"To be concluded in our next": Plagiarism and the Role of Samuel Lucas as Book Reviewer at *The Times*

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Abstract

From the mid-1850s the two main reviewers on the staff of the London *Times* were E.S. Dallas and Samuel Lucas, whose divergent intellectual interests lay respectively in the fields of aesthetics and historiography. At that time the dominant mode of responding to recently published books in the newspaper press was less that of critical evaluation than detailed summary combined with extensive quotation, with Lucas's approach to his task corresponding much more closely to the norm. Among his responsibilities during his stint at *The Times* was to write notices of the latest releases in Thomas Carlyle's multi-volume *History of Friedrich II of Prussia, Called Frederick the Great* (1858-65); however, Lucas's role at the newspaper came to an abrupt end in April 1865, when his scheduled two-part article on the final pair of volumes proved to consist largely of extensive passages copied without acknowledgment from Carlyle's text and remained incomplete. The paper has two aims: specifically to describe and account for this curious incident which has hitherto been overlooked; and more generally to explore the character of mid-Victorian book reviewing and its convergence with literary plagiarism. The argument is divided into three main sections: 'Plagiarism and the Book Review'; 'Lucas and Dallas at *The Times*'; and 'Lucas's Last Reviews'.

"To be concluded in our next": Plagiarism and the Role of Samuel Lucas as Book Reviewer at *The Times*

It was during 1851 that Thomas Carlyle began concerted research on his *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, a heroic biography of Frederick the Great, under whose rule a century earlier the Hohenzollern kingdom had greatly increased the territory under its control and transformed itself into a major European military power. Although Carlyle seems to have originally planned a work in only four,[1] the history was eventually published in six volumes between 1858 and 1865, with the initial and final ones appearing in pairs, and the third and fourth in 1862 and 1864 respectively. According to the chapter on book reviewing in the second volume of the official history of *The Times*, the evaluation of Carlyle's account throughout was one of the 'principal tasks' entrusted to Samuel Lucas (1818-1868; *ODNB*), Bristol barrister and historiographer, who shared with E.S. Dallas the bulk of the book reviewing duties for the newspaper from shortly after the mid-century.[2] During the latter half of his period of over a decade with the newspaper, Lucas also served as editor of *Once a Week*, the new literary miscellany distinguished by the quality and quantity of its graphics, and is probably better known for his innovative policies regarding literary illustration[3]—Humphry House described him as 'one of the most brilliant editors in a period of great editors'.[4] In Lucas's lengthy notice of Carlyle's opening volumes published in three parts during October 1858, the journalist convicted the author of 'moral perversity' which had 'induced him to dress up this figure of Friederich Wilhelm [Frederick the Great's father], and to insist on our seeing beauties even in its ugliness';[5] in August 1862, once more citing 'Mr. Carlyle's perversity in insisting on our seeing a hero in a crabbed, selfish, and arbitrary savage', he found the third volume even 'more discursive, more episodical, more diffuse than its predecessors';[6] in evaluating the fourth in March 1864, while recognizing the 'industry which has accumulated all these facts .. and the care with which they are sifted', he again found the narrative 'laborious … to follow with its numerous episodes, apostrophes, and startling ejaculations';[7] however, from the beginning of the review of the final volumes in April 1865 he more single-mindedly expressed admiration for the brilliance displayed concerning details both geographical and military. While the official *Times* history noted that Lucas's final review of the history of Frederick the Great was written 'just before his retirement in 1865',[8] it did not comment on the peculiar circumstances surrounding this event. The review had clearly been intended to appear in two parts, each devoted to one of the final pair of volumes, as the first notice on 18 April concluded with the promise: 'To be concluded in our next.'[9] (As reflected in Figure 1, the fifth volume of Carlyle's History covered the period from 1857 to 1860—the heart of 'The Seven Years' War' ending in 1763—while the sixth

NOTES

1 When the first two volumes appeared from Chapman and Hall in September 1858, the title-pages carried the legend 'In Four Volumes'.
2 *History of 'The Times'*, pp. 467-92; p. 471.
3 See: William E. Buckler, '*Once a Week* under Samuel Lucas, 1859-65'; and Simon Cooke, *Illustrated Periodicals of the 1860s*, pp. 100-118.
4 See House, 'Thackeray and Lucas'.
5 [Lucas], 'Carlyle's Frederick the Great [Vols 1-2]' III, p. 10e.
6 [Lucas], 'The Third Volume of Carlyle's Frederick the Great', p. 6a.
7 [Lucas], 'The Fourth Volume of Carlyle's Frederick the Great', p. 6d.
8 *History of 'The Times'*, p. 471.
9 [Lucas], 'Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great [Vols 5-6]', p. 4e.

took the story up to the end of the monarch's life in 1786.) However, no concluding part to Lucas's review was to appear on the following day, or indeed in any future issue; moreover no explanation seems to have appeared in the newspaper itself and no letters to the editor were published querying the omission. Further, I have not been able to find any discussion of this curious incident either in the contemporary British press,[10] or through more recent critical scholarship. The aim of this paper—the spinoff from a research project in attribution studies funded by an RSVP Curran Fellowship and intended to contribute data on mid-century reviews in *The Times* to the Curran Index—is to offer an explanation to fill this gap, a task which fosters more general exploration of the character of mid-Victorian book reviewing and its convergence with literary plagiarism.

Jan.—April 1757.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAMPAIGN OPENS.

SELDOM was there seen such a combination against any man as this against Friedrich, after his Saxon performances in 1756. The extent of his sin, which is now ascertained to have been what we saw, was at that time considered to transcend all computation, and to mark him out for partition, for suppression, and enchainment, as the general enemy of mankind. "Partition him, cut him down," said the Great Powers to one another; and are busy, as never before, in raising forces, inciting new alliances, and calling out the general *posse comitatus* of mankind, for that salutary object. What tempestuous fulminations in the Reichstag, and over all Europe, England alone excepted, against this man!

Figure 1. *(left)* Opening of First Chapter of the Fifth Volume of Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great.
Source: Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, V, p. 3.

