

## The English Aristocracy and Empire Building in Edward Bulwer-Lytton's<sup>1</sup> Novel *The Caxtons*

Dr. Nayef al-Yasin\*

### Abstract

This paper proposes to examine the role of the English aristocracy in the colonial process and in empire building as shown in *The Caxtons*, a novel written by the nineteenth-century novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton and published in 1849. The novel will be contextualized within a larger framework of other literary and non-literary texts.

Most writers of the condition-of-England novel are preoccupied with themes like industrialization, the relationship between workers and manufacturers and the discontent of the working class. Bulwer, however, assumes that a crucial 'condition' of England is its being a country with an imperial destiny. And he chooses a vantage point which is also different from those used by his contemporaries. His hopes and concerns lay in the

---

<sup>1</sup> Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873) was a novelist, playwright and poet. He wrote about twenty four novels, ten plays, eleven volumes of poetry, two collections of essays, numerous short stories, a history of Athens, translations of Horace and Schiller, and the pioneering sociological study *England and the English*. From 1831 to 1833 he edited *The New Monthly Magazine*. He entered Parliament in 1831 as a Liberal, resigned ten years later, returned in 1852 as a Tory, and in 1858 became Secretary for the Colonies. He was a life long friend of Dickens, and is often remembered for persuading him to change the ending of *Great Expectations*.

\* Department of English - Faculty of Arts and Humanities - Damascus University

country and in the country gentleman, not in towns and in the 'Captains of Industry'.

This paper reads *The Caxtons* as an illustration of the argument that colonialism was not only a result of industrial-capitalist expansion. It was rather a more complicated process in which the aristocracy played a significant and often a leading part.

*The Caxtons: A Family Picture* was serialized in *Blackwood's Magazine* from April 1848 to October 1849 and published in November 1849 by John Blackwood.<sup>2</sup> 1848 is not a neutral date; the year was marked by revolutions in Europe and a renewed anxiety about revolution in England; Chartist activity was at its height.<sup>3</sup> That year and the few subsequent years also saw the publication of several novels about the condition of England; Charles Kingsley's *Yeast* was serialized in 1848 in *Fraser's Magazine*, Mrs Gaskell's *Mary Barton* was published in the same year, Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* was published in 1849.

In *The Caxtons* Bulwer assumes that a crucial 'condition' of England is its being a country with an imperial destiny. But, of course, Bulwer chooses his own vantage point to approach the question of England's condition. The novel does not deal either with industrialization or with the discontent of the working class, the dominant themes of novels usually categorized as nineteenth-century Condition-of-England novels. Bulwer's concerns and hopes lay in the country and in the country gentleman, not in towns and in the 'Captains of Industry', in the words of Thomas Carlyle. This feature clearly distinguishes Bulwer from writers like Dickens, Carlyle, Mill, Ruskin, Charlotte Brontë and Mrs Gaskell. Although he shared their distrust and alarm about commerce and industrial capitalism, he did not share their way of presenting these issues nor their points of emphasis. They mostly aimed at educating the middle class, seeing obviously that they are the class who will lead the nation. Bulwer, for his part, although aiming at middle-class readership, continued to advocate the case of the aristocracy, never losing hope that they will revive their fortunes and resume their leadership.

Like many Victorian writers, Bulwer finds in the empire a solution for England's problems, but he differs in his vision and treatment of it from most of those who wrote about the subject. He was not interested in describing the exotic lands that the empire encompassed, nor in representing the natives of those lands. He was not even very interested

---

<sup>2</sup> Sixteen editions of *The Caxtons* would appear between 1849 and 1903. Leslie Michell, *Bulwer Lytton, The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London: Hambledon, 2003), p. xviii.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Thompson, *The Chartists* (London: Temple Smith, 1984), p. 326.

in describing in detail the life of his characters in the colonies. What he focused on was the relationship between England and those colonies and how this relationship could be best sustained for the economic and cultural profit of England. In terms of structure, Bulwer divided *The Caxtons* into eighteen parts, only one of which is set in Australia, a major colonial dominion at the time.

In *Culture and Society* and *The Long Revolution*, Raymond Williams touches upon the use of the empire in nineteenth-century fiction, although he does not discuss it fully. He notes that writers used the empire as an artistic device; to solve problems of the plot, to get rid of unwanted characters, change the fortunes of other characters and resolve conflicts within the imperial nation. He also finds that the use of the empire manifests some frustration about reaching a reasonable solution at home for the problems of industrialization. In *The Long Revolution* he writes that this feature was common

over the whole range of fiction . . . at the level of developing attitudes necessary to the society. . . . [T]he Empire was a more universally available escape-route: black sheep could be lost in it; ruined or misunderstood heroes could go out and return with fortunes; the weak of every kind could be transferred to it, to make a new life.<sup>4</sup>

Williams finds that the use of the empire can be seen as an endorsement of the self-help principle and an encouragement of enterprise in its purest forms. Since there was a great need for workers in the new lands, emigration was considered an effective solution to the problems of the working class, even by the most humane critics of the industrial system. Williams concludes that "in terms of capital and trade, the empire had been one of the levers of industrialization, and was to prove one major way of keeping the capitalist system viable."<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), pp. 82-3. The same idea is reiterated in Louis James, *The Victorian Novel* (London: Blackwell, 2006), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p. 83.

Williams's conclusion, which will be questioned later in the paper, hardly needs any explanation: the empire was an outcome of industrialization and came as a result of the expansion of industrial capitalism.

