty in soliciting a range of contributions from colleagues and acquaintances.[52]

ONCE A WEEK

New Series

EDITED BY E. S. DALLAS.

No. 1. January 4, 1868. Price 2d.

FOUL PLAY.

BY

CHARLES READE AND DION BOUCICAULT.

CHAPTER I.

HERE ARE places which appear at first sight inaccessible to romance: and such a place was Mr. Wardlaw's dining-room in Russell Square. It was very large, had sickly green walls, picked out with aldermen, full length; heavy maroon curtains; mahogany chairs; a turkey carpet an inch thick: and was lighted with wax candles only.

In the centre, bristling and gleaming with silver and glass, was a round table, at which fourteen could have dined comfortably; and at opposite sides of this table sat two gentlemen, who looked as neat, grave, precise, and unromantic, as the place: Merchant Wardlaw, and his son.

Wardlaw senior was an elderly man, tall, thin, iron-grey, with a round head, a short thick neck, a good brown eye, a square jowl that betokened resolution, and a complexion so sallow as to be almost cadaverous. Hard as iron: but a certain stiff dignity and respectability sat upon him, and became him.

Arthur Wardlaw resembled his father in figure, but his mother in face. He had, and has, hay-coloured hair, a forehead singularly white and delicate, pale blue eyes, largish ears, finely chiselled features, the under lip much shorter than the upper; his chin oval and pretty, but somewhat receding; his complexion beautiful. In short, what nineteen people out of twenty would call a handsome young man, and think they had described him.

Both the Wardlaws were in full dress, according to the invariable custom of the house; and sat in a dead silence, that seemed natural to the great, sober room.

This, however, was not for want of a topic; on the contrary, they had a matter of great importance to discuss, and in fact this was why they dined *tête-à-tête:* but their tongues were tied for the present; in the first place, there stood in the middle of the table an epergne, the size of a Putney laurel tree; neither Wardlaw could well see the other, without craning out his neck like a rifleman from behind his tree: and then there were three live suppressors of confidential intercourse, two gorgeous footmen, and a sombre, sublime, and, in one word, episcopal, butler; all three went about as softly as cats after a robin, and conjured one plate away, and smoothly insinuated another, and seemed models of grave discretion; but were known to be all ears, and bound by a secret oath to carry down each crumb of dialogue to the servants' hall, for curious dissection, and boisterous ridicule.

At last, however, those three smug hypocrites retired, and, by good luck, transferred their suffocating epergne to the side-board; so then father and son looked at one another with that conscious air which naturally precedes a topic of interest; and Wardlaw senior invited his son to try a certain decanter of rare old port, by way of preliminary.

While the young man fills his glass, hurl we in his antecedents.

At school till fifteen, and then clerk in his father's office till twenty-two, he showed an aptitude so remarkable, that John Wardlaw, who was getting tired, determined, sooner or later, to put the reins of government into his hands. But he conceived a desire that the future head of his office should be an university man. So he announced his resolution, and to Oxford went young Wardlaw, though he had not looked at Greek or Latin for seven years. He was, however, furnished with a private tutor, under whom he recovered lost ground rapidly. The Reverend Robert Penfold was a first-class man, and had the gift of teaching.

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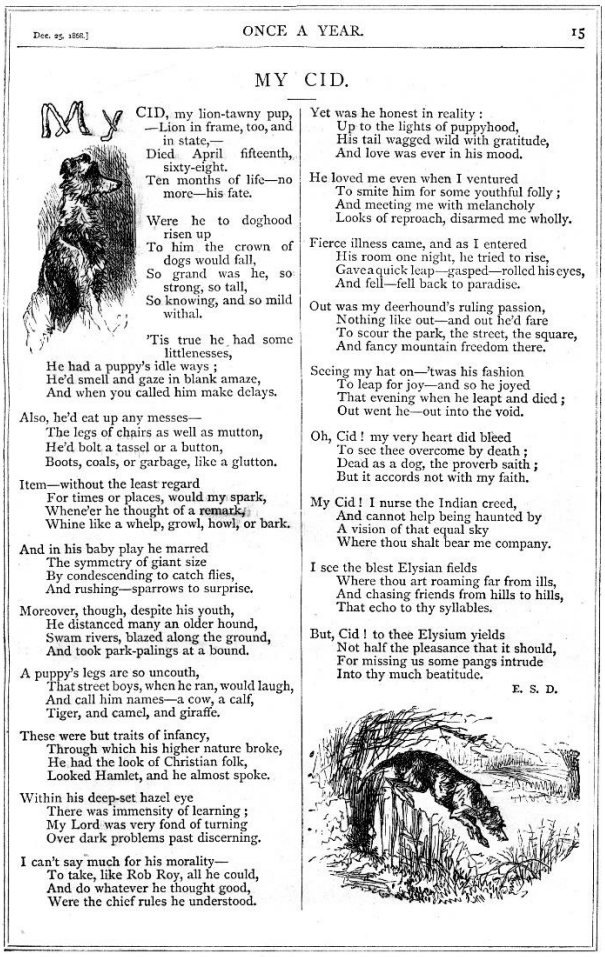

Dec. 25, 1868.] ONCE A YEAR. 15

MY CID.

My CID, my lion-tawny pup,
—Lion in frame, too, and in state,—
Died April fifteenth, sixty-eight.
Ten months of life—no more—his fate.

Were he to doghood risen up
To him the crown of dogs would fall,
So grand was he, so strong, so tall,
So knowing, and so mild withal.

'Tis true he had some littlenesses,
He had a puppy's idle ways;
He'd smell and gaze in blank amaze,
And when you called him make delays.

Also, he'd eat up any messes—
The legs of chairs as well as mutton,
He'd bolt a tassel or a button,
Boots, coals, or garbage, like a glutton.

Item—without the least regard
For times or places, would my spark,
Whene'er he thought of a remark,
Whine like a whelp, growl, howl, or bark.

And in his baby play he marred
The symmetry of giant size
By condescending to catch flies,
And rushing—sparrows to surprise.

Moreover, though, despite his youth,
He distanced many an older hound,
Swam rivers, blazed along the ground,
And took park-palings at a bound.

A puppy's legs are so uncouth,
That street boys, when he ran, would laugh,
And call him names—a cow, a calf,
Tiger, and camel, and giraffe.

These were but traits of infancy,
Through which his higher nature broke,
He had the look of Christian folk,
Looked Hamlet, and he almost spoke.

Within his deep-set hazel eye
There was immensity of learning;
My Lord was very fond of turning
Over dark problems past discerning.

I can't say much for his morality—
To take, like Rob Roy, all he could,
And do whatever he thought good,
Were the chief rules he understood.

Yet was he honest in reality:
Up to the lights of puppyhood,
His tail wagged wild with gratitude,
And love was ever in his mood.

He loved me even when I ventured
To smite him for some youthful folly;
And meeting me with melancholy
Looks of reproach, disarmed me wholly.

Fierce illness came, and as I entered
His room one night, he tried to rise,
Gave a quick leap—gasped—rolled his eyes,
And fell—fell back to paradise.

Out was my deerhound's ruling passion,
Nothing like out—and out he'd fare
To scour the park, the street, the square,
And fancy mountain freedom there.

Seeing my hat on—'twas his fashion
To leap for joy—and so he joyed
That evening when he leapt and died;
Out went he—out into the void.

Oh, Cid! my very heart did bleed
To see thee overcome by death;
Dead as a dog, the proverb saith;
But it accords not with my faith.

My Cid! I nurse the Indian creed,
And cannot help being haunted by
A vision of that equal sky
Where thou shalt bear me company.

I see the blest Elysian fields
Where thou art roaming far from ills,
And chasing friends from hills to hills,
That echo to thy syllables.

But, Cid! to thee Elysium yields
Not half the pleasance that it should,
For missing us some pangs intrude
Into thy much beatitude.

E. S. D.

Fig. 7.1~7.2. Pages from *Once a Week* & *Once a Year*

Where he did encounter major problems was in maintaining a reliable supply of quality serial fiction. The arrangements for Reade and Boucicault's *Foul Play* (a 'novel with a purpose' exposing the deliberate scuttling of ships and incorporating a romantic *Robinsonade* on a Pacific island) were probably made by his predecessor Walford, but as soon as the serialisation was over the authors were accused of blatant plagiarism in the satirical monthly *The Mask*.[53] Dallas not only provided space in *Once a Week* for Reade to offer a detailed defense against the accusation, but also inserted a paragraph in the 'Table Talk' of the same issue attacking a crude caricature of Reade in the following number of the same periodical.[54] The follow-up to *Foul Play* proved to be *Love the Avenger* by Baroness Marie Blaze de Bury, who does not even make it into John Sutherland's compendious *Companion to Victorian Fiction.* By then the editor had concluded expensive deals with Victor Hugo and Anthony Trollope to provide new novels, respectively *L'Homme qui Rit* ['The Laughing Man'] and *The Vicar of Bullhampton*, whose instalments were scheduled to occupy the leading position in the journal from January and May 1869 respectively. Although Dallas had arranged for a rapid translation of the French novel by his close friend Lady Emma Wood, perhaps with the assistance of her daughter Anna Steele, it quickly became

apparent that the original would not be available in time to start at the beginning of 1869. Trollope, who had made his arrangements well before Hugo and finished his work ahead of schedule, was mildly annoyed but agreed to delay his own start to the beginning of July. On 22 March 1869, however, Dallas had to write to Trollope explaining that, due to 'the incessant corrections of the author', *L'Homme qui Rit* would not now come out in Paris before the April. Since it would be economic suicide for the weekly journal to expand its length to carry two serial instalments at the same time, he begged Trollope to agree to having *The Vicar of Bullhampton* run from May as originally scheduled, but in a different Bradbury and Evans magazine, the much less popular veteran monthly *Gentleman's Magazine*. Trollope was incensed and immediately withdrew from the arrangements so that his novel instead appeared initially in independent monthly parts, without great success.[55]

For weeks before that, as occasional editorial comments in 'Table Talk' attest, Dallas had been faced with the problem of filling the gap left at the head of each issue by the absence of Hugo's instalment; in the January issues, for example, that space was occupied by three more 'Tales from the Fjeld' from Dasent, and a couple of lengthy biographical pieces on Hugo, then living in exile in Guernsey, clearly put together by Dallas himself with liberal use of scissors and paste.[56] By the April, when it was apparent that *L'Homme qui Rit* was still not ready to start, its serialization was also abruptly transferred to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and Dallas was relieved to receive Anna Steele's *So Runs the World Away*, which ran in *Once a Week* from 17 April 1869 until a few weeks after Dallas had vacated the editor's chair. His strong sense of obligation to the two women also led to an incident that further damaged his standing at *The Times*. After the French original of Hugo's work had eventually appeared in volume in Paris, the *Times* reviewer (Caroline Norton, according to the Editor's Diary) was not only highly critical of the novel itself, which in England had already acquired something of a reputation for indecency,[57] but also took the opportunity to slam the hurried effort at translation in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* This was described as 'so imperfect that it is difficult to guess whether it is made by an Englishman who does not understand French or a Frenchman who does not understand English'.[58] Dallas immediately took up the cudgels in the defence of the unnamed translator(s), and wrote two angry letters to the editor, separated by a mildly placatory response from the reviewer. The second was particularly intemperate in accusing the reviewer of, among other things, being 'keen and cocksure in the discovery of error', and was thus followed by the briefest of comments from the editor: 'This controversy must now end.'[59] Although Dallas was permitted to include an enthusiastic review of Steele's *So Runs the World Away* when it was published in volume at the beginning of 1870, this was to be virtually his last critical notice to appear in *The Times*.[60]

The end of Dallas's tenure as editor at *Once a Week*, however, seems to have had little if anything to do with such issues. Each suffering from poor health, the publishing partners Bradbury and Evans had both retired in 1865, leaving the firm to their sons, and were to die in 1869 and 1870 respectively. Under the control of the junior members of the two families, the firm entered a period of instability and in June 1869 it was decided to sell by auction the publishing right to their weekly literary miscellany, together with its valuable collection of

wood-cuts. In the end the concern was sold to Thomas Cooper of Fleet Street, who opted to dispense with the services of Dallas and run the paper unillustrated under the control of James Rice, who later collaborated with Walter Besant to compose serials for the magazine. One of Rice's first projects there was to generate publicity by issuing, as 'The Editor of "Once a Week"', *The Stowe-Byron Controversy*, a one-shilling 128-page pamphlet (also published by Cooper) in mid-September 1869, and consisting mainly of press extracts, which defended the poet Byron from the scandalous accusations concerning his relationship with his sister levelled by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Unfortunately, this volume has often been mistakenly attributed to Dallas.[61] While the journalist's tenure as editor of *Once a Week* was far from representing an abject failure in literary terms, in the end it could not provide the long-term source of stable income that he was desperately in need of as his position at *The Times* was steadily undermined.

* * * * *

As we shall see in the following chapters, Dallas's lengthy stints in Paris as French correspondent of *The Times* not only proved to be signs of his increasingly marginal position at the paper, but also to precipitate a crisis in his relationship with Isabella Glyn in which Emma Wood and Anna Steele were entangled. Before turning to those events, however, in conclusion we need to mention briefly a couple of other minor publishing projects, both concerning the literature of the eighteenth century, that Dallas engaged in during the later 1860s, again apparently with additional income in mind, although without notable success in either case. These were an abridged version of Samuel Richardson's epistolary novel in eight volumes, *Clarissa; or, The History of a Young Lady* (1748-49), and an edition of William Shenstone's aphoristic *Essays on Men and Manners* (based on the first volume of his *Works in Verse and Prose*, published posthumously in 1764).[62] Lauding Richardson's work in *The Gay Science* as 'the finest novel in the English language',[63] Dallas had clearly embarked on reducing the novel 'to readable dimensions' well before Aytoun's death. In the summer of 1865, explaining that he had already completed two volumes and intended to have the whole 'ready for Xmas', Dallas offered the copyright to John Blackwood 'as security for the balance of my debt'.[64] Although this clearly came to nothing, the abridged work was eventually published, in three volumes with an insightful editorial introduction of over fifty pages, by Tinsley Brothers in September 1868, when it was reviewed promptly and (in general) positively in both *The Times* and *Athenaeum*.[65] More than thirty years later, however, the publisher revealed that he had paid the editor £400 and lost money on the venture, describing it as 'a bad bargain with an unreliable man'.[66] Shortly after assuming the editor's chair at *Once a Week*, Dallas wrote to Bradbury and Evans proposing the Shenstone project, suggesting that, if the first volume of essays were successful, it should be followed by a second devoted to the author's verse.[67] The *Essays* duly appeared in the cheap 'Handy-Volume' series at half-a-crown in June 1868, with a very brief unsigned Preface based on the proposal to the publisher; although the book received respectful if belated notices in both the *Saturday Review* and *Athenaeum*,[68] we must presume it

was not particularly popular since no edition of the poems was forthcoming. In this case, the editor's fee remains unknown, but seems likely to have been a good deal less than that offered by Tinsleys.

Chapter 7: In the Editor's, but not the Professor's Chair: Notes

[1] See, for example: 'The First Number of the Mirror', *Examiner* (11 April 1863), p. 240.

[2] According to Carruthers, 'E.S. Dallas as Reviewer', pp. 378 & 386, Dallas was responsible for the reviews of Herbert Spencer's *First Principles* and Gustav Flaubert's *Salambô*, respectively in *The Mirror* (9 May 1863), pp. 122–23, and (16 May 1863), p. 158.

[3] See Law, *The Periodical Press Revolution*, p. 91, where it is argued that, based on internal evidence, Dallas must have written 'Anonymous Writing', *The Mirror* (25 April 1863), pp. 28–29.

[4] Patricia Thomas Srebrnik, *Alexander Strahan: Victorian Publisher* (Ann Arbor, MI: U. of Michigan Press, 1986).

[5] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 11 February 1863, Blackwood Papers, MS.4180.

[6] See John Blackwood to E.S. Dallas, 16 March 1860, cited in Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle', pp. 169–71.

[7] See E.S. Dallas to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, 26 January 1864, Letters to Lord Lytton, 1861–68. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

[8] Founded in 1828 as a weekly newspaper aimed at evangelicals in the Church of England, by the early 1860s, still under the editorship of Alexander Haldane, the paper was appearing three times a week and, according to the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, had become 'one of the loudest and most extreme voices of conservative evangelicalism' (p. 532).

[9] See brief items in many provincial weekly newspapers, including the *Bedfordshire Mercury* (11 April 1863), p. 6b: 'The new weekly paper, of which I lately spoke as shortly to be published by Messrs. Strahan & Co., I may now state is to be brought out on the 25th. I understand that it is to be called the *Mirror* and that it will be edited by Mr. Dallas of *The Times*.'

[10] See, for example, 'The Lounger at the Clubs', *Illustrated Times* (2 May 1863), p. 314b, where it was noted that 'a purchaser … gets plenty for his money' but that the leaders and reviews were merely 'of average ability'.

[11] From the first issue, the 'Lounger at the Clubs' at the *Illustrated Times* had suspected that since 'the market is already overstocked, the name of *The Mirror* will have to be added to the catalogue of failures' (*ibid.*).

[12] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 18 August 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[13] See 'City of Edinburgh', *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, p. 679.

[14] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, [12] August 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[15] See Dickens's letters in the Pilgrim edition to Sir George Grey, the chairman of the appointment committee, and The Earl Russell, who was shortly to become Prime Minister for the second time, both of 16 August 1865: M. House et al., eds, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, (12 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–2002), XI, pp. 81–82.

[16] The earliest located is in 'General Jottings', *Edinburgh News* (28 July 1855), p. 6d, where it was suggested that: 'E.S. Dallas, the author of "Poetics" is writing a new work which will form a second part or continuation of the former one.'

[17] As Law and Taylor, eds, have shown ('The Composition and Compilation of the Text', *The Gay Science*, pp. vi–ix), Dallas's monograph incorporates 'substantial sections featuring a collage of extracts from his previous publications, mainly review articles from a range of periodicals'; in the first volume, the second chapter includes, for example, a couple of lengthy passages recycled from 'Popular Literature: Prize Essays' in *Blackwood's Magazine* (December 1859).

[18] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 18 August 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[19] Charles Dickens to E.S. Dallas, 17 August 1865, House et al., eds, *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, XI, p. 84.

[20] See, for example, their advertisement in the *Athenaeum* (26 August 1865), p. 287. Further, the following item appeared near the head of the 'Our Weekly Gossip' column of the *Athenaeum* for 2 September 1865: 'Mr. E.S. Dallas has a work in the press called "The Gay Science: Essays towards a Science of Criticism." Many years ago,—as critical and poetical readers know,—Mr. Dallas published "Poetics," a work containing new and striking ideas. It is understood that "The Gay Science" is a development of the principles then first proposed to the public.' (p. 313).

[21] See Law and Taylor, eds, 'Editorial Introduction: The Publication and Reception of the Book', *The Gay Science*, pp. xii–xv.

[22] See 'Shirley' [John Skelton], 'Mr. Dallas on The Gay Science: The Laws and Functions of Criticism', *Fraser's Magazine* 74 (December 1866), pp. 771–86.

[23] The letter, dated 15 August [1866], is cited in Skelton, *The Table-Talk of Shirley*, p. 136.

[24] See [F.T. Marzials], 'M. Sainte-Beuve', *Quarterly Review* 119 (January 1866), pp. 81–108, which on pp. 105–7 cites the passage in *The Gay Science* from 'Mr. Arnold … tells us that the main intellectual effort…' to '… scarcely go to the feuilletons of M. Sainte Beuve.' (Ch. III: The Despair of a Science, I pp. 33–34).

[25] See 'The Chair of Rhetoric and English Literature at the Edinburgh University', *Paisley Herald* (19 August 1865), p. 6a.

[26] See 'The Chair of Rhetoric in Edinburgh', *Paisley Herald* (2 September 1865), p. 6b.

[27] See untitled announcement, *Fife Herald* (28 September 1865), p. [2]a.

[28] See 'University of Edinburgh', *The Times* (16 October 1865), p. 9f. Ironically, Dallas's former colleague on the reviewing staff of *The Times*, Samuel Lucas, whose publications were in the field of history rather than *belles lettres*, was equally unsuccessful when he applied for the post of Professor in English Language and Literature at University College, London which Masson vacated to take up the Edinburgh chair.

[29] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, Wednesday [6 September] 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[30] See William Blackwood III to E.S. Dallas, 28 August 1865, cited in Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle', pp. 274–75.

[31] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I p. 6.

[32] *Ibid*., I p. 42.

[33] *Ibid*., I pp. 199–334

[34] See R.A. Forsyth, '"The Onward March of Thought" and the Poetic Theory of E.S. Dallas', *British Journal of Aesthetics* 3:4 (October 1963), pp. 330–40; p. 338. Rather more precisely, a couple of decades later Jenny Taylor observed that Dallas's 'observations on the "hidden soul" now seem nearer to psychoanalytical interpretations than to the dominant biological model … though it is certainly more utopian than Freud and contains no concept of, for example, sexual repression.' ('The Gay Science: The "Hidden Soul" of Victorian Criticism', *Literature and History* 10:2 (Fall 1984), pp. 189–202; p. 198. Indeed, before the Second World War, M. Roberts had made rather similar observations in 'The Dream and the Poem: A Victorian Psycho-analyst', *TLS* (18 January 1936), pp. 41–42, where he argued: 'Dallas did not … completely foreshadow the psycho-analytical method … but he did see that the ways of the conscious mind can only be explained by assuming that it is sometimes fulfilling desires of which it is not aware, or is providing a substitute for those desires …' (p. 42).

[35] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I p. 22.

[36] Unsigned, 'Literature', *Daily News* (28 December 1866), p. 2a–c.