THE

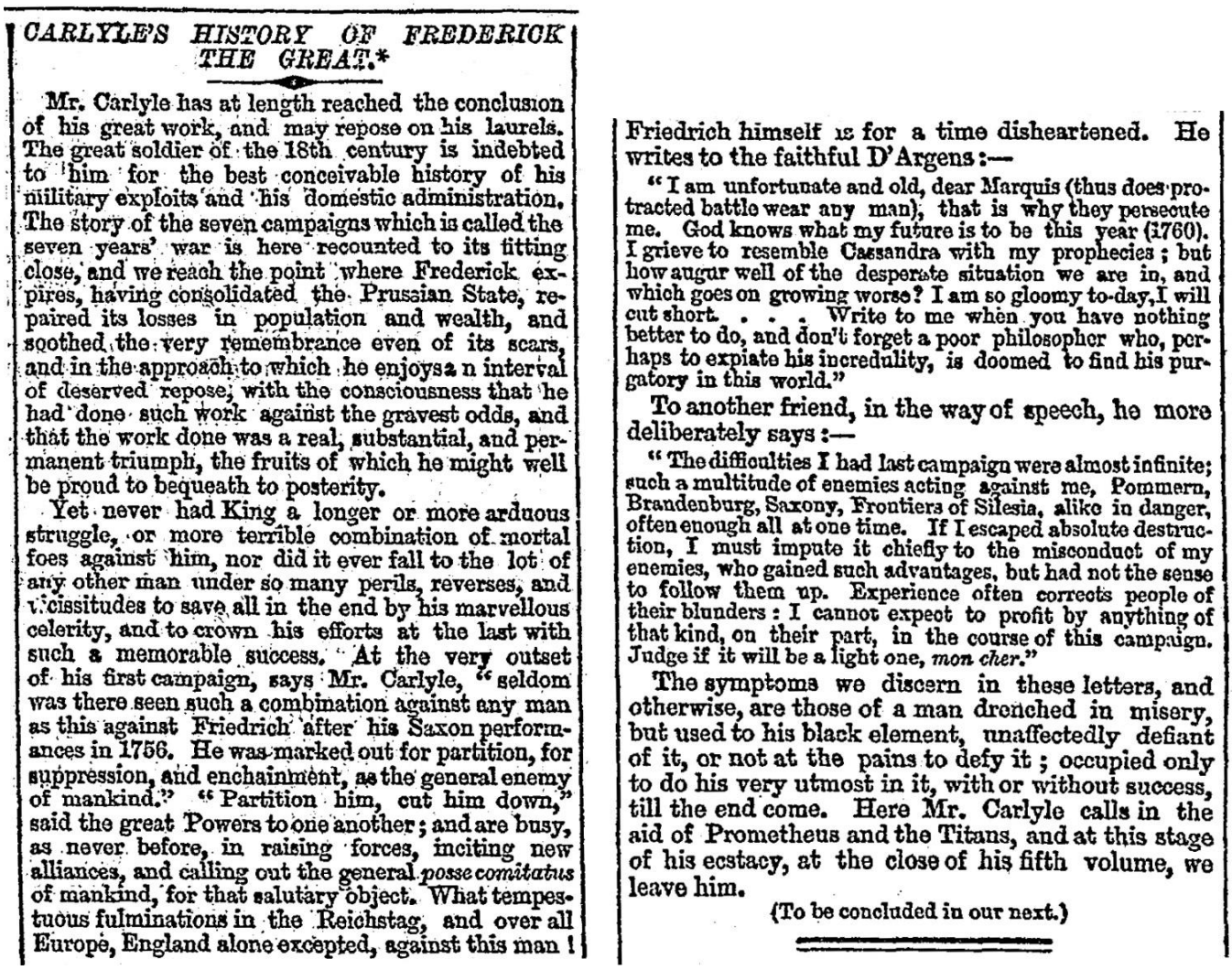
HOHENZOLLERN STAGE OF HERO-WORSHIP.

Hero-Worship Refuted by recent Discoveries.—Its *reductio ad absurdum* by Mr. Carlyle.—The Hohenzollern Kurfürsts and the Reformation.—The Hohenzollerns Greedy but Irresolute.—Their Great Kurfürst.—Their King Friedrich Wilhelm.—Discrepancy between Mr. Carlyle and Lord Macaulay.—Explanation of the Mania for Giants.—Friedrich Wilhelm sacrifices the Happiness of those about him, for Political Schemes which come to nothing.—Mr. Carlyle has made him intelligible, but he cannot make him Veracious, Just, or Valiant.—Mr. Carlyle Contentious.—Hero-Worship on the Offensive.

THERE is a school among us which worships heroes; which tends to exaggerate the value of the individual, and to assign him the chief place among historic agencies. It would be unbecoming to allude to its members without respect, though we are pointing to this their besetting error. At the same time, it is no less becoming to protest, when this error takes an *ex cathedrâ* form, as in the inaugural lecture of Mr. Charles Kingsley, the Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. Mr. Kingsley's genius and learning add a special weight to anything that falls from his lips, at least when he speaks thus deliberately and decisively. "Instead of saying that the history of mankind is the history of its masses, it would be *much more true* to say," (so far does he press his argument,) "that the history of mankind is the history of its great men." Now, if this be true in its extreme sense, then the units have been of more importance than the millions, and the impulses and exigencies which these obey in common; the great normal sources of history have been secondary to the caprices of individual will, and the moral harmony of human progress relapses into chaos. In

Figure 2. *(right)* Opening of Lucas's Attack on the School of Hero-Worship
Source: Lucas, 'The Hohenzollern Stage of Hero-Worship', *Secularia*, pp. 295-343; p. 295.

[10] Curiously, around this time the short-lived London critical weekly *The Reader* carried a substantial and hostile review of recent literary notices in *The Times* (see 'Superlatives of "The Times"'), focusing specifically on the issues from 14 to 19 April 1865, and even quoting a sentence from the opening paragraph of Lucas's final article on Carlyle's biography (p. 533b), yet without remarking on its incompleteness or (as we shall see) incontinence.



CARLYLE'S HISTORY OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.*

Mr. Carlyle has at length reached the conclusion of his great work, and may repose on his laurels. The great soldier of the 18th century is indebted to him for the best conceivable history of his military exploits and his domestic administration. The story of the seven campaigns which is called the seven years' war is here recounted to its fitting close, and we reach the point where Frederick expires, having consolidated the Prussian State, repaired its losses in population and wealth, and soothed the very remembrance even of its scars, and in the approach to which he enjoys a n interval of deserved repose, with the consciousness that he had done such work against the gravest odds, and that the work done was a real, substantial, and permanent triumph, the fruits of which he might well be proud to bequeath to posterity.

