

**RACIOLOGICAL THOUGHT IN VICTORIAN CULTURE:
A STUDY IN IMPERIAL DISSEMINATION**

by

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Abstract

My thesis revives the term raciology to describe collectively the literature which emanated out of philological ethnology, that is, out of the studies of man inspired by the rapid advances in linguistic science in the early nineteenth century. *Raciological Thought in Victorian Culture* is divided into two parts: it examines the development and dissemination of nineteenth-century raciological knowledge in the works of celebrated philologists and anthropologists; and then investigates typical features of raciological discourse in Victorian and Victorian Canadian culture. It views this regional British literature as a field for the political and educational deployment of British raciological conceptions, and comments on some of the implications of the circulation of raciological doctrine.

My argument begins with discussion of the often overlooked celebrity and authority of philologists in Victorian culture, tracing the derivation from philology of raciological typologies which established the raciological associations of terms like "Britons," "Anglo-Saxons," and "Teutons" during the early and middle-Victorian periods. An important aspect of the thesis is a re-evaluation of the influence of Friedrich Max Müller, the most influential comparative philologist and mythologist in the Victorian world. I argue that his use of etymological study for archaeological data greatly contributed to the rapid dissemination of raciological thought among the educated and educating classes. The first part of the thesis concludes with discussion of issues which animated raciological discourse.

The second part follows the dissemination of Victorian raciological thought to Canada, and illustrates its effects in an imperial context. It demonstrates the use of raciology in establishing Canada's legitimacy as a British nation, and documents the place of raciology in establishing the authenticity of Canadian continuity with a British culture running into deep antiquity. After discussing neglected raciological aspects of several important Victorian Canadian source works, it goes on to outline the importance of raciological mythology to the preservation of the Dominion from American annexation and Fenian incursion. My epilogue briefly documents the decline of raciological thought in Britain after the 1890s.

By investigating numerous neglected Victorian sources, *Raciological Thought in Victorian Culture* establishes raciology as an important element in Victorian political--and, in particular, nationalist--thinking.

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Introduction

Approaching the literature of race in the British Empire in the Victorian period is acutely complicated by the history which stands between its writing and ourselves. No informed person of our own time can have missed the fact of the enormously tragic outcome of the invention of scientific categories of *race* by the philologists, ethnologists, and early anthropologists of the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ Race as a scientific *fait accompli* continues to motivate the genocide of one unfortunate people after another. The politics which rose out of the industrial and military capitalism of the second half of the nineteenth century, in adopting the exalted racial symbology of its scholars and poets, eventually rendered the labours of liberal-minded philological antiquarians murderous, and it is difficult to distil the aesthetic animation of scientific writings of Max Müller and A.H. Sayce (celebrated by their contemporaries), from the leaden sadness now attached to raciological terms like *Aryans*, *Hamites*, *Semites*, *Teutons*, and related myths of human descent.

Another factor also prevents easy access to these important Victorian sources. Without curiosity and attentiveness, and some notion of their historical resonance, minute and antiquated philological, grammatical, and etymological (or *sematological*) studies are apt to pall quickly. As a result, a large archive of--very often sensible--remarks on the history of human thought has been lost to the general academic reader. If the concept of *race* were a more or less dead one, like belief in Martian populations, or a flat earth, and if a general awareness were to be established, both of the purely figurative or *narrative* value of all racial terms and of the extreme plasticity of the semantic

¹For a valuable outline of the use of the term "race" in England before the nineteenth century, see Nicholas Hudson's "From 'Nation' to 'Race': the Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1996): 247-64.

value of racial nouns in modern history, then the raciological literature would safely provide a rich archive, one treating of universal history, linguistics, philosophy, geology, ethics, and mythology, and which was in the mainstream of the vast scholarship of the industrious Victorians. The study of philological methodology also provides a captivating and instructive example of Victorian scientific method, one with a high degree of scientific integrity and--perhaps less-often remarked--philosophical self-consciousness.

In coming to historical conclusions about Victorian British culture, perhaps because of the remoteness of such studies from the popular mind currently, we are apt to forget the important authority and celebrity of philologists in Victorian culture. The standardization of the English language, attempted by philologists and grammarians after the publication of the great lexicographical projects of the eighteenth century, for example, allowed for an orderly introduction of a growing middle class into the light of the new imperial civilization.² The new imperial culture--in speeches, addresses, and myriad public utterances--described itself with a vocabulary learned from the philologists, and the "Britons" and "Anglo-Saxons" which emerged from the antiquarian studies of Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), Archibald Henry Sayce (1846-1933), and W. W. Skeat (1835-1912) constituted a race conceived differently from the Britons of Georgian days. The new social sciences, themselves products of the same social and economic forces which were to drive British and German naval foundries, absorbed the new philological knowledge and circulated the doctrines of race founded upon it.

This circulation took many forms. Geographical literature and quasi-scientific travel literature,

²See Nicholas Hudson's *Writing and European Thought 1600-1830* (1994), and John Willinsky's *Empire of Words* (1994) for accounts of the cultural importance of philological science in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

both assuming the scientific fact of the new raciological typologies, combined their racialized categories with geographical and geopolitical cartographies, and established the new catalogue of ethnological, or national, "types" in the minds of its academic and educated readership. Educational bureaucrats of this class also quickly came to assume the idiom of raciological thought as a sign of cultivation, and the learned world learned to discern Celt from Saxon, and dolicho- from brachycephalism.

Colonial policy in the Empire was also influenced by its use of a raciological vocabulary, and the understanding of chaotic political situations was often facilitated by the descriptive use of raciological terms. In South Africa, for example, the invention of the notion of a Zulu race out of a collection of small South African tribes during this period provided a basis for the development of Zulu nationalism. In Canada, regional and linguistic conflicts were often considered from a racial standpoint, and there was much official encouragement of self-consciousness of one's place in a harmony of newly-abstracted racial collectives of Anglo-Saxons, Celts, Gauls, and Aryans. Racial identity became a national identity intensified by scientific, empiricist, or rationalist conviction. Once I have established or illustrated these aspects of Victorian culture in the first part of the following discussion, and have discussed Friedrich Max Müller as a popular conduit of raciological thought, I propose to demonstrate that these conditions, and the promotion of raciological doctrine for imperial purposes, are to be seen in a particularly refined form in the Victorian experiment in British North America.

As a result of the timing of the confederation of Canada, coming as it did at the height of the prestige of raciological science, racial discourse played an important, and even vital, part in early Canadian thought. In order for imperial experiments like the Dominion of Canada to be able to

flourish, some myth of continuity had to be constructed, binding dissonant cultures into an authentic nineteenth-century nation, an authenticity which rested on the scientific legitimacy of claims of connection to a British racial heritage, and, further, to its cultural achievements. The Earl of Durham, aware of the Norman element in British history, foresaw a day in which the Legislative Union of Upper and Lower Canada would "redress the balance" and "fuse the two races" of this new branch of Anglo-Saxons. Students of contemporary Canadian politics will no doubt be amused by Durham's hope that

the more vigorous nature of the English would gradually affect and change the character of the French Canadians, and that thus in the lapse of years the population would become not only loyal, but would present the type of a British people. (Durham xv)

Lord Dufferin shared Durham's view of the ethnological prospect before the newest nation of the empire, and presented the coherence of Canada's four-part (English, Scots, Irish, and French) racial narrative as a condition which ensured the cohesion of Confederation. Paradoxically, Canadian racial identification with the British Empire would later come to be seen as an impediment to Canadian national feeling. In "Canada and the Canadian Clubs," the Winnipeg Canadian Club inaugural address in 1904, John Skirving Ewart (1849-1933) argued that the wide imperial sympathy in Canada at the time of Confederation precluded what he calls "national sentiment," by which he intends a distinct national identity (*The Kingdom of Canada* 73-4). But in the writings of pro-Confederation writers in the late 1850s and 1860s, Canadian nationality was still perceived racially, Canadians as a variety of Briton, and Canada as British territory.

The political effects of raciological thinking were sometimes surprising. In British North America, an *ad hoc* unity gained by British Americans in an unexpectedly stubborn resistance

during the war of 1812, was strengthened by a myth of common descent and racial assimilation, and the fundamental anti-Republicanism of the Canadian state was encoded into the semiotics of the institutions of the state. Sir John George Bourinot (1837-1902), historian and chief clerk of the Canadian House of Commons, in 1890 speaks of the "Canadian people" and refers to linguistic and raciological doctrines in explaining the happy prospects of the unified Canadian nation. He writes:

In the language, in the common law, in the capacity for self-government, and in the spirit of liberty we find a noble heritage which the English inhabitants of Canada derive from their Teutonic ancestors who acquired Britain and laid the foundations of institutions which have been the source of the greatness of England and of all countries which have copied her constitutional example. The French Canadians, like the English Canadians, can trace their history back to the times when the Teutonic people, the noblest offspring of the Aryan family of nations, conquered the original Celtic inhabitants of Gaul and Britain. (Bourinot *Comparative Politics* 3)

Bourinot goes on to write:

The Teuton gave his name and language to England, and from the day he left his original home on the lowlands about the Elbe and Weser his history in the land he conquered is the evolution of the great principles of self-government and free speech from the germs of the institutions he brought with him from his fatherland. (4)

Bourinot's authorities are Karl Penka and François Guizot, both notable adherents of raciological thought during this period. As a one-time premier of France, Guizot's opinions were of especial use to Bourinot, and in a footnote he presents Guizot's original remarks on the same theme. Nearly thirty years later this view of Canadian nationality is reproduced, without reflecting the same

sanguine assumption of French-English amity, by William Henry Moore, whose *Study in Nationalities* went through nine editions in the year which followed its initial publication in September 1918 (Moore iv). In *The Clash*, Moore makes remarks which give a clear indication of the influence of philological studies in forming raciological opinion in imperial Victorian culture:

Not so long ago, we were dependent upon the philologist for our knowledge of the men who lived and did things in the far away eras before contemporary historians chronicled conditions for future generations. As a result of philological investigations, we had an Aryan race from which sprung most European races, and we spoke of an Anglo-Saxon race, a Celtic race, and a Latin race. (*The Clash: A Study in Nationalities* 63)

Moore's work, a discussion of French-English relations in Canada, describes the "fallacy of reasoning" of philology and proposes an "ethnological" description of racial history (Moore 63-4). Nonetheless, Moore points out that the "ethnological classification corresponds roughly to that of the philologist" (65).

Throughout the Empire during the later Victorian period, the semiology of the new raciological literature was disseminated in the press and periodicals. Influential enunciation of raciological attitudes is also to be found in the school texts of the school systems of the new Dominion. In the text books and readers, students were presented with a world view organized on raciological principles, and extracts from canonical authors were chosen to emphasize a raciological perspective for the Canadian student. Reduced to its simplest form, my approach to the raciological literature involves: recognizing late-Georgian and Victorian philology as an important source of the terminology of race in Victorian British culture; following the dissemination of this terminology in the sciences most closely aligned to philological science, including ethnology, anthropology,

folklore, sociology, and ethno-psychology, and discussing the issues which animated the public debates of these new sciences; and illustrating the circulation of *raciological* doctrines in the imperial period by examining Canada at the time of Confederation. Canada's isolated geographical situation, its plastic and evolving social forms, and the relatively distilled nature of its raciological discourse, make Victorian Canada an excellent subject for the study of the influence of raciological ideas.

My approach to Canadian materials from the Victorian period has been guided by two considerations. I have chosen works which provide evidence of raciological influence, and I have also introduced works which reflect a light back on qualities of British raciological thought. By this I intend no paradox. For those whose education in Canada or Britain had steeped them in the lore of Victorian raciological thought, Canada invited close scrutiny and analysis. The care with which colonial and early-Confederation census reports had been prepared ensured that precise raciological analysis of the new Dominion might be made, and this established a crucial difference in the coherence of the raciological views of British and of Republican America. But the writings of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Evan MacColl, and John Douw Lighthall stand as very typical examples of stages of British raciological opinion, and represent views widely disseminated throughout the Empire. In this sense, not only does raciological study throw light on early Canadian national identity, but Victorian Canadian literature throws much light on the practical implications of Victorian raciological thought in general.

It is clear that philological studies played a cardinal role in organizing the universal historical conceptions of the raciological sciences. The Sciences of Mythology, Religion, and Folklore, as well as Comparative Philology and Anthropology or Ethnology also subscribed to a fairly-narrowly

circumscribed set of opinions about the origins of the European peoples, and these opinions drew heavily on the kind of philology widely-popularized by Max Müller, Sayce, and Skeat. But the terms *raciology* and *raciological* demand some definition. I revive the terms from their late-Victorian usage, and by them intend to designate the group of discourses which emanated out of philological ethnology after the work Sir William Jones (1746-94), James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848), Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), and numerous others in the early period of raciological science had circulated the new doctrines in the academic, learned, and print culture of the time. I choose the term "raciology" advisedly, and by employing it hope to escape some of the common generalizations about this literature. Recent critics have shown a commendable hostility to twentieth-century racist thought which--though such thought may have grown out of earlier raciological thinking--is of an irrational and romantic, rather than scientific, character despite its relentless pseudo-empiricist rhetoric. As I shall demonstrate, the first phase of raciological thought was concluded, in the early 1890s, with the publication of a number of critiques which undermined some of the basic premises of raciology. This coincided with the development of more complex notions of the nature of the British Empire, and the growth of local varieties of nationalism based on geographical rather than raciological considerations. Although I believe philological thought to have been the well-spring of raciological thinking, contributions to raciological thought, and evidence for raciological reconstructions of racial history, also came from archaeological, palæontological, mythological, and other historical sciences.

Interestingly, the prestige of philological ethnology was undone by a close analysis of the terms employed in its typologies, and the identification of race with language became a cause for much recrimination. Modern racist thinking can be dated from the late-1890s, when terms like *Anglo-*

Saxon, *Celt*, and *Aryan* had lost their incontrovertible authority as scientific definitions, but remained in use because of the appeal of racist doctrines to popular political movements, and of the expedience of notions of "race-sense" or "race consciousness" to totalitarian ideologies. The *Century Dictionary* (1910) defines *race sense* as the "consciousness of a race that all its members are of a kind and different from other races" (Suppl. 1103). This fond belief has had dire results, results so doleful as to stand in the way of an undistorted view of the place of raciological thought in earlier imperial and Colonial history.

In Canada, raciological notions were of vital importance in maintaining Canadian independence from the geographically-ravenous republic south, and then north-west, of her borders. I believe I have established that the deployment of a raciological vocabulary was intentional, and officially sanctioned, and extensive documentary evidence exists to demonstrate the raciological preoccupations of early Canadian educational authorities like Egerton Ryerson and George W. Ross, and to illustrate practical effects of this thinking on early Canadian nationalist rhetoric.

The term "Briton" as an important raciological code word is also vital to a proper understanding of Victorian race beliefs. When it suited, the Americans could be called upon as an Anglo-Saxon country, but they were not Britons. In Canadian raciological discourse, Canadian identity as a variety of the British (like the Welsh, Scotch, and Irish)--and Canadians as a species of Britons-- were ideas which delineated the "race-sense" which was thought to constitute the ontological divide between the Canadian nation and the United States of America. With political interference from Britain undesired, and economic relations complicated by distance and British reticence, imperial raciological rhetoric--often disguised in terms like "loyalty," "freedom," and "nation"--formed the basis of the Canadian defence against American annexationism, Canadians

taking for granted that the British character of their people suited them to British institutions, and that the mixed racial character of the Americans was reflected in the chaos of their local government, and relative backwardness of their civilization. As Britons, Canadians were part of the ascendancy of imperial civilization, which, according to the popular Victorian wisdom, brought healthfulness, cleanliness, and education wherever it went. And in Canada, the fact that American native peoples came North to British territory to escape the atrocities of the Americans against their people was used to argue the superiority of British justice, and the greater legitimacy of the Canadian state. Raciologically, it was expected that the natives would eventually be absorbed into a dominant British race, along with the French and Germans who formed minority populations, just as the British race itself had been formed from a blending of Celtic, Saxon, and Norman elements.

Although European, and especially German, studies were extremely important to the formation of raciological doctrines in Britain, I have concentrated on texts that can be demonstrated to have been widely circulated in British culture, rather than on works which have been more important from the point of view of technical linguistics. For this reason, Friedrich Max Müller, A.H. Sayce and Baron C.C.J. Bunsen (1791-1860) are more important figures for my purposes than Franz Bopp (1791-1867), Friedrich Diez (1794-1876), August Schleicher (1821-68), and Rasmus Rask (1787-1832), not because the theories of the latter group were unimportant philologically, but because the works of the former--often redactions of those of the latter--reached a much wider English-speaking audience, and had a more direct influence on the thinking of Britons. I believe my approach to these materials is a productive one, and offers a new way of understanding both late-Victorian imperial culture, in general, and late-Victorian Canadian culture and literature, in particular.

Growing as it does out of English literary studies in the Victorian period, this study pays some attention to the formation of a *de facto* canon of Canadian literature in the popular poetry anthologies of the post-Confederation period, and shows how raciological considerations often played a large part in the success of early-Canadian poets, insofar as success is represented by inclusion in the most widely-circulated anthologies and in the popular Canadian periodicals of the day. I take the construction of these anthologies as evidence of the wide saturation of early Canadian nationalist self-perception with the doctrines of raciological thinking, and use the poetry to illustrate the often liberal tenor of raciological thought. As I demonstrate in a discussion of the monogenist-polygenist debate among early anthropologists, often raciological thinkers were aligned with emancipatory forces, and contributed to the so-called Diffusion of Useful Knowledge movement, and to various other self-help and popular education initiatives in Great Britain and throughout the Empire. For this reason, I argue the importance of the distinction between raciological and racist thinking, a proper understanding of the place of raciological ideas in Victorian British culture leading to a richer, more accurate, comprehension of the period.

One important aspect of my study, which--I believe--throws new light on the Dominion during the nineteenth century, is founded on my assumption that understanding the essentially "Victorian" nature of Canada, and the general sense in the country that the "nation" was playing an authentic part in the establishment of an imperial civilization which promised to create a new age in human development, is vital to any fully-contextualized treatment of the culture. Attention to educational questions in Victorian Canada, which was a natural outcome of this sensibility, provided raciological solutions to historical problems; the rhetoric of "race," was granted a full empirical reality, and intruded new arrangements of historical materials, giving this lore a political, or

sociological, consequence far removed from the world of the ancient annalists of Europe, India, Assyria, or the Classical World. A deterministic raciological perspective, inscribing the "Britons of the North" (a term which also did service in Scotland), rooted British civilization in British North America, and organized the enormous mass of new geographical and anthropological information for the imperial education system (Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World* 26-32). A great virtue of raciological thinking was that it operated in spite of the complex problems of government which stood in the path of effective imperial governance of an empire whose great boast was its political freedom, and whose North American colonies demanded and achieved political reform before England herself. Despite the fact that the British North American colonies had been self-sustaining since 1818, there was a strong feeling of imperial connection which lasted throughout the Victorian period. In 1901, John A. Cooper, an editor of the *Canadian Magazine*, wrote:

In contemplating the constant progress of the British Flag the mind is tempted by the Biblical simile--"as the waters cover the sea." But a mere index of colonial possessions does not place the finger upon the colonizing genius of the Victorian Era. That is to be seen most clearly in the process of transformation which the older colonies have undergone, particularly Canada, whose national birth is not beyond the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The Canada that professed allegiance to William IV. and the Canada that sent four thousand troops to the defence of the Empire in South Africa are, to all but the most unimaginative, two different countries. Many people do not know that within only a few years of Victoria's accession, our annual deficits were met by a draft on the Imperial Treasury. From 1818, the date which marks the last of such payments, the Canadian colonies, self-sustained, have gone forward with steady steps, and today our

united confederation is one of the bulwarks of that great Empire on which the sun never sets, and a patriotic pattern for the younger outposts. (*Queen Victoria* 371)

One element of my study may seem peculiar, insofar as the figure of Max Müller stands in bold relief in the first part, while no single figure of corresponding stature emerges in the second part of my study. If this is so, it is due to my belief that the influence of Max Müller on the mythological consciousness of Victorian Britons is even more important than that of the celebrated Sir J.G. Frazer (one of the few Victorian scholarly eminences to escape Modernist vilification). I believe Max Müller's extensive literary remains form a valuable guide to the intellectual foundation of many widespread Victorian convictions, and his importance to Victorian intellectual culture has been generally under-estimated. After a period of extraordinary celebrity which lasted well into the 1890s, Max Müller left only a meagre residue in the linguistic discourses in which his ideas were most dominant. As late as 1895, a short glance at William Thomas Stead's *Review of Reviews* for August and September provides reference to: Max Müller's belief in immortality in Stead's own psychical research journal *Borderland*; a report of Max Müller's enthusiasm for the 1893-94 Parliament of Religions at Chicago, which he judged the most important event of the year; an abridged translation of Max Müller's detailed discussion of Celsus, second-century author of the lost *Sermo Verus*, of whom the philologist published a study in *Deutsche Rundschau* in July 1895; and an account from *Nineteenth Century* of Max Müller's article "The Kutho-Daw," about seven hundred Burmese Buddhist temples, "each containing a slab of white marble, on which the whole of the Buddhist Bible, the whole of these eight millions of syllables, has been carefully engraved" (*The Review of Reviews* 12: 165, 242, 246). Despite his services to Sanskrit studies, and to the development of comparative philological studies in England and North America, he is not even

mentioned by Holger Pedersen, whose *Discovery of Language* was first published in 1931, and remains an otherwise valuable source for the study of nineteenth-century philological historiography. And there has been no widespread revival of interest in Max Müller's work in nineteenth-century studies since Pedersen's time. Of course, the diffusion of raciological tenets was also promoted in countless other works. In the first part of my work, I have also attempted to survey some of the raciological works most influential in Victorian culture--the standard works during the period rather than the works which survived early twentieth-century criticism. Instead of an exhaustive study of any one particular raciological authority, I have attempted to give an overview of several issues which demanded attention in the sciences most affected by the rapid advances in philological method in the nineteenth century. The problem of human classification, or ethnological typology, forms the most important link between philological and anthropological science. But the related polygenism question, the antiquity of man debate, and the place of the Britons in Aryan history, all generated a large literature which sought to legitimate and propagate raciological doctrines.

In the second part of my work I examine the practical effects of raciological thinking, taking Victorian Canada as a field for the working out of raciological doctrines, one in which these notions can be seen to have had direct consequences in the development of Canadian nationalist sentiment, and in the prevention of American annexation of British Canada. The miscellaneous nature of the materials I have gathered here reflects the general nature of the raciological preoccupation which first emerged out of the new understanding of the relationship of the Indo-European languages.

One of the most difficult problems of historical study is the presentation of indirect--though inexorable--evidence. Direct evidence for raciological attitudes exists in political writings,

journalism, poetry, letters, textbooks, scholarly writings, encyclopedias, dictionaries, and official documents. But the most instructive result of an attention to raciological nuance is that many common, and apparently raciologically neutral, Victorian terms--nation, freedom, loyalty, and institutions, for example--came to be coded words, or commissives, which signalled adherence to the basic axioms of British raciological thought. By 1860, the Victorian use of nation, for example, carried clear racial connotations, even, or especially, in Canada, where the racial identity of British Canadians was an important element in organizing and promoting confederation of the British American colonies. In a famous essay, entitled "Nationality," published in the *Home and Foreign Review* (July 1862), Lord Acton wrote of the "ethnological character" of the "principle of nationality," and discussed Latin and Teutonic imperialism in a raciological context (*Essays on Liberty* 278-9). This sense of nation can be found in use widely during the early Confederation period in Canada, and Lord Dufferin, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier all use the term nation in this sense. On July 1, 1867, Alexander Morris, in his Confederation Day speech in front of 2000 citizens in Perth, Ontario, quoted the following remarks of T.C. Haliburton's *Sam Slick* (1836):

Now take these facts and see what an empire is here. Surely the best in climate, soil, mineral and other productions, in the world, and peopled by such a race as no other country under heaven can produce. Here, sir, are the bundle of sticks; all they want is to be well united. (qtd. in Morris 129)

Haliburton's writings show that he was an early raciological enthusiast, and his son's work, *Men of the North and Their Place in History* (1869), was an important influence in Canadian raciological thought. But Morris, who was himself a prominent exponent of raciological nationalism in Canada,

and championed the "fusion of races" which would complete the creation of the Canadian race, appears to have noticed Haliburton's anticipation of views like those of Arnold Guyot (1807-84), who insisted on the importance of physical geography in the formation of races. This view of the raciological importance of geography would also play a central role in Canada's perception of itself as a Northern nation.

It is not my intention to oversimplify the attitudes held in Britain and the Empire, and in British North America a wide range of opinion about the nature of the Canadian nation no doubt existed. The purpose of this thesis is to establish the widespread acceptance of the factual and scientific basis of raciological doctrines, and to demonstrate that the practical influence of these ideas is substantial and historically important. The patriotic assumptions of several generations of Canadians were founded upon an understanding of race or ethnicity that did not exist in earlier periods of British history. In fact, the diffusion of the raciological sensibility came to distort Victorian perceptions of British history itself, reorganizing the events of the distant past around notions of racial conquest and migration. For Canadians, the ultimate result of raciological consciousness was that the nation was able to unify a vast territory of scattered settlements loyal to Queen and flag despite widely disparate regional needs and aspirations.

My argument is divided into two parts. In Part I, I discuss the importance of philology to raciological thinking, identify the major figures in the dissemination of raciological doctrines, and examine some of the major controversies which animated the public discourse of the raciological sciences. In Part II, I concentrate on the development of Canadian nationalist self-perception, locating wellsprings of raciological opinion in the literature and schooling of Victorian Canadians, and suggesting that raciological features of Canadian identity provided a ground for Canadian

resistance to American incursion and promoted political harmony among Canadians of European extraction, uniting them as part of an imperial civilization which—despite its demerits—worked with its own convictions as to the meaning of freedom and justice. I make no attempt to disguise the often upsetting character of the paternalism and exclusiveness which sometimes marked raciological perspectives. But raciology also contributed an element to the national romance, and allowed the Canadian literature to exploit its new geographical situation with a transplanted cultural tradition running into deep antiquity. The belief that Celt, Saxon, and Norman all contributed to the race of Canadian Britons encouraged a sense of collective belonging in Canadians, softening sectarian feeling and fostering a level of communication between communities which was not even achieved in Britain itself. Nonetheless, the inclusion of a plurality of ethnological elements in the definition of the term Briton is typical of all Victorian raciological discourse.

Part I

Aryans, Anglo-Saxons, and Britons:

Philology, Anthropology, and the Raciological Sciences

Chapter One: F. Max Müller and the Development of Victorian Raciology

Philology and British Racial Thought

And Shem and Japheth took a garment, and laid it upon both their shoulders, and went backward, and covered the nakedness of their father; and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness. (*Genesis IX*, 23)

In 1876, Walter Bagehot wrote that Disraeli was unable to develop a coherent political philosophy because he reduced all questions to a distinction between the Semitic and the Caucasian races (*Biographical Studies* 395). Gladstone was preoccupied with the chasm that existed between his Saxon and Celtic constituencies, and he pored over ethnological works of the crudest pseudo-scientific sort during dull stretches--that is, during the Irish debates--in the House of Commons.³ In Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald was intensely devoted to the idea of an Anglo-Saxon nation (one including the Scots, of course) in British North America.⁴ And in the United States, a long series of Presidents agonized over the racial composition of the young republic. The works of racial thinking would take their most malignant forms only in our own century. But the influence of raciological ideas on European colonial policies during this period is generally allowed to have been

³The book in this case was Louis Jacolliot's *La Bible dans l'Inde*. Gladstone was also a friend of Max Müller and knew prominent members of the philologist's circle which included Baron Bunsen, Archbishop Hare, Connop Thirlwall, Canon Rawlinson, Samuel Wilberforce, and A.H. Layard. In a letter to A.P. Stanley dated 29 June 1869, Friedrich Max Müller described Jacolliot's book as "silly, shallow, and impudent" (Bodleian MS.Eng.d.2346). See also Léon Poliakov's *The Aryan Myth* 209-13.

⁴See for example, Macdonald's "Our Connection with Britain," part of his Confederation Day speech published in *Patriotic Recitations and Arbour Day Exercises*, edited by George W. Ross.

considerable.⁵ The preoccupation of the colonial bureaucracies of the British Empire with ethnological matters is amply illustrated, for instance, in authorized Canadian school textbooks in use throughout the Victorian period. In fact, one method of tracing the development of Anglo-Saxon racist vocabulary is to follow its employment in Whately's and Leitch's textbooks of the 1840s, through the various generations of the Royal Readers, Campbell's Readers, Maritime Readers and Ontario Readers, in use from the 1860s onwards, the Royal and Ontario Readers both surviving as school texts as late as the 1930s.⁶ In these works one finds coded all of the central ethnological commonplaces of the period.

In tracing the sources of raciological ideas in nineteenth-century works of comparative philology, ethnology, and their attendant sciences and would-be sciences, recent criticism has often condemned raciological thinking without distinguishing between dangerous racist polemic and the forgotten scholarship of a much higher order or of a more benign character. The use of the vocabulary of these discourses--replete as it was with Aryans, Teutons, Turanians, and with all the other ethnological paraphernalia now more immediately identified with the murderous dementia of the Nazis and their successors--has been seen as a sufficient circumstance to reduce a complex and heterogeneous mix of discourses into a single chorus of apology for European racial supremacy. Even a slight acquaintance with this category of discourse makes it impossible to deny that materials

⁵The literature of so-called "Post-Colonial" discourse is large, of course, and there are a large number of works that deal with the question of race in the colonial context. Two of the most useful for these purposes of recent date are Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* and Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*.

⁶In fact, I have discovered at least one case in which a mid-Victorian edition of the *Royal Reader* was in use in New Brunswick in the 1930s. And I suspect that this was by no means an unusual occurrence in rural Canada.

offensive to enlightened sensibility can be seen in volume. But a deeper knowledge of this literature makes equally clear that some of the most humanitarian voices of this humanitarian age also spoke in the pseudo-scientific idiolects of Gobineau, Saint-Hilaire, Topinard and Broca. And an impressive and engaging scholarship is generally the rule in the literatures of origin which constitute the raciological sciences. Even from a purely literary perspective there is much in this work that is worthy of at least historical notice: as repositories of exotic or curious antiquarian lore and wisdom literature, as specimens of the Victorian scholarly style, and as examples of a characteristically Victorian genre, that of the Ancestral Romance.

As Léon Poliakov, Edward Said, John Willinsky, and Jacques Barzun, among many others have convincingly demonstrated, analogous situations can be shown to have existed in Spain, France, Italy, Japan, the United States, and Germany; but the following discussion will focus on English-language discourse in the British Empire, and, more particularly, on authors and works that can be shown to have been circulated beyond the isolated preserves of specialists (Willinsky, *Empire of Words* 14-35). I feel this approach throws new light on this neglected, if historically-important, literature. A weakness of standard historiographic surveys of nineteenth-century philology such as *The Discovery of Language* of Holger Pedersen, and the various works of Hans Aarsleff, is that generally they approach the philological literature according to its importance to the subsequent development of linguistic science, rather than in the context of its political and social impact on nineteenth-century culture. The philological studies of Friedrich Max Müller, for example, had an extensive readership long after the generation of Walter W. Skeat, Karl Verner (1846-96), Henry Sweet (1845-1912), and Karl Brugmann (1849-1919) had rendered much of the linguistic science of his works obsolete. The studies of Richard Chenevix Trench (1807-86) were intended for

beginners rather than specialists, and yet he did more to further the study of English etymology than any philologist before Skeat himself, and was also responsible for a plan for a new English dictionary, presented to the Philological Society, and ultimately the basis of the OED. In the second half of the nineteenth century a body of literature was produced that was partly a new philology of modern empirical method and partly a species of antiquarian fiction, a medium for fascinating speculative reconstructions "satisfying deep mystical impulses" as Jacques Barzun aptly phrased it (*Race: A Study in Modern Superstition* 5).

This study focuses on philological and ethnological discourse, but it is not my aim to concern myself with the scientific truth or falsehood of the linguistic and ethnological theories of Victorian science. And this will be an historiographic study, rather than an investigation of the development of linguistic science or anthropology. From a purely scientific standpoint, both philology and, to an even greater extent, anthropology were in a rudimentary state during this period, and to exhume debates over forgotten particulars would be a study of a more specialized character than this one intends for itself. Instead, in order to examine vital differences in the various typological systems developed in the two sciences, I will concentrate on those aspects of philological enterprise which were most often exploited by ethnologists, ethnographers, and anthropologists. The subsequent place of racialist idioms in the development of twentieth-century ethnic nationalism, and in the discourses of struggles for self-determination in Ireland, Israel, and Hungary, to name but three, can only be fully understood in a context in which a distinction can be drawn between authentic typologies grounded in historical circumstance, and pseudo-empiricist rhetorical markers exploited for their contribution towards an illusion of scientific method. To gain a fresh perspective, I will reserve judgement of some aspects of these discourses until a preliminary survey has been

accomplished. A primary objective of my research has been a bibliographic reconstruction of a Victorian canon of raciological classics. And I will discuss a wide range of texts to give an indication of the scope of raciological thinking during the period. But in a study of this nature, it is impossible to give a full analysis of every work that comes into view. I trust that, when my analysis has been brief, I have at least gone some distance towards placing works into the wider context of the discourse, and have given some suggestion of an author's cultural importance. Naturally, the question of racism will arise during these considerations. But an important element in this study will be to demonstrate that, in many cases, preoccupations with race were the product of progressive and emancipatory attitudes rather than otherwise, and that, in the case of Canada particularly, racial discourse served an important cultural function, unifying a diverse and widely-dispersed population. In order fully to understand the manner in which raciological doctrines were established as beliefs in the culture, it is useful to look briefly at the way in which the authority of philological discourse was originally established.

Philological Authority, Hermeneutics, and the Genealogical Classification of Languages

To understand the high status accorded philology by the human sciences in the nineteenth century, one has to look back beyond the impressive philological projects of the mid-nineteenth century to the Biblical hermeneuticists of the later part of the eighteenth century. Much as the philological and logical investigations of Whateley, Trench, and Lightfoot would grow out of their Biblical studies in the nineteenth century, the hermeneutical works of Johann August Ernesti (1707-81), Samuel Friedrich Morus (1736-92), Christian Daniel Beck (1757-1832), and G. F. Seiler (1733-1807), which established the authority of philological approaches to all texts, grew out of the interest of these scholars in questions of Biblical interpretation. Ernesti began his career as a professor at Leipzig in 1742. He produced editions of Cicero, Xenophon, Suetonius, Tacitus, Aristophanes, and Homer, and was involved in the spread of the revival in interest in classical literature during that period. A zealous Protestant, Ernesti nonetheless insisted that rigorous philological methods should be extended to the study of scripture, and that the basis for any confidence in historical findings must rest in the proper appreciation of the *usus loquendi*, or the philological context, of any text, including the Bible. The determination of the authentic *usus loquendi* was to be made according to an investigation of a number of factors which may create peculiar or particular linguistic usages:

To determine it [the *usus loquendi*] respect must be had to time (*a*), religion (*b*), sect, education, common life (*c*), and civil affairs (*e*); all of which have influence on an author's language, and characterize it [sic]. (25)

In part, Ernesti's approach was intended as a check to the sectarian fanaticism which had dogged Biblical studies since the Reformation; he was at great pains to establish that the text of the Bible

should be treated in the same manner as any other ancient work, and that philological methods would prove profitable in removing obscurities in the scriptures:

Of course, the scriptures are to be investigated by the same rules as other books. Those fanatics, therefore, are not to be regarded, who, despising literature and the study of languages, refer every thing merely to the influence of the Spirit.