[37] Unsigned, 'The Gay Science', *Saturday Review* (26 January 1867), pp. 114–15. More generally on the twenty substantial British reviews located and the spectrum of opinions they revealed, see Law and Taylor, eds, 'The Publication and Reception of the Book', *The Gay Science*, pp. xii–xv.

[38] Dallas, 'Preface', *The Gay Science*, I, pp. v–vi.

[39] Around the same time, Lucas was released from the staff of *The Times*; indeed, in declining health, he was soon to retire from active journalism and died on the Sussex coast towards the end of 1868 at the age of only 50.

[40] Generally on the seminal role of *Once a Week* among the new illustrated periodicals of the 1860s, see Simon Cooke, *Illustrated Periodicals of the 1860s* (Pinner: Private Libraries Association, 2010), especially pp. 100–19.

[41] See W.E. Buckler, 'E. S. Dallas's Appointment as Editor of "Once a Week"', *Notes and Queries* (24 June 1950), pp. 279–80.

[42] Based on style alone, it appears that some of the simple unattributed inline sketches in the journal under Dallas's editorship might have been created by his close friend Lady Emma Wood, who had experience as a book illustrator; in 1865, for example, she had provided the ink drawings for *Ephemera* (Moxon), a collection of verse written with her daughter Anna Steele and published under the pseudonyms 'Helen and Gabrielle Carr'.

[43] The poem was 'On a Spiteful Letter', *Once a Week* (4 January 1868), p. 13; there is a letter dating from December 1867 from Dallas to the Poet Laureate requesting a contribution, where he reveals that he accepted the post of editor 'at a very short notice' and concludes 'As for terms—You know you can command your own.' (Tennyson Research Centre, Lincoln, Nebraska, Letters #6379).

[44] Cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, p. 164.

[45] Detailed information on the financial side of the weekly journal under its founding editor is found in W.E. Buckler, '*Once a Week* under Samuel Lucas, 1859–65', *PMLA* 67:7 (December 1952), pp. 924–41; pp. 937–39.

[46] According to Buckler ('*Once a Week* under Samuel Lucas', p. 926), apart from the inclusion of quality illustrations, one of the key distinctions from Dickens's weekly instituted by Lucas, the founding editor, was that 'writers were to have the option of signing their own contributions'.

[47] For example, the paragraph beginning 'Heat expands bodies: the hot weather dilates ideas …' and mocking the proposal that 'street names and numbers should be abolished, and that houses and places be designated by latitudes and longitudes', so that 'my address' would thus become 'The Editor at ONCE A WEEK. | 0°. 2'. 21". 34"'. W. | 51°. 28'. 30". 76"', N.'; see 'Table Talk' (25 July 1868), pp. 78–80; p. 78.

[48] See Law and Taylor, eds, 'E.S. Dallas: Towards a Primary Bibliography', *The Gay Science*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[49] For example, in the *Saturday Review* (5 December 1868), p. 766.

[50] Law and Taylor, eds, 'E.S. Dallas: Towards a Primary Bibliography', *The Gay Science*, p. xx.

[51] See E.S. Dallas to Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, [Monday] 28 September 1868, Letters to Lord Lytton, 1861–68. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. There is also a subsequent letter of 1868, dated simply 'Friday Night' (probably 3 October), where Dallas has clearly received Lytton's agreement to supply a short story, and explains at length how he intends to 'produce something which shall not in the least resemble the Xmas number of All the Year Round as Dickens conceived it', and sets a deadline of 5 November. He also suggests that *Once a Week* would be more than happy to carry a new serial novel by Lytton.

[52] In *My Days of Adventure: The Fall of France, 1870–71* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1914), p. 18, Ernest Alfred Vizetelly reveals that his first publication was an unsolicited submission to *Once a Week* under Dallas: the brief article 'The Claque' (concerning the people paid to lead the applause at French commercial theatres) duly appeared unsigned on 3 April 1869, pp. 251–52, though the author states that he submitted it under the penname 'Charles Ludhurst'.

[53] See 'Fair Play and Foul Play', *The Mask: A Humorous and Fantastic Review of the Month* 1 (July 1868), pp. 185–91, where it was alleged that the novel was plagiarised from the French drama, *Le Portefeuille Rouge*; the magazine was run by Alfred Thompson and Leopold Lewis.

[54] See Charles Reade, 'Foul Play', *Once a Week* (22 August 1868), pp. 151–55; and [E.S. Dallas], 'Charles Reade rightly describes the criticism on his last novel …' in 'Table Talk', *Once a Week* (22 August 1868), pp. 158–60; p. 159.

[55] Dallas's letter is cited in full in Michael Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary* (London: Constable, 1927), pp. 296–99, where the incident is described in detail from Trollope's point of view.

[56] See, as already mentioned, 'Victor Hugo at Home' (9 January 1869), pp. 563–70, and 'More About Victor Hugo' (16 January 1869), pp. 1–4. The first opens with the prefatory remarks: 'There is still some delay in the publication of M. Victor Hugo's great romance. In the meantime, the following account of its author may not be unwelcome.' (p. 563); the second begins: 'It appears that it is not possible to publish Victor Hugo's new novel in Paris before the end of the month. The delay must be a great disappointment to all who take an interest in these pages; and again I must ask them, while waiting for this work of extraordinary genius … to accept some account of its distinguished author.' (In the confusion, the first two issues of *Once a Week* for 1869 were paginated as part of the later 1868 series, and were thus collected and indexed in Volume II rather than Volume III).

[57] See, for example, the earliest British review of the French novel: 'L'Homme qui Rit', *Athenaeum* (1 May 1869), pp. 602–4, which acknowledged that the work included scenes 'of the most savage sensuality' (p. 604). This provoked a response from Joseph Hatton, the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, who wrote to assure readers that, in his periodical at least, they need fear neither 'a mutilation of the original story' or 'a literal translation' (Joseph Hatton, 'L'Homme qui Rit', *Athenaeum*, 15 May 1869, p. 669).

[58] See 'L'Homme qui Rit', *The Times* (14 October 1869), p. 4a–d; p. 4c.

[59] See E.S. Dallas, 'The Translation of "L'Homme qui Rit"', *The Times* (16 October 1869), p. 9e, and (19 October 1869), p. 9f; these in fact represent his only signed contributions to the newspaper. The response was: [Caroline Norton], 'L'Homme qui Rit', *The Times* (18 October 1869), p. 10d. Dallas's letters to the editor of *The Times* are identified and discussed in Flynn, 'E.S. Dallas and Trollope's *Vicar of Bullhampton*', p. 259.

[60] See [E.S. Dallas], 'So Runs the World Away', *The Times* (29 January 1870), p. 4d–f. There was in fact to be only one further review—of *Selections from Speeches of Earl Russell* on 9 February 1870.

[61] The attribution seems to be found first in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study', p. 240, but is repeated in the current edition of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (3rd ed., IV, ed. J. Shattock), pp. 2222–23),

[62] The study of Shenstone's aphorisms is likely have stimulated Dallas's interest in the maxims of La Rochefoucauld, on which he was working towards the end of his life (see Chapter 11).

[63] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, II, pp. 162–63; just before Dallas had also praised Shenstone because his influence was often 'directly the reverse of his precepts' (p. 161).

[64] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, [12] August 1865, Blackwood Papers, MS.4198.

[65] See: 'Clarissa', *The Times* (7 September 1868), p. 6a–c, where the editor's task was described as clearing the novel 'from superfluous rubbish—not to speak profanely—and transcribing it from faded type and dingy pages' (p. 6c); and 'Clarissa: a Novel', *Athenaeum* (26 September 1868), pp. 393–94.

[66] William Tinsley, *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* (2 vols; London: Tinsley, 1900), I, pp. 220–21; Tinsley's main complaint concerned delays in the delivery of the manuscript, although he also acknowledged that his losses were largely due to a competing edition issued much more cheaply around the same time from Routledge.

[67] The letter, dated only 'Saturday', is reprinted in W.E. Buckler, 'William Shenstone and E.S. Dallas: An Identification', *Notes and Queries* 195 (18 March 1950), pp. 118–19.

[68] See: 'Shenstone's Essays on Men and Manners', *Saturday Review* (26 September 1868), pp. 430–31; and 'Essays on Men and Manners', *Athenaeum* (12 December 1868), pp. 788–89.

Chapter 8: Our Special Correspondent in Paris

Between the spring of 1867 and the autumn of 1871, Dallas resided in the French capital for two lengthy periods to provide on-the-spot reporting for a couple of major London daily newspapers. First of all, for just over six months between mid-April and mid-October 1867 he acted as Special Correspondent for *The Times* covering 'L'Exposition Universelle d'Art et d'Industrie' in central Paris. During that period he is recorded in the Editorial Diaries as contributing twenty-five reports on 'The Great French Exhibition'.[1] (As we have seen, Dallas had probably been to Hyde Park to attend the Great Exhibition of 1851, while he had been required to provide a series of reports for *The Times* regarding the Great London Exposition at South Kensington in the summer of 1862.[2]) Secondly, for rather over a year from late August 1870 to late September 1871—that is, throughout not only most of the Franco-Prussian War, including the siege of the French capital, but also the subsequent civil conflict there under the Commune and its aftermath—he acted as Paris correspondent for two metropolitan dailies. One was *The Times* which, however, he served this time only as a voluntary Occasional Correspondent, contributing merely a handful of scattered reports from inside the city between late August and early February. That is, from just before the deposition of Emperor Napoleon III and the establishment in Paris of a Government of National Defence, until shortly after the signing of an Armistice. The other paper was *The Times*'s Liberal rival the *Daily News*,[3] founded in 1846 with Dickens as its initial editor, which became renowned as 'pre-eminent in the accuracy and value of every kind of intelligence with regard to the war'.[4] In the course of this long period of residence in the city, after a rather sporadic start from mid-September 1870, in addition to the occasional telegram with urgent news in compact form, Dallas seems to have supplied the *News* with around 150 substantial reports together forming a coherent and compelling narrative.[5] These cover dramatic incidents such as the arrest and incarceration of not only public figures such as General Paul Cluseret, Delegate for War under the Commune, but also of his own personal assistant, the Polish émigré Stefan Polès.[6] Relying primarily on his own first-hand reports, supported as necessary by either articles from other journalists stationed in Paris or items of personal correspondence, this chapter offers a detailed account of Dallas's often intense Parisian experiences in the course of both stays in the French capital. Initially, however, it will be helpful to give an overview of his prior encounters with its language and culture.

* * * * *

As suggested in Chapter 3, although his education in the Classics had begun at the Tain Royal Academy even before he entered his teens, Dallas seems to have embarked on the study of French, perhaps among other contemporary European languages, while attending the Madras College in St. Andrews in the early 1840s. That he soon developed into a gifted linguist well able to comment on and translate from a wide range of texts in both ancient and modern tongues is attested throughout his two monographs on the theory of criticism, *Poetics* (1852) and *The Gay Science* (1866). In the latter, Dallas on occasion offers his own translations of passages

from, for example, the critical commentary on Corneille's controversial tragicomedy *Le Cid* (1636), or Molière's comedy *L'École des Femmes* itself ('School for Wives'; 1662).[7] His familiarity with contemporary French fiction, the innovative works of Gustave Flaubert in particular, is evidenced by his review of *Salambô* in the weekly (London) *Mirror*, or his comments on *Madame Bovary* in his *Times* notice of Braddon's *The Doctor's Wife*.[8] It is perhaps also worth remembering that Dallas's wife, the actress Isabella Glyn was also familiar with French life and language: in her early twenties, before embarking on her theatrical career in Britain, she had studied in Paris at the Conservatoire under Théodore Michelot.[9] Indeed Ruskin's letter from Switzerland in the summer of 1859 suggests that Dallas and his wife might have visited the French capital together around that time.[10] An article published in 1868 suggests that by that time Dallas had made it as far south as Bayonne, not far from the Spanish border, where he recalls that 'the richest bit of light and shade and glow of purple and gold I ever saw was a street of rags, and idleness in the sun'.[11] We should also recall that the final unfinished literary project that Dallas had taken on before his death was an edition of the seventeenth-century *Maximes* of François de La Rochefoucauld, the intended introduction to which was published posthumously as an independent signed article in the *Nineteenth Century.*[12]

The value of his fluency in French had also been recognized early by his supervisors at *The Times*, and not only with regard to the role of critic. Although it belongs to the period when archival evidence is lacking, the newspaper's two-part review of Alexis de Tocqueville's *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856), in the timely English translation by Henry Reeve who had just left his post under Delane, seems likely to be by Dallas; noting Reeve's acclaimed earlier rendering of the Frenchman's *La Démocratie en Amérique*, the reviewer commented confidently on the quality of the new translation, praising '[t]he rare felicity with which [Mr. Reeve] … renders into English … two immortal works.'[13] On a number of occasions from the late 1850s Dallas was also called on to write notices of original works in the language,[14] while, in early June 1864 he was required to travel to Paris over the weekend to report at first hand on the Grand Prix, the new French horse race to be held annually at Longchamps, on the west side of the Bois de Boulogne.[15] There the English Epsom Derby winner Blair Athol was surprisingly beaten by the French horse Vermont, 'a bright bay, with three white legs', although the journalist's eye was also drawn to Napoleon III and Emperess Eugénie in the Imperial Box, who seemed more popular with the many English visitors than the local crowds.[16] It is not clear precisely when Dallas paid his first visit to Paris, though it seems to have been rather before he attended the second running of the Grand Prize at Longchamps. In a *Times* review of early 1858, for example, he writes with great familiarity of the Père-Lachaise cemetery located in eastern Paris.[17] It thus seems safe to assume that Dallas's acquaintance with the French capital had begun no later than around his thirtieth birthday.

* * * * *

Established by the decree of Emperor Napoleon III in 1864 to celebrate the renovation of Paris under the Second Empire, the Universal Exposition was officially held from 1 April to 3 November 1867. The main location

was the Champ de Mars, the rectangular military parade ground of about one hundred acres south of the Seine, at the foot of the Eiffel Tower, with an agricultural extension on Billancourt, the island in the river close by. The landscaping was carried out by Adolphe Alphand who had remodeled the Bois de Boulogne.

By the end, around 50,000 exhibitors from more than forty different countries had participated, with Asian nations—Japan, China and Siam—taking part in such an event for the first time. The exhibitions themselves were of a wide variety, covering not only the contemporary visual and plastic arts and the latest industrial, communication and military technology, but also natural and labour history, domestic and sacred oriental architecture, and much else. The enormous main exhibition space was oval in shape, enclosed by an elevated gallery, with extensive gardens surrounding a domed pavilion at the centre. Over the seven-month period when the exposition was formally open to the public, around 10,000,000 visitors were reported to have attended. The most comprehensive record, featuring hundreds of high-quality illustrations, was *L'Exposition Universelle 1867 Illustrée*, a serial publication authorized by the Imperial Commission and made up of 60 sixteen-page bi-weekly issues. Across the channel, a special double number of the *Illustrated London News* appeared on April 13, featuring many full-page cuts to celebrate the official opening of the 'Paris International Exhibition', and with many detailed views of particular exhibits in subsequent issues. Between the February and November, *The Times* itself published nearly fifty articles entitled 'The Great French Exhibition' nearly all carrying the by-line 'from Our Special Correspondent' at Paris, with just over half coming from Dallas's pen according to the Editorial Diaries held in the newspaper archives. Most of the rest were published either before Dallas arrived or after he left, although a handful appeared in parallel. The Editorial Diaries reveal the identities of other contributors, but do not explain why the newspaper used the same by-line for more than one journalist.[18]

Dallas's initial half-dozen reports, each of around two columns, appeared in the newspaper on the 11th, 16th, 17th, 23rd, 25th, and 30th April, typically carrying a dateline from the previous day. These early articles described the exhibition in general terms—those of April 11 and 16 offered respectively a historical perspective on the development of international expositions, and a compendium of practical advice for potential English visitors, while those of April 17 and 23 together provided 'a rapid sketch of the Exhibition as a whole', with the last two in turn covering frequent complaints from visitors, and the spendours of the park surrounding the main pavilion, both at day- and night-time. Later reports tended to cover specific exhibitors (French painters on 23 May followed by British painters on 30 May, for example) or departments of exhibition (sculpture on August 26, photography on September 28, or glassware on October 18, Dallas's final report), or particular events (special musical performances on both 24 June and 25 July). Based on form and content, it is difficult to distinguish those reports assigned in the Editorial Diaries to Dallas from the others on 'The Great French Exhibition'—for example, the article on the 'History of Labour' gallery of October 11 or the description the final Grand Banquet of October 29, both attributed to W.H. Russell.

Indeed, compared to the journalist's later wartime reports for the *Daily News*, his exhibition articles are decidedly thin on personal detail, and offer very little sense of Dallas's social circumstances or private activities while in the French capital. For that we must look elsewhere. Early in February 1867, a couple of months after *The Gay Science* was published, in thanking John Blackwood for the (in fact rather lukewarm) review in the 'Maga',[19] Dallas reported from Hanover Square, 'I am going in about a month to Paris as the Special Correspondent of the Times for three months—to do the Exhibition. They have offered me a large fee & I hope to make a good thing out of it.'[20] In fact, a few weeks in advance he seems to have popped over to Paris 'for two or three days', perhaps to arrange accommodation, and eventually taken up residence on 15 March—this according to unpublished correspondence from the period cited by Roellinger.[21] These letters send conflicting signals regarding what exactly the 'large fee' amounted to: to Lady Wood Dallas mentions '50 guineas' for 'six columns a week', while separate letters from the Office Manager Mowbray Morris indicate 'twice the usual sum of 20/ per day' but £72 throughout April for his half-a-dozen reports occupying twelve columns in total.[22] Perhaps then Dallas was receiving both a *per diem* subsistence allowance and *pro rata* payments for articles submitted.

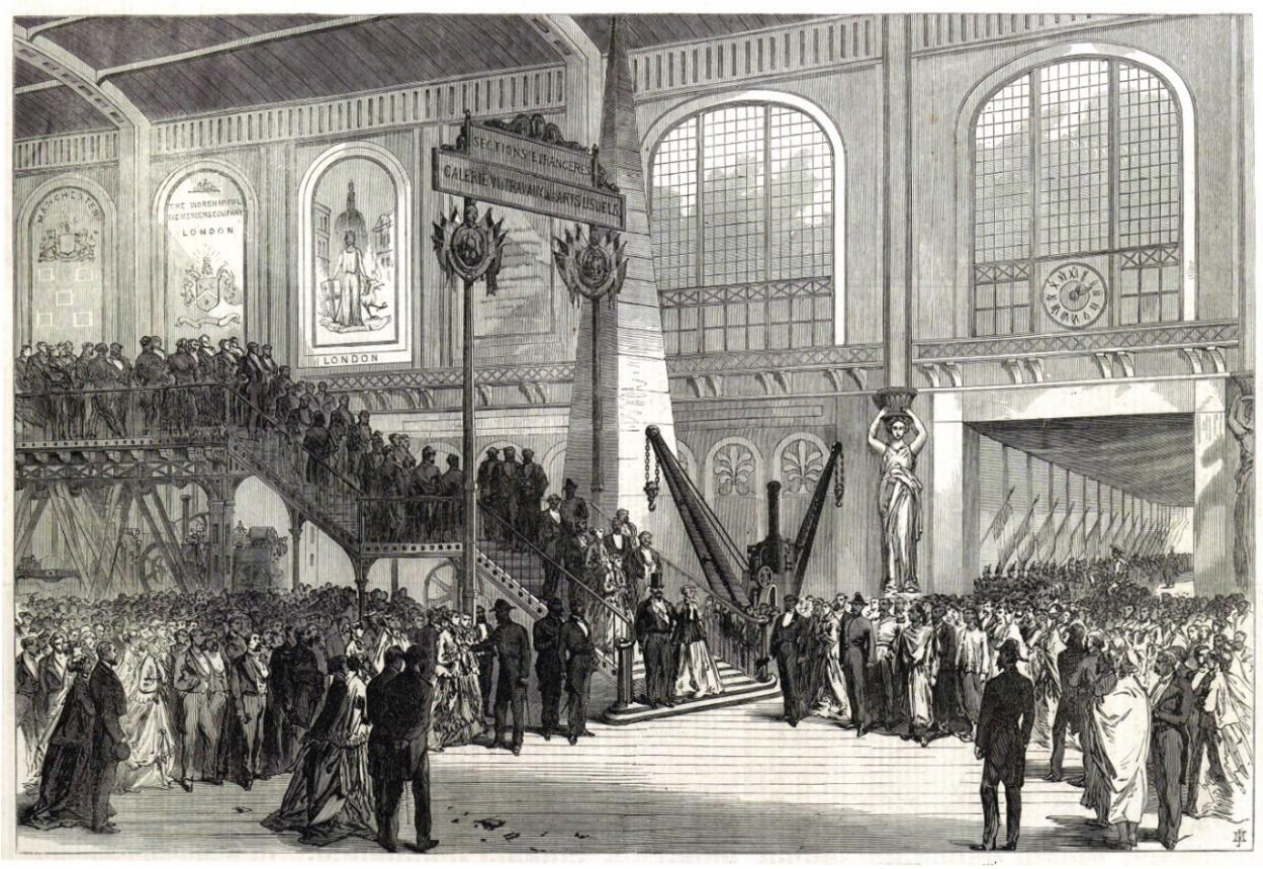

Fig. 8.1 Opening of the Paris Exhibition: Procession in the Machinery and Useful Arts Department, with the Emperor and Empress at the foot of the staircase in the English machinery compartment
Illustrated London News (13 April 1867), p. 352

We can assume that in Paris Dallas must have rubbed shoulders frequently with other London journalists covering the exhibitions; among these was his old companion George Sala reporting for the *Daily Telegraph*, whose articles were revised and collected the following year in *Notes and Sketches of the Paris Exhibition*. There in his Preface, Sala noted that the managers of 'the *Times*, the *Standard*, the *Daily News*, the *Post*, the *Advertiser*, and the *Telegraph*' might have chosen to send to Paris experts in the various arts on exhibition, but in fact elected only 'Special Correspondents' like himself with the most general of journalistic skills.[23] (Elsewhere, most notably in describing the many delays in getting the exhibition ready, Sala includes quite a few personal asides of a comic nature: on April Fool's Day, he records, the Exposition 'was opened at two o'clock in the afternoon, by the Emperor Napoleon in person, … although really the next best thing to be done would have been to shut up the palace and grounds until the works were finished and the place fit for the inspection of the public …'.)[24] There were also of course frequent contacts with the newspaper back in London. When John Delane paid a visit to the French capital towards the end of April, Dallas was expected to act as his guide around the exhibition,[25] and the editor reported back to Morris that Dallas was 'getting on very well'. To begin with relations with the office thus seemed to have been amicable, but by mid-July Morris was complaining bitterly of missed deadlines and threatening to send out W.H. Russell as an early replacement.[26] Although at one point Dallas himself confessed that he was 'dead beat' after 'dreadful weeks of hard work, anxiety and emotion of all sorts' and was about to write to the newspaper to 'ask to be replaced',[27] he seems to have managed to soldier on to the end of his assignment.