Yet never had King a longer or more arduous struggle, or more terrible combination of mortal foes against him, nor did it ever fall to the lot of any other man under so many perils, reverses, and vicissitudes to save all in the end by his marvellous celerity, and to crown his efforts at the last with such a memorable success. "At the very outset of his first campaign, says Mr. Carlyle, "seldom was there seen such a combination against any man as this against Friedrich after his Saxon performances in 1756. He was marked out for partition, for suppression, and enchainment, as the general enemy of mankind." "Partition him, cut him down," said the great Powers to one another; and are busy, as never before, in raising forces, inciting new alliances, and calling out the general *posse comitatus* of mankind, for that salutary object. What tempestuous fulminations in the Reichstag, and over all Europe, England alone excepted, against this man!

Friedrich himself is for a time disheartened. He writes to the faithful D'Argens:—

"I am unfortunate and old, dear Marquis (thus does protracted battle wear any man), that is why they persecute me. God knows what my future is to be this year (1760). I grieve to resemble Cassandra with my prophecies; but how augur well of the desperate situation we are in, and which goes on growing worse? I am so gloomy to-day, I will cut short. . . . Write to me when you have nothing better to do, and don't forget a poor philosopher who, perhaps to expiate his incredulity, is doomed to find his purgatory in this world."

To another friend, in the way of speech, he more deliberately says:—

"The difficulties I had last campaign were almost infinite; such a multitude of enemies acting against me, Pommern, Brandenburg, Saxony, Frontiers of Silesia, alike in danger, often enough all at one time. If I escaped absolute destruction, I must impute it chiefly to the misconduct of my enemies, who gained such advantages, but had not the sense to follow them up. Experience often corrects people of their blunders: I cannot expect to profit by anything of that kind, on their part, in the course of this campaign. Judge if it will be a light one, *mon cher*."

The symptoms we discern in these letters, and otherwise, are those of a man drenched in misery, but used to his black element, unaffectedly defiant of it, or not at the pains to defy it; occupied only to do his very utmost in it, with or without success, till the end come. Here Mr. Carlyle calls in the aid of Prometheus and the Titans, and at this stage of his ecstacy, at the close of his fifth volume, we leave him.

(To be concluded in our next.)

Figure 3. *(left)* Opening Paragraphs of Lucas's Last Review in *The Times*
Source: 'Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great [Vols 5-6]', 18 April 1865, p. 4b.

Figure 4. *(right)* Closing Paragraphs of Lucas's Last Review in *The Times*
Source: 'Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great [Vols 5-6]', 18 April 1865, p. 4e.

Plagiarism and the Book Review

Plagiarism is of course not an unchanging natural phenomenon but a contested notion constructed via both moral discourse and legal policy and thus varying according to time and place. The proprietary concept of copyright as a time-limited, alienable right to make printed copies of an original text was first codified in British law in the Statute of Anne of 1810, shortly before the birth of Frederick the Great, and extended beyond the life of the author for the first time shortly after Victoria came to the throne by the Copyright Act of 1842. According to the *OED*, the word plagiarism derives from the Latin term *plagium* meaning the act of kidnapping, especially of a child, and is first found referring to 'The action or practice of taking someone else's work, idea, etc., and passing it off as one's own; literary theft.' after the death of Queen Anne; a 1753 quotation from Samuel Johnson's *Adventurer* provides a well-known example of its disputed application in the field of literature: 'Nothing ... can be more unjust than to charge an author with plagiarism merely because he … makes his personages act as others in like circumstances have done.' Current research into ideas and practices relating to literary property in the mid-Victorian period, that is, before the

incorporation into British statutory law of key current concepts such as the 'moral right' of the author (*droit moral*) or 'fair dealing' by the critic, is focused predominantly on creative rather than critical writing, and within that on fiction rather more than on drama or poetry.[11]

Here we need to recognize two major monographs published in this field not long after the turn of the twenty-first century. First, Paul K. Saint-Amour's *The Copywrights* (2003) studies the changing 'legal, economic and cultural formations' of the long nineteenth century,[12] with a particular focus on the influence of the prevailing copyright regime on ideas of individual creativity and the public good, with half an eye on the deficiencies of our current intellectual property legislation. A key chapter entitled 'Committing Copyright' analyses the discussions within and around the Royal Copyright Commission convened from 1876 to 1878,[13] which eventually rejected fundamental reform of the proprietary system, while the book's main literary case studies date from the following decades, including chapters on Wilde and Joyce.[14] Appearing just a few years later Robert Macfarlane's *Original Copy* (2007) is organized around contrasting concepts of originality—*creation* which 'suggests a making out of nothing' and *invention* which 'implies a coming upon what is already there, and its subsequent rearrangement'.[15] His volume teases out the philosophical sources and ideological implications of these alternatives, arguing that the former underpinned the Romantic revolution and the latter the formation of Modernism, with the high Victorian decades witnessing a complex transition between the two. Here, among other issues, Macfarlane dwells on the emergence of ideas of unconscious and collective imagination, in the process devoting several pages to the pre-Freudian concept of the 'hidden soul' developed by E.S. Dallas in his 1866 treatise on *The Gay Science*.[16] Macfarlane's later chapters offer three detailed case studies, two in turn on the fictional practices of George Eliot and Charles Reade, and the last on Oscar Wilde among other thinkers at the *fin-de-siècle*, exploring interaction between the ideas of plagiarism and decadence.[17] We should also note more briefly here a more recent contribution, Adam Abraham's *Plagiarizing the Victorian Novel* (2019), subtitled 'Imitation, Parody, Aftertext', which exhibits fewer general theoretical concerns and focuses even more exclusively on fictional narrative, offering particularly rich discussions of celebrated cases of high Victorian literary appropriation—concerning Dickens, Bulwer and Eliot in particular.[18]

However, not one of these three well-researched monographs gives any sustained attention to intellectual property questions concerning critical writing in general, with almost no discussion of the particular practice of book reviewing. Here the most informative resource remains Leah Price's earlier volume, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel* (2000), which, combining insights from book history and narratology, offers a wide-ranging exploration of the development of modern fiction by focusing innovatively on the role of 'professional mediators like editors, condensers, and reviewers' via 'the mechanics of the excerpt'.[19] Price argues persuasively that the dominant mode of book reviewing in the Victorian period was far less concerned with critical analysis and evaluation than with