He continues:

Language can be properly interpreted only in a philological way. Not much unlike these fanatics, and not less hurtful, are those who, from a similar contempt of the languages and from that ignorance of them which breeds contempt, depend in their interpretations rather on *things* than on words. (27)

The result of the work of Ernesti and the other German and Danish hermeneuticists was to place philology among the empirical and inductive sciences, and to render it an attractive appendage of any human science striving to achieve the appearance of a rigorous methodology. As comparative philologists developed their science following the era of Sir William Jones (1746-94), John Horne Tooke (1736-1812), and Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806), their linguistic typologies became the common property of geographers, natural historians, and ethnographers. But until the philologists had come to a more or less settled view of the relationships of the various families of languages, there could be no dogmatic classification of the races of man. The work of Jakob Grimm (1785-1863), Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), and Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) created the conditions in which comparative philology might become a settled discipline. But it was the work of Franz Bopp (1791-1867) that established in rough outline the classificatory system which, laid over a deeper structure of Biblical genealogy, would endure.

The typology of languages presented by Bopp in his *Comparative Grammar* were either adopted outright, or in a slightly modified form, by the most influential philologists in all of the European countries. Bopp's organization of the relationships of the languages, dialects, and sub-dialects that were included in Indo-Germanic influenced intellectual culture far beyond the narrow bounds of philological discussion.⁷ Aside from the fact that even some of the most abstruse of philological manuals enjoyed a large public sale, popular philological articles and books were to be found widely. The multiple editions of works of popular philology and etymology by men like Richard Chenevix Trench, Henry Alford (1810-71), and George Washington Moon (1823-1909), and women like Elizabeth Mary Wright (b. 1863) and Lucy Toulmin Smith (1838-1911), shows that their works found many readers far from the universities.

Raciological literature, both philological and anthropological, circulated in schoolbooks, in popular anthologies, in the periodicals, both popular and specialized, and even in the theological literature of the Victorian period.⁸ In 1865, Queen Victoria's chaplain, the Hebrew and classical scholar Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-1889) published a learned and surprisingly popular volume entitled *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, in which he attempts to prove that the Galatian people were Celts. Lightfoot largely bases his argument on philological, and especially etymological, evidence. Between 1865 and 1890, the work went through ten editions, a fact that underscores the

⁷Bopp did have scholarly antagonists. Pott and Curtius disputed Bopp's agreement with Grimm that there were occasional anomalies in phonetic change, for instance. See for example, Max Müller's *My Autobiography* (1901) 51 and 56-7. Nonetheless, Bopp's work was the most widely-circulated German philological manual to follow Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* and Bopp remained an authority until the end of the century and beyond.

⁸Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (1995) provides an analysis of Victorian advertisement which illustrates the wide dissemination of raciological ideas in the Empire.

interest even among divines in the discussion of ethnological kinship. Proving the Galatians Celts moves them closer to Europe, separating them from alien Semitic and Eastern-Mediterranean cultures, and lending them a new interest for the English *aficionado* of origin. The response of *Anglo-Saxon* Victorians to matters Celtic, illustrated by the ethnological forays of Lightfoot, is a complex one, and will require some analysis of the equivocal position of the terms Celtic and Gaelic in raciological typologies. And although the typological systems of no two English-speaking philologists or anthropologists exactly correspond, there are two--potentially contradictory--biases that can be seen to be at work everywhere: one which emphasizes the liminal position of the Atlantic Celtic languages and race in an Indo-Aryan genesis which gives pride of place to Teutonic culture; and another which finds in Celtic linguistic, antiquarian, and ethnologic remains a store of impressive Aryan relics.

Many Irish Roman Catholic scholars were sensitive about the popular conceptions of Celtic ethnology deriving from the speculations of the philologists and ethnologists who emphasized Teutonic elements in archaic Eurasian culture. For instance, in 1875, the Canon of Tuam, Ulick J. Bourke, published a popular work entitled *The Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race and Language*, in which the author discusses questions of Celtic ethnological history from the standpoint of the new philology. In its review of his work, the *Cork Examiner* described Bourke as the first Irishman "to follow up the work of those great philologist--namely, Pritchard, Grimm, Zeuss, Bopp, Ebel, Schleicher, Max Müller, &c." Bourke competently argues the thesis of the work's title, and defends the advanced character of Celtic culture against charges of atavism. But his anxiety to align the Irish with the Aryan race illustrates the importance of raciological considerations in nationalist thinking during the period.

An important feature of the Victorian raciological literature is the adaptation by anthropologists and ethnologists of the philologists' genealogical classification of languages, a typological system more precise than those they inherited in their own science from Cuvier, Blumenbach, and craniologist and comparative anatomist William Lawrence, whose *Lectures on Physiology, Zoology, and the Natural History of Man* (1817) was a main conduit of Blumenbach's ethnological typologies to English natural historians and scientists. The ethnologists' and ethnographers' introduction of linguistic categories into discussions of race and nationality dangerously distorted philological findings. And although some scientists of language may be faulted for statements which may have reinforced public misconceptions about the nature of ethnic boundaries, it was a settled principle of nineteenth-century Comparative Philology that languages spread through a blending of peoples in a manner that suggested an ethnological unity of the so-called Indo-European peoples at least, and stood against the general ethnological tendency of assuming the existence of races (Max Müller, *Biographies of Words* 244). The importation of philological material into evolutionary discourse also began early. In 1844, Robert Chambers (1802-1871), in his anonymous sensation, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, stressed the importance of philological evidence in understanding the early history of mankind, and developed a five-part ethnographic classificatory system based on language groups including the "Caucasian, or Indo-European" (142-156). This linking of evolution and ethnology is also a marked feature of early twentieth-century ethnographic configurations, and the attitudes encouraged by Victorian ethnological thinking are, of course, still very much with us. A striking recent example, which comes from American public television, was the PBS *Nova* production of January 20, 1998, entitled "Mysterious Mummies of China," and written by Howard Reid. In this documentary, in which the

fascinating mummy finds from the Takla Makan desert are solemnly described as lost "Indo-Iranians," "blond-haired and blue-eyed," much is made of the supposed obviousness of their connection to modern Europeans. These pseudo-scientific racial categories, presented as if they were settled facts, descend directly from nineteenth-century raciological science. In the 1890s, great excitement was created by the discovery of large numbers of Indo-European Tokharian manuscripts, dating back to classical times, in an area that had previously been considered "Turanian," meaning non-Aryan, and designating the Turkic and nomadic peoples who ranged from Turkistan through to north-western China. The work of F.W.K. Müller (d. 1930) at the turn of the century, and later by Sylvain Lévi (b. 1863) and A. Meillet (b. 1866), proved the existence of a language group speaking old Indo-European languages more closely aligned to the Celtic languages than to Old Persian or Sanskrit (Pedersen, *The Discovery of Language* 192-96). Previously, the main ethno-philological source for Turanian scholarship in the later Victorian period was the long section "The Last Results of the Researches Respecting the Non-Iranian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia or Europe, or the Turanian Family of Language," in the first volume of Baron Bunsen's once authoritative *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, first published in 1854 (263-487). Perhaps it is unnecessary to note that the haste of American archaeologists to declare that the Tokharians "strongly resemble Celts and Anglo-Saxons," and that they are "people of European origin," is irresponsible, and that any such description is ahistorical, at the very least. The discoveries were also publicized--in much the same language--by Evan Hadingham in "The Mummies of Xinjiang," published in *Discovery* magazine in April 1994 (68-77).

Philology and Early Racial Thought

For Victorian ethnographers, the firm racial categories that characterize their description of modern ethnic and linguistic groups allowed for an easy import of philologically-generated historical data into modern national or political contexts. This discourse is not fundamentally antiquarian, but, by tracing a stable ethnological development back into history, produces an evolutionist logic for modern Indo-European, Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, or Aryan supremacy. And although it should be stressed that there were cranks and crackpots who considered themselves philologists, and also some ethnologists who produced work of an emancipatory or progressive character, comparative philology, unlike the study of ethnology and anthropology in the same period, remained primarily an historical and antiquarian, rather than contemporary, study. The focus of comparative philologists was on the linguistic record of ancestors or *autochthones*, and one finds none of the implicit evolutionary determinism that lies just below the surface in the work of ethnologists like Charles Pickering (1805-78) or Armand De Quatrefage (1810-92). Instead of reconstructions of neolithic life which emphasized the barbarism of non-industrial culture, philological descriptions of early Aryan life in the works of philologists Max Müller, A.H. Sayce, and M. Schele De Vere stressed Aryan sophistication, piety, and wisdom, and displayed nostalgia for the simplicities of early pastoral and nomadic societies.

A brief investigation of the various typological systems constructed to explain the data generated by advances in philological method after 1786 is useful in understanding the context of later Victorian raciological thinking. The state of English philology during most of the Georgian period is indicated by the fact that the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson (1709-84) and Nathaniel Bailey (d. 1742) were trusted as etymological authorities despite the fact that, as historical linguists,

neither was much aware of the historical relationships of language beyond the fact the English was "Teutonic" and had been supplemented with Latin and French vocabulary.⁹ The popular European notion of the relationships of nations was still entirely based upon the genealogical tree of Noah's descendants, and Biblical models still had a strong hold on philological thinking. For example, John Brown (1722-1787), a Scottish divine and lexicographer "acquainted with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, French, Italian, and German" (Allibone 1:257), writes in his once-classic *Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (1769) entry on "Language":

It is certain, the ancient language of the Gomerians, Huns, Greeks, &c. did not a little resemble the Hebrew; and that there are other languages, such as the Sclavonic, and sundry of America, between which and the Hebrew we can scarce trace the smallest resemblance. Into how many languages speech was divided at Babel, it is impossible to say. Alstedius enumerates about 400; but makes only 72 distinguished ones, and five chief ones, viz the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Germanic, and Sclavonic. At present, a sort of Arabic mightily prevails in Western Asia, and in the north of Africa. Mingled dialects of the Latin and Teutonic, &c. mostly prevail in the west of Europe. (1:84)

Gomer was the eldest son of Japheth, and as a result the Gomerians were of great interest to genealogists of the European languages and peoples, and to early raciological thinkers. In 1848, the Scots Biblical cyclopædist and Professor of Hermeneutics John Eadie (1810-1876), wrote in his *Biblical Cyclopædia* (1868) that Gomer's

posterity peopled a large district of Asia Minor, embracing Phrygia. From them came the

⁹See Hudson, "From 'Nation' to 'Race': the Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought": 247-64.

natives of northern Europe. Hence, too, the Gauls and Celts, and the *bands of Gomer*, and in later times the people of Germany, France, and Britain. The Welsh words Kumero and Kumeraeg, denoting the people and the language, are evidently allied to Gomer; Cymmerii, Cymbri, Cambri, sufficiently attest to their origin. (305)

Advances beyond the stage of philological learning represented by Bailey and Johnson are plainly visible in the work of two "philologers" who marked a clear advance the projects of universal grammarians like James Harris (1709-1780), and philosophers of language like James Burnet, Lord Monboddo (1710-96), fascinating as those men's works remain for their antiquarian incidentals. In 1786, Sir William Jones announced his findings from the study of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Gothic, Persian, and Celtic, and revealed that these languages had arisen from a common source. In the same year, John Wilkes' associate John Horne Tooke (1736-1812) published the first volume of *Epea Pteroenta* or *The Diversions of Purley*, in which Horne Tooke announces his main object to be to present a proof that all parts of speech, including those which grammarians considered as expletives and unmeaning particles, may be resolved into nouns and verbs. He viewed etymological history as the true guide to the present import of words, and to the nature of those things they are intended to signify. *Epea Pteroenta* begins with strong criticism of the then still widely popular *Hermes* of James Harris, which he described as "hard words and unintelligible distinctions," an opinion not easily gainsaid. With a tolerable notion of Gothic etymology and First English, Horne Tooke reduced English vocabulary to root stems, a labour which anticipated later work by Comparative philologists Friedrich Max Müller and Archibald Henry Sayce, and English etymologists and lexicographers Richard Chenevix Trench and W.W. Skeat.

From that point the advance of Comparative Philology towards the status of a modern science

was rapid. Early in the nineteenth century, the Dane Rasmus Rask (1787-1832) had laboured at proving the kinship of the Indo-European family of languages. But Franz Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* is the work from which fully-developed nineteenth-century comparative linguistics can be dated (Pedersen 257). That work settled as a scientific fact what was for Jones and Horne Tooke only a probable hypothesis; that is, that the Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and Teutonic languages were historically related. A little later he established the relationship of the Celtic languages to the others. The satisfaction of the rigorous standard of inductive proof needed to convince empiricist critics of philological science, meant that the historical data produced by nineteenth-century philologists and historical grammarians was allowed as valid evidence in reconstructions of the *milieus* suggested by the data of archaeology and the so-called *harder* sciences: geology, botany, craniology, comparative anatomy, and all the other specialities which rigorously proceeded according to scientific or inductive method. The Victorians believed in the reconstructed societies of Max Müller in the way that the modern West believes in radiocarbon dating techniques. And the speculative historical nomenclature that this philology employed allowed further--and eventually more damaging--analogies in the creation, or organization, of racial typologies in ethnology, historical ethnography, ethnopsychology, and early works of anthropology and social history. Both philological and anthropological discourse fixated upon questions of Aryan, Teutonic, and Anglo-Saxon origin, concerns which fostered an extensive popular literature, and influenced the intellectual vocabulary of the period to an extent not often appreciated. And it was a short step from the deployment of ethnological Britons in popular raciological discourse, to the birth of Colonial Britons in the Empire.

Friedrich Max Müller and Raciological Thought

Although the notion of an Anglo-Saxon people circulated slightly earlier, raciological Anglo-Saxonism came into a general prominence in the 1850s, and in the novels of this period descriptions like the following were common:

In his tall stalwartness Adam Bede was a Saxon, and justified his name; but the jet-black hair, made more noticeable by its contrast with the light paper cap, and the keen glance of the dark eyes that shone from under strongly-marked, prominent, and mobile eyebrows, indicated a mixture of Celtic blood. (*Adam Bede* 2:472)

George Eliot published this description of her novel's hero in 1859, the same year that Charles Darwin published the *Origin of Species*. It was also the year in which Friedrich Max Müller published *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*. Max Müller, as he was popularly and privately known, was soon to become, and, in fact, was already becoming, the most influential comparative philologist and mythologist in the English-speaking world; and though his authority as a comparative philologist waned in the closing years of his life, for nearly three decades he was in the stratospheric company of the Victorian public sages.¹⁰ His friends and close associates included Henry Hallam, Charles Kingsley, Baron Bunsen, Ernst Renan, Prince Albert, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Alfred Tennyson, Connop Thirlwall, Archdeacon Hare, Lord Houghton, and Gladstone, and Max Müller's works were routinely cited in philological, anthropological, and ethnographic works for

¹⁰For discussion of Max Müller's decision to pursue Sanskrit studies instead of comparative philology after 1870, and of the subsequent decline in his scholarly reputation, if not in his popular influence, see Nirad Chauduri's *Scholar Extraordinary: the Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Müller* (1974): 199-201.

more than three decades.¹¹

Writing in 1896, the biographical lexicographer Charles Dudley Warner describes Max Müller as "German-English" (395). He was the son of the famous poet and librettist Wilhelm Müller and was born in Dessau in 1823. His education was European, and he studied first at Leipzig, and then at Berlin and Paris under the eminent philologists Hermann Brockhaus (1806-77), Friedrich Wilhelm Rückert (1817-51), and, perhaps most importantly, under Eugène Burnouf (1801-52), a famous Sanskrit scholar (*Autobiography* 167-82). It was in Leipzig under Brockhaus that Max Müller first studied Sanskrit. In Berlin, where he spent a year, he met and was aided by the illustrious comparative philologist Franz Bopp (1791-1867), though at a time when the elder philologist's powers had declined. There he also made the acquaintance of both F.W. Schelling and Schopenhauer (*Autobiography* 156-7 and 289). In 1845, he went to Paris, and there Burnouf encouraged him to attempt an edition of the Rig-Veda and the commentary of Sâyanâcârya. In June of 1846, he went to England to study the manuscripts in the East India House at London and at the Bodleian Library, and from that point on became a permanent resident in Great Britain. In 1847, Baron Bunsen, at this time the Prussian Minister in London, and Horace Hayman (1786-1860), the Orientalist and librarian for the East India Company, convinced the Company to commission Max Müller to prepare a translation of the Veda for publication. In 1850, he was appointed Deputy Taylorian Professor of Modern Languages at Oxford, succeeding to the professorship in 1854.

When Bopp's comparative grammar was published in England in 1845, the work had already

¹¹The list of Max Müller's famous acquaintance could be expanded considerably. Clough, Matthew Arnold, Froude, Ruskin, Carlyle, William Whewell, Macaulay, Emerson, Darwin, and Lowell also counted Max Müller among their friends, and before leaving Germany he had been an intimate of Mendelssohn, Liszt, Ferdinand David, and Schumann, among many others. See *Auld Lang Syne* (1898) 1:74-178 and *passim*, and *My Autobiography: A Fragment* (1901).

been the most important philological work in Europe for twelve years. In 1844, Max Müller went to Berlin to hear Bopp lecture. His report does not exactly suggest a titan:

I must say at once that Professor Bopp, though he was extremely kind to me, was at that time, if not old--he was only fifty-three--very infirm. In his lectures he simply read his *Comparative Grammar* with a magnifying glass, and added very little that was new.

(*Autobiography* 157)

A great difference between the practice of Max Müller and that of Bopp was that Bopp did not launch fully into the discussion of "roots," a quasi-metaphysical reconstruction of the transition from the inarticulate screech into language. As Archibald Henry Sayce describes the problem:

As glottologists [comparative philologists or scientists of language], we have to begin with roots; they are the first facts to which we can ascend. The decomposition of the roots themselves, the germs out of which they have grown, belong to other branches of study. All that we can do is to ascertain clearly the nature of these roots and to fix their limits; to determine, in short, where language first takes its start, and ceases to be the inarticulate, unconscious utterance of instinctive desire. (Sayce, *Principles* 223)

In this, as in much of what he has to say in his *Principles of Comparative Philology*, Sayce follows Max Müller (xiv). In Sayce's phrase "unconscious utterance of instinctive desire," one finds a measure of what was at stake for those involved in speculative reconstructions of the early human mind. The theory of roots was a philological attempt to reconstruct early human consciousness. In the preface to his *Comparative Grammar*, Bopp writes:

I contemplate in this work a description of the comparative organization of the languages enumerated in the title page [Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German,

and Sclavonic], comprehending all the features of their relationship, and an inquiry into their physical and mechanical laws, and the origin of the forms which distinguish their grammatical relations. One point alone I shall leave untouched, the secret of the roots, or the foundation of the nomenclature of the primary ideas. (v)

Bopp's reticence on the subject of roots arises, no doubt, from his awareness of the philosophical morass that awaited philologists who strayed into discussion of the origin of language and the wonderland of "primary ideas." But Max Müller's intellectual temperament allowed him no such reserve. The usefulness of etymological roots in recovering the thought of prehistoric peoples was too important to be ignored, and was a central element in raciological reconstructions of ancient Teutonic and Aryan civilization:

The whole temple of language is built of bricks, and every one of these bricks is made of clay; or, in other words, every word in our dictionary is derived from roots, and every root, as Noiré has shown, expressed a primitive act of primitive men, such as digging, platting, cutting, shaking, chewing, drinking, roaring, etc. (*Biographies of Words* 32)

Max Müller's development of a system of roots common to the Indo-European languages provided the empirical data and a scientific basis for speculative reconstructions of early Aryan and Teutonic manners and civilization, and for more extravagant projects, like neolithic ethno-psychology and Atlantaeon social history.¹² But although the decision to pursue the question of roots placed the philologist--like Nietzsche--in a philosophical discourse, it by no means hindered the rigorousness of their science. W.W. Skeat's etymological practice, for example, owed a great deal to Max

¹²See, for example, W. Scott Eliot's *The Story of Atlantis: A Geographical, Historical, and Ethnological Sketch* (1909).

Müller's development of the theory of roots, and the glossary of Aryan roots he appended to his etymological dictionary of English is largely an expansion of Max Müller's work. But the enthusiastic pursuit of etymological studies, both Indo-European and English, that was carried on throughout the nineteenth century, must be viewed in the light of the question of etymological roots, and their use as a fertile field for the discovery of original archaeological data, data which raciologists could deploy to establish the continuity of races and the permanence of racial types.

Max Müller's modern critical reputation reflects the usual attitude towards raciological thought in general, and he is usually given a prominent place in any critical catalogue of the expounders of racist thinking in the nineteenth century. The reasons why he would be are straightforward enough. His writings were extremely popular, his lectures crowded with Victorian luminaries, including Queen Victoria herself, and his philological theories retailed in countless works by other writers. Doubtless, a good deal of this enthusiasm was generated by Max Müller's considerations of Aryan genealogy. But the charm of Max Müller's books went much further. He had much in common with his friend Emerson, for instance, and his works abound with transcendental aphorisms and reflections on ethics. In fact, one of the most striking of the characteristics of Max Müller's scholarship is his persistent interest in wisdom literature and his constant search, in Indian as well as European philosophy, for a vocabulary with which to discuss those abstract aspects of experience which could not always be satisfyingly explored in the merely philological discussion of language.

In his early essay *Comparative Mythology* (1856), Max Müller outlines a dualism in modern consciousness historically represented in two ages of man he calls the *Mythopoeic* and the *National*

periods (*Comparative Mythology* 11-16). The mythopoeic consciousness speaks of the world in a language in which experience is registered unmediated by abstract grammar, the society's response to the material world still animistic, but the state of culture very high. In fact, mythopoeic culture is viewed as having many virtues that clearly mark its stage of development, particularly a careful arrangement of family relationships which allows for the morality necessary for a coherent system of ethics. Later "national" society had developed further to a stage in which abstract nouns and a more extensive, non-agglutinative grammar allowed the theological, or *idealist*, abstractions or generalizations that create questions of materialism or scepticism, and allowed the development of industrial arts reliant upon a certain degree of empiricism.

The most elaborate of Max Müller's works of philological romance--his most concentrated creation of sagas out of single words, or the "fossil poetry" of etymology--was his *Biographies of Words and Home of the Aryas* (1888). In this book, an elaborately constructed table of roots is used to sustain a discussion of the "Earliest Aryan Civilization." It is by no means an inflammatory work, and it includes an explicit letter about the care that should be taken in any discussion of the relationship between philology and ethnology (*Biographies of Words* 243-51). In the *Science of Language*, Max Müller gives a good notion of his view of early language in writing of terminal affixes:

We are accustomed to the idea of grammatical terminations modifying the meaning of words. But words can be modified by words only; and though in the present state of our science it would be too much to say that all grammatical terminations have been traced back to original independent words, so many of them have, even in cases where only a single letter was left, that we may well lay it down as a rule that all formal elements of language were originally

substantial. (1:228)

This stage of "substantial" language corresponds to the mythopoeic stage described in "Comparative Mythology," and the speakers of such a language would be exercising a vocabulary composed of what Emerson called the "fossil poems" of etymology (Trench, *Study of Words* 13). Max Müller attempts to follow this line partly to reconcile the materialism incumbent upon him as a committed empiricist, with his belief in a phenomenal world, a world in which: "Christ spoke to men, women and children, not to theologians, and the classification of His sayings should be made, not according to theological technicalities, but according to what makes our own heart beat" (*Life and Religion* 31). This sentiment is quite at odds, from a theological standpoint at least, with the positions of Christian grammarians and philologists like Archbishops Richard Whately and Richard Chenevix Trench. Trench, for instance, delivered one of his Hulsean Lectures on "The Unity of Scripture," an attempt to grant an authoritative exegetical status to the same theologians Max Müller invokes to their exegetical detriment. This attitude toward theologians (using the term in its broadest range of signification) is a product both of the catholicity engendered by his minute study of Indian literature, which involved him in such questions as "Has the Veda a Superhuman Origin," and by his close study of Immanuel Kant (*Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* 206-210). Max Müller's introduction to his fine translation of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, and his own *Science of Thought*, both attempt to introduce a non-Lockean approach to the study of the Science of Language in England, which he considered backward in that respect:

It is different, however in England. Here a new school of philosophy has sprung up, not entirely free perhaps from the influence of Comte, but supported by far greater learning and real philosophical power, a school which deliberately ignores Kant's analysis, and

falls back in the main on the position once occupied by Locke or Hume. Such a philosophy by appealing, as it always does, to the common sense of mankind, is sure of wide popular support. (*Science of Thought* 145).

The important point here is that despite the empirical basis of Max Müller's philology, his interpretation included a philosophical, or metaphysical, component which tinted his raciological thought and introduced a beguiling element of romance into his speculations.

Max Müller and Transcendental Raciology

Max Müller's capacity for practical, or political, influence can be seen in the valuable series of letters which passed between him and Gladstone, before, during, and after the latter's tenure as Prime Minister. The correspondence is for the most part convivially decorous, although Max Müller's responses were more reserved than was customary in letters to other colleagues and intimates, no doubt partly a result of his limited respect for Gladstone's scholarly achievements. But the correspondence is by no means limited to purely scholarly subjects. During the Franco-Prussian war, when Max Müller had been resident in London and Oxford for twenty-five years, the philologist was deeply disturbed by French military operations against German-speaking Alsatians, and had waged a campaign for British support for the German side, which the philologist saw as part of the struggle for German national self-determination. During this period, Gladstone sent a letter marked "Private," to Max Müller, in which he remarks testily:

I need hardly tell you that your letter deeply disappoints me, if I am to interpret it as contending West Alsace and part of Lorraine may ... be annexed to Germany. (Bodleian MS Eng c 2805: 145)

Although offering no aid or sympathy to his correspondent in this matter, the extensive surviving correspondence between Gladstone and the philologist clearly indicates the intimacy of Max Müller's acquaintance with him. Gladstone cites the philologist's opinions frequently in his own works, and in *Juventus Mundi*, his raciological study of the "Gods and Men of the Heroic Age," for instance, Max Müller is an important authority (Gladstone 292, 315, 316, 372).

Max Müller gained his extensive readership among what was known as the "educated public" with his presentation to an English-speaking audience of the findings and proceedings of the new

Continental *linguistik*, particularly the findings of its German practitioners. He organized this sometimes bewilderingly Teutonic technical discourse into a series of fascinatingly anecdotal lectures, and added his own--essentially transcendental Christian--literary style. Greatly admired by Emerson, who sent his daughter to see him on her arrival in England, Max Müller, like many of the scholarly popularizers of etymological and philological study, was a committed, if non-sectarian, Christian, and his works abound in allusions to God and religious faith.¹³ In 1905, his wife edited a collection of her husband's writings entitled *Life and Religion*, which consisted of extracts on religious subjects from his works and private correspondence, some of which deserve preservation as philosophical memoranda in the tradition of those of the Swiss thinker Henri-Frédéric Amiel:

And now, if we gaze from our native shores over the vast ocean of human speech, with its waves rolling on from continent to continent, rising under the fresh breezes of the morning of history, and slowly heaving in our own more sultry atmosphere, with sails gliding over its surface, and many an oar ploughing through its surf, and the flags of all nations waving joyously together, with its rocks and wrecks, its storms and battles, yet reflecting serenely all that is beneath and above and around it; if we gaze and harken to the strange sounds rushing past our ears in unbroken strains, it seems no longer a wild tumult, but we feel as if placed in some ancient cathedral, listening to a chorus of innumerable voices: and the more intensely we listen, the more all discords melt away into higher harmonies, till at last we hear but one majestic tri-chord, or a mighty unison, as at the end of a sacred symphony. Such visions will float through the study of the

¹³Other religious etymologists and philologists who gained wide audiences include Archbishops Richard Chenevix Trench, Joseph Barbour Lightfoot and Richard Whateley, and W.W. Skeat.

grammarian, and in the midst of toilsome researches his heart will suddenly beat, as he feels the conviction growing upon him that men are brethren in the simplest sense of the word--the children of the same Father--whatever their country, their language, and their faith. (105)

With this passage, written by the young Max Müller, Christian Charles Josias Bunsen completes the first volume of his once widely-admired *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, published in English in 1854 (1:486).

Max Müller's philological work is deeply influenced by the same German idealist tradition which informs much of Bunsen's work. For instance, he complains of the superficiality of English acquaintance with Kant, and of the philosophical orientation of certain "students of nature" who are insufficiently apprised of the nature of "order" (*Critique* xxxiv-xxxviii). In his preface to the *Critique*, he writes:

Metaphysical truth is wider than physical truth, and the new discoveries of physical observers, if they are to be more than merely contingent truths, must find their appointed place and natural refuge within the immoveable limits traced by the metaphysician. It was an unfortunate accident that gave to what ought to have been called pro-physical, the name of metaphysical science, for it is only after having mastered the principles of metaphysic that the student of nature can begin his work in the right spirit, knowing the horizon of human knowledge, and guided by principles as unchangeable as the polestar. It would be childish to make this a question of rank or precedence[;] it is simply a question of work and order. (li-lii)

One senses in this passage the comparative philologist's uneasiness at the potential for a charge of

mystagoguery in his exploration of idealism, even in a passage so assumptive of authority as this.

Max Müller's philological writings often refer to ethical and religious matters, and with results that are at worst--and perhaps dangerously--romantic, but at their best are instructive literary presentations of philological data of a rigorously empirical kind. To quote one illustrative passage:

On the whole, the history of all the Aryan languages is nothing but a gradual process of decay. After the grammatical terminations of all these languages have been traced back to their most primitive form, it is possible, in many instances to determine their original meaning. This, however, can be done by means of induction only: and the period during which...the component elements of the old Aryan grammar maintained a separate existence in the language and the mind of the Aryans had closed, before Sanskrit was Sanskrit or Greek Greek. That there was such a period we can doubt as little as we can doubt the real existence of fern forests previous to the formation of our coal fields. We can do even more. Suppose we had no remnants of Latin; suppose the very existence of Rome and of Latin were unknown to us; we might still prove, on the evidence of the six Romance dialects, that there must have been a time when these dialects formed the language of a small settlement; nay, by collecting the words which all these dialects share in common, we might, to a certain extent, reconstruct the original language, and draw a sketch of the state of civilization, as reflected by these common words. The same can be done if we compare Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and Slavonic. (...) It can be proved, by the evidence of language, that before their separation the Aryans led the life of agricultural nomads,--a life such as Tacitus describes that of the ancient Germans.

They knew the arts of ploughing, of making roads, of building ships, of weaving and sewing, of erecting houses; they had counted at least as far as one hundred. They had domesticated the most important animals, the cow, the horse, the sheep, the dog; they were acquainted with the most useful metals, and armed with iron hatchets, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes. They had recognized the bonds of blood and the bonds of marriage; they followed their leaders and their kings, and the distinction between right and wrong was fixed by laws and customs. They were impressed with the idea of a divine Being, and they invoked it by various names. (*Science of Language* 1:234-35)

This alternation of genres, between reasoned science and speculative antiquarian portraiture, is at the centre of Max Müller's hypnotizing influence over ethnologists and early anthropologists, not to mention the explanation for the influence on popular beliefs for which Poliakov and Jacques Barzun hold him responsible (Poliakov 199 and 206; Barzun 140-42).

Racism, Max Müller, and Indo-European Kinship

Max Müller's large share of culpability for the confusion of philological and ethnological terminology in the public mind has been often reasserted. But as the philologist writes in *Biographies of Words*:

To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar. It is worse than a Babylonian confusion of tongues—it is downright theft. We have made our own terminology for the classification of languages; let ethnologists make their own for the classification of skulls, and hair, and blood.¹⁴

In the same passage, the philologist also points out that when he speaks of "Hindus, Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celts, and Slaves," he commits himself "to no anatomical characteristics." And perhaps most importantly, he says that the "blue-eyed and fair-haired Scandinavians may have been conquerors or conquered, they may have adopted the language of their darker lords or their subjects, or vice versa" (*Biographies* 120). Ten years before this, at the University of Strasbourg in May, 1872, Max Müller had already announced his opposition to the conflation of the two discourses:

How many misunderstandings and how many controversies are due to what is deduced by arguing from language to blood-relationship or from blood-relationship to language. Aryan and Semitic languages exist but it is unscientific, unless one realizes the degree of licence which one is employing, to speak of an Aryan race, Aryan blood, or Aryan

¹⁴Also cited by Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History* (1982): 121. Unlike many commentators, MacDougall describes Max Müller's remarks as a "courageous retraction," though he adds that such comments did nothing to stop the circulation of the Aryan myth as a basis for Nordic superiority.

skulls. (qtd. in Poliakov 214)

The position that these comments are inadequate to free the philologist from charges of Nordic racism is based, at least in part, on Max Müller's practice of speaking of language groups in contexts which can easily be misconstrued as ethnological, particularly after terms Aryan, Anglo-Saxon, and Celt had become part of common ethnological parlance. As Barzun puts it, "Müller's retraction concerning the identity he had implied between race and language seems to have had little effect even on his own subsequent mode of expression..." (*Race* 141). But as Max Müller himself writes in "Philology *versus* Ethnology," published as an appendix to *Biographies of Words*:

You are fully aware of the mischief that is produced by employing the terminology of Comparative Philology in an ethnological sense. I have uttered the same warning again and again. In my letter to Chevalier Bunsen, "On the Turanian Languages," published as far back as 1853, I devoted a whole chapter to pointing out the necessity of keeping these two lines of research--the philological and the ethnological--completely separate, at least for the present. In my later works, too, I have protested as strongly as I could against the unholy alliance of these two sciences--Comparative Philology and Ethnology. But my warnings have been of little effect; and such is the influence of evil communications, that I myself cannot help pleading guilty of having occasionally used linguistic terms in an ethnological sense.... Welsh, Cornish, Celtic are all names of languages, not of race, and when we use our scientific terminology accurately we predicate nothing of Welshman, Cornishman or Celt, but that he speaks Welsh, Cornish, or a Celtic language in general.

(244-5)

The fact is plain, however, that the influence of the vocabulary Max Müller would have kept purely

philological inspired something else in the imaginations of educated British subjects, and the Aryans and Britons of popular ethnology were created out of the speculations of the comparative philologists.

There are two related matters at issue here, and a proper understanding of them is vital to a proper understanding of the circulation of raciological ideas during the Victorian period. First, the marginalization of Max Müller's work, which has resulted from his identification as a racist thinker, has hidden his wide influence as the most prominent of several popular philologists famous in the English-speaking world in the later Victorian period. And second, that the results of this influence are to be seen in raciological thought which influenced the political attitudes, expressions of patriotism, and the self-perception of Britons in the Victorian Empire. In much of Max Müller's work, a progressive or humanist impulse is conspicuous, and his contribution to British understanding of non-British cultures has also been mostly ignored. The continued influence of Max Müller and his generation of philologists on public attitudes, both directly, and indirectly through the anthropological and geographical literature, is to be seen at least as late as 1914 (Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World* 42-43). And this despite the fact that linguistic studies, even in England, had moved beyond Max Müller's *Science of Language* by the early 1880s.