As we shall see in much greater detail in the following chapter, Dallas's personal life was then in something of a mess; Lady Wood and her daughter seemed to have visited Dallas in Paris in the June but there was a major row when, after completing her run of performances as Cleopatra at the Princess's Theatre, Isabella Glyn turned up unexpectedly and stayed on for around a month to keep watch. According to Shirley Brooks's personal diary for 1867, he was in correspondence with Dallas during the latter's period as correspondent in Paris and went to visit him towards the end of the stint.[28] Brooks wrote to Dallas on 10 June after meeting with his wife at Hanover Square, but avoided mentioning the scandalous rumours Glyn was spreading; on June 22, by way of comic relief, Brooks received a Parisian newspaper from Dallas, featuring 'a coarse French song—what beasts the French are'. At the end of October he and his wife Emily travelled to Paris, and stayed for around a week. There they were guided by Dallas around the exhibition on its last open day, and spent a couple of evenings drinking and chatting in his rooms at the Hotel Meurice on the Rue de Rivoli, where there was 'much talk re Cleopatra'. Dallas seems to have made the journey back to London with the couple on Wednesday, 6 November, staying initially at the Bedford Hotel rather than Hanover Square, while Brooks wrote to Glyn on the following day to prove that 'he had been in Paris with me, & not, as she avowed, at the home of another lady'.[29]

Yet, despite all the personal melodrama being acted out in the background, even Dallas's later articles from the exposition as *Time*s Special Correspondent remain extraordinarily perceptive. His lengthy penultimate report on the photographic exhibitions, in particular, seems to offer a strange foreshadowing of Walter Benjamin's celebrated article in arguing that the rapidly evolving technology of visual reproduction was not only introducing a new revolutionary mode of artistic expression but also heralding 'a new era in science': 'few of us who visit the French exhibition can form an adequate idea of the vast amount of scientific research and mechanical industry which are represented by the hundreds of photographic pictures and apparatus that meet our view'.[30]

* * * * *

Turning to E.S. Dallas's second period of residence in Paris during and after the Franco-Prussian War, in order to confirm that the long series of reports appearing in the *Daily News* under the by-line 'Our Special Correspondent, Paris' was indeed in the main his own work, we need to begin by looking at the secondary information sources.[31] The authorship of the four reports published in *The Times* at intervals between 31 August 1870 (three weeks before the investment of Paris by the Prussian forces) and 9 February 1870 (between the announcement of the Armistice and the signing of the Treaty of Peace) are clearly assigned to Dallas in the Editorial Diaries held at the newspaper's archives, even though the by-lines are strangely erratic. While the first and last ('Sketches from Paris' and 'From Inside Paris') both appeared as by 'An Occasional Correspondent', the second and third, each sent during the siege 'By Balloon Post' and bearing the title 'Inside Paris', were assigned respectively to 'Our Special Correspondent' (24 November 1870) and 'Our Own Correspondent' (14 December 1870).[32] His initial report from Paris confirms that he arrived in the city only late in the August, probably on Saturday 27th. With the dateline 'Paris, August 28', this notes not only that he was still 'in London the other day', but also that 'yesterday' he spent his 'first evening in Paris' at the Restaurant du Helder, 'not because the cooking there is of extraordinary excellence, but because it is the great resort of the military classes'.[33]

There is no equivalent archival record available in the case of the *Daily News*, although there at least the by-lines employed seem rather more consistent. Roellinger reprints extracts from a couple of private letters sent by Dallas from Paris in the autumn of 1870, both dwelling on the problems of communication by mail during the siege. With the Prussian investment of the city complete and conventional postal deliveries cut off, towards the end of September he wrote plaintively to Anna Steele in Essex: 'For the past three days I have been unable to write a line to either of my papers, and I am weary and disquieted. I have lost those three days in hunting all over Paris, and in scouring the country around in search of carrier pigeons to carry my letters …'.[34] At the beginning of November, he reported to the editor of *The Times* in Printing House Square: 'There has been a row here about the balloons—at least those despatched by [Niepce] … and so I have not been able to get my letters off … This goes on mere chance through the post office.'[35] These difficulties go a good way

towards accounting for the irregular character of Dallas's service to the *Daily News* during 1870, when again he may have only contributed around four articles as Occasional Correspondent in Paris. The first is likely to have been that dated 'Thursday, Sept. 15' and entitled 'France', which began 'With the declaration of the Republic the people have naturally recovered the right of free discussion and of holding public meetings', before describing at length such an assembly in 'the Theatre of the Folies Bergères'.[36] (A similar by-line seems to have been used earlier in the *News* by a couple of other London journalists staying briefly in Paris: Dickens's old protégé J.C. Parkinson (1833-1908), who seems to have contributed an almost daily series of letters entitled 'Paris in a State of Seige' between 12 August and 5 September; and the otherwise unidentified 'Mr Barry' who seems to have provided only a handful of articles during the second week of September.)[37]

However, before the New Year Dallas himself began to provide a regular supply of letters which continued for fully nine months. Regarding his dangerous work for the *Daily News* under the Commune from mid-March 1871, we need to focus in particular on an obscure young Polish émigré who had arrived in the French capital around that time. This was Stefan Polès (1841–75) who had been banished from his homeland by the Russian authorities for taking part in the Uprising of 1863.[38] Early in 1874 Polès was to sue *The Times* for libel on account of defamatory statements published there in late January 1873 regarding his activities in Paris from spring 1871, when he had been arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned on several occasions. E.S. Dallas was called as a key witness at the trial, where he testified that Polès had acted as his assistant while he was serving as Paris correspondent for both *The Times* and *Daily News*.[39] Among other details, it emerged: that Polès received 'a salary of 300f. a month' and generally served Dallas 'as a scout in procuring … information from the different public offices,' though he had also achieved a particular success in accessing 'some facility for the transmission of news to London by means of a special wire'. Moreover, it emerged there that, in contrast to his earlier stint as *Times* Paris correspondent during the 1867 Exposition, Dallas himself was then being 'paid so much a letter. There was no contract between him and the Times people for sending special news,' and thus the editors back in London had been mistaken in attaching by-lines such as 'Our Own Correspondent'.[40] (The widespread press coverage of the libel case thus had the unintended side-effect of making clear to all and sundry that Dallas no longer had any standing at the prestigious newspaper.)

In addition, when his action proved successful, Polès published a pamphlet entitled *Stefan Poles v. 'The Times' Newspaper*, which offered many more details.[41] These included the reprinting of substantial extracts from two reports from 'Our Special Correspondent' at Paris published in the *Daily News*—on 10 and 12 May 1871, describing respectively Polès's second arrest without charge and his release from prison after nearly two weeks—where it is stated unequivocally that these were contributed by E.S. Dallas.[42] Moreover, these two reports contain unambiguous cross-references to a number of others in the sequence. If further confirmation were needed, we can add that another article from the series is confirmed as from Dallas's pen from the contemporary account of the young Ernest Vizetelly (1853-1922, later famous as Zola's English translator), who

was present in the French capital with his journalist father Henry, then the French correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*. In a report dated 'Paris, Sunday' [21 May 1871], shortly before the collapse of the Commune, 'Our Special Correspondent' informed readers of the *Daily News* that he had been among a group of foreigners arrested late in the evening by the National Guard while drinking coffee outside Peters's Café Américain on the Boulevard des Capucines.[43] Vizetelly confirms the details, noting that the group included 'Elyott Bower, the correspondent of the *Morning Advertiser*, E. S. Dallas of *The Times*, and other Englishmen, who were carried off to the Hotel-de-Ville, vilified there, and only released on the following morning'.[44]

Before turning more specifically to his reports from the French capital during 1870-71, it is important to recall that E.S. Dallas was far from being the only or indeed best-known *Daily News* correspondent in the invested city. Apart from Parkinson and Barry, under the by-line 'Diary of a Beseiged Resident', from 18 September 1870 until the journalist in question fled the city and sent his farewell letter from Calais on 10 February 1871, there appeared almost daily a series of witty reports which attracted widespread attention. Not long afterwards, a volume of nearly 400 pages entitled *Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris* was published back in London.[45] Although the name of the correspondent in question did not appear on the title page until a cheaper edition was issued by Macmillan in the summer of 1872, as early as 29 October 1870 the *Athenaeum* had revealed in its 'Literary Gossip' column that 'the "Diary of a Besieged Resident," which appears in the *Daily News*, is from the pen of Mr. Labouchere, the late member for Middlesex.'[46] The reference, of course, was to Henry Du Pré Labouchere (1831–1912: *ODNB*), who, after a decade overseas in the diplomatic service and brief periods in Parliament as a Liberal M.P., in 1868 had begun his third career as a journalist by reporting from the continent for the *Daily News*, and before the end of that year had purchased a substantial share in the syndicate owning the paper.[47] The tone of Labouchere's correspondence as 'Besieged Resident' was decidedly ironic, even or perhaps especially with regard to sensitive topics such as the shortage of food. According to the review in the *Illustrated London News*, he often seemed 'ostentatiously reckless of the feelings of the French people around him' while some of the anecdotes introduced appeared 'of doubtful propriety and taste.'[48] Indeed, a similar studied cynicism pervades the brief preface to Labouchere's reprinted *Diary*, where the author concluded, that, after tedious hours spent correcting the proofs, he felt 'much like a person who has obtained money under false pretences, but whose remorse is not sufficiently strong to induce him to return it.'[49] This all helps to confirm that the 'Diary' was something of a manufactured commodity, aimed to amuse at least as much as to inform.

As already suggested, Dallas's own contributions to the *Daily News* as Special Correspondent covered a much longer period, although these were extremely scattered in the early stages of the siege of Paris itself. At the end of the extended report entitled 'Life in Paris' appearing after a two-month interval on 25 November 1870, Dallas wrote: 'I judge by papers that have reached Paris that many letters despatched from here have miscarried.'[50] However, problems of communication alone seem inadequate to justify such an extended gap.

Perhaps an additional explanation is that, since this was the period when Labouchere was particularly active in sending back his racy reports as 'Besieged Resident,' the editors in London may often have opted to include the letters of the proprietor in preference to those of the 'Special Correspondent'. Be that as it may, one issue that is not in doubt is that, in the relevant scholarly literature, hitherto the cornucopia of reports from the other besieged resident journalists have never been studied as a coherent sequence, and indeed it is only recently that these have been identified as by Parkinson or Dallas.[51] This is, of course, in stark contrast to Labouchere's correspondence which has been cited repeatedly and extensively in historical studies, whether socio-political analyses of the Franco-Prussian War and its aftermath, or theoretical studies of the Victorian press. For example, many pages are devoted to Labouchere's 'Besieged' diary in both Alistair Horne's *The Fall of Paris*, now widely available in a Penguin edition,[52] and Catherine Waters's recent monograph *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press*, with its chapter on 'War Correspondence',[53] while neither mention Dallas's contributions in particular.

In contrast to the studied cynicism of Labouchere's diary, there are a number of articles sent by Dallas to the *Daily News* from the French capital which offer intimate details of encounters with local friends and acquaintances. During the siege, the journalist gives over the first half of one of his letters to an account of a day spent with an old friend who owns a shop in Rue de la Paix in central Paris. Initially we are told of the sorrow of the friend's wife and daughter over the loss of two pet cats which are 'doubtless destined to be skinned, to be smothered in onions, and to be devoured as rabbits.' Later the friend himself discovers that his *maisonsette* outside the city walls and not far from the Prussian lines, has been requisitioned by French troops who have trashed the garden and ransacked the wine cellar: Dallas pictures them 'boiling a great pot with a savoury mess in the drawing-room, … drinking wine in the dining-room, and … playing at lotto in a small boudoir'.[54] Here, of course, there are touches of light humour, but a much darker pair of episodes is recounted in a letter filed at the beginning of the last chaotic week of the Commune, when Dallas visits the district of La Muette in the western suburbs, on the edge of the Bois de Boulogne, spending time in the company of both the field ambulance and the National Guards. With the ambulance, the journalist witnesses 'two youths who were being carried off wounded by the same splinter of a shell' fired by the forces of the Republic, with the younger boy's body traversed by a piece of shrapnel so that he dies silently before the journalist's eyes. Among the Guards, Dallas recounts the moving death of a beautiful young woman who had joined the 64th battalion as a 'vivandière' (responsible for provisions). Even before she even received her uniform and supplies she was equipped with a Chassepôt rifle, but had only fired twenty rounds when again 'the splinter of a shell … ripped up her jaw, went through her head, and put an end to her short but brilliant career'.[55]

Perhaps the best way to convey the character of the large quantity of journalistic material contained in the approximately 150 articles contributed by Dallas to the *Daily News* during his second period of residence in Paris, is to analyse in context extracts from a handful of articles selected to represent the sequence as a whole.

The five reports thus chosen and discussed below appeared in the *Daily News* as follows: (1) 26 September 1870; (2) 25 November 1870; (3) 7 March 1871; (4) 9 May 1871; and (5) 26 September 1871.

(1) Monday, 26 September 1870. Consisting of three paragraphs occupying less than a column, what seems to have been only Dallas's second article as correspondent for the *News* was headed 'Our Paris Letter' and dated 'Sept. 20', a Sunday, probably his last article to leave the city before the regular postal service was cut.[56] The first paragraph introduced the main topic, the diplomatic negotiations between Jules Favre, Vice-President of the Government of National Defence, and the King of Prussia who was now rumoured to be in league with the deposed Emperor. The King's position was supposed to be that the French Government was unconstitutional, with Favre demanding an armistice so that elections could be carried to render it legitimate. Regarding the practical difficulties, Dallas suggested: 'If Mahomet cannot go to the mountain, why perhaps the emergency may suggest the expedient of taking the ballot-box to the citizens', especially those in uniform. Among a collage of snapshots on '[the] aspect of the streets, the short second paragraph touched on the continuing prevalence of Government surveillance in the city, a topic which Parkinson had dwelt on a good deal back in August. Dallas attached his observations to a personal anecdote from the previous day, when he had been 'on the Place St. Pierre, Montmartre, looking through an opera-glass at the process of filling with gas one of the two captive balloons'. The result was that he was warned by a kindly member of the National Guard that he was in danger of having the instrument confiscated as it put him under suspicion of being a Prussian spy. The even briefer final paragraph depicted a scene on the Sunday beneath his hotel window, as a captured Prussian cavalryman was paraded through the streets, with the journalist observing that he was 'a young, fair man, utterly beardless', and his horse 'a light brown'.

(2) Friday, 25 November 1870. After a gap of fully two months, Dallas's longest *Daily News* filing appeared in late November: it was headed 'Life in Paris,' extended to all of five columns and contained five separate letters bearing the dates 'Nov. 10, 12, 14, 15, 16.'[57] Fascinatingly, the previous day *The Times* had carried one of Dallas's four acknowledged contributions under the same by-line but with the title 'Inside Paris', which itself occupied well over three columns and included four reports dating from 13, 14, 18 and 20 November.[58] A comparison of the two submissions offers more than a simple confirmation of how hard the journalist was working. Both covered a wide range of topics with little thematic overlap and no textual duplication, but, while not quite reaching the cynicism of Labouchere's diary, Dallas's tone in *The Times* was distinctly more flippant than in the *Daily News*. In the former, two of the four letters gave a good deal of space to personal anecdotes illustrating the exotic character of restaurant menus under the siege, one featuring rat and another guinea pig; indeed, checking the details of Dallas's *Times* letter of 14 November against Labouchere's *Daily News* diary for the same day reveals that the two journalists had breakfasted together at Hall's restaurant that morning, both

finding great amusement that their tasty helpings of rodent in gravy with toast appeared discretely on the bill as *salmis du gibier* (game casserole).[59] In stark contrast, Dallas's submission to the *Daily News* gave over the entire lengthy letter of 12 November to a very sober exposition of efforts to solve problems of external communications. It described in technical detail both a complex system newly invented by the French Post Office at Clermont-Ferrand to reduce the bulk of mail (by employing sheets of microfilm bearing images of multi-purpose dispatch-answer cards), and the construction, filling and launching of a pair of hot-air balloons (one of them Niepce's) at the Gare d'Orléans; the briefer letter of 14 November reported regretfully that already 'one of the balloons mentioned … has fallen into the hands of the enemy.'[60] The earlier and later reports featured respectively an annotated list of the exorbitant prices charged at the market for basic foods (15 francs for a chicken and the same for a pound of fresh butter, say), and an explanation of the growing popularity of political debating societies held in disused theatres and casinos.

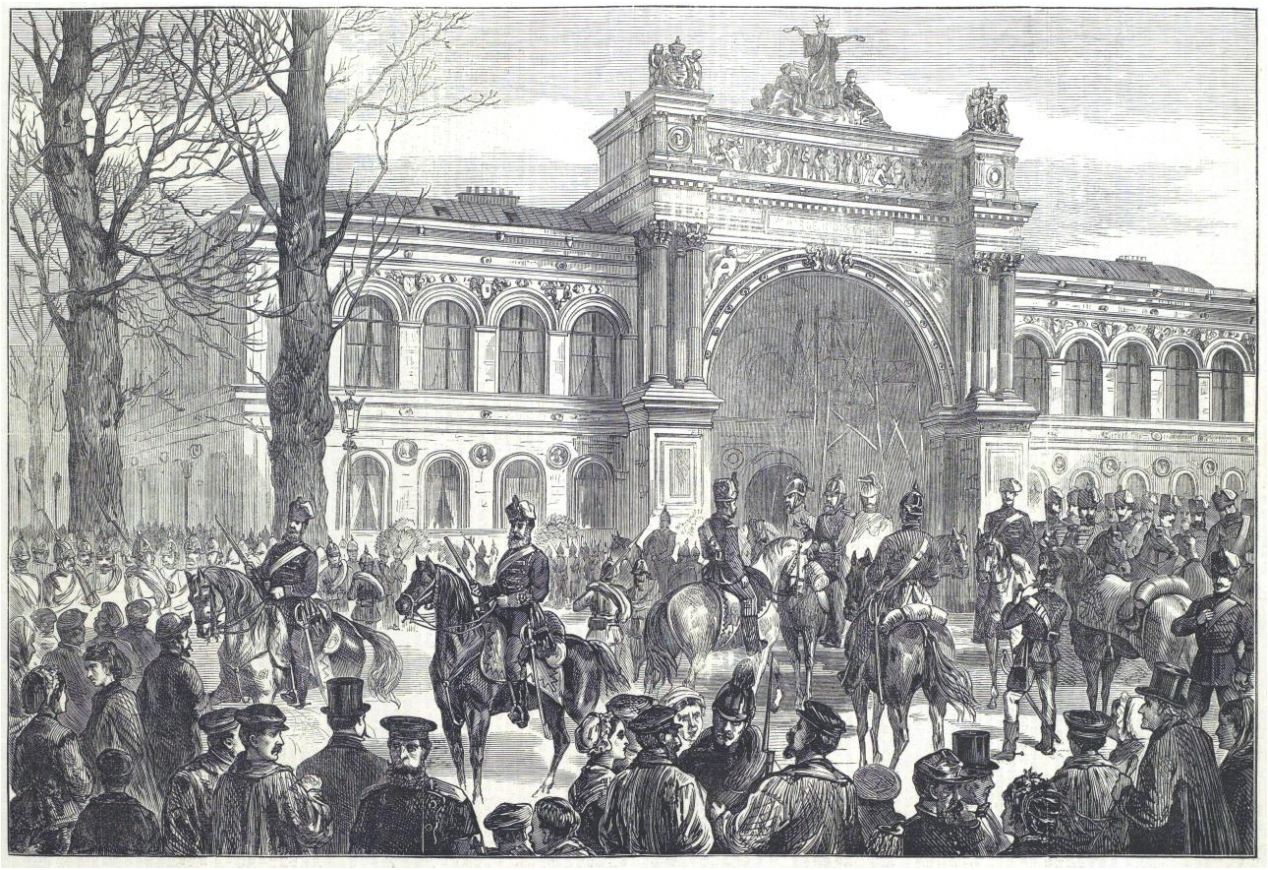

Fig. 8.2 The Germans in Paris: Outside the Palais de l'Industrie [built for the Paris World Fair of 1855]
Illustrated London News (11 March 1871), p. 224

(3) Tuesday, 7 March 1871. With the end of the long siege and the brief occupation of the city by the German troops, in a department of the *Daily News* no longer headed 'War Letters' but rather 'The Peace', appeared a brief filing of just over a single column headed simply 'From Our Special Correspondent' and dated 'Sunday

Night'.[61] There, Dallas, who, as we saw in Chapter 6, had been required to compose leaders of a social scientific nature during his apprenticeship at *The Times* in the later 1850s, chose to draw a line under the war mainly by undertaking a statistical reckoning of its various costs to France. This 'array of useful knowledge' began with a table showing on a weekly basis 'the mortality of Paris for the period of the siege as compared with the parallel period in the previous year', which revealed overall an increase of around 300 per cent. Next came detailed 'figures as to the changes wrought by the terms of the Treaty' regarding the dimensions and populations of both France and Germany, showing that generally their relative magnitude had been reversed. Following other similar examples came a more fanciful calculation of the £20 million indemnity which the French Government was obliged under the terms of the Treaty to begin to pay almost immediately:

> If it were paid in gold pieces of 20 francs, and, if these pieces were arranged in a straight line, they would reach from Paris to Marseilles, a distance of 612 kilometres. The weight of the sum in gold would be 1,612,900 kilogrammes, or nearly ten times the weight of the column in the Place Vendome. If a man were to attempt to count out the number of francs one by one, and if he were able to count four francs every second, he would still, working night and day without ceasing, have to spend a lifetime of 400 years before he could lay down the last piece.[62]

Of course, it would have been difficult to imagine such grimly anti-patriotic humour in the journalist's old *Times* editorials.

