Notes

Introduction

5. Walter Cooper Dendy, for example, comments that ‘in a mind excited or exhausted, the natural sympathy between the brain and the stomach is wrought up to an extreme’ in a way which is productive of hallucinations, *The Philosophy of Mystery* (London, 1841), 105–6.
20. Wallen, op. cit., 79–101. Due to his emphasis on Beddoes as representative of the Foucauldian clinical gaze (79) Wallen seems to me to overstate the extent of Beddoes’s hostility to Brunonianism, particularly given the praise of Brunonianism as a medical doctrine which Wallen notes (101).


38. Ibid., 4: 77–84.


49. Thomas Reid, the founder of the Common Sense school, compares perception to the inspiration granted to ‘prophets and inspired teachers’ in *Works*, 7th edn, ed. William Hamilton (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1872), 134.


53. I have adapted this phrase from Carlyle, referring to Marat’s appearance before the National Convention as ‘the Bodily Spectrum of People’s-Friend Marat ... no phantasm of the brain, or mere lying impress of Printer’s Types; but a thing material, of joint and sinew, and a certain small stature’, Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, ed. K. J. Fielding and David Sorensen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 2: 197. Carlyle’s emphasis on the effects of print culture here is significant in the context of this study.


55. For example, a reviewer compares ‘the unlimited gratification of vicious sensibility’ which they find in Wordsworth’s poems to the way in which ‘the tone of the stomach is injured and at last ruined by the perpetual irritation of strong liquors’, a comparison which suggests that Wordsworth’s imagination is a powerful stimulant, akin to brandy, which compensates, or even overcompensates, for a Brunonian condition of asthenia, or nervous understimulation, Anon, review of *Poems in Two Volumes*. By William Wordsworth, *Critical Review* 11 (3rd series) (1807): 400 in Donald H. Reiman, ed., *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*, 9 vols (New York: Garland Publishing, 1972), I: 313.


57. Describing the literature of Decadence, Arthur Symons remarks ‘healthy we cannot call it, and healthy it does not wish to be considered’, in *The Decadent


62. Carlyle’s spectral rhetoric is exemplified by his description of the September Massacres as ‘this dim Phantasmagory of the Pit’, French Revolution, 2: 150.


64. This issue is explored at greater length in my article ‘The Hero as Seer: Character, Perception and Cultural Health in Carlyle’, Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net, no. 52 (2008), http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/019805ar


69. For a fuller discussion of this issue, see my ‘Hero as Seer’.

70. Harriet Martineau, How to Observe Morals and Manners (London: Knight, 1838), 101.


77. Samuel Hibbert, Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to Their Physical Causes (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1824), 11, 40. The materialist tendency of Hibbert’s argument is criticized by the anonymous author of Past Feelings Renovated: Or, Ideas Occasioned by the Perusal of Dr Hibbert’s ‘Philosophy of Apparitions’ (London: Whittaker, 1828).

88. Neil Vickers notes that Brown’s thinking could be interpreted as ‘merely putting forward pair of processes to place at the heart of nervous functioning’, *Coleridge and the Doctors 1795–1806*, 45.
89. Christopher Hamlin notes the influence of Cullen and his followers on nineteenth-century theories that fevers were nervous in origin, *Public Health and Social Justice*, 64–6.
94. Brown discusses the relationship between stimulation and disease, and notes the tendency of overstimulated conditions to produce death through understimulation unless the level of stimulation is kept up through administering stimulants such as alcohol and opium in *Works*, 1: 110–16.
97. Nicholas Daly discusses the relationship between Victorian anxieties about the effects of railway travel on the nervous system and the discourse of the nerves which is used to characterize sensation fiction in ‘Railway Novels: Sensation Fiction and the Modernization of the Senses’, *English Literary History* 66 (1999): 461–87.
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100. This is discussed at greater length in my article ‘Medicine, the “Manufacturing System” and Southey’s Romantic Conservatism’, *Wordsworth Circle* 42 (2011): 57–63.


104. For an account of the Romantic optical illusion of the phantasmagoria which links it to wider issues surrounding mediatization and modernity, see Marina Warner, *Phantasmagoria: Spirit Visions, Metaphors, and Media Into the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).


106. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, 30. The paradoxical nature of Carlyle’s reference to typology here, in which correspondences which should be fixed in an eternal order are characterized as mobile and fluid, expresses the instability of the distinction between the transcendent and the spectral which I am arguing is characteristic of Romanticism.


116. Ibid., 395.


119. Reid, op. cit., 422, 664.
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120. Hume, op. cit., 269.
122. The Brunonian addictive cycle induced by neural overstimulation is described in Crichton, op. cit., 2: 29–30.
125. Gavin Budge, Yonge, 259–86.
127. Coleridge, Biographia, 1: 304.
130. Abrams, for example, compares Carlyle’s Sartor Resartus to Wordsworth’s Prelude, as a work of ‘crisis-autobiography’ in Natural Supernaturalism, 129–34.
132. Wordsworth, Thirteen-Book Prelude, 1: 188 (Bk 6, ll 453–6).
139. Wordsworth, Prose, 1: 130.
142. Ibid., 675.


148. A characterization of Wordsworth as a hypochondriac suffering from nervous understimulation is implicit in a reviewer’s comparison of the effect of his poetry to ‘the perpetual irritation of strong liquors’ – the implication is that Wordsworth stands in need of this kind of powerful stimulant, Anon, review of Poems in Two Volumes. By William Wordsworth, 400 in Reiman, op. cit., I: 313. Francis Jeffrey’s association of Wordsworth with methodism makes the same kind of point, review of The Excursion, being a portion of the Recluse, a Poem. By William Wordsworth, 4 in Reiman, op. cit., 2: 440.

149. Robert Southey, review of A Chronological History of the People called Methodists, of the Connexion of the Late Rev. John Wesley, from their Rise in the Year 1729, to their last Conference in 1802, Annual Review 2 (1803): 209.


151. Wordsworth, Prose, 1: 78.

152. Thomas Laqueur argues that the eighteenth-century panic over masturbation reflects anxieties about ‘the willful mobilization of the imagination engaged in the endless creation of desire’ which ultimately originate in denunciations of the social effects of ‘luxury’, or consumerism, Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation (New York: Zone Books, 2003), 220.


156. Southey, review of Chronological History of the People called Methodists, 213; Southey, Life of Wesley, 545.

157. Robert Southey, review of Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor, etc. by P. Colquhoun, Quarterly Review 8 (1812): 353.


159. Darwin characterizes menstruation as a sthenic disorder when he remarks that it is due to ‘the want of the stimulus, designed by nature, of amatorial copulation,


### 1 Radcliffe and the Spectral Scene of Reading


6. Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* reveals an obvious debt to Radcliffe in its presentation of an isolated heroine whose only defence against male power is her capacity for self-control.


15. Ferriar, ‘Medical Demonology’, 32 [misnumbered 24].


19. John Toland, an early eighteenth-century disciple of Locke, was among the first to make this argument in Christianity not Mysterious (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1997), 28.


23. Coleridge’s account of Luther’s vision of the devil in The Friend forms part of this literature, see Chapter 3. See also Samuel Hibbert, Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to Their Physical Causes (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1824), 40–4, and Ferriar, Theory of Apparitions, 63.


29. Radcliffe, Mysteries of Udolfo, 348; Radcliffe, Mysteries of Udolfo, 662–3. When the second incident involving a black veil is described, the black veil concealing the image of the corpse is only compared to the black veil covering the picture which Emily had formerly lifted in a different room, although the explanation in the novel’s penultimate chapter conflates the two incidents in a manifestation of narrative incoherence.


32. Ruskin argues that the extreme verisimilitude of trompe l’oeil painting confines the reader’s attention, when once the illusion is discovered, to the artistic technique revealed in the materiality of the painting, blocking any considerations about what it is supposed to be representing, Works, 39 vols, eds E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London: Allen, 1903–12), 3: 99–103.


35. Knight suggests that Hume’s aesthetics ‘applies the analogy of sexual sympathy to things beyond its reach’, Taste, 16.


37. Hume was a friend of the renowned Edinburgh doctor, William Cullen. See ‘Cullen’ in John W. Yolton, John Valdimir Price, and John Stephens, eds, The


43. Reid argues that because we know nothing of the ‘mechanism’ by which impressions on the senses are converted into perceptions we should regard it as a process in which we are immediately ‘inspired’ with this knowledge, and which is analogous to the way we pass immediately from ‘the sign to the thing signified’ when we understand language, *Works*, 7th edn, ed. William Hamilton (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1872), 187–8.


47. William Magee references the Common Sense philosophy of Reid and Dugald Stewart in his influential 1801 argument against Unitarian theology *Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice* (London: Bohn, 1852), 137–8fn.


56. Reid argues that the principles of common sense underlie the grammatical structure of all languages, *Works*, 224.
60. Ferriar, for instance, links the vision of his wife seen by John Donne to ‘the exquisite poem he wrote, previous to their separation’, and describes an apparition seen by Mercato the elder when ‘he was studying philosophy, early in the morning’, Theory of Apparitions, 63, 101.
66. John Abercrombie, while emphasizing the importance of habit in the formation of the associative patterns which safeguard a virtuous character, escapes from the deterministic implications of his argument by suggesting that it is possible to be rescued from a state of moral degradation by ‘an influence from without the mind, – a might and power from the same Almighty One who originally framed it’, *The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings*, 7th edn (London: Murray, 1846), 99. Given the extended discussion of Common Sense philosophy elsewhere in Abercrombie’s writings (eg *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth*, 13th edn [London: Murray, 1849], 19–29), it is reasonable to identify this divine influence with the role of intuition in perception to which Common Sense philosophy appeals.
67. Reid argues that the ‘inductive principle’ by which we expect a constant relationship between cause and effect cannot be the result of reasoning or the association of ideas, but must represent ‘an original principle of human nature’, *Works*, 199–200. In a more popular vein, Beattie argues that our certainty of ‘the existence of our own mind […] could arise from nothing but consciousness, a certain irresistible persuasion, that we have a soul distinct from the body’, *Essay on Truth*, 49.
2  Erasmus Darwin and Wordworth's Poetics

14. The physical effects of the imagination are described in J. Haygarth, *Of the Imagination, as a Cause and as a Cure of the Diseases of the Body* (Bath: Cadell and Davies, 1800).
17. Ibid., 240.
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25. Youngquist incorporates this article in his monograph Monstrosities: Bodies and British Romanticism (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 28–37, but without developing its argument, so I have chosen to cite the earlier version.