From the early 1860s until the early 1880s, British students first learned the idiom of comparative philological science from the two series of lectures of Max Müller's *Science of Language*. Writing in *The Principles of Comparative Philology* (a work dedicated to Max Müller) Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933) gives a good indication of the importance of these works:

Throughout I have presupposed an acquaintance with Professor Max Müller's "Lectures on the Science of Language," to whose world-wide popularity Comparative Philology

owes its present position and its present charm. My indebtedness to their wealth of illustration will be apparent to every reader, and the familiar character of the work has relieved me of the necessity of encumbering my book with frequent references to it. (xiv)

Sayce again provides evidence of the state of comparative philology in England in his *Introduction to the Science of Language* (1879), a work which, when published in an extensively revised edition in 1883, served as a standard text as late as 1900, replacing Max Müller's *Science of Language* and Sayce's own manual, *Comparative Philology* (1874). In the "Preface to the Second Edition" of the work, Sayce writes:

Since the publication of the first edition of this work *Comparative Philology*, and therewith the *Science of Language*, has made rapid progress in more than one direction. Old conclusions have been rectified, new facts have been acquired, and the particular views and principles for which I have contended for the last ten years have been gaining general acceptance among continental scholars. In fact, in many parts of these volumes the text and the footnotes ought now to change places; what three or four years ago could not be put in the foreground in a work intended to be an introduction to current opinions has now ceased to be heterodox, while doctrines which have received the sanction of names like Bopp, Curtius, and Whitney, are still clung to only by an obsolescent school.

(1:v)

Sayce's reference to the American William Dwight Whitney (1827-94) is deliberate. In fact, Max Müller is the leading exponent of the kind of philology Sayce judged obsolete. But as an academic ally of the German scholar, Sayce is careful in adopting his designation for the *Science of Language*, and in naming Max Müller's philological nemesis in his list of outdated scholarship. In January

1875, Max Müller complained in *The Contemporary Review* that Whitney, despite a campaign of misinformed attacks on Max Müller's scholarship, had plagiarized from his work:

Sometimes, amidst all the loud assertion of difference of opinion on Professor Whitney's part, not only the substantial, but strange to say, the verbal agreement between his and my own Second Lecture is startling. (*Chips* 4:421-25)

Max Müller charges Whitney with having used the "*ipsissima verba*" of his own lectures, but drily forgives faults in Whitney's *Lectures* since the work was "meant to be popular" (421).

The complexity and specialized nature of modern linguistics makes it difficult to recall that the Victorian comparative philological literature was widely read for pleasure. Popular works of etymological study like Richard Chenevix Trench's *Study of Words* (1851) created a taste for linguistic study, and the prominent philologists of the day reached large audiences, particularly during the raciological vogue of the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, is a scrapbook of Max Müller, in which he has preserved 224 documents he calls "Funny Letters," letters from philological enthusiasts not quite adept in the science (Bodleian MS Eng d 2351). Max Müller's wide appeal outside Oxford and Cambridge is fully illustrated in the range of these letters, which come from India, Europe, and the American frontier, and are written by students begging for books, and by frontier farmers begging an illustrious ear for a favourite, if sub-literate, theory of linguistic migration back to Noah's Ark.

In the 1850s, 60s, and as late as the early 1870s, the standard library of the advanced student of Comparative and English philology, of which Max Müller's work formed an important part, might be read and understood in a year or two by any intelligent person with some education and a decent standard of application. More specialized branches like Sanskrit studies or comparative

grammar could become the study of a lifetime, but the findings even of advanced science were quickly available to the more general discourse in popular periodicals and introductory surveys like those of Max Müller, Sayce, and Whitney.

Curiously, it was Max Müller's insistence on the Asian genesis of the ancient Aryans that eventually undermined the authority of his philological works (Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans* ix-xi and 1-54). Although his works were still widely cited, and his opinions intellectual currency until well after his death in 1900, by the 1880s the philological *cognoscenti* were already grouping him with a past generation which included Franz Bopp (1791-1867), August Pott (1802-87), Heinrich Julius von Klaproth (1783-1835), Christian Lassen (1800-76), and Jacob Grimm (1785-1863).

Another reason for Max Müller's decline in popularity among specialists, if not among the public, concerned his too scrupulous insistence on the shared cultural extraction of the members of the Aryan language family. For instance, he had early and repeatedly pointed out the unity of Aryan terminology for the members of the family unit (*Comparative Mythology* 28-32). Each of the terms for father, mother, brother, sister, formed a key nexus in Aryan speech. This use of familial terms for illustration of Indo-European or Aryan affinities was common in the popular philological literature of the time, along with a strong suggestion of ancient precedents for Western European family organization, and of their proof of the common ethnic roots of speakers of the Aryan languages. In English philology, the great etymologist and lexicographer W.W. Skeat also emphasized the strongly cognate character of family terms in the Indo-European languages. Skeat's contribution to Richard Morris's *Elementary Lessons in Historical English Grammar* (1874), the standard text before it was superseded by Henry Sweet's work on the subject, was a mnemonic system for Grimm's Law which included the Classical (with Sanskrit), Low German, and Old High

German permutations of "brother," "daughter," and "father" (47-9). As the hostile critic and ethnologist Isaac Taylor put it in "The Aryan Controversy":

The ultimate unity of the human race may be admitted, but Professor Max Müller has maintained a nearer kinship of all speakers of Aryan languages. He has asserted that the same blood runs in the veins of English soldiers "as in the veins of the dark Bengalese," and has had the courage to affirm that "there is not an English jury nowadays which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton." (*Origin of the Aryans* 5)

Taylor goes on to write:

Such rash assertions are calculated to discredit, and have discredited, the whole science of Comparative Philology, and those who have given them the authority attached to influential names must be charged with having retarded for twenty years in England the progress of the science of Comparative Ethnology. (6)

Isaac Taylor's rejection of Max Müller's ideas stemmed from the philologist's insistence on the Asian genesis of the European peoples, an opinion which, if in error, is one that no longer seems as eccentric as it did when the theory of European origin--the position Isaac Taylor and many other Englishmen espoused--supplanted it. In fact, the discovery of the literary remains of the Tokharian language and culture in Chinese Turkestan during the early part of the twentieth century would have greatly strengthened Max Müller's position (Pedersen 192-96). In the last third of the nineteenth century, much labour was expended on organizing a coherent scientific defence of a theory of ethnologic continuity with autochthonous Europeans, a theory well-prepared to accommodate

Nordic enthusiasts. But finally it was Max Müller's suggestion of Bengali blood in the British Army that most exercises the Aryanist Taylor. Max Müller's insistence on this point also provides a clue as to why his work eventually fell into neglect. And when twentieth-century cultural historians disinterred him, it was to accuse him of a much worse variety of racism than the one of which he was actually guilty. Max Müller's view of the ethnological relations of the so-called Aryan nations erred on the side of the angels, suggesting as it did a racial unity that most ethnologists were unwilling to admit. This is not to say that Max Müller was an enlightened partisan of global culture, but neither was he a racial theorist of the Nazi type. And against the charge of imperialism more recently laid against the Sanskritist must be put some account of the enormous labour involved in his editions of Eastern literature, and of the contribution of those studies to any understanding of Indian religion and culture that Europeans may be said to have.

Some discussion of the difference between philological and ethnological use of philological typologies is also important to a full understanding of the Victorian history of those sciences. As has been remarked, the close proximity of the discourses of historical ethnology and comparative philology led to a conflation of terms, a condition aggravated by the amateur dabbling of ethnologists in philology, and philologists in anthropology. The difference between Max Müller's assertion of Indo-European kinship and the main anthropological view was that the philologist's classificatory sub-categories were based on linguistic evidence which implicitly denied the degree of ethnic uniformity within sub-groups that ethnological use of the same terms suggested. For example, Max Müller might agree with the ethnologist that those designated "Persian" were related to the Aryans, and thus to the English who were also Aryans. But his use of these terms presupposes linguistic relationships produced by full cultural and social intercourse between peoples, and thus

he avoids the tendency towards racial exclusivity or supremacism that characterizes much ethnographic description which proposes discrete races. In other words, the kind of "breeding" that ethnologists believed had produced the Teutonic race was a far more orderly model of development from early Aryan types than was ever supported by philological theories of language migration.

This difference in Max Müller's thought, and in the best philological thought generally, can be better understood by noticing the effect that it has on philological response to evolutionary and progressivist notions of cultural development. Even progressive, monogenist, ethnological Aryanists held that the modern European races were the most highly evolved, or most nearly perfectly developed, of the living racial groups.¹⁵ Many recent critics have noticed the Victorian habit of comparing ancient and modern neolithic peoples with children, and of speaking of the "childhood of mankind," with particular reference to Australian and North American native peoples (Frobenius *Aus den flegeljahren der Menschheit* 1-8). The test for the level of development of non-European peoples was based upon their lesser or greater historical remoteness from the main Aryan stem which produced the modern Europeans.

Ethnological discourse also tended to emphasize the savage rather than the bucolic condition of early peoples, and to assume the state of modern neolithic peoples to be perfectly analogous to their speculative reconstructions of early cultures. In *Myths and Mythmakers* (1895), John Fiske (1842-1901) expresses his notion of the process of civilization in an ethnopsychological discussion of European werewolf superstitions:

¹⁵The debate over whether mankind is descended from a single set of parents (monogenism) or instead evolved in more than one place from different primate ancestors (polygenism) was hotly debated by early anthropologists and ethnologists. The usefulness of polygenism in validating theories of inferior and superior human types, and in justifying slavery and bigotry, is obvious. But polygenist beliefs also sometimes resulted from sincere scientific conviction.

That stupendous process of breeding, which we call civilization, has been for long ages strengthening those kindly social feelings by the possession of which we are chiefly distinguished from the brutes, leaving our primitive bestial impulses to die for want of exercise, or checking in every possible way their further expansion by legislative enactments. But this process, which is transforming us from savages into civilized men, is a slow one; and now and then there occur cases of what physiologists call atavism, or reversion to an ancestral type of character. Now and then persons are born, in civilized countries, whose intellectual powers are on a level with those of the most degraded Australian savage, and these we call idiots. (84-5)

Fiske goes on to develop the thesis that atavism accounts for instances of lycanthropic cannibalism that can be found in both modern accounts and in medieval annals. The notion of atavistic survivals in modern "civilized" society surface often in the literature of this period, most notably perhaps in Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, R.L. Stevenson's *Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, and, spectacularly, in Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*.

A.H. Sayce, Aryanism, and Raciological Thought

The belief in greater or lesser degrees of savagery, and convictions about the superiority of the Aryan or Teutonic branches of the human family, are to be found throughout the raciological literature. The view of comparative philology as a physical, rather than human or historical, science lent a conclusiveness to its findings that made it an attractive source for empirical anthropologists (Sayce, *Science of Language* 1:77). A difficulty with the raciological typologies, developed by anthropologists out of the classificatory projects of the philologists, was that, being conventional figments with only the crudest representational value when applied to peoples rather than languages, they could never "correspond with objective phenomena," as Sayce expressed the proper relation between a reliable hypothesis and its object (*Comparative Philology* 6-7). The assumption that races are objective phenomena would have dire consequences. And although weaknesses in Victorian philological methodology became apparent within the linguistic community, the science moving on to increasingly more precise knowledge of the historical relationships of varieties of speech, the dissemination of obsolete raciological vocabulary by enthusiasts, and of the genealogical certainties of the new racial nationalisms, went on apace:

It is the *method* of arguing from effect to cause which gives to ethnology its *scientific*, in opposition to its *literary*, aspect; placing it thereby, in the same category with geology, as a palæontological science. Hence it is the science of a method--a method by which inference does the work of testimony. Furthermore, ethnology is history in respect to its results; geology in respect to its method. And in the same way that geology has its zoological, physiological and such other aspects as constitute it a mixed science; ethnology has them also. (Latham, *Varieties of Man* 321)

Robert Gordon Latham (1812-1888), who wrote this, was a philologist first, and an ethnologist only later. As a result, his ethnography is as minute and methodologically rigorous as his philological work. It also proceeds with the assurance of a physical, rather than social or historical, scientist's methodology. In philological science, this assurance had been gained particularly through the development of the study of etymology beyond the crude state maintained by the continued use of the works of Horne Tooke, Samuel Johnson, James Harris and the like, and by the rash of untenable etymologies sanctioned by confident misuse of Grimm's Law. Of this advance Sayce writes:

The discovery of true etymologies has been made possible by comparative philology, and comparative philology, accordingly, is the clue by the help of which we can safely find our way through the labyrinth of ancient myth. (*Science of Language* 2:259)

Sayce sets great store in the results of comparative philological method, and the philologist, also a leading Assyrologist, attributes the right understanding of mythology to the modern, or true, etymology:

It is by tracing back a word to its source, by watching the various phases of form and sense through which it had passed, that we can alone discover the origin and development of a myth. The work, in fact, consists in tracking out the true etymologies of words, as opposed to those false etymologies which are of themselves the fruitful causes of mythology and effectually prevented the scholars of the past from probing its mystery.

(*Science of Language*, 2:259)

Given the importance that the late-Victorians and early Modernists placed on the understanding of myth to the understanding of human psychology, Sayce's estimate of the importance of etymology to the science of Comparative Mythology is illuminating. The fruit of rigorous empirical etymology,

with a new standard of evidence--and a more complex description of random phenomena--would provide knowledge of a mythologic order. Michelet's influence can be felt here, but the level of the technical or scientific aspects of the discourse is of a higher order.¹⁶ Sayce goes on:

Without its [accurate etymology's] aid, it is unsafe to attempt the explanation of even the simplest myth, and where its aid fails us, the solution of a myth is out of the question.

It is only where the proper names are capable of interpretation that the source--the etymology, as we may call it--of a myth can be discovered. (*Science of Language* 2:259)

Etymology had progressed from being a system to being a process, to borrow a formulation of the universal historian Leopold von Ranke, and the reliability of etymological findings for the generating of historical facts had increased in a corresponding degree.

Sayce follows Max Müller in much of his thought on problems of comparative mythology, and many of his examples are chosen from the voluminous essays of Max Müller on mythological subjects. Max Müller's valuation of the importance, of the quasi-magical utility, of comparative philology, or the science of language, in opening new sources of insight into historical problems is also echoed here. This estimation of comparative philology was widely held. In 1873, in his *Comparative Politics*, Edward Augustus Freeman (1823-92), wrote:

On us a new light has come. I do not for a moment hesitate to say that the discovery of the comparative method in philology, in mythology--let me add in politics and history and the whole range of human thought--marks a stage in the progress of the human mind

¹⁶An excellent introduction to Michelet's mythological thought is to be found in his *Bible of Humanity* (1864), translated by Vincenzo Calfa (1877). In that work, Michelet traces the evolution of mythology from a universal historical standpoint, and, like Bunsen, he attempts to reconcile modern materialism with the great religious epics of the Aryan, or Indo-European, tradition.

at least as great and memorable as the revival of Greek and Latin learning. The great contribution of the nineteenth century to the advance of human knowledge may boldly take its stand alongside of the great contribution of the fifteenth. Like the revival of learning, it has opened to its votaries a new world, and that not an isolated world, a world shut up within itself, but a world in which times and tongues and nations which before seemed parted poles asunder, now find each one its own place, its own relation to every other, as members of one common primæval brotherhood. (302)

In his *History of German Literature* (1886), the eminent Austrian philologist and literary historian Wilhelm Scherer (1841-1886) expresses a similar thought in his estimate of the contribution of comparative method as exemplified by the work of the philologists:

...[In] the science of philology the comparison of the grammatical structure of languages apparently most remote from each other led to the discovery of the primitive Aryan race, and at once suggested similar problems in other groups of languages, problems such as Wilhelm von Humboldt undertook to solve for the Polynesian and Malay races. ... Historical right and theoretical right were clearly distinguished from one another, and all true progress in science was effected by means of adherence to the same historical method. (2:192-3)

This confidence in the rightness of comparative philological method would have far-reaching effects on Western narratives of their own history, a history progressively more raciological as philological industry refined the details of its linguistic doctrines. The so-called "discovery of the primitive Aryan race" was by no means the least of its innovations, and works like George W. Cox's *The Mythology of the Aryan Nations* (1870), Charles Morris's *The Aryan Race* (1888), and Isaac Taylor's

The Origin of the Aryans (1889), all of which borrowed more or less extensively from the work of Max Müller, helped to establish popular belief in the historical existence of an ancient race almost entirely the product of the typological organization of the findings of the new philology. Works of this kind also contributed to the naturalization of the raciological idiom to English speech, so that historical terms accreted raciological connotations in the common use of names of people. English school children, for example, had long learned their English history from Hume and Smollett, especially in the form of John Robinson's combined and abridged edition, which was prepared with school use in mind. His *Hume and Smollett's History* (1823) begins with a subtitle: "*The Britons—Romans—Saxons—The Heptarchy*" (1). Robinson's version of these works omits Hume's own perceptive opening remark:

The curiosity, entertained by all civilized nations, of inquiring into the exploits and adventures of their ancestors, commonly excites a regret that the history of remote ages should always be so much involved in obscurity, uncertainty, and contradiction.

(Hume, *History of England* 1)

Robinson's edition, already reflecting the growing interest in ethnological matters, and contemporary with the work of early raciologists like William Lawrence (1783-1867) and James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848), gives instead an adaptation of a later paragraph:

All ancient writers agree in representing the first inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celts, who peopled that island from the neighbouring continent. (Robinson 1)

As the century progressed, and this generation of students matured, this preoccupation with ethnological matters intensified, and words like Briton, Saxon, Gaul, and Celt gained a new significance, one that more and more reflected the raciological axioms of that community of

discourses. The influence of this idiom on subsequent Victorian readings of historical sources is striking; terms like British, Irish, and Celt accrued new meanings in the minds of readers who, infected with the new idiom, read not only contemporaries like Macaulay, Freeman, and Carlyle but also classic historians like Hume, Bolingbroke, and Gibbon with a conviction of the scientific reality of their racial connection to the historians' Britons and Saxons. The perception went beyond a purely genetic fact, and suggested a cultural (or ontological) continuity, attested by the evidence of language, which affirmed the cultural precedence of imperial civilization.

The importance of comparative philology, or of the so-called science of language, in later giving impetus to the growth of racist-totalitarian and anti-Semitic violence in the twentieth century has been often pointed out (Poliakov 199). And there can be no doubt that philological and linguistic evidence was commonly adduced in the pseudo-anthropological discussions associated with the so-called hate literature of the early part of the twentieth century. What has not been noted with sufficient attention is the fact that the literature of these sciences also played an important role in the development of the liberal democracies, and in the formation of modern conceptions of nationhood. In fact, what is striking about the raciological literature of the mid-nineteenth century, in England, Germany, Canada, and the United States, if not in France, is the relative rarity of the kinds of malignant racist fantasy that begin to surface just before the turn of the century. The racial bias of the Victorian period is subtler, and must be understood in the context of the insularity of European domestic living, the traditional doctrines concerning the characters of alien nationals, and the collective European *hubris* fostered by the very apparent advantages accruing from the rapid advance of European technologies. Almost invariably, Victorian philologists embraced a transcendental, or romantic, empiricism, rather than an atheistic materialism, and their views were

closely allied with the earnest progressivism that is such an important feature of the intellectual life of the Victorian world. In his biography of Max Müller, *Scholar Extraordinary*, Nirad Chaudhuri describes Hindu nationalism's debt to Comparative Philology, then adds:

But it has to be pointed out that [the] new science of Comparative Philology created in the nineteenth century had its political effects in Europe as well. Hitlerism was its late and monstrous abortion; and anti-Semitism a deformed and vicious child. Withal, it created other political movements which were not looked upon as illegitimate. These were pan-Germanism, pan-Slavism, pan-Islamism and pan-Turanism. (312)

As Chaudhuri points out, Sir Henry Maine, author of the celebrated work *Ancient Law*, had already stated the position forcefully, at the Rede Lecture he delivered at Cambridge in 1875:

Sanskritic study has been the source of certain indirect effects, not indeed having much pretension to scientific character, but of prodigious practical importance. There is no question of its having produced serious political consequences, and this is a remarkable illustration of the fact that no great addition can be made to the stock of human thought without profoundly disturbing the whole mass and moving it in the most unexpected directions. For the new Theory of Language has unquestionably produced a new theory of Race.

Maine added:

That people not necessarily understanding one another's tongue should be grouped together politically on the ground of linguistic affinities assumed to prove a community of descent, is quite a new idea. (qtd. in Chaudhuri 312)

The importance of clearly distinguishing between the malignant and benign varieties of racial

thinking in the later part of the nineteenth century, rather than simply concluding that all speakers of the raciological vocabulary are precursors of Nazis and eugenicists, may be measured by the effect of such a distinction on our reading of a text like that of George Eliot quoted above. If we choose to recoil at Eliot's "tall stalwartness" of Adam Bede the "Saxon" and add another name to the list of racist Victorians, we miss a whole range of signification which would have been perfectly clear to the informed nineteenth-century reader. Leaving aside, for the moment, the swarthy hue of Eliot's Celtic admixture, Bede with his "jet-black hair" and "dark eyes," the fact remains that the novelist is aware that this attribution of a Celtic element in her hero is emblematic of the Celtic strain to be found throughout the so-called Anglo-Saxon world. Eliot's use of racial stereotypes, rather than reinforcing the Anglo-Saxonist hegemony, subverts it, and works to insist upon the "keen" and "mobile" qualities in the Celts which suggest both power and vivaciousness.

For this reason, maintaining a sufficiently subtle understanding of the obsolete typologies which proliferated during the reign of Victoria becomes important not only for the study of scientific historiography, but also for accurate historical understanding of the extent to which any particular Victorian author may be said to have been aligned with the forces of progress in racial matters. These distinctions are also important in assigning blame for the generation of the kinds of pseudo-scientific racism in which, in other contexts, relatively innocent descriptions of historical linguistic phenomena are deployed in support of theories of racial hierarchy, polygenism (or multiple sources of human origin), and later, of eugenics. The use that the early anthropologists made of Indo-European materials from philologists like Max Müller and Bopp, expanding and refining the essentially Biblical classificatory systems of Linnaeus and Blumenbach with the categories of modern comparative philology, exchanged a view of linguistic boundaries suggestive of inclusion

and relation, for descriptions of ethnic territories redolent of exclusion, race, and nationality. It remains to investigate the manner in which raciological attitudes were developed and disseminated during the Victorian age.

Chapter Two: Approaches to Raciological Historiography

Japheth on the Black Sea: Historiographic Approaches to Victorian Raciology

Are all Mankind of one Species? or do they belong to more than one? (Sir John Lawrence, *Lectures* xii)

THIS SOCIETY...proposes to study Man in all his leading aspects, physical, mental, and historical; to investigate the laws of his origin and progress; to ascertain his place in nature and his relation to the inferior forms of life; and to attain those objects by patient investigation, careful induction, and the encouragement of all researches tending to establish a *de facto* science of man. No Society existing in this country has proposed to itself these aims, and the establishment of this Society, therefore, is an effort to meet an obvious want of the times. (James Hunt, President of the Anthropological Society of London [1865 Address]).

Although the critical literature dealing comprehensively with the history of nineteenth-century ethnological science is not voluminous, and the importance of scientific studies of race to the subsequent development of Victorian culture and nationalism is often overlooked, there have been a number of works which have attempted to give an order to a vast and inchoate mass of Victorian ethnological works and opinions. In recent years probably the most influential, and perhaps the most comprehensive, has been George W. Stocking's *Victorian Anthropology* (1987). Stocking has also written or edited a number of other works on the history of anthropology, including *Race, Culture, and Evolution* (1968), *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology* (1992), and *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951* (1995). Stocking's

works provide a map to the wilderness of early anthropology, and he offers a useful history of the important controversies that exercised the various discourses of the human sciences. In *Victorian Anthropology*, he discusses the development of the notion of civilization before and after the Great Exhibition, which he views as a dividing line between "Prichardian ethnology" and modern anthropology.¹⁷ Stocking quite rightly recognizes the importance of the antiquity of man question during the 1850s and 1860s, and he discusses at length the impact of evolutionary thinking on anthropological study. But a problem arises in Stocking's approach to these materials when he assumes a coherence in the views of anthropological schools which is belied by the doctrinal anarchy of much of the nineteenth-century literature of race. In his attempts at tracing the important moments in the development of the modern human sciences, Stocking approaches ethnological and anthropological literature as if these disciplinary interests could be neatly categorized into discrete schools of opinion; whereas the raciological literature itself suggests that these disciplines were so unsettled that even the holding of such fundamental doctrines as polygenism or monogenism can by no means be taken as an index of any particular ethnologist's humanitarianism, nor as a signal of his or her having been free from or tainted by attitudes which strike the enlightened modern reader as racist in the current usage of the term. In fact, even the distinction that Stocking draws between "physical anthropology" and "cultural anthropology" can only be accepted as an anachronistic projection of twentieth-century categories onto a methodologically mixed nineteenth-century discourse. Although the use of such categories is useful in understanding the development

¹⁷Another of Stocking's works is his edition of James Cowles Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, which includes a lengthy introduction providing a useful historical sketch of the early history of physical anthropology, though Stocking somewhat exaggerates the importance of Prichard in later anthropological discourse.

of the modern human sciences, they are much less so in understanding the place of anthropological thought in Victorian culture. For instance, in "Ethnology on the Eve of Evolution," an essay in *Victorian Anthropology*, Stocking writes:

The end result [of the "archaeological revolution" and the "Darwinian hypothesis"] was the transformation of "ethnology" and the emergence of the synthetic disciplinary rubric that in the Anglo-American tradition has been called "anthropology." Freed from the constraints of Biblical anthropological assumption, the study of man could now in principle, if not always in practice, be carried on in strictly naturalistic terms. (76)

It cannot be denied that the question of the antiquity of man, and the very public debate over human evolution, were central to discussions of human diversity during the 1860s and 1870s. But the creation of organized disciplines of anthropology and sociology, out of the theoretical cacophony of the nineteenth-century literature of race, would take place only in the generation of Franz Boas, or during the 1920s and 1930s. It is useful to the study of modern anthropology to uncover precursors of Boas's generation in the nearly-forgotten literature of the Victorian sciences, but the works of the same scientists have a different resonance in the context of examining Victorian popular beliefs, a labour which does not demand the same kind of strict disciplinary categorization. Although it is instructive to distinguish various schools of Victorian ethnology--insofar as such schools can be said, after the fact, to have existed--my concerns are rather with the formation of raciological doctrines, and the influence of raciological thought on Victorian culture. In the discussion to follow, I will focus more on the popular circulation of anthropological and philological works and ideas than on the place of those works in the foundation of modern linguistics and anthropology, and will approach the materials from the point of view of literary and cultural history,

rather than from that of anthropological historiography "looking backward for markers on the road to the present" (Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* 145).

Another recent work useful as an introduction to the subject of Victorian anthropology is Nancy Stepan's *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960* (1982). Although the work, like Stocking's, is more interested in the history of anthropology than in Victorian cultural history, Stepan draws an important distinction between *pseudoscience* and *bad science*:

I assume that though the connection between racism and science is inescapable, the story of scientific racism is not merely the story of 'pseudoscience'. Bad science, perhaps, but not pseudoscience.

She continues:

[Though] many of the scientists who studied race in the past were indeed guilty of bias in the collection and interpretation of their data, of failing to consider contrary evidence, and of making hasty and facile generalizations, few of them knowingly broke the accepted canons of scientific procedure of their day. Most of them were not consciously racist. Many were instead people of humane outlook, opponents of slavery, decent individuals who would have been shocked by any charge that they were racists. (xvi)

Stepan touches on three issues here that are vital to a complete understanding of Victorian ethnological and philological science. Firstly, that these discourses represented authentic scientific inquiry and were not simply the elaborate musings of racist phantasists. Secondly, that the men and women involved in these studies proceeded in good faith scientifically, if with the ontological limitations of their society and period. And finally, that many men and women who expressed ideas which would be condemned as racist if expressed after the horrors produced by the more systematic

racist ideologies of the twentieth century, nonetheless were often among the most humanitarian and enlightened of their period; and, furthermore, that many of the most progressive voices in Victorian culture can be shown to have shared the attitudes which have been cited in the condemnation of Victorian scientists in the work of Jacques Barzun, Louis Snyder, Ashley Montague, Léon Poliakov, Edward Said, and Michel Foucault, among many others. This is not to say that distinctions cannot be drawn between degrees of chauvinism or bigotry in Victorian discourse, but simply that the work cannot be judged by the standard of responsibility that Treblinka and Birkenau established for all subsequent discussion of so-called *human varieties*.

Lawrence, Prichard, and Polygeny in Anthropological Raciology

The growing prestige of philological study after the beginning of the nineteenth century was not overlooked by the natural historians. In the 1820s and 1830s, the classification of races accepted by most naturalists and ethnologists was the five-fold one suggested by J.F. Blumenbach (1752-1840). The illustrious Blumenbach, who also raised the question of the unity of the human species, was the first to use craniological evidence systematically in the creation of a raciological typology. His authority on matters relating to the natural history of man was recognized all over Europe. In Britain, the standard textbook of the natural history of man, and of comparative physiology after 1819, Sir William Lawrence's (1783-1867) *Lectures on the Physiology, Zoology, and Natural History of Man* (1819), was dedicated to Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and Lawrence's discussion of the varieties of man he accepts Blumenbach's typology of races. But not without reservations:

I think it best to follow the distribution proposed by BLUMENBACH, although it is not free from objection; and although the five varieties, under which he had arranged the several tribes of our species, ought rather to be regarded as principal divisions, each of them including several varieties.

This acute and judicious naturalist divides the single species, which the genus *Homo* contains, into the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay varieties. He regards the Caucasian as the primitive stock. It deviates into two extremes most remote and different from each other; namely, the Mongolian on one side, and the Ethiopian on the other. The two other varieties hold the middle places between the Caucasian and the two extremes; that is, the American comes in between the Caucasian and Mongolian; and the Malay between the Caucasian and Ethiopian. (Lawrence 473)

The transparent ethnocentrism of this scheme requires little elucidation. But it should be pointed out that here, as elsewhere in his lectures, Lawrence supports the theory of the unity of the human species. Lawrence's own view of the varieties of man, though he often argued on the side of enlightened tolerance, still displays an ontological assumption of the superiority of certain varieties of men. For instance, he confidently asserts the affinity of "Ethiopians" and "Eskimaux" to monkeys, and points out the supposed craniological and anatomical characteristics of these peoples which would support such a view (481-83). But he goes on to point out that the "solidungular variety of the common pig is more like a horse than other swine," and then asks:

...do we hence infer, that the nature of this animal in general is less porcine, or more like that of the horse, than that of other pigs? The points of difference between the Negro and the European do not affect those important characters which separate man in general from the animal world: the erect attitude, the two hands, the slow development of the body, the use of reason, and consequently perfectibility, are attributes common to both.

(481-82)

Despite these careful assertions of the unity of the human species, Paul Broca still levelled an accusation against Lawrence, that he "rather advocated the plurality of the human species, although pretending to uphold the monogenist doctrine" (Topinard 15). Lawrence's work contained much that could be construed as evidence for the polygenist position, and his craniological researches formed the basis of much polygenist literature.

The monogenist point of view was given a more authoritative defence by James Cowles Prichard (1786-1848) in his *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, published in various editions between 1813 and 1837. But the polygenist view had no paucity of adherents. And as late

as the 1870s, disagreement on this point was not of sufficient importance to polarize anthropological discourse, and anthropologists of both persuasions were content to contribute to a single discourse. For instance, Robert Bartley, a student of Prichard and the translator of Paul Topinard's (1830-1911) *Anthropology* (1878) for the Library of Contemporary Science, writes that he "does not necessarily endorse all the views of its talented author." Significantly, he adds that:

Subsequent thoughtful study has only tended to confirm him in the truth of those arguments, and in an entire belief in the authenticity of the Mosaic Records, which no sophistry on the part of the advocates of Polygenism has been able to shake. (xi)

Here polygenism is presented as being at odds with the "Mosaic Records," but in fact many polygenists claimed scriptural authority from the Genesis tradition of Cain's having raised a family in "the land of Nod," and talk of *pre-Adamic* and *non-Adamic* peoples became especially widespread among archaeologists and geologists during the heated antiquity-of-man debate during the forty years after 1840.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the combination of polygenist and agnostic opinions was common, and Topinard's view was defended, if not explicitly championed, by no less a personage than Thomas Henry Huxley. The debate over polygenism was an important one in early anthropology and, as it richly indicates the range of raciological opinion, requires some comment.

In 1899, the *Century Dictionary*, the most authoritative cyclopaedic lexicon of the English language in the period preceding the publication of the OED, held that "Anthropology...includes physiology, psychology, sociology, ethnology, etc., putting under contribution all sciences which have man for their object" (*Century Dictionary* 1:240). Other sciences and specialities that the

¹⁸See A. Bowdoin Van Riper's *Men Among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Prehistory* (1993).

lexicographer might have mentioned included ethnography, ethno-psychology, anthropography, the science of mythology, and the science of religion. In all of these discourses, or communities of interest, comparative philology played a crucial role in the foundation of analytical typologies with content often remote from the languages and dialects discovered, and classified, by philologists in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

As a result of the intellectual utility of adducing philological evidence in support of favoured theories of origin, philological perspectives were well-exercised in the debate between monogenist and polygenist schools of thought on the question of the origin of man.¹⁹ As I have noted, polygenism, or the belief that there had been multiple "creation" events in which human beings resulted, and hence that the different races of mankind were not originally kindred, was widely held in the nineteenth century, and was one of the most hotly contested scientific theories of the period. Early advocates of polygenism included Voltaire and Lord Kames, and belief in this doctrine survived well into the twentieth century. But in the human sciences before 1880, adherents of polygeny were as likely to be advocates of Victorian progressivism as apologists of slavery or imperialism. And the state of the sciences, and the eminence of some of the defenders of polygenist doctrine, precluded any definitive settling of the dispute. T.H. Huxley remarked: "The granting of Polygenist premises does not, in the slightest degree, necessitate the Polygenist conclusion" (*Critiques and Addresses* 163). Here he alludes to the belief of many polygenists in the natural superiority or inferiority of varieties of mankind. In 1844, for example, the American Secretary of State and eventual Vice President, John Caldwell Calhoun, used polygenist arguments in defence of American slavery. As one biographer pointedly remarked of Calhoun in 1865, "his views were

¹⁹See for instance, Topinard's *Anthropology* 423-26.

extreme, and his expression of them fearless (*Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography* 148).²⁰ But there were many scientists who accepted polygenist "premises" without drawing the "conclusion" that there was a hierarchy of races, and many others who granted the unity of mankind but had decided convictions that there were superior and inferior races. As the famous De Quatrefages wrote in *The Human Species* (1879), "there are sincere and disinterested men of science who believe in the multiplicity of human origins" (32). And, undecided about the issue, Daniel Webster, in speaking of the development of the American Republic, commented: "If there be anything in the supremacy of races, the experiment now in progress will develop it."²¹

²⁰In spite of his pro-slavery stance, Calhoun was widely admired. Both Daniel Webster (1782-1852) and Robert Charles Winthrop (1809-94) spoke highly of Calhoun despite their divergent political views. In commenting on Calhoun's death, Webster spoke of Calhoun's "unspotted integrity" and of his "unimpeached honor and character." Winthrop also eulogized him in terms of the highest approbation: "There was an unsullied purity in his private life; there was an inflexible integrity in his public conduct; (...) there was a Roman dignity in his whole Senatorial deportment; which, together, made up a character, which cannot fail to be contemplated and admired to the latest posterity." See *Modern Eloquence* (1899) 7:662-5 and 11:1219-21. Calhoun's case illustrates the fact that, in the years before 1860, holding polygenist views was not considered a sign of a lack of humanitarian feeling, nor of moral weakness.