(4) Tuesday, 9 May 1871. Towards the end of the ten-week period of confusion under the Paris Commune, appeared the first of the two letters specifically concerning Stefan Polès, headed 'An Arrest in Paris' and dated 'Sunday Night'. There, Dallas offered a moving account of the 'indignation which I felt to-day for a friend of mine who has been imprisoned now ten days, and who has not yet been examined.'[63] He explained that, while gathering information on his behalf at the Hôtel-de-Ville, the unnamed friend had been arrested without charge by the Commune as a spy for the anti-revolutionary authority in Versailles, though his only real fault was 'being a Pole'. Suggesting that he could write 'several chapters of a novel on the difficulties of finding him', Dallas reported how he had eventually located him at the Mazas prison near the Gare de Lyon in miserable conditions of solitary confinement which appeared to have adversely affected his mental stability. At the same time, Dallas reported the generous hearing he (as a representative of the English press) had received at both the Prefecture of Police and the Hôtel-de-Ville where he went to obtain redress, paving the way for the merciful release of his friend only a couple of days later.[64] Moreover, the title of the report was made to refer not only to this highly personalized anecdote but also to events of wider public concern, for Dallas provided a preface to the story of his friend in the form of a detailed update on the detention of General Cluseret. This news Dallas had broken in a 'submarine telegram' to London (apparently via Brest and New York) published in the *Daily News* the previous day, which concluded: 'Cluseret, though imprisoned, has not yet been interrogated. He is kept in confinement without trial'.[65] True to form, 'Our Special Correspondent' provided an entertaining epilogue to the serious business of this letter of Sunday, 7 May 1871, in the form of a description of a 'most disorderly concert … given

at the Tuileries last night for the benefit of the wounded', where 15,000 tickets had been issued for a venue seating only 5,000.

(5) Tuesday, 26 September 1871. Written a couple of weeks after the declaration of the Third Republic, the final letter in the sequence, headed simply 'France' and dated 'Sunday Night', represents an ambivalent farewell to the city where the resident journalist had been 'watching the whole course of the revolution for more than a year.'[66] Yet alongside this personal observation 'Our Special Correspondent' offers an insightful discussion of the nature of political revolt where he sets out conflicting interpretations of historical change:

> There are two theories of history just now current and striving for pre-eminence. The one is well known to readers of Mr. Carlyle's biographies and Mr. Disraeli's novels. One is that history is constituted by individuals—by heroes. God makes the hero—the hero has ideas, makes events, and fashions the world. The other is that heroes are nothing, or at best mere trumpets; that there is a mysterious march of events and procession of ideas, which is independent of individuals. It follows subtle laws which philosophy has not yet been able to measure save in part; laws which exist as those of the planets, although no Newton has yet arisen to make them plain, and to calculate by their means the orbit of history. The truth lies probably between the two theories; but if anyone has a particular dislike of Mr. Carlyle's and Mr. Disraeli's views, and a particular fancy for the opposite theory of history, he ought to devote his attention exclusively to the phenomena of revolution.

Here, developing ideas concerning the 'opposite types of history' explored earlier in the final chapter of his 1866 monograph *The Gay Science*,[67] Dallas clearly calls for a more systematic investigation of the impersonal forces underlying social development, which, of course, advanced thinkers such as Charles Darwin in the field of social biology, and Karl Marx in that of political economy, were already exploring. Perhaps these materialist tendencies of Dallas's thoughts on leaving revolutionary Paris were also intended as to be understood in contrast to the Carlyle-influenced ruminations of Dickens in the final paragraphs of *A Tale of Two Cities*, which take the form of the message of rebirth attributed to the dying Sydney Carton.[68]

* * * * *

There is evidence that Stefan Polès was not the only one to suffer long-term consequences from what he had to endure in the French capital. When Dallas himself eventually departed from Paris and returned to London in the autumn of 1871, he seems to have been suffering from extreme nervous exhaustion. Indeed, as explained in detail in the final chapter, over much of the next two years he seems to have experienced a series of debilitating illnesses that marked the beginning of an irreversible decline in his health both physical and mental. And, as we shall see in the following chapter, in the spring of 1874 he was required to participate in more than one emotionally gruelling and widely publicised court case—not only the libel action 'Stefan Poles v. "The Times" Newspaper', but also 'Dallas v. Dallas', the divorce petition of Isabella Glyn.

Chapter 8: Our Special Correspondent in Paris: Notes

[1] See Law and Taylor, eds, *The Gay Science*, p. xxxviii.

[2] See, in particular: [E.S. Dallas], 'The Exhibition at the South Kensington Museum', *The Times* (5 June 1862), pp. 6f–7a, and 'South Kensington Museum', *The Times* (9 June 1862), p. 5b–c.

[3] See Algar Labouchere Thorold, *The Life of Henry Labouchere* (London: Constable, 1913), pp. 127–28*n*2, who confirms that while resident in war-torn Paris, Dallas 'wrote both for the *Times* and the *Daily News*.'

[4] See 'The War', *Saturday Review* (10 September 1870), pp. 315–16; p. 316.

[5] For a detailed listing, see Law and Taylor, eds, *The Gay Science*, pp. xxiii–xxviii.

[6] The name was in fact a pseudonym; see Graham Law, 'From "my friend" to "an irreclaimable scoundrel": Verdicts on Stefan Poles in Context', *Wilkie Collins Journal* NS4:1 (December 2024), pp. 56–72. Since the second name was always pronounced as two syllables, it seems preferable to use this transcription among several found in contemporary documents.

[7] See Law and Taylor, eds, *The Gay Science*, pp. 52–54.

[8] See: [E.S. Dallas], Review of Gustave Flaubert, *Salambô*, *The Mirror* (16 May 1863), p. 158, and 'Novels', *The Times* (30 December 1864), p. 8d–f.

[9] See J.A.H., 'Portrait Gallery (No. II): Miss Glyn', *Tallis's Dramatic Magazine, and General Theatrical and Musical Review* 2 (December 1850), pp. 37–39; p. 37. It thus seems highly likely that Dallas is referring to his wife in the following remarks on the form of the upper lip in 'The First Principle of Physiognomy*', Cornhill Magazine* 4:23 (November 1861), pp. 569-81: 'I might name an actress, who had such a short upper lip, that she could never close her mouth, and therefore could not distinctly enunciate certain words. By hard practice under Michelot, in Paris, who was then at the head of his department in the Conservatoire, she managed, with india-rubber balls in her mouth, to elongate her lip, to close her mouth, and to pronounce every possible word, so that now no one speaks more distinctly than she, and her whisper may be heard at the farthest corner of the largest theatre.' (pp. 579-80).

[10] See John Ruskin to E.S. Dallas, 18 August [1859], from Thun, in Cook and Wedderburn, eds, *The Complete Works of John Ruskin*, XXXVI, pp. 315–17, where Ruskin writes: 'I hope, if not in Paris, that you *have* gone somewhere out of town with Mrs. Dallas this year …'.

[11] [E.S. Dallas], 'Soho Economies', *Once a Week* (30 May 1868), pp. 480–82: 481a.

[12] E.S. Dallas, 'La Rochefoucauld', *Nineteenth Century* 9 (February 1881), pp. 269–91, which concludes: 'The labour of the present paper is but a clearing of the ground, a statement of preliminaries and a demand for a new study of La Rochefoucauld.' (p. 291).

[13] See 'De Tocqueville's France Before the Revolution of 1789' I & II, *The Times* (3 June 1956), p. 5d–f and (10 June 1856), p. 12a–d; II p. 12f.

[14] The first examples seem to date from late 1858 and early 1859; see: [E.S. Dallas], 'A French Admiral's Reminiscences of the Last War', *The Times* (14 December 1858), p. 9c–f, reviewing a series of articles by Admiral Jurien de la Gravière in *Revue des Deux Mondes*; and 'Catherine of Russia', *The Times* (7 January 1859), p. 10a–d, a review of *Mémoires de l'Empératrice Catherine II*.

[15] Dallas may have had a personal interest in horse racing; in his article 'On Physiognomy' (*Cornhill Magazine*, 4, October 1861, pp. 472-81, pp. 480-81) the journalist describes an informed conversation with a horse-breeder concerning a particular yearling colt while being shown around the stud.

[16] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The Great Prize of Paris', *The Times* (7 June 1864), p. 11c–e. The letters of Wilkie Collins, for example, who made the journey between London and Paris frequently around this period illustrate how such short trips were perfectly feasible; on a Sunday evening in spring 1866, for example, just after completing his novel *Armadale*, Collins wrote to his mother from a Paris hotel describing the journey from London with his friend Frederick Lehmann the previous day ('a lovely passage across—but, as usual, the long railway journey afterwards tired me') as well as how they had spent the Sabbath ('A grand morning concert to-day—and Races at the Bois de Boulogne'), and explaining when they intended to return ('We shall not stay here more than a week'). See to Harriet Collins, 22 April 1866, William Baker et al., eds, *The Public Face of Wilkie Collins* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2005) II, p. 33.

[17] See [E.S. Dallas], 'Gothic Architecture', *The Times* (16 January 1858), p. 12b–e; p. 12e.

[18] These notably included Charles Booth Brackenbury (1831–1890; *ODNB*) and William Howard Russell (1820–1907; *ODNB*), both better known as war correspondents; the former seems to have been in Paris during May and June, and the latter from shortly before Dallas departed in the October.

[19] See [W.H. Smith], 'The Gay Science', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 101 (February 1867), pp. 149–65.

[20] See E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 3 February 1867, Blackwood Papers, MS.4220.

[21] See E.S. Dallas to Emma Wood, 24 and 26 January 1867, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', pp. 35–37; however, the fact that Dallas asks that this trip not be mentioned to his wife suggests that there may have been other reasons. We shall return to this point in the following chapter.

[22] See two undated letters from Mowbray Morris cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', pp. 35–39.

[23] See George Augustus Sala, 'Preface', *Notes and Sketches of the Paris Exhibition* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1868), pp. 7–12; pp. 9–11.

[24] Sala, 'V. Opening of the Exhibition', *Notes and Sketches*, pp. 58–77; p. 59.

[25] J.T. Delane to G.W. Dasent, 25 April 1867, cited in A.I. Dasent, *John Thadeus Delane,* II, p. 200.

[26] Mowbray Morris to E.S. Dallas, 12 July 1867, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', p. 38.

[27] Undated letter from E.S. Dallas to Emma Wood, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', pp. 38–39.

[28] Formerly in the *Punch* Archive, the manuscript of Shirley Brooks' Diary 1867 is now held at the British Library; a typescript copy is also held in the Brotherton Collection at the University of Leeds Library (BC MS 19c Brooks). I am very grateful to both Patrick Leary and John Coulter for their generosity is sharing their personal notes on, and transcriptions of the manuscript.

[29] See the Brooks diary entries for 1, 3, 5 and 7 November 1867. The entries for 18 and 22 November suggest that between those dates Dallas went back to the French capital briefly, bringing back photographs from Adam Solomon's studio of both Shirley and Emily Brooks.

[30] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The Great French Exhibition', *The Times* (30 September 1867), pp. 8e–9a; p. 8e.

[31] The following section relies a good on significantly revised material first published in Graham Law, 'The Other Besieged Residents: Dallas and Parkinson as Special Correspondents in Paris, 1870–71', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 57:1-2 (Spring/Summer 2024), pp. 155–77.

[32] For the full bibliographic details, see Law and Taylor, eds, *The Gay Science*, p. xxxix.

[33] [E.S. Dallas, as 'An Occasional Correspondent'], 'Sketches from Paris', *The Times* (31 August 1870), p. 9a–c; p. 9a, 9b.

[34] Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', pp. 45–46.

[35] E.S. Dallas to J.T. Delane, 4 November 1870, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', p. 46.

[36] [E.S. Dallas, as 'Our Special Correspondent'], 'France', *Daily News* (19 September 1870), p. 5c–d; p. 5c.

[37] For the details, see Law, 'The Other Besieged Residents' (pp. 159-61); George Sala and Edmund Yates are the key sources.

[38] Detailed biographic information about Stefan Polès is found in Law, 'From "my friend" to "an irreclaimable scoundrel"', pp. 62–69.

[39] See, e.g., 'Law Intelligence: Court of the Queen's Bench', *Daily News* (11 February 1874), p. 3d–e; p. 3d.

[40] The official history of *The Times* states that Dallas was operating 'as a volunteer', having 'crossed the Channel on private business', although there it is not revealed that this business concerned working for a rival newspaper; see *History of 'The Times': Vol II The Tradition Established, 1841–1884* (London: Printing House Square, 1939), p. 433.

[41] These included the fact that Poles had been arrested again in late May by the Republican authorities based at Versailles, and incarcerated this time for over six months during which he seems to have been tortured with some regularity. It was even reported in the Paris press in mid-July that Poles had died in his cell, whereupon Dallas was reported to have penned a pathetic epitaph: 'Poor Poles, thrashed to death at Versailles' (Stefan Poles, *Stefan Poles v. "The Times" Newspaper: Action for Libel*, London: Stefan Poles, 1874, p. 12). When Dallas ended his stint as Paris correspondent and returned home in late September, he was apparently unaware that the Polish exile was still alive and in prison; Poles himself finally managed to bribe his way out of gaol only in early December 1871 and headed straight to London.

[42] Poles, *Stefan Poles v. 'The Times' Newspaper*, pp. 30–32.

[43] See [E.S. Dallas, as 'Our Special Correspondent. Paris.'], 'The State of Paris', *Daily News* (23 May 1871), p. 6a–c.

[44] See Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, *My Adventures in the Commune: Paris 1871* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1914), pp. 284–85. Vizetelly tells a similar tale of the arrest of George Sala in Paris towards the beginning of the Franco-Prussian War in his earlier volume of memoirs, *My Days of Adventure: The Fall of Paris 1870–71* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1914), pp. 68–71.

[45] [Henry Labouchere], Preface, *Diary of the Besieged Resident in Paris: Reprinted from 'The Daily News'* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1871).

[46] 'Literary Gossip', *Athenaeum* (29 October 1870), pp. 361–62; p. 361.

[47] Algar Labouchere Thorold, *Life of Henry Labouchere* (London: Constable, 1913), pp. 87–89.

[48] 'New Books', *Illustrated London News* (11 March 1871), p. 247.

[49] [Labouchere], Preface, *Diary of the Besieged Resident*, pp. vii–viii.

[50] [E.S. Dallas], 'Life in Paris,' *Daily News* (25 November 1870), pp. 5f–6d; p. 6d.

[51] See Law and Taylor, eds, *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'*, pp. xli–xlii.

[52] Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris: The Siege and the Commune 1870–71* (1965; Harmsworth: Penguin, 1981), especially pp. 92–94, where Labouchere is first introduced, although there are at least thirty citations thereafter.

[53] Catherine Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850–1886* (London: Palgrave, 2019), pp. 91–130. Waters does, however, discuss in detail one of Parkinson's letters from Paris (pp. 108–10).

[54] [E.S. Dallas, as 'Our Special Correspondent. Paris.'], 'Life in Paris' (26 November 1870), p. 5d–f; p. 5d.

[55] [Dallas], 'The State of Paris', *Daily News* (23 May 1871), p. 6b.

[56] [E.S. Dallas], 'Our Paris Letter', *Daily News* (26 September 1870), p. 5d.

[57] [E.S. Dallas], 'Life in Paris', *Daily News* (25 November 1870), pp. 5f–6d.

[58] [E.S. Dallas], 'Inside Paris', *The Times* (24 November 1870), p. 5a–d.

[59] Compare [E.S. Dallas], 'Inside Paris', p. 5b, and [Labouchere], *Diary of the Besieged Resident*, p. 197. Labouchere was apparently staying at the Grand Hôtel on the Boulevard des Capucines; see Ernest Alfred Vizetelly, *My Days of Adventure,* p. 113.

[60] [Dallas], 'Life in Paris,' p. 6c

[61] 'From Our Special Correspondent. Paris', *Daily News* (7 March 1871), p. 5e–f.

[62] 'From Our Special Correspondent. Paris', *Daily News* (7 March 1871), p. 5f.

[63] [E.S. Dallas], 'An Arrest in Paris', *Daily News* (9 May 1871), p. 5f.

[64] [E.S. Dallas], 'The Situation in Paris', *Daily News* (12 May 1871), p. 5e–f.

[65] [E.S. Dallas], 'Telegram: News from Paris', *Daily News* (8 May 1871), p. 3a.

[66] [E.S. Dallas], 'France', *Daily News* (26 September 1871), p. 5c.

[67] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, II, Ch. XVII: The Ethical Current, §§I–II, pp. 273–95, especially pp. 273–75. Here, Dallas may have been influenced by the historiographical ideas of his review colleague at *The Times*; *Secularia; or, Surveys on the Mainstream of History* (London: John Murray, 1862), Samuel Lucas's most important contribution to the field, consists of a dozen essays which (according to the Preface) represent 'a unity of design that from first to last is meant as a testimony to the Progress which results from general laws, and is secure from interruption by individual agencies'.

[68] Especially the lines: 'I see a beautiful city and a brilliant people rising from this abyss, and, in their struggles to be truly free, in their triumphs and defeats, through long years to come, I see the evil of this time and of the previous time of which this is the natural birth, gradually making expiation for itself and wearing out.' (Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1859, p. 253). In his Preface, Dickens acknowledges his reliance on 'the philosophy of Mr. Carlyle's wonderful book' (p. [v]), that is, *The French Revolution: A History* (1837).

Chapter 9: Years of Legal War

'11 years of legal war I have had now and I am likely to have as many more': these words were written by Isabella Glyn in the spring of 1877 following the latest round in her long-running battle through the courts with Eneas Dallas, and were accompanied by a cutting from a London newspaper concerning the current process.[1] Though only a few letters seem to have survived, the actress clearly continued to correspond with John Blackwood after her separation and divorce, and this embittered remark comes from her last extant message to the Edinburgh publisher. With reference in turn to relevant legal documents, court reports in the newspapers, and private correspondence or diaries, this chapter attempts not only to chart the stages in the disastrous collapse of the Dallas marriage but also to investigate the underlying causes.[2] One potential factor that should perhaps be noted at the outset is that the marriage remained childless, or, to use the genealogical terminology of *The History of the Family of Dallas* referred to in Chapter 1, 'had no issue'. However, no evidence survives regarding whether this was a matter of choice or not, or whether it had any relation to the domestic discord. We should also note that Dallas clearly had a reputation among his peers for casual philandering, so that rhymesters like Dane Gabriel Rossetti could not resist the temptation of his family name. In the spring of 1870, when rumours of his marital difficulties were rife, Rossetti sent to his publisher the jingle, 'Poor old Dallas! | All along of his phallus, | Must he come to the gallows?', turning it into an even more salacious limerick the next day.[3]

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The official files relating to Glyn's successful petition for divorce on the grounds of desertion and adultery entered the public domain only after the passage of a hundred years,[4] although of course press coverage of the court proceedings would have been available as soon as the evening of the hearings. Both the Dallas marriage ceremonies—in the Glasgow lodging house and at St. George's, Hanover Square—had taken place in advance of the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, which from the following year removed divorce from the jurisdiction of the Church and made it a civil matter. Headed 'In Her Majesty's Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes: Court Minutes', the papers concerning the case of Dallas v. Dallas record that the petition was filed on 4 November 1873, the (provisional) Decree *Nisi* granted on 9 May 1874, followed by the (absolute) Final Decree on 24 November the same year. In brief, the court concluded that, although he had denied both causes, the respondent (Eneas Sweetland Dallas) had indeed: deserted the petitioner (Isabella Dallas) 'for two years upwards without reasonable excuse' from the autumn of 1867; and committed adultery on more than one occasion with an unidentified woman, in particular between 16 and 23 June 1873 at cheap lodgings in 76, Tachbrook Street, Pimlico.[5] The costs were to be borne by the respondent. However, the case was complicated by two factors. First, it was revealed that an earlier marriage had taken place between the two parties than that cited in the initial petition filed by Glyn. Although this issue took up some time in the courtroom, since it was

necessary to be quite clear on the union or unions subject to dissolution, it was eventually resolved without difficulty as both parties agreed to the validity of the earlier informal Scottish marriage. Second, that, a few weeks before the final decree was granted, the respondent had filed an affidavit requesting the return of personal property taken by the petitioner from his lodgings at 62, Stafford Place, Buckingham Palace Road in mid-February 1874; the property, including manuscripts, correspondence, and books, as well as articles of clothing and furniture, was obtained during Dallas's absence by Glyn who had then paid the rent owing to the landlord.[6] The brief press reports on the hearing in November 1874 regarding the petition to grant the Decree Absolute show that Dallas's counsel then asked the Court 'to order the return of certain papers' to his client, and that the judge agreed 'to hear the parties at Chambers' before granting the decree.[7] However, this issue remained unresolved, causing the 'legal war' to continue for several years in the form of Dallas v. Glyn, a suit filed in December 1874 whose eventual resolution in May 1877 was the subject of the press cutting that Glyn sent to Blackwood. To this we shall return in due course, though it is worth pointing out here that the correspondence confiscated by Glyn is more than likely to have included letters to Dallas from Wood and Steele.