Edward Said, in *Culture and Imperialism*, deals with the empire in a more elaborate and extensive manner. He brings ideas about 'colonial expansion' and 'inferior races' in fictional and non-fictional writings to the forefront of the discussion of these works, in reply to critics who have relegated these ideas to a different part of the culture in which they were produced. The other issue Said raises is that nineteenth-century thinkers and novelists were engaged in the subject of the empire from a European perspective, with little or no attention to the peoples who came under colonial rule. Although those intellectuals were heavily involved in the social and moral issues in the 'centre' of the empire they did not extend their concern to 'subject' peoples and nations. As a result

Most professional humanists [were] unable to make the connection between the prolonged and sordid cruelty of such practices as slavery, colonialism and oppression, and imperial subjection on the one hand, and the poetry, fiction, and philosophy of the society that engages in these practices on the other. . . . very few of the British or French artists . . . took issue with the notion of 'subject' or 'inferior' races so prevalent among officials who practised those ideas as a matter of course in ruling India or Algeria. They were widely accepted notions, and they helped fuel the imperial acquisition of territories in Africa throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Said considers the novel "the aesthetic object" which articulated and lent a narrative to the expanding societies of Britain and France. He thinks that it is no accident that the prototypical modern realistic novel is *Robinson Crusoe*, a story about a European who creates a fiefdom for himself on a distant, non-European island.<sup>7</sup> Stories continued to be at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world. The main battle in imperialism was of course over land. But

---

<sup>6</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), p. xiv.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

when it came to who owned the land and who had the right to settle and work on it - these issues were contested and enacted through narrative. In Said's view, the dominance of the British empire and the extraordinary success of the British novel at the same time is not accidental.

By the 1840s the English novel had achieved eminence as a major intellectual voice in English society. Because the novel gained so important a place in the condition-of-England question, for example, we can see it also participating in the debate about England's overseas empire. In projecting what Raymond Williams calls a 'knowable community' of Englishmen and women, generations of English novelists shaped the idea of England in such a way as to give it identity, presence, and ways of reusable articulation. The relationship between 'home' and 'abroad' in the English novels of this period was brief and tentative compared with the permanent presence of London, the countryside, or the industrial centres such as Manchester or Birmingham. The narrative of these novels is situated mainly in the metropole, while events in the colonies are referred to only in as much as they can be incorporated into events at home.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, what happens in the colonies is often decided by what happens at home, and is viewed and assessed from a 'home' view point. The attention given to the two parts of the equation is quite disproportionate, and the representation of the two worlds always favours the centre. Thus Said holds that novels "participate in and contribute to a slow, infinitesimal politics that produces perceptions and attitudes about England and the world. . . . [T]he world beyond is seen as subordinate and dominated, the English presence viewed as regulative and normative."<sup>9</sup>

Bulwer, like those writers Said discusses, took for granted the existence of the empire as a venue for British enterprise and 'civilization'. To look at the relationship between Bulwer and colonial expansion is to locate the empire in a wider cultural perspective. This paper will show how the empire was not only related to the expansionist trends of industrial capitalism, but in fact was endorsed by some of the staunchest critics of the system, including Bulwer. The central point of this

---

<sup>8</sup> This changed later in the century with Kipling, Conrad, Haggard, and travel writers.

<sup>9</sup> Said, p. 89.

argument will be the role of the aristocracy in building and developing the idea of the empire, and what role they saw for themselves in it.

Colonialism is not a side issue in *The Caxtons*; it is the central theme of the novel, and the future of the hero is decided by his enterprise in Australia. Pisistratus Caxton, the son of a country squire whose family fortunes had declined, considers all the possibilities open to him and finds that only by emigrating to Australia can he restore the family name and honour. Bulwer's view of the empire was not restricted to its importance to the British economy; he saw it as the centre of national interest and national identity. Hence, the argument about who should lead the nation is inseparable, in Bulwer's mind, from who should govern the colonies and how they should be governed. As will be explained later, the novel expresses the desire of the aristocracy to take a leading role in building the empire according to gentlemanly aristocratic values. Bulwer thought that the colonies were too important to be left to outcasts and criminals to develop. The assumption here is that the colonies are an extension to the nation and consequently the aristocratic element should be sown and maintained in the colonies as it should be at home. If the colonies were seen to provide an opportunity for those who do not have a chance at home, this chance should be taken by the gentry who have a responsibility to revive their own fortunes by taking part in governing the colonies. Captain Roland Caxton presses this message on his nephew Pisistratus, the ideal colonizer, by saying: "You are young, nephew . . . and you have the name of a fallen family to raise". (*The Caxtons*, I: 228)

The argument about the empire is central to the discussion of the idea of England as a nation in Bulwer's novel on two levels; first, because as J. A. Hobson found, in *Imperialism: A Study*, colonialism was not only an expansion of the nation, but it took priority over it as well. The concern about forming the nation which had prevailed a century earlier was replaced by the end of the nineteenth century with an obsession with obtaining more territory.<sup>10</sup> Second, the aristocracy which, according to Bulwer, is the qualified class for leadership in the nation,

---

<sup>10</sup> J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961), p. 6. See also Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992).

played an important role in colonial expansion. Added to that is the fact that Bulwer did not only take part in the debate about the empire, but was directly involved in drawing up the colonial policy when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in Lord Derby's government (1858-9). T. H. Escott, one of Bulwer's biographers, believed that the true cult of the colonies was first sounded in *The Caxtons*, some eight years before Bulwer began educating his ministerial colleague, Disraeli, about the necessity of upholding England's empire overseas.<sup>11</sup> The two colonies which chiefly occupied his attention were the white settler colonies of Australia and Canada, and in both there are towns today which bear his name.<sup>12</sup>

The notions of the aristocracy and of gentlemanly imperialism are dominant in Bulwer's novel.<sup>13</sup> P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, in "Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas," have found that economic imperialism did not follow automatically from economic dependence.<sup>14</sup> Their interpretation avoids the assumption that imperialism is a necessary function of industrial capitalism. What is significant in this argument is the role of agricultural capitalism because of its direct relationship with the aristocracy. Cain and Hopkins hold that the most important form of wealth in Britain was the rentier capitalism which arose from the ownership of land by a numerically small élite<sup>15</sup>. By the close of the seventeenth century the landed magnates had ceased to be a

---

<sup>11</sup> H. S. Escott, *Edward Bulwer, First Baron Lytton of Knebworth: A Social, Personal, and Political Monograph* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1910), p. 273.