30. Raimonda Modiano assumes, for example, that Wordsworth was familiar with Kant’s Critique of Judgement, Coleridge and the Concept of Nature (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), 128.


37. In characterizing Darwin as a materialist, I am mindful of the caveat offered by Thom Verhave and Paul R. Bindler in the introduction to their facsimile edition of Zoonomia, that ‘whatever else Darwin may have been, a simple materialist he was not. His use of the concept of a ‘spirit of animation’ makes his system ambiguous and apparently more vitalistic than materialistic. He was anti-reductionistic in that he objected to the explanation of animal function solely in terms of physics or chemistry.’ (Darwin, op. cit., iv fn). In what follows, by describing Darwin as a materialist I mean to imply that a) like William Lawrence slightly later, he regarded the principle of vitality as inherent in the material organization of the body (Sharon Ruston, Shelley and Vitality [Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005], 46), and b) like Hume, he regarded religious explanations of bodily or intellectual phenomena as redundant (cf David Hume, Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals, ed. P. H. Nidditch [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], 72).


44. Stewart, ‘Life of Reid’, 19.
47. The spiritually therapeutic qualities of Wordsworth’s poetry are implied by S. T. Coleridge’s equation of poetic genius with ‘the sanity of the mind’ and praise of Wordsworth’s ‘original gift of spreading the tone, the atmosphere, and with it the depth and height of the ideal world around forms, incidents, and situations, of which, for the common mind, custom had bedimmed all the lustre, had dried up the sparkle and the dew drops’, *Biographia Literaria*, 2 vols, eds James Engell and W. Jackson Bate (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 1: 30–1, 80; Aubrey de Vere comments that Wordsworth’s poetry manages ‘to unite countless mysterious influences both form the inner world of the spirit and from the visible creation of God’ and so promotes a healthy integration of the personality, ‘Remarks on the Personal Character of Wordsworth’s Poetry’, in *Wordsworthiana: A Selection from Papers Read to the Wordsworth Society*, ed. William Angus Knight (London: Macmillan, 1889), 146–8.
48. David Hume denies that the self has any substantial unity, describing it as ‘nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement’, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 2nd edn, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge and P. H. Nidditch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 252.
49. The Victorian critic Stopford Brooke attributes Coleridge’s ‘weakness of will [...] doubled by disease, and trebled by opium’ to a failure to maintain his grasp on ‘the poetry-creating thought of a universal mankind, and of God as its king and guide’, and consequent obscuring of his perceptions of Nature by ‘self-thought’, *Theology in the English Poets: Cowper, Coleridge, Wordsworth and Burns* (London and New York: Dent and Dutton, nd), 60–2, 68–9.
53. Darwin, op. cit., 2: 659; Thomas Beddoes, ‘Essay on the Preservation of the Physical Power of Enjoyment’ in *Hygeia, or Essays Moral and Medical on the Causes*

54. This is well illustrated in the ‘Table of Excitement and Excitability’ by Samuel Linch, included at the front of John Brown, Works.

55. Darwin describes how ‘sensorial power’ is responsible for the contraction of the muscles, Zoonomia, 1: 66–72.

56. John Brown describes his ‘universal plan of cure’, in which sthenic diseases are treated with high doses of stimulants, and asthenic diseases with lesser doses, in Works, 1: 138–42.


59. John Brown emphasizes the need to make gradual changes in the amount of stimulus to which a patient is exposed in Works, 1: 145–9.


61. John Brown notes the possibility of mistaking a sthenic condition for an asthenic one, Works, 2: 184.


63. John Brown emphasizes that his method of treatment is directed at the bodily system as a whole, rather than individual body parts, Works, 1: 142.

64. Darwin describes the morbid accumulation of ‘sensorial power’, or vitality, in individual organs, op. cit., 2: 611–13. In his biographical preface to the 1795 edition of Brown’s works, Beddoes suggests that different parts of the body respond differently to the same stimulants, John Brown, Elements of Medicine, cxlv.

65. Alexander Crichton describes the harmful effects of intense mental activity on other bodily organs, especially those relating to digestion, in An Inquiry Into the Nature and Origin of Mental Derangement, 2 vols (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), 2: 29–33.


69. Tissot argues that concentrating too long on a single idea will damage part of the brain, ‘An Essay on Diseases Incidental to Literary and Sedentary Persons, with
Proper Rules for Preventing Their Fatal Consequences and Instructions for Their Cure’, in *Three Essays*, trans. Francis Bacon Lee *et al.* (Dublin: Williams, 1772), 22–4, separately paginated. Crichton suggests that those who ‘confine their attention to one branch of study’ are particularly liable to hallucinations, presumably because concentrated mental effort has diverted blood flow to a single area of the brain, *Mental Derangement*, 2: 29–33, 65.

70. Robert Southey, review of *Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor*, *Quarterly Review* 8 (1812): 353.


73. Charles Kingsley, for example, in the context of a review of the spasmodic poet Alexander Smith protests against the ‘diseased type of mind which has been for the last forty years identified with “genius”’, whose ‘dyspeptic unbelief [...] paralyses our poetry’, ‘Alexander Smith and Alexander Pope’, *Fraser’s Magazine* 48 (1853): 460, 466.


85. Veitch, op. cit., 306.
86. Cf Haygarth, op. cit.
90. S. A. D. Tissot, op. cit., 34.
91. Darwin, op. cit., 1: 537. I am following Desmond King-Hele’s suggestion that the paper by Robert Darwin which his father includes in Zoonomia was in fact written by Erasmus Darwin himself (Darwin, 212–14).
97. Wordsworth, Prose, 1: 103.
100. W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser describe Wordsworth’s ‘Essay on Morals’ as anticipating the ‘theorizing on literature as an instrument for moral improvement [...] which Wordsworth shortly was to sketch in the Preface to Lyrical Ballads’, Wordsworth, Prose, 1: 101.
101. The first record that survives of Coleridge’s analysis of the character of Hamlet is from a lecture delivered in Bristol (Lectures 1808–19 on Literature, 2 vols, ed. R. A. Foakes [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987], 1: 539) but, given the fragmentary state of the surviving notes, it is not unlikely that Coleridge made similar remarks in previous lectures in London.
102. Leigh Hunt, The Feast of the Poets, with Notes, and Other Pieces in Verse (London: Cawthorn, 1814), 97.
106. A Brunonian conception of the effects of writing poetry on the brain, comparable to that set out by Alexander Crichton, seems to underlie, for instance, an anonymous reviewer’s comments that Keats’s poetry shows that ‘the exclusive
cultivation of the imagination is always attended by a diminution or contraction of the other powers of the mind’, resulting in ‘the imbecility of judgement, the want of sober calculation, the intense enthusiasm about mean or trivial objects, and the real emptiness of mind, which are sometimes found connected with distinguishing talents’, review of Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, and other Poems. By John Keats. Author of Endymion., Eclectic Review 14 (2nd series) (1820): 169, in Reiman, op. cit., 8: 344.

107. As an example of the fact that ‘imagination, favoured by circumstances, has power to summon up to the organ of sight, spectres which only exist in the mind of those by whom their apparition seems to be witnessed’, Scott refers to a ‘very common instance, the wretched man who has dipped his hand in his fellow-creature’s blood, [who] is haunted by the apprehension that the phantom of the slain stands by the bedside of his murderer’, Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft (London: Murray, 1830), 6.


118. Eg Barker, op. cit., 236, 260, 278, 284.


120. H. L. Mansel describes the sensation novel as an addiction similar to ‘dram-drinking’, op. cit., 482–3.


130. See Barnes, op. cit. for an argument that questions the view that Coleridge was seriously engaged in the study of Kant by early 1801, one of the main evidential bases for claims, such as Raimonda Modiano’s (*Concept of Nature*, 128–34) that Wordsworth, who could not read German, was significantly influenced by Kantian ideas imbibed at second hand. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the points raised by Barnes.

131. Modiano, op. cit., 128.

132. Richard Matlak, op. cit., 76.


137. Stock, op. cit., xlv.


3 Coleridge’s Medical Imagination


3. Hibbert quotes Coleridge at length in *Sketches of the Philosophy of Apparitions; or, an Attempt to Trace Such Illusions to Their Physical Causes* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1824), 360, 363, 378–9, 382.
24. The physician Alexander Crichton describes how intense thought results in a concentration of blood in the brain which acts as a Brunonian stimulant to the brain’s blood-vessels, resulting in a vicious circle in which more and more stimulating blood accumulates in the brain, see *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Origin of Mental Derangement*, 2 vols (London: Cadell and Davies, 1798), 2: 29–33. Samuel Hibbert also notes that excess blood can be ‘a stimulant capable of inducing an undue vividness of thought’, *Philosophy of Apparitions*, 40.

25. Alexander Crichton notes that hallucinatory experiences induce ‘a degree of excitement nearly approaching to phrenitis’ and often result in ‘a real and permanent delirium’, *Mental Derangement*, 2: 35.


30. Crichton details at length the bad effects of a ‘sanguinous congestion’ brought on in the brain by intense thought on ‘many of the viscera essential to the healthy state of our frame’, which causes constipation, interferes with digestion, and produces ‘a sense of languour, anxiety, dejection of mind, peevishness, spasmodic affections and all the consequences of a debilitated fibre, and disordered state of the nerves’, *Mental Derangement*, 2: 29–33. Hibbert notes the connection between the ‘irregular action’ of the nerves and a ‘morbid state’ of the digestive organs in hypochondria, *Philosophy of Apparitions*, 80–1. The surgeon Walter Cooper Dendy describes ‘the natural sympathy between the brain and the stomach’ produced by ‘derangement of the circulation of the blood’, and notes the power of repletion ‘to derange the circulation of the brain and the mental faculties’, *Philosophy of Mystery*, 105–6, 289–90.