Since both petitioner and respondent were public figures, in spring 1874 there was widespread coverage of the divorce suit in the press. 'There is nothing half so interesting to the great mass of mankind as … a full-blown adultery made patent in court …', as Dallas himself had acknowledged in *The Gay Science*.[8] Even if we restrict our attention to the first-hand court reports in the major London daily papers, there are disparities between the summaries there of not only the oral evidence given by the petitioner (which may have been rather rambling), but also the opening statement by the counsel representing her (Dr Spinks, Q.C.). The hearing took place on the afternoon of Saturday, 9 May, under Judge-Ordinary Sir James Hannen, and on the following Monday morning detailed reports of at least half a column appeared in the *Morning Post*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times*.[9] The key point at issue related to the cause of desertion, and in particular why Dallas refused to live with Glyn at 6, Hanover Square on his return from Paris. The common ground between the three reports was that during 1867 Glyn had become extremely suspicious of Dallas's relations with one or more women, and had discovered what she considered to be the draft of a compromising letter written by her husband, which was produced in court. She was recorded as claiming that Dallas would only resume cohabitation on the condition that she sign a document admitting that her suspicions were delusional, which she refused to do. In addition to differences of detail concerning the when and where, the three newspapers did not even quite agree on the who and what. In the *Times* and *Telegraph* Spinks was reported as referring generally to Glyn's jealousy regarding her husband's relations with, respectively, 'a lady' and 'certain ladies', while the *Post* had the lawyer stating much more specifically that she believed that Dallas 'had been living on terms of peculiar intimacy with two ladies in Paris'.

Concerning Glyn's own testimony it was recorded: that '[the] sketch of a letter which she had found, and which had been a cause of the dissension, was produced and handed to the learned Judge' (*The Times*); and

that she held the document in question aloft in her hand, declaring 'This paper is in his handwriting' (*Telegraph*). However, in the *Post* the letter was simply mentioned as being 'perused' by Hannen. Yet all these press accounts agreed in suggesting that the judge was convinced that Glyn's suspicions 'were not without some foundation, and therefore her refusal to comply with the condition her husband sought to impose was not unreasonable', as *The Times* put it; this indeed was the main justification for finding the cause of desertion upheld. Further, all the reports implied clearly that the acts of adultery in Pimlico in the summer of 1873, which were attested in court by several witnesses but not contested by the counsel for the respondent, Mr. Searle, had no connexion with the events of 1867; indeed Glyn's original petition referred specifically to 'adultery committed with some woman to your Petitioner unknown' in the summer of 1873.[10] Reading between the lines of the press coverage, it appears that Dallas himself was much more concerned to conceal the identity of the 'two ladies' in question than to protect his own reputation.

* * * * *

Although no names are mentioned in either the legal documents or the newspaper coverage of what took place in the courtroom, as we shall soon see, there is ample evidence in a range of private papers that the 'two ladies' on whom Glyn's suspicions rested must have been Lady Emma Wood and her daughter Anna Steele, the former older than her husband by a quarter of a century and the latter fourteen years his junior. Born in Portugal the daughter of a British naval office, Emma Caroline Wood née Michell (1802-79), in 1820 had married John Page Wood, then a student at Cambridge, who later became a clergyman, owner of Rivenhall Place in Essex, and a baronet; together at Rivenhall they had ten children who lived to adulthood, including: Charles Page Wood (b. 1836), who worked Scrips Farm nearby at Kelvedon and became a magistrate there; Henry Evelyn Wood (b. 1838), an army officer who won the Victoria Cross during the Indian Mutiny; Anna Caroline Steele née Wood (b. 1841), who at the age of eighteen married a fellow officer of her brother's only to abandon him almost immediately;[11] and the youngest, Katherine O'Shea née Wood (b. 1846), best known for her long-standing affair with the Irish nationalist leader Charles Parnell. Together in 1865 under the pseudonyms 'Helen and Gabrielle Carr', Emma Wood and Anna Steele published a collection of poems entitled *Ephemera*, with graphics by the mother who had experience as a water-colourist and book illustrator. This was reviewed knowingly by Dallas at the end of a long list of 'Christmas Books' in *The Times*, where it was introduced as 'a charming little volume, the joint production of Lady Wood and her daughter, Mrs. Steele' consisting 'of poems written by both these ladies, and illustrated by one of them', and given considerably more than its fair share of the space.[12] Following the death of the baronet in February 1866, both women, while still residing together at Rivenhall, embarked on careers as novelists, supported a good deal in the early stages by further sympathetic reviews from Dallas in *The Times*,[13] who also seems to have provided Steele with the opportunity to write literary reviews for that newspaper, one of only a small handful of women to do so.[14] By then Steele was involved in amateur theatricals, as a member of the Belhus Dramatic Corps based in Essex and relying heavily on the support of the Wood

family.[15] Her three-act play 'Under False Colours' was performed widely in aid of the National Lifeboat Association, most notably at the St George's Theatre, Langham Place, with Shirley Brooks and his wife, plus Trolllope and Dallas, among the celebrities in the audience.[16]

In her edition of the correspondence of Emma Wood and Anna Steele, Minna Evangline Bradhurst, daughter of Charles Page Wood, offers a candid assessment of Dallas's relationship to both her grandmother and aunt: 'Lady Wood called him one of her children, and he was passionately devoted to Anna Steele; indeed, as she once put it, *he wanted to bolt with her*. His fervent letters, extending over a number of years, frequently complain of her coldness. Had she inclined towards him it could only have ended in tragedy, for she had never divorced Col. Steele …'. Indeed, Dallas's extant correspondence with Emma Wood typically reveals Dallas adopting the role of devoted son towards her and that of hopeless suitor towards her separated daughter. For the sake of clarity, it is important to state unambiguously here, that, based on the sum of available evidence, in my judgment it seems rather unlikely that Dallas ever had a sexual relationship with the daughter and inconceivable that he did so with the mother.[17] (It is necessary to point out here that there is no evidence of Dallas keeping in touch with his own mother after he left Scotland in the mid-1850s. The 1861 Census shows her resident at the picturesque village of Duddingstone, near Edinburgh with her daughter, while her death certificate shows that she died of a hepatic tumour on 17 September 1870 in Kirknewton, a small settlement to the southwest of the city. Dallas was then at the beginning of his second stint as correspondent in Paris, although his younger brother William, then living with his wife at her mother's home in Surrey, was present and reported the death.)[18]

Where and how Emma Wood and Eneas Dallas first met remains uncertain—perhaps through an introduction by Bulwer Lytton or John Ruskin who knew both well—but there is no doubt about when, just a few weeks before the death of the baronet. In late January 1867, writing on Garrick Club notepaper, Dallas confessed to 'My dear Lady Wood' that it was 'a very great brightness in my life to have known you and obtained your friendship': 'This is not a letter—but only a superstition—as tomorrow is the 27th January, the day I first came to know you, and I cannot help sending you on its anniversary one little line of greeting, to say that it shall always be a red letter day in my calendar …'. [19] This is one of the more than three thousand letters reportedly written to Wood by Dallas. The calculation is Dallas's own, in a letter dated simply 'Tuesday' but which logically must have been written towards the end of July 1877: 'We have known each other now exactly 11½ years. Suppose I cut off from that 3 years of silence,[20] which is too much, but I want to be within the mark. That leaves 8½ years or 3100 days in which we have written to each other every day, setting the days on which we have written twice against those on which we have not written at all'.[21] Such human arithmetic indicates a peculiar form of devotion, so that it is not surprising to read Dallas's conclusion that it would be impossible for a man to engage in such frequent correspondence 'without a very deep well being sunk in his heart'. Although most of these letters seem to have survived the Second World War, due to the house fire in Henley in the 1950s,

all that remains now are the fewer than fifty fragments previously transcribed and printed. Most, like the 3100th, are found among the correspondence relating to the Scottish journalist preserved in Bradhurst's *A Century of Letters*,[22] where the bulk are messages to Dallas from Wood. The rest, like the first anniversary greeting, are those recorded in the doctoral thesis of Francis X. Roellinger who was able to study the hand-written correspondence before World War II. Despite the apparent candour of her introduction of Dallas, compared to Roellinger's, the character of Bradhurst's more ample selection of letters suggests that, as a descendant of the Wood family, she consciously steered clear of controversial material.

Among the surviving correspondence between Lady Wood and Dallas there is only a single reference to Isabella Glyn. In the summer of 1872, the journalist seems to have sent Wood a copy of his wife's appeal in the public press for donations after visiting the Battersea dog shelter, in which she wrote in an intensely personal vein: 'These poor lost dogs suffer terribly. I cannot sleep for the memory of sights I saw, and the sounds I heard. I went to the Home hoping to find an old friend of mine—my dog Chowler. He alas! has not had the good luck to be taken there.'[23] In her private response, addressing Dallas as 'My dear Child', Wood provided a good deal of insight into the complexity of her emotions regarding the woman by whom she was so roundly detested:

> I never felt such real regard for your wife, such a full forgiveness of all her falsehoods uttered of mine and me, as when I read that letter, which you enclose. It is terrible, and makes me ready to tear my hair to think that I can do nothing; and that the five pounds a year I have been giving has seemingly only served to torture the animals I wished to benefit. And oh! that poor dear dog! … I have never forgotten how he waited with his dear nose at the door of the library watching for you.[24]

Fig. 9.1. Rivenhall Place, Family Home of Emma Wood and Anna Steele

Reproduced from a Plate in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, facing p. 22[25]

Ironically, great affection for their dogs seems to have been the one thing in common between Dallas's wife and the women at Rivenhall Place; Bradhurst offers a lengthy account of the many pets looked after by mother and daughter, who '… kept sixty dogs outside the house in numerous little brick houses, each of which had a stove attached, always lit on winter nights, and a long wire-netting day-run in front. With such a large and increasing canine family it became difficult to find appropriate names. The outdoor dogs were named in pairs, Moses and Aaron, Peter and Paul, Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel.'[26] And we should not forget that Dallas's warmest expressions of personal affection, the most intimate overflowings of his 'Hidden Soul', tended to be reserved for pet dogs, whether his earliest recorded childhood memory of singing a hymn while burying the puppy Joseph in the orchard of the manse at Tain, or his only published poetic work, appearing roughly a year after the separation, mourning the passing of the young deerhound Cid: 'Seeing my hat on—'twas his fashion | To leap for joy—and so he joyed | That evening when he leapt and died; | Out went he—out into the void.' There, indeed, through verses addressed at both beginning and end to the puppy in the second person, and generally articulated in the first person singular of the poet, in the final stanza there occurs the sole instance of the first person plural, where the dog is imagined in Elysium still experiencing pangs of grief on account of 'missing us'.[27] Perhaps this is as close as Dallas came to bidding a fond farewell to the woman with whom he shared so many years of his life.[28]

Be that as it may, to return to more mundane matters, Wood's memories of her own brief encounter with the lost Chowler, obviously dating from the period before the separation, suggest that she must have visited the Dallases at least once *en famille* at 6, Hanover Square. Further, Roellinger cites an early letter from Dallas showing that Wood must have proposed that Glyn visit her family home in Essex on at least one occasion.[29] And, of course, we cannot be certain either precisely from when or how often Dallas himself was invited to spend the weekend at Rivenhall Place, but from the letters preserved in Bradhurst's book we can infer that this must have occurred more than occasionally.

Only a handful of messages between Dallas and Steele seem to have survived. The earliest complete letter from him to her must date from late autumn 1871, not long after he had returned from his second stint in Paris as correspondent, since it concludes with a paragraph referring to the likely recovery of the Prince of Wales from his bout of typhoid fever in the November. There, Dallas's salutation and valediction both include the phrase 'my dear', while he addresses her within the letter itself as 'oh fair glutton' because of her 'hearty appetite' for the 'rehashed' poetry of the Poet Laureate'.[30] The only entire letter from Steele to Dallas dates from spring 1878, less than a year before his death. There writing 'on my knees in Mamma's bedroom' at Rivenhall Place, she addresses him pertly as 'My dear thing', thanks him for sending a few stray instalments of Ruskin's *Fors Clavigera* for binding, and signs the letter 'Nan', followed by the postscript 'Would you like some blackcurrant jam, or do you despise it?'[31] The jocular tone of both of these messages seems to suggest a relationship based on warm affection rather than grand passion.

There is, of course, no way of ascertaining which particular letter in draft form it was that Isabella Glyn displayed in the courtroom during the divorce suit and handed to the judge to peruse, and whether it was addressed to the mother or the daughter. All the same this must have dated from no later than the first few months of 1867. Roellinger cites a letter to Emma Wood written from Hanover Square towards the end of January that year, where initially Dallas grumbles about being kept waiting for over half an hour at the Garrick Club by 'Queen Mab' (his pet name for her daughter), leading him to doubt whether 'I shall ever feel very confident as to her keeping a tryst'. In the next paragraph, he complains to the mother: 'I have not seen you for ages. Invite me from a Saturday to a Monday before I go off. I wish I could carry you off to Paris with me for the three months during which I shall remain there.'[32] If this were indeed the letter in question it would be quite understandable that it should both acutely arouse the wife's suspicions and lead the learned judge to conclude that the husband was guilty of emotional if not physical infidelity.

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Well before the press publicity surrounding the divorce case of spring 1874, for those prepared to read between the lines, public attention to Miss Glyn in the newspapers offered hints that all was not well in the Dallas household. By the mid-1860s the professional career of Mrs Dallas seemed to be receding into the background, with several papers referring to her 'retirement' from the theatre.[33] But as soon as the journalist headed off to Paris for his first stint as Special Correspondent, she reappeared on the London stage starring in Shakespeare's *Anthony and Cleopatra* at the Princess's Theatre from mid-May 1867, and the following spring had a season at the Standard Theatre playing, among other roles, Hermione in *A Winter's Tale*. In between, regular advertisements began to appear offering lessons at Hanover Square in 'Reading and Elocution' to 'Statesmen, Clergymen, and Barristers, as well as to Ladies'.[34] However, she experienced a major setback early in September 1868 when a serious fire there forced her to decamp temporarily to the nearby Brunswick Hotel. Revealing that the couple were no longer living together, the report the following evening in the *Pall Mall Gazette* read: 'Last night flames in immense bodies suddenly shot forth from the windows of Miss Glyn's apartments, about eight in number, and the fire at the same time penetrated the roof, and the flames then rose to a fearful height. Miss Glyn's property, including her valuable wardrobe, was destroyed, and the remainder of the building was severely damaged by the water from three or four steam-engines. The origin of the fire is unknown. Miss Glyn was uninsured.'[35]

And around two year later, at almost exactly the same time that Dallas crossed the Channel to cover the Franco-Prussian War, his wife traversed the Atlantic on a theatrical tour that proved even longer than his stint in Paris. Extending for nearly two years from the summer of 1870 to the spring of 1872 this was announced as taking in both the United States and the Australian colonies. The actress left for New York on board the 'Russia' on 27 August 1870,[36] and seems to have embarked for the return journey from the same city on 23 March 1872.[37] In between there were many newspaper advertisements and reports concerning readings and

performances on the east coast from New York to Boston. But, although the Australian press suggested that she was scheduled to arrive in Melbourne via San Francisco around September 1871,[38] there is in fact no evidence that she made it to either city. Soon after her return she embarked on a series of Shakespearean Readings (including *The Merchant of Venice* and *Romeo and Juliet*), first at the London Institution, Finsbury Circus and then closer to home at the Hanover Square Rooms.

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Since the Dallases were in close social contact with the journalist Shirley Brooks and his wife Emily from the mid-1860s, Brooks's personal diaries offer a private window on Isabella Glyn's increasingly disturbed state of mind regarding her husband's relationship with Wood and Steele. The diary for 1864 already shows Brooks and Dallas dining together at the Garrick before being brought into closer intimacy by the premature death in the autumn of their mutual friend at *Punch*, the artist John Leech. By the following year, there are entries showing the two couples dining together (28 February), and Isabella calling on Emily to share 'her frantic efforts against people who ill treat animals' (30 August). Early in 1867 we see the first signs of Glyn's anxieties, when along with a 'handsome red shawl' Emily received from her some 'curious revelations about Eneas, singularly indiscreet' (28 February). In the June, after the Brooks family had all attended the Princess's Theatre to see Glyn play Cleopatra, Shirley himself was summoned by the actress and told 'a long & complex story in which the names of … Steel, Wood, & Eneas himself were used until one's head turned' (10 June). As shown in the previous chapter, Brooks and his wife visited Dallas in Paris at the end of his stay, spending a couple of evenings with him at the Hotel Meurice discussing the marital discord, and travelling back to London together with him. For several weeks from early November until Christmas, with Dallas 'still furious' and staying at the Bedford Hotel or the Garrick rather than Hanover Square, there was a flurry of diary comments as Brooks played the role of go-between in the 'conjugal row' (Thursday 7 November). On Tuesday the 12th, the relevant portions of Brooks's entry read: '… Mrs. Dallas came—says the separation is going on. … To Bedford. Dallas asked me to come & speak—told him, of course, of her visit. He says I make no impression on her at the time, but that what I say sinks in, & does good. She sent for him, to the hotel, at 4 this morning, after that another row, & then she sent to ask him to dinner, & he was going.' On Sunday 1st December, it seemed that a reconciliation was in sight, though Brooks remarked, 'I am reasonably glad, but it must be hard work to live with her'. Then, on consecutive days (Monday, Tuesday, 2nd and 3rd), Brooks received messages from Glyn: 'Mrs. Dallas writes that all is made up. Did not much believe it, but wrote her a few words advising a dose of "Lethe water"', then, 'Mrs. Dallas writes that "we part forever." Don't believe that, either.' Before the end of the year, however, the flurry had subsided, as the separation dragged on and Dallas began to get to work in his new post as editor of *Once a Week*, pressing Brooks among others for copy. Thereafter the sporadic references in the diary are mainly to Dallas's financial troubles, and Glyn disappears from sight.

Fig. 9.2. Scene from Miss Glyn's Return to the Stage as Cleopatra at the Princess's Theatre[39]
From *Illustrated London News* (8 June 1867), p. 569

What might be the final reference to the actress in the Brooks diaries is found in an entry during summer 1870, just a few days after Dickens's death, when Glyn seems to have gone to Camden Town to call on his deserted wife, Catherine, to express her sympathies.[40] Brooks's description of the incident suggests that Glyn's mental stability might have been affected in the long term by her own marital discord: '… Mrs Dickens was recovering calmness, when at ¼ to 11 at night came that blatant mad-woman Mrs. Dallas, insisting on seeing her. However, after half an hour's parley, she was repulsed, and … wrote Mrs D[ickens]. a letter, full of wildness. This was, unwisely, delivered.' (12 June). This may help to explain why Glyn held on to some of the possessions of her former husband taken from Stafford Place shortly before the divorce hearing until long after the decree had been made absolute, thus ensuring that their 'legal war' would continue for several years.[41]

We should also note that, a few months before Dallas's suit against Glyn for the return of his property reached the courts in the summer of 1876, there was an unrelated public scandal in the press, initially in the columns of the *Athenaeum* but eventually reported as far afield as Australia,[42] where Glyn's intemperate interventions gave the general impression that her judgment was no longer to be trusted. The incident concerned a September 1873 production of *Anthony and Cleopatra* at Drury Lane Theatre directed by Andrew Halliday and starring the young actress Ellen Wallis (b. 1856), and began with a short letter from Glyn published in the *Athenaeum* at the beginning of 1876. There, writing from 31 Hyde Park Place without mentioning either actress or director, Glyn attacked the production as featuring only a 'little of the text' of Shakespeare's play and instead relying upon 'theatrical displays … too vulgar for the vulgarest pantomime'; she concluded extravagantly, 'I would not have performed Cleopatra in that production for one thousand pounds a minute'.[43] In due course Wallis and Halliday both responded; among other things, the young actress pointed out that she had in fact delivered 504 of the 620 lines given to Cleopatra by the playwright,[44] while the director noted that, in full knowledge that there would be some abridgement, Glyn had actually applied for the part but been rejected.[45] Glyn wrote

two further letters of increasing length and bitterness,[46] while in between Wallis offered the honest opinion that 'Cleopatra being apparently a favourite *role* with Miss Glyn, she probably felt very disappointed at not being selected to appear in it: hence arises so much spleen'.[47] Perhaps also the *tragedienne* might have been animated by some lingering resentment at her husband's betrayal of her Shakespearean ideals in his defence of burlesque theatre in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* twenty years earlier.[48]

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There were two main court hearings of the case of Dallas v. Glyn, held in the Chancery Division of the High Court before the Vice-Chancellor Sir Richard Malins on 28 June 1876 and 26 April 1877, respectively. Here there was no significant disparity among the reports in the main London dailies, so we can rely principally on the rather more detailed coverage in *The Times*. At the earlier hearing the key points at issue were: that Glyn had been served with an order from Malins on 30 May 1876 that she submit a list of the documents still in her possession within fourteen days and deposit them in the court within a further seven, but that she ignored the order; and that on 19 June Dallas had initiated without notice the legal process (the issuing of a 'writ of attachment') to hold Glyn in contempt of Court, whereupon she had immediately been incarcerated in Holloway Gaol.[49] As *The Times* explained in considerable detail, the case raised important questions regarding 'the liberty of the subject' which the Judicature Acts of 1875 had been intended to resolve, and there was considerable doubt whether the law had been correctly applied here. The Vice-Chancellor thus concluded that, although the respondent was in the wrong in ignoring the order, 'the writ of attachment, having been issued in this case without notice, must be discharged'. Thus Glyn was released from Holloway the following day, 29 June. In the brief hearing the following spring, it was revealed that 'the action was now compromised on terms which were most satisfactory to the parties interested', who both unreservedly withdrew any 'imputations' and wished that 'the same publicity should be given to the present arrangement as had been afforded to the earlier stages of the case'.[50] In his concluding remarks, the Vice-Chancellor stated that he 'regretted that she should have been committed to prison at all', since there had been 'ample and sufficient reason to justify her' in not handing over the documents. All the same, there was to be no happy ending.