<sup>12</sup> Victor Alexander Lytton, *The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton, by His Grandson the Earl of Lytton* (London: Macmillan, 1913), 2:284.

<sup>13</sup> It is beyond the scope of this study to review the different theories about the emergence and development of imperialism; therefore, these theories are touched upon only in as much as they are useful to this analysis of Bulwer's novel.

<sup>14</sup> P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, "Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, I. The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 39, no. 4 (1986), p. 502. Cain and Hopkins expanded and developed this view in their book *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914* (London: Longman, 1993).

<sup>15</sup> Rentier capitalism is a form of capitalism in which the supplier of capital is paid in the form of interest and dividends. He does not, however, supply entrepreneurial services, or participate in managing the firm. Graham Bannock, R. E. Baxter & Ray Rees, *The Penguin Dictionary of Economics* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1978).



feudal aristocracy and were ready to embrace a market philosophy. Nevertheless, they still belonged to a feudal tradition; and the landed capitalism which evolved in Britain after the Stuarts was heavily influenced by pre-capitalist notions of order, authority and status.

The special link between England and the empire might be seen through Bulwer's conception of *The Caxtons* as dealing with 'domestic' issues; the novel is set mainly in England, and we know little about Pistratus's life in Australia. In the Preface, Bulwer declares that *The Caxtons* is his first novel in which "man has been viewed less in his active relations with the world, than in his repose at his own hearth: - in a word, the greater part of the canvass has been devoted to the completion of a simple Family Picture". (*The Caxtons*, I: v) But Bulwer explains why he gives a novel about 'English home life' features which make it also a novel of empire. "I wished," he told his colleague at the Colonial Office, the fourth Earl of Carnarvon, "to suggest that, whether in an English country house or in an Australian sheep farm, the Englishman is equally at home, and that the intervening oceans may separate, but need not disunite."<sup>16</sup>

The world that lies outside the metropolitan sphere derives its power and legitimacy from the power of the imperial centre. Bulwer's treatment of the subject of empire in *The Caxtons*, as in other nineteenth-century novels, constitutes what Said calls "a structure of attitude and reference".<sup>17</sup> The empire has its share in shaping the social and moral values in these novels. Pistratus's achievements in Australia help him reclaim the lost social position of his family and sustain the values the family stands for, values to which the novelist himself subscribes. The fact that Pistratus's life in Australia is not discussed at any length illustrates that the colonies are important for the imperial centre only in terms of the use that can be made of them. Their identity is defined by the profit they generate.

This is the colonial message in *The Caxtons*, set right from the very beginning. In the Preface to the novel Bulwer states that he wants his hero to be "representative of the exuberant energies of youth, turning, as

---

<sup>16</sup> Escott, p. 277.

<sup>17</sup> Said, p. 73.

with the instinct of nature for space and development, from the Old World to the New". (*The Caxtons*, I: vi) This reflects the views of Lord Durham, the colonial reformer, in that the colonies should be utilized as outlets for organized emigration, in order to relieve the distress caused by over-population at home:

The country which has founded and maintained these colonies at a vast expense of blood and treasure, may justly expect its compensation in turning their unappropriated resources to the account of its own redundant population; they are the rightful patrimony of the English people, the ample appendage which God and Nature have set aside in the New World for those whose lot has assigned them but insufficient portions in the Old.<sup>18</sup>

The 'New World', in *The Caxtons*, is an expansion of the economic and social space of the centre, although it does not occupy much of the narrative space in the novel. Despite the fact that the social and moral values of the novel are heavily determined by the existence of the colonies, their importance is signified by their absence. They are a place for wandering, excitement and profit, but their true meaning can only be understood and appreciated in the centre:

the interior meaning of the whole is sought to be completed by the inference that, whatever our wanderings, our happiness will always be found within a narrow compass, and amidst the objects more immediately within our reach; but we are seldom sensible of this truth . . . till our researches have spread over a wider area. To insure the blessing of repose, we require a brisker excitement than a few turns up and down our room. (*The Caxtons*, I: vi)

The wanderings and excitement in the outside world are not aims in themselves; they are a means for strengthening and enhancing domestic stability and prosperity. Moreover, it is a characteristic of the gentleman that he saw the world as subject to his observation and activity. The empire, conceived as an extension of the 'old world' should necessarily

---

<sup>18</sup> Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, quoted in C. A. Bodelsen, *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1960), p. 21.

come within the scope of his observation; and the gentleman, as someone who should know and manage his world, cannot neglect this important part of it. "Turning in despair from this civilized world of ours," Pisistratus writes to his mentor and benefactor Albert Trevanion MP, "I have cast my eyes to a world far older, - and yet more to a world in its giant childhood. India here, - Australia there!" (*The Caxtons*, II: 134) As a young member of the gentry, he is portrayed in his attempt to regenerate his class by finding a place for himself. He finds a convenient venue in the colonies. Because he finds in himself "attributes that here find no market," he decides to move "out of this decrepit civilization" towards "some more rude and vigorous social system". (*The Caxtons*, II: 135)

The contradiction implied in the passage quoted earlier recurs here too: although home is portrayed in terms of safety, beauty and civilization, here it is a "decrepit civilization" seeking renewal and invigoration from the new world. And because the private and the public attributes are inseparable in the gentleman, this step has its implications for deciding the general policy towards colonization. When Pisistratus writes to Trevanion, asking for his advice on emigrating, Trevanion gives his opinion, which is in fact the writer's opinion:

Your letter, young artist, is an illustration of the philosophy of colonising. I comprehend better, after reading it, the old Greek colonization, - the sending out not only the paupers, the refuse of an overpopulated state, but a large proportion of a better class - fellows full of pith and sap, and exuberant vitality, like yourself, blending, in those wise cleruchioe, a certain portion of the aristocratic with the more democratic element; not turning a rabble loose upon a new soil, but planting in the foreign allotments all the rudiments of a harmonious state, analogous to that in the mother country - not only getting rid of hungry craving mouths, but furnishing vent for a waste surplus of intelligence and courage, which at home is really not needed, and more often comes to ill than to good; - here only menaces our artificial embankments, but there, carried off in an aqueduct, might give life to a desert. (*The Caxtons*, II: 136-37)