32. Neil Vickers describes the ‘violent stomach pains’ from which Coleridge suffered in the early 1800s, and his self-diagnosis of these as the effect of ‘irregular gout’, *Coleridge and the Doctors 1795–1806*, 80–1.


36. Leigh Hunt’s complaint that Wordsworth ‘lives too much apart, and is subject, we think, to low-fevered tastes and solitory morbidities’ implies that Wordsworth’s poetry is symptomatic of hypochondria, *The Feast of the Poets, with Notes, and Other Pieces in Verse* (London: Cawthorn, 1814), 107 fn. This is a common theme in early periodical criticism of Wordsworth; an anonymous

37. This overlap between medical and esoteric thought in the period is represented by the surgeon Richard Saumarez; Coleridge’s interest in Saumarez’s Neoplatonism is noted by John Beer, op. cit., 43.


42. Other doctors who note the connection between mental strain and indigestion are Samuel Hibbert, *Philosophy of Apparitions*, 80–1 and Walter Cooper Dendy, *Philosophy of Mystery*, 105–6, 289–90.


45. Ian Wylie gives an account of the debate between Coleridge and Thelwall over the nature of vitality, *Young Coleridge*, 136–28.

46. John Abernethy highlights the relationship between digestion and Hunter’s view that ‘a subtile principle of life was diffused throughout the body’, *Physiological Lectures*, 174–6.

47. Ian Wylie describes Hunter’s view that ‘some force or power, superior to chemical forces, protected and maintained living matter from the material processes of digestion’, *Young Coleridge*, 126.


49. William Tattersall summarizes Ferriar’s view that the mind is independent of ‘the visible structure of the brain [...] because, at different times, every part of this “structure has been deeply injured, or totally destroyed, without impeding or changing any part of the process of thought”’, *A Brief View of the Anatomical Arguments for the Doctrine of Materialism; Occasioned by Dr Ferriar’s Argument Against It* (London: Johnson, 1795), 11.

50. Abernethy emphasizes that the ‘principle of life and action’ is distinct from the material organization of the body, noting the effects that emotions such as terror have on physical functions, and describes Hunter’s view that digestion depended


57. Carlyle emphasizes the ‘miracle’ of the French Revolution, in which ‘out of that putrescent rubbish of Scepticism, Sensualism, Sentimentalism, hollow Machiavelism, such a Faith has verily risen; flaming in the heart of a People’, noting that ‘what follows, is the battle of Fanaticisms and Miracles; unsuitable for cause-and-effect’, *French Revolution*, 2: 244–5.


63. Thomas Reid argues that we understand the ‘natural signs’ of perception through an ‘inward principle’ which makes us ‘pass from the sign to the thing signified, with ease, and by natural impulse’, *Works*, 7th edn, ed. William Hamilton (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1872), 146–7.

64. Stewart argues that loan-words from foreign languages are less likely to mislead the imagination ‘by recalling to it the sensible objects and phenomena to which they owed their origin’, *Works*, 5: 174. Thomas Brown stresses the intellectual confusion caused by supposing that ‘abstract terms [...] must be significant

65. Coleridge laments the ‘pitiable destitution of all intellectual power’ brought about by the Edinburgh Reviewers’ ‘studied ignorance and premeditated levity’, *The Friend*, 2: 86.


67. In ‘On the Liberty of the Press’, Hume argues that press freedom presents no political danger as ‘a man reads a book alone and coolly’ and so is detached from those physical influences which ‘excite popular tumults or rebellion’, such as the ‘contagion’ of passion or the forceful gestures of an orator, *Philosophical Works*, 4 vols, eds T. H. Green and T. H. Grose (London: Macmillan, 1875), 3: 97 fn.


73. My claim that the rhetoric of the ‘march of mind’ is a popular version of Stewart’s immaterialist project of demetaphorization corresponds to Philip Connell’s account of Stewart’s interest in popularizing a conception of the ‘cultivated imagination’ which was distanced from the ‘originality of genius’ associated with ages of ‘darkness and barbarism’ and closely allied with ‘the new science of political economy’, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of ‘Culture’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 73–4. Tractarians such as Hurrell Froude seem to have been keenly aware of the secularizing implications of this kind of rhetoric, see J. Russell Perkin, *Theology and the Victorian Novel* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), 91.

74. Derrida, op. cit.


76. Christopher Hamlin draws attention to the likelihood that Marx would have been familiar with medical critiques of the workings of capitalism in *Public Health and Social Justice in the Age of Chadwick, 1800–1854* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 47.


80. For an example of one of Martineau’s schematic accounts of the principles which her narrative illustrates, see Harriet Martineau, ‘Weal and Woe in Garveloch’, 2nd edn in *Illustrations of Political Economy*, 9 vols (London: Fox, 1832), 140. The dry and abstract language of the summaries is very much in contrast with Martineau’s impressive ability to make us care about her characters.


88. Brown’s argument was not merely an abstract exercise in conceptual clarification, but had important practical implications given the status of his *Inquiry* as a contribution to the controversy surrounding John Leslie’s appointment to a chair in mathematics at the University of Edinburgh. Leslie, a personal acquaintance of Coleridge (Coleridge, *Notebooks*, 1043 n, 1044 n), was widely suspected of atheism, and his opponents had taken advantage of Leslie’s apparent advocacy of a Humean model of causality in his *Essay on Heat* to block the appointment, arguing that this demonstrated Leslie’s religious scepticism and hence his unfitness to be entrusted with the education of youth (Jack Morrell, ‘The Leslie Affair: Careers, Kirk and Politics in Edinburgh in 1805’, *Scottish Historical Review* 54 [1975]: 78, 76). Brown’s defence of the Humean model, in which causality was defined as implying no more than the ‘constant conjunction’ of phenomena, as appropriate to the epistemological requirements of science, and his claim that use of this model had no consequences for theological doctrines owing to differences in their epistemological foundation, were intended to refute the arguments of Leslie’s opponents (Brown, *Cause and Effect*, 15–22, 108–32, 140). Brown’s paradigm of the ‘separate spheres’ to which religious and scientific arguments belonged (*Cause and Effect*, 485–6) also implied more generally that religious authorities shouldn’t have any right of veto over academic appointments, and that academic positions shouldn’t be regarded merely as adjuncts to clerical office, both of which were contentious political issues underlying the Leslie controversy (Morrell, op. cit., 79, 81).

89. Levere, op. cit., 3–4, 50.

90. Coleridge, under the thin disguise of a ‘whimsical friend’, describes ‘the Scotchman of literature […] as a dull Frenchman and a superficial German’, *The Friend*, 1: 423 & fn.

91. Given the context of the Leslie controversy in which his *Inquiry into Cause and Effect* was written, one motive for Thomas Brown’s rejection of the Berkeleyan position of Reid is presumably his desire to establish a firm disciplinary dividing line between theology and philosophy (Brown, *Cause and Effect*, 121).

92. Reid’s pioneering discussion of non-Euclidean geometry and binocular vision in his *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* is intended
to establish that the mind actively interprets perceptual signs which do not, in fact, ‘resemble’ the visual perceptions which are eventually constructed, a point which he uses to establish his Berkeleyan argument that God’s providential design is directly apprehended in the perceptual process, *Works*, 147–82. For Reid’s interest in science, see Thomas Reid, *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation: Papers Relating to the Life Sciences*, ed. Paul Wood (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).


94. John Abernethy describes Hunter’s view that the vital principle plays a central role in the process of digestion, *Physiological Lectures*, 174–6.


99. As commentators have pointed out, the term ‘Common Sense’ within Thomas Reid’s philosophy reflects the ambiguity which I am suggesting is inherent in the Common Sense tradition in general, in that sometimes it refers to a social consensus, and sometimes to intuitive principles of knowledge (Terence Cuneo and Rene van Woudenberg, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Thomas Reid* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004], 19). From Reid’s own providentialist perspective, social consensus is only possible on the basis on divinely ordained intuitions (Reid, *Works*, 422), so the two meanings of ‘common sense’ are complementary. Thomas Brown’s Humean approach to causality, on the other hand, arguably creates a tension between these two meanings of ‘common sense’.

100. Burke, op. cit., 86–9.

101. Douglas Lane Patey discusses the broad sense in which the eighteenth century understood the concept of probability in *Probability and Literary Form: Philosophical Theory and Literary Practice in the Augustan Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).


103. Coleridge comments that Abernethy’s difficulties in refuting Lawrence’s materialism stem from his use of electricity as a metaphor for the vital principle, since this misleadingly suggests that vitality might be a subtle property of matter rather than something altogether immaterial, *Shorter Works*, 1: 530–2, 532 fn. See Abernethy, op. cit., 32–5.


111. Coleridge discusses the projection of bodily discomfort as something which gives apparent ‘Outness’ to the spectres of a nightmare in Notebooks, 40–6.

112. Stewart often expresses his suspicion of the role of metaphor in language, eg Stewart, Works, 2: 54–5, 173–5. Stewart’s assumption that an originary immaterial intuition was corrupted by its embodiment in material metaphors can be paralleled in William Warburton’s The Divine Legation of Moses (in Collected Works, fac. edn, 13 vols, introd. by Gavin Budge [Bristol: Thoemmes Press, 2005], cf 3: 266–7), to whose argument it is fundamental.

113. Stewart, Works, 2: 54, 5: 173, 2: 193–5. In Common Sense philosophy, linguistic propriety embodies originary pre-verbal intuitions (Reid, Works, 222–4, 448–9, 460). An appeal to the authority of linguistic usage is not merely an appeal to the force of arbitrary convention, since ‘convention’ itself is understood to be based in a providentially ordered Nature. Stewart’s arguments about the relationship between the capability for linguistic abstraction and the development of commercial society (2: 209–12), however, make it possible to read him as appealing to the authority of arbitrary, rather than naturally grounded, conventions, and such a reading could adduce Stewart’s rejection of Reid’s appeal to the evidence of universal linguistic structures (5: 154) in its support. I am arguing that Coleridge read, or perhaps misread, Stewart in this way.


115. Coleridge, Letters, 1: 626. For a discussion by Stewart which exemplifies his eclectic approach to philosophy see Works, 2: 182–3; Stewart justifies this historical, rather than systematic approach in Works, 2: 343–4.