²¹Quoted in "The Anglo-Saxon Race and Freedom," in *A Voice to America; or, The Model Republic, Its Glory, Or Its Fall* (1855), 83. This work--which had a minor celebrity after its publication--includes a succinct and telling description of the importance of "blood" to national politics: "Blood is the first and closest bond of life, endearing us, not only to our brethren, but to the generous soil which is our common heritence.... It has been correctly remarked that the family is the first state. Next to occupying the same land, the best guarantee of fellowship is speaking the same tongue. Further bonds of union are established when our brethren share the same belief with us, worship at the same altars, meet at the same time and places to perform the ceremonies of religion and settle the graver affairs that agitate the whole community, and, generally, when they feel and act as the members of family or race can alone feel and act if they would strengthen the circumstances of blood and common language. A people that is a stranger to such emotions, occupies no position in the world's history, but becomes merely an instrument in the hands of other and more earnest nations. A distinct and sacred nationality is essential to the development of patriotism, as the latter is essential to the growth of virtue and freedom." (83)

The monogenist-polygenist divide was by no means the only criterion for the division of the various schools of nineteenth-century anthropology. The *Century Dictionary* entry on Anthropology goes on to describe a threefold division in that science: "zoological anthropology, which investigates man's relations to the brute creation," "descriptive anthropology, or ethnology, which describes the divisions and groups of mankind," and "general anthropology," or as Paul Broca called it, "the *biology of the human race*" (1:240). Paul Topinard (1830-1911), one-time Preparator of Anthropology at the École des Hautes Études and curator of the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, published a superb treatment of the first of these varieties of anthropology in the first section of his *Anthropology*. This work, translated into English by Robert Bartley, and published with a preface by Paul Broca in 1878, is an excellent example of the relentless empiricist rhetoric of nineteenth-century anthropology. In many respects, Topinard's work descends directly from Blumenbach's natural history of man, and Topinard credits the earlier writer with having been the first to use the term *anthropology* "in the acceptance we give it in the present day" (Topinard, *Anthropology* 1). But Topinard also exemplifies the other two varieties of anthropology outlined by the *Century Dictionary* lexicographer, and it is the second and third of their divisions of the science which most occupy our attention here. More particularly, the following will view the intersection of the methods, typologies, and results of the philologists with the *modus operandi* of the ethnologists and "general" anthropologists, in order to exhibit theoretical and methodological weaknesses in the latter science which followed as a result of its traffic with philology.

Languages, dialects, and idiolects--being materially discrete insofar as their limits are determinate in a reasonably definite degree--made for ideal materials for typological projects of the kind pursued by empirical scientists after the great eighteenth-century projects of Blumenbach,

Cuvier, Linnaeus, and others, had provided the structural models and methodology for newer, or less-developed, sciences like anthropology. The cluster of sciences which developed out of the natural history of man were in a curious position as the nineteenth century progressed. The widening attentions of the European empires had provided an enormous boon in sources of information about hitherto remote, or even undiscovered, cultures and families of people. The difference in the volume of geographic knowledge available in 1780 and in 1830 was dramatic. By the 1840s, James Cowles Prichard (1779-1848), Charles Pickering (1805-78), Jean Louis Armand de Quatrefages de Bréau (1810-92), Paul Broca (1824-80), Robert Gordon Latham, and the other leading lights of raciological studies were faced with a bewildering embarrassment of geographical and cultural data. As the anthropological discourse spread from its nineteenth-century wellsprings in Comte and, later, in Spencer and De Quatrefages, it relied increasingly on philological stanchions to shore up progressively more complex ethnological models, descriptions of racial units which said more about European racial anxiety than about the varieties of men. The literature of origin, race, tribe, and blood formed an enormous body of works that stood witness to empiricist and positivist attempts to extract empirical evidence from modern European peoples for their confused and capricious genealogical mythologies and historical traditions. Of the classical histories, even the *Germaniæ* of Tacitus offers only a murky description of very large parts of Europe which were either outside the sphere of Roman dominion altogether, or were but theoretically obedient to a distant emperor whose influence was of a tenuous and mediated kind. Nonetheless, the vague descriptions of Caesar, Polybius, and Strabo continued to be important raciological sources despite their obvious limitations as sources of fact (Latham 38-57; Munro 14-20). The same can be said of the continued use of the Biblical accounts of human descent, which provided the broad outline for

linguistic typologies, and contributed much to Victorian attempts at establishing an Asian genesis for early man.

Figuier, Lyell, Bunsen, and Schlegel: Japheth and Universal History

The complex relation of religious opinion and Biblical studies to raciological thought deserves notice as part of Victorian raciological culture. A long tradition of philological discussion of Biblical genealogies existed already by the nineteenth century, and the historical-geographical use of the Bible did not end with the advances in the new science of language. But although aspects of the scriptural genealogies survive in disguised forms in racial typologies into the present day, in concepts like Semite and Caucasoid, in reality, any detached view of Biblical accounts of human origin reveals that Biblical narratives are of such a poetic nature as to be of little use to the ethnographer who attempts a precise classification of human beings. With the spread of empiricism, and the general ascendancy of inductive and comparative methodologies, the need to protect Biblical notions of genealogy and chronology, and their empiricist retrenchments, became acute. Works like John Pye Smith's (1774-1851) *On the Relation Between the Holy Scriptures and Geological Science* (1840), Louis Figuier's (1819-94) *The World Before the Deluge* (2nd. ed. 1866) and Samuel Kinns's (1826-1903) *Moses and Geology* (1882) treated questions of human origin from a fully professional scientific vantage, but attempted to prove that "Upon a careful study of the sublime truths and stories of the Bible they will be found to harmonize with Science" (Kinns 1). In a passage which touches upon the heated polygenism debate, Figuier, before proposing an Asian genesis, writes:

Volumes have been written upon the question of the unity of the human race; that is, whether there were many centres of the creation of man, or whether our race is derived solely from the Adam of Scripture. We think, with many naturalists, that the stock of humanity is unique, and the different human races, the negroes, and the yellow race, are

only the result of the influence of climate upon organization. We consider the human race as having appeared for the first time (the mode of his creation being veiled in Divine mystery, eternally impenetrable to us) in the rich plains of Asia, on the smiling banks of the Euphrates, as the traditions of the most ancient races teach us. It is there, where Nature is so rich and vigorous, in the brilliant climate and under the radiant sky of Asia, in the shade of its luxuriant masses of verdure and its mild and perfumed atmosphere, that man loves to represent to himself the father of his race as issuing from the hand of his Creator. (469-470)

Here, the tendency of religious scientists to adopt monogenist convictions, and a belief in an Asian genesis of mankind, is clearly illustrated. Figuier goes on to discuss that other great anthropological debate, the antiquity of man question, and provides a survey of the evidence that had been found to suggest the existence of ancient or fossil men. But the period that Figuier first proposes for the evidence of early man is about 7,000 years, a length of time only a little longer than the traditional interpretation of the scriptural limits. Even though he does not champion Ussher's chronology, and is even cited by the more orthodox Kinns as an "eminent writer" who stands against the scriptural chronologists, Figuier emphasizes brief estimates of the age of the archaeological evidence of the time, and in other works he avoids any explicit comment on the periods of time represented by the geological evidence of geologists like Lyell (*Life in the Primeval World* 276-310). In other words, the previous interpretation of Genesis, rather than the Genesis account itself, is what is challenged by his view of the new archaeology. Commenting on important fossil beds which had given up human artifacts, he writes:

With regard to the St. Acheul beds--said to be the most ancient formation in which the

productions of human hands have been found--they are confessedly older than the peat beds, and the time required for the production of other peat beds of equal thickness has been estimated at 7000 years. (479)

Figuier then cites M. Morlot's belief that he could assign to "the oldest, or stone period, an age of 5,000 to 7,000 years, and to the bronze period from 3,000 to 4,000" (479-480). Again, Figuier's conservative dating of human prehistory preserves at least a rough approximate of the traditional interpretation of the scriptural chronology, and allows him to present the geological evidence of the "Asiatic Deluge" as proof of the accuracy of scriptural narratives of the early history of mankind (480-491). Although the great geologist, Sir Charles Lyell, felt no need to draw attention to the fact, his important work, *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man* (1863), convincingly established the tenuousness of conservative Christian belief in the dates traditionally given for the Creation:

The submergence of Wales to the extent of 1,400 feet, as proved by glacial shells, would require 56,000 years, at the rate of 2 ½ feet per century; but taking Professor Ramsay's estimate of 800 feet more, that depression being implied by the position of some of the stratified drift, we must demand an additional period of 32,000 years, amounting in all to 88,000; and the same time would be required for the re-elevation of the tract to its present height. (285)

Lyell goes on to say:

At the same time it will also be seen, that if the advent of Man in Europe occurred before the close of the second continental period, and antecedently to the separation of Ireland from England and of England from the continent, the event would be sufficiently remote

to cause the historical period to appear quite insignificant in duration, when compared to the antiquity of the human race. (289)

As in Kinns's later work, Figuier's geological account is extensive and rigorous, despite his resistance to the opinions of Lyell's school as to dates, and his method lends a great deal of authority to his defence of the truth of the Bible. Figuier's strong repudiation of the theory of man's evolution from the apes also gave his works an important utility for educators wishing to defend scriptural authority (*Primitive Man* 26-38).

Samuel Kinns is another scientist whose work was important for maintaining the authority of scripture. More orthodox than Figuier, Kinns argues that the "fifteen creative events, as given by Moses, correspond" with the account of creation "taught by science" (*Moses and Geology* 13). As in Figuier's work, the Noachian Deluge is an important element in Kinns's argument, and he discusses the proof of scriptural reliability provided by George Smith and A.H. Sayce's translation of the Assyrian "Deluge Tablet," or the *Chaldean Account of Genesis* (1880), which presents an account of a universal flood (399-401), as well as other Assyrian accounts parallel with sections of scripture, including descriptions of "the Creation, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Destruction of Sodom, and the Times of the Patriarchs" (Kinns 410). Kinns provides a line by line comparison of the Assyrian translations and the Bible, and he writes, "thereby God's Word received a further confirmation" (402-410). In Kinns's account, he is willing to be flexible about dates, and he does not limit himself to the traditional chronology:

I say in whatever strata human remains have been discovered, because some striking facts have come out in reference to the time of man's first appearance, which seem to place the date much farther back than has been generally received. This will not affect the

authenticity of the Holy Writ, for there are no dates mentioned in the Bible. It is only the commentators and the compilers of chronological systems who have put forward the 6,000 years; but so completely has it taken hold of the human mind, that a little while ago it would have been thought by many persons the direst heresy to mention a longer period.

(353)

The anxiety of scientific Christians about scriptural authority also provoked hostility to the theory of evolution. In his *Primitive Man* (trans. 1870) Louis Figuier, for instance, cites the famous ethnologist De Quatrefages in his complete rejection of the theory of a descent of man from apes:

M. de Quatrefages, in his work entitled 'Rapport sur le Progrès de l'Anthropologie,' published in 1868, has entered rather fully into the question whether man is descended from the ape or not. He has summed up the contents of a multitude of contemporary works on this subject, and has laid down his opinion—the perfect impossibility, in an anatomical point of view, of this strange and repugnant genealogy. (30)

Despite the attempts to maintain the reliability of the Bible by religious scientists in this period, raciological scientists had become wary of relying exclusively on the traditional scriptural annals, and historical ethnographers exercised all possible sources of scientific and pseudo-scientific analysis in their efforts to give an empirical dress to the old belief in Japhetic, or Aryan, racial unity, and the distinctness of the Japhetic from the Hamitic and Semitic peoples. In raciological studies, Aryan, Indo-Germanic, and Indo-European came to be adopted increasingly as terms to replace Japhetic in discussions of European origin. But, in fact, the historical genealogies of the new raciological sciences fitted neatly with the Biblical account of Japheth, and the literature of the Japhetic account of early European origin was intact, if greatly refined.

Understanding the continuity of European constructions of racial or familial extraction is vital to understanding the varieties of Victorian raciological thought. Japheth, as has been pointed out earlier, was the eldest son of Noah, and was identified with Japetus, the fabled father of the Greeks mentioned in Ovid and Hesiod, while the "Japhetidie," or *Iapetidae*, were the supposed posterity of this mythic personage, who was, we are assured by the eighteenth-century Biblical lexicographer John Brown, born in the year of the world 1556 (2448 BCE), or one hundred years before the Deluge (2:11). In the eighteenth century, Japhetic, or Japhetan, extraction came to be identified with Christianity, and with European settlement, though the reach of Japhetic influence was held to be enormous:

His posterity were prodigiously numerous; he had seven sons, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras. Their posterity peopled the north half of Asia, almost all the Mediterranean isles, all Europe, and I suppose most of America. (Brown 2:10)

Tubal, on account of a reference in Josephus in which he is named as the father of the Iberians on the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea, is especially important in considerations of the origins of the Celts, a subject which increasingly stimulated curiosity as the eighteenth century advanced (Brown 2:579). In the nineteenth century, Frederick Marryat would make use of the Japheth motif in his *Japheth in Search of a Father*, as had poet James Montgomery in his unaccountably ignored "The World Before the Flood." And the poetry of George Eliot includes several allusions to this mythology.²²

The most spectacular, and possibly the most learned, nineteenth-century repackaging of the legend was to be found in Baron Bunsen's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History* (2 vols.,

²²See, for example, Eliot's *The Legend of Jubal*.

1854), perhaps the last widely-influential philosophical work of an important philologist to discuss unashamedly and explicitly the subject of ethnological philology as the key to racial and universal history. In that work the myth of Japheth is transformed into a governing principle in the development of the Christian--by which Bunsen means the Western--world:

The Hellenic mind, as Hegel remarks, discovered the mystery of the mythological Sphinx; the motto of which is Man. It arrived at this solution only after the wild physical orgies of the East, and after the animal disguise of the Gods in Egypt. Japheth is the most powerful prophet of the Human race. Hellenism Japhetized them [the East]; and they both universalized the Semitic elements in Christianity much more than Romanism did. These elements, on the other hand, gave to Hellenism its ethical earnestness, and raised it from the idolatry of Hellenic nationality to a purer feeling of brotherhood, from the intoxication of the cosmical powers to the primitive consciousness of the unity of the universe, that is to say, to the first cause, God, the Creator, Redeemer, and illuminating principle of mankind. (2:195-6)

In this section of his work, and in many other places, Bunsen emphasizes, in a manner which sounds sinister in light of subsequent history, the "special antagonisms of the Semitic and Japhetic elements" (2:191). But despite generalizing constantly about psychological and moral characteristics of phantom racial types, Bunsen always does so from the point of view of a "philosopher of language" whose primary interests and methods are philological (1:iii-vi). The invocation of the philological rubric for his *universal historical* philosophizing is not mysterious. In 1854, when Bunsen published his *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, the prestige of philological studies in the popular mind was near its height. Any work of a historical cast

routinely cited philological evidence as an *ab grund* of the facts necessary to any thorough-going empiricist production. The beginnings of the intellectual authority of philological studies can be found in the eighteenth century, and, as I have already suggested, they arise to a great degree not from classical but from Biblical hermeneutic scholarship. And it could well be that the effectiveness of the method of Biblical hermeneuticists of the eighteenth century contributed much to the kinds of careful textual scrutiny which eventually weakened the authority of the Bible as a historical source.

Another raciological, and quasi-philological, discourse important to the reconstruction of Victorian culture, and in the appreciation of the role of scholarly discourse in the formation of popular raciological attitudes of the period—including the Japhetic account of European origin—is that of the philosophers of history, and the so-called universal historians. Wilhelm von Humboldt, Max Müller, Robert Gordon Latham, T.H. Huxley, and even Herbert Spencer, all speak of the projects of philosophers of history (usually philologists also) like Friedrich von Schlegel, Georg Hegel, Jules Michelet, C.C.J. Bunsen, and Leopold von Ranke, with the utmost respect. In surveying the raciological literature of the mid-century, one finds a general recognition of their philosophical authority, and their names surface again and again in the numerous scientific squabbles which the sciences of man seemed to generate. The universal historians and philosophers of history contributed a great deal to the elaboration of the racial mythology, grounded in raciological typologies formulated out of philology, and expounded by the anthropologists. Moreover, the metamorphosis of Biblical genealogies into Latham's categories of "Indo-Germanic Iapetidae" is first effected largely in works like Schlegel's *Philosophy of History* (1828) and later in Hegel's work of the same title (1837-40), which combined antiquarian and Biblical study with the

findings of early nineteenth-century scholarship. The classic works of nineteenth-century philosophy of history, or universal history--largely a German genre--were early available in English translation particularly in the common and inexpensive Bohn editions. James Baron Robertson's translation (1835; 2nd. ed. 1846) of Frederick von Schlegel's *The Philosophy of History* (1828) and J. Sibree's translation (1857) of G.W.F. Hegel's *Philosophy of History* (1837) were both in print for the next fifty years. And though the philologists, no doubt, read the works in the original, a much wider audience became acquainted with Schlegel and Hegel's work in these accessible translations. In "Lecture IV" of Schlegel's *Philosophy of History*, many raciological themes familiar in Victorian discourse are already presented:

The great middle country in Western Asia, where the true Eden, the original abode of the first man, and great progenitor of mankind, was situated, forms the central point in the general historical survey of Moses. The wide-spread race of Japhet comprehends the Caucasian nations in the north, and all its contiguous regions, and also those in the central Asia;--nations which were sound, vigorous, comparatively speaking, less corrupt, and by no means entirely barbarous: but which were debarred from that near and immediate participation in the sacred traditions of primitive revelation, enjoyed by the people of the Semitic race in that midland country, whose distinctive character and high pre-eminence, according to Moses, consisted in this very participation. (206)

Schlegel's "On the Indian Language, Literature, and Philosophy" (1808) was also one of the first widely-circulated essays to develop historical portraits based upon the findings of the new philology. The work was available to English readers in E.J. Millington's translation of *The Æsthetic and Miscellaneous Works*, again in a Bohn edition, in 1848. Of the first part of this work, Schlegel

writes:

I shall in this book, confine my investigations to the language, and to whatever can be deduced from that alone, reserving for my third book any historical facts or hypotheses tending to elucidate the wonderful agreement between so many distant languages and people, divided by long tracts of sea and land, or to illustrate the earliest migrations of the human race. (460)

Anticipating Max Müller, Schlegel argues that the "affinity of roots" in languages is a sign of the original unity of mankind, while in his *Philosophy of History*, he states that the "plurality of nations" rose out of "the single race of man" because of the "diversity of tongues" consequent to the loss of the "internal discord" which had "broken out in the consciousness and life of man" (91 and *passim*). This was also a common notion during the Victorian period, and religious philologists, like the anonymous author of the Religious Tract Society's *Origin and Progress of Language* (1848), employed it to explain the state of early society before and after the Biblical confusion of tongues. In his *Philosophy of History*, Hegel also discusses this idea in the context of an historical paradox:

It is a fact revealed by philological monuments, that languages, during a rude condition of the nations that have spoken them, have been very highly developed; that the human understanding occupied this theoretical region with great ingenuity and completeness. For Grammar, in its extended and consistent form, is the work of thought, which makes its categories distinctly visible therein. It is, moreover, a fact, that with advancing social and political civilization, this systematic completeness of intelligence suffers attrition, and language thereupon becomes poorer and ruder: a singular phenomenon--that the progress toward a more highly intellectual condition, while expanding and cultivating

rationality, should disregard that intelligent amplitude and expressiveness--should find it an obstruction and contrive to do without it. (114-115)

The perception that primitive man was already endowed with the capacity to contemplate the "theoretical region" of "Grammar" was an important source of inspiration for the philological antiquarian, and lent an added vitality to the investigation of the etymological "roots" of the fundamental ideas of the human race. In uncovering the vestiges of primitive speech through comparative philological study, the philologist reclaimed the intellectual and ethical inheritance of early man, and historicized ante-historical culture. Once this complexity of thought is established to have existed in early culture, philological labour can shift its object from an unfolding of the genealogical record of early language to the investigation of early consciousness, religion, and ethics. Max Müller's first major publication, the *Essay on Comparative Mythology* (1856), is an excellent example of this kind of philology:

The formation of language, the composition of roots, the gradual discrimination of meanings, the systematic elaboration of grammatical forms--all this working which we can see under the surface of our own speech, attests from the very first the presence of a rational mind--of an artist as great, at least, as his work. (11)

In this work, the early existence of solar mythology and sun-worship, proved through comparative philological means, becomes itself a proof of the existence of a monotheistic impulse in primitive man. The projection of rational thought onto the *tabula rasa* of the prehistoric mind would become an important counter-force against the view of brutish cavemen suggested by much evolutionary thinking. Max Müller's, Samuel Kinns's, Louis Figuier's, and even Charles Kingsley's opposition to Darwinian thinking is also made more explicable by understanding this aspect of philological

thought, as is the general absence of philological voices from the centre of the antiquity of man debate in the 1860s and 1870s.

Chapter Three: The Dissemination of Victorian Raciological Doctrine

F.W.A. von Humboldt and the Physical History of Man

Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) is another important figure in any historiographic account of the raciological discourses clustered around comparative philology and early anthropology. Humboldt, whose public stature during the Victorian period made his scientific judgements tremendously influential, expresses and propagates raciological convictions which clearly illustrate the settled opinions of raciological science. In the Bohn edition of E.C. Otté's translation (1849) of the first volume of *Cosmos* (1844), in commenting on "the obscure and much contested problem of the possibility of one common descent," Humboldt writes:

The vast domain of language, in whose varied structure we see mysteriously reflected the destinies of nations, is most intimately associated with the affinity of races; and what even slight differences of races may effect, is strikingly manifested in the history of the Hellenic nations in the zenith of their intellectual cultivation. The most important questions of the civilization of mankind, are connected with the ideas of races, community of language, and adherence to one original direction of the intellectual and moral faculties. (1:361)

As late as 1902, *Chambers's Encyclopædia* reckoned that *Cosmos* was "unanimously recognised as one of the greatest scientific works ever published" (6:2). Humboldt is an illustrious champion of the monogenist view of human origin and, in *Cosmos*, he categorically asserts that the "different races of mankind are forms of one sole species, by the union of two of whose members descendants are propagated" (1:365). And refreshingly, Humboldt further adds:

Whilst we maintain the unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the

depressing assumption of superior and inferior races of men. (1:368)

The German Idealist philosophical tradition also influences the expansive empiricism of the author of *Cosmos*, as it had Max Müller and Baron Bunsen. As Herder had argued in the later part of the eighteenth century, and as both Friedrich Schlegel and Hegel had argued earlier in the nineteenth, Alexander von Humboldt believed that man is a product of the physical environment into which he is born, and that everywhere man is "associated with terrestrial life" (1:360). Humboldt emphasizes the effects that "forces of nature" have on the creation of human types, and to a degree undoes the emancipatory gesture of insisting on the unity of the human species by creating a new "ground" of national difference in physical geography. In this his ideas coincide with those of Jean Louis Agassiz and of Arnold Guyot, who, in 1849, used geology and geography as a key to universal history, and argued that "each of the northern or historical continents is peculiarly adapted, by its nature, to perform a special part corresponding to the wants of humanity in one of the great phases of its history" (*Earth and Man* 34).

A more positive aspect of Humboldt's theory of man is that it argues a possibility of "intellectual cultivation," suggestive of progressive social advance. This belief is perfectly in concert with the Christian Stoicism of Samuel Smiles, Robert Cochrane, W. H. Lecky, and many other Victorian advocates of self-improvement through self-knowledge and self-discipline:

The general picture of nature which I have endeavoured to delineate, would be incomplete, if I did not venture to trace a few of the most marked features of the human race, considered with reference to physical gradations--to the geographical distribution of contemporaneous types--to the influence exercised upon man by the forces of nature, and the reciprocal, although weaker, action which he in turn exercises on these natural

forces. Dependent, although in a lesser degree than plants and animals, on the soil, and on the meteorological processes of the atmosphere with which he is surrounded--escaping more readily from the control of natural forces, by activity of mind and the advance of intellectual cultivation, no less than by his wonderful capacity of adapting himself to all climates--man everywhere becomes most essentially associated with terrestrial life. It is by these relations that the obscure and much contested problem of the possibility of one common descent, enters into the sphere embraced by a general physical cosmography. (Humboldt, 360-1)

In this passage, Humboldt approaches the same intuition that Ernesti develops in his description of the *usus loquendi*: a notion of intelligence situated in a place and time, which can be understood more completely by recognizing the complexity of the forces which operate on human society. Like his learned brother, Alexander von Humboldt also felt that "philosophical philology" was the proper key to understanding the "*national* character of languages," and, by extension, the "varieties" of mankind:

Languages, as intellectual creations of man, and as closely interwoven with the development of mind, are, independently of the *national* form which they exhibit, of the greatest importance in the recognition of similarities or differences in races. This importance is especially owing to the clue which a community of descent affords in treading that mysterious labyrinth in which the connection of physical powers, and intellectual forces, manifests itself in a thousand different forms. The brilliant progress made within the last half century, in Germany, in philosophical philology, has greatly facilitated our investigations into the *national* character of languages, and the influence

exercised by descent. (*Cosmos*, I, 365-7)

I quote extensively from *Cosmos* here because of its enormous influence on educated British opinion, and for decades after the publication of three separate translations of the work between 1845 and 1849.

Three salient points emerge from Humboldt's "Physical History of Man": first, that comparative (or philosophical) philology is of vital importance in approaching the questions of the natural history of mankind and the descent of nations; second, that the human race is a single species with either five or seven races or varieties; and finally, that these races may be accounted for by understanding environmental factors. Humboldt believes fully that civilization may advance, and that the virtues which lead to civilization may be cultivated, but also that no matter how hard a "mind" strives "to free itself from the dominion of terrestrial influences," there ever remains "a trace of something that has been derived from the influences of race or of climate" (*Cosmos* 1:367).

Guyot, Physical Geography, and the Distribution of Races

Another adherent of the belief that man was under the "dominion of terrestrial influences," and who was an influential conduit of raciological ideas, was the once influential, and widely-cited geological authority, Arnold Henry Guyot. A friend and colleague of Jean Louis Agassiz (1807-73) while professor of physical geography at the Academie de Neuchâtel, he moved with Agassiz to the United States in 1848, where, from 1854 until his death, Guyot was professor of Physical Geography and Geology at Princeton. He was also manager of the meteorological department of the Smithsonian Institution. Guyot contributed widely to official American geographic and geological textbooks, and his work was extracted for use in the *Royal Readers*, in use throughout the British Empire.²³ In 1849, Guyot delivered a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston entitled *The Earth and Man: Lectures on Comparative Physical Geography, in Its Relation to the History of Mankind*, which were published in 1849 in a translation by Harvard professor of Greek literature, and later Harvard president, Cornelius Conway Felton (1807-62). These lectures sold fourteen thousand copies in the ten years that followed their publication, and their popularity illustrates the growing interest in empirical descriptions and explanations of the varieties of human beings during this period (*Earth and Man* 1).

The heart of Guyot's argument is close to a cherished notion of Max Müller's, that of the Caucasian, or West Asian, origin of the Indo-Germanic or Aryan peoples, or of "the most beautiful human type" (Guyot 262). The novel aspect of Guyot's analysis of universal history is that he views physical geographical factors as primary to our understanding of human types, and that:

...in all directions, in proportion as we remove from the geographical seat of the most

²³For a discussion of the *Royal Readers* as raciological texts, see Part II.

beautiful human type, the degeneration becomes greater, the debasement of the form more complete. The degree of culture of the nations bears a proportion to the nobleness of their race. The races of the northern continents of the Old World alone are civilized; the southern continents have remained savage. (Guyot 262-3)

Guyot views Iran, Armenia, and the Caucasus as the homelands not only of civilization and the most perfect humans, but also of the most perfect plants and animals:

While all types of animals and of plants go on decreasing in perfection, from the equatorial to the polar regions, in proportion to the temperatures, man presents to our view his purest, his most perfect type, at the very centre of the temperate continents, at the centre of Asia-Europe, in the regions of Iran, of Armenia, and of the Caucasus; and departing from this geographical centre in the three grand directions of the lands, the types gradually lose the beauty of their forms, in proportion to their distance, even to the extreme points of southern continents, where we find the most deformed and degenerate races, and the lowest in the scale of humanity. (Guyot 255)

Guyot even distinguishes between various kinds of degeneration, arguing that in tropical regions man is a slave of his passions, in the polar regions, a slave to labour (270). In order to explain Europeans' superiority, in spite of their removal from the seat of creation, Guyot suggests that European "beauty is less physical and more moral" (256). As does Baron Bunsen, Guyot adheres to a belief in a great schism between Iran and Turan, or between the Aryan and the *Turanian* peoples. This "Turanian" designation was applied loosely and indefinitely to an ethnological entity formed of Asiatic peoples not included in the Indo-European and Semitic families. In some works, the term is restricted to the Ural-Altaic, or Scythian, family, and is meant to represent particularly

the ancestors of the modern Turks. But in many works, even the native North American peoples are designated Turanian or Scythian (Bunsen, *Universal History* 1:273).

Guyot adduces philological evidence for his ethno-geological credo by pointing out that "civilized people" inhabit "historical" continents, the "true theatre of history" (272). The history to which Guyot refers is the standard one of European comparative and philosophical philology, and he makes much of works like the *Zendavesta* as proof of the intellectual superiority of West-Asian civilization (277-80).

Guyot's belief in the deleterious effects of geography, geology, and climate on race and moral culture was widely held in the late-nineteenth century, and played an important part in establishing the nordicity of Canadian Britons. It was also used as a basis for claims of the superiority of European civilization. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for instance, in writing of the civility and reason necessary to the development of "true liberty" and civilization, argues:

Climate has much to do with this melioration. The highest civility has never loved the hot zones. Wherever snow falls, there is usually civil freedom. Where the banana grows, the animal system is indolent and pampered at the cost of higher qualities; the man is sensual and cruel. (*Society and Solitude* 97)

Curiously, in his once widely-circulated *English Composition and Rhetoric* (1866), the famous logician Alexander Bain (1818-1902) illustrated the notion of "epigrammatic surprise" with another quotation from Emerson that reflects the same belief:

When Emerson says, "Where snow falls, there is freedom," he puts together two things that have no obvious connection; the proposition appears not so much contradictory as irrelevant and nonsensical. When we reflect a little, we see that he means to describe the

influences of tropical heat in debilitating the energies of men, and so preparing them for political slavery. (Bain 53)

That Bain would choose such an example is, of course, indicative of the preoccupations of the scholars of the period. For the mid-Victorian reader of scientific literature, Guyot's belief that human beings were the products of their various environments was not so simplistic as it may seem to us. As I have mentioned, the title page of the revised edition of *Earth and Man* informs us that Guyot's work sold fourteen-thousand copies in the first decade after its publication in 1849, a substantial sale for a technical work. Nonetheless, he is unmentioned in most recent histories of anthropology, and his name does not appear in the extensive list of sources appended to Stocking's *Victorian Anthropology*. Guyot provides yet another example of a once-influential raciological thinker whose work illuminates nineteenth-century intellectual culture but who has been ignored in recent accounts of the intellectual history of the period.

Religious Raciology and Victorian Science

The place of religious thought in Victorian science, and circulation of raciological opinions in Victorian religious works, are important elements in a proper understanding of the dissemination of raciological thinking. The anti-theistic theories of James Mill (1773-1836) in the early part of the century, and later of David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874), Ernst Rénan (1823-1892), and John Stuart Mill (1806-73), among many others, contributed to the creation of a large body of radically anti-supernatural science which stood against the work of the scientists who tried to square modern scientific advances with the traditional scriptural doctrines. One way in which this point of view expressed itself, perhaps not surprisingly, was in a lively interest in investigating claims of miraculous phenomena. The leading American philologist of the English language, George Perkins Marsh, for example, published an anonymous work, *Mediaeval and Modern Saints and Miracles* (1876), in which he provided a systematic debunking of stories of miraculous occurrences in the Christian hagiography. But this work, like many others of a sceptical cast, is not so much interested in attacking religion in general, as in combatting the perceived spread of the "Romish church," and Marsh's work is as mean-spirited as the most doctrinaire of the opinions it seeks to oppose.

The division between fundamentalist religion and science became progressively more acute as the nineteenth century advanced, and the authority of pure empiricism and scientism waxed as that of Christian views waned. But, as I have already suggested, before the turn of the twentieth century, religious points of view were tolerated by serious scientists and scientific work could be pursued by the religious without any suspicion of self-contradiction or hypocrisy. In fact, the whole view of a fundamental or elemental dichotomy between religious and scientific men and women in the arrangement of Victorian scientific discourse is highly problematic, and simplifies the actual

state of intellectual culture so grossly as to be virtually meaningless. There was much virulence and bigotry expressed in the response of many orthodox amateur scientists to the views of Huxley, Tyndall, and Spencer. But there were numerous religious scientists whose dissent from their opinions was of a different kind. Many of the geologists who played important roles in the public debate over the antiquity of man debate were explicitly Christian, without necessarily being anti-Darwinian, and without having accepted Ussher's chronology for the creation and the deluge. In his absorbing works, Hugh Miller (1802-56), the Scots geologist, journalist, and folklorist, did more to promote the advanced study of geology in Great Britain than half a dozen of his nearest rivals. Andrew Dickson White (1832-1918), a president of Cornell University acquainted with Goldwin Smith, points out in his *The Warfare of Science* (1876), an account of the history of religious suppression of scientific knowledge, that the religious geologists who attempted to treat the findings of the new geology scientifically were as apt to be attacked by narrow-minded Christians as their materialist colleagues, and that eminent Christian geologists, such as John Pye Smith and Louis Agassiz, both suffered public vilification from fundamentalist quarters (White 111-22).

In any consideration of raciological consciousness during the Victorian period, or in the fifty years which followed the full development of raciological typologies, many of the most important sources of anthropological information were confessedly Christian, even if some of the more rigorously empiricist of these Christians were at times oblique about commitment to orthodox doctrine. For example, among Methodists, Presbyterians, and the various other non-conformist sects--a large proportion of the population of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States--central writings in the circulation of raciological doctrine between the 1830s and 1870s were the cyclopædias of William (1800-1883) and Robert Chambers (1802-71), especially the standard

editions of their *Information for the People* (1848), and later, the various editions of their *Encyclopædia* (1879), which made the Chambers brothers the owners of one of the most successful publishing houses of the period (*Memoir of Robert Chambers* 65-80). In an anonymous passage in *Information for the People*—probably written by Robert Chambers—on the distribution of man in Physical Geography, the writer tells us:

Though generally regarded as a single species of a single genus, naturalists have divided mankind into several varieties, according to their more prominent physical features; and ethnologists, extending the subject according to minor features, language, and so forth, have subdivided these varieties into branches, types, tribes, and families. That the external conditions to which man, like all other animals, is subjected, may in the course of ages have stamped the inhabitants of certain regions with certain physical characteristics, is nothing more than what may be expected; but that every little difference of dialect, every tint of skin, or colour of hair, every mould of nose or contour of skull, is warrant sufficient for a new subdivision, is absurdity not to be tolerated.

(1:64)

The entry goes on to mention the “five great divisions” of mankind outlines, which are more fully discussed in later, substantial entries on the “Physical History of Man—Ethnology” and “Language” (1:64, 2:1-33). It is a sign of the Chambers brothers’ desire to be current that the older Japhetic designation has given way to the “Caucasian (Indo-European and Syro-Arabian) Race,” and the Turanian has been replaced by the “Mongolian,” “Ethiopic (African),” “American,” and “Malay” races (2:3, 4-5). And, despite the expression of reserve on the use of language to create race divisions, linguistic evidence is still presented in key places to establish the reality of racial

divisions. For example, the author writes: "under the test of language, it would appear that the term Mongolian, like that of Caucasian, comprises in reality two varieties or distinct races" (2:4). What is important here is that the Christian raciology of the Chambers brothers does not differ in any substantial way from standard raciological accounts, and that publications of this kind reached a very large audience.