There are several important points in this passage that Bulwer touches on lightly, although they were significant to the debate about the colonies. First, there is the Malthusian concern about the problem of population. Robert Malthus, at the end of the eighteenth century, found that to think of the colonies as a dumping place for the criminal and the poor of England was not a practical idea and thought that the help of the upper classes was essential:

It must be acknowledged, then, that the class of people on whom the distress arising from a too rapidly increasing population would principally fall could not possibly begin a new colony in a distant country. From the nature of their situation, they must necessarily be deficient in those resources which alone could ensure success: and unless they could find leaders among the higher classes, urged by the spirit of avarice or enterprise; or of religious or political discontent; or were furnished with means and support by government; whatever degree of misery they might suffer in their own country from the scarcity of subsistence, they would be absolutely unable to take possession of any of those uncultivated regions, of which there is yet such an extent on the earth.<sup>19</sup>

At a later stage, however, and despite these reservations, Malthus found in the colonies a solution to the dilemma faced by the commercial society. In 1817 he asserted that colonies might provide an answer to the decline in the rate of profit caused by the competition of a redundant capital. A Country with colonial possessions had "a large arena for the employment of an increasing capital"; indeed, such a country could rely on its imperial provinces to supply it with food, which it could not do in the case of a foreign country. Malthus even stipulated that the agricultural resources of the British empire might support three times Britain's population at the time.<sup>20</sup> In 1824, Malthus saw the difficulty of a

---

<sup>19</sup> Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1807), selected and introduced by Donald Winch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 85.

<sup>20</sup> Malthus, *Additions to the Fourth and Former Additions of an Essay on the Principle of Population*, 1817, quoted in Bernard Semmel, *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 24.

commercial system not in the absolute amount of capital it generated but in the "relative difficulty of finding profitable employment for it" in a "limited territory."<sup>21</sup>

But in reality schemes of assisted emigration were an integral part of the poor law at the time, as well as of the criminal code. To Robert Southey it seemed "a sure remedy for poverty and over-population". Again and again Southey advocated organized emigration as a permanent branch of the national policy.<sup>22</sup> At the same time he exhibited the folly of populating the colonies with convicts, though claiming that the state has the right to send out paupers instead of supporting them at home.<sup>23</sup>

The main advocate of systematic colonization as a remedy for the social problems of England was Wakefield, who elaborated a system of colonization in three main works: *Letter from Sydney* (1829), *England and America* (1834) and *A View of the Art of Colonization* (1849). The system, which carried his name, aimed at "put[ting] an end to that portion of crime and misery which in Britain is produced by an excess of people in proportion to territory".<sup>24</sup> In *The Caxtons*, we find Pisiistratus explaining his success in Australia, partly because of the misapplications of the Wakefield system.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Malthus, "Political Economy," *Quarterly Review*, quoted in Semmel, p. 24.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Southey, *Essays, Moral and Political*, 1832, quoted in Alfred Cobban, *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Political and Social Thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960), p. 216.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Southey, *Colloquies on Society*, quoted in Cobban, p. 216.

<sup>24</sup> Wakefield, *A Letter from Sydney* (1829), in George Bennett, ed., *The Concept of Empire: Burke to Attlee 1774-1947* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), p. 128.

<sup>25</sup> "I was fortunate, too," writes Pisiistratus, "in entering Australia before the system miscalled 'The Wakefield' had diminished the supply of labour, and raised the price of land. When the change came (like most of those with large allotments and surplus capital), it greatly increased the value of my own property, though at the cost of a terrible blow on the general interests of the colony." In a footnote Bulwer takes issue with Wakefield on the misapplication of his system and criticises its shortcomings. "I felt sure from the start," he writes, "that the system called 'The Wakefield' could never fairly represent the ideas of Mr Wakefield himself, whose singular breadth of understanding, and various knowledge of mankind, belied the notion that fathered on him the clumsy execution of a theory wholly inapplicable to a social state like Australia. I am glad to see that he has vindicated himself from the discreditable paternity. But I grieve to find that he still clings to one cardinal error of the system, in

In order to achieve systematic immigration it had to be established that the colonies, and the whole world for that matter, was within the lawful right of the Englishman to exploit. It had to be asserted that it was his duty to do so. Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus*, mocks the notion of over-population while half the world is still empty. Although Carlyle finds in colonial expansion a remedy for the problems of England, he gives the process of emigration a historical significance:

Too crowded indeed! Meanwhile, what portion of this inconsiderable terraqueous globe have ye actually tilled and delved, till it will grow no more? How thick stands your population in the Pampas and Savannas of America; round ancient Carthage, and in the interior of Africa; on both slopes of the Altaic chain, in the central Platform of Asia; in Spain, Greece, Turkey, Crim Tartary, the Curragh of Kildare? One man in one year, as I have understood it, where now are the Hengsts and Alarics of our still glowing, still expanding Europe; who, when their home is grown too narrow, will enlist and like firepillars guide onwards those superfluous masses of indomitable living valour; equipped, not now with the battle-axe and war-chariot, but with the steam-engine and plough-share? Where are they? - Preserving their game!<sup>26</sup>

Obviously, Carlyle finds in the whole world, outside England, an empty place for investment and cultivation for the benefit of the English colonizer. Or alternatively, the people who inhabit these lands are unable to cultivate them properly. It is also clear that Carlyle is lamenting the inactivity and lack of ambition on the part of the aristocracy who are busy "preserving their game". And this is the second important point in Bulwer's passage quoted above. England was not only facing an increase in the number of the poor, but also in the number of members of the aristocracy and the gentry who had nothing to do. This 'surplus of intelligence and courage' is not only a problem of unemployment

---

the discouragement of small holdings, and that he evades, more ingeniously than ingenuously, the important question - "What should be the minimum price of land? pp. 387-8.