117. Thomas Reid equates perception with the divine inspiration granted to ‘prophets and inspired teachers’ in Works, 134.


123. Jerome Christensen discusses the role of the genius in Coleridge’s thought, as the factor which ensures that ‘desynonymization is ‘progressive’ rather than merely dissociative’, Blessed Machine of Language, 140. Tim Fulford discusses Coleridge’s development, in reaction against Home Tooke’s linguistic theorizing, of an organic theory of language ‘where the poet and philosopher promulgated new distinctions’, and the relationship of this theory of language to Coleridge’s revaluation of Shakespeare’s punning, Coleridge’s Figurative Language
(Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), 21–2, 119. In some ways, Coleridge is reverting here to the valorization of linguistic structures which is characteristic of Reid’s version of Common Sense philosophy (cf Reid, Works, 222–4), although the emphasis on metaphor is new.


125. Thomas Brown, Inquiry Into the Relation of Cause and Effect (Edinburgh: Constable, 1818), 111–18. In a discussion of Coleridge’s disagreement with Lawrence over questions of scientific definition, Trevor Levere notes that Lawrence was influenced by Brown’s Humean account of scientific causality, Poetry Realized in Nature, 50.

126. Coleridge, Shorter Works, 1: 530–2, 532 fn. As Wylie points out, Newton’s conception of ‘aether’ possessed an ambiguity similar to that which Coleridge detects in Abernethy’s invocation of ‘electricity’, Young Coleridge, 30–2.


129. The report of Coleridge’s 1813 lecture on Hamlet summarizes his discussion of the way in which the ‘visionary character’ of the Ghost is prepared for by the psychological significance of the seemingly inconsequential dialogue preceding it, reflecting the way in which ‘on the brink of some serious enterprise, or event of moment, men naturally elude the pressure of their own thoughts, by turning aside to trivial objects and familiar circumstances’, Lectures 1808–19 on Literature, 1: 545.


131. Ibid., 1: 125.


133. In Aids to Reflection, Coleridge makes a similar use of the illusion of distance presented by reflections in a mirror as a metaphor for mental processes, proposing an analogy between the relation of ‘Reflection to Forethought’ to ‘what the objects behind you are to their images [in the mirror] at the same apparent distance before you’, Aids to Reflection, 12.


135. Coleridge’s insistence at many points in the Biographia Literaria that the imagination is not an essentially deceptive faculty (present for example, in his well-known definition of ‘poetic faith’ as ‘the willing suspension of disbelief’ Biographia, 2: 6) seems to be directed against Stewart’s view that the imagination is always a source of delusion (cf Works, 2: 150–1).


137. Walter Cooper Dendy, for example, suggests that ‘the essence of the gloomy ghosts of deepy study, like the melancholy phantoms and oppressive demons of the night-mare, consists in the accumulation of black blood about the brain’, in a ‘derangement of circulation’ which impacts on digestion, Philosophy of Mystery, 80, 105–6.


139. Kathleen Coburn notes Coleridge’s borrowing of the word ‘outness’ from Berkeley in Coleridge, Notebooks, 1307 fn.

140. Thomas Reid argues for the analogy between perception and understanding a language in Works, 184.

141. Wylie comments on Coleridge’s employment of the analogy between perception and language, Young Coleridge, 83–91.
142. Thomas Reid draws attention to the inadequacy of Hume’s claim that the mind’s 
ability to distinguish between remembered ideas and ideas excited by perception 
depends solely on the greater vividness of the latter, Works, 107–8.
144. Erasmus Darwin gives his materialist definition of ideas in Zoonomia, 1:24.
145. Frederick Burwick describes Charles Bell’s combination of a medical material-
ism with an emphasis on the soul’s independence from the body, ‘Bell and the 
146. John Abercrombie argues that the ‘morbid influence’ of vice would inevitably 
‘poison the whole intellectual and moral system’, if it were not for the ‘influence 
from without the mind’ represented by transcendent intuitions of the divine, 
147. George Berkeley, Works, 9 vols, eds A. A. Luce and T. E. Jessop (Edinburgh: 
148. Jennifer Ford describes Coleridge’s interest in ‘double touch’ and its relation-
ship to Wedgwood’s arguments against Berkeley’s account of the perception of 
distance, Coleridge on Dreaming, 118–19.
149. A. A. Luce comments on the incompatibility with Berkeley’s later philosophy of 
his assumption in the Essay on Vision that touch is closer to the material world, 
150. Stewart, Works, 2:16. Reid’s discussion of the relationship between touch and 
sight is significantly more ambivalent on the question of whether visual percep-
tion of distance is derived from touch, Works, 146.
151. Reid comments, for example, that ‘of all the faculties called the five senses, sight 
is without doubt the noblest’, Works, 132.
152. Berkeley, op. cit., 3: 305–8; Reid, Works, 146.
153. Reid praises Joseph Butler’s account of the analogy between religious beliefs 
and those that arise out of Nature as model of analogical reasoning, and argues 
against Hume that the conception of active power which such an analogy 
extends to God is not an illegitimate inference from the evidence of the material 
world, but is an intuition inherent in our perceptions, as the animist beliefs of 
primitive societies show, Works, 237, 515–18, 605.
154. Coleridge, for example, reproduces a note from the Omniana he co-authored 
with Southey classifying ‘the sensation of volition [...] under the head of single 
and double touch’ in Biographia, 1: 293, 294 fn.
Jasper follows Beer’s account in Coleridge as Poet and Religious Thinker (London 
and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1985), 70–1.
156. Burwick, Poetic Madness and the Romantic Imagination, 84.
159. Keats’s report of his conversation with Coleridge is reproduced in Ford, 
op. cit., 84.
160. Jennifer Ford gives an account of Coleridge’s interest in the way dreams, and 
especially nightmares, incorporate sensations such as touch which are appar-
ently the product of something external to the body, Ford, op. cit., 112–15.
161. Coleridge, Notebooks, 4046.
163. Coleridge, Notebooks, 4046.
165. Reid emphasizes that in perception ‘we pass from the sign to the thing signified, with ease, and by a natural impulse; but to go backward from the thing signified to the sign, is a work of labour and difficulty’, Works, 147.


167. Reid emphasizes that perceptual qualities such as ‘extension, hardness, and motion’ are completely unlike the ‘sensations of touch’, despite the fact that ‘those sensations first introduced the material world to our acquaintance’, Works, 127–8.

168. Butler argues that as a ‘living agent’, man possesses a kind of unity which implies ‘that our organized bodies are no more ourselves or part of ourselves, than any other matter around us’, Butler, op. cit., 1: 25.


171. Thomas Wedgwood, op. cit., 7–8. Wedgwood’s argument that it is possible to acquire more accurate perceptions is paralleled in Reid, who also uses the example of lookouts at sea, Works, 185.


173. Strictly speaking, the identification of part with whole is metonymy rather than metaphor – but in the context of Coleridgean theories of the symbol, it is arguable that all metaphors turn out to be metonyms, in that they all form parts of a higher immaterial truth. Thomas McFarland stresses the way in which the Coleridgean conception of the symbol always involves a relationship with a transcendent whole, ‘Involute and Symbol in the Romantic Imagination’, in Coleridge, Keats and the Romantic Imagination: Romanticism and Adam’s Dream, eds J. Robert Barth SJ and John L. Mahoney (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 42–3.


175. Coleridge, Biographia, 1: 83 fn.


178. Coleridge claims that the ‘social contract’, rather than being a mere convention, is an ‘idea’ (in his sense of ‘a truth-power of the reason’), and argues that members of a society do not have to be consciously aware of this ‘idea’ for it to shape their behaviour and attitudes, On the Constitution of the Church and State, ed. John Colmer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 15–17.

179. Emerson’s claims that, in searching for the solution to his questions, a man ‘acts it as life, before he apprehends it as truth’, and that ‘in proportion to the energy of his thought and will, he takes up the world into himself’ (Merton M. Seals and Alfred R Ferguson, eds, Emerson’s Nature: Origins, Growth, Meaning [Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1969], 5, 13) can be seen as formulations of the organicist account of perception I describe in this chapter. Many other passages from Emerson could be interpreted in this way, although the aphoristic form of his writings makes it hard to be conclusive.


185. Harriet Martineau’s typological mode of thinking in her early essays is shown by her description of Jesus looking on ‘that glorious type of himself, the light of the natural world’, and her remark that ‘no labors can be more worthy of the disciple of Providence than that of deducing the will of God from the course of events – of ascertaining the Divine signature by which institutions are sanctioned or prohibited’, *Miscellanies*, 1: 128, 284.


190. Reid emphasizes ‘the effects of [...] attention in improving our senses’, noting that ‘the artist, by giving more attention to certain objects than others do, by that means perceives many things in those objects which others do not’, *Works*, 333.


4 Irritability and the Politics of Deerbrook


2. Philip Connell demonstrates the closeness of Malthus’s politics to those of the Lake poets, and argues that Coleridge’s and Southey’s attacks on the second edition of the *Essay on Population* in 1804 were opportunistic pro-war demonstrations designed to distance themselves from their own earlier political radicalism, *Romanticism, Economics and the Question of ‘Culture’* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
Press, 2001), 29–41. Harriet Martineau frequently emphasizes the Malthusian argument that workers need to restrict their numbers in order to maintain their level of earnings, see ‘Weal and Woe in Garveloch’, 2nd edn in Illustrations of Political Economy, 9 vols (London: Fox, 1832), 95–104 (separately paginated); ‘A Manchester Strike’, 2nd edn in Illustrations of Political Economy, 35–9 (separately paginated).

3. See my discussion of the relationship of Romanticism to the early nineteenth-century revival of the typological tradition in Charlotte M. Yonge: Religion, Feminism and Realism in the Victorian Novel (Bern and New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2007), 129–32. Harriet Martineau drew up a typological schema of Bulwer Lytton’s Zanoni, similar to the kind of schemas she included at the end of numbers of Illustrations of Political Economy, which was included at the end of later editions of the novel, see Robert Lee Wolff, Strange Stories and Other Explorations in Victorian Fiction (Boston: Gambit, 1971), 220. The ambiguity in the way in which Martineau’s typological schemas can be regarded reflects other indeterminable ambiguities in Romantic thought, such as Coleridge’s distinction between fancy and imagination.