Perhaps the most salient raciological feature of the various works of the Chambers brothers which treated ethnological subjects, and a point of view reflected in many Christian raciological texts, was that they took a consistently monogenist point of view, the view in closest accord with the Genesis account of Adam and Eve. Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), in which his monogenist ethnological credo is carefully outlined, was a sensation, and, though as an evolutionary text its orthodoxy was questioned, it sold in large numbers. The scientific works of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Congregational Library, and those of the Religious Tract Society also circulated monogenist Christian raciologist thought widely throughout the English-speaking world, and a work like Stephen H. Ward's *The Natural History of Mankind* (1860), certainly did as much for the cause of monogenism as the unwieldy five-volume technical study that Prichard's own natural history had become by this period (Green, *Story of the Religious Tract Society* 57-66). As Ward writes by way of preface:

The Author...has endeavoured to render the work an elementary text-book of Ethnology; and to illustrate, from independent sources, the truth that "God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."(iii)

Works like Ward's were widely influential in the elucidation of the technicalities of physical anthropology for an extensive readership of students and amateurs. As I have said, much of the

geological literature dealing with the antiquity of man question and the Deluge was written by religious scientists like Hugh Miller, Samuel Kinns, Louis Figuier, and John Pye Smith. Hugh Miller's numerous works on popular geology, and on more general subjects, including the "Unity of the Human Races" (1850), also had a wide audience until after the turn of the century (*Essays Literary and Scientific* 387-397; Shortland 42; Rosie 26-60). To underestimate the importance of this literature in the development of raciological thought is to fail to appreciate the full complexity of ethnological discussions of the period, and to miss a large literature that had an enormous influence in developing racial and national self-consciousness (Foucault 280-96).

The important, and often central, place of religious scientists in Victorian science was missed or ignored in much twentieth-century historiography. Among the philologists, for instance, another English author--alas anonymous--who gained a wide audience for his philological views was the author of the Religious Tract Society's *Origin and Progress of Language* (1848). The absence in this work of a raciological interpretation of philological materials is notable, and again reveals a progressive impulse in comparative philological study. Nonetheless, the currency of raciological opinion is clearly indicated:

It is evident that the division of tongues has created mournfully strong and lasting prejudices and antipathies among men. Nations have been alienated from each other as much by difference of speech as by diversities of politics, or of religion. There is a mental, if not a moral, deformity, falsely enough attached by many persons to those who are unable to speak the language of our country. The man who cannot do it is an alien to us, and we are instantly alienated from him. (117-18)

This passage comes in a discussion of the advantages which obtained from the unity of human

speech in antediluvian times. The author is at pains to controvert polygenist positions:

they boldly affirm that the races of men were as distinct in their origin as are the languages they now speak, and refer, in proof of their opinion, to the varieties of colour and physical conformation which mark different tribes, and assume that these can only be adequately accounted for by admitting that the human race did not descend from a single pair, but were created at different times and places, or started up in the various parts of the earth in which we now find them. (124)

In confounding the polygenist position, the Religious Tract Society author begins by pointing out its heterodoxy. He then develops an argument suggesting the probable unity of all speech, drawing to some extent on universal grammatical arguments, but more particularly on etymological proof (115-48). His work is especially notable in that it illustrates the manner in which philological work done in an explicitly religious context was often, in matters of race, of a more progressive character than the works of sceptical and empiricist science, which commonly promoted the cause of polygenism, and used the failure of the authority of the Genesis account as proof for their beliefs.

Another point to be remembered in treating raciological literature is that a monogenist conviction is not a complete proof of liberalism, nor does a polygenist position necessarily establish the bigotry of a scientist. When George Stocking and other anthropological historiographers point out that Prichard was a monogenist and Voltaire a polygenist, we are to assume it a point in Prichard's favour, and to accord to Prichard a pre-eminence in historiographic discussion of anthropology during the period. As I have discussed elsewhere, this approach to raciological literature—the projection of a modern paradigm over defunct scientific projects—obscures the true

contribution of these works in establishing the truth of raciological doctrines in the popular consciousness. Although it is true that ethnological dogmas emanated out of the German, French, and English academic sources at the centre of contemporary historiographic projects like Stocking's, it is also true both that one's academic authority in the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century was undermined by neither polygenist nor Christian convictions, and that then (as now) the circulation of authoritative opinions was more often stimulated by general and popular works, than by abstrusely technical works of advanced science. Of course, the Victorian appetite for elaborate scientific and historical study, one that created a sub-culture of scientific amateurs now quite lost to us, should always be kept in mind. Even a technical work like Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, or Chambers's *Vestiges* (which stayed in print for five decades), might achieve wide circulation (*Cambridge Bibliography* 3:711; Millhauser 1-33).

The value of a literary perspective in forming a more complete judgement in these matters is self-evident. Often, if not generally, the qualities of an erroneous scientific work that were most likely to beguile a large Victorian readership were an engaging style and the inclusion of curious lore. Captivating books that were stores of curious information, or of the ethnological sententiæ and apophthegmata best-suited to a legion of amateur etymologists, often circulated the mythical "facts" of Anglo-Saxons, Aryans, Celts, Gauls, and Teutons in a register far beyond that even of the widely-respected Prichard.

Another weakness in the modern historiography of the so-called human sciences, which generally emanates from within the sciences themselves, is that their historical perspective, though often elaborately researched, is apt to overemphasize the importance of views embraced by the historiographers themselves. Such historiography often fails fully to apprehend the sometimes

extensive cultural importance of erroneous views. Discussion of constructions of pre-World War I national and racial attitudes is a case in point. An accurate recovery of Victorian ethnological convictions, beliefs generated by raciological discourse, is gained more from the popular, than from the scientifically prescient, racial manifestos of the time. Knowing that James Cowles Prichard precedes Boas and Lévi-Strauss in a direct intellectual descent is valuable in maintaining a necrology or hagiography of scientific pioneers. But often even our understanding of pioneers like the monogenist Prichard is augmented by noticing the fact that several polygenist anthropologists--with respectable intellectual credentials--sold equally large print runs and multiple editions of books entirely ignored by historiographic paleontologists intent on fossilized precursors of modern science. For example, Paul Broca's *On the Phenomena of Hybridity in the Genus Homo*, a publication of the Anthropological Society of London in 1863, received positive reviews even from journals which explicitly rejected his polygenist principles. Broca was given friendly notices by *The Medical Times*, *The Scotsman*, *The Observer*, *The London Review*, *The Sun*, *The Morning Advertiser*, and *The Tablet*. The *Medical Times* (1865) reviewer comments:

It is evident that the writer of the book has a strong bias to the polygenist theory of the origin of mankind, but although we don't agree with him in his principal deductions and statements, we willingly allow his work to be an able monograph on a highly-interesting and curious subject, and one that will repay perusal. (*Publications of the Anthropological Society* 7)

Beyond the popular importance of erroneous material, modern treatments of figures like Prichard have tended to neglect the fact that the identification of current beliefs in antiquated works distorts our view, and ignores the fact that prescient observations are embedded in writings saturated with

the limitations of outlook they share with their opponents. Polygenist and monogenist alike may speak in terms that would be offensive to an enlightened person of our own era. But neither view can be taken as a reliable index of the sensitivity of the conscience of its adherent, nor of his or her influence on the thinking of contemporaries.

Latham, Pickering, Morris, and Aryan Philology

Despite the extensive nature of the historiographic project carried out by George W. Stocking and his followers, any convincing account of Victorian raciological thinking must still take into account texts that can be said to contain little that is prescient or prophetic of twentieth-century scientific approaches. If the historiographer's question is not, *who were the anthropologists most important to the foundation of the modern science*, but rather, *which were the works which had the most influence in conditioning late-Victorian responses to peoples outside of their provinces, nations, or language communities*, then approaches even to canonical anthropological works are considerably altered. Even before Prichard's *Researches* had reached their final form in 1847, numerous typologies of the human races had already proliferated, to the extent that in the English-speaking world there was a popular, and deeply-held, assumption that the existence of collective human entities known as human *races* was a scientific reality, in the same manner in which hydrogen combined with oxygen forms water was a scientific, or empirical, reality.

A good example of an empirical raciologist with a wide popular audience was Latham (1812-1888). Despite his having been the editor of Prichard's *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations* (1857), and a leading proponent of the philological anthropology which Prichard epitomized, Robert Gordon Latham--perhaps due to his having been impecunious throughout the greater part of his life--always produced works which were intended for a much wider audience than that formed by the smaller coterie which pursued raciological questions through to their most abstruse degrees. Even his most elaborate undertakings--both the anthropological, and the more purely philological--were intended more for students than for the cognoscenti. Though the level of discourse was high, and the questions treated were sometimes involved and philologically technical, these works could still be

followed by any amateur with a decent standard of application and an average intelligence. Latham's two most substantial undertakings, *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man* and *Elements of Comparative Philology*, were bulky compendia which included both the pith of the then current state of each science treated, and extensive illustrations of the data which had accreted out of the enormous labour that the Victorians had expended in their enthusiasm for both. As Victorian treatises of this kind go, Latham's are drily doctrinaire, and colourlessly written. Unlike Pickering, whose works are rich in antiquarian lore and travel accounts, and are written with the storyteller's effort to beguile, Latham's rhetoric favours the dogmatic tonalities of the logician, an office for which Latham had proved his worth by writing a popular--if dishearteningly dull--school textbook on the subject. That the distinctions between peoples originally drawn by men like Blumenbach, Lawrence, and Adelung forty years before had become part of the public consciousness was recognized by Latham himself. For instance, in his work *The Ethnology of the British Islands*, published in 1852, Latham writes:

That the Britons and Gaels are Kelts, and that the English are Germans is known
wherever Welsh dissent, Irish poverty, or English misgovernment are subjects of notice.

(4-5)

Despite the fact that Latham's choice of title might suggest an unusual degree of regard for "Keltic" sensibility (the substitution of Islands for Isle being used by Irish Home Rulers for instance), actually, Latham's writings contain little political or philosophical commentary, and are useful primarily as a guide to what were considered the settled doctrines and axioms of the science of philological ethnology.

Very little of Latham's work strays far from technical organization of the "facts" collected by

ethnological enterprise, but his works do exhibit a wide grasp of historical and antiquarian study, his citations revealing a wide, if conventional, erudition. One of the contemporary authorities of whom Latham speaks most highly is the American George Pickering. Pickering's *The Races of Man* was included by Henry G. Bohn in his *Illustrated Library* in 1850, and the work maintained the high quality of the inexpensive productions of that house in having copious illustrative notes, an extensive analytical synopsis, and a minute and extensive index--all qualities which contributed to both the pedagogic and encyclopaedic usefulness of the book. The Bohn edition of the work includes twelve engraved illustrations, taken from drawings or--in one case--a daguerreotype, and also a map "coloured to represent the Geographical Distribution of the Races of Man." These illustrations, for the most part drawn by A.T. Agate, take as subject matter such persons as "A Kalapuya Lad" (Oregon), "Iolo-Ki, a native of Western Africa, who was brought from Mina to Rio Janeiro," and a "Bosjesman Hottentot Lad." All of the portraits are strictly decorous, consisting of head and shoulders, each face composed and dignified, if stylized and faintly European. The map is peculiar in several respects. For one, the colour boundary (an English Empire pink) for the Japhetic, or the Indo-European, territory stretches deep into Africa, and includes Arabia, as well as the expected India and Europe. This is explained by Pickering's terminology, in which the *Iapetidae* are included in the "White" or the *Arabian* race, one of the eleven races among the *Mongolian*, the *Malayan*, the *Australian*, the *Papuan*, the *Negrillo*, the *Telingan* or *Indian*, the *Negro*, the *Ethiopian*, the *Hottentot*, and the *Abyssinian* (1-4). The map does not show political boundaries, and its outlines are obviously approximate in most respects, but its inclusion of the whole of Turkestan and most of North Africa in the *Arabian* territory reveals a tendency to extend the ethnological influence of his "Arabians" to its furthest possible geographical extent. It gives one pause to consider what

might have happened to subsequent American foreign policy had Pickering's designation been adopted, and had *Arabian* become the common term for the racial category to which so-called Anglo-Saxon Americans could claim membership. Such an outcome was certainly possible when Pickering's findings were first published.

Between August 18, 1838, and June 10, 1842, Pickering circumnavigated the globe as an official Member of the United States Exploring Expedition, which visited South America, Fiji and the Sandwich Islands, Australia, the Antarctic, and the Californian, Oregon, British Columbian, and Mexican coasts before sailing to Borneo, and around the Cape of Good Hope, to return to New York. Pickering was also active in the Academy of Natural Sciences, and travelled in India and Eastern Africa. *The Races of Man* formed Volume IX of Wilkes' report on the expedition before its publication by Bohn, and the work includes many fascinating accounts of the adventures of Wilkes' party.

In the creation of his ethno-geographical cartography, Pickering takes recourse to philology with each ethnographical problem. In the Bohn edition, which includes an analytical synopsis by John Charles Hall, that writer argues:

We have already pointed to spoken language as one grand feature of distinction between all races of man and that animal which philosophers may please to select to connect the last link in the chain of human nature with the brute creation. That language should exist at all, and that it should exist among every people and community of the earth, however low in the scale of civilization, is in itself a powerful argument for the unity of our species: in truth, the classification of language is the classification of mankind, and the migration and intermixture of languages are records of changes and movements of man

over the face of the globe. The unity of all human languages, if it could be established, would be a powerful proof of the unity of all the races of man. (*Races of Man* lvii)

Here a variation on the usual relationship between philology and ethnology emerges, and, instead of the use of philology for racial classification, we again see the suggestion that philological study might provide a proof for monogenism.

In recognizing the status accorded philology during the Victorian period, I do not mean to claim that parallel advances in archaeological, palæontological, mythological, and other historical studies were ignored in the raciological elaboration of the theoretical Aryan world that was thought to have been discovered by the philologists. As Charles Morris wrote in the preface to his *Aryan Race* (1888):

Our knowledge of the condition of the primitive Aryans is not due only to studies in philology. The subject has widened with the progress of research, and now embraces questions of ethnology, archæology, mythology, literature, social and political antiquities, and all the other branches of science which relate particularly to the development of mankind. (iv)

Nonetheless, philological study forms the basis for Morris's considerations, and he relies heavily on works like Sayce's *Introduction to the Science of Language* in making his arguments

(Morris 94, 213). Morris attributes the adoption of the designation Aryan to the influence of Max Müller, and he uses the term despite his awareness that "Systematic philologists have entered into long arguments to prove that the word 'Aryan' has no right to be applied to all Indo-European peoples" (32-33). Morris then outlines the manner in which philology has provided the key to the mystery of the "Melanochroic" and "Xanthochroic" *types* of the Aryan race, labels suggested by

Huxley, most particularly in his *Man's Place in Nature* (1863), a widely-circulated work much influenced by craniological researches of the kind carried out by William Lawrence, whom Huxley describes as his "kind friend" and "the ablest man" he had ever known. The terms Melanochroic and Xanthochroic refer to the dark and light-skinned varieties intermixed throughout the "Aryan family," although Huxley was late in retreating from the position that there had been areas of purely Xanthochroic settlement in Northern Europe, and that the Teutonic languages were originally "spoken only by Xanthachroi" ("British Ethnology" [1871], in *Man's Place in Nature* 265). It was not until 1894 that Huxley noted that "there were doubtless some Melanochroi among the Teutonic tribes" (265).

Huxley's stature as a public figure and representative of the new science makes his consideration of ethnological subjects particularly important. Like Max Müller, Huxley enjoyed the rapt attention of a large popular following, and his works were read by many amateur readers who followed scientific developments from a remove, in those works implicated in the controversies aired in their favourite periodicals. From both scientific and literary points of view, the quality of some of these periodicals was quite high. *Notes and Queries*, for instance, featured discussion on minute points of English philology, often with anecdotal matter full of instruction. Some of Walter W. Skeat's finest writing is to be found in *Notes and Queries*, and readers of the periodical enjoyed an encyclopaedic philological panopticon of English literature, from the mysterious romance of the Moeso-Gothic gospels of Ulfilas to curiosities of the usage of Carlyle. Some of John Earle's writing of this kind was also of a high order, and his anthological approach in his study *English Prose* (1890) is a masterpiece of the cyclopaedic philological collage.

For the legion of anthropological amateurs and philological neophytes, those for whom sources

of information were limited to their leisure reading, and to the groomed view of science offered in school texts and encyclopedias, a work like Huxley's *Man's Place in Nature*, Max Müller's *Lectures*, or Sayce's *Science of Language* provided an arsenal of facts that limited their possessor to no single doctrine of the anthropologist or philologist whose works instructed them. The distortions of the ideas of the philologists in the various nationalist literatures which formed around new European racial nationalisms might bear little ideological resemblance to the beliefs of the philologists who first propounded them. I speak particularly of philological, rather than raciological literature, because of the particular censure which has coloured accounts of the philologists' work. But much raciological literature achieved a high standard of scholarship, and some displayed a highly developed literary sensibility.

Humanitarian Bias and Liberalism in Victorian Raciology

T.H. Huxley's prominence as a public intellectual and promoter of science makes his view of philology and raciology historically important, as well as instructive (Irvine 8-21). Huxley makes the accusation that "philological ethnologists" were often misled by their attachment to humanitarian principles, a sentimentality which interfered with the objectivity of their findings. And he levels the charge on the behalf of a surprising doctrine:

The older philological ethnologists felt the difficulty which arose out of their identification of linguistic with racial affinity, but were not dismayed by it. Strong in the prestige of their great discovery of the unity of the Aryan tongues, they were quite prepared to make the philological and biological categories fit, by the exercise of a little pressure on that about which they knew less. And their judgement was often unconsciously warped by strong monogenistic proclivities, which, at bottom, however respectable and philanthropic their origin, had nothing to do with science. ("The Aryan Question" in *Man's Place in Nature*, 280-81)

The inference that *polygenist* beliefs would have *more* to do with science is difficult to evade here. And in the preface to *Man's Place in Nature* (1898), Huxley refers to the scandal of a "famous northern university [which] had refused to invite a very distinguished man to occupy it [a chair in anthropology] because he advocated the doctrine of the diversity of species of mankind, or what was called polygeny" (vii). Huxley's defence of polygenism is indicative of how widespread the doctrine had become, and also of the stature of some of its adherents.

When Huxley first ventured to publish his opinions on ethnological subjects in 1865, there was much to justify scientific skepticism in the pages of even the most eminent of the defenders of

monogenism, who were sometimes erratic champions of the universal brotherhood of mankind—despite their belief in the common origin of all men--and whose Christian beliefs often coloured their theories. Stephen H. Ward, for example, published *The Natural History of Mankind* (1860), his "elementary textbook of Ethnology," in order to prove "the truth that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'" (iii). Like Robert Chambers, Ward allows the existence of five races and divides the Caucasian race into the "Indo-European" and "the Semitic" (8-10). Ward illuminates his text with literary quotations, of which the following from Pope's "An Essay on Man" gives some notion:

But where to find that happiest spot below,
 Who can direct, when all pretend to know?
 The shuddering tenant of the frigid zone
 Boldly proclaims that happiest spot his own:
 Extols the treasures of his stormy seas,
 And his long nights of revelry and ease.
 The naked negro, panting at the line,
 Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine,
 Basks in the glade, or stems the tepid wave,
 And thanks his gods for all the good they gave.
 Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam,
 His first, best country ever is at home.
 And yet, perhaps, if countries we compare,
 And estimate the blessings that they share,

Though Patriots flatter, still shall wisdom find
 An equal portion dealt to all mankind.
 As different good, by art or nature given
 To different nations, makes their blessings even. (91)

Despite the condescension that may be detected in it, Pope's poem's theme is clearly of a progressive, or liberal, tenor. But not all of Ward's work is equally enlightened, when, for example, he claims:

The degraded Celt, with his utter improvidence, idleness, and filthy habits, as exhibited in the lower Irish, Welsh, and Bas-Bretons, is really but little above more decidedly savage races, although his vivid faculty of imagination gives life and interest to him in midst of poverty and dirt, in spite of physical and moral degradation. A large proportion of the Celtic races follow the religion of the Church of Rome. (33)

In most respects, Ward follows closely a pattern which is repeated in the official school texts of the period, and it is clear that his work was intended as a primer. It would serve as an ethnological text to replace outdated texts like Stewart's *Geography*, to which it is similar in many respects. From a raciological perspective, Ward's work serves two functions: it establishes the scientific or objective reality of the existence of races; and it presents a firmly monogenist doctrine in accord with the teachings of Christian doctrine. But the haste with which Christian raciologists accepted the monogenist position, sometimes tended to drive more rigorous empiricists like Huxley into the opposite camp.

During this period, at a time when Max Müller's works and lectures were giving a wider expression to the views of the science of language, raciological doctrines also became the doctrines

of nationalism. Educational authorities in Britain, the Empire, and in Anglo-Saxon America, gave explicit and implicit proof of their regard for the new science in textbooks and readers, illustrating its theories with extracts from the national literature which illustrated raciological theories, or expressed raciological beliefs. In England, this approach to the production of school readers included reference to the British nature of its colonies, as well as inclusion of the most Anglo-centric authors of the American literary world, and the writings of Washington Irving, for one, were well-represented. In Canada, imperial Britain represented the civilization in which the newest Anglo-Saxon nation might come to maturity. The literature selected for this educational canon was drawn from a wide spectrum of discourse. And often, extracts from the historical record and from literary history were subtly distorted by having been framed in a raciological context. Proper nouns like England, Britain, and Saxon, and terms like freedom and nation, accreted new raciological associations, and readings of earlier literature which had used these terms took on raciological connotations. That there were humanitarian sentiments governing much philological labour meant that philanthropic impulses in the modernization of pedagogy might be satisfied, at the same time as imperial indoctrination was carried out. That such a suffusion of raciological doctrines would result in anti-Semitism in England, and in genocide in Germany in the twentieth century, would have horrified the emancipatory instincts of the philologists of the 1860s and 1870s.

Victorian literary culture was greatly enriched by the liberal sensibility of many prominent philological raciologists. During the Victorian era, steam-power had made the world smaller, and the Victorian population explosion had made it smaller still. Projects like Max Müller's editing of *The Sacred Books of the East*, in forty-nine volumes, though it grew out of a project financed by the imperialist East India Company, provided Europeans with a new wisdom literature, one that

profoundly influenced much of the literature and poetry written before the Second World War. James Legge's translations of Confucius, Max Müller's versions of Hindu and Buddhist scriptures, and numerous other works of the same kind, were well suited to the philosophy of self-help, self-culture, and self-reliance so popular throughout the Victorian period. This work was often included in anthologies of the period, and circulated very widely.

A fine example of a cyclopaedic literary anthology produced from a raciological perspective is *The Universal Anthology* (1899), edited by the Englishman Richard Garnett, the Frenchman Leon Vallée, and the German Alois Brandl. In 1899, the work was translated into French, German, and Italian. Its first volume, which opens with Archibald Henry Sayce's translation of "the Assyrian Story of Creation," collects in one place the creation narratives of Babylon, Egypt, India, the Bible, Greece, and ancient China, and representations of the earliest Irish, Icelandic, Russian, and Norse literature--mostly on antique themes--by Keats, Swinburne, Hawthorne, Shakespeare, Tennyson, Shelley, and Macaulay, among others. German philology is represented by translations by Ernst Curtius and Theodor Mommsen.

The object of this study is not to present a systematic account of the schools of scientific opinion on raciological questions, nor to comment on the relative merit of Victorian philologists and anthropologists from the point of view of the modern state of those sciences. Instead, I would propose a reconfiguration of historiographic approach, one which considers the importance of scientific figures according to the influence they have had on the views of a wide public, and which recognizes that the propagation of raciological doctrine was carried out to such an extent that British culture throughout the Empire was imbued with raciological attitudes. Of course, the continued

ideological deployment of the concepts formulated in raciological literature make the wish for a wider circulation of such works problematic and potentially undesirable. Nonetheless, specialists interested in an accurate understanding of Victorian culture should be apprised of the high estimation in which literary figures like Emerson, and political ones like Gladstone, could hold a Max Müller. And the presence of the thought of philologists, and their raciological colleagues, in the work of the Victorian human scientists is inescapable. As models of professional scholarship, and as sources of Victorian thought, Max Müller's *Lectures* and *Chips from a German Workshop* or Sayce's *Science of Language* provide valuable resources. The occasional weakness of the levels of science in these works--ultimately arising as it does out of the fundamentally erroneous assumption of the existence of discrete races or discrete languages--is irrelevant in justly estimating value, because the category of error is an ontological, or historical, one. This is not to divest raciological literature of responsibility in the maintenance of the eternal flame of human bigotry. But simply remarking the existence of terms like Aryan, race, and Teutonic is insufficient to mark a discourse as belonging to a pernicious category of discourse.

In the section to follow, I will investigate some of the practical results of the development of raciological thought by concentrating on Victorian Canada. Canada's early nationalist literature--Confederation having come at the height of the prestige of raciological thought--clearly illustrates the power that raciological mythology had to unify as well as divide. In establishing the essentially British racial character of the new nation, raciological doctrine provided a convenient semiotic boundary between Canadian and American identities, and contributed much to Canadian ability, and willingness, to withstand American attempts at annexation of the new Dominion. An investigation of these matters provides insight into the ways in which a raciological understanding of British

identity operated throughout the Empire during this period, and will, I believe, serve to suggest new approaches to the study of Victorian England, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as Canada.

Part II

A Branch of Freedom's Oak:

British Americans, American Fenians, Education,

and the Question of Races in Canada

Chapter Four: The Politics of Raciology in This Canada of Ours

A Raciological View of Victorian Canada

We love those far-off ocean Isles
 Where Britain's monarch reigns;
 We'll ne'er forget the good old blood
 That courses through our veins;
 Proud Scotia's fame, old Erin's name,
 And haughty Albion's powers,
 Reflect their matchless lustre on
 This Canada of ours...
 May our Dominion flourish then,
 A goodly land, and free,
 Where Celt and Saxon, hand in hand,
 Hold sway from sea to sea.... (James David Edgar, "This Canada
 of Ours," *A Treasury of Canadian Verse* 116)

In the previous section, I have attempted to show that the creation of raciological typologies out of the linguistic categories of comparative philology, and the dissemination of this new knowledge, were important elements in Victorian British thought. In this section, I will investigate the practical impact of raciological ideas on the empire by focussing on a new Canadian *nation*: a nation configured raciologically, so as to establish itself as an historically-legitimate extension of imperial, and European, civilization, if remaining distinct in certain coherent racial particulars. The

nation's racial position—one which could be scientifically accounted for using the empirical methods of the day—would be that of an authentically *British*, if not precisely English, nation, with a population compounded from those of the British Islands, with a French admixture viewed as a "race" problem, or, alternately, conjured as loyal Breton Celts, *Normans*, or as a pre-revolutionary ethnological fossil, operating under the laws of feudal France (Durham 16-22).²⁴ The vocabulary of race simplified a mass of newly-generated historical and geographical information into discrete categories, and organized the complexities of contemporary global politics according to linguistic and ethno-geographic principles, connecting the British, and British American, subject to a cultural and linguistic narrative running into deep antiquity. Raciological thought eliminated the alienation of sect, class, and dialect, and united Christian Britons in the imperial civilization. In Canada, the traditional, if wary, respect shown the Roman Catholic Church, and its educational stewards in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Manitoba, a benign official policy towards the Jews, who were sheltered further by a wide sympathy in Canadian Masonic, Orange Lodge, and Presbyterian and Baptist circles, and a regrettable tendency to ignore, or marginalize, aboriginal populations, allowed for a relatively uncomplicated raciological narrative to unite the Canadian nation with a

²⁴James Hannay's *History of Acadia* (1879) is a good example of this view of the accommodation of the French, and of the assertion of their loyalty, in imperial Canada: "Indeed a modern Acadian would find it difficult to find in the France of the present day any of the lineaments of the old France from which his forefathers came, and for which they cherished such a deep affection. Here alone has been preserved with fidelity the type of the French peasant of two centuries and a half ago. Here again a portion of old France survives under happier conditions and with better hopes, preserving the picturesque and homelike aspects of the Mother Land without those drawbacks which made the French peasant of ancient times little better than a slave. Nearly one hundred thousand of the descendants of the ancient Acadians now people the Maritime Provinces of Canada, a loyal, frugal, industrious and contented peasantry, a people of strong religious convictions, and of high moral character. Instead of being an element of political weakness, as their ancestors were, they form one of the bulwarks of the state, and there is no race of men in the Dominion whose loyalty is more to be depended on" (306).

united myth of descent. In his influential *A Report On Canada*, perhaps the most important Canadian document prior to the *British North America Act*, the Earl of Durham informed the imperial government that Canadians "would never tolerate French pretensions to nationality," and thought that Legislative Union "would at once decisively settle the question of races" (Durham 229). By 1850, the year that Robert Gordon Latham's long-standard study of philological anthropology, *The Natural History of the Varieties of Man*, was published, British American statesmen were already discussing a Canadian "race," and, in 1851, Joseph Howe told an English audience that:

Its [Nova Scotia's] population is made up of English, Irish, and Scotchmen; or rather, of a native race, combining the blood and the characteristics of the three kingdoms, with a few Germans and French, who make agreeable varieties. (Howe vol. 2, 39)

In this speech, the notion that French, and in this case German, Canadians would be merely "varieties" of a "native race" fundamentally British is already suggested. And after Confederation, this point of view was more and more widely held and officially sanctioned.

During this period of Canadian history, raciological perspectives also lent dignity and importance to rural, and isolated, populations, and provided a basis for social advance in classes uprooted by the industrial revolution. Raciological thought provided a distinct national identity rooted in the culture and civilization of the Empire. In this way, the children of the Prince Edward Island fisherman, and those of the Manitoba farmer, potentially rootless off-spring of dislocated parents, were reminded of their descent, as Canadians, from the nation which had produced Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Samuel Johnson. And the presence of British institutions even on the Canadian frontier further contributed to Canadian self-consciousness of British nationality.

Many later Canadian historians have ignored the importance of raciological considerations in

their approaches to Victorian, or British, Canada, to the detriment of complete understanding both of early-Canadian culture and of the nature of British attachment to the British American colonies. Of the recent historical and historiographic works, Peter Burroughs' *British Attitudes Towards Canada 1822-1849* is one of the useful studies of the extra-political and non-economic aspects of British American culture in the Empire. But in the main, as Burroughs himself points out, Canadian historians have been at pains to stress the indigenous elements of Canadian history, often at the cost of an imperfect understanding of Victorian-Canadian self-perception, as loyal subjects of the British Crown.²⁵ This tendency can also be seen in the work of the more recent historian, Ian McKay, whose instructive article, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," similarly exaggerates Nova Scotia's isolation from the cultures of Great Britain, and cites several cases of willful historical distortion in order to debunk claims of Nova Scotian Scottishness. But by McKay's own account, nearly 25,000 Nova Scotians spoke Gaelic according to the 1931 census. Even in Scotland, this would be an important population for a full understanding of the development of Scottish language, history, and culture (McKay 7).

A different bias is to be seen in the otherwise useful standard history, Donald Creighton's *The Road to Confederation*. In discussing the difference between the Canadians who met at the Quebec Conference and the Americans who separated from Britain, Creighton begins:

This was the second time that men had set about founding a federal nation on the North American Continent. The two tasks of constitution-making were at least comparable; but

²⁵The use of the word "loyal" during this period is important, signifying a continuity of the power of Family Compact, Orange, United Empire, and Masonic power in early-Confederation Canada. Loyal Canadianism in the 1890s represented no particularly novel sentiment, even if its economic ramifications were substantial.

the thirty-odd Maritimers and Canadians who faced Macdonald that morning were a very different people from that other generation of North Americans who had adopted the Declaration of Independence and framed the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States. (141)

Creighton goes on to describe the Canadian statesmen as typical Victorians, with Victorian interests and values. He then adds a remark that is much more contentious, and potentially misleading:

The British Americans who sat waiting for Macdonald to begin his speech were as far away from the dogmas of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment as they were from twentieth-century obsessions with race, and with racial and cultural separatism. (141)

Here, Creighton is perhaps unfortunate in both his choices of analogy. As "mid-Victorian British colonials," as Creighton describes them, bound to the Empire by a national self-perception largely raciological in origin, Canadians were, in an eminent degree, products of the English (and Scottish) Enlightenment, and were not, by any means, free from racial obsession, as is demonstrably evident throughout the literary remains of the culture. But from another point of view, Creighton is quite right. Victorian raciological thought had little of the malign spirit of twentieth-century racism, and, instead, often represented liberal and progressive cultural forces. As an aspect of the British incarnation of Diffusion of Useful Knowledge movement, for instance, Anglo-Saxonism was aligned with principles of universal literacy, health and cleanliness, and the political emancipation of the poor. British identity in Canada, as constructed by raciological thinking, would also minimize the damage caused by religious sectarianism, emphasizing, as it did, the relatedness of European Canadians, and the ethnological unity of Canadian Britons. It is important to recognize the degree to which British Americans embraced a variety of cultural separatism in North America, and strove

to maintain a British racial identity, through the use of the school systems, in their national semiotics and rhetoric, and in the Canadian press, especially during the many conflicts between Canada and the United States during the later Victorian period. Even political and economic developments, like the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, were influenced by raciological considerations during this period. The raciological thinking which encouraged Victorian Canadian cultural separatism, and early Canadian nationalism, was based on the same raciological discourse that produced Anglo-Saxon thinking in England.²⁶

In *The Order of Things*, Michel Foucault justly remarks that the philological work of Grimm, Schlegel, Rask, and Bopp, has "remained on the fringes of our historical awareness, as though it had merely provided the basis for a somewhat lateral and esoteric discipline--as though, in fact, it was not the whole mode of being of language (and of our own language) that had been modified through it" (Foucault 281). In England, men like Friedrich Max Müller, Richard Chenevix Trench, Archibald Henry Sayce, Frederick Furnivall, and Walter William Skeat (and later, Henry Sweet, C.T. Onions, and J. A. H. Murray) raised philological scholarship into a literary sphere, and gained a popular audience and cultural saturation beyond the scope of even the most famous of our contemporary intellectuals.²⁷ Their widely-read and enthusiastically-appreciated works provided empiricist

²⁶For an useful discussion of early Canadian nationalism, see George Heiman's "The 19th Century Legacy: Nationalism or Patriotism?" in *Nationalism in Canada* (1966): 323-40.

²⁷A problem of pursuing such questions as these is that one is apt to need a collective term which embodies several features--in this case: an adherence to the rules of empiricist discourse established by a general agreement with specific conventions of imperial rhetoric and ideology; a scholarship which implies particular ethical and civic attitudes widely perceived as imperial; and a literary popularity and diffusion of opinion, grounded in a largely-progressive point of view, which, while guilty of anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic tendencies, also laboured to establish an imperial culture which would itself be governed by the desire for a Humanist, Christian, and British civilization. Again, the *genre* of mechanics' literature, including the works of Samuel

narratives of *imperial* pre-history, and gave Victorian raciological mythology an authority which it maintains to this day in the form of works like the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Although these raciological narratives, as it turns out, were constructed around mistaken certainties and oversimplifications which now make their inductions unreliable, nevertheless, raciological particulars drawn from and illustrated by philology grew into an empirical mythology of nation and race, one which would later, in a distorted form, instruct the dangerously inventive political imagination of the twentieth century. After the popularization of the work of philological anthropologists in the 1830s and 1840s, a discerning following of enthusiastic amateurs spread the new doctrines through the bureaucracy, school system, and popular literature and press, enabling raciological dogmas to enter the public consciousness as facts scientifically demonstrated by the minute and, generally, rigorous Germanic philology of Bopp, Grimm, Potts, Diez, and, in England, by Max Müller, A.H. Sayce, W.W. Skeat, and Robert Gordon Latham.