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11 See generally Judy Anderson's annotated bibliographical listing, *Plagiarism, Copyright Violation, and Other Thefts of Intellectual Property.*
12 Saint-Amour, *The Copywrights,* p. ix.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-89.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 90-120, 159-98.
15 Macfarlane, *Original Copy*, p. 1.
16 *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.
17 *Ibid.*, pp. 92-211.
18 See Abraham, *Plagiarizing the Victorian Novel*, where the Prologue suggests that in Victorian Britain 'enterprising authors tested the limits of literary ownership by generating plagiaristic publications based on the leading writers of the day' (p. 1).
19 Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel*, pp. 10, 12.

detailed synopsis punctuated by extensive citation. She suggests that by 'sandwiching quotation with summary, reviews found a middle ground between … two book-length genres ... : the anthology and the abridgment', and in thus reproducing 'texts in miniature' which 'foreground formal elements the two genres share', the reviewer 'encouraged readers and writers alike to think of texts as accumulations of free-standing beauties strung together by longer stretches of narrative padding'.[20] As Price recognizes, the act of thus appropriating the jewels from a work of literature made the professional task of the book reviewer akin to that of the house burglar; in her chapter on 'George Eliot and the Production of Consumers' in particular, Price notes that the creator of *The Mill on the Floss* and the rest was often seen in notices both sympathetic and hostile as a 'peculiarly quotable author', while in the early part of her career at least Eliot herself tended to see such extraction as not only defrauding the creator but also fracturing the organic unity of a creation of the highest literary order which should present 'the complexity of the parts bound up into one indissoluble whole'.[21]

Lucas and Dallas at *The Times*

Again according to the official history of *The Times*, among 'the regular reviewers only one is known for certain in the earlier years—Samuel Phillips [1814-1854; *ODNB*] who joined the staff in 1845'.[22] When Phillips died suddenly at the age of only forty in October 1854, the editor Thomas Delane and office manager Mowbray Morris were left scrambling to find replacement staff on what was then undoubtedly the most influential British newspaper, in cultural almost as much as political terms. Within not much more than a couple of years the journal's editorial diaries show 'that all of the reviewing of biography and memoirs was then in the hands of two men—Samuel Lucas and Eneas Sweetland Dallas', the latter (1827-79; *ODNB*) characterized as 'less urbane, his intellect … more powerful'.[23] Lucas was ten years older, hailed from western England rather than northern Scotland, was educated at Oxford as opposed to Edinburgh, and specialised in historiography not aesthetics. The official history states that 'Lucas and Dallas both came to the paper around the same time, Lucas in 1855, Dallas perhaps a little earlier',[24] although the final suggestion is not quite correct.

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 137–39. Interestingly, one of E.S. Dallas's editorial projects while reviewing for *The Times*, was an abridgment in three volumes of Samuel Richardson's seminal epistolary novel *Clarissa* for Tinsley Brothers in 1868, with the stated intention of diminishing 'the prolixity which has been its bane' (Introduction, p. xi).

[21] Price, *The Anthology and the Rise of the Novel*, pp. 140-42, citing 'Notes on Form in Art', Eliot's unpublished essay of 1868. As Price acknowledges, up to the late 1860s the principal reviewer at *The Times* of Eliot's latest work was E.S. Dallas, who was responsible for all the notices from *Adam Bede* (1859) to *The Spanish Gypsy* (1868), although it was Samuel Lucas who had set the ball rolling early in 1858 with *Scenes of Clerical Life*; none of these reviews could of course be characterized as in any way hostile. While these by no means accounted for a majority of their articles for *The Times*, both Dallas and Lucas did contribute quite a number of fiction reviews, with notable examples including their markedly favourable evaluations of pioneering 'Sensation' novels by Mary Elizabeth Braddon and Ellen (Mrs Henry) Wood, which helped to provide an antidote to the venomous response prevailing in other critical journals and magazines; see, for example: [E.S. Dallas], 'Lady Audley's Secret' and 'New Novels' (including Wood's *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles*); and [Samuel Lucas], 'East Lynne' and 'Aurora Floyd'. Lucas's earliest literary notices for *The Times* were those of Charles Kingsley's New World Romance *Westward, Ho!* (18 August 1855) and *Dred; a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp* (18 September 1856), Harriet Beecher Stowe's follow-up novel to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In the latter Lucas enumerated the manifold objections to slavery as a social institution, concluding that it resulted in 'the obliteration of the image of God in the wretched negro', but nevertheless condemned the author both for depicting as typical brutalities which were in fact exceptional, and for overlooking the many 'impediments' to the abolition of the institution itself; this elicited a couple of critical letters to the editor from well-known abolitions, the first on 24 September a lengthy and cogent rebuttal from Richard D. Webb, secretary of the Hibernian Antislavery Association.

[22] *History of 'The Times'*, p. 468.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 471.

The correspondence preserved in the *Times* archive shows that, taking into account the Oxford man's association with Disraeli and other statesmen through his brief experience as editor of the Tory weekly *Press*,[25] and after initially being asked by Morris to compose a specimen review in early November 1854,[26] Lucas was commissioned by Delane in late February 1855 to write a notice of 'The Roving Englishman'[27]—a collection of comic anecdotes of overseas travel reprinted from *Household Words* and penned anonymously by the journalist-diplomat E.C. Grenville-Murray (1823-81; *ODNB*)—which duly appeared in the newspaper at the beginning of June.[28] This was the first of well over a hundred reviews contributed by Lucas over the next ten years and more, along with a handful of leaders and obituaries.[29] As regards the subject of the reviews, while the lion's share concerned either historical and biographical studies or travel writing, as time went on an increasing number declared Lucas's professional interest in book and periodical illustration.[30]