10. Harriet Martineau comments that ‘no true woman, married or single, can be happy without some sort of domestic life’, Autobiography, 1: 497–8.


15. Martineau makes clear her lack of sympathy with friends’ ‘visions of that future life [...] filled with the atmosphere of their respective homes, and framed to meet the sufferings and desires of their own individual minds’, Autobiography, 2: 43.


17. I have argued that the need for self-control is a constant theme in the novels of the popular Victorian woman novelist Charlotte M. Yonge, see Budge, Yonge, 224.

18. Martineau suggests that Charlotte Brontë’s ‘morbid condition of mind’ was responsible for ‘the one fault which I pointed out to her in “Villette”’, Autobiography, 2: 24.
25. Ibid., 3, 107, 146.
26. Ibid., 3, 19, 24, 82.
27. Sanders, op. cit., 70.
30. A similar moral psychology can be identified in the fiction of Charlotte M. Yonge, see Budge, *Yonge*, 224–8.
34. Roberts, op. cit., 58.
36. Martineau alludes to the Birmingham riot when Morris, the maid Margaret has brought with her from Birmingham, significantly disagrees with Margaret’s comment that ‘in Birmingham we could never have given credit to the story of such a riot about nothing’, *Deerbrook*, 306. Martineau’s interest in the Birmingham riot is shown by repeated references in her writing, eg *Society in America*, 3 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 1: 164.
45. Martineau remarks on ‘the atmosphere of selfishness which is the very life of Christian doctrine’, *Autobiography*, 1: 493.
46. In a jointly authored book with Henry George Atkinson, Martineau remarks, in the context of a discussion of Christian orthodoxy, on ‘how enervating and depraving is the practice of harboring, through timidity or indolence, what is suspected to be untrue’, noting that it leads to ‘the deterioration of all the powers, – from the lowest faculties of perception up to the highest of conscientiousness, reverence and benevolence’, *Letters on the Laws of Man’s Nature and Development* (Boston: Josiah P. Mendum, 1851), 289–90.
52. Brown argues that diseases can result either from an ‘under-proportion [...] or an overproportion of stimulus’, Brown, op. cit., 1: 50–3.
53. Brown emphasizes the ease with which a sthenic condition caused by understimulation can be converted into an asthenic condition resulting from overstimulation, Brown, op. cit., 116.
54. Erasmus Darwin links both chlorosis and anorexia with indigestion, and notes the failure of menstruation in both cases, which suggests he regards them as sthenic conditions caused by understimulation, *Zoonomia*, fac. edn of 1794–96 ed, 2 vols, introd. by Thom Verhave and Paul R. Bindler (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 2: 102, 309–10.
56. Leigh Hunt is representative of many early reviewers in suggesting that the sensational subjects for which Wordsworth shows a penchant in *Lyrical Ballads* reflect a hypochondriacal state of nervous irritability brought on by the lack of stimulation afforded by his secluded life in the country, *The Feast of the Poets, with Notes, and Other Pieces in Verse* (London: Cawthorn, 1814), 98–100 fn, 107 fn. Hunt makes use of the Brunonian claim that disease can result either from over- or understimulation to invert Wordsworth’s own assertion, in the preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, that that the overstimulating conditions of city life create a craving for ‘gross and violent stimulants’ (*Prose Works*, 3 vols, eds W. J. B. Owen and Jane Worthington Smyser [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974], 1: 128) which was discussed in Chapter 2. In criticizing Wordsworth’s claim in the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* that ‘low and rustic life’ is closer to nature, Coleridge makes a similar point when he notes that in a country life ‘the mind contracts and hardens for want of stimulants’ unless it has ‘education, or original sensibility’ to render ‘the changes forms and incidents of nature [...] a sufficient stimulant’ (*Biographia*, 2: 43, 45).
59. Compare Elizabeth Gaskell’s implication that the misdeeds of Ruth’s seducer Bellingham are punished by the way his ‘worse self’ has become predominant, *Ruth* (London: Penguin, 2004), 228.
60. James Martineau premises that ‘the universe of which each man conceives, exists primarily in his own mind; there dwell the Angel he enthrones in the height, and the Demon he covers with the deep; and vainly would he talk of shunning hell, who never felt its fires in his bosom; or he converse of heaven, whose soul was never pure and green as Paradise’, *Endeavours After the Christian Life: Discourses* (Boston and Cambridge: Munroe and Co, 1858), 25–6.
66. Duncan Wu notes Hazlitt’s digestive problems, and quotes Robert Bell’s description of Hazlitt as ‘an individual nervous, low-spoken, and feeble, who lived on tea as a regimen’, *Hazlitt*, 403, 408.
67. Wu, *Hazlitt*, 44. See the American doctor Amariah Brigham’s quotation, in the context of a discussion of children’s education, of the physician Samuel Jackson’s claim that ‘those highly gifted with precocious intellects possess miserable health, and are generally short-lived; they are cut off by chronic inflammations and disorganization of their viscera, or by acute inflammation of the brain’, *Remarks on the Influence of Mental Cultivation and Mental Excitement Upon Health*, 3rd edn (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), 125–6.
73. This Godwinian context is indicated by Godwin’s involvement in the book’s publication, see Duncan Wu, ‘Hazlitt’s *Essay on the Principles of Human Action*: A Bibliographical Note’, in *Metaphysical Hazlitt*, eds Uttara Natarajan, Tom Paulin, and Duncan Wu (London: Routledge, 2005), xvi.
74. For Godwin’s rejection of private property, see Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence of Modern Morals and Happiness, ed. Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), 703.
75. Harriet Martineau compares the institution of private property to that of slavery, as one which American democratic principles will quickly outgrow, America, 3: 48–53.
76. Harriet Martineau, America, 1: 177, 2: 125, 238.
77. Martineau refers to ‘selfish and morbid feelings’, a juxtaposition of adjectives which suggests a Brunonian characterization of self-centredness as a kind of neurological disease, Autobiography, 1: 95.
78. For a fuller discussion of the role played by nervous irritability in Hazlitt’s thought, see Gavin Budge, ‘“Art’s Neurosis”: Medicine, Mass Culture and the Romantic Artist in William Hazlitt’, Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net, no. 49 (2008).
80. Martineau remarks, for example, that ‘I doubt whether, among the large “uneasy classes” of the Old World, there is so much heart-eating care, so much nervous anxiety, as among the dwellers in the towns of the northern States of America’, America, 3: 18.
82. Hazlitt uses these terms to characterize those ‘who are devoured by their feelings, and the slaves of their passions’, ‘Mind and Motive’, 48.
88. Amariah Brigham warns against ‘too much exercise of the mind’ as likely to increase ‘the liability of children to nervous diseases’, on the grounds that ‘mental excitement […] increases the flow of blood to the head, and augments the size and power of the brain’, Influence of Mental Cultivation Upon Health, 59–60.
91. Martineau remarks that the Calvinist religious beliefs she picked up in early childhood ‘pampered my vain-glorious propensities by dreams of divine favor,
to make up for my utter deficiency of self-respect’, and that she ‘got rid of otherwise incessant remorse by a most convenient confession and repentance, which relieved my nerves without at all, I suspect, improving my conduct’, *Autobiography*, 1: 9.

92. For a fuller discussion, see Budge, ‘Art’s Neurosis’.

93. In Hawthorne’s story ‘Young Goodman Brown’, for instance, the eponymous character accompanies the Devil to the meeting of a coven of witches in the forest, only to meet all the most respected members of his New England village there, ‘Young Goodman Brown’, in *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York: Random House, 1937), 1033–42.


96. De Quincey attributes the nervous irritability characteristic of both Wordsworths to ‘the secret fire of a temperament too fervid’, *Recollections of the Lakes and the Lake Poets*, ed. David Wright (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), 141.


110. This is a phrase S. T. Coleridge uses in his comments on the mental limitations of those who have been given the kind of education Wordsworth describes, *Collected Letters*, 6 vols, ed. E. L. Griggs (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956–66), 1: 354.
120. Hunter, op. cit., 114.
124. Wordsworth, *Prose*, 1: 124. Coleridge takes issue with the view apparently put forward in the preface to *Lyrical Ballads* that all that is necessary for effective expression is a return to the language of the Bible in *Biographia*, 2: 44.
125. For Martineau’s early attempt to find a more affective language to use in religious devotion, see Hunter, op. cit., 71–3, and fn 19.
126. I discuss Coleridge’s response to this view in Chapter 3.
133. Smith, op. cit., 22.
136. This phrase is the title of a Coleridge poem which, suggestively in the context of my overall argument about the Romantic ‘natural supernatural’, compares pursuit of the ideal to the phenomenon of the Brocken spectre. See S. T. Coleridge,

137. Smith, op. cit., 115–16.


139. Harriet Martineau, America, 1: 39.


141. Harriet Martineau, America, 3: 43.

142. Harriet Martineau, Miscellaneies, 2: 118–32.

143. Godwin, op. cit., 140.

144. Harriet Martineau, America, 1: 87.


146. Tom Furniss discusses the origin of the Romantic conception of the imagination as a response to the failure of Godwinian revolutionary idealism in Edmund Burke’s Aesthetic Ideology: Language, Gender and Political Economy in Revolution (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 228.


149. Ibid., 3: 71 fn.


152. Sarah Meer notes the domestic political resonances of British stagings of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 140.

153. Harriet Martineau, America, 3: 151. Martineau only refers to ‘popular American writers’ on health, but since she immediately cites the influence of Combe’s Principles of Physiology in America, a key text for Brigham, it is probable that he is one of the writers she has in mind.


160. Harriet Martineau, America, 1: 147.
165. Erasmus Darwin discusses the proper use of stimulants, emphasising the harmful effects of excessive use of alcohol and other stimulants, such as salt or spices, by ‘rendering peculiar parts of the system disobedient to their natural stimuli’, Darwin, op. cit., 2: 679–83, 695.
167. Martineau’s view of authorship as a high moral calling is implied by her emphasis on the transforming effect of ideas, or ‘large principles’, on society, *Sick-Room*, 87. She notes ‘her wonder and disgust’ at the ‘tone in which so serious and unworldly a vocation as that of authorship is spoken of’ in America, and describes writing a book as ‘one of the most sacred acts of conscience’, *Autobiography*, 1: 398, 453.