At this point we must return to Isabella Glyn's bitter comment in her letter to John Blackwood regarding the '11 years of legal war'. While Glyn also mentioned there the article in *The Times*, the newspaper cutting attached was the equivalent report from the *Morning Post* of the previous day which concluded roundly with the Vice-Chancellor's observation that 'there was not the slightest imputation of any kind as to the character of Miss Glyn'.[51] While it is easy to understand the satisfaction that this public exoneration must have given to the actress after her ten-day ordeal in Holloway, the reasons offered for believing that the period of conflict would continue for 'as many more' years seem much more difficult to fathom, perhaps even bordering on the paranoid: 'I begin actions against Lady Wood and Mrs. Steele for that imprisonment—it is patent that Mr. Dallas was their agent in that base act. I mean after they are settled to bring actions against the whole of that Lady Wood family for conspiracy "to crush" me.' Of course, Glyn did nothing of the kind—if only because no counsel would have supported such outlandish legal steps—but the intense spirit of vindictiveness underlying the threats demonstrates how deeply she was scarred by what she continued to see as Dallas's acts of betrayal with the two women.

Chapter 9: Years of Legal War: Notes

[1] See Isabella Glyn to John Blackwood, 9 May 1877, cited in Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle for Recognition', pp. 291–92.

[2] We should perhaps note here the much simpler explanation for the divorce ascribed to Isabella Glyn herself by Hain Friswell's daughter, who, presumably around the mid-1870s, reports encountering both husband and wife on separate occasions in Brighton, when Glyn abruptly declared: 'He's a handsome man—every one must admit that—but, the temper of a fiend—so we parted, and now take my advice and don't marry …'. See Laura Hain Friswell, *In the Sixties and Seventies: Impressions of Literary People and Others* (Boston, MA: Herber B. Turner, 1906), pp. 255–58; p. 257.

[3] See D.G. Rossetti to F.S. Ellis, 27 and 28 April 1870, William E. Fredeman, ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriele Rossetti: Volume IV, 1868–1870* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 458 and 461.

[4] Dallas v. Dallas, J77/139, File No. 2984, England & Wales, Civil Divorce Records, 1858–1918.

[5] See Dallas v. Dallas, File No. 2984–16: Affidavit of the Petitioner (Filed 23 April 1874).

[6] Dallas v. Dallas, File No. 2984–17: Affidavit of E.S. Dallas (Filed 4 November 1874).

[7] See, for example, 'The Dallas Divorce Suit', *Edinburgh Evening News* (18 November 1874), p. [3]a.

[8] See E.S. Dallas, *The Gay Science*, II, p. 285 (Ch. XVII: The Ethical Current, §II); the sentence was in fact borrowed from the opening paragraph of Dallas's review of five 'New Novels' (including Anthony Trollope's *Rachel Ray*) in *The Times* (25 December 1863), p. 4c.

[9] See: 'Court of Divorce, Saturday: Dallas v. Dallas', *Morning Post*, (11 May 1874), p. 9e; 'Court of Divorce, May 9: Dallas v. Dallas', *Daily Telegraph*, (11 May 1874), p. 2e; and 'Court for Divorce and Matrimonial Causes, May 9: Dallas v. Dallas', *The Times* (11 May 1874), p. 13f. There was no detailed report in the *Daily News*.

[10] Dallas v. Dallas, File No. 2984–1: Petition for Dissolution of Marriage.

[11] Bradhurst describes Anna's brief marriage as follows: 'She married Colonel Steele, … a man of considerable means. No one seems to have solved the mystery of this marriage. All that is known is that Anna returned home after a week's honeymoon, and no persuasion nor threats could every induce her to return to Colonel Steele' (*A Century of Letters*, p. 86). There was no process of divorce or annulment. In her biography of Anna's sister, Mary Rose Callaghan writes: 'It was rumoured that she lived and died a virgin, but Katie, for one, did not think this true in later life. Indeed, she seems to have suspected her sister of having an affair with her—Katie's—own husband, Willie O'Shea.' (*'Kitty O'Shea': The Story of Katharine Parnell*, London: Pandora, 1989, p. 25).

[12] See 'Christmas Books', *The Times* (14 December 1865), p. 5c-d.

[13] See the *Times* reviews of: Wood's *Rosewarn* (24 April 1867), pp. 6f–7a, and *Sabina* (11 November 1867), p. 10d–f; also Steel's *Gardenhurst* (26 October 1867), p. 9a–d, and *So Runs the World Away* (29 January 1870), p. 4d–f.

[14] See *History of The Times: The Tradition Established, 1841-1884*, pp. 485-86, which specifically mentions reviews by Steele of a couple of volumes of poetry in 1868, while the Editorial Diary itself also lists the notice of triple-decker novel at the end of the same year. Of the nearly fifty contemporary reviewers named in the official history of the newspaper, only three are women.

[15] See Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 104–7.

[16] See: 'St. George's Theatre', *The Times* (11 February 1869), p. 8d; and entry for Tuesday, 9 February 1869, Shirley Brooks' Diary 1869 (London Library).

[17] In a note to his transcription of Glyn's letter to Blackwood of 9 May 1887, in discussing the divorce case, Leahy states confidently but without further explanation: 'The alleged adultress was, of course, Lady Caroline Wood.' ('The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle for Recognition', p. 292).

[18] See Scotland's People: Census 1861, 684/1, 3/14; and Deaths 1870, 690/34/12, National Records of Scotland. She was buried as 'Eliza Baillie MacKintosh, Widow of John Dallas' in Dean Cemetery, Western Edinburgh, in the grave of her younger sister Jemima Calder MacKintosh, who had died twenty years earlier (see Grave No. 74059, Dean 2g Cemetery, Gravestone Photographic Resource Project, URL: https://www.gravestonephotos.com/public/gravedetails.php?grave=74059).

[19] E.S. Dallas to Emma Wood, 26 January 1867, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism, pp. 36–37.

[20] Presumably including periods such as that as besieged resident in Paris.

[21] Reprinted in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 190–91. Bradhurst (p. 87) suggests that there were over sixteen thousand extant letters from Evelyn Wood to his sister Anna.

[22] See Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, in particular, Ch. XII: 'E.S. Dallas of "The Times"', pp. 159–200.

[23] See Isabella Dallas-Glyn to the Editor, 'The Home for Lost Dogs', *Daily News* (20 July 1872), p. 6d.

[24] E.C. Wood to E.S. Dallas, Monday, 29 July [1872], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 197–99; p. 198.

[25] The original drawing clearly dates from much earlier, probably the 1820s.

[26] Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 109–115.

[27] E.S. Dallas [as 'E.S.D.'], 'My Cid', *Once a Year* (25 December 1868), p. 15. (Dallas's friend the poet Sydney Dobell was known as a breeder of Scottish deerhounds, one of which was to be famously represented by his brother-in-law the animal painter Briton Rivière,

R.A., in 'The Empty Chair' of 1869, depicting a dog mourning for its master; see Vero Shaw, *The Illustrated Book of the Dog*, London: Cassell, 1890, p. 226).

[28] Although it should also be noted that the poem echoes sentiments in the *Life of Charlotte Brontë* (2 vols; London: Smith, Elder, 1857), I pp. 308-11, where Elizabeth Gaskell describes how the fictional heroine's dog 'Tartar' in *Shirley* was modelled on the real Emily Brontë's rough tawny bulldog 'Keeper'.

[29] See E.S. Dallas to Emma Wood, Thursday [24 January 1867], cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism, p. 36, where he raises the objection: 'Mrs. Dallas will scarcely be fit for a 13 mile drive before and after reading. She is not able to pay any visits at all just now so there is no use inviting her, save as a matter of form.'

[30] E.S. Dallas to A.C. Steele, Friday [November 1871], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 188–89.

[31] A.C. Steele to E.S. Dallas, 25 March 1878, cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, p. 196. The entry for 'Jam' in Dallas's *Book of the Table* complained of the English way of preserving by 'smashing the fruit and jamming it together' into a solid mass (p. 257).

[32] E.S. Dallas to Emma Wood, Thursday [24 January 1867], cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', p. 36.

[33] See, for example, 'Miss Glyn's Readings', *Era* (3 March 1867), p. 5b, where it is suggested that Glyn might 'occasionally emerge from her retirement and exchange the position of Shakespearian reader for the more dignified and useful one of Shakespearian actress'.

[34] See advertisements beginning 'Mrs. E.S. Dallas (Miss Glyn) announces …', in the *Saturday Review*, e.g. 29 August 1868, p. 309b.

[35] See 'Summary of This Morning's News', *Pall Mall Gazette* (4 September 1868), p. 5b.

[36] See 'Miss Glyn', *The Times* (20 August 1870), p. 5d: 'Our most eminent "readers" are all departing in quick succession. On the 27th inst. Miss Glyn (Mrs. E.S. Dallas) will depart in the Russia for New York, thus commencing a tour which will probably comprise the principal towns of America and Australia.'

[37] See 'Miss Glyn', *Daily News* (23 March 1872), p. 5e, where it was announced: 'This lady sails from America to England to-day, with the intention of appearing again on the London stage, and giving a course of readings …'.

[38] See: 'Our American Letter', with the dateline 'San Francisco, January 14, 1871', which appeared in a number of colonial papers including the (Adelaide) *Express and Telegraph* (28 February 1871), p. 3e, where it was reported: 'Miss Glyn, the tragedienne (who does not know her Lady Macbeth?) is giving readings in New York to unappreciative audiences. She is coming here *en route*, it is said, for Melbourne.'; and, Autolycus, 'The Drama', (Melbourne) *Leader* (25 March 1871), p. 18d, where a report on her performance in the USA was preface by the statement, 'Miss Glyn is making a sensation in America. As she is due here in about six months, the following notice will be read with interest …'.

[39] From Act III Scene xiii, where the jealous Anthony orders Caesar's messenger Thyreus to be whipped for kissing Cleopatra's hand.

[40] The Pilgrim edition of Dickens's letters shows that Glyn wrote to him on a number of occasions after her separation from Dallas. See the brief and perhaps increasingly exasperated replies to her of 11 May 1868, 23 January 1869, 24 May 1869, 17 October 1869, [12?] January 1870, and 2 May 1870 (House, ed., XII, pp. 104, 280, 358, 422, 464, and 517).

[41] The dated entries in the above two paragraphs all refer to the manuscript diaries of Shirley Brooks.

[42] See, e.g., 'The Republic of Letters, London', (Melbourne) *Age* (19 April 1876), p. 3, which described the incident as a 'spiteful quarrel'.

[43] See Isabel Glyn, 'Shakespeare at Drury Lane', *The Athenaeum* (1 January 1876), p. 30.

[44] See Ellen Wallis, 'Shakespeare at Drury Lane', *The Athenaeum* (15 January 1876), p. 100.

[45] See Andrew Halliday, 'Shakespeare at Drury Lane', *The Athenaeum* (22 January 1876), pp. 137–38.

[46] See Isabel Glyn, 'Shakespeare at Drury Lane', *The Athenaeum* (29 January 1876), p. 172, and (26 February 1876), p. 307–8.

[47] See Ellen Wallis, 'Shakespeare at Drury Lane', *The Athenaeum* (12 February 1876), p. 241.

[48] See the end of Chapter V.

[49] See 'High Court of Justice, Chancery Division: 28 June, Dallas v. Glyn', *The Times* (29 June 1876), p. 13a–b.

[50] See 'High Court of Justice, Chancery Division: 26 April, Dallas v. Glyn', *The Times* (28 April 1877), p. 13b.

[51] See 'High Court of Justice, Chancery Division: Thursday, Dallas v. Glyn', *Morning Post* (27 April 1877), p. 7d.

Chapter 10: Soho Economies

For Dallas, the ten years or so following his separation from Isabella Glyn witnessed not only the traumatic emotional battles detailed in the previous chapter, but also a steep socio-economic decline. From Hanover Square to Soho Square was only about a mile or so on foot, but, as indicated starkly by Charles Booth's colour-coded sociological map of London drawn a quarter of a century later,[1] this meant several dangerous steps towards of the abyss of poverty. This chapter not only charts the main milestones and landmarks in the course of that descent, but also reveals the compensations Dallas discovered in the form of the culinary delights located within 'the filthiest, most crowded, and most slovenly district in London', which a couple of generations of poor continental European immigrants had chosen to make their home.[2] This was the *terra incognita* into which he had first ventured via an article appearing in *Once a Week* entitled 'Soho Economies'. The long-term outcome of this exploration was *Kettner's Book of the Table* (London: Dulau, Soho Square, 1877), the only volume completed by the journalist after *The Gay Science*, a work that Derek Hudson has rightly characterised in his modern edition as 'no ordinary "manual of cookery" but a highly individual, spirited, amusing and scholarly encyclopaedia of gastronomy'.[3]

* * * * *

Although there are suggestions in the court reports and in Brooks's diaries that he might have stayed the occasional night, it seems clear that Dallas was never resident at 6, Hanover Square after his return from Paris late in 1867. There are certainly no extant letters addressed from there after that spring. What few items of his correspondence have survived from the late 1860s are all written on headed notepaper from the Office of *Once a Week* or the Garrick Club, though he had left the former by the summer of 1869 and resigned from the latter, probably for financial reasons, in the spring of 1870. As transcribed by Bradhurst or Roellinger, none of the letters to Wood and Steele dating from the 1870s have address lines, so there is little documentary evidence of where precisely Dallas was residing after the separation. But what there is suggests that he tended to stay in a series of temporary lodgings in cheaper districts of, mainly, central London. The divorce files show him both in Pimlico (June 1873) and off Buckingham Palace Road (February 1874), while there are odd letters from Howick Place, off Victoria Street (February 1873) and a hotel on the Tottenham Court Road (January 1878). The Court Directory for 1870 has him at 113 Victoria Street, and Westminster records for both 1873 and 1875 show him again at 3 Howick Place. The only other residence we can be certain of was his last, at 88, Newman Street, just a step away from Soho Square across Oxford Street. It remains unclear how much contact Dallas had after the *Times* libel trial of spring 1874 with Stefan Polès, who had assisted his work as correspondent in Paris at the end of the Franco-Prussian War, although we should note that the Polish émigré was among the aliens who made their home in the Soho area. Polès lived for several years to the west of Soho Square at 20, Great Marlborough Street, publishing his pamphlets from there, with his brief and troubled life brought to a

close in autumn 1875 by emphysema at the Middlesex Hospital on the other side of Oxford Street; there, according to Edmund Yates, he died 'friendless and raving in an unknown tongue'.[4] In contrast, as we shall see in the following chapter, Dallas seems not to have been alone when he expired at his Newman Street lodgings, following a liver haemorrhage in late January 1879.

We have already seen (in Chapter 6) that Dallas had borrowed a large sum of money at interest from Blackwoods as early as 1859 and the debt was still outstanding in 1873. Private diaries and public press reports from around this time suggest that the journalist's inability to live within his means was becoming something of a habit. Shirley Brooks's diary entries at the beginning of 1869 suggest that, not for the first time, Dallas was arrested for debt at the end of the previous year: on 2 January he records that the journalist had failed to appear at his annual Eve party, but was freed that night; on the following day, he elaborates: 'Mrs. Frith knew about Dallas, & that this time Arthur Lewis is the creditor. I suppose Cleopatra, who is intimate with Lewis's manager, has something to do with this—her hate is vengeful.'[5] (The reference is apparently to the wealthy silk mercer Arthur James Lewis (1824-1901), who in 1867 had married the actress Kate Terry, and whose firm Lewis and Allenby owned an emporium and warehouse on Conduit Street and Regent Street.) Newspaper notices on 8 December 1870 and 20 April 1871 show that E.S. Dallas received a debtor's summons to appear on both afternoons before Mr Registrar Murray at the London Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall Street, though no further details are available.[6] A further rather sad sign of Dallas's inability to make ends meet was the sale of the bound manuscript of Dickens's *Our Mutual Friend*, which had been presented to him by the author in early 1866 in gratitude for the favourable review of the novel in *The Times*. By the summer of 1874, and presumably after Dickens's death, this had found its way via John Campden Hotten into the collection of George W. Childs, proprietor of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, for around $1400.[7]

As early as June 1860, in an article entitled 'The Poor Man's Kitchen' published in the first volume of the *Cornhill Magazine* under Thackeray's editorship, Dallas had taken a sociological stance on the question of the relationship between poverty and diet. Given the character of both topic and approach, it is possible that the contribution was based on material originally intended to provide a leading article in *The Times*. There Dallas began by considering the reactionary view that civil prisoners were being treated too humanely; that 'if any one desires to fare luxuriously every day, without expense to himself, he has only to turn thief, and be sentenced to two years' confinement'.[8] To undermine this perception, he paid detailed attention to the 'dietary table of the House of Correction at Cold Bath Fields', among other prison houses. The conclusion was that wholemeal loaves, oatmeal gruel, and cocoa with molasses, say, provided an adequate diet at a minimal coast; that the problem was not that British prisoners fared too well but that the working poor had to pay far more for much less substantial fare, and that alcohol represented the cheapest source of calories. His final paragraph thus contrasted the situation among the French proletariat, who are 'a sober people … because they are good cooks. Where you have bad cookery and good liquor, depend upon it the liquor will carry the day'.[9]

While the main focus of Dallas's newspaper correspondence from Paris lay elsewhere, in the course of both stints there were inevitably letters that touched on gastronomy, whether domestic or international. During the Universal Exhibition the journalist noted that in the grounds there was 'a competition of eating-houses of all nations … so that a visitor may be able to judge' between a French, English, German, Russian, Italian, Turkish, or Chinese dinner, although some of the restaurants were still not open for business by late June.[10] Moreover, he had to report complaints from French culinary authorities that throughout the Exposition it was impossible to find '*une cuisine sérieuse*' (serious cooking), a major affront to national pride.[11] And, as we saw in Chapter 8, while Paris was under siege and running short of provisions there were occasional jocular reports of the English journalists at fashionable restaurants tucking heartily into servings of rat in gravy with a side of toast. At the same time, elsewhere Dallas had to admit that he was in a much better position than the average Parisian, since he knew of 'a good English house, where I can always dine well at a moderate price, and where, if you are suspicious of horse, or mule, or ass, you can see on the table before you the roast leg of mutton, or a saddle, or undeniable beef, or if the worst comes to the worst, a sheep's head as they do it in Scotland, singed, and all cooked by an English cook and served by an English parlourmaid'.[12] There, unusually, in a passage later echoed in his 1877 'Manual of Cookery',[13] he went on to praise English over French cuisine, suggesting that 'the English cook by the way is important, for … French cooks are so incapable of roasting that Brillat-Savarin laid down the maxim, judging entirely by the cooks of his own country, that you can be educated a cook, but that you must be born a roaster'. At Christmastide during the War, Dallas noted that with the 'anxieties of the siege, the want of amusement, and the badness of the food' even a number of the normally sober Parisians sought 'support in strong drink'—punch made from rum at only 'two francs a bottle' was popular among the National Guards especially.[14] At the end of the War, there was a detailed account of the 'revictualling of Paris', including large quantities of Cheshire cheese of poor quality charitably donated by the British, for which the journalist felt obliged to apologize to his dinner companions.[15] Under the Commune, Dallas reported himself dining on soup, beef and asparagus with a senior member of the National Guard at only two shillings a head including wine, where the officer was insistent that the waiter address him as 'Citoyen' rather than 'Monsieur'.[16]

The discovery that he made between these two stays in Paris was that it was not necessary to cross the Channel to study the Poor Frenchman's Kitchen, but simply to enter the maze of streets just south of Soho Square in the Parish of St. Anne's, Westminster. This Edward Walford was soon to depict in *Old and New London,* as 'a square … of small dimensions and uninviting aspect … that a century ago, when … masqued balls were in vogue … was crowded night after night with the carriages of "the quality" … [but] is now chiefly occupied by musical and medical publishers'.[17] Dallas, in contrast, focussing on the premises built on its northwest corner at the beginning of Victoria's reign to manufacture and sell condiments and preserves, described it as a 'Square of decayed greatness, where Messrs. Crosse and Blackwell make jellies by the ton

and receive lobsters from Labrador, on their way to India'; this was in 'Soho Economies', written only six months after he had returned from his first stint as Paris correspondent.[18] There the new editor of *Once a Week* chose to make a stark contrast between a typical 'poor English neighbourhood' and Soho as 'the metropolitan centre of our French population', with all the telling details concerning the foodstuffs on display at stalls and shops and the delicious smells emanating from cafés and restaurants. Two among a rich harvest of examples: first, at the French patisserie he spots the '*savarins*, and *petits fours*, and the old familiar paper parcels of *biscuits de Rheims*, gathered in a shop, that in a British neighbourhood of poverty, would be redolent of fatty-cake';[19] then he mocks the 'British coffee-house keeper [who] has passed the sparkling windows of … [the Caffè Lombardo], every day for years, and has caught the savoury odours stealing from its kitchen; and has only gone back again to boil the egg hard or soft. He has never cared to reach the dignity of an omelette. The dandelion, and the mallow, and the salsify, and the haricots, and the lentils are, he will sneer, stuff for Mounseer, but not for John Bull.'[20] Noting finally that 'the Soho foreigners are all temperate', in his conclusion Dallas duplicated that of 'The Poor Man's Kitchen': 'The economies of Soho show this general result, that ingenious foreigners of the poorest class can contrive to live and to show no rags, and enjoy luxuries, with means which leave the Englishman and Irishman unsatisfied and unkempt.'[21]