In contrast, Dallas was recommended to Delane by the latter's old friend John Blackwood, editor of the stoutly Tory *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* long known for the acerbity of its reviews. Correspondence preserved at Edinburgh shows that Dallas moved to London in mid-May 1855, met Morris around the end of the month, and was eventually asked to compose a review of Tennyson's *Maud and Other Poems* in the early August, while the unequivocally hostile notice duly appeared before the end of that month.[31] Just afterwards, Dallas wrote to the Scots editor asking for advice: 'I wish you could oblige me with a hint about these Times articles. My paper on Maud is the only critical one that I have seen for many months. The others are all narratives abridged from the books reviewed. Pray tell me was this a peculiarity of Phillips's style which the present candidates are copying? or do the Times people want that style of article?'[32] John Blackwood replied by return of post praising the damning *Maud* review and advising: 'In regard to what you say of the style of reviews for the Times, I do not think there have been any good reviews since poor Phillips' time. Indeed it was my knowledge of this that suggested to me the idea of recommending you in that quarter. Possibly Phillips was too narrative & it is the first element of a review to be critical.'[33] Over the following fifteen years or so, during which Dallas supplied not far short of two hundred reviews in addition to over a hundred other articles,[34] Dallas clearly continued to follow Blackwood's direction which, as his earlier stint of

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[25] The key source on Lucas's short stint as editor of *The Press* (1853-1854) is the many surviving letters from Disraeli to Lucas transcribed in Volumes VI-VII of Gunn's edition of the *Benjamin Disraeli Letters*, where the annotations also provide a good deal of detail on Lucas's side of the exchange.

[26] See Mowbray Morris to Lucas, 7 November 1854, Manager's Letter Book V: #150, News UK (*Times*) Archive.

[27] See the series of letters from Thomas Delane to Lucas in Accession 04/023, News UK Archive, especially that dated 26 February 1855; and also letters from Lucas to Delane in Accession 20/008, especially that of 7 May [1855], where he claims to 'have lived ever since 1841 in the most familiar social intimacy with Lyndhurst & Disraeli and still more so with … Aberdeen'.

[28] [Lucas], 'The Roving Englishman in Turkey, &c.'.

[29] Most notably: a leader on the development of railway travel quoting Disraeli as predicting that steam locomotives 'will do more than ever monasteries did' (19 September 1857); and the obituary of John Singleton Copley, Baron Lyndhurst, formerly Lord Chancellor (13 October 1863).

[30] Perhaps the earliest articulation of Lucas's ideas on the subject can be found in his *Times* review of a selection of lavishly illustrated literary anthologies for the Christmas gift season ('Illustrated Books', 24 December 1858, p. 10e-f); by this time such anthologies had largely replaced Christmas annuals as the seasonal gift of choice.

[31] See: Dallas to John Blackwood, 8 May, 7 August, 22 August, Blackwood Papers, MS. 4109 ff67–72; transcribed in Leahy, pp. 35-44; and also [Dallas], 'Maud and Other Poems'.

[32] Dallas to John Blackwood, 27 August [1855], Blackwood Papers, MS. 4109 ff73–74; transcribed in Leahy, p. 45.

[33] John Blackwood to Dallas, 29 August 1855, transcribed in Leahy, p. 47.

[34] See Law and Taylor, eds, *E.S. Dallas in 'The Times'*, pp. xlvi-lxvii, which provides a comprehensive listing of the Scotsman's contributions to the newspaper between 1855 and 1871, together with an annotated selection of the articles themselves; a companion volume is currently in preparation to be entitled *Samuel Lucas in 'The Times'*, where a similar listing of contributions between June 1855 and April 1865 will be included, again along with evidence supporting attributions. The work is also planned to include a biographical chronology and an

reviewing on the weekly *Edinburgh Guardian* demonstrates, in fact matched the younger journalist's own inclinations.

Lucas's articles clearly fitted the Phillips narrative mould much more snuggly; while his reviews for *The Times* over the next decade were by no means lacking in critical insights, especially those regarding historical works and particularly in their introductory and concluding paragraphs, the sandwich still tended to consist mainly of extensive quotation from the volumes under review within slices of detailed summary. In this sense the style of the *Times* notices of Samual Lucas is more typical of mid-Victorian newspaper reviewing in general, while E.S. Dallas stands out as a marked exception both in the critical distance he maintained and the intellectual complexity of the analysis that he brought to bear.[35] In fact, during his years on Delane's staff, unlike Dallas who was warned to maintain strict secrecy concerning his contributions,[36] Lucas was given permission to reprint 'From *The Times*' a total of four volumes of his collected articles, suggesting that the editor himself saw Lucas's style of reviewing as rather more representative of the newspaper's character and ethos.[37]

The fact that, during his apprentice years at *The Times*, Dallas also made fairly regular contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine* provides a chance to illustrate in detail the difference between his mode of reviewing and that of Lucas. Indeed, a number of his articles published in the Edinburgh monthly had originally been intended for the London daily, notably including the seminal pair from early 1859 on the 'The Periodical Press', analysing both its rapid expansion and the new socio-political role it entailed. These, according to the letter to John Blackwood accompanying their submission the previous October, had already been refused by Delane, who, while 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'.[38] Yet an even more specific opportunity to contrast the reviewing practices of the two journalists was provided over eighteen months earlier with the *Times* notice of Elizabeth Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, who had died in the spring of 1855; this was probably the first full-length biography both of and by a British woman writer. Once again the correspondence between John Blackwood and E.S. Dallas furnishes the details behind this unusual case. In April 1857, Dallas had been given the go-ahead by Delane to write a biographical piece on 'Currer Bell'; however, near the end of the month when the article was all but complete, he discovered that Lucas had just inserted a notice of Gaskell's *Life* in the newspaper, again under instruction from the editor who was obviously unaware that 'Currer Bell' and Charlotte Brontë were one and the same writer. Since Dallas's piece was not now required, Delane promptly gave permission for it to be offered to *Blackwood's* which had as yet not commissioned a review of the *Life*.[39] This duly appeared in the July issue, with

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introductory essay on Lucas's journalistic career.

[35] See Rachel S. Buurma, 'Ephemeral Forms', where Buurma argues that Dallas was exceptional in creating an innovative review form 'capable of theorizing the novel as a whole' (p. 124).

[36] Dallas was reprimanded when his authorship of the review of Tennyson's *Maud* was revealed in the Scottish press; see Dallas to John Blackwood, 5 September 1855, Blackwood Papers, MS. 4109 ff75–77, where he 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.'; transcribed in Leahy, 'The Editor, the Contributor, and the Struggle for Recognition in Mid-Victorian Journalism', pp. 50-51.