5 Slavery and Mass Society in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*

4. Calvin Stowe’s expertise in German literature is suggested by the funding he received to buy books in Germany to stock a library; Joan D. Hedrick also emphasises his knowledge of ‘German pietistic theologians’ in *Stowe*, 101, 215.
6. In the context of a discussion of American familiarity with *Sartor Resartus*, Leon Jackson quotes a Methodist minister’s comment that ‘I was as familiar with the Everlasting Nay, the Centre of Indifference, and the Everlasting Yea as with the side walk in front of my house’, ‘Reader Retailored’, 158–60.
7. Describing Stowe’s response to the death of a favourite child, Hedrick comments that ‘the capriciousness of a Calvinist God, to whom there was no recourse but submission to his disciplinary rod, was monstrously paralleled by the cruelty of an overseer who held the human destiny of slaves under his whip’, *Stowe*, 192.
8. Hedrick notes the decline in Stowe’s ‘respect for the moral power of the clergy [...] in the wake of the Fugitive Slave Law crisis’, *Stowe*, 216.
9. The vogue for *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* on both sides of the Atlantic has been examined in Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 2005).
11. Thomas Carlyle, Letter to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 13 June 1853 in The Carlyle Letters Online, date viewed 21/03/12.
16. Thomas Carlyle, Letter to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 13 May 1853 in The Carlyle Letters Online, date viewed 19/03/12.
17. Thomas Carlyle, Letter to J. W. Parker, 18th May 1853 in The Carlyle Letters Online, date viewed 19/03/12.
19. Thomas Carlyle, Letter to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 6 June 1853 in The Carlyle Letters Online, date viewed 19/03/12.
23. Q. D. Leavis claims that the writing of Charlotte Brontë reflects a ‘starvation of natural impulses’ in a way which she finds paradigmatic of bestselling novels, which, she comments, ‘represent both for author and reader a favourite form of self-indulgence’, Fiction and the Reading Public (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932), 237.
24. Alcott comments that by writing sensation fiction, Jo is ‘beginning to desecrate some of the womanliest attributes of a woman’s character’, and Bhaer responds to Jo’s argument that ‘many very respectable people make an honest living out of what are called sensation stories’ by remarking that ‘There is a demand for whiskey, but I think you and I do not care to sell it’, Little Women, ed. Elaine Showalter (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 349, 354–5.
25. Richard Payne Knight complains that novel-reading encourages a ‘trembling irritability of habit, which cannot stoop to the tameness of reality, or the insipidity of common life; but is always interesting itself in the more animated and brilliant events of fiction’, An Analytical Inquiry Into the Principles of Taste, 3rd edn (London, 1806), 449–51.
26. H. L. Mansel compares the demand for sensation fiction to ‘the perpetual cravings of the dram-drinker or the valetudinarian for spirits or physic’, ‘Sensation Novels’, Quarterly Review 113 (April 1863): 485.
28. John Brown describes the depletion of nervous ‘excitability’ through the excitement afforded by stimulants, The Works of Dr John Brown, 3 vols, introd. by William Cullen Brown (London: Johnson and Symonds, 1804), 1: 76. The American doctor, Amariah Brigham, notes that ‘if the vital energy is all directed to the brain, and consumed by the act of thought, the stomach will not be able


30. For a fuller discussion of Wordsworth’s therapeutic conception of poetry, see Chapter 2.

31. Mrs March attributes the success of Jo’s ‘simple little story’, which is the story of the March sisters recounted by Little Women, to the ‘truth’ of the feeling in it, Little Women, 436.


34. Cf St Clare’s comment that ‘whipping and abuse are like laudanum; you have to double the dose as the sensibilities decline’, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 363.

35. The British anti-slavery campaigner Elizabeth Heyrick, for example, comments that ‘the moral and rational perceptions of the slave holder, are still more perverted than those of the slave; – oppression, is more debasing and injurious to the intellect of the oppressor, than that of the oppressed’, West Indian Slavery: Immediate, not Gradual, Abolition (London, 1824), 27.

36. Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 507.

37. Stowe describes the ‘strange power’ which Uncle Tom, described as ‘the strange, silent, patient man’, acquires over his fellow slaves, Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 558–9.

38. Carlyle’s American reception is described in Jackson, ‘Reader Retailored’.

39. Carlyle comments that ‘I fairly could not and would not read beyond the first 100 pages of it’, Letter to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 19 January 1853.

40. In response to his authoritarian brother Alfred’s remark that ‘I hope I shall be dead before this millennium of your greasy masses comes on’, St Clare replies ‘Greasy or not greasy, they will govern you, when their time comes’, Stowe, Uncle Tom’s Cabin, 392.


42. Carlyle describes the lectures of Albert Smith as ‘Cockney balderdash’ in the course of a long paragraph describing various popular enthusiasms, beginning with ‘Uncle-Tommery’, which he obviously regards as emblematic of the dumbing-down effects of mass culture, Letter to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 13 June 1853.

43. ‘Gadarenes-swineries’ is a phrase Carlyle uses to associate ‘Uncle-Tommeries’ with the mass craze for railway shares, Letter to Walter Savage Landor, 9th May 1853 in The Carlyle Letters Online, date viewed 21/03/12.


47. The influential eighteenth-century doctor S. A. D. Tissot compares the masturbator to ‘the man of letters’ in that both fix their attention on a single topic, a practice which threatens to bring about ‘all the disorders incident to the brain, melancholy, catalepsy, epilepsy, imbecility, the loss of sensation, weakness of the nervous system, and a variety of similar disorders’, ‘Essay upon the Disorders Occasioned by Masturbation’, in Three Essays, trans. Francis Bacon Lee, M. Danes, and A. Hume MD (Dublin: Williams, 1772), 67.

48. In the course of a discussion which anticipates Ruskin’s account of the ‘pathetic fallacy’ in vol.3 of Modern Painters, Charles Kingsley complains that the ‘numerous […] conceits’ with which a spasmodic poet such as Alexander Smith fills his verse portray ‘the poet as the puppet of his own momentary sensations, and not as a man superior to nature’, ‘Alexander Smith and Alexander Pope’, Fraser’s Magazine 48 (1853): 462.


51. Coleridge’s claim that the secret of the popularity of the (so-called) German drama ‘consists in the confusion and subversion of the natural order of things in their causes and effects’ recalls his description of fancy as an essentially arbitrary recombination of isolated conceptions, Biographia, 2: 221.


53. Thomas De Quincey claims to have ‘untwisted, almost to its final links, the accursed chain which fettered me’, Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings, ed. Barry Milligan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 4.


60. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 553.


65. Stowe, *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 57.


67. Stowe notes the ‘indefinite stimulating power [... which] the Bible [has] to the souls of the oppressed’, and notes that Dred interprets ‘all things in nature and in revelation’ through this lens, *Dred*, 2: 214–15.

68. For a discussion of this aspect of Carlyle’s writings, see Gavin Budge, ‘The Hero as Seer: Character, Perception and Cultural Health in Carlyle’, *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, no. 52 (2008), http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/019805ar.


78. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 567.

79. I have argued in *Yonge* that this kind of psychologization of religious belief is characteristic of Tractarian writers such as Keble, Newman, Pusey and Charlotte M. Yonge.

80. Budge, ‘Hero as Seer’.


83. Musselman argues that ‘early industrial British natural philosophers thought of the well-maintained nervous system as a model of [...] ideal scientific and social organization’, *Nervous Conditions*, 5.


86. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 51.


89. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 239.


91. For a discussion of some of the implications of this contrast between nervous sensibility and irritability, see Budge, ‘Art’s Neurosis’.


94. The character Louis La Motte comments that ‘the marvellous is the delight of the vulgar’, since ‘people who have few objects of real interest to engage their thoughts conjure up for themselves imaginary ones’, Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*, ed. Chloe Chard (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 69. Louis’s remarks invoke a Brunonian syndrome in which supernatural beliefs act as mental stimulants which compensate for understimulation in other areas of life. See my discussion of Radcliffe in Chapter 1.

95. The doctor John Abercrombie describes a comparable mental state, in which the ‘morbid influence’ of vice has ‘poison[ed] the whole intellectual and moral system’ so that ‘we do not perceive any power in the mind itself, capable of correcting the disorder which has been introduced into the moral system’, *Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth*, 13th edn (London: Murray, 1849), 341–3.

96. The narrator comments that ‘Legree had had the slumbering moral elements in him roused by his encounters with Tom, – roused, only to be resisted by the determinate force of evil’, Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, 567.


102. David Hume’s ironically intended remark that the Christian believer was conscious of a continuing miracle in his own person which subverted all

103. Sarah Ellis, whose conduct books are widely regarded as epitomizing nineteenth-century ‘separate spheres’ ideology, argues that home life may exercise on a man ‘so potent [...] a secret influence, that he may have borne it about with him like a kind of second conscience [...] he has thought of the humble monitress who sat alone, guarding the fireside comforts of his distant home; and the remembrance of her character, clothed in moral beauty, has scattered the clouds before his mental vision, and sent him back to that beloved home, a wiser and a better man’, *The Women of England: Their Social Duties and Domestic Habits* (London and New York, 1839), 48–52.


106. For a discussion of nineteenth-century conservative feminism, see Budge, *Yonge*.


108. H. L. Mansel compared literary sensationalism to the ‘preaching to the nerves’ of hellfire sermons, ‘Sensation Novels,’ 482.