The poem above by James David Edgar, erstwhile speaker of the Canadian House of Commons, and Liberal whip responsible for marshalling the forces which brought about the fall of the first Macdonald cabinet, gives some idea of Victorian raciological poetics (Rand 116-17; Morgan 303-304). Numerous examples could also be produced of similar poems from England, Scotland, and Ireland, which take their inspiration from raciological themes.²⁸ The importance of

Smiles and J. Hartpole Lecky, can be raised here, as illustrative of the social politics which underlie the actions of a man like Charles Kingsley, yet another influential raciological thinker, and an important social activist.

²⁸See for example, *Poems of the Love and Pride of England* (1897), ed. Frederick and Millicent Wedmore, in which F.T. Palgrave, A. Swinburne, T. Watts Dunton, Austin Dobson, Macaulay, A.H. Clough, and Robert Bridges, are all presented in a raciological and imperial context.

philological literature, for raciological culture, was that it provided its initiates with a wealth of intellectual lore, organized around the central principles--taken as scientifically-established--of philological practice:

Thus we see in two short phrases, such as *Yesr* and *Yesm*, long chapters of history might be read. If a general destruction of books, such as took place under the Emperor Thsin-chi-hoang-ti (213 B.C.), should sweep away all historical documents, language, even in its most depraved state, would preserve the secrets of the past, and would tell future generations of the home and migrations of their ancestors from the East to the West Indies. (Max Müller, *Science of Language* 2:227)

Relying on the validity of this method, Britons were able to bring alive a national culture extending into a deep antiquity. And the alignment of British and Teutonic with Aryan, Indo-Germanic, or Indo-European pre-history further extended the reach of British cultural affinity. In a case like Max Müller, this emphasis on extended affinities attested by comparative philological study contributed much to the development of cosmopolitan culture. Raciological thought was first disseminated in British imperial culture, and most accurately, through the literate classes, and they were the primary--though by no means the only--readers of such literature. By the time of the Boer War, raciological thought is to be discerned at work throughout the British Empire, and in Canada especially: in the popular poetry, in the novels and popular journals, and in the textbooks produced by Canadian educational authorities. Some discussion of the political background of mid-Victorian Canada is necessary to explain how raciological thinking became important in definitions of Canadian nationality. Although Victorian Canada presents a particularly suggestive case--Confederation achieved as it was while raciological thought was near the height of its influence--these forces were

active throughout the Empire during this period, and the new Dominion offers regional examples of typical and widely-diffused imperial beliefs.

The New British Nation and the Fusion of Races

The Earl of Durham's (1792-1840) *Report on the Affairs of British North America* (1839) is an important document in the history of Canadian raciological thought. In the *Report*, Durham refers throughout to the main cause of political unrest in British North America as the conflict between the *two* races of the country: English and French. Although, for practical purposes, the terms are used linguistically in Durham's analysis, for rhetorical purposes the terms emphasize the racial kinship of the Canadian English to the English aristocrats and parliamentarians that Durham was addressing.

Although the English public was often indifferent or ignorant of the Canadian situation, English statesmen were careful to stress their faith in the future of the newest Anglo-Saxon nation (Seeley 190-91). In 1874, the Earl of Dufferin (1826-1902), a popular and influential governor-general of Canada between 1872 and 1878, wrote:

Words cannot express what pride I feel as an Englishman in the loyalty of Canada to England.... Yet so far from this gift of autonomy [Confederation] having brought about any divergence of aim or aspiration on either side, every reader of our annals must be aware that the sentiments of Canada towards Great Britain are infinitely more friendly now than in those early days when the political intercourse of the two countries was disturbed and complicated by an excessive and untoward tutelage; that never was Canada more united than at present in sympathy of purpose, and unity of interest with the mother country, more at one with her in social habits and tone of thought, more proud of her claim to share in the heritage of England's past, more ready to accept whatever obligations may be imposed upon her by her partnership in the future fortunes of the

empire. (qtd. in Wilson 782)

Dufferin also described Canada as the world's newest "nation," suggesting that Canada had become a nation in the sense that Scotland and Ireland were nations: nations with a continuous, if complex, raciological heritage.²⁹ In a speech on the future of Manitoba, Dufferin referred directly to Canada's racial heritage:

And so, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada will, with confidence and hope, dream her dream and forebode her destiny--a dream of ever broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages and expanding pastures; of constitutional self-government and a confederated empire; of page after page of honourable history, added as her contribution to the annals of the Mother Country and to the glories of the British race; of a perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well-balanced system of Government which combines in one mighty whole as the eternal possession of all Britons, the brilliant history and traditions of the past with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future.

(qtd. in Ross 176)

This speech is quoted from a work, *Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises* (1893), prepared by George W. Ross, a Minister of Education for Ontario, for the use of students on Arbor day, a Canadian nationalist holiday, since fallen into desuetude.

²⁹The term "nation" was used in a much different sense by the "Canada First" and Canadian Club movements in the 1890s. By that period, many Canadians had come to view Canadian nationalism as a sentiment which emphasized Canadian distinctness from Great Britain. Nonetheless, throughout the literature of these movements, the same views of racial identity, and of the Empire, are to be found. See Ewart, *Kingdom of Canada* 76; Denison 9 and 150; and MacPhail 20-37.

No doubt there was much unstated self-interest in Britain's farsighted policies towards its Dominion. But there also seems to have been a good deal of honest feeling in the various expressions of the Crown's representative's feelings of kinship with the new nation. That the possibility of the existence of such regard was new to the mid-Victorian Canadians is evident from Lord Dufferin's remarking the "excessive and untoward tutelage" of days past. Before the Union Act of 1840, the constant presence of British officials, foisted upon the colonies whether they would or no, precluded any too platonic consideration of one another by the parties involved.³⁰ The British capitulation, under Alexander Baring, later Lord Ashburton--and known throughout British North America as "Ashburton's Capitulation"--to Daniel Webster's claim for the Americans of large portions of New Brunswick and Quebec (a concession which forced Canadian railways to pass over American territory) also long rankled in the minds of many Eastern Canadians (Bourinot, *Canada* 375). But with relations with America soured by a Northern feeling that Canada, and Britain, had sympathized with the Confederacy, and then by the American cancellation of the reciprocity treaty in 1866, Britain became for Canadians a comforting, if largely semiotic, palisade against American belligerence. Canadian financier and industrialist Isaac Buchanan asked: "Is not Canada just England in America? If Canadians get an advantage, they wish no monopoly of it. Every Old Countryman is welcome to come and share it" (qtd. in Porritt 132).

The sentiments represented by Dufferin's speeches were common ones after the 1850s, and the expectation of the development of a new *British* nation, one with racial qualities peculiar to its ethnological mix and geographical situation, was widely and enthusiastically discussed. In 1858, Alexander Morris (1826-1889), who was to become a distinguished parliamentarian, and Chief

³⁰See J.G. Bourinot's *Canada* (1897): 338-63.

Justice and Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, delivered a lecture to the Mercantile Library Association in Montreal, significantly entitled *Nova Britannia*, in which he suggested that future "fusion of races" would create a new nation which would play an important part in "Greater Britain," a term later brought into general circulation by the publication of a work by Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke in 1868 (Morris iv-viii). In *Nova Britannia*, which sold out a large print run in 1858, was reprinted as late as 1884, and was described by Thomas D'Arcy McGee as "one of the principal agents in bringing into existence the present [Confederationist] government," Morris speaks of "New Britains in all parts of the habitable globe," and of:

The triple cord which binds together the English, Irish, and Scotch into one great people, who yet preserve to a considerable extent their national characteristics in support of the British Constitution and of civil and religious liberty [which] has given to Britain her immense power and her proud position. (Morris iii-iv and 5)

He goes on to point to

...the energetic character inherited by our people, which the fusion of races and the conquering from the forest of new territories has fostered, and the influences of our climate have rendered hardier. (38)

Like Lord Dufferin, his prediction of the development of a Canadian *nation* is intended in a raciological sense, and Morris says that he is "glad to say this instinct of nationality has already been aroused" (42). He goes on to describe a British North American nation which is racially allied to the Mother Country, but which has been influenced by its distinct climate, and by the racial admixture of a French element, that Morris, following Lord Durham, feels will ultimately fuse with the British population:

Nations, like individuals, have their peculiar characteristics. The British people, so firmly combined and yet so singularly distinct, present in proud pre-eminence a high-toned national character, a fit model for our imitation. Inheriting, as we do, all the characteristics of the British people, combining therewith the chivalrous feeling and impulsiveness of France, and fusing other nationalities which mingle here with these, into one, as I trust, harmonious whole--rendered the more vigorous by our northern position, and enterprising by our situation in this vast country which owns us as its masters--the British American people have duties and responsibilities of no light character imposed upon them by Providence. (49)

Morris's views were quite influential in Canada at the time. He had been active since 1849 in the British American League, and also orchestrated the meeting between Sir John A. Macdonald and George Brown which resulted in the coalition which soon after brought about the confederation of the British American Colonies (Morris vi-vii; Morgan, *Dominion Annual* 168). That this Confederation was not considered as a sundering of ties with Britain--racial or cultural--is illustrated by the speech given by Macdonald in the Canadian Parliament on the occasion of that event:

Some are apprehensive that the very fact of our forming this union shall hasten the time when we shall be severed from the Mother Country. I have no apprehension of that kind. I believe it will have a contrary effect. I believe that as we grow stronger, that as it is felt in England that we have become a people, able from our union, our strength, our population, and the development of our resources, to take our position among the nations of the world, she will be less willing to part with us than she would be now, when we are

broken up into a number of insignificant colonies, subject to attack piece-meal, without any concerted action or common organization of defence. I am strongly of the opinion, that year by year, as we grow in population and strength, England will see more clearly the advantages of maintaining the alliance between British North America and herself.

(qtd. in Ross 136)

Here, Macdonald's suggestion that Canada would "become a people" clearly points to the same "fusion of races" that Durham and Morris anticipated earlier. Discussion of the nation that would grow out of the blending of races is common in the political writing of this period. The great Scottish-Canadian educational reformer, archaeologist, and president of the University of Toronto, Sir Daniel Wilson (1816-92), also speaks of the future of the nation, and of relations between French and English Canada, in frankly raciological terms:

A problem of singular interest is being solved here. Two races, the foremost in the ranks of humanity, long rivals in arts and arms: the stolid, slow, but long-enduring Saxon; the lively, impressible, gallant Frank, are here invited to share a common destiny, and work out a future of their own. The Norman and Saxon of elder centuries have united with the Celt to make England what she is. Saxon, Norman and Celt meet here anew, under other fortunes, to make of our common Dominion what future generations will know how to prize. (qtd. in Ross 180)

Such examples could be multiplied considerably. As the century progressed, discussion of Canadian loyalty routinely took place in a raciological context, terms like Anglo-Saxon, Briton, and Nordic, being fully naturalized into a Canadian context, and applying as much to the new Canadian nation as they did to the Mother Country.

In *Patriotic Recitations*, the passage quoted from Dufferin's speech is followed by a consideration of "Canadian Loyalty," by Egerton Ryerson (1803-82), in which the prominent Methodist and school superintendent of Canada West suggests:

Canadian loyalty is the perpetuation of that British national life which has constituted the strength and glory of Great Britain since the morning of the Protestant Reformation, and placed her at the head of the freedom and civilization of mankind. This loyalty maintains the characteristic traditions of the nation--the mysterious links of connection between grandfather and grandson--traditions of strength and glory for a people, and the violations of which are a source of weakness and disorganization. (qtd. in Ross 177)

Here, we find the same, raciological, sense of *nation* used by Dufferin, Ryerson adding the quasi-mystical element common in much raciological thinking, pointing to the "mysterious links of connection" which create racial continuity. Ross's *Patriotic Recitations* provides a concentrated source for Canadian raciological views, one that is especially germane in that it was an official work, intended for school use by the Ontario Minister of Education, and dedicated to "the Teachers of Canada." In the anthology, Joseph Howe, like Alexander Morris, again speaks of the "three great branches of the British family," and suggests the unity of this family is important to "the future of our race in all time to come" (164). In this case, Howe speaks in favour of improving relations between Canada and the United States, arguing, "for nearly two thousand years we were one family," but Howe was no especial admirer of the Americans (164).

Descriptions of the ethnological composition of a blended Canadian population are common in Canadian writings and speeches of the time. And it is clear that Canadians believed that Canadian raciological conditions differed greatly from those of the United States, and that

Canadians preferred closer attachments to Britain, and were not a little wary of the foreign power to the south. Between 1865 and 1870, when nearly a million men were enlisted in the Union armies, the Americans were strong in their belief in their own capacity for modern war, and for annexing British North America whenever it suited them (Steele 281). The Anglo-Saxon rhetoric of English raciological literature thus provided a useful means of ensuring that Canadian and British interests coincided, without demanding, or inviting, retrograde British interference in Canadian political affairs (Bourinot, *Canada Under British Rule* 374-6).

Loyalty, Raciology, and Canadian Unity

The granting of Dominion status to both the willing and the reluctant provinces of British America while raciological thinking was at the height of its prestige and authority makes Victorian Canada particularly instructive in tracing the practical effects of the doctrines of new raciological sciences like philology, ethnology, anthropology, and geography. From the Upper Canadian Educational bureaucrat producing school readers, to the Cape Breton miner with an enthusiasm for Burns and Gaelic song, raciological opinion, or ethnological mythology, can be detected, subtly altering conventional late-Georgian and early-Victorian attitudes and interpretations of history, and preparing the public mind for the ontological developments made necessary by the political and cultural changes of the time. At the mid-century, as the first generation of raciological thinkers publicized their settled doctrines widely, British and Canadian scholars and educationalists were labouring vigorously to establish the scientific reality of the ethnological entities implicated in Canadian nationalist allegiances and affinities: *Anglo-Saxons, Teutons, Britons, English, Scots, Franks, Celts, and Aryans*; the French and Irish also left to choose from among those raciological tags that imperial British narratives of racial history could best accommodate. John Reade's poem, "To Louis Frechette," gives some idea of the way in which racial blending was viewed by educated Canadians of the period:

Shamrock and thistle and sweet roses gay,
Both red and white, with parted lips that smile,
Like some bright maiden of their native isle--
These, with the later maple, take, we pray,
To mingle with thy laurelled lily, long

Pride of the brave and theme of poet's song.
 They err who deem us aliens. Are not we
 Bretons and Normans too? North, South, and West
 Gave us, like you, of blood and speech their best,
 Here, re-united, one great race to be. (*Treasury of Canadian Verse* 288)

Irish-born John Reade (1837-1919) was the literary editor of the *Montreal Gazette*. He also inaugurated the Montreal chapter of the American Folklore Society with David Pearce Penhallow (1854-1910) of McGill University (*Dominion Annual* 1884 408). Reade's poem celebrates the French Academy's recognition of the poetry of "the Lamartine of Canada," Louis Frechette (1839-1908), using raciological concepts of common racial origin to integrate French Canadians into the racial mythology of the empire. The most popular anthologies of Canadian poetry of the period provide a rich field of evidence for raciological sensibilities among poets and anthologists (Rand 147-48, 164, 288, 311; Lighthall, *Canadian Poems* 13-24; Wedmore 220-29).³¹ As we shall see, this is also true of Victorian Canadian school readers, if even more designedly.

This mythology of race was a vital element of British Canadian attempts to prevent annexation by the United States. In the wake of the American Civil War, Canada was bracing for an American invasion. Acrid relations with the Federalists, soured by the *Trent* affair in 1861, when Britain herself had threatened war, and further still, by the raid on St. Alban's in 1864, after which American newspapers called for the annexation of Canada, constituted the atmosphere in which the Canadians of British North America, and their Maritime cousins, would confederate the new nation (Porritt

³¹Although he overlooks the importance of race to early Canadian conceptions of nationalism, a good introduction to literary nationalism in early Canada is Frank Watt's "Nationalism in Canadian Literature" in *Nationalism in Canada* (1966) 235-51.

133-149; Hardy 362-365; and McMullen 263-314). Lincoln's rebuke of Canada for the St. Alban's raid, in which "a few rash Confederates who had found refuge in Canada" had crossed the border and attacked a Vermont bank, also reminded Canadians of the American raids by the so-called Hunter lodges in 1838, and of American interference during the Upper Canadian rebellion in 1837 (Tiffany, 61; and Hardy, 159-60). In 1865, Lincoln informed Canada that:

In view of the insecurity of life and property in regions adjacent to the Canadian border by reason of recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harboured there ... I have thought it proper to give six month's notice that the United States might hold themselves at liberty to increase the armaments on the Lakes if they shall find it necessary. (qtd. in Porritt, 149-50)

This declaration by Lincoln intensified public awareness of the political animus that existed between British America and the United States, and increased Canadian consciousness of its British allegiances, lending enthusiasm to Canadian submission to imperial policy (Bourinot, *Canada* 377). The strong tradition of loyalism in Canada, in both its United Empire and Orange Lodge varieties, long supported politically by the descendants of the so-called "Family Compact," also prepared Canadians for an integral national identification with England (McMullen 1:313-14). The fact that, by 1842, steam-vessels were regularly crossing from Halifax to England at a rate of motion that would have been considered miraculous during the Georgian period brought the Mother Country into closer proximity and strengthened imperial feeling:

Of 28 voyages of the Acadia, Britannia, Caledonia, and Columbia, performed in the years 1840, 1841, and 1842, between Liverpool and Halifax--the average time employed in the passage is found to be as follows:--*Outward* voyage to Halifax, 13 days, 6 hours:

Homeward to Liverpool, 11 days, 6 hours. (Dick *Christian Philosopher* 205)

Thomas Dick's account of steam navigation is illuminating in this context because it gives an impression of the way in which shrinking distances were changing people's geographical perspectives during this period. Christopher Atkinson's emigrants' *Guide to New Brunswick* (2nd ed., 1842), points out that New Brunswick is closer to London than Edinburgh was in the days of George III. Atkinson also adds a reassurance to the British emigrant:

The people of New Brunswick are most loyal to their Queen, and truly devoted to British laws and British supremacy. They see enough of the workings of democracy among their neighbours to avoid it as a pestilence, and they cling to the pillar of the British constitution, as the only sure support of true liberty. (7)

The situation was much the same in Nova Scotia. There, one such loyal Briton was the Nova Scotian statesman and United Empire Loyalist descendant, Sir Joseph Howe. In January 1851, Howe, speaking as a Nova Scotian before a distinguished English audience in Southampton, explained:

The object of my visit to England is to draw closer the ties between the North American Provinces and the mother country. To reproduce England on the other side of the Atlantic; to make the children, in institutions, feelings, and civilization, as much like the parent as possible, has been the labour of my past life. (2:33)

Howe saw Nova Scotia, as did Dufferin Canada, as a *nation* in a racialological sense, in the same sense that European nations were nations. In order to enlighten an audience—one he did not expect would know much—he offered the following description of his homeland:

Nova Scotia, in many respects, greatly resembles England. It is nearly an Island, being

joined to the Province of New Brunswick by a narrow isthmus. Of coal, it has endless fields; it has iron in rich abundance; inexhaustible fisheries surround its shores; and its noble harbours are open all the year round. Its population is made up of English, Irish, and Scotchmen; or rather, of a native race, combining the blood and the characteristics of the three kingdoms, with a few Germans and French, who make agreeable varieties.

(2:39)

During this speech Howe is at pains to point out that "Australia and New Zealand are fourteen thousand miles from the shores of England; the British Provinces of North America are but two thousand five hundred" (2:43). He also reminds his audience that "from 1825 to 1846 inclusive [710,410 British emigrants] went to the United States, to strengthen a foreign and rival power" (2:43). Howe's use of racial "varieties" in this context is also suggestive, and illustrates the biological basis of his conception of the Nova Scotian population.

Canadian perception of the threat posed by this "foreign and rival power" intensified, as the American Civil War progressed. In the wake of the Trent affair, in 1861, England sent 3000 troops to British America (Vincent 126). And the lack of concord was aggravated, after the Southern attempt at secession had been quelled, by the acrimonious and protracted dispute between Britain and the United States over the Alabama Claims, in which the U.S. demanded damages from Britain for having fitted out a Confederate raider named Alabama (Roberts 348-9, 360, and 370-71). The American abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty after twelve years, in 1866, was also regarded by Canadians as punishment for their own, and British, policies during the late American war, and the United States certainly intended to generate Canadian willingness for American annexation (Porritt 119-58).

For at least fifty years after Confederation, despite the misconceptions some Englishmen entertained regarding the depth of Colonial loyalty, the public discourse of Canadian society was "British" and Canadians "Britons," as they had been "Anglo-Saxons" in the 1830s, when Thomas Chandler Haliburton had laboured "to promote a *zollverein* of the Anglo-Saxon peoples," and "thus, if possible, to effect a world-wide Anglo-Saxon union or unity," as J. D. Logan writes in his *Highways of Canadian Literature* (63-88). In an essay entitled "Loyalty--to What," in 1909, the Prince Edward Island statesman Andrew Macphail (1864-1938) wrote:

Having in mind, it may be, these aberrations of political feeling in their own land, the more ignorant amongst the writers for the British press pretend to believe that we are ready to fly into the arms of the United States upon the slightest pretext; or, failing in this treachery, that by some secret *coup d'état* we shall set up an independent Government of our own. These persons would please us more if they would refrain from imputing to us such evil intentions; and they would serve us better by not instilling into the minds of foreigners these unfounded suspicions. (*Essays in Politics* 22)

Added to a political atmosphere in which the phantom of annexation haunted the public imagination, raciological thinking had profound and complex results. Its capacity for unifying a new, vast, and thinly-populated country, under the raciological banners of *Anglo-Saxon*, *Briton*, and *Celt*, was vital, both to creating a new nationality out of various regional populations and religious communities, and to formulating the national mythology which would create its new citizens, the Britons who would defend the integrity of the British Dominion against the American threat. The moribund Canadian military capacity having been refreshed by the inauguration of the 100th (Canadian) Regiment of the line in August of 1858, Canadians began to take some responsibility for their own

defence; the Beaver Lacrosse club in Montréal formed the Victoria Volunteer Rifles, later the Victoria Rifles of Canada, and across the country preparations were made for protecting the country from the American threat (Vincent 126; *Montreal During the American Civil War* 8).³² I. E. A. Dolby, in *The Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1862*, gives a revealing account of Canadian-American sentiment at this time:

There is no love lost between the Americans and Canadians at present. The latter cannot help sneering at the strange disproportion between the exploits and the "brag" of the Yankees; and they, in return, are perpetually talking as if they could chastise Canada, like a saucy child, at any given minute. Here is a cool announcement from the *Portland Advertiser*:--"After we get our Grand Trunk Railway to the Pacific, and after all the British possessions on this continent shall have been annexed to the Federal Union, and when the travel and trade of Europe and Asia are passing through it, Portland will be among the greatest commercial cities of the world." Here is the reply of the *Montreal Advertiser*:--"We entirely agree with him; but we should not like to buy real estate in Portland and wait for these events and the consequent rise in value. We would rather speculate in Portland as a flourishing seaport on the Atlantic coast of Canada." Such is the harmless *chaff* which is perpetually flying between the two countries. (25)

That there was "no love lost" between the two countries at this period is beyond question. And an important outcome of the ill will was the intensifying of Canadian identification with British interests, with British nationality, and with British "blood."

³²See Notman's photographs of such a militia in Stanley Trigg's archive of Victorian Canadiana, *The Composite Photographs of William Notman* (50).

Raciology and the Fenian Threat

The currency of raciological notions in post-Confederation Canada complicated the position of both French and Irish Canadians, and placed them in a situation different from that of their cousins in the American republic. The attitude of the Irish in Canada during the 1860s is reflected in the number of Irish Maritimers and Canadians who flocked to join militias to defend the country from Fenian attacks, attacks more the product of Anglo-American, than Anglo-Irish, politics. Canadians, including Irish-Canadians, took great umbrage at the attitude of the American government and at the popular support for the Fenians shown by the Union States and Mid West. American settlers moving north, bringing their pro-annexation politics with them, intensified Canadian unease (Bourinot, *Canada* 361-79, *Canada Under British Rule*, 213-35 and 301; C.G.D. Roberts 347-64; and Porritt, 119-71). Negotiations with Britain over the *Alabama* claims further promoted Canadian resentment of their unpredictable southern neighbours.

In Nova Scotia, on December 18, 1865, the Corkman and Catholic Archbishop Thomas Louis Connolly (b.1814) wrote to Lieutenant Governor Gordon of New Brunswick about the Fenian problem and American annexation:

Our people have nothing to expect from change of any kind but increased taxation, diminished incomes, a decided fall in the social scale, the scathing contempt of their new rulers, as was ever the case in New England, and with these, perhaps the horrors of a devastating war. The great Government of the United States has nothing more tempting to offer. (qtd. in Slaterry 315)

The feeling that American republicanism represented a "fall in the social scale" for Canadians of the Victorian period was neatly compatible with the notion that imperial civilization--with its

educational doctrines and raciological perspective--represented the highest development of civilization. In general, despite sectarian division, and the widespread activity of the powerful Orange Lodges, official Canadian bureaucratic practice was, by necessity, inclusive, and religious differences were carefully ignored. In the school system of Upper Canada in the 1850s, for example, the Bible and prayer books were not authorized as text books, and the Irish Series of texts were insisted upon by school authorities for their neutral position on sectarian matters (Curtis 274).

Archbishop Connelly's remarks on the Fenians are trenchant:

And what have we to expect from the so-called Fenians? That pitiable knot of knaves and fools, unable to degrade themselves, are doing all in their power to add another Ballingarry to the history of Ireland, and to make the condition of our poor country more deplorable than before. (qtd. in Slaterry 315-16)

Connelly's expression of Canadian loyalty and of readiness for the defence of British America also deserves notice as an expression of the degree to which Irish Canadian identity had been subsumed in the new Canadian nationality:

Two millions of Protestants and one million eight hundred thousand Catholics, who have mothers, wives and daughters, happy homes and free altars and a Government of their own choice, will meet them as they would the freebooter and the assassin. (qtd. in Slaterry 316)

In New Brunswick, another Corkman powerful in the Irish-Canadian community was Timothy Anglin (b.1822), editor of the *Freeman*, the Liberal and Catholic newspaper. Anglin, although an opponent of Confederation, and accused of Fenian sympathies by the Protestant pro-Confederation faction, described the Fenians as "a mad and reckless body of men, who did not know what they

were about," and added that "with them" he "had no sympathy" (qtd. in Baker 141).

Sir John George Bourinot (1807-1902), the eminent historian and parliamentary clerk, speaks bitterly of this period of Canadian-American relations, and especially of the actions of Irish America. Bourinot spoke for most Irish Canadians, who rallied in large numbers to the defence of New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario during the Fenian raids, when he wrote in *Canada*:

Contemporaneously with the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty came the raids of the Fenians--bands of men who did dishonour to the cause of Ireland, under the pretence of striking a blow at England through Canada, where their countrymen have always found happy homes, free government, and honourable positions. (378)

Bourinot does not see the Fenian raids as an isolated action of an Irish-American fringe, either. He continues:

For months before the invasion American newspapers were full of accounts of the assembling and arming of these bands on the frontiers of Canada. They invaded the Dominion in 1866, property was destroyed, and a number of Canadian youth lost their lives near Ridgeway, in the Niagara district, but one O'Neil and his collection of disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice were forced back by the Canadian forces to the country whose neutrality they had outraged. (378)

Bourinot goes on to complain that the "United States authorities had calmly looked on while the preparations for these raids were in progress." The politician and historian adds that the American House of Representatives, soon after the raids, sent a resolution to Lincoln requesting him, "to cause the prosecutions, instituted in the United States courts against the Fenians, to be discontinued if

compatible with the Public interest'--a request which was complied with" (*Canada* 378).³³ Bourinot also complains:

For all the losses ... that Canada sustained through these invasions of her territory, she has never received any compensation whatever. (378)

Of course, Celtic characteristics were made much of in the explanations offered for Fenian-American violence. It should also be remembered that, despite American Fenianism's distinct identity and situation, Fenian activity in Great Britain itself was also frenetic at the time, and Irish nationalist feeling was becoming less and less compatible with Canadian patriotism. James Stephens, having escaped from gaol in November 1865, arrived in New York in May 1866 to reports that £200,000 had been raised by American supporters. In January, 380,000 Fenians were said to be in America; and in February, the Fenian schooner *Friend* captured and scuttled the British schooner *Wentworth* off Eastport (Vincent 259-60). So by the time the Fenians invaded on June 2, 1866, British North American loyalty to the Empire and disdain of American interference had reached a pitch, sentiments that can still be detected in Bourinot's accounts written thirty years later (*Canada Under British Rule* 230-31 and 305). These sour relations with the United States encouraged Canadian willingness to be convinced of its organic or blood connection to the Mother Country, and raciological terminology provided exactly the kind of semiotic union with Britain that the founders of the nation desired. The long struggle for responsible government, and wide sympathy for at least some of the political views of the Upper Canadian rebels of the 1830s, did not

³³It is possible that Lincoln's actions in this matter were guided by a recollection of the fact that the lack of support shown by the Van Buren administration for the insurgent Hunter lodges' attempts at invading Canada in 1838 had contributed to the defeat of the Democratic party. See Tiffany 8.

inspire any Canadian wish for English political interference. But the American threat was continuously signalled, and a Canadian faith in racial identity with Great Britain provided a comforting sense of security and stability.

This Canadian adherence to imperial culture made the situation of the Irish in Canada a complex one. The Orange Lodges were nearly at the zenith of their power in the three decades which followed Confederation, and Canadian fears of American expansionism were shared by Canadian Protestant and Catholic alike. The Catholic Church, divided between a dominant Irish and an energetic Acadian community, officially supported Confederation and the Empire against Fenianism (Toner 133-45). Earl Granville, the Foreign Secretary, was still able, as late as February 17, 1885, to deny permission to John Boyle O'Reilly, a Fenian escaped from British justice and editor of the *Boston Pilot*, "to visit Montreal for the purpose of lecturing on St. Patrick's Day" (Morgan, *Annual Register*, 1885 362). Yet the Irish-Canadians were by no means insensitive to the aspirations of their families still in Ireland. In his *Reminiscences*, Goldwin Smith writes:

In conjunction with the head of the Orangemen, Mr. E.F. Clarke, I got up a Defensive League over which I had the honour of presiding, and which made in the Park at Toronto a strong Loyalist demonstration. The politicians were nowhere to be seen. However loyal they might be, they could not risk the loss of the Irish vote.... Whether my course on the Irish question was right or wrong, my motives were at least patriotic. I might smile at charges of disloyalty levelled against me by men who in the Dominion Government or in the Ontario Legislature helped to imperil the integrity of the United Kingdom by pressing Home Rule Resolutions for the purpose of capturing the Irish vote. (445)

Irish-Canadian sentiment during this period, although complacent about the imperial rule of Canada,

and hostile to Fenian-American interference in Canadian affairs, was still sympathetic to a desire for responsible government, if not to outright self-determination and Home Rule in Ireland. Ireland should have the same right to responsible government as the rest of the Empire, but like their cousins in Canada, the Irish would be eventually assimilated to the British race. As Goldwin Smith's *The Bystander* for September 1880 put it:

A Scotch and English population, large in number and strong out of proportion to its number, occupies the North of Ireland, and forms throughout the island a wealthy and powerful class. The native language is all but extinct. A Liberal policy has brought the wealthy laity, with few exceptions, and a large portion of the priesthood, to the side of the Union, while the priests as a body, and especially the hierarchy, are opposed to Fenianism. The Irish colonies in England are yet unassimilated, but assimilation must take place, and when it does, it will amount to a fusion of the races. (*The Bystander* 506)

In Canada, this fusion of races was already seen to be under way, and Irish or French extraction was no impediment to a fully British patriotism. As William Jordan Rattray (1835-1883), journalist at the *Toronto Mail* and author of *The Scot in British North America* (4 vols. 1880-84), wrote in "Memories of the Old Land":

There is no more patriotic Canadian than the Frenchman, and he is also the proudest of his origin and race. There is nothing, then, to forbid the English-speaking Canadian from revering the country of his fathers, be it England, Scotland, or Ireland; on the contrary, it may be laid down as a national maxim, that the unpatriotic Englishman, Scot, or Irishman, will be sure to prove a very inferior specimen of the Canadian. (*Patriotic Recitations* 187)

What remained for patriotic educators, journalists, poets and legislators was to establish the collective raciological identity of Canadians, an identity which could accommodate four varieties in one nation. Canadian-Irish loyalty and anti-Fenian sentiment during this time are indicative of the degree of Irish assimilation to British nationality--in its raciological sense--and raciological logic encouraged the process of fusion.

Chapter Five: The Raciological Muse in the Great White North

The Britain of the West: Blood and Canadian Literature

The establishment of a raciological identity in the minds of Canadians was not difficult: raciological terminology was easily integrated into the existing, traditional, narratives of the history of Great Britain; and the British American education systems--even long before Confederation--were far in advance of those in Great Britain or the United States, compulsory taxation for support of free public schools having been established as early as 1846 (Colmer 690). As Peter A. Crossby (b. 1842) writes in his *Gazeteer of British North America* (1873), the Ontario school system, for example, was "a partial adaptation of the best features of the systems of New York, Massachusetts, Ireland, and Germany, blended and modified to suit the circumstances of the country" (64). By adapting the content of Canadian school texts to Lord Dufferin's desire for "sharing in the heritage of England's past," imperial raciological attitudes might be circulated in an effective manner, indoctrinating Canadian children with the views of the raciological philologists and anthropologists.

Often this was done under the guise of United Empire Loyatism, Orangeism, and, later, *Loyal Canadianism*, and after the Confederation period traditional loyalist rhetoric increasingly gained raciological connotations, with a growing reference to Anglo-Saxons, Teutons, Celts, Aryans, and, especially, Britons--a shift in usage which has kept the full extent of the influence of raciological ideas from being fully remarked. For instance, in their secret handbook, *Forms To Be Used in All Lodges of the Loyal Orange Association of British America* (1879), Canadian Orangemen recognized the principle that

The Association is general, not confined to any particular place, person or nation, but

extends itself wherever a loyal Protestant Briton is to be found, to the remotest corner of the globe, for the establishment of Protestant faith and British liberty to the latest age of posterity. (85)

Here, the phrase "the latest age of posterity" underscores the deeply *historicized* context of loyalist activities, while the term *Briton* unites the English (with their national narrative of Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and Teutons) with the Empire Scots, Irish, Welsh and other Celts. Just before Confederation, in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, the most influential segments of society were composed predominantly of persons of Scots, English, and Protestant Irish extraction or nationality.³⁴ The term Briton, and British, premised an inclusive narrative of racial history, one centred in England but without the exclusivist aspect of the term *English*, which was often used more to mean the people of *old England*, rather than Great Britain and its colonial dependencies. In Canada, raciological terminology provided the appearance of a firm imperial identity with the Mother Country, without the damage to self-respect that was thought to be caused by the failure to self-govern (Durham 220).