[37] See, Lucas's: *Eminent Men and Popular Books* (1859); *Biography and Criticism* (1860); and *Mornings of the Recess* (2 vols; 1864). In the early 1850s, Samuel Phillips had similarly been given permission to reprint his *Times* reviews in volume form; see: [Phillips], *Essays from 'The Times'* (1851) and *A Second Series of Essays from 'The Times'* (1854)—the two volumes were reprinted with the author's name on the title page in 1871. Moreover, there seem to have been no repercussions when Lucas's role at the newspaper was similarly revealed in an untitled paragraph in the local press; see *Bristol Mirror* (1 December 1855), p. 2a: 'It is generally understood that the literary critic of the *Times* is now … a Bristol gentleman, Mr Samuel Lucas …'.

[38] See Dallas to John Blackwood, 5 October 1858, Blackwood Papers, MS. 4130 ff159-63; transcribed in Leahy, pp. 106-11.

[39] See Dallas to John Blackwood, 25 April 1857, and two brief notes on Monday [27 April 1857], Blackwood Papers, MS. 4123 ff99-100, 107, 111; transcribed in Leahy, pp. 92-97.

the timing suggesting that little revision would have been made to the original manuscript, thus curiously permitting a direct comparison of a pair of reviews of the same work written for the same newspaper by the two different staff writers.

Published on 25 April 1857, Lucas's review of the *Life* occupied over four and a half columns (three-quarters of a page) of *The Times*, and consisted of just over 6,500 words.[40] Of these, in addition to around 450 in much briefer citations flagged by double inverted commas within the reviewer's own paragraphs, over 2,700 comprised ten extensive block quotations in narrative form from the work under review—the longest of 668 words, a moving anecdote supplied by Charlotte Brontë herself identifying 'Tartar', the fictional tawny bull-dog in *Shirley*, with Emily's real pet dog 'Keeper'.[41] In other words, virtually half of the printed review was made up of direct quotations from Gaskell's text. Since Lucas declared early his intention to 'let the biographer, as nearly as possible, tell her story in her own manner',[42] most of the rest was composed of his connective synopsis, so that the notice indeed precisely fits Price's formula of 'sandwiching quotation with summary'. Lucas's critical evaluation is found only in the brief paragraphs of introduction and conclusion which together consist of less than 450 words; there, in terms that initially at least betray a hint of feminist sentiment, the reviewer expresses simply the warmest regard for both biographer and subject:

> A sister authoress, gifted herself with superior powers, has described with true womanly sympathy and eagerness the whole course of the life which is now closed for ever, and we receive the record so honourable to both without searching for its imperfections; contented, and more than contented, to regard it as a monument of courage and endurance, of suffering and triumph, which is not only a glory to the literary brotherhood, but a creditable testimony to the tendencies of human nature.[43]

As eventually published over almost eighteen double-column pages in the July 1857 issue of *Blackwood's*,[44] at around 12,800 words Dallas's review was almost twice as long as Lucas's; of these all but around 1600 seem to have been the reviewer's own, that is, not far short of ninety per cent of the total. The only use of quotation in block form was to cite verse by the Brontë sisters (over 600 words in twenty-four quatrains from seven different poems, all but one by Emily);[45] among the text flagged with quotation marks within Dallas's paragraphs, there was only a handful of brief direct citations from Gaskell's narrative totalling less than 250 words, with the rest (under 800 words) composed of material cited by the biographer, in the main correspondence with or conversations within the Brontë household. While all but the initial four pages of the review indeed represent Dallas's own compact retelling of the lives of the Brontës, this takes a very different form to Price's 'sandwiching quotation with summary' formula. As the use of block quotation suggests, a good deal of space is devoted to linking biographical narrative to analytical evaluation of the literary output of the sisters, not only the published novels and poetry but also the juvenilia in note-

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40 [Lucas], 'The Life of Charlotte Bronte'.

41 Quotation from Gaskell, *Life of Charlotte Brontë,* I, pp. 308-11.

42 Lucas was to use a similar formula on other occasions: for example, in 'Captain Burton's Mission to the King of Dahome' in autumn 1864 he wrote: 'To give his narrative, as far as we can, in his own language will be our endeavour.'

43 [Lucas], 'The Life of Charlotte Bronte', p. 9b.

44 [Dallas],'Currer Bell'.

45 In a parenthesis, the reviewer indicates that 'we have quoted thus largely as much to give some examples of a volume little known, as to illustrate the prevailing sentiment of the more remarkable poems' ([E.S. Dallas],'Currer Bell', p. 90), referring to the slim volume *Poems, By Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell* (Smith, Elder, 1846).

book form, while the reviewer typically offers his own interpretation of the cited letters and dialogue. Moreover, the first four pages of the *Blackwood's* article, which begin with the assertion that 'Women ought to be good biographers' on account of their 'talent for personal discourse and familiar narrative',[46] establish a considerable critical distance from Gaskell's approach—Dallas's belated article is probably the only contemporary review that can fairly be characterized as hostile. On the one hand, echoing the recent flurry of accusations of libel against author and publisher—most notably for the book's transparent identification of both Branwell's 'mature and wicked' lover and the 'pompous and meddling' head of Lowood Institution in *Jane Eyre*,[47] Dallas quickly convicts the author of being 'a gossip and a gad-about' happy to supply 'as much petty scandal as might suffice for half-a-dozen biographies';[48] on the other hand, these introductory paragraphs go on to discuss the Brontë sisters from a sociological perspective not readily apparent in Gaskell's account, as representatives of the precarious position of unmarried middle-class women in need of paid employment, material that Dallas was to recycle fully eight years later in his sympathetic *Times* notice of Bessie Rayner Parkes's *Woman's Work*.[49] In sum, while Lucas offers a straightforward and sympathetic synopsis of Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, Dallas takes the opportunity to undertake a critical examination of the entire Brontë family offering both psychological and sociological insights.

Lucas's Last Reviews

To return then to Lucas's series of reviews of *Frederick the Great*, where, putting it at its simplest, the balance between critique and narrative gradually shifts towards the latter. The review of the first pair of Carlyle's volumes, was in fact recycled with a good deal of excision and revision in a later more concerted attack on Carlyle's romantic nationalist philosophy in Lucas's major historiographical monograph *Secularia* (1862)—see Fig. 2. There the author begins by singling out Carlyle as the 'chief apostle' of the creed of hero-worship, who, in his life of the Prussian monarch, succeeds in producing its 'reductio ad absurdum … its last extremity'.[50] The notices of the third and fourth volumes tend to follow the standard pattern laid down by Price, dominated by summary interlaced with quotation and little new by way of critical insight. The incomplete review of the final volumes, however, itself represents the *reductio ad absurdum* of this standard pattern, consisting as it does in very large part of often lengthy passages cited without acknowledgement from the book under review, punctuated of course by Carlyle's characteristic 'apostrophes, and startling ejaculations', and strung together with only the occasional sentence from Lucas's pen.