6 Pre-Raphaelite Vision


12. Romans 8: 20–2.

13. Coleridge is not referred to by name in *Pre-Raffaelitism*, but Coleridgean influence on Young’s thought is suggested by the extended parallel Young draws between Ruskinian Pre-Raphaelitism and Wordsworth’s arguments in the preface to *Lyrical Ballads*, which he suggests is the source of the revolutionary tendencies he identifies in Ruskin’s ideas (*Pre-Raffaelitism*, 314). Young criticizes the democratic implications of Wordsworth’s claim to be writing in ‘the language of common men’ on the grounds that ‘what some are pleased to call artificial manners and modes of speech’ are really ‘the evolving of certain dispositions we mean, or should mean, by the word “nature”’ (294-9). This resembles Coleridge’s argument against Wordsworth’s claim that ‘the proper diction for poetry [...] consists altogether in a language taken [...] from the mouths of men in real life’ (*Biographia Literaria*, 2 vols, eds James Engell and W. Jackson Bate [Princeton University Press, 1983], 2: 42) on the grounds that ‘poetry is essentially *ideal*’ (2: 45) and so a product of the same social and intellectual hierarchy which is responsible for the fact that phrases ‘which three or four centuries ago were the exclusive property of the universities and the schools [... have] gradually passed into common life’ (2: 54). Other writings by Young show that his socially conservative Evangelicalism (he describes himself as a follower of prominent Evangelical clergyman Charles Simeon, *Fragmentary Thoughts on Professor Drummond’s Work, Entitled ‘Natural Law in the Spiritual World’ Part Second* [London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1885], 14) is strongly influenced by a vitalism inspired by Butler’s *Analogy of Religion* (*On the Dispute Between Paul and Barnabas* [Cambridge: Deighton, 1828], 23–4), in a way which is likely to have made Coleridge’s later conservative thinking congenial. Young’s closeness to Coleridge’s religiously conservative version of ‘natural supernaturalism’ is shown by his defence of himself against accusations that he simply claimed that ‘there is nothing in the Faith of Christ [...] beyond the limits of our natural faculties’ on the grounds of his emphasis on ‘the substantial Truths of Christianity’ as ‘living principles’ in the mind of the believer (*On the Knowledge of Christ, A Sermon, Preached in Marbeuf Chapel, Champs-Élysées, Paris on Sunday, November 3rd 1833* [Paris: Bennis, 1833], 11–13 fn).

1971), 154. Young does not explicitly reference Common Sense philosophy, but it may legitimately be assumed as the context for his criticism of Carlyle’s and Ruskin’s immaterialism, given its influence on nineteenth-century Evangelical thought, see Harriet Harris, *Fundamentalism and Evangelicals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 118–20.

15. Young, *Fragmentary Thoughts on Professor Drummond’s Work*, 5.


22. Young, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, 133.


24. Young, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, 104. Young emphasizes the need to maintain a grasp on ‘central facts’ in order to avoid being overwhelmed by detail, *Pre-Raphaelitism*, 241–3.


26. It is noteworthy in this context that when the Barnetts undertake the essentially Ruskinian project of the Whitechapel Exhibitions in the 1870s, a high priority is attached to furnishing their working-class audience with guiding commentaries, both in the form of a catalogue and orally, cf H. O. Barnett, ‘Pictures for the People’, *Cornhill Magazine* 47 (1883): 346–8.


32. Lindsay Smith quotes comments by the Victorian painter William Bell Scott comparing Pre-Raphaelite painting to the ‘binocular representations’ of stereoscopy, in Victorian Photography, Painting and Poetry: The Enigma of Visibility in Ruskin, Morris and the Pre-Raphaelites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). An earlier essay by Smith draws a parallel between Pre-Raphaelite painting and stereoscopy on the grounds that they both problematize ‘depth of field’; her claim that the ‘shift from monocular to stereoscopic vision’ in Pre-Raphaelite painting reflects ‘a change from a privileged Romantic spectator […] to a Victorian optically-educated and “ordinary” spectator’ is similar to the argument about the democratic nature of Pre-Raphaelite vision which I present in this chapter, see Lindsay Smith, ‘The Elusive Depth of Field: Stereoscopy and the Pre-Raphaelites’, in Pre-Raphaelites Re-Viewed, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 83–5.


34. Prettejohn, op. cit., 185.


36. Prettejohn, op. cit., 188.


42. The Common Sense philosopher Dugald Stewart argues that ‘poetical habits’ have a bad influence on the ‘intellectual faculties’, in that they have ‘a tendency, by cherishing a proneness to analogical combination, to impair that severe and discriminating good sense which can alone guide us infallibly in the search of truth’, Collected Works, orig. pub. 1854, 11 vols, ed. William Hamilton, introd. by Knud Haakonsen (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1994), 4: 225–6. John Abercrombie, a doctor whose writings are much influenced by Common Sense philosophy, emphasizes the need to cultivate a ‘habit of attention and association’ to ensure that the mind connects ‘insulated facts’ with ‘the conclusions to which they lead, and the views which they tend to illustrate’, Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth, 13th edn (London: Murray, 1849), 82–5.

43. Coleridge argued that ‘the ignorance of the Nurse’ in Romeo and Juliet was shown by the way in which ‘in all her recollections she entirely assists herself by a remembrance of visual circumstances’, since ‘the great difference between the cultivated and uncultivated mind was this that the cultivated mind would be found to recall the past by certain regular trains of cause & effect whereas with the uncultivated


46. Prettejohn compares the ‘egalitarian methodology’ of Pre-Raphaelite painting to that of the ‘research scientist’, and emphasizes how ‘utterly opposed [it is] to all traditional precepts about pictorial composition’, *Pre-Raphaelites*, 172.


49. Paul Barlow argues that Ford Madox Brown’s important late murals for Manchester Town Hall combine ‘Pre-Raphaelite emphasis on detail with the influence of Hogarth’ in order to develop ‘a visual alternative to the academic conventions of history painting, which come to stand for repressive imperial authority attempting to subdue local diversity’, ‘Local Disturbances: Ford Madox Brown and the Problem of the Manchester Murals’, in *Re-Framing the Pre-Raphaelites*, ed. Ellen Harding (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 82.

50. Arnold argues that ‘if culture […] shows us that there is nothing so very blessed in merely doing as one likes […] we have got a much wanted principle, a principle of authority, to counteract the tendency to anarchy which seems to be threatening us’, *Culture and Anarchy*, vol. 5 of *Complete Prose Works*, 11 vols, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1965), 123.

51. Patrick McDonagh notes the connection between legal definitions of the idiot as a man who cannot ‘govern or manage his inheritance’ and the classical meaning of the word ‘idiot’ as a man without public office, *Idiocy: A Cultural History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 85.

52. McDonagh draws attention to the connection between medical explanations of idiocy and nineteenth-century masturbation phobia, *Idiocy*, 261–2.


57. Charles Kingsley argues that the spasmodic poet’s tendency to ‘colour Nature with the records of his own mind’ suggests that he is ‘so much the slave of his own moods’ as ‘hardly to be called a strong man’, ‘Alexander Smith and Alexander Pope’, *Fraser’s Magazine* 48 (1853): 461–2. In an article published immediately afterwards, Kingsley compares Byron’s manliness and Shelley’s effeminacy, and alludes to Shelley’s influence on the spasmodic poets, ‘Thoughts on Shelley and Byron,’ *Fraser’s Magazine* 48 (1853): 568–76.

58. Thomas Laqueur describes the eighteenth-century physician Tissot’s alarmist characterization of masturbation as a ‘vicious cycle’ in *Solitary Sex*, 213.


60. Robert Southey notes that the higher classes of society produce fewer children, and attributes this to the toll mental activity takes on the body, since ‘the more the mind is exerted, the more the body suffers’, ‘Essay IV: On the State of the Poor, the Principle of Mr Malthus’s *Essay on Population*, and the Manufacturing System. 1812’, in *Essays, Moral and Political*, 2 vols (London: Murray, 1832), 152 fn. This lengthy footnote does not appear in the version of the essay published in 1812. For a discussion see Gavin Budge, ‘Medicine, the “Manufacturing System” and Southey’s Romantic Conservatism’, *Wordsworth Circle* 42 (2011): 57–63.


62. For a fuller discussion, see Chapter 3.

63. For a representative example of nineteenth-century anxiety about the effects of competitive examinations, which argues that ‘knowledge requires to be digested just as food does; and the power of digestion is limited’, see A. R. Grant, ‘The Evils of Competitive Examinations’, *The Nineteenth Century* 8 (1880): 720.

64. J. B. Bullen notes that the Pre-Raphaelites’ failure ‘to distinguish general characteristics from local detail’ was attributed to ‘a morbid and perverse preoccupation with the more unpleasant aspects of human life’, *The Pre-Raphaelite Body: Fear and Desire in Painting, Poetry and Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 11–12.

65. Bullen notes the affinity of the terms in which Pre-Raphaelite painting was characterized by critics with the medical discourse of masturbation, commenting that there is no ‘question that Harry Quilter was referring to the solitary vice when he spoke of ‘young men and women whose lack-lustre eyes, dishevelled hair, eccentricity of attire and general appearance of weary passion, proclaim them to be members of the new school’, op. cit., 213–14.


67. Herbert Sussman comments that ‘the early Victorians defined maleness as the possession of an innate, distinctively male energy that, in contrast to Freud, they did not represent as necessarily sexualized, but an inchoate force that
could be expressed in a number of ways, only one of which is sexual', \textit{Victorian Masculinities: Manhood and Masculine Poetics in Early Victorian Literature and Art} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10. I am arguing that this notion of an undifferentiated ‘male energy’ can be identified with the Brunonian conception of vital force or excitability.

68. John Brown describes how different quantities of stimulus produce health or disease, according to whether they exhaust the body’s supply of vital energy, and characterizes hypochondria as a disease of understimulation, \textit{Works}, 1: 71–6, 3: 242–4.

69. Erasmus Darwin comments that the want of ‘animal love’ has been ‘fatal’ to many women, and notes that marriage is an infallible cure for the morbid dread of masturbation, \textit{Zoonomia}, fac. edn of 1794–96 edn, 2 vols, introd. by Thom Verhave and Paul R. Bindler (New York: AMS Press, 1974), 1: 126, 2: 384.

70. John Wilson Croker comments that Keats ‘seems [...] to write a line at random, and then he follows not the thought excited by this line, but that suggested by the \textit{rhyme} with which it concludes’, review of \textit{Endymion: A Poetic Romance}. By John Keats, \textit{Quarterly Review} 19 (1818) 206.


72. Paul Barlow notes that ‘the Keepsake promoted a particular form of relationship between viewer and image in which the construction of fantastic narratives concerning the figures in accompanying engravings were encouraged’, a kind of fantasy which he argues the aesthetic of Pre-Raphaelite painting deliberately frustrates, ‘Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism: The Articulation of Fantasy and the Problem of Pictorial Space’, in \textit{Pre-Raphaelites Re-Viewed}, ed. Marcia Pointon (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 70.