A good indication of the practical value of a raciological interpretation of Canadian society is given in an immigrant's manual, published in Toronto in 1896, and widely available under the title *Safe Citizenship*. The work is revealing in that it offers a detailed account and comparison of the particulars of life in both Canada and America, with poetic illustrations added throughout. The Canadian materials are written or assembled by the Canadian historian J. Frith Jeffers (1842-1917),

³⁴The United Empire Loyalists shared this background, a great many of them native Ulstermen, or of Scots-Irish extraction, who sometimes clashed with the West Country, Cornish, Scots and Protestant Irish populations who held power in the Canadas and the Maritimes before 1783. See Toner 90-105.

who had also written a history of Canada for school use in 1875, and who makes numerous references to Canada's raciological situation. In his section on the government of the "Dominion of Canada," Jeffers includes an extract from a poem by Agnes Maule Machar (1837-1927):

Four nations welded into one--with long historic past
 Have found in these our western wilds, one common life, at last;
 Through the young giant's mighty limbs, that stretch from sea to sea,
 There runs a throb of conscious life--of waking energy.
 From Nova Scotia's misty coast to far Columbia's shore,
 She wakes,--a band of scattered homes and colonies no more,
 But a young nation, with her life full beating in her breast,
 A noble future in her eyes,--the Britain of the West. (248)

Several important raciological themes are touched upon in this poem: the fusion of the four founding races; the continuity of Canadian and British history; the birth of Canada as a "nation"; and the idea of Canada as a trans-Atlantic Britain. Canadians' status as Britons is reiterated often in *Safe Citizenship*, and under the heading "The British Flag," other poetic extracts are offered. Alexander Muir (1830-65), the author of "the Maple Leaf Forever," is represented by the chorus of "another of his national songs":

We're Britons born, are Britons still,
 And Britons aye shall be;
 The Union Jack, the flag we love,
 Shall guard our Maple tree. (399)

Muir, born in Scotland, moved to Canada at the age of three, and serves as an example of the

usefulness of raciological discourse in naturalizing the large population of British immigrants to Canada. And many of the early patriotic songs and poems of Canada are written by native British, Scottish, and Irish authors like Evan MacColl (1808-98), Sarah Anne Curzon (1833-98), and D'Arcy McGee (1825-68). The reason for this is not mysterious. At this period Canadian literature was very much a regional variety of British literature, in the same way in which English-language Scottish, Welsh, and Irish writings can be seen as varieties of Victorian British literature, drawing inspiration from the central British literary canon. Immigrant authors in Canada were easily able to adapt their work to Canadian themes because of the close relationship of Canadian nationalist semiotics to those of the British Islands from which these immigrants had left. In fact, the immigrant guides of the period are at pains to stress the British character of Canadian society, and insist on the ease with which British and Scottish settlers are accommodated in the new land (Atkinson 6-7). The genre of Canadian nationalist writing in the Victorian period is closely related to similar writings to be found widely in the popular literature of England during this period.³⁵ Frederick and Millicent Wedmore's *Poems of the Love and Pride of England* (1897) offers a good selection of the poems of this genre, and it is instructive about English poetry of the Victorian period in general that many famous, or once-famous, authors are featured. Robert Browning, F. T. Palgrave, Alfred Austin, Richard Garnett, Algernon Swinburne, P. H. Gosse, A. Conan Doyle, T. Watts Dunton, and A. H. Clough are all represented by selections which focus on the rhetoric of imperial or British

³⁵William Douw Lighthall makes this point forcefully in the introductory essay to his *Songs of the Great Dominion* (xxi-xxxvii), as does Theodore Rand in his *Treasury of Canadian Verse*: "It will be observed that not only in recent verse, but also in that of nearly fifty years ago, Canadian poets have given expression to Anglo-centric conceptions and aspirations, divining with poetic insight the coming good" (xi).

nationalism.³⁶ From a Canadian perspective, one of the most pertinent poems included in the *Pride of England* anthology is Sir Lewis Morris's long poem, "A Song of Empire" (Wedmore 220-32). Morris emphasizes the continuity of British culture in the Empire, and of the "unnumbered subject millions" that have issued "from the ancient land" (225). Of Canada, Morris writes:

The great Dominion issues forth,
Fit nurse of stalwart British hearts and strong. (224)

He continues:

From teeming ancient cities bright and fair,
Whether in summer's heat or frosty wintry air,
Stamped with the nameless charm and grace
Of a more joyous race;
Or on the rounding prairie nestling down
Homestead and frequent new-built town.
Even to those ultimate wilds where comes to be
Another Westminster on the Pacific sea. (224)

Here the raciological distinctness of Canadians who, while still British, are "a more joyous race" is established and explained by geography and climate. But again, Canada's extraction from "ancient" British sources, and the reproduction of British culture on the Canadian frontier, are emphasized.

³⁶Robert Bridges's own *The Spirit of Man* (1916) is an excellent example of an anthology of poems of this genre, and contains sections on "The Free Commonwealth" and "British Colonies" (403-409).

Raciology in the Literature of the Canadian Britons

The widespread circulation of Canadian school readers, the popularity of several of the early anthologies of Canadian verse, and the inclusion of minor verse in popular journals like *The Canadian Magazine*, created a wide readership in Victorian Canada for a poetry that forms an instructive study from a raciological perspective, despite its possible literary faults. A large body of poetry existed which, while it often seems saccharine or bombastic to a modern reader, was widely read, and made poetry less remote from the common people of the country than it is in our own time. Often twentieth-century views of this poetry are harsh to the point of unfairness, or indifferent to its historic currency, and a good deal of interesting, and engaging, poetry to be found in the work of these once-popular poets is overlooked by students relying on recent anthologies.

In writing of Margaret Atwood's edition of *The New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* in a review in *The Globe and Mail*, Louis Dudek makes much the same point in speaking about a time "before poetry became a mass movement of the alternative cultures":

Then in 1913, in the days of Burpee's *Canadian Eloquence*, we had the first *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*, edited by the poet Wilfred Campbell. It contained 100 poets--ah, but there's the rub. Only a dozen or so of these poets survive in memory today; and A. J. M. Smith's *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* in 1960 eliminated 89 of them at one blow. The *Oxford Book*, therefore, does not represent a permanent and growing literature to which new names are being slowly added. We have a new literature every 20 years or so; it doesn't stand up any longer than that. (Dudek 27)

What is clear from any attention to Canadian print culture during the Victorian period is that the poets of the Campbell anthology, and its source texts, contributed much to the establishment of

Canadian identity during the forty years after Confederation. And it would be a difficult task to say in what respects the then-canonical poets of the imperial period fail to meet the standard set by those included in the Smith and Atwood incarnations of *Canadian Verse*. Dudek goes on to criticize Margaret Atwood's edition of *Canadian Verse* for failings as egregious as those of A. J. M. Smith's:

The French half of the anthology has been wiped out. The older poets have been purged and constricted: 16 poets dropped, among them--oddly enough--Susanna Moodie of the Journals, John Hunter Duvar, George Frederick Cameron, and such familiar names as Tom MacInnes, Charles Bruce, and Leo Kennedy. These epic heroes scattered over the field will make some biddies in wicker chairs weep. (28)

Dudek concludes that Atwood's "choices are often based on moral and ideological obsessions," to the detriment of a representative view of Canadian literary history.

Not that "ideological obsessions" can be said to be wholly absent from the principles which guided the production of Victorian-Canadian anthologies either. Lighthall's Canadian anthologies, in particular, which achieved a wide circulation in Great Britain as well as Canada, are concentrated sources of raciological and imperialist poetry, and give a distorted view of the work of poets like Archibald Lampman, Charles G.D. Roberts, and W. Wilfred Campbell himself. But Lighthall could only concentrate such materials because they already existed. "Canada" and "An Ode for the Canadian Confederacy" may not represent Roberts in his most cosmopolitan mood, but they are proof of his sharing of a raciological view of Canadian nationality:

The Saxon force, the Celtic fire,

These are thy manhood's heritage!

Why rest with babes and slaves? Seek higher

The place of race and age. (Lighthall, *Poems and Lays* 16)

The declining taste for raciological thinking of this type can be detected in Wilfred Campbell's anthology, published in 1913, in which there is less of this kind of material. Nonetheless, even in Campbell's edition of *Canadian Verse*, the editor's own work is represented by his poem "England," which is as raciological in its perspective as any poem in the Lighthall anthologies:

And we of the newer and vaster West,
 Where the great war-banners are furled,
 And commerce harries her teeming hosts,
 And the cannon are silent along our coasts;
 Saxon and Gaul, Canadians claim
 A part in the glory and pride and aim
 Of the Empire that girdles the world. (Campbell 176)

Antiquarian and historical themes are common in this literature, and during the Victorian period raciological symbolism is deployed with a romantic force in much Canadian writing. Evan MacColl's "A Word with the Fenian Brotherhood," for instance, is a spirited example of a common strain in the poetry of the early Confederation period, and includes etymological analysis of the term "Fenians." Published in MacColl's *Poems and Songs* (1883), it was written on the occasion of the assassination of Thomas Darcy McGee in 1868:

The Fenian race were of no cut-throat mould;
 Though sometimes they in Erin loved to roam,
 A land more north was their heroic home;

The "Cothrom Feine" was their pride and boast;
 Of all base things they scorned a braggart most;
 Besides, 'twas not a custom in their day,
 Assassin-like, one's victim to waylay
 And shoot unseen--contented if, cash down,
 The price of blood were only half-a-crown!
 Fenians, indeed! all true men of that race
 Fraternity with you would deem disgrace. (288)

Some of the best poems of this genre were written by McGee himself, and McGee's *Canadian Ballads and Occasional Verses* (1858) is a rich source of this material. MacColl's eulogy of McGee continues:

Let no one think that he who now cries shame
 On your misdeeds, your Celtic blood would blame;
 A Celt himself, his great grief is to see
 The land that nursed you cursed by such as ye. (289)

MacColl's comment on Loyalism is succinct and gnomic:

Union is strength. Joy to the nations three
 As now united! May they ever be
 The first and foremost in fair freedom's van--
 An empire built upon the Shamrock plan--
 A seeming three, and yet a perfect one. (289)

Here, a parallel to the racial union widely predicted to take place in Canada is strongly suggested.

The theme of racial union in the forming of the new nation at the time of Confederation, an idea which is central in the *Durham Report*, was quite common in Canadian poetry, and good examples are provided by James David Edgar's "This Canada of Ours," Barry Straton's "85," Charles G.D. Roberts' "Canada," and Charles Sangster's "England and America" (Rand 116 and 318-320; Lighthall, *Canadian Songs* 24; Campbell 141). Joseph Howe's "The Flag of Old England" offers a variation of the theme, using, like John Reade's "To Louis Frechette," all three of the British national flowers (the shamrock, thistle, and "Rose of Old England") to represent the "Britons" who "came over," and to serve as emblems of the mixing of peoples in British America (Rand 147). Howe's poem, an uneven one, is at the very least rhetorically sophisticated, and touches on several common raciological conceptions or sympathies:

As travellers track to its source in the mountains

The stream which, far swelling, expands o'er the plains,

Our hearts on this day fondly turn to the fountains

Whence flow the warm currents that bound in our veins.

And proudly we trace them! No warrior flying

From city assaulted, the fanes overthrown,

With the last of his race on the battlements dying,

And weary with wandering, founded our own.

From the Queen of the Islands, then famous in story,

A century since, our brave forefathers came,

And our kindred yet fill the wide world with her glory,

Enlarging her empire, and spreading her name. (148)

For many years, a wide spectrum of otherwise various Canadian opinion held fast to narratives of descent from Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Aryan, or British, blood or race. Though not quite interchangeable, the terms British and English are both widely used with a sentiment of organic attachment, raciological in origin, in the Canadian writing of the time, and official texts like school readers, and the semi-official anthologies produced by the larger publishing houses of the period, further refined and intensified the raciological content of their poetry anthologies, and of the other popular organs of public literature.

During the Confederation period, the raciological dialect was adapted to the uses of the new state in its efforts at nation building and defence, and the public discourse was dominated by works of this kind:

Let them rail against the North,

Beyond the line! beyond the line!

When it sends its heroes forth.

Along the line! along the line!

On the field or in the camp

They shall tremble at your tramp,

Men of the old Norman stamp,

Along the line! along the line. (Ross 80)

This poem, "Along the Line," by the Young Ireland co-conspirator and Canadian martyr, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, is doubly suggestive in that it was anthologized by the Ontario Minister of Education, and authorized, if not prescribed, for use in Canadian schools as late as 1893 (Ross 80).

There are 371 closely-printed pages of similar material in Ross's *Patriotic Recitations*, most of it written by relatively well-known and fully-canonical Canadian writers and politicians, and by the same poets whose works make up the Rand, Lighthall, and Whyte-Edgar anthologies. And these patriotic effusions were by no means limited to the patriarchy:

Can any part--from strand to strand--
 Be a Canadian's fatherland?
 Nay! for our young Canadian land
 Is greater, grander far, than these [individual provinces];
 It stretches wide on either hand
 Between the world's two mighty seas!
 So let no hostile lands divide
 The fields our feet should freely roam;
 Gael, Norman, Saxon,--side by side,
 And Canada our nation's Home;
 From sea to sea, from strand to strand,
 Spreads our Canadian fatherland. (Ross, 98)

This poem, "Our Canadian Fatherland," again by Agnes Maule Machar, or Fidelis, is only one of numerous poems in the Ross anthology which is written by a Canadian woman and which employs a raciological vocabulary. Poems by Sara Anne Curzon (1833-1898), Emily Pauline Johnson (1861-1913), Susie Frances Harrison (1859-1935) or "Seranus," Helen M. Johnson (1835-1863), and Pamela S. Yule (1825-1897) or "Miss Vining," among several others, all display their patriotism in a more or less raciological and imperial context.

Sara Jeanette Duncan's novel *The Imperialist* (published in Britain in serial form in 1903), important in recent discussions of early Canadian nationalism, is also an illuminating case of a Canadian writer who displays raciological preoccupations (Duncan 324-43). During this comparatively late period, imperial feeling was still running high in Canada. The Boer War was newly over and Chamberlain was actively encouraging closer imperial communications and trade ties. Duncan's novel deals with a successful young Canadian's first contact and political dealings with the Mother Country. Duncan's deep sympathy for imperial culture--although she judges the Canadian variety of that culture its finest instance--is everywhere apparent. "Belief in England was in the blood, it would not yield to the temporary distortion of facts in the newspapers," remarks the narrator (Duncan 49). From a philological standpoint, Duncan's novel also displays a sensitivity to etymological considerations, which form an important element in Duncan's stylistic achievement:

John Murchison in taking possession of the house had felt in it these satisfactions, had been definitely penetrated and soothed by them, the more perhaps because he brought to them a capacity for feeling the worthier things of life which circumstances had not previously developed. He seized the place with a sense of opportunity leaping sharp and conscious out of early years in the grey "wynds" of a northern Scottish town; and its personality sustained him, very privately but nonetheless effectively, through the worry and expense of it for years. (20)

Duncan is, however, at pains to establish that Loyal Canadianism in this period is not for political reasons as much as for the "beauty and poetry" of the sentiment:

A sentiment of affection for the reigning house certainly prevailed. It was arbitrary, rococo, unrelated to current conditions as a tradition sung down in a ballad, an

anachronism of the heart, cherished through long rude lifetimes for the beauty and poetry of it--when you consider, beauty and poetry can be thought of in this. (48)

It is interesting to find among the reviews appended to Thomas Tausky's edition of the novel, that Americans were not amused by the view of themselves to be found in *The Imperialist* (315). A reviewer in New York's *The Critic*, in May 1904, reacted with condescending hostility: "And a disparaging comparison of our past with that of Canada is so novel a point of view that it is only interesting to find that any one can hold it" (315). In fact, such a view of the relative virtues of the two countries' histories was by no means "novel," and instead, was widespread in "Greater Britain," and numerous examples of expressions of Loyal Canadian anti-Americanism, often based on comparative historical analyses, could be provided from the period. Bourinot's, McMullen's and C.D. Roberts' histories of Canada in the 1890s, Lady Dufferin's *Journal* (widely-popular and published during the same period), and numerous other references in popular poetry and journalism show that there existed a wide confidence in the historical self-evidence of Canadian superiority in matters of ethics, education, and civilization.

The Canadian connection to Britain--which cannot be fully accounted for by the complex mix of political, economic, legal, institutional, and military conditions (though it was in part maintained by all of these)--can be usefully described as a raciological attachment, in which empirical science, a nationalist aesthetic, and imperial civilization collude to shape the ontological vantage of the new nation. The triumphalist and grandiose aspects of imperial raciology--its superlative mood--was useful in a Dominion which had to shelter itself rhetorically from the bellicose Republican hyperbole of the growing empire nearest to Canadian territory. By the 1890s, Canadians were themselves influencing the self-perception of this imperial civilization, many Canadian poets and

authors selling well in Britain, Canadian adventure themes common in youth literature, and Canada as a romantic setting well established in the British imagination. Although largely ignored now, Canadians like Evan MacColl and William Kirby (whose novel *The Golden Dog* had been warmly praised by Tennyson) enjoyed devoted English and Scottish audiences, and contributed much to English self-perception during the imperial period (Caswell 239-40). By claiming their descent as Britons, Canadians could employ a vocabulary in speaking about themselves that connected them to the civilization of the Empire, and to the deep antiquity of British historical and literary remains. And, as we have already seen, Canadians were very often aware of the advantage of their position with respect to the alien culture to the south.

Chapter Six: Raciological Pedagogy in Victorian Canada

Raciology in the Classrooms of the New Dominion

Important sources of dissemination of raciological ideas in confederated Canada were to be the provincial Boards of Education. In the Dominion, the new Boards of Education were effective outlets of British raciological thinking. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the production of the school readers, and of geography, natural history, and elocution texts for the use of Canadian children. It is clearly evident, from their published opinions, that the superintendents of the Canadian schoolboards were complicit in the circulation of raciological doctrine, and of official representations of national identity, which drew deeply on the "heritage of England's past." In a notable indication of institutional awareness of the importance of textbook production in maintaining Canadian sovereignty, the Ontario board prohibited

the use of foreign books in the English branches of instruction, except by special permission, thus preventing heterogenous text books and those inimical to our institutions. (Crossby, *Gazetteer of British North America* 65)

That Canadian educators were aware early of the importance of school texts to the self-perception of the nation is clear from the debate over their use from the late 1840s onward. Egerton Ryerson, George Brown, James Campbell, and John Cunningham Geikie, for instance, all argued the question publicly, publishing their views throughout the 1850s and 1860s, and Ryerson published his views at length in *The Schoolbook Question* (1866). In 1845 and 1846, Ryerson had travelled through Europe to visit and study various "Educational Establishments on the Continent of Europe" (Hodgins 243). During the course of this tour Ryerson visited Holland, Belgium, France, Italy, Austria,

Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Switzerland "and some less important States."³⁷ Ryerson also visited London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and, finally, Dublin, where he met both Archbishop Richard Whately, who had headed the Commission of National Education in Ireland, and had written or supervised primers of mental, moral, and economic science for the use of Irish schools, and Robert Sullivan, who was a school inspector and author of a number of school books used in the Irish National Schools, including works on Geography and science (Hodgins 245-47). Of these school texts, Ryerson writes:

The School Books of the Irish National Board are coming into extensive use, both in England and in Scotland, as well as in Ireland, published under such auspices, and thus tested and recommended, they may be safely and advantageously introduced into our Canadian schools. (246)

In fact, the Irish National School texts were subsequently used in the Canadas, and in New Brunswick, where they were in general use between 1846 and the mid-1860s. They also provided models, and extensive extracts, for nearly all of the various series of readers produced in Canada during the next forty years.

One attraction of the Irish National School texts was their non-sectarian, though still Protestant, content. Given the long struggles over religious schooling in every province except Nova Scotia, the virtue of catholicity of content was not lost on educational officials. During the early 1860s, an important source of racialological materials available to the orthodox Christian Protestant was Stephen H. Ward's *The Natural History of Mankind* (1860), to which I have already referred. Ward's

³⁷Ryerson has left an valuable record of this tour in a series of letters published in volume five of the *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (1897) 237-48.

work was published by The Religious Tract Society, one of the major publishing enterprises of the Victorian period, which printed 86 million books a year by the 1880s, and saw as its aim the "diffusion of religious truth common to all Protestant Christians" (*Britannica* 23:494). The Society's refusal to take sides in Protestant doctrinal squabbles made it acceptable to a wide spectrum of Protestant educators, and as a result its educational works were widely influential throughout the British Empire. Ward's *Natural History* is a typical product of the Society, and opens with the observation that his reader will be "elevated by the contemplation of that being whom the Creator has appointed lord of this fair world, and whom alone He has endowed with faculties capable of appreciating and admiring the works with which it teems!" (1). But despite the orthodoxy of Ward's theological convictions, the work, nonetheless, is an informed source of knowledge on raciological science which cites most of the important ethnological and philological authorities of the period. The progressiveness of Ward's views may be partly judged from the following extract:

If it were possible to bring together in one group representatives of each of the races of man, the fair complexioned German, the darker Celt, with his high cheekbones, the swarthy Italian or Moor, the black, woolly-headed Negro, the copper-coloured Malay, the flat-faced Chinese, the degraded Australian, the Esquimaux, and the Red Indian of America, and if each were clad in characteristic costume, the effect produced would be at once grotesque and motley. However strong might be our prepossession in their favour, we should find it difficult to believe that they were in any way allied, still more that they were intimately related, and all to be regarded as men and brothers, of like flesh and blood, sprung from the same common source, and endowed with similar mental and religious capacities. (2)

To be fair to the author, it should be remembered that one stated purpose of his work was to "illustrate...the truth that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth'" (iii). And I have already outlined the part the work played in combatting polygenist views in religious circles. Ward's descriptions of the races of man are in perfect accord with those to be found in Sullivan's *Geography*, and closely resemble that work even in its phraseology.

From a Victorian-Canadian perspective, an instructive aspect of Ward's introductory passages to his "elementary text-book of Ethnology," is his etymological discussion of the term *Ethnology*, which he derives from the Greek words *ethnos* and *logos*, translating the former term as "nation" rather than race (3). As I have pointed out elsewhere, the raciological use of the term *nation* when discussing Canada became common in the years following Confederation, and Confederation itself was viewed, by Morris, Lorne, and many others, as a political recognition of the racial unity of English Canada:

The country you call Canada, and which your sons and your children's children will be proud to know by that name, is a land which will be a land of power among the nations. Mistress of a zone of territory favourable for the maintenance of a numerous and homogeneous white population, Canada must, to judge from the increase in her strength during the past, and from the many and vast opportunities for growth of that strength in her new Provinces in the future, be great and worthy [of] her position on the earth. (159)

The raciological implications of the term *nation* are often overlooked by recent critics because of the more inclusive sense of the term in current usage. Now, when the Canadian Prime Minister uses the term *nation*, Canadians do not suspect him of excluding Canadians of non-British extraction.

But in Victorian Canada there were, undeniably, unique elements in the customs, habits, and

education of Canadians, elements which many critics and historians have exaggerated in the cause of Canadian independence, a point of view bolstered by the "Little England" tradition in Colonial studies of the period (Burroughs 145). The notion of Canadian separation from British interests is further supported by the real national differences which have evolved between the two countries. One cause of the difference between Canadians and Englishmen was the proverbial "rude plenty" which Canadians were always able to manage during a period in which a great portion of the population of Great Britain was on the edge of famine. In fact, it may well be that the material prosperity of British North America made it even more fertile soil for the fostering of a British racial perspective than that of Britain herself. The kinds of anarchy which characterized England's haphazard provisions for the education of the children of the poor (though not so anarchic as the situation in much of the United States) made it much less effective as an organ of a centred racial and imperial perspective. In a later period, as Anne McClintock has shown in her study *Imperial Leather*, commercial interests would fill the breach in providing racial propaganda in the form of Pear's soap advertisements and a panoply of other racially-coded product representations (McClintock *passim*).

Canada's identification with imperial racial semiotics is difficult to deny. In the preface to his *British Attitudes Towards Canada 1822-1849*, Peter Burroughs speaks of his "confident belief that Canadian history in the Colonial period is not fully intelligible without some understanding of the wider imperial context, the changing nature of British policies, and the underlying opinions of Englishmen concerning the empire in North America" (Burroughs v). He also argues:

Because of an understandable preoccupation with indigenous North American forces and tendencies, Canadian historians writing about the century between the conquest and

confederation have often paid insufficient attention to the character of British colonial policy and the nature of English opinion concerning overseas possessions. Yet every facet of Canadian economic and political development during these years, and many aspects of the country's social and religious history, were profoundly influenced by British attitudes and policies. (v)

Victorian-Canadian culture, the culture which formed the foundation of one of the best-educated countries in the world, was permeated with the system of knowledge codified in Great Britain in the eighteenth century, and transported to Canada in the settlement which followed the events of 1749. By the mid-nineteenth century, Newfoundland, the Maritimes, and Upper Canada were British by *habit, custom, and education*, as Adam Smith puts it. Halifax, the Victorian home of the British West-Atlantic fleet, was in 1866 as British a city as Glasgow or Belfast. In his valuable photographic record of Victorian Canada, 1892, P. C. Newman retails the old observation that "Halifax had more in common with Portsmouth or other English naval towns than it did with inland Canadian cities" (Newman 63). But even in inland Toronto, so Anglo-Saxon an Etonian as Goldwin Smith could comment in a letter to Max Müller that he felt at home in Canada, in a way that he had not found possible in the United States as a professor at Cornell. He writes:

your letter finds me spending part of the winter among my Canadian relatives & friends;
and I am really glad to escape for a time from the Anglophobia which rages in the States;
so I can quite sympathize with your annoyance at the Russophobia which rages in
England. (Bodleian MS Eng.c 2806/2. fol. 264)

On September 4, 1871, Smith also wrote to Max Müller, on behalf of the *Canadian Monthly*, to request new translations of German folk tales:

I want you to do me a kindness. You will be doing one at the same time to that humble but promising branch of the Teutonic race--the Canadian nation, as it is now beginning to call itself. They are going to have a national magazine--really a step towards nationality in this country, where newspapers and magazines are almost the only reading of the people. They hope to stop the process which is now going on of intellectual annexation to the United States, the magazines of which largely circulate here. (Bodleian MS Eng.c 2806/2. fol. 290)

Smith's remarks here clearly suggest the raciological implications of Canadian nationhood, and illustrate the activity in the country which was generated by an opposition to American republicanism. The letter's reflection of the state of things in Canadian publishing also underscores the importance of school readers as sources of entertainment beyond the schoolhouse. *Royal Readers*, the *Canadian Series*, *Campbell's British American Series*, the *Maritime School Series*, and later the *Ontario Readers* were widely popular because their contents were beguiling, offering anthologies rich in the kinds of writing which most appealed to a British audience of the period, with selections from the popular periodicals, as well as from classical and canonical literature.

One reason that Egerton Ryerson's defence of the Irish National School Readers was assailed was that they were considered insufficiently diverting, a contention Ryerson opposed strenuously for many years, before he acknowledged the inadequacies of the Irish National School Series (Curtis 286-290). On November 8, 1859, discussing the adaptation of the Irish Series to Canadian use, Ryerson wrote to Sir J. W. Dawson, winner of the Lyell Medal of the London Geological Society and Principal of McGill College, "We propose to proceed from one book to another until we get the whole Series *Canadianized*, and I hope improved" (Morgan, *Dominion Annual* 389; Curtis 290).

The results of this Canadianization are fully illustrated by the *Canadian Series* of school readers, "Entered according to Act of Provincial Legislature, in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Seven, by the Reverend Egerton Ryerson, LL.D., Chief Superintendent of Education for Ontario, in the Office of the Registrar of the Province of Canada" (*Canadian Series, Fourth Book* ii). It is clear from even a casual glance at Canadian School texts of this period that the foreign textbooks legislated against in Ontario were certainly not the British ones. Even the *Canadian Series Fourth Reader*, which was devoted to a geographical perspective of literature, beginning with that of "America," consists in the main of British selections, or of selections from that "Vaster Britain," to which the Canadian poet Wilfred Campbell pays homage in his *Oxford Book of Canadian Verse*, and, like the *Royal Readers*, its extracts are from many of the most popular of British periodicals: *Punch*, *Edinburgh Review*, *London Journal*, *Cassell's Paper*, *Sharpe's Magazine*, *Sharpe's Journal*, *Edinburgh Literary Journal*, *Chambers's Journal*, and *Dublin University Magazine* (Campbell viii; *Fourth Reader* v-viii). Some of Wilfred Campbell's remarks about Canadian poetry in his *Canadian Verse* (1913) express directly the point I would make about the culture of Victorian and Edwardian Canada:

After all, the true British-Canadian verse, if it has any real root and lasting influence, must necessarily be but an offshoot of the great tree of British literature, as the American school also is, though less obviously. It might be said that all verse written in the English language, by persons of British heredity, must be of kin to the great continuity of verse from Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton down to the end of the eighteenth century.

What is purely Canadian in this offshoot of the parent stock must be decided, after all, by those canons which would constitute anything distinctly Canadian. But stronger even

than the so-called Canadian spirit is the voice of the Vaster Britain, which finds its utterance in the works of her poets. (viii)

In his illuminating study, already mentioned above, *British Attitudes Towards Canada 1822-1849*, Peter Burroughs, in discussing John S. Galbraith's "Myths of the 'Little England' Era," points out the traditional exaggeration of English reluctance to take its part in the imperial project (143-147). Burroughs cites Galbraith's remark that "the myth of the 'Little England' era stemmed largely from historians' preoccupation with empire in a strictly political sense..." (145). Victorian Canada was far more intimately implicated in the culture of the British Empire than is reflected in the purely political relationship between the Dominion and English governments.

Raciological Readers in Victorian Canada

In the 1860s, when philological studies had gained a wide popular audience, schools in Ontario were expected to teach etymological analysis as an integral part of the process of learning to read. In *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (1988), Bruce Curtis writes that the superintendent of schools for Huron County "observed that parents generally opposed the practice of teaching students meanings, roots and origins of words" (281-282). Although etymological study may have seemed an abstruse and impractical subject to many parents, its value was clear to Canadian educators.

From the 1850s onwards, there was a strong tendency towards centralizing and standardizing the education of British North Americans. In Upper Canada, the School Act of 1846 began the centralization of education in the province, and with this centralization, the dissemination of raciological doctrine was greatly facilitated. Of this period Curtis writes:

The School Act of 1846 completely transformed the principles of educational organization at the elementary level in Canada West. It removed in principle most of the educational autonomy enjoyed by local educational consumers and put in place a set of administrative structures in which respectable members of local elites would be charged with much of educational management. These officials were situated in largely bureaucratic authority structures. (112-20)

This bureaucratic control of the education system in Canada West was paralleled in the other parts of British North America, and bureaucrats like Egerton Ryerson were able to have a great deal of control over the content of the school curricula. Throughout the period, much activity was given to debating the manner in which students should be taught, and management of teachers was

sometimes ferocious. In 1854, a teacher named T. W. Lillie, who objected to using the Irish National School Series, received this imperious response from Ryerson:

on both sides of the Atlantic, numerous and more learned and experienced teachers than you are have had to do in preparing and using the School books to which you refer [sic]; nor is it likely that the decisions you so oracularly pronounce in half a page of letter paper will change regulations which are founded on the largest practical experience of the ablest teachers and educationists of the present century. (qtd. in Curtis 286-287)

Eventually, it would be the texts of Ryerson himself, and those of James Campbell and Theodore Rand, which would supersede the Irish texts. In 1846, the year the *Fifth Book of Lessons* and Sullivan's *Geography* were published by the Irish Commissioners of National Education (books which would be used in British America for the next twenty-five years), the popularity of philological, and especially etymological, study was intense in England, and the authority of linguistic doctrines in matters of history and ethnicity was widely accepted (Poliakov 37-53). And in the five decades that followed, educational authorities in British North America played a central role in the dissemination and popularizing of raciological beliefs.

In Canada at the time of Confederation, official attention to curriculum content was marked, and school officials and textbook editors used raciological material extensively to establish the British character of Canadian nationality in the 1860s and 1870s. Hotly-contested debates over the state of education had gone on in British North America since the Upper Canadian School Act of 1816, and Ryerson's *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, published in 1846, had created a basis for a well-organized and progressive system of public instruction (Curtis 101-107 and 109-12). As early as 1815, the "necessity of educating young men

in Canada" already had been recognized: "In the neighbouring States, Canadian Youth must imbibe prejudices against our institutions and establishments" (Hodgins 303). By The School Act of 1824, a colony-wide General Board of Education had been created in Upper Canada under the rector of York (Toronto) John Strachan (1778-1867), who for some years had been campaigning for central control of school books (Curtis 22). This tendency towards increasing centralization of educational authority characterizes the history of education throughout British North America during the late-Georgian and Victorian periods.

In Upper Canada, the School Act of 1846, by which Egerton Ryerson attempted to gain control over the inspection of textbooks, the creation of a Normal School to standardize the training of teachers, and the institution of "School Visitors," or trustees, during the 1840s, all had the effect of establishing central controls over curricula, and the "Reminiscences of Superannuated Common School Teachers and Inspectors" for the 1843-45 period show that measures to control the use of texts soon had a practical effect (Curtis 112-120; Hodgins 271-87). Adolphus Andrews, a teacher at a Middlesex school in Canada West, writes of introducing use of Whateley's *Irish National Series* in the early 1840s, and John Quinn, a teacher in Peterborough, writes that any use of American school books ended with "the advent of the Irish National Readers which were introduced into the Schools of Upper Canada by the late Dr. Ryerson, after he took office in 1844" (Hodgins 279).

When raciological thought was at its height in the 1860s and 1870s, keen attention was being paid to the production of Canadian school readers. An important fact about the organization of the school system at this time was that the level of attendance rose dramatically after the mid-1840s. In Ontario in 1845, for example, only 110,002 out of 198,434, or 55 per cent of school-age children attended school (Burwash 189). By 1865, the level of attendance had risen dramatically to 85 per

cent, a suggestive statistic given the rural and agricultural character of much of the country (Burwash 191).

Another factor to remember when speaking of the diffusion of raciological thought in Canadian readers during the Victorian period is that the readership of these anthologies was by no means limited to the inmates of the rural schoolhouses. One of the main causes of controversy in the long and acrimonious debate about school texts concerned their readability, and the fact that the purchasers of these texts expected a certain amount of entertainment value for their money (Curtis 286-90). In 1886, *The High School Reader*, authorized for use in Ontario, cost 60 cents, a considerable investment for most Canadians, and reading materials were nowhere plentiful in rural Canada. A school reader, a Bible, and, in Irish Canadian homes, a copy of *Irish Oratory or Speeches from the Dock* might constitute the entire library of a pioneer family. To demand such an investment, a second form of school tax, educators had to produce books that could be read by adults, as well as children. As a result, the range of discourse in Victorian Canadian school readers is wide, and the works have a literary importance as anthologies of literature during the period. The Canadian school readers, designed to protect Canadian school children from American--or alien--school books, were the de facto anthologies of early Canadian literature, and they provide an important window on early Canadian life and attitudes (Crossby 65; *Annual Register* 1884 148). In fact, the most important early anthology of Canadian verse, Edward Hartley Dewart's *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864), is quite similar to *The Canadian Speaker and Elocutionary Reader*, authorized for Ontario school use in 1868, and contains selections by many of the same poets, poets fully represented in the later Rand, Lighthall, Whyte-Edgar, and Campbell anthologies.