<sup>26</sup> Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 175.

although related to it. Unemployment breeds discontent and radicalism. And if a significant part of the upper classes turn into discontented radicals they will create more problems at home than the poor and the criminal. Through the character of Trevanion, Bulwer offers a balanced treatment by responding to the discontents of the aristocracy and the poor alike. He presents a view of the empire as an agent of development and regeneration.

The issue of regeneration and degeneration looms largely in the discussion of the empire in general, and it is clear enough in *The Caxtons*. In the passage quoted above the two major purposes of colonization, for Bulwer, are set out clearly. First, that colonization plays a civilizing role, a regenerating role; and second, that the aristocracy should play a leading role in the process in order to enhance the aristocratic element in the colonies. As to the first, Bulwer shared the rhetoric used by his contemporaries which emphasized the role of the colonizer as an agent of civilization. The undeveloped nations were understood to be exposed to the danger of degeneration if not absorbed and taken care of by the developed nations. In a speech he made, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, to a detachment of Engineers on their embarkation at Portsmouth for British Colombia he says: "You are not common soldiers - you are to be the pioneers of Civilization."<sup>27</sup> Such a role for the colonizers had been endorsed by Malthus, for if colonies are founded "with a view to the more general cultivation of the earth, and the wider spread of civilization," they are "both useful and proper."<sup>28</sup> Southey expressed similar sentiments; he wished to see a better class of emigrants going from choice as well as from necessity: "It is time that Britain should become the hive of nations, and cast her swarms; and here are lands to receive them."<sup>29</sup> Southey's view is that as the 'Mother Country' withdraws its tutelage the relation of dependence will be succeeded by an alliance, "near in its kind, and more durable, than any which is grounded upon treaties".<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Victor Alexander Lytton, *Life*, 2: 293.

<sup>28</sup> Malthus, "Political Economy," *Quarterly Review*, quoted in Semmel, p. 87.

<sup>29</sup> Southey, *Essays, Moral and Political*, quoted in Cobban, p. 216.

<sup>30</sup> Southey, *Colloquies on Society*, quoted in Cobban, p. 217.

Anxieties and tensions about degeneration and regeneration helped shape the argument about the empire. England was a country faced with degeneration at home, as we have seen in Malthus and Carlyle, and the only way out was seen to be through expansion, which will not regenerate it only but the whole world with it. Of course the assumption here is that the subjected nations are degenerate and in urgent need of this vitalizing power of the empire. An example of this was Palmerston's attempt in 1833 to prop up Turkey in what he called a programme for "the regeneration of a rotten empire."<sup>31</sup> The same applies to the notion of law and order. Those who pose a threat to law and order at home - the poor, the criminal, and the idle gentry and aristocracy - are expected to create law and order in the colonies. Individuals outside the law in the metropole become guardians of law in the peripheries. Thus, empire building includes bringing order to what is not ordered by exporting the most disorderly!

On the second purpose of the colonizing process, strengthening the aristocratic element, Bulwer was equally unequivocal. The policy he drew for his department highlighted the importance of implanting gentlemanly culture and values in the 'new' societies. In a letter to Sir George Bowen in which he confirms his appointment as governor of the new colony of Queensland he writes:

Then, in your public addresses, appeal to the noblest; - the noblest are always the most universal and the most durable . . . Do your best always to keep up the pride in the mother country. Throughout Australia there is sympathy with the ideal of a gentleman. This gives a moral aristocracy. Sustain it by showing the store set on integrity, honour, and civilised manner; not by preference of birth, which belongs to old countries. The more you treat people as gentlemen the more "they will behave as such."<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Ged Martin, 'Anti-imperialism' in the mid-nineteenth century and the nature of the British empire, 1820-70," quoted in Ronald Hyam and Ged Martin, *Reappraisals in British Imperial History* (London: Macmillan, 1975), p. 103.

<sup>32</sup> Victor Alexander Lytton, *Life*, 2: 285-7.



Here, there is a slight complaint that birth in the 'old' country is still the crucial factor in determining the meaning of aristocracy, but he finds an opportunity opening up in the colonies for the creation of a new aristocracy defined in terms of talent and honour. The stress is laid on Britain's responsibility to provide leadership to the world, because it has the best qualifications and the best moral values. Hobson has observed that behind the empire was a theory that "Britons are a race endowed, like the Romans, with a genius for government," and that "colonial and imperial policy is animated by a resolve to spread throughout the world the arts of free self-government [enjoyed] at home."<sup>33</sup> In 1888, J. A. Froude wrote:

We have another function such as the Romans had. The sections of men on this globe are unequally gifted. Some are strong and can govern themselves; some are weak and are the prey of foreign invaders and internal anarchy; and freedom, which all desire, is only obtainable by weak nations when they are subject to the rule of others who are at once powerful and just. This was the duty which fell to the Latin race two thousand years ago. In these modern times it has fallen to ours, and in the discharge of it the highest features in the English character have displayed themselves.<sup>34</sup>

The trouble with the Roman analogy is that it cut both ways; empires fall as surely as they rise, and a nation embarked on an imperial course is locked into that inevitable rhythm. Manifest destiny is also tragic destiny. Even Dicey's bullish attitude contained reflections like this: "Everything in this world, empires, races, creeds, is destined to pass away; and if the probable durability of the kingdoms of the earth could be estimated by any actuarial process, I doubt the first or even the second

---

<sup>33</sup> Hobson, p. 114.

<sup>34</sup> J. A. Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, quoted in Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 221.

place in calculated longevity being assigned to Great Britain . . ." <sup>35</sup> Or as Kipling put it more eloquently:

Far-called, our navies melt away;  
On dune and headland sinks the fire;  
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday  
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!<sup>36</sup>

In *The Caxtons*, there is no indication of the element of transience and temporariness of the empire. The emphasis is on continuity and rejuvenation not on rupture and decay. Pisistratus likens the journey of the colonizer to that of Aeneas. He is burdened with the task of building a great new civilization to inherit and broaden an old one:

And this land has become the heritage of our people! Methinks I see, as I gaze around, the scheme of the All-beneficent Father disentangling itself clear through the troubled history of mankind. How mysteriously, while Europe rears its populations and fulfils its civilising mission, these realms have been concealed from its eyes-divulged to us just as civilization needs the solution to its problems; a vent for feverish energies, baffled in the crowd; offering bread to the famished, hope to the desperate; in very truth enabling the 'New World to redress the balance of the Old.' Here, what a Latium for the wandering spirits,

'On various seas by various tempests toss'd.'