In all around ninety per cent of Lucas's text is a duplication of that in Carlyle's volume, virtually all extracted from the opening two chapters on the Siege of Prague. As reflected in Figures 3 and 4, the only passages written consistently by the reviewer are the brief paragraphs serving as introduction ('Mr. Carlyle has at length reached the conclusion of his great work, and may repose on his laurels. …') and conclusion ('… Here Mr. Carlyle calls in the aid of Prometheus and the Titans, and at this stage of his ecstacy, at the close of his fifth volume, we leave him.')[51] Already by his second paragraph Lucas begins to abstract and cite the volume under review ('At the very outset of

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[46] [Dallas], 'Currer Bell', p. 77.
[47] See Uglow, *Elizabeth Gaskell: A Habit of Stories*, pp. 415-35. In the wake of Lucas's review, between late April and early June there were around half a dozen letters to the editor of *The Times* regarding the appropriateness or otherwise of Gaskell's account of these two matters.
[48] [Dallas], 'Currer Bell', p. 77.
[49] See [Dallas], 'Woman's Work' (31 August 1865).
[50] Lucas, 'The Hohenzollern Stage of Hero-Worship', *Secularia*, pp. 295-343; p. 296.
[51] [Lucas], 'Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great [Vols 5-6]', p. 4b, 4e.

his first campaign, says Mr. Carlyle, "seldom was there seen such a combination against any man ..."'), but even after closing the marks of quotation continues to copy verbatim from Carlyle's text beyond the paragraph break.[52] Altogether there seem to be not many more than half-a-dozen summarizing sentences inserted by the reviewer to string together the appropriated passages; a typical example ('Bevern tears Königseck and company out of Reichenberg, who have nothing for it but to gird themselves together and retreat on Prag and the Ziscaberg, where their friends now were.') is found in the middle of Lucas's eighth paragraph where this brief synopsis of nearly five pages of Carlyle's narrative links two longer plagiarized passages.[53] In the process, Lucas sometimes introduces minor variations in Carlyle's wording, occasionally altering his meaning to some extent; the most flagrant example occurs in Lucas's ninth paragraph where the author's original 'Prince Karl means to lie quiet on the Ziscaberg, and hold Prag' is transcribed by the reviewer as 'Prince Karl never means to lie quiet …'.[54] The longest continuous passage of purloined material is undoubtedly the extended account of the 'famed battle of Prag', making up most of the second half of the review, and representing fully thirteen paragraphs of Carlyle's original text.[55]

In fact, there is some evidence from a few months earlier of Lucas beginning to fall into the habit of copying text from volumes under review without the courtesy of quotation marks, although on a much smaller scale than in his final article for *The Times*. The earliest and most remarkable case is found in his two-part notice on 29-30 September 1864 of 'Our English Cathedrals'—evaluating the initial volumes in John Murray's series of *Handbooks to the Cathedrals of England* compiled and edited by John King.[56] There, ironically, early in the first part we witness Lucas praising King for duly acknowledging each of his scholarly sources, while attacking 'literary and other caitiffs … [who rather] value their piracies more than their reputations as honest men', yet later justifying his own plagiarism by presuming to 'continue the words of a quotation without the inverted commas, because we ourselves adopt them'.[57] Indeed, from the final third of its first part onwards the review offers a number of examples of appropriation where brief passages of description of either ecclesiastical monuments or the bishops who presided over them are reproduced from King's text without any sign of acknowledgment.[58]

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[52] *Ibid*., p. 4b.

[53] See Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, V, pp. 17-21.

[54] See: Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, V, p. 24; and [Lucas], 'Carlyle's History of Frederick the Great [Vols 5-6]', p. 4c.

[55] See Carlyle, *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*, V, pp. 31-41.

[56] See *Handbooks to the Cathedrals of England,* ed. Richard John King, London: John Murray, 1861-1864, consisting of the Southern Division in two volumes, and Eastern and Western each in a single volume.

[57] [Lucas], 'Our English Cathedrals' I, p. 6b, 6e. There are earlier instances of Lucas employing similar terms to refer explicitly to 'literary theft': most notably, in a couple of paragraphs in *Once a Week* during autumn 1863 he accuses named contributors of 'piracy' for copying material extensively 'without any acknowledgment of the source whence it was derived' ('A Literary Piracy', p. 420; and 'Another Literary Pirate', p. 588). However, the only use located of the term 'plagiarism' itself is morally neutral—in 'Revivalists' in *Secularia* (1862), pp. 44-77, where modern republicans deriving their political ideals from ancient Roman sources are called 'classic plagiarists' (p. 57).

[58] Published in *The Times* on 1 November 1864, p. 6a-d, Lucas's review of 'Kebbel's Essays Upon History & Politics' provides further evidence of unacknowledged appropriation, copying extensively from the essays on 'Bolingbroke as a Statesman' and 'The Grenvilles', in particular. Lucas's only *Times* notice dating from 1865 other than that on the final volumes of Carlyle's *History* offers a slightly different case. This ('More Gift Books', January 1865) was a second seasonal review of a selection of illustrated anthologies, six years after 'Illustrated Books' (December 1858). While 'More Gift Books' never quotes without acknowledgment from the volumes under review, it is nevertheless markedly different in mode from the earlier example. While the 1858 notice covers half a dozen different books and that of 1865 only three, the latter is over twice as long, largely on account of the proportion of quotation. The 1858 notice does not feature block citation at all, and significantly less that ten per cent of the total text is devoted to brief quotations in inverted commas within Lucas's paragraphs; in contrast, the 1865 notice includes half-a-dozen extensive block quotations from the first book evaluated (*Ballads and Songs of Brittany*, translated by Tom Taylor), consisting of three consecutive passages from the Introduction describing different ethnic Breton groups, and three of the thirty-two anthologized poems reproduced in their entirety, in all making up almost seventy-five per cent of the total text in the review. This extreme imbalance inevitably meant the January 1865 notice was focused far less on the character and quality of the illustrations in the volumes under review.