The *Once a Week* article, however, does not mention the little restaurant operated from 1867 by a Parisian couple in Church Street (now Romilly Street), at the southern end of St. Anne's Parish, which seems to have fed Dallas and his friends frequently from the end of the 1860s, eventually lending its name to *Kettner's Book of the Table*. Although the name itself was not mentioned there, in summer 1869 this was to be the subject of a lengthy letter to the editor of *The Times*, signed 'A Beast at Feeding-Time' and headed simply 'Dinner'.[22] This was addressed in particular to those gentlemen of the metropolis whose West End clubs were closed during the summer season, so that even the plain but expensive dinners usually provided there were not available. Instead, the writer recommended 'all club men who are in London and who find themselves uncomfortable at their usual haunts, to take the opportunity of visiting Soho … to study the foreigner and see how he dines'. In general, it was noted, 'how well he dines and how cheaply, what a variety of dishes he has to choose from, how nicely they are prepared, and how little time is lost in serving them'. In particular, timid readers were advised to pay a visit to 'one of these restaurants to be found in Church-street. It is not a lovely place to look at … It is kept by a Frenchman, who is his own cook; madame, his wife, doing the honours of the counter, and seeing that all goes straight in the dining-room. It is a homely little room, but everything in it is bright and clean—tablecloth and napkins not very fine, but white as snow.' There follows a detailed description of the dishes on offer at remarkably low prices on the *menu du jour*, from *soupe bonne femme* through to soufflet, available at only five minutes notice even as late as midnight. The letter obviously functioned effectively as an unpaid advertisement for the establishment run by Auguste Kettner and his wife, and probably served often as a free meal ticket for its increasingly impoverished author.[23]

Fig. 10.1 The Soho District in 1870 (before the start of the construction of Shaftesbury Avenue around 1877)

Detail from 1870 Ordnance Survey Map, No. XXXIV (1875), National Library of Scotland (CC-BY)

* * * * *

The idea of publishing *The Book of the Table* seems to date from around 1875, when Dallas began to write articles on food and drink for Edmund Yates's new society weekly *The World*, several of which were later included in the volume.[24] Incorporating the restauranteur's name in the title, this nowhere bears Dallas's name. However, his responsibility is confirmed in a letter located by Roellinger and addressed from the Horse Shoe Hotel on Tottenham Court Road in early 1878; there the journalist states clearly that the book 'has been written

by me. Kettner's name is upon it because he has undertaken the responsibility of the practical receipts—a point of some importance as affecting the sale of the work.'[25] With the subtitle 'A Manual of Cookery Practical, Theoretical, Historical' and an epigraph from *Paradise Regained* ('These are not fruits forbidden …'), in entries arranged alphabetically from 'Absinthe' to 'Zootje', the published volume combined the chef's recipes with a wealth of social and cultural commentary by the critic. Dallas's Introduction was mainly concerned to explain what was wrong with previous manuals: 'most of them are chaotic and overlaid with rubbish,—the wildest confusion of receipts, distinctions without differences, and endless repetitions,—the result of stupidity, of vanity, and of slavish deference to authority'.[26] The brief final entry gives a suggestion of the often florid style and occasionally facetious tone:

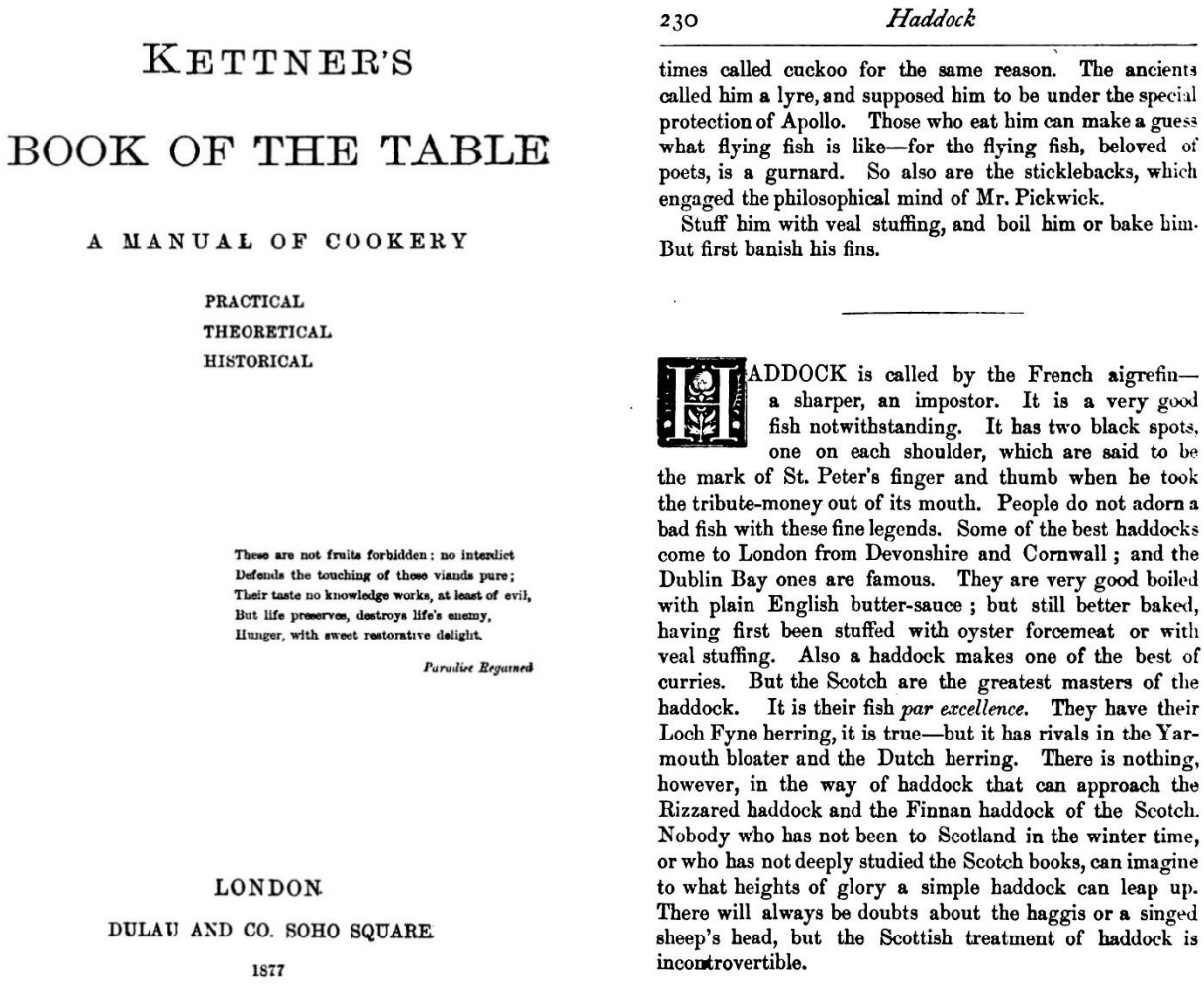
> ZOOTJE—a Dutch word as near as possible in root and in meaning to the English Seethed. All honour to the inhabitants of sea and river that can afford to make our acquaintance not dressed in the royal robes of curious sauces, but in the naked simplicity of the bath in which they have swum over the fire! Their advent at our tables in a vehicle of water is so creditable to them, and so unusual, that it is always signalised in the name of Waterzootje.[27]

A few weeks before the volume itself appeared, Dallas had written to Lady Wood: 'Every line of U. V. W. Y. Z. is written. I shall not add a line, but I confess to adding here and there in the body of the book a word or two which I left out. Still, there are lots of words which I keep back—Italy, Ice, Cordon bleu, Sago, Juniper; Anna pointed out Sherbert. I'll be ready with the book on the 1st October.'[28]

The general cultural line taken in the book, and not only in deference to the Parisian chef, was to laud French cuisine while gently mocking English efforts. Already in *The Gay Science* Dallas had poked fun at a 'nation that has three dozen religions and only one sauce',[29] and returned to the jest early in his Introduction of *Kettner's Book of the Table* where he noted that the English deserved to be 'satirised for their one sauce—the so-called melted butter'.[30] A further simple example, already noted briefly in the previous chapter, is found on the entry on 'Jam' where the English are accused of 'smashing the fruit and jamming it together into a solid cheese' unlike French or Scottish conserves 'where the fruit is kept whole'.[31] It is indeed fascinating to focus on how Scottish fare, in particular, is treated in the volume. As already noted, in his early days in London Dallas had often expressed nostalgia for dishes from his homeland: in the letter to John Blackwood, he had complained privately of the latter's unkindness in speaking 'so rapturously of … rizzared haddies to a poor devil confined to … uneatable London kipper'; and in public via 'The Poor Man's Kitchen' he had waxed lyrical about the simple pleasures of oatmeal porridge, sowens and bannocks, deriding the ignorance of Liberal M.P. John Bright who described porridge 'as a horrible mess, and seemed to think it one of the grievances of the lower classes in Scotland that they are condemned to feed upon it'.[32]

It is perhaps not too difficult to explain the absence from Dallas's *Book of the Table* of specific entries for simple preparations such as Porridge, Sowens and Bannocks, but the absence of a general insertion for Oats or Oatmeal is unjustifiable, especially if we remember the studied cultural insult of Samuel Johnson's

definition.[33] The most enthusiastic reference to the ingredient is when the addition of 'finely ground oatmeal toasted slowly before the fire, till it is of a light-brown colour and perfectly nutty and dry' is recommended in the receipt included in the two-page entry on 'Haggis'.[34] This begins by admitting that the 'Scotch would never forgive us if their national dish should be left out of the list of good things', and duly recalls Burns's address to the 'Great Chieftain of the Pudding race'. [35] However, the most patriotic is undoubtedly the immediately preceding entry for 'Haddock'. There Dallas proclaims: 'the Scotch are the greatest masters of the haddock. It is their fish par excellence. There is nothing … that can approach the Rizzared haddock and the Finnan haddock of the Scotch', and these are both given their own subsection.[36]



KETTNER'S

BOOK OF THE TABLE

A MANUAL OF COOKERY

PRACTICAL
THEORETICAL
HISTORICAL

These are not fruits forbidden: no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.

Paradise Regained

LONDON
DULAU AND CO. SOHO SQUARE
1877

230 *Haddock*

times called cuckoo for the same reason. The ancients called him a lyre, and supposed him to be under the special protection of Apollo. Those who eat him can make a guess what flying fish is like—for the flying fish, beloved of poets, is a gurnard. So also are the sticklebacks, which engaged the philosophical mind of Mr. Pickwick.

Stuff him with veal stuffing, and boil him or bake him. But first banish his fins.

HADDOCK is called by the French aigrefin—a sharper, an impostor. It is a very good fish notwithstanding. It has two black spots, one on each shoulder, which are said to be the mark of St. Peter's finger and thumb when he took the tribute-money out of its mouth. People do not adorn a bad fish with these fine legends. Some of the best haddocks come to London from Devonshire and Cornwall; and the Dublin Bay ones are famous. They are very good boiled with plain English butter-sauce; but still better baked, having first been stuffed with oyster forcemeat or with veal stuffing. Also a haddock makes one of the best of curries. But the Scotch are the greatest masters of the haddock. It is their fish *par excellence*. They have their Loch Fyne herring, it is true—but it has rivals in the Yarmouth bloater and the Dutch herring. There is nothing, however, in the way of haddock that can approach the Rizzared haddock and the Finnan haddock of the Scotch. Nobody who has not been to Scotland in the winter time, or who has not deeply studied the Scotch books, can imagine to what heights of glory a simple haddock can leap up. There will always be doubts about the haggis or a singed sheep's head, but the Scottish treatment of haddock is incontrovertible.

Fig. 10.2~10.3 *Kettner's Book of the Table* (Dulau, 1877): Title Page and Entry for 'Haddock' (p. 230)

What is strange in the entries for both Haddock and Haggis is the use throughout of the third-person plural to create a distance between the author and the people of North Britain from whom he hailed. When Dallas adopted such a rhetorical device in his early articles on Scottish subjects in *The Times*, it was easy to explain this as the consequence of the newspaper's strict policy of journalistic impersonality. Here, however the

personality of the author declares itself loudly in the style and tone of each entry; as Derek Hudson memorably puts it, '[c]losing this enjoyable book, we are aware that we have parted from a companion of unusual versatility of mind, a psychologist, a philosopher, an epicurean in the Athenian sense.'[37]

* * * * *

It remains unknown how much Dallas earned from the *Book of the Table*, and we can only guess to what extent the use on the title-page of the name of the Scottish journalist rather than the French chef would have affected the sales. What we do know is that there was to be no reprint until 1912, when a reset second edition appeared from Kettners Ltd of Church Street in which the journalist's responsibility was effectively erased. This opened with eight pages of menus and advertisements for the restaurant, proclaimed the book's author loudly as 'M. Auguste Kettner, the noted chef', who had passed away in the year the volume was initially published, although it briefly acknowledged the assistance of 'his good friends and clients, Mr. Geo. Augustus Sala and Mr. J. J. Dallas [*sic.*]'.[38] Unfortunately, as we shall see in greater detail in the following chapter, even more precipitate than Dallas's socio-economic descent throughout the 1870s was the decline in his physical and indeed mental health.

Chapter 10: Soho Economies: Notes

[1] See 'Hand Coloured Map Descriptive of London Poverty, 1898–1899: Sheet 61: Mayfair, Westminster, Bloomsbury', Charles Booth Digitised Archive, LSE Digital Library (BOOTH/E/2/29). URL: <https://lse-atom.arkivum.net/uklse-dl1cb010040010029>.

[2] See Dallas's letter to the editor of *The Times* signed 'A Beast at Feeding-Time': 'Dinner' (26 August 1869), p. 10e–f; p. 10e.

[3] Derek Hudson, 'Preface' to *Kettner's Book of the Table*: *A Manual of Cookery Practical, Theoretical, Historical*, by E.S. Dallas (London: Centaur Press, 1968), pp. v–xiv; p. v.

[4] See [Edmund Yates], 'What "The World" Says', *The World* (24 November 1875), p. 14.

[5] See Shirley Brooks' Diary 1869 (London Library), entries for Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday, 2, 3, 5 January.

[6] See, e.g., 'Law Intelligence: Basing-Hall Street', *Morning Post* (8 December 1870), p. 7a, and *Daily News* (20 April 1871), p. 3e; of course, Dallas was in fact absent in Paris on both dates.

[7] See: 'Dickens's MSS', *Bookseller* (2 July 1874), p. 550; and Kate Field, '"Our Mutual Friend" in Manuscript', *Scribner's Monthly* 8 (August 1874), pp. 472–75.

[8] [Dallas], 'The Poor Man's Kitchen', p. 745.

[9] [Dallas], 'The Poor Man's Kitchen', p. 754.

[10] See: [E.S. Dallas], 'The Great French Exhibition', *The Times* (11 April 1867), p. 9e–f; p. 9e; and (24 June 1867), p. 10c–d; p. 10c.

[11] See [E.S. Dallas], 'The Great French Exhibition', *The Times* (25 April 1867), p. 8a–c; p. 8a.

[12] See 'Our Special Correspondent' [E.S. Dallas], 'Life in Paris', *Daily News* (25 November 1870), pp. 5f-6d; p. 5f.

[13] See the entry on 'Sauce' in *Kettner's Book of the Table: A Manual of Cookery* (London: Dulau, 1877), pp. 408-19; p. 408.

[14] [E.S. Dallas], 'Beseiged Paris', *Daily News* (5 January 1871), pp. 5f~6c (p. 6c), from a letter dated 'Dec. 26'.

[15] [E.S. Dallas], 'The Present State of Paris', *Daily News* (18 February 1871), p. 6a–c; p. 6a–b.

[16] [E.S. Dallas], 'The State of Paris', *Daily News* (16 May 1871), p. 5e.

[17] Edward Walford, *Old and New London: Volume III* (London, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1878), Ch. XXIV: Soho, pp. 173–84; p. 177. Famously in *A Tale of Two Cities*, in scenes set in London around 1780, Dickens had housed the Parisian emigrés Doctor Mannette and his daughter Lucie 'in a quiet street-corner not far from Soho-square', noting that: 'There were few buildings then, north of the Oxford-road, and forest-trees flourished, and wild flowers grew, and the hawthorn blossomed, in the now vanished fields. As a consequence, country airs circulated in Soho with vigorous freedom …' (Book II Chapter VI: Hundreds of People).

[18] [E.S. Dallas], 'Soho Economies', *Once a Week* (30 May 1868), pp. 480–82. The attribution is based on the fact that the article is referred to as by the editor in a later issue—see 'Table Talk', *Once a Week* (11 July 1868), pp. 38–40, where Dallas apologised personally for directing readers in search of Italian comestibles from Messrs Perelli-Rocco to Old Compton Street rather than Greek Street (pp. 39–40).

[19] [Dallas], 'Soho Economies', p. 481.

[20] Dallas], 'Soho Economies', p. 482.

[21] *Ibid*.

[22] [E.S. Dallas, as 'A Beast at Feeding-Time'], 'To the Editor: Dinner', *The Times* (26 August 1869), p. 10e–f.

[23] Dallas's responsibility for the letter is first mentioned in his obituaries. According to the *Academy* (25 January 1879, p. 4), 'One autumn, about fifteen years ago, a gentleman, shut out from his club during the annual cleaning, plunged into the recesses of Soho, and, through a letter to *The Times*, drew the attention of the bachelor world of London to the excellence of the cookery at a French restaurant in Church Street. The anonymous writer who thus secured an ample fortune for its proprietor, M. Kettner, was commonly understood to be Mr. Dallas'. George Sala, a close friend to whom Dallas dedicated *Kettner's Book of the Table*, in his 'Echoes of the Week' column in the *Illustrated London News* of 25 February 1879, p. 78a, described his last meeting with the departed: 'Bidding us farewell, he made us promise to dine with him shortly at a little French restaurant in Soho, of which years before, with a few strokes of his pen, he had made the fortune'. More generally, Roellinger ('E.S. Dallas: A Study', pp. 54–57) offers a thoroughly comprehensive justification of the attribution.

[24] So far only four such articles have been identified: 'Wine' (14 July 1875); 'A Dinner of Herbs' (25 August 1875); 'More About Salad'; and 'Coffee' (15 September 1875).

[25] E.S. Dallas to F.J. Furnivall of the Early English Text Society, 20 January [1878], cited in F.X. Roellinger, 'A Note on *Kettner's Book of the Table*', *Modern Language Notes* 54 (May 1939), pp. 363–64.

[26] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 1.

[27] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 500.

[28] E.S. Dallas to E.C. Wood, 2 September [1877], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 171–72.

[29] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I, p. 38.

[30] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 2.

[31] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 257.

[32] Dallas, 'The Poor Man's Kitchen', pp. 748–49.

[33] 'Oats. A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.' Dallas had recalled Johnson's jibe in 'The Poor Man's Kitchen', p. 748.

[34] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 233. The recipe is attributed to Meg Dods, the fictional character from Walter Scott's *St. Ronan's Well*, though this was in fact the pseudonym used by Christie Johnson for her *Cook and Housewife's Manual* (1826).

[35] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 232.

[36] Dallas, *Kettner's Book of the Table*, p. 230.

[37] Hudson, 'Preface', p. xiv.

[38] *Kettner's Book of the Table* (2nd ed.; London: Kettners Ltd, Church Street, 1912), unnumbered preliminary advertisements.