Here, the actual Aeneid passes before our eyes. From the huts of the exiles scattered over this hardier Italy, who cannot see in the future,

'A race from whence new Alban sires shall come,

---

<sup>35</sup> A. V. Dicey, "Mr. Gladstone and Our Empire," *Nineteenth Century* 2, no. 6 (1877), p. 298.

<sup>36</sup> Rudyard Kipling, "Recessional," (1897), quoted in Robin Gilmour, *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1830-1890* (London: Longman, 1993), p. 184.

And the long glories of a future Rome.' (*The Caxtons*, II: 359)

Pisistratus's name in itself might suggest a deliberate use of the name on Bulwer's part in order to revive the Greek ideal. But this should not be overstated because we know that Mr Caxton gave this name to his son almost absent mindedly. This is his reaction when he finds out that his wife took him seriously and she actually named their new born child Pisistratus: "But it is infamous! . . . Pisistratus christened! Pisistratus! who lived six hundred years before Christ was born. Good heavens, madam! you have made me the father of an Anachronism." (*The Caxtons*, I: 18) The reason for this mistake is that at the time Mr Caxton was asked to give a name to his new born son he was deeply engaged in "the important consideration whether the Iliad was written by one Homer - or was rather a collection of sundry ballads, done into Greek by diverse hands, and finally selected, compiled, and reduced into a whole by a Committee of Taste, under that elegant old Tyrant Pisistratus." (*The Caxtons*, I: 2)

It is difficult, however, not to see this reference as a symptom of the anxiety engulfing the connections between past and present: antiquity and the nineteenth century. The Greek ideal is always present and inspiring, although not necessarily in Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant. We are not given any hints as to whether Pisistratus Caxton found his name a source of inspiration or a burden. What we know is that he has the name of an ancient, although falling, family to raise. But the potential allegorical elements of the novel can be detected at play. Pisistratus Caxton retrieves in Australia the family fortunes ruined by Uncle Jack's wild speculations and profitless businesses. This narrative represents an England trying to compensate the loss of America, a loss which might have been seen by some as a result of the carelessness of George III and his minister, Lord North, with the establishment of "an Australian dominion".<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Escott, p. 273. The inflow of convicts to the United States stopped in 1788 after the US war of independence. As a result the British government turned their attention to Australia, and from the first British settlement (1788) to 1820, convicts were the largest single group in the population; 162 000 convicts were transported to Australia from 1788 to 1868, mainly in New South Wales (1788-1840), Van Dieman's Land (1803-52) and Western Australia (1850-68).

This 'dominion', according to Bulwer, will be based on the 'noble' and 'gentlemanly' values of an aristocracy. Alongside this social ideal, we find there are practical justifications for this effort. By forming similar attitudes and creating similar institutions in the colonies, the 'mother' country can strengthen the ties that hold its satellite entities to its centre. Trevanion's letter to Pisistratus, in *The Caxtons*, summarizes this theory:

For my part, in my ideal of colonization, I should like that each exportation of human beings had, as of old, its leaders and chiefs - not so appointed from the mere quality of rank, often indeed taken from the humbler classes - but still men to whom a certain degree of education should give promptitude, quickness, adaptability - men in whom their followers can confide. ...And when the day shall come (as to the faithful colonies it must come sooner or later), in which the settlement has grown an independent state, we may thereby have laid the seeds of a constitution and a civilization similar to our own - with self-developed forms of monarchy and aristocracy, though of a simpler growth than old societies accept, and not left a strange motley chaos of struggling democracy. (*The Caxtons*, II: 137)

It appears that Bulwer did not want the democratic experience of America to be repeated in the other colonies. That is why it is so important not only to import to these colonies the best representatives of the aristocracy but even the monarchy itself, and to draw constitutions for them that make the links inseparable. Even if these colonies get their independence later, it will not be, Bulwer hoped, an independence marked by difference but by similarity.

It is interesting that no mention is made here of the importance of the empire for business or industry, the fields which are thought to have triggered colonial expansion. Still, as we have seen in Cain and Hopkins, despite their belonging in a feudal tradition, the English aristocracy were ready to embrace market economy and take part in the colonial ventures by the end of the seventeenth century. David Cannadine has also found that 'gentry and grandees' benefited from the empire as shareholders, company directors, and occasionally as professionals. For as the lands of

the British Isles ceased to provide them with adequate financial support, many turned instead to the colonies and dominions beyond the seas, where agricultural land and mineral deposits could be found in abundance. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, most imperial emigrants had been either impoverished or criminal members of the working classes: the empire had held little allure for those of higher social station. But from the late 1870s, as opportunities for gentlemen diminished at home, it became increasingly fashionable for them to look to great white dominions, the American west, and the most hospitable parts of British Africa. So, instead of being merely a dumping ground for the lower classes, the empire increasingly became a dumping ground for those who Cannadine calls "supernumerary gentlemen" or "gentlemanly failures". Cannadine perhaps has in mind here people like Lord Lundy, one of Hilaire Belloc's memorable creations: a grandson of a duke, with a great political career predicted for him, but his prospects are ruined because he cries too easily, and the most that he eventually achieves is an overseas posting:

Sir! You disappointed us!  
 We had expected you to be  
 The next Prime Minister but three.  
 The stocks were sold, the press was squared;  
 The middle class was quite prepared.  
 But as it is . . . My language fails!  
 Go out and govern New South Wales!<sup>38</sup>