74. Elizabeth Prettejohn emphasizes the uncommercial nature of the Pre-Raphaelites’ choice of subjects, and their contrast, with the genre-painting which dominated the art market, \textit{Pre-Raphaelites}, 36–7.


76. Teresa Newman and Ray Watkinson describe Brown’s state of depression at the time he designed the picture, and his fascination with Carlyle’s description of Cromwell’s hypochondria, \textit{Ford Madox Brown and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle} (London: Chatto and Windus, 1991), 77.

78. Colin Trodd emphasizes the disparity between ‘the dense matter from which the image is made’ and the ‘typological schema’ anticipating Cromwell’s future career, in a way which is akin to the conflict I argue for in this chapter between the bodily spectre of Pre-Raphaelite detail and the transcendent Romantic vision to which Pre-Raphaelite painting lays claim, ‘Culture and Energy: Ford Madox Brown, Thomas Carlyle and the Cromwellian Grotesque,’ in *Victorian Culture and the Idea of the Grotesque*, eds Colin Trodd, Paul Barlow, and David Amigoni (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 68.

79. Ruskin argues that the value of the grotesque mainly consists ‘in those very imperfections which mark it for work done in times of rest’, *Works*, 11: 157–8.


85. Barlow, ‘Pre-Raphaelitism and Post-Raphaelitism’.

86. John Barrell argues that the political authority of the eighteenth-century landowner has an aesthetic equivalent in the elevated perspective adopted by landscape painting and prospect poetry in the period, *Equal, Wide Survey*, 31–5.


90. Kingsley, ‘Thoughts on Shelley and Byron,’ 572.

91. Richard Payne Knight associates novel-reading with indigestion when he notes that ‘by the vicious indulgence of a prurient appetite, the mind, like the body, may be reduced to a state of atrophy; in which, knowledge, like food, may pass through it, without adding either to its strength, its bulk, or its beauty’, *An Analytical Inquiry Into the Principles of Taste*, 3rd edn (London, 1806), 450–2.

92. Kingsley argues that Shelley’s ‘hope and faith’ possess value for ‘thousands of young men [...] who would have shrunk with disgust from some of poor Shelley’s details of the “good time coming” ’, ‘Thoughts on Shelley and Byron’, 573. R. H. Super explains Matthew Arnold’s use of the same phrase as a quotation


94. Ibid., 261 (Bk 14, ll 137–8).


96. Carlyle describes Cromwell’s ‘hypochondriac maladies’, which, he notes, ‘all great souls are apt to have’, Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches (London: Ward, Lock, Bowden and Co, 1892), 39–40.


99. Arnold, Culture and Anarchy, 123.


104. Thomas De Quincey describes the opium-induced reverie in which he had a vision of Liverpool, portrayed in typological terms not unlike those which Wordsworth employs to characterize the vision from the top of Snowden in which The Prelude culminates, Confessions of an English Opium-Eater, in Confessions of an English Opium-Eater and Other Writings, ed. Barry Milligan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 54–5.


108. Elizabeth Prettejohn quotes the American critic W. J. Stillman’s comment that ‘there must be something vital and earnest in a picture to make it interesting to our public [...] The P.R.B. pictures have [...] attracted more admirers than all the others for this reason’, Pre-Raphaelites, 119.

109. Robert Southey, review of Propositions for ameliorating the Condition of the Poor, etc., by P. Colquhoun, Quarterly Review 8 (1812): 338–42 For a full discussion, see Gavin Budge, ‘Medicine and the Manufacturing System’.

110. Gustave Le Bon compares the way in which individual personality is submerged in a crowd to ‘the state of fascination in which the hypnotised individual finds himself in the hands of the hypnotiser’; his emphasis on the ease with which the individual in this state can be ‘induced to commit acts contrary to his most obvious interests and his best-known habits’ suggests that this is a state of perverse irritability akin to that described in Poe’s ‘The Black Cat’, The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind (London: T. F. Unwin, 1896), 9–13.


113. Eliza Lynn Linton anticipates that women who have the vote will ‘add their own shriller excitement to the men’s deeper passions’, and argues, alluding to the role of women in the French Revolution, that the effect of political partisanship on women’s already ‘highly strained nerves’ will be to transform them into ‘the yelling tricoteuses of those blood-stained saturnalia of ’92’, since ‘women are both more extreme and more impressible than men’, ‘The Wild Women as Politicians’, Nineteenth Century 30 (1891): 80–2.


118. Jonathan Loesberg suggests that the sensation novel’s focus on narrative moments which provoke a nervous thrill is connected with ‘the image of a loss or shift of class identity and a consequent loss of bearings in a once familiar world’, ‘The Ideology of Narrative Form in Sensation Fiction’, Representations 13 (1986): 125.

123. H. L. Mansel emphasizes that sensation novels aim at ‘excitement, and excitement alone’ and finds them ‘redolent of the manufactory and the shop’; he also links their rise to the railway bookstall, ‘Sensation Novels,’ *Quarterly Review* 113 (1863): 482–5.
124. The ‘grand style’ is described by Joshua Reynolds in *Discourses*, 41–53.
126. The health of educated middle-class women in the nineteenth century was notoriously poor, see Oppenheim, op. cit., 187–93.
132. John Morrow describes the ‘censorious commentary on Carlyle’s irascibility’ that was prompted by Froude’s biography, *Carlyle*, 208.
139. Robert Buchanan argued that all Goethe’s writing originated in a condition of nervous irritability brought on by sexual titillation, *A Look Round Literature* (London: Ward and Downey, 1887), 81–2. A fuller discussion can be found in Gavin Budge, ‘The Aesthetics of Morbidity: D. G. Rossetti and Buchanan’s *The Fleshy School of Poetry*’, in *Outsiders Looking In: The Rossettis Then and Now*,


141. Janet Oppenheim notes the relationship between the clinical construct of ‘neurasthenia’ formulated by George M. Beard and Brunonian ideas, Shattered Nerves, 94.


143. Anon, ‘Pre-Raphaelitism’, 286.


147. Ruskin, op. cit., 5: 357.

148. Ibid., 5: 355.


151. T. S. Eliot argues that the ‘really new’ work of art alters that ‘ideal order’ in which we conceive of the literary canon, ‘Tradition and the Individual Talent’, in Selected Essays (London: Faber and Faber, 1951), 15. Ezra Pound describes his own ‘pawing over the ancients and semi-ancients’ as a ‘struggle to find out what has been done, once for all, better than it can ever be done again, and to find out what remains for us to do’, since ‘no good poetry is ever written in a manner twenty years old’, ‘A Retrospect’, in Literary Essays, ed. T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), 11.

Conclusion

1. Discussing the Decadent movement, Arthur Symons comments ‘healthy we cannot call it, and healthy it does not wish to be considered’, The Decadent Movement in Literature, in Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s, rev. edn, ed. Karl Beckson (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1993), 135–6.


3. Janet Oppenheim describes the broad political consensus that emerged in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods surrounding the idea of ‘national efficiency’, ie that Britain needed to improve the physical health of its population in order

4. I. A. Richards argues that the culture of a mass society tends to transmit ‘ideas and [...] annexed emotional responses’ that are ‘crude and vague’, and that ‘good poetry [...] is] a powerful weapon for breaking up unreal ideas and responses’ in a way that the exercise of practical criticism is designed to exploit, Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1929), 248–54.


14. For example, when Silas Marner finds Eppie after coming round from his fit of catalepsy, he has ‘a vision of the old home and the old streets leading to Lantern Yard’ accompanied by ‘a dreamy feeling that this child was somehow a message come to him from that far-off life’, George Eliot, Silas Marner, ed. David Carroll (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2003), 111.

15. Gwendolen confesses her guilt over Grandcourt’s death to Daniel Deronda, who concludes that ‘because her conscience made her dwell on the determining power of her evil thoughts’ it was ‘almost certain that her murderous thought had had no outward effect’, ie that her mental state at the time was such that she was incapable of distinguishing between her thoughts and reality, George Eliot, Daniel Deronda, ed. Graham Handley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 595–7.


20. In the context of a discussion of Thackeray’s ‘strong sense of reality’, Lewes notes that he draws on experience and not ‘the phantasmagoria of the stage and circulating library’; he also comments on the tendency for novelists to substitute


22. Lewes, Versatile Victorian, 211.


27. Rosemary Ashton quotes Charles Bray’s description of Lewes’s ‘constant ringing in his ears and fear of apoplexy’, Lewes, 156.

28. In a discussion of the role which boldly outlined ‘characters’ play in best-selling fiction, Q. D. Leavis comments that ‘the ordinary reader is content with the general directions for what his literary training recognises as appropriate, and his imagination will do the rest’, Fiction and the Reading Public (London: Chatto and Windus, 1932), 62.


31. Lewes stresses the need for the novelist to combine realistic depiction of detail with the ‘poetry of life’, ‘Realism in Art: Recent German Fiction’, Westminster Review 70 (1858): 493–96. I discuss the Pre-Raphaelite controversy in Chapter 6.

32. In a digression describing the moral purpose of her novelistic realism, George Eliot comments that ‘I would not, even if I had the choice, be the clever novelist who could create a world so much better than this, in which we get up in the morning to do our daily work, that you would be likely to turn a harder, colder eye [...] on the real breathing men and women, who can be chilled by your indifference or injured by your prejudice’, Adam Bede, ed. Margaret Reynolds (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2008), 194.


35. Ruskin’s account of the ‘pathetic fallacy’ analyses the circumstances in which a departure from literal truth is acceptable in art, Works, 5: 201–1.

36. Fred N. Scott makes clear in his preface to the collected edition of Lewes’s articles that his aim is ‘to make it accessible to his own classes in rhetoric and literary criticism’, Lewes, The Principles of Success in Literature, 3.

37. Nicholas Dames includes Lewes, along with E. S. Dallas and Alexander Bain, in the ‘small set of mid-Victorian male figures’ who were interested in developing a physiological theory of the novel, Physiology of the Novel, 9.


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