Not surprisingly, many of the selections are patriotic ones, like Miss Vining's "Our Canadian

Dominion," a poem also included, twenty-five years later, in George Ross's *Patriotic Recitations*:

Fair land of peace! to Britain's rule and throne
 Adherent still, yet happier than alone,
 And free as happy, and as brave as free.
 Proud are thy children, justly proud, of thee;--
 Thou hast no streams renowned in classic lore,
 No vales where fable heroes moved of yore,
 No hills where Poesy enraptured stood,
 No mythic fountains, no enchanted wood;
 But unadorned, rough, cold, and often stern,
 The careless eye to other lands might turn,
 And seek, where nature's bloom is more intense,
 Softer delights to charm the eye of sense. (*Canadian Speaker* 248)

The main theme of much of Vining's poem deals with Canadian freedom, and the "Liberty" that comes of adherence to "Britain's rule and throne," with a strong implication of the superiority of Canadian over American society (248). The insistence on the "freedom" of British law is a common theme in Canadian poetry of the Confederation period, a reaction to the relentless rhetoric of freedom which marked American annexationist and Fenian literature of the time. And that Vining had the American Republic in mind is clear from allusions to bigotry and slavery in the poem:

Here, Freedom looks o'er all these broad domains,
 And hears no clank of servile chains;
 Here man, no matter what his colour be,

Can proudly stand erect, and proudly say, "I'm Free!"--

No crouching slaves cower in our busy marts,

With straining eyes and anguish-riven hearts. (*Canadian Speaker* 249)

It is not difficult to interpret the political and historical viewpoint represented by the decisions of the schoolbook editors of the Confederation period, and Dewart's *Canadian Speaker* is much like several others published in the same period.

In 1867, James Campbell edited *The Canadian Series of School Books*, writing in the *Fourth Book of Reading Lessons*, "It has been desired to impart to a work designed for the training of the youth of our country, a national character, which may help to cherish in their minds ideas and sentiments favourable to the culture of a generous, patriotic spirit" (iv). This patriotic spirit is imparted through selections which consistently display pro-imperialist and Canadian nationalist sentiment. The few American selections included in *The Fourth Reader* (Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, and Brainard, among them) represent the most conservative and Anglo-centric tradition of American literature, and, in most instances, the extracts deal with Canadian subjects. *The Fourth Reader* reveals its raciological impulse both in its geographical arrangement of selections, according to continent, and in the consistently British perspective of its content. Not surprisingly, it relies on a number of selections from the *Irish National Series*, and also on extracts from the *Campbell's Readers*, which, as I shall presently illustrate, were of a particularly empiricist and raciological cast. The tenor of *The Fourth Reader* is made even more British by the inclusion of selections from English periodicals, and even selections on such innocuous subjects as "Labrador and Other Teas" are liable to include patriotic observations:

Two other substitutes for tea are to be found in North America. One of these is an

evergreen of the holly family, called *Prinos glabra*, or the inkberry shrub; but the most important is the *Ceanothus*, or New Jersey tea. When the American people were foolish enough to throw overboard the cargoes of good Chinese teas which had been sent out to them, and followed this act by open rebellion against the British crown, the *Ceanothus* was made to do duty for the foreign shrub, and has thus acquired historical celebrity. (81)

In the *Fourth Reader*, Lorenzo Sabine's (1803-77) account of the United Empire Loyalists, and their useful narrative of British identity, is also presented (53). And as is usual in Victorian-Canadian writing about the Loyalists, the importance of their being Britons is stressed in accounts of their suffering at the hands of the Americans:

Men who loved the British flag, and cherished the name of Briton as an honourable birthright, had no sympathy with their fellow-countrymen in their attempt to dismember the empire, of which they formed so important a part. (53)

The Sabine extract deals mostly with the mistreatment of James Moody, a Loyalist prisoner, at the hands of the rebels, and of his subsequent escape and military career in the British army.

The *Fifth Reader* is more extensive in the range of its extracts than the *Fourth*, and because of its more advanced character, has more raciological material of an explicit kind and introduces more selections of a scientific character. One important raciological extract is from Richard Chenevix Trench's fascinating *Study of Words*, a section on the history of names, and on the lore often concealed therein (411-417). The *Fifth Reader* also includes a speech "On the Defence of Canada" by Palmerston, which appeals to the common "ancestry" of Britain and America, and speaks of the pride of Britons in American accomplishment:

I am sure that every Englishman must feel proud at seeing upon the other side of the

Atlantic a community sprung from the same ancestry as ourselves, rising in the scale of civilization, and attaining every degree of prosperity--ay and of power, as well as wealth.

(372)

That America is "rising in the scale of civilization" is a sly compliment, suggesting as it does that the scale of civilization runs higher elsewhere, namely in Britain. And when Palmerston calls Canadians his "fellow-citizens" and "loyal fellow-countrymen," he raises them above their republican American neighbours.

Other readers prepared during the early Confederation period are much the same as the *Canadian Series*. In Nova Scotia, *The Maritime School Series*, while including more materials dealing with the Atlantic Provinces and Newfoundland, were much the same as the readers in use in Canada West. The *Sixth Reading Book*, for instance, along with much patriotic material, includes the American poet Washington Allston's "America to Great Britain," in which he writes:

Though ages long have passed

Since our fathers left their home,

Their pilot in the blast,

O'er untravelled seas to roam;

Yet lives the blood of England in our veins!

And shall we not proclaim

That blood of honest fame

Which no tyranny can tame

By its chains? (*Sixth Reading Book* 45-46)

As in the so-called "Ryerson readers," this textbook emphasizes the Anglo-centric works of

American authors and places Canadian works in an imperial context (Corman 38-43). From a raciological perspective, the "analysis" of the Allston poem offered by the editor of the *Maritime Reader* is also indicative of the extent of belief in the importance of race:

In our last war with China, the Commander of the American squadron in Chinese waters, observing our vessels hard pressed, at once sent his own ships into action, and justified himself for so acting on his own responsibility by the remark, "Blood is thicker than water." These words furnish the key to the following striking lines by an American author. The ties that connect the two countries are so many that they may be regarded as one. In the first stanza we have an address; in the second reference is made to the fact that the two nations are of one blood; in the third to the fact that they both use the same noble language; and in the fourth we are taught that, while each nation is moulded after its own type, and separated by the ocean, still the *voice of blood* will proclaim that the two are one. (44)

Here, the concern with "blood" with "language," both in the poem and the editor's analysis, is noteworthy from a raciological standpoint, although the assertion of the unity of the American and British nations is atypical in a Canadian work.

Most of the authorized readers in use in Canada in the 1860s and 70s, when the authority of raciological science was at its height, reveal a view of Canadian nationality's British character. The *Canadian* and *Maritime* series, the *Royal* and the *Ontario* readers, all are surprisingly uniform in their ideology of loyalism and British identity. A slightly different case is provided by *Campbell's British-American Series of School Books* (1867), books prepared with a more scientific education in mind. The *Sixth Book* is divided into four sections, including "the Social Sciences," "the Mental

Sciences," "the Fine Arts," and "Literature." And compared with the textbooks contemporary with it, Campbell's *Sixth Book* contains a much wider variety of subjects. The more concentrated empiricism of its selections is reflected in a greater number of explicitly raciological selections as well. For example, the *Sixth Book* contains an extended extract from J.C.L. Simonde de Sismondi (1773-1842) on "the races of men" and Romance philology (197). The extract includes an extended philological discussion of the ways in which races and languages are blended:

Thus, from one end of Europe to the other, the encounter of two mighty nations, and the mixture of two mother tongues, confounded all the dialects, and gave rise to new ones in their place. From the fifth to the tenth century, various races, always new, were mingled without being confounded. Each village, each hamlet, contained some Teutonic conqueror, with his barbarian soldiers, and a number of vassals, the remains of the vanquished. (197-200)

To this James Campbell himself adds an account of the "Other Languages of Europe," in which the standard linguistic typologies of the comparative philologists are reproduced and discussed (200-201).

Like the other Canadian readers contemporary with it, Campbell's *Sixth Reader* has many selections clearly intended to remind students of their nationality. One selection, Sir Isaac Brock's "Proclamation at the Commencement of the War of 1812," would have had a particularly contemporary resonance given the strained relations between Canada and the United States when the reader was published in 1867. Brock's speech emphasizes Canadian loyalty, and points to the liberty and prosperity Canadians enjoy as Britons. Brock asks:

Are you prepared, inhabitants of Canada, to become willing subjects, or rather slaves, to

the despot who rules the nations of continental Europe with a rod of iron? If not, arise in a body, exert your energies, co-operate cordially with the king's regular forces to repel the invader, and do not give cause to your children, when groaning under the oppression of a foreign master, to reproach you with having so easily parted with the richest inheritance of this earth—a participation in the name, character, and freedom of Britons!

(Campbell's Sixth Reader 192-93)

Until the First World War, there is little variation in the view of Canadians presented in school readers. Children were assured repeatedly that they were Britons by race and by traditions, and these were facts proven by science and illustrated by history.

Canada, 1910: The Story of a British People

In preparing for exams during early summer 1910, a young student named Clifford B. Watt, of Guelph, Ontario, studied *The Story of the British People: A Reader for Pupils in Form III of the Public Schools* (1910), a work adapted for Canadian use and "recommended by the Minister of Education." In the flyleaf of his copy of the book, Watt listed six chapters out of fifty whose contents he would be expected to know for his third-form exams. It is unfortunate that the student neglected to do the same for the December exams, as the early part of the work includes much raciological material, including chapters on "The First Britons," "A Day in Roman Britain," and "The Coming of the Normans." In a chapter on "A Norman Castle," a telling distillation of British history is given in a discussion of the conquests of Britain:

The Norman conquest differed from both the Roman conquest and the English conquest. The Romans had no intention of settling down in Britain; there were no Romans in the land except soldiers, officials, and traders. Britain was simply a subject province, and not a colony, in the modern sense of the word. The English conquest was of an entirely different character. The English drove out the inhabitants and settled down in their place. They came to stay. They made new homes for themselves in a new land, and they built up a strong nation. So firmly did the English root themselves in the soil that neither the Vikings nor the Normans were strong enough to displace them. Both Viking and Norman conquered the land and ruled it, but in the end the conquerors were overcome by the conquered. In the course of time Danes and Normans alike became English. (53)

The attractiveness and relevance of these materials to the Canadian student is obvious. The anonymous work assumes British Canadian identification with English history, and the analogy

between the English conquest of Britain and the British conquest of Canada is easily drawn. The notion of being rooted "in the soil" is also an important one, and touches on the raciological principles expressed by Aggasiz, Guyot, Emerson, and others back to Herder, which account for variation within single races.

Young Watt's chapters for study are also revealing. The first, "Chapter XXII," entitled "The Father of the British Navy," is marked by him with an *x* (127). The title would have made the chapter an especially significant one in 1910, but, in fact, rather than swashbuckling naval lore, the chapter deals with the establishment of British Protestantism, Martin Luther, and the political interference of the Pope (127-29). "The New Worship" (Ch. XXIV), the next chapter marked for attention, deals with the reign of Queen Mary and the eventual victory of Protestant forces (141-44). The appetite for naval romance is tolerated to the extent that the student's assigned readings include "Francis Drake, Sea-dog," a chapter retelling the victory over the Spanish, and Catholic, armada, and of Drake's depredations and prizes:

Why do the sightseers in the boats raise loud huzzas as every now and then they catch a glimpse of him? They may well cheer, for he has done what no Briton ever did before--he has sailed right round the world! Moreover, he has brought home the richest cargo of booty ever captured. (145-53)

From the point of view of a third-form student in Canada in 1910, the passage must have been redolent of imperial prophesy and a reminder of the reach of British sea power. Be that as it may, the roots of the British Empire in the eighteenth century are given short shrift by Mr. Webb's examiners, and the next two chapters deal rather with early Canadian history following the American rebellion. Throughout this work, the term Briton is used with raciological implications. In "The

Coming of the Loyalists," a good example of the semantic shift caused by placing historical materials in a raciological context is to be found in a quotation referring George III:

His people rejoiced that at last they had a king who could say, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton." (294)

It was only after the 1860s that a full raciological significance had accrued to terms like "Briton," and the name meant something quite different in the Victorian period from what it had in the days of George III. And the designation Briton was apt for Canadians in a rich sense more recently than is often allowed.

In *The Ontario Readers: Fourth Book*, a reader authorized in 1909 and published in a volume uniform with *The Story of the British People*, another student (a Victor Mott has written his name in a child's hand), would have found the colourful frontispiece of "The Union Jack," with its motto:

One Flag

One Fleet

One Throne. (*Ontario Readers IV*)³⁸

In retrospect, it is difficult not to recall the horrific naval battles of the First World War in contemplating this inscription. But the implication of unity of the Empire is clear enough. The *Fourth Reader* also gives attention to the Spanish disaster just mentioned, in the form of Macaulay's long historical poem "The Armada" (296-302). The poem gains its effect with a catalogue of the names of English places, and its usefulness in fostering a sense of connection to the Mother Country cannot have been lost on the text's compilers. The reader includes a wide variety of patriotic

³⁸The price for *The Ontario Reader (Fourth Book)* was 16 cents, while *The Story of the British People*, with numerous full-colour illustrations, was 35 cents.

selections, most of them English. But Canadian literature is also fully represented, though by selections equally nationalistic. Like his contemporary and peer, Victor Mott has also pencil-marked a chapter on "The United Empire Loyalists" for further study, in this instance written by Egerton Ryerson, whose photographic portrait is also reproduced in the *Fourth Reader*. Like the Loyalist account in *The Story of the British People*, the *Ontario Readers* selection emphasizes the racial connection of the Loyalists to Britain and the inhumanity of the Americans:

The Americans inaugurated their Declaration of Independence by enacting that all the United Empire Loyalists--that is the adherents to connection with the mother country--were rebels and traitors; they followed the recognition of Independence by England with an order exiling such adherents from their territories. But while this policy depleted the United States of some of their best blood, it laid the foundation of the settlement and the institutions of the country which has since become the great, free, and prosperous Dominion of Canada. (170)

That some of "the best blood" had been "depleted" from the Republic worked in Canada's favour, from a raciological point of view, and the Empire Loyalists were made part of the ethnological mythology of Confederation. The chapter on the Loyalists in *The Story of the British People* also celebrates loyal "Britons":

You must not suppose that the Americans were united in throwing off what they called "the British yoke." The population of the thirteen colonies was about three millions, and it is said that at the beginning of the struggle two thirds of the people were loyal to King George. As the war went on this number grew less, but some twenty-five thousand of them joined the British troops and fought bravely for their king. When the war came to

an end these "Tories," as they were called, were shockingly treated. Large numbers of them were shot or hanged in cold blood. Those who escaped death were robbed of their estates; their houses were fired, and they were mobbed, insulted, and beaten. Fifty thousand of them decided to shake off the dust of the American colonies and to travel north to Canada, where they would still have the right to call themselves Britons, and be able to live under the flag which they loved and honoured. (299)

It is "the right to call themselves Britons" that is ultimately established by all of these Victorian and Edwardian readers, and even though Canadian literature had grown so as to allow extensive extracts from its own poets and authors, nonetheless, Canadian culture is viewed in a fully imperial context and British selections in the *Fourth Reader* are so approvingly numerous as to form the bulk of the volume.

Chapter Seven: Epilogue—The Decline of British Raciology

John Munro's Story of the British Race

A work intended for British, and British Canadian, readers not much older than Watt and Mott which dealt with some of the more abstract doctrines of raciological thought was John Munro's *The Story of the British Race*, a pocket-sized volume of *The Library of Useful Stories* series published in London in 1899. Munro credits the success of his empiricism to the "careful observations and exact methods" of the "growing science of anthropology" (v). The fact that Munro refrains from any notice of philological sources is a sign of the growing lack of interest in linguistic science, which had grown specialized enough to have lost its romance for the public which thirty years earlier had celebrated the famous Max Müller and Richard Chenevix Trench. Nonetheless, in basic outline, Munro's account of the early Britons is the standard one developed by the Victorian philological community. The anthropological aspect of Munro's raciological primer rests mainly in its ethnological dogmas concerning matters of modern racial origin, which, though of a revisionist character, are still elaborately worked out, again having taken their lead from the findings of philological science, despite Munro's expressions of awareness of the fallacy of assuming identity between language and race:

At the beginning of the Christian era, the British Celts, with the exception of the Irish in the west and the Caledonians in the north, were conquered by the Romans who occupied the southern part of Britain for nearly four hundred years. Their domination was military, like ours in India, and, while it helped to civilize the Ancient Britons, it is not supposed to have altered the character of the race. (9)

It is perhaps superfluous to comment on the racial anxiety apparent in such a passage, or on the

possible benefits of colonization by an imperial civilization. The passage's historical view is conventional and a similar view can be found even in Goldsmith's *History of England*, which was published, with a continuation by Robert Simpson, for use in schools in the 1840s. But by the 1840s, the implications of terms "Briton," "Anglo-Saxon," and "Celt" were shifting, and the public use of these words was taking on raciological connotations rooted in the convictions of raciological science. As Munro puts it:

The doctrine, in short, has entered deeply into the social, political, and literary life of the nation. It might be supposed that if we know anything, we know that the inhabitants of these islands are "Celts" and "Saxons." (11)

In fact, however, Munro, already represents a late form of raciological thought, and like a number of other influential critics in the same period, had come to doubt at least some of the earlier certainties of ethnological thinking, particularly those dealing with the "Celts," a subject which had become entangled with Irish politics (Robertson 1-124). But, as Munro himself points out, resistance to raciological doctrines was a novel point of view in 1899, and British society still assumed the empirical nature of raciological typologies:

We have been told this [that the modern English and the Lowland Scotch are Anglo-Saxons, Teutons or Germans, and the Irish are Celts] so often and so well that we hardly think of questioning it. We learn it at school and college. We read it in the journals and the best authors. We hear it from the platform and the rostrum. The "Celtic Fringe" is a catchword in politics and the "Celtic Renaissance" is a title in literature. (Munro 11)

In fact, his position does not go so far as John Mackinnon Robertson's complete rejection of raciological science, and in many respects Munro follows the ethnological manuals of Robert Gordon

Latham, written in the late 1840s and early 1850s.³⁹ But Munro is different both in his view of the Anglo-Saxons and in his strict limitation of the authority of linguistic science, a sign of the onset of the decline of raciological thought which was beginning to take place in some quarters. As Munro describes the situation:

The current teaching is mainly founded on traditions and chronicles, names, and languages, that is to say, on words. Traditions and even records are by no means infallible, but as Normans, Danes, and Anglo-Saxons came upon the scene well within historical times, it is probable that historians are not far wrong about their place of origin.

(11)

Despite Munro's empiricist ritual of an early expression of scepticism, *The Story of the British People* remains a work which reiterates many of the commonplaces of raciological thought, dissenting on matters of detail rather than on the substance of raciological ideology. And the same attempts at inclusion and racial fusion can be seen in Munro's comments about the racial descent of the English people:

In the British Isles, confusion of race and speech has led the English to call themselves after the Anglo-Saxons, a middle element in their composition, and twice conquered by later elements. Racially they should be called "Celts" or "Anglo-Celts," for they are more than half "Celtic" in the old sense of the word, which however, as we have shown, is erroneous. (181)

A political conservatism is one element of Munro's attitude here. If the British are Anglo-Celts, Irish separatism loses some of the authority it gained from racial distinctiveness. This passage is also

³⁹See for example, Latham's *The Ethnology of the British Islands* (1852).

notable for its pointing out of the fact that terms like "Celtic" had shifting connotations, the popular meaning not quite keeping pace with the technical sense of what had become anthropological terms. From the point of view of this discussion, Munro is perhaps most notable in his repudiation of philological ethnology:

[The] habit of looking on the "Celtic" people of these islands as a mere fringe to the great body of "Teutonic" people is a false and distorted view of the case, arising, like most errors of its kind, from the old confusion of speech and race. (185)

Munro does not totally escape "errors of this kind" himself and, in demolishing the claims of "Norseman," "Saxon," and "Celt," is simply seeking to establish the racial unity of the population of the British people in the same way as Canadians had done in Canada since the Confederation period (78). That "Briton" had always been used in a sense which included "Celtic" connotations had already proven of much use to imperial nationalists in Canada. Munro seeks to extend the unifying capability of raciological doctrine by introducing a "blending" of the "elementary races":

There are no pure "Celts" or "Saxons" in this country or anywhere else. The Anglo-Saxons were probably a mixed race before they came to Britain, and certainly they did not long continue pure. (241)

Munro concludes with a long argument for a British racial unity in complete keeping with the unity of imperial civilization:

It seems to us that these discoveries of the anthropologist as to the real nature of the British people have opened a new era of mutual forbearance and affection. It is high time that racial prejudices, fostered by ignorance of ourselves, should perish out; that "Celt" and "Saxon" should no longer regard each other as aliens and enemies, but as friends and

brothers; that they should take an interest in the life and literature of each other as a part and parcel of their own. They cannot now separate themselves racially if they would; they are bone of one bone, and flesh of one flesh. (242)

The progressive aspects of Munro's position deserve notice. Efforts to pacify the animus existing between self-perceived Celts and Saxons were more successful in Canada than in Great Britain: post-Confederation Canada saw the divide which had existed between its British and Irish populations rapidly disappearing, and Catholic Canadians of Irish extraction had access to all segments of Canadian society long before their countrymen in England (Toner 9-26).

John Mackinnon Robertson's Critique of Raciology

Of a higher order as a critique of raciological thinking is John Mackinnon Robertson's (1856-1933) *The Saxon and the Celt* (1897), which systematically and coherently rejected the categorical certitudes of raciological thought. Called "A Study in Sociology" by its author, Robertson's work deserves attention for several reasons, none more important than his systematic and learned attack on the raciological point of view. The work is also valuable for its attention to the connection between racial myth and imperialism, especially Unionist and Orange imperialism. Robertson argues at length that "the political doctrine called Unionism" is committed to a raciological fallacy:

[They] place the source of all evil in the faults of national character which they impute, and conceive of no cure save through a cure of these, which they imply to be impossible.

(1-13)

From a Canadian perspective, Robertson's work is also instructive in several respects. The question of Celt and Saxon was as much a race problem in post-Confederation Canada as in 1890s Britain. And Robertson's rejection of the authenticity of Celtic-Teutonic distinctiveness--like Munro's insistence on the "Anglo-Celtic" nature of England--has the effect of "blending" the feuding races of Great Britain and unifying their identities. Ironically, in Canada thirty years earlier, it had been raciological formulae, rather than the rejection of raciological authority, which had been used to blend the population of the new Dominion, a population largely composed of the same ethnic elements as those of Robertson's Great Britain.

Robertson's book also contains a discussion of one of most prominent British intellectuals in Victorian Canada. Goldwin Smith is bitterly criticised by Robertson for his misuse of raciological terminology, as is Bishop Lightfoot, whose *Galatians* has already been discussed in the first chapter:

When, then, anti-Irish or anti-Gallic writers, such as Bishop Lightfoot and Mr Goldwin Smith, take for granted that the ancient Galatians were of the same stock as the ancient Gauls in general and the modern Irish in general, and were further alien to the so-called "Teutonic" stock, they are merely manipulating verbal knowledge. (47)

Here, Robertson's charge of the manipulation of "verbal knowledge" against these raciological scholars is the same as Munro's complaints against raciological teaching in general. The heavy reliance on philology and etymology, which formed the basis of raciological thinking throughout much of the Victorian period, has become problematic, and the truisms of raciological thinking are no longer to be taken as facts proven by induction:

On the very face of the case, it is historically quite uncertain what was the pedigree of those Galatae who invaded Greece and wrought such havoc in the third century B.C., before settling down in Galatia. Their leaders' titles were Gallic, and they were unquestionably the people whom the Romans called Galli, only a small band of presumable Teutons (Teutobolds--? Bold Teutons) being associated with them. But no one can now tell whether they were of the "race" of Bismarck or of the "race" of O'Connell, or of both; and if the ancient Galatians, Jewish or Gentile, were "foolish," as Paul called them, it may as well have been with the folly of Germans as with that of Frenchmen and Irishmen, to say nothing of the heritages of folly which Paul seems to have discovered quite as abundantly in the Græco-Roman-Jews of Corinth, the Greek-Galatian-Jews of Galatia, and the hypothetically pure Jews of his own land. For the drift of a great deal of later discussion on the subject is to make out that the ancient Galli and Galatae alike were of a type closely akin to the ancient German. (47)

Robertson's attack on raciological thinking is reasoned, extensive, and rigorous, and many prominent Victorian raciological thinkers are handled roughly by him. J. R. Green, The Duke of Argyll, James Anthony Froude, Goldwin Smith, and A. J. Balfour are among those chosen for extended critique.

In this study, I have primarily limited my focus to Victorian works, and have not followed the development of raciological thinking beyond the First World War. One reason I have done so is that the prestige of raciological science declined as the scientific unreliability of many raciological axioms became apparent to detached critics, and as a result later race thinking is in a different position from Victorian raciology. Robertson is such a critic, although his work has achieved the fate, which is the euthanasia of a scientific work, of being inclosed among the rubble of the foundations of later knowledge and forgotten. Robertson's remarkable "study of sociology" *The Saxon and the Celt* (1897) was one of the first to analyze closely the contending scientific accounts of "the question of race," and he established clearly the incoherence in the usage of the term race in raciological literature in general. Its effectiveness in slowing the circulation of blood-and-iron theories of race was minimal, of course. By 1897, the saturation of the public consciousness with concepts fixed by raciological typologies, and the over-laying of raciological conceptions on the template of European history and culture to found the new nationalist racial ideologies, had already occurred, and from that point political racism gained momentum. Robertson, for instance, despite sympathizing with the calls for Home Rule, decried the racial tendency in Irish politics (125-31). Robertson's work clearly signals the decline in authority of the same raciological thinkers who had been taken as models of scientific method in the 1850s, 60s, and 70s. Robertson writes:

The question of race is in the nature of the case of one of the last biological problems to be brought under scientific treatment. Like all others affecting men's relations to the

universe and to each other, it is first handled by the methods of myth-mongering ignorance, whose conclusions later become traditional truth for minds which would conceivably be capable of sounder ideas, but for the traditional misguidance; and even when the spirit of science begins definitely to scrutinize and modify tradition, it is long hampered by the old bias. Thus we still show in our current speech the traces of the ancient oriental guess which divided the varieties of man into three--the children of Shem, of Ham, and of Japheth. (29)

Robertson then points out that the authority of philological evidence for raciological doctrines was no longer tenable among reputable historians:

All historians are agreed, for instance, that language is not at all a sure clue to the history or pedigree of any race or part of a nation. (29)

Robertson goes on to say that belief in "one general type" representing the "ancient Gauls" or "ancient Germans" is guided originally "by the Biblical habit of supposing all nations to have arisen by direct descent from one man, or by the coalition of groups descended from one man" (29-30). Robertson's critique of ethnological science is thorough and convincing, and he establishes clearly the anarchy of raciological terminology. And of the weakness of raciological procedure, he writes: "the very nomenclature of ethnology is a record of the abandonment of one false position after another, without any definite change in method" (31).

The works of Barzun and Poliakov give extensive testimony to the continued development of racist pseudo-science in the early twentieth century, despite the advance represented by Robertson's critique of the concept of race. From the perspective of raciological historiography, the important point is that by the 1890s the convictions and authority of Victorian raciology no longer commanded

the same level of attention among professional scientists.

A profitable distinction to be drawn in understanding the complex influences of the Victorian raciological idiom is that between civilization and culture. Paradoxically, opposite forces were generated by the popular circulation of raciological typologies in Victorian Britain. Earlier patriotism developed into racial nationalism, in which a fictive racial coherence organized the historical inheritance according to new, exclusivist cultural categories, and formed, or began to describe, closed national groupings according to supposed racial facts. The results of this process in the twentieth century have been negative or catastrophic, and range in magnitude from the Nazi genocides to Québécois nationalism. But a positive animus--to use an adjective the Victorians would have interpreted richly--is to be perceived in a great deal of the Victorian raciological literature, and the results of the philological, and related, sciences were often civilizing in the best possible sense. The circulation of the important works uncovered by philological industry in the nineteenth century contributed to a greater cosmopolitanism in the society, and to the knowledge of the traditions and literature of other cultures.

It may be that Robertson and Munro, and other critics of raciological thinking active in Britain in the 1890s, and later, ensured the existence of a segment of British cultural life which resisted raciological ideology sufficiently early to ensure that doubt about categorical assertions with respect to race circulated in Greater Britain, and saved British cultures from the full political development of raciological doctrines, while in Germany, France, and elsewhere, racial thought continued to develop into the evil that it was to become. The uncomplicated, if elaborately refined, raciological view of the Celts and Saxons--inaugurated by James Cowles Prichard in 1813, with his study, *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, a work whose thesis he proved by "a comparison of their

dialects"--continued to be taught in schools, but was no longer unquestioned in the learned world.⁴⁰ After the 1890s, belief in raciological ideology is transformed into a matter of faith, rather than of science, and its avatars are interested not in scientific truth, but in political power.

Or it may be that Robertson and Munro's critiques were utterly lost in the general, perhaps ontological, acceptance of the raciological convictions of imperial British civilization, and it is only because the culture was less malign--or more fortunate--that the evolution of racial theory, and, more importantly, the manipulation of raciological ideas for political power, did not cause events to turn out worse than they have done in Great Britain and Canada. It is clear that Robertson's variety of raciological scepticism has never been able to inoculate the public (and its journalists) against the use of raciological notions. But political use of raciological concepts is another matter. In large part, Canada's raciological perspective was forced to change with its growing immigrant population, and a less ethnic nationalism became more expedient, at least outside of Québec. But we misunderstand and misrepresent Victorian Canada if we forget that poems like this anonymous anthem from the Lighthall's 1889 collection *Songs of the Great Dominion* were common and popular:

Our pride of race we have not lost,

And aye it is our loftiest boast

That we are Britons still!

And in the gradual lapse of years

⁴⁰In his edition of the work in 1857, Robert Gordon Latham calls *The Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations* "one of the most important contributions ever made to philological ethnology" (vi). The work is antiquated enough by 1897 that the otherwise thorough Robertson does not comment on it.

We look, that 'neath those distant skies

Another England shall arise,--

A noble scion of the old,--

Still to herself and lineage true,

And prizing honour more than gold.

This is *our* hope, and as for you,

Be just as you are generous, mother,

And let not those who rashly speak

Things that they know not, render weak

The ties that bind us to each other. (9)

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Appendix

A Brief Chronology of events and works important to the history of eighteenth and nineteenth-century British Philology

1690--John Locke's (1632-1704) *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* published.

1739--Valckenaer edition of Ammonius's *On the Differences of Words*.

1744--James Harris's (1709-1780) *Three Treatises: I. Concerning Art: A Dialogue. II. Concerning Music, Painting, and Poetry. III Concerning Happiness* published. Lord Monboddo praises the dialogue on art as "the best specimen of the dividing, or diæretic manner, as the ancients called it, that is to be found in any modern book with which [he is] acquainted."

1747--Dr. Samuel Johnson's (1709-84) *Plan of an English Dictionary* published.

1751--James Harris's *Hermes, or a philosophical inquiry concerning universal grammar* published.

In his own grammar, Bishop Lowth praises Hermes as "the most beautiful example of analysis that has been exhibited since the days of Aristotle."

1755--Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* published.

1761--Adam Smith's (1723-1790) *Dissertation on the Origin of Languages* published.

1768--Publication in two volumes of the sixteenth edition of Locke's *Essay*.

1768-71--First Edition of *Encyclopædia Britannica*, edited by William Smellie, and conceived by Colin Macfarquhar and Andrew Bell, published in Edinburgh.

1773-92--James Burnett (1714-1799), Lord Monboddo's *The Origin and Progress of Language* published in six volumes.

1775--James Harris's *Philosophical Arrangements* published.

1781--James Harris's *Philological Inquiries* published.

- 1784--Thomas Astle's *The Origin and Progress of Writing* published.
- 1786--John Horne Tooke's (1736-1812) first part of *Epea Pteroenta, or the Diversions of Purley* published.
- 1792--Dugald Stewart's (1753-1828) *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* published.
- 1797-1803--Isidore of Seville's works published in the seven-volume Arevallo edition at Rome.
- 1799--Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt's (1767-1835) *Ästhetische Versuche* published.
- 1805--Publication of second part of Horne Tooke's *Diversions*.
- 1810--Dugald Stewart's *Philosophical Essays* published.
- 1816--George Crabb's *English Synonymes Explained* published.
- 1816--Franz Bopp's (1791-1867) *A System of Conjugation of Sanscrit compared with those of Greek, Latin Persian, etc.* published at Frankfurt.
- 1817--First edition of Rasmus Rask's *A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue* published, in Danish, in Copenhagen.
- 1817--Becker's Berlin edition of Appolonius's *de Constructione*.
- 1819--Jakob Grimm (1785-1863) publishes *Deutsche Grammatik*.
- 1819-20--Krehl edition of Priscian's *Grammaticae*.
- 1822--Schäfer edition of Ammonius's *On the Differences of Words*.
- 1822-40--Grimm's *Grammatik* entirely recast.
- 1830--Benjamin Thorpe English translation of Rask's *Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, With a Praxis* published at Copenhagen.
- 1833-52--Bopp's *Comparative Grammar* published.
- 1836--Posthumous publication of von Humboldt's *On the Variety of Structure in Human Speech*, an

introduction to his study of the Kawi language of Java.

1841--The Earl of Malmesbury publishes his father's collected writings, *the Works of James Harris*.

1841-52--Publication in seven volumes of Humboldt's *Collected Works*.

1842--Edwin Guest (1800-80) founds the Philological Society with Thomas Arnold, A. P. Stanley, F. J. Furnivall, R. C. Trench, and J. A. H. Murray.

1844--Alexander John Ellis (1814-1890) publishes *Phonetics: A Familiar System of the Principles of that Science*.

1846--Archibald Sayce publishes his *Introduction to the Science of Language*.

1851--Richard Chenevix Trench's (1807-86) *The Study of Words* published.

1854--The German Baron Christian Charles Josias Bunsen's two-volume *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, Applied to Language and Religion* published in London.

1854-8--Dugald Stewart's *Works*, edited by W. Hamilton, published in eleven volumes.

1855--Trench's *English, Past and Present* published.

1857--Trench reads "On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries" to the Philological Society.

The paper forms the basis for the principles that will govern the compilation of the Oxford English Dictionary.

1860--Richard Taylor's annotated edition of Horne Tooke's *Diversions* published.

1860--George Perkins Marsh's (1801-82) *Lectures on the English Language* published.

1862--John William Draper's (1811-82) *A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, in two volumes, published.

1862--G.P. Marsh's *The Origin and History of the English Language*, edited by cyclopædist William Smith, published.

1863--Friedrich Max Müller's (1823-1900) first series of *Lectures on the Science of Language*, delivered in 1860 at Oxford, published.

1864--Max Müller's *Second Series of Lectures on the Science of Language*, delivered at Oxford in 1863, published.

1864--Frederick J. Furnivall (1825-1910) founds Early English Text Society.

1868--Walter William Skeat's (1835-1912) *A Mæso-Gothic Glossary* published.

1869-1889--A. J. Ellis's *On Early English Pronunciation*, in five volumes, the last of these five entitled *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects* published.

1875--Ninth edition (the so-called "scholar's edition") of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the general editorship of T.S. Baynes, published.

1876--Henry Sweet's (1845-1912) *An Anglo-Saxon Reader* published.

1877--Sweet's *A Handbook of Phonetics* published.

1879--Skeat's first edition of *An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* published.

1882--Skeat's *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* published.

1884--Publication of Uhlig's Leipzig edition of Dionysius's *Grammatike*.

1887--Skeat's first series ("The Native Element") of his *Principles of English Etymology* published.

1888--Henry Sweet's *A History of English Sounds* published.

1892--John Earle's *The Philology of the English Tongue* published.

1899--Sweet's *The Practical Study of Languages* published.

1900--Sweet's *The History of Language* published.