There seems to be no direct evidence surviving concerning precisely how reviewer and editor parted company in the wake of the half-finished review of Carlyle's *History of Friedrich II of Prussia*. However, there is quite a bit of evidence that around this time Lucas's health, mental as much as physical, was in steep decline, resulting in not only an acrimonious departure from his editorial position at *Once a Week*,[59] but also a public scandal when he responded intemperately to criticisms of the initial issues of the *Shilling Magazine*, the short-lived illustrated literary monthly published at his own expense.[60] Moreover, the *Times* archive does hold a group of later letters from Lucas to Delane virtually begging for forgiveness. There is a pair from late August 1865—directed from Paris and Ems during a recuperative trip to the continent—where the former expresses 'great pride and pleasure … to have occupied the position of your Reviewer for ten years' and regrets the lack of 'brevity and concentration' of his final contributions;[61] and another pair from the turn of 1866 which in turn suggest that his health is now fully restored so that there is no longer any risk of his reviews again falling below standard, and forward the first nine issues of the *Shilling Magazine* with a pathetic but unheeded appeal for a notice in the London daily, as he has lost over 'a thousand pounds on the venture' thus far.[62] With the failure of the *Shilling Magazine* in May 1866, Lucas was to engage in no further activity as a journalist, although in 1867 he did manage to edit an anthology of *The Serious and Comic Poems of Thomas Hood* in two volumes for Edward Moxon's 'Miniature Poets' library, his final publication. Already by the summer of 1866, he had left the smoke of the metropolis to reside at Dorking, Surrey, in a vain effort

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[59] Patrick Leary cites the diaries of a number of his colleagues within the *Punch* circle describing Lucas as then 'insane' on account of both his public treatment of his wife and his wild behaviour at the club (Leary, *The 'Punch' Brotherhood*, pp. 64-65); further, in his memoirs the publisher William Tinsley later recalled that around this time 'some peculiar phases of poor Mr. Lucas's mind, which had for some time been visible, began to show themselves in a more serious form' (Tinsley, *Random Recollections*, I, pp. 322-23). From December 1864 Lucas wrote a series of seven vitriolic letters to Bradbury and Evans complaining of their economic management of the magazine, with his final letter of 4 May 1865 stating that his dealings with them represented 'a connection which I shall ever regard with disgust, and which I do now unceasingly deplore' (cited in Leary, *The 'Punch' Brotherhood*, p. 65*n*29).

[60] A syndicated column widely circulated in the provincial press picked up the story: 'The new shilling magazine, with its editor, Mr Samuel Lucas, is drawing down upon itself much, and I fear I must say deserved, ridicule. … [T]he *Spectator* and the *Reader* … profanely made fun of the pompous style in which the prospectus of the magazine was put forward, and contrasted that with the poor performance of the first number. Whereupon Mr Lucas indited to the editors of these journals two tremendous epistles, different in words, but the same in style, in which he rates them for the poor, pitiful, spiteful malignity in which they have indulged, and still more for their ignorance in not knowing his (Mr Lucas's) eminence in the world of letters, and his intimacy with the most distinguished authors. Not content with thus giving them his opinion of their demerits, for their own edification, he calls upon them to make it known to their readers, also under pain of finding the letters published elsewhere—in any case in the *Shilling Magazine*. The editors in question were cruel enough to comply with his request, and did publish the letters; and it was hoped that the laugh thus turned against Mr Lucas would at any rate have the effect of inducing him to let the matter drop. But no, the second [June] number has appeared, and sure enough he has kept his word, and not only published his own letters, but the covertly satiric remarks the editors in question make on them. Such an instance of morbid literary vanity has not occurred for many a day. It is alleged in excuse for the editor of the *Shilling Magazine*, that he is labouring under a painful disease which renders the sufferer extremely liable to fits of irritation, and that is the most charitable view that can be taken of the case.' See, for example: 'From Our London Correspondent' in the *Inverness Courier*, or, 'London Correspondence' in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*.

In response to the lengthy article in the first May issue of *The Spectator*, which had concluded that the new periodical should be re-named the "Bumptious Magazine" (see 'The Magazine of the Future'), Lucas had written to the editor: 'If my position in the world of Letters is not a sufficient protection against such puerilities as yours are, I disdain to avail myself of any other defence. I rely on the estimation in which I am held by the best of my contemporaries and on my own conscientious and considerate conduct in the republic of Letters …' (see 'The Shilling Magazine'). The first May issue of *The Reader* had, in fact, featured not only a similar though briefer attack on the *Shilling Magazine*, but also a merciless evaluation of the *Mornings of the Recess*, the latest collection of Lucas's *Times* reviews, which concluded: 'In vain have we searched through these volumes for anything like philosophic insight, wide views, and delicacy of style.'—see: 'The Shilling Magazine' and 'A Popular Reviewer'. Among other angry words in response, Lucas described the two articles as 'stupidly malicious' ('To the Editor and Contributor').

[61] Lucas to Delane, 24, 30 August 1865, TT/ED/JTD/14/041, 043, News UK Archive.

[62] Lucas to Delane, 29 December 1865 and 6 January 1866, TT/ED/JTD/14/114, /15/006, News UK Archive. William Tinsley, who published the first issue only, states that 'every copy of *The Shilling Magazine* that was sold cost Mr. Lucas just over four shillings to produce, and each copy brought him in as nearly as possible sevenpence' (*Random Recollections,* I, p. 322).

to restore his still deteriorating health. The autumn of 1868 found him by the seaside in Eastbourne, Sussex, where he died at the age of only fifty on the night of Friday, 27 November, leaving a depleted estate of less than £5,000 to his young widow.

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The curious incident of the incontinent and incomplete notice in *The Times* of the final volumes of Carlyle's *History of Friedrich II of Prussia* thus not only sheds new light specifically on personal and professional troubles in the final years of the life of Samuel Lucas, whose varied career as a journalist has as yet received insufficient scholarly attention, but also more generally on the character of book reviewing in the mid-Victorian press and its complex interactions with the contested concept of plagiarism. In particular, it provides further support for the astute proposals in Leah Price's monograph concerning 'the mechanics of the excerpt' and the mediating professional role of anthologizers, abridgers and reviewers in the formation of the Victorian novel, helping at the same time to extend the range of application of the formula 'sandwiching quotation with summary' beyond reviews of narrative fiction, and to define its limits by investigating an extreme case.

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