*The Caxtons* anticipated the increasing interest on the part of the aristocracy in the colonies and encouraged such interest. Of course not all of the aristocrats who went to the colonies were authentic notables: many were sons of merchants, businessmen, and professional people. But a substantial proportion were of landed and titled background, and most of them came from predictably straitened circumstances: younger

---

<sup>38</sup> H. Belloc, *Complete Verses*, 1970, p. 207. Belloc's poem was written in 1907. Quoted in David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Picador, 1992), p. 588.

sons, the indebted and the impoverished, those who had voluntarily sold their estates, and those in Ireland who had been forced to sell.<sup>39</sup>

Under these circumstances, a period in Canada, was an especially attractive option. And, when his term of office ended there, he simply moved on to India. The extent to which financial considerations weighed in taking these jobs is clearly shown in this letter sent by Lord Lansdowne to his mother:

India means saving Lansdowne House for the family. I should be able while there not only to live on my official income, but to save something every year. If I can let Lansdowne House, I might by the time I come home have materially reduced the load of debt which has been so terrible an incubus to us all, and in the meantime I shall be doing useful work for my country, instead of living in a corner of the house in England, perpetually worried by financial trouble, and perhaps increasing instead of decreasing the family liabilities.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, Pisistratus Caxton abandons his job as secretary to his mentor and benefactor, the politician Trevanion, and emigrates to Australia. Thus, although the aristocracy did not create the British empire, they were indeed among its beneficiaries: they invested in colonial companies; they often became directors of them; they farmed in the colonies; and they governed them. And as Cannadine rightly concludes: "the connection between the British nobility and the British Empire was not that they were both hostile to capitalism, but rather they were both well disposed to it."<sup>41</sup>

Other historians of the aristocracy have also found that the militant and expansionist tendencies of the aristocracy are largely responsible for building the empire. Perry Anderson holds that the English nobility has historically characterized itself by its aggression and expansionism:

[T]he English nobility of the Middle Ages was fully as militarised and predatory a class as any in Europe: indeed it

---

<sup>39</sup> Cannadine, p. 429.

<sup>40</sup> Lord Newton, *Lord Lansdowne: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1929), p. 51, 127-9.

<sup>41</sup> Cannadine, p. 605.

distinguished itself among its counterparts by the scope and constancy of its external aggression. No other feudal aristocracy of the later medieval epoch ranged so far and freely, as a whole order, from its territorial base.<sup>42</sup>

This view of the aristocracy as militant, cruel and inclined towards war is not without support. The Flemish chronicler Galbert of Bruges wrote early in the twelfth century that greed and cruelty were the vices peculiar to knights and barons. Around the same period, the historian Orderic Vitalis described the Norman magnates settled in post-conquest England as mere 'foreign robbers'. Seven centuries later, in 1837, Richard Cobden attacked the landed interest by recalling the barbarity of the medieval baronage, and by pointing to current ill-treatment of rural labourers at the hands of their aristocratic employers: "I almost said their owners."<sup>43</sup> Jonathan Powis holds that a link between the aristocracy and coercive power cannot be denied; the nobilities of the West were heirs to the mounted warriors - the bellatores - of the high Middle Ages. The sword which signified a man's capacity 'to give satisfaction' was also a mark of power. At the height of Venetian influence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, young patricians regularly wielded naval or military command in the eastern Mediterranean before returning to the Republic in pursuit of a civilian career. The laws which over so much of Western Europe kept hunting a noble monopoly frequently made the military association quite explicit: in the chase, gentlemen learned the discipline and dash necessary for battlefield command.<sup>44</sup>

In *The Caxtons*, Mr Caxton shows an example of this fascination with war in his answer to Mr Squills's declaration that "war is a great evil": "'tis in war that the knot of fellowship is closest drawn; 'tis in war that mutual succor is most given - mutual danger run, and common affection most exerted and employed; for heroism and philanthropy are almost one and the same!" (*The Caxtons*, II: 438) This military tendency persisted even into the twentieth century. Powis notes that down to the First World War, the crack regiments in most European armies retained a

---

<sup>42</sup> Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolute State* (London: NLB, 1974), p. 116.

<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Jonathan Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), p. 44.

<sup>44</sup> Powis, p. 44.

strongly aristocratic tone; when a detachment of the Household Cavalry reached Egypt in 1882, every officer was a peer, or a peer's son.<sup>45</sup> James Mill had long before described the colonies as being "a vast system of outdoor relief for the upper classes."<sup>46</sup>

Colonial and imperial wars were fought by the nation, in Bulwer's view, for moral and 'Christian' purposes, or at least that is the rhetoric used to justify them. In a speech in the House of Commons, in support of the Crimean War, Bulwer invokes these values:

Then the historians shall say that we in our generation - the united families of England and France - made ourselves the vanguard of alarmed and shrinking Europe, and did not sheathe the sword until we had redeemed the pledge to humanity made on the faith of two Christian sovereigns, and ratified at those distant graves which liberty and justice shall revere for ever.<sup>47</sup>

Bulwer here is expressing a sentiment which prevailed in England throughout the nineteenth century. The upper and much of the middle classes had been increasingly encouraged to believe that a fight in a just cause was one of the most desirable and honourable activities open to man, and that there was no more glorious fate than to die fighting for one's country. The purging or ennobling effect of contemporary war had been written about by numerous poets, Scott, Tennyson and Newbolt among them. Tennyson wrote the following lines about the Crimean War in *Maud*, a poem that was in almost every literate Victorian household.

And as months ran on and rumour of battle grew,  
'It is time, it is time, O passionate heart,' said I  
(For I cleaved to a cause that I felt to be pure and true)  
'It is time, O passionate heart and morbid eye,  
That old hysterical mock-disease should die.'  
And I stood on a giant deck and mix'd my breath

---

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Hobson, p. 51.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 2: 216.