Chapter 11: Last Things

After his departure from the French capital in the autumn of 1871, Dallas's general health seems to have gone steadily downhill until his demise at the age of only fifty-one early in 1879. While few medical details seem to have survived apart from those recorded on the death certificate, which specified that he suffered a hepatic haemorrhage just a couple of days before the end on the evening of Friday, January 17th, there are a number of personal letters charting the general stages of decline. A few weeks after the return journey from Paris to London, he described his condition in some detail to Emma Wood: 'I have turned the comer and am getting better—though still far from well, lazy, drowsy, good for nothing. The pain is nearly gone and that is a prodigious relief. The doctor says that I have let my system run down too much, that the particular symptoms from which I suffer are nothing, that they might have been different under slightly different circumstances and that my complaint is debility.'[1] The hint of optimism here seems to have been misplaced, however, for rather over a year later, in apologizing once more to John Blackwood for failing to settle his long-standing debt to the Edinburgh publishing firm, he explained: 'During the last fifteen months I have been very ill and unable to go about my regular work.'[2] By 1876 he seems to have begun to administer opium to himself as a sedative, for at some point in that year he wrote to Lady Wood: 'I went to see the doctor today—Squire. He only charged a guinea but said he would like to see me again ... The opium he did not object to for a little time—but it was a drug which if taken at all requires to be taken in ever increasing quantities till at last the cure came to be worse than the disease. I must therefore distinctly understand that though it might be beneficial for a year or two, it was deadly afterwards. I am to see him again next week ...'. [3] The reference is probably to the distinguished epidemiologist William Squire (1825-99), during the 1870s a practitioner at the St. George's Dispensary, Hanover Square.[4] Presumably Squire's dire warnings went unheeded, since, based on the large volume of correspondence she edited, as well as interactions within the Wood family, Minna Bradhurst reported of Dallas: 'Towards the end he became irritable and bad-tempered, and his visits were no longer a pleasure; this was probably caused by his habit of taking opium, and the fatal drug eventually had such a hold upon him that his mind became unbalanced and his letters amounted to the incoherent ravings of a madman.'[5]

No document transcribed by either Bradhurst or Roellinger comes close to fitting this description, although a dark shadow does seem to fall across much of the later correspondence.[6] On more than one occasion, we see Lady Wood complaining of the journalist's irritability: as early as 1872, when she had proposed putting up a reward for the recovery of Isabella Glyn's lost dog Chowler, she added, 'I daresay you will be affronted at my proposition—everything seems to affront you now. Artists … go about the world without their skins …'.[7] In summer 1877, before entering on his calculation of precisely how many letters the two had exchanged over the last eleven years, Dallas refers to what seems to have been quite an abrasive exchange: 'Why do you say anything so sharp to me as that it is nice of me to be agitated at knowing what has happened

to you.'[8] In what appears to be a postscript to the letter written only a few weeks later regarding his final entries for *Kettner's Book of the Table*, Dallas repeats the sombre sentiments of a late eighteenth-century sermon that Wood had had her heroine Mara read towards the end of her debut novel *Rosewarn*: 'Who is there, that could meet a victim on its way to the altar, and feel the knife of sacrifice in readiness, and indulge a desire to give the devoted animal a moment's pain, as it pursues its path to slaughter? and can any one consider man in the light of a passenger to the grave, and endure the idea of throwing so much as a single thorn in his way?'[9] Further, in a letter to Anna Steele, which, judging by its reference to the hope springing from Lady Wood's recovery from a serious illness, must date from 1878, Dallas broods on his own barely concealed feelings of hopelessness: 'But oh, why do I speak? … Every trouble for which I can blame myself has arisen out of despair and the want of self-confidence. I could tell you such stories as you who hear me talk sanguine, and who think me sanguine, could scarcely credit; they show such unmanly despair and loss of power through despair. Yet no one can have had more proof than I of the absurdity of despair. Good-bye.'[10] It is, of course, difficult to read this without Dallas's own sad and troubled end in mind.

* * * * *

Anna Steele seems to have been one of the last people to see the journalist alive—along with those old friends from the London press, George Sala and Edmund Yates. In the final January issue of 1879 Sala devoted three of the eleven paragraphs of his regular 'Echoes of the Week' feature in the *Illustrated London News* to a warm tribute to his deceased colleague. After recalling the Scotsman's triumphant arrival on the London scene, and celebrating his various achievements since as scholar and journalist, Sala closed on a personal note:

> He was very kind to me in the days of his power and prosperity; nor did we cease to foregather when the dark days came, and the shadow of a cypress … was drawn across his life-path. The poor dear gentleman dined with us on Sunday, the twelfth inst. Physically he looked the shadow of his former self; but he was as gentle in his ways and charming in his conversation as ever. We could not help noticing that in the course of the evening he spoke frequently—without affectation, but earnestly—of divers serious things which all of us think about, but to which we are sometimes too shamefaced to give open utterance. Bidding us farewell, he made us promise to dine with him shortly at [Kettner's] … On the following Tuesday he sent me a printed page of an article on "Madame de Sévigné and her Contemporaries;" and on Friday he was dead.[11]

It seems likely that Yates was also part of the group dining together on the Sunday before Dallas's death and would have joined the gathering at the Soho restaurant had it taken place. In his weekly column 'What the World Says' he similarly devoted much of his space to obituary remarks, among which he mourned the loss of 'an able colleague and an old friend. Desperate ill-health had prematurely whitened his hair and scored and lined his handsome face; but it had not soured his sweet disposition or abated one jot the vigour of his intellect.'[12] Like Sala, he dwelt on *The Gay Science* and *Kettner's Book of the Table* as Dallas's outstanding scholarly achievements, but also mentioned that 'the latter months of his failing life' had been dedicated to a new project on seventeenth-century French literary culture, indicating that Yates was already familiar with the article on that subject which was to appear in the *Nineteenth Century* fully two years afterwards.[13]

Yet Steele was perhaps the only one of the three who was present at 88, Newman Street when Dallas died. Bradhurst states that 'Mrs. Steele went down to say good-bye to him on his deathbed but never mentioned in the family what took place at that last interview …';[14] she does, however, record that fully fifteen years later William Rossetti had received from Steele 'a very touching account of Dallas's last days', although that document has apparently not survived.[15] At the end of the chapter devoted to Dallas's correspondence with the Woods, mother and daughter, Bradhurst also reveals that Steele had written an obituary notice for the *Pall Mall Gazette*, but that the editor had overlooked it and substituted his own Social Darwinian analysis of the failure of the journalist's career.[16] In his rather more feeling apology to her, referring to Dallas as 'our poor adrift friend: anchored at last', Frederick Greenwood had humbly asked for forgiveness for 'putting aside your own cry over his dear body'.[17]

* * * * *

Stimulated by his work on the edition of Shenstone's *Essays on Men and Manners*, where he noted with regret that, in marked contrast to France, 'in England we neglect the aphoristic style',[18] Dallas's last critical project builds on the foundations laid in his study in *The Gay Science* of the cultural milieu enjoyed by the French aristocracy in the seventeenth century, although there the main focus is on the role of the society hostess Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) rather than the moral philosopher François, Duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-80).[19] As noted here briefly in Chapter 8, in his conclusion Dallas characterised the essay eventually published in the *Nineteenth Century* as 'but a clearing of the ground, a statement of preliminaries and a demand for a new study of La Rochefoucauld'.[20] The article begins with a discussion of Sainte-Beuve's influential views on the mentality of French literature over the two centuries before the Revolution of 1789, and ends with an analysis of the relation between the style and substance of the Maxims of La Rochefoucauld illustrated by a series of examples. Nevertheless, its core is an exercise in what today in France would be called 'l'histoire du livre'—indeed Dallas himself describes it as 'the history of his book',[21] that is, *Réflexions ou Sentences et Maximes Morales*. This had appeared in five different versions over the last fifteen years of the author's lifetime, with material on self-love (*l'amour propre*) as a primary motivation of human behaviour prominent in the first but gradually suppressed in the remainder.[22] However, in an analysis which gives rise to his most considered thoughts on the responsibility of the critical editor, Dallas traces the pattern of succeeding editions over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, both in France and in translation across the English Channel, including their relationship to the largely overlooked manuscript held at the Château of Rochegayon. In conclusion, he suggests that this process has created a damaging misconfiguration of La Rochefoucauld's moral philosophy, making it appear obsessed with 'the depravity of the human race'.[23] While recognizing that La Rochefoucauld's thought shares the Jansenist preoccupations of the age in which he lived, Dallas argues that, in ideological terms, this particular 'history of his book' has tended to turn La Rochefoucauld into a moral pessimist inimical and inaccessible to a nineteenth-century readership committed to

intellectual and social progress, thus creating the 'demand for a new study'. Again, in the context of this chapter, it is difficult to read this final piece of writing without hearing echoes of the author's personal ruminations on 'the absurdity of despair' in his late correspondence with Anna Steele.

* * * * *

The deceased journalist's funeral service took place a week after his death, from two o'clock in the afternoon of Friday, 24 January, within the expansive grounds of Kensal Green Cemetery, opened in 1833 on the Harrow Road in northwest London, the final resting place of many Victorian celebrities. These of course included Thackeray and Leech whose burial services Dallas himself had attended. The formalities in January 1879 were conducted by the Rev. Charles Stuart, who was chaplain not only of the Cemetery but also of the nearby Paddington Workhouse. As though to support Dallas's critique of Ruskin's definition of the 'pathetic fallacy',[24] the weather was extremely cold, wet, and windy so that 'the principal portion of the service took place inside the chapel, so as to shorten the grave-side ceremony to the narrowest allowable limit'.[25] It seems likely that it was Dallas's younger brother William who organized and paid for the event, including the wreath-covered coffin 'of polished elm with brass mounts … [with] the inscription "Eneas Sweetland Dallas, Esq., died January 17, 1879, aged 51 years".' According to another report in a Glasgow paper, 'The procession consisted of an open hearse—upon which the coffin, covered with a violet velvet pall, rested—and four broughams with pairs.'[26] A few days before the service, Frederick Greenwood had written in his obituary that should 'all who knew and admired him when he started on his career witness his burial, there will be a large concourse at his grave'.[27] But in the event, and clearly not only because of the bleak conditions, the gathering of mourners was rather sparse: the *Daily News* named less than twenty people. The only family members recognized in its report were brother William, with his two sons then aged merely seven and four, although among the unidentified Scottish names listed were Mr. Hugh Mackintosh and Mr. Fraser, the family names at birth respectively of Dallas's mother and sister-in-law.[28]

Perhaps to the surprise of some, the divorced wife Isabella Glyn was present despite the heavy rain. Glyn's presence clearly precluded the attendance of Mrs Steele, whose mother was by then in very poor health, although the Wood family was still represented by the latter's son-in-law and *his* heir, Sir T.B. Lennard, Bart., and Mr. Thos. Lennard, of Belhus House, Essex. There seem to have been only three representatives of the press, Mr. Edmund Yates, Mr. George A. Sala (along with his wife), and Mr J.R. Robinson, Office Manager of the *Daily News* from before the Franco-Prussian War, who may have penned the report. Regrettably, there was no-one there to represent *The Times* or *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*—J.T. Delane and John Blackwood both passed away later the same year. Her husband the chef having recently died, the Soho restaurant was represented by Mrs. Kettner who 'followed in her carriage', according to the Glasgow paper. Before the list came to its end with '&c.', there appeared three further unrecognized names: Mr. Lingner, Mr Edwin Levy, and Mr. E. Jennings; it is tempting to speculate whether the second might have been the private detective

representing the French authorities who had given evidence against Stefan Poles during the 1874 *Times* libel case. The *News* did offer 'The Late Mr. E.S. Dallas' the courtesy of introducing him warmly as 'this kindly-natured man and accomplished journalist', but the rest was silence.

Fig. 11.1~11.2 Graves of William Dallas and Isabella Glyn at Kensal Green Cemetery
(contemporary photographs by the author at Kensal Green Cemetery, Lots #21039 and #31609)

The inconspicuous grave is designated lot 26778 (in section 55 off the South Branch Avenue of the main cemetery), close to where William Dallas's father-in-law Hugh Fraser had been buried in 1868 at lot 21039; there indeed William himself was to be interred in the summer of 1882, followed by his wife and eldest son, with the gravestone now cloaked in ivy but still legible. A decade later Eneas Dallas's former partner Isabella Glyn was also buried close by in lot 31609, beneath a far more imposing tomb; her epitaph in marble includes a moving parenthesis that, given the divorce, was strictly inappropriate: 'Here rests | All that was mortal | Of the Celebrated Tragedian | Isabella Glyn | (*Widow of E.S. Dallas*) | Born 22 May 1823. Died 18 May 1889.')[29] Although Eneas's sister Ann is recorded as being interred in 1910 beneath the same headstone as her brother, this now seems to be collapsed and the specific grave unidentifiable. In fact, as Fig. 11.3 suggests, the area between and around the plots of William Dallas and Isabella Glyn is overgrown and many of the

gravestones are broken, fallen and with no decipherable inscription. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that the children of John and Eliza Dallas, each born in the West Indies and raised in Easter Ross, are all three buried close to each other within the broad acres of All Souls Cemetery, Kensal Green.

Fig. 11.3 Overgrown Area (between those of his brother and ex-wife) containing the Grave of E.S. Dallas
(contemporary photograph by the author at Kensal Green Cemetery, including Lot #26778)

Apart from the affectionate personal tributes by Sala and Yates, and the Darwinian analyses in the *Athenaeum* and *Pall Mall Gazette* noted in Chapter 1, there were few other obituaries to provide any detail. In a brief editorial (perhaps written by Robinson), the *Daily News* took a similar line to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the failure of Dallas's career, though without attributing it to his origins in the Caribbean, noting that he 'edited and wrote for magazines, became Foreign Correspondent, projected various things, and attempted some, but made no distinct success in anything.'[30] In its brief paragraph on the death of a former employee, *The Times* gave many examples to illustrate that 'until a comparatively recent period his name was well known in connexion with literature' but avoided mentioning his fifteen years of service under Delane.[31] The formal obituary accompanying the handsome photographic portrait in the weekly *Illustrated London News* emphasized the costs of the writer's commitment to 'those labours of anonymous journalism, which can seldom obtain for any

scholar or man of letters, in this country … the full recognition of his intellectual merit. Such essays and reviews as those which Mr. Dallas and others have contributed … would in Paris have borne the names of their highly-gifted and original writers; and their reward would have been an amount of contemporary fame equal to that enjoyed by successful French critics and literary commentators.'[32] Among the weekly reviews, the *Academy* devoted half a column to a death notice that, without providing a source and clearly unaware of the affiliation of Dallas's immediate family with the Free Church, included the remarkably intimate information that, 'His early education and training were conducted with a view to his entering the ministry of the Church of Scotland, but an unfortunate personal defect forced him to employ his talents in some other manner.'[33] Among provincial newspapers, the London Correspondent of the *Belfast News-Letter* took an independent line in criticising *The Times* for mentioning the divorce case without clarifying who Dallas's celebrated wife had been and which of the two had been found the guilty party.[34] Another widely syndicated column of London Correspondence, appearing over the initials 'D.G', presumably indicating an unidentified North Briton, informed country readers in late January that Dallas had passed away, adding a week later that, back in the Scottish capital in the early 1850s, he had been not only (correctly) a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Guardian* but also (incorrectly) the editor of the *War Telegraph*.[35]

* * * * *

In the end, E.S. Dallas can perhaps be best understood as a perpetual expatriate. His life and career had featured a good many long-distance journeyings, in cultural, social, and ideological as well as spatial terms. During his youth in particular, this may have involved more than one displacement from a peripheral, primal landscape—whether the small island in the British Caribbean or the coast of northeastern Scotland—to which he could or would never consciously return. Yet, even in later years he often appears rather lost as he moves between and within metropolitan centres—across an Edinburgh divided into Old and New Towns by the Water of Leith, back and forth over the borders of Belgravia and Bohemia in London, or between the boulevards and backstreets of Paris. There were also significant private costs both material and psychological arising from his stout defence of the principle of journalistic impersonality. If, as Alexis de Toqueville had argued, the readership of a periodical represented a public association of those with common interests and opinions, then writing for a wide range of press organs meant constantly having to 'Do the Police with Different Voices'. In party political terms alone, this involved Dallas's performing variously as an active Radical in the *Edinburgh Guardian* but a high Tory in *Blackwood's Magazine*, an established Conservative at *The Times* but an advanced Liberal at the *Daily News*. In short, as well as illustrating the range and profundity of his scholarship, his vigorous and incisive intellect, and his remarkable rhetorical power, Dallas's many and varied contributions to the periodical press over more than a quarter of a century, through their marked ideological inconsistencies, also illuminate the psychological complexities and confusions generated by his life of wanderings. Thus Frederick Greenwood's Social Darwinian explanation of the journalist's failures as deriving from homeland and heritage seems entirely

mistaken: it surely makes much greater sense to figure Dallas as a rolling stone perpetually uncertain in which direction his home lay, or, in the metaphor that the editor himself suggested to Anna Steele upon Dallas's death, 'our poor adrift friend: anchored at last'.

Chapter 11: Last Things: Notes

[1] E.S. Dallas to E.C. Wood, November 1871, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', pp. 49–50.

[2] E.S. Dallas to John Blackwood, 8 February 1873, Blackwood Papers, NLS, MS.4302. The only sign of Dallas writing for the press around this time is a handful of tit-bits of London literary gossip contributed to Scottish provincial newspapers around spring 1873; see, among other examples, 'The Noble Savage', *Falkirk Herald* (13 March 1873), p. 13d.

[3] E.S. Dallas to E.C. Wood, 1876, cited in Roellinger, 'E.S. Dallas: A Study in Victorian Criticism', p. 61.

[4] See his obituary: 'William Squire, MD St. And., DRCP, Lond.', *The Lancet* (15 April 1899), p. 1062. It seems that earlier, while Dallas was living at Hanover Square, he may have been treated by the Scottish homeopathist John Rutherfurd Russell (1816–67), who came to London from his native Edinburgh in 1858 and practiced in Harley Street. See his obituary, 'Dr Rutherfurd Russell', *British Journal of Homeopathy* 25:100 (April 1867) pp. 241–56, p. 253, where connexions with E.S. Dallas and George Macdonald are referred to as among the 'valuable friendships formed through his practice'. Macdonald's *Adela Cathcart* (1864) was dedicated to Russell.

[5] Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, p. 159. Ironically, the final years of Samuel Lucas, Dallas's former review colleague at *The Times* who also died at the end of his fifth decade, also seem to have been marked by irascibility approaching insanity; see Patrick Leary, *The 'Punch' Brotherhood: Table Talk and Print Culture in Mid-Victorian London* (London: British Library, 2010), pp. 64-65.

[6] There is a tantalising letter from Lady Wood to Dallas apparently dating from summer 1878 which seems to refer to a journal in Dallas's hand then in her possession: 'Very unwillingly I have sent my keys to Belhus to Lady Lennard to open my bureau and take from it every scrap of paper in your handwriting. I can quite understand the idolatry of your bevy of fair women, which made them, or one of them, copy the whole journal. It would seem that you have few reserves with them. That was our impression on reading the journal.' (E.C. Wood to E.S. Dallas, 15 July [1878], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 189–90; p. 189). It even seems possible that the 'bevy of fair women' might be a reference to Wood's trio of married daughters, Emma Lennard, Anna Steele, and Katie O'Shea. But whoever transcribed it, there is, of course, no evidence of the survival of the document.

[7] E.C. Wood to E.S. Dallas, Monday, 29 July [1872], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 197–99; p. 198.

[8] See E.S. Dallas to E.C. Wood, [26 July] 1877, cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 190–91; p. 190.

[9] See: E.S. Dallas to E.C. Wood, 2 September [1877], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 171–73; p. 173; and [E.C. Wood, as 'C. Sylvester'], *Rosewarn: A Novel* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1867), III, pp. 282–83, citing Joseph Fawcett, 'Sermon VII', *Sermons Delivered at the Sunday-evening Lecture, for the Winter Season, at The Old Jewry* (2 vols; London: Johnson, 1795) I, pp. 209–53; p. 223.

[10] E.S. Dallas to A.C. Steele, Undated [1878], cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 196–97.

[11] G.A. Sala [as 'G.A.S'], 'Echoes of the Week', *Illustrated London News* (25 January 1879), p. 78a.

[12] [Edmund Yates], 'What the World Says', *The World* (22 January 1879), p. XXX.

[13] E.S. Dallas, 'La Rochefoucauld', *The Nineteenth Century* 9 (February 1881), pp. 269–91. Ironically, if we overlook Dallas's poem for *Once a Year* at Christmas 1868 and his two signed letters to *The Times* of October 1869, this was his only work of signed journalism.

[14] Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, p. 159.

[15] W.M. Rossetti to A.C. Steele, 31 October 1895, cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, pp. 159–60.

[16] See the discussion of this and other obituary notices in Chapter 1.

[17] Frederick Greenwood to A.C. Steele, 21 January 1879, cited in Bradhurst, *A Century of Letters*, p. 200.

[18] 'Preface', *Essays on Men and Manners,* p. vi.

[19] Dallas, Ch. 5: The Agreement of the Critics, §IV: The French School, *The Gay Science*, I, pp. 130–153.

[20] Dallas, 'La Rochefoucauld', p. 291.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 274.

[22] For example, the beginning of the later suppressed lengthy Maxim 1 in the first 1665 edition: 'L'amour-propre est l'amour de soi-même, et de toutes choses pour soi; il rend les hommes idolâtres d'eux-mêmes, et les rendrait les tyrans des autres si la fortune leur en donnait les moyens …'. (My rough translation: '*L'amour propre* is the love of oneself, and of everything for oneself; it makes men idolatrous worshippers of their own selves, and, if fortune should give them the means, would make them tyrants over other people ...'.)

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

[24] Dallas, *The Gay Science*, I, pp. 281–83.

[25] See, among other press reports, 'The Late Mr. E.S. Dallas', *Daily News* (25 January 1879), p. 2a.

[26] See 'Funeral of Mr. Dallas', *Glasgow Evening News* (25 January 1879), p. 2c.

[27] [Frederick Greenwood], 'Occasional Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette* (21 January 1879), p. 8.

[28] Other unidentified but apparently Scottish names listed in the *Daily News* report of the funeral were: Mr. Mackie, Dr. Cumrie, and Mr. George McLeod.

[29] The epitaph concludes with a theatrical touch, combining well-known lines from the two plays in which she had appeared most frequently, *Anthony and* Cleopatra and *Macbeth*: 'Age could not wither her nor custom stale | Her infinite variety. | After life's fitful fever

she sleeps well. | Nothing can touch her further.' The separation and divorce had clearly not been to Glyn's economic advantage either; when her will was proved on 12 December 1891, her personal estate proved to amount to only £250.

[30] 'Mr E.S. Dallas, whose death …', *Daily News* (20 February 1879), p. 5b

[31] 'Death of Mr. E.S. Dallas', *The Times* (18 January 1879), p. 9f.

[32] 'The Late Mr. E.S. Dallas', *Illustrated London News* (8 February 1879), pp. 129b & 131a.

[33] 'Obituary', *The Academy* (25 January 1879), p. 74c.

[34] ['By Our Own Correspondent'], 'London Correspondence', *Belfast News-Letter* (23 January 1879), p. 7a–b.

[35] See, for example, 'London Correspondence', *Rugby Advertiser* (29 January 1879), p. 2a, and (5 February 1879), p. 2a.

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