With a loyal people shouting a battle cry,<sup>48</sup>

In *The Caxtons*, Bulwer advocates war as an evil "admitted by Providence into the agency of creation". In a conversation mainly between Mr Caxton, the country gentleman, portrayed favourably, and Mr Squills, a retired businessman, a character created in juxtaposition to Mr Caxton, and with Pisistratus as commentator, the discussion of war and peace proceeds. Since Mr Caxton is busy writing a book on "The History of Human Error," he finds that among the last delusions of human error is Rousseau's "fantasy of Perpetual Peace, and all the like pastoral dreams". Pisistratus, referring to the Cobdenites, comments that these delusions are renewed again: "Benevolent theorists go about prophesying peace as a positive certainty, deduce from that sibyl-book the ledger; and we are never again to buy cannons, provided only we can exchange cotton for corn." Mr Squills, influenced by his attendance of some "Demonstrations in the North," protests that "War is a great evil," to which he is answered by Mr Caxton that "no doubt, there is One above who has His reasons for it." War, according to Mr Caxton often arises "from the necessities interwoven in the framework of society, and speed the great ends of the human race, conformably with the designs of the Omniscient. Not one great war has ever desolated the earth, but has left behind it seeds that have ripened into blessings incalculable!" Then Mr Caxton proceeds with a lecture justifying European wars, starting from the Persian War and not by any means ending with the Crusades:

without the Persian War, Greece would never have risen to be the teacher of the world. . . . How know you that - but for the terror inspired by the hosts who marched to Jerusalem - how know you that the Crescent had not waved over other realms than those which Roderic lost to the Moor? If Christianity had been less a passion, and the passion had less stirred Europe - how know you that the creed of the Arab (which was then, too, a passion) might not have planted its mosques in the forum of Rome, and on the site of Notre Dame? (*The Caxtons*, II: 434- 437)

Mr Caxton concludes that war, despite all its horrors is "the passion of the most heroic spirits." and that "heroism and philanthropy are almost

---

<sup>48</sup> *Maud*, III, VII, iiiii, quoted in Girouard, p. 276.

one and the same!" Here Mr Caxton is not only a fictional character who expresses his own ideas regardless of those of the author. Bulwer comments in a footnote to this passage, making clear that on this point he and Mr Caxton are in full agreement:

When this work was first published, Mr Caxton was generally deemed a very false prophet in these anticipations, and sundry critics were pleased to consider his apology for war neither reasonable nor philosophical. That Mr Caxton was right, and the politicians opposed to him have been somewhat ludicrously wrong, may be briefly accounted for - Mr Caxton had read history. (*The Caxtons*, II: 439)

Bulwer does not bother to go into the practical purposes for launching wars, instead he appeals to its 'noble' and 'heroic' aspects. Mr Squill's pacific free trade ideas are drowned by Mr Caxton's harangue about the necessity of war to protect 'justice', 'liberty' and civilization.

The attitude towards the empire seems to be a general one spreading across different classes despite the different rhetoric used with or against certain practices. Robert Giddings, in his introduction to *Literature and Imperialism*, notes that the nineteenth century was a time when "Europeans regarded the world as an object to be conquered, ransacked and consumed."<sup>49</sup>

In conclusion, the main argument in this paper can be summed up by emphasizing a few points. Bulwer's main concern in his treatment of the empire is the revival of aristocratic ideals through the revival of the fortunes of the aristocracy. This lies within the scope of Bulwer's vision of a reformed aristocracy capable of assimilating the economic and social changes in Victorian Britain. As with most of his contemporaries, Bulwer saw the empire as an extension of the nation. Since Bulwer was always concerned about who governs the nation, his concern was inevitably to reach the farthest parts of the empire. If all imperialists saw in the empire a service for civilization, Bulwer thought that this service was not complete unless the aristocratic element was maintained and strengthened all over the empire, even at the cost of violence.

---

<sup>49</sup> Robert Giddings, ed., *Literature and Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1991), p. 16.

### Bibliography

- Anderson, Perry. *Lineages of the Absolute State* (London: NLB, 1974).
- Bennett, George, ed. *The Concept of Empire: Burke to Attlee 1774-1947* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962).
- Bodelsen, C. A. *Studies in Mid-Victorian Imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1960).
- Buler-Lytton, Edward. *The Caxtons: A Family Picture*. 1849 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1859). 2 vols.
- Cain, P. J. and A. G. Hopkins. "Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas, I. The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 39, no. 4 (1986).
- , P. J. and A. G. Hopkins. *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688-1914* (London: Longman, 1993).
- Cannadine, David. *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (London: Picador, 1992).
- Carlyle, Thomas. *Sartor Resartus*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- Cobban, Alfred. *Edmund Burke and the Revolt Against Eighteenth Century: A Study of the Political and Social Thinking of Burke, Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1960).
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992).
- Dacey, E. V. "Mr. Gladstone and Our Empire," *Nineteenth Century* 2, no. 6 (1877).
- Escott, H. S. *Edward Bulwer, First Baron Lytton of Knebworth: A Social, Personal, and Political Monograph* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1910).
- Giddings, Robert, ed. *Literature and Imperialism* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
- Gilmour, Robin. *The Victorian Period: The Intellectual and Cultural Context of English Literature 1830-1890* (London: Longman, 1993).

- Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).
- Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism: A Study* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1961).
- Hyam, Ronald and Ged Martin. *Reappraisals in British Imperial History* (London: Macmillan, 1975).
- James, Louis. *The Victorian Novel* (London: Blackwell, 2006).
- Lytton, Victor Alexander. *The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton, by His Grandson the Earl of Lytton* (London: Macmillan, 1913).
- Malthus, Robert. *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1807), selected and introduced by Donald Winch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Michell, Leslie. *Bulwer Lytton, The Rise and Fall of a Victorian Man of Letters* (London: Hambledon, 2003).
- Newton, Lord. *Lord Landsdowne: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1929).
- Powis, Jonathan. *Aristocracy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).
- Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994).
- Semmel, Bernard. *The Liberal Ideal and the Demons of Empire: Theories of Imperialism from Adam Smith to Lenin* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).
- Thompson, Dorothy. *The Chartists* (London: Temple Smith, 1984).
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. 1958 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1961).
- , Raymond. *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1961).

---

Received 16/9/2007.