

BEYOND THE NATION: PENNY FICTION, THE CRIMEAN WAR, AND POLITICAL BELONGING

By Ellen Rosenman

“THE NATION STATE . . . FOUND THE NOVEL. And vice versa: the novel found the nation-state” (Moretti 17). Franco Moretti’s famous formulation has proved as partial as it is influential, challenged by a growing body of transnational scholarship.¹ It is challenged as well by a different set of novels from the canonical ones Moretti has in mind: working-class penny fiction. Given the inequities of society, it is not surprising that this literature expresses a more complicated relationship to England. The working classes laid claim to England itself, insisting that their autochthonic status made them its true sons but that within the nation-state they were subjects, not citizens.² The gap between this deep sense of belonging and formal political exclusion structures hundreds of penny novels produced in the mid-nineteenth century.

Here I examine a decidedly un-representative but nevertheless significant trio of novels written by popular author G. W. M. Reynolds and inspired by the Crimean War, which provoked a crisis in class relations: *Leila; or the Star of the Mingrelia* (1856), *The Loves of the Harem; or, A Romance of Constantinople* (1855), and *Omar: a Tale of the War* (1856).³ These novels focus on the Caucasus, Turkey, and Poland – what Thomas McLean calls “the Other East,” a useful phrase I will appropriate for this article. Mixing real people and events with outlandish plot devices and invoking a motley array of historical periods, these novels would seem to have a precarious hold on reality, let alone on a functional political agenda. However, they mark an important if unfulfilled shift in the imaginary of radical politics.⁴ Decentering England and turning away from the dream of national belonging, they sketch a nascent international vision, provoked by the frustrating class dimensions of the Crimean War.⁵ In doing so, they give us a window onto the affective dimension of radical politics, especially the profound disaffection of the working classes at this historical moment. Moreover, as modern scholars increasingly critique “blood and soil” or “birthright” citizenship, which depend on the same autochthonic claims promoted by Victorian radical politics, *Omar* in particular deserves attention as it considers how a different kind of community could be as satisfying as a territorial “home.”

Penny Fiction and Radical Politics: Tales of Land and Blood

SINCE THE 1830S, WHEN THEY first appeared, penny novels played an important role in a robust alternative public sphere, organizing the aims of radical politics into compelling,

accessible fantasies.⁶ Often advertised and sometimes serialized in populist periodicals, they were read in the context of political arguments. Moreover, as Ian Haywood asserts, “the supposed boundary between the fictional and the political was in fact highly permeable” (172).⁷ Journalism freely adapted the tropes and rhetoric of melodrama, while fiction allegorized political issues in individual stories and interpolated political materials such as annual poverty statistics into the narrative flow. Such gestures told readers that novels spoke to the real world in spite of their extravagant plots.⁸ Reynolds was easily the most widely read author in this popular genre. He pioneered this hybrid form, mixing politics and fiction, reality and fantasy.⁹ An arresting public speaker and an elected member of the executive committee of the National Chartist Association, Reynolds was also the publisher of *Reynolds’s News* and *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, becoming a kind of populist brand-name through these overlapping endeavors. Serializing many of his novels in the *Miscellany*, Reynolds implicitly instructed readers to interpret them within the framework of the political news and commentary that appeared alongside them. Reynolds was hugely popular among the working classes, outselling Dickens and reaching a broader, less privileged audience. In his obituary, the *Bookseller* called Reynolds “the most popular writer of his time” (“G. W. M. Reynolds” 600).¹⁰ Though forgotten today, it is likely that these three novels were widely read, and read as symbolic versions of real political aspirations. Their sensational fantasies enlisted readers’ emotions and desires, inviting vicarious participation in their alternative imagined communities.¹¹

In order to understand how radical these “Other East” novels are, it is important to understand the dominant metanarrative of populist politics and the conventions that emplotted it in much penny fiction. The essential story, political and fictional, is one of belonging, dispossession, and restitution.¹² According to radical history, the Saxons enjoyed an egalitarian, democratic, agrarian society until the Normans invaded, stole the people’s land, and installed a foreign hereditary aristocracy.¹³ This injury was repeated hundreds of years later when the Enclosure Acts seized common land and annexed it to large estates. This second usurpation destroyed the commons, abrogated the people’s ancient right of access, and exiled small farmers and their families from land they had worked and lived on for generations. They became refugees in their own country. Though historians continue to dispute the actual effect of the acts, their cataclysmic injustice was an article of faith for radical politics.¹⁴ Chartists advanced this metanarrative to justify universal male suffrage, arguing that the people deserved formal citizenship because of their ancient relationship to the land.¹⁵ In other words, Chartism assumed the people’s claim to what modern theorists call “birthright” or “blood and soil” citizenship, the assertion of an essentialist national identity based on place of birth. With terms such as “primordial” and “metaphysical,” theorists emphasize the profundity of the connection between land and people to explain the claim’s staying power.¹⁶ The highly-charged distinction between insiders and outsiders, between those who belong and those who trespass or usurp, originates in the assumption that the natives of a place have unique worth and special status, a kind of priority citizenship.

The fictional versions of this metanarrative use the family and the land – two of the most common tropes for the nation – to symbolize national belonging.¹⁷ Working-class protagonists discover that they are long-lost members of aristocratic families, entitled to names and estates by biological kinship. As one aristocratic character announces to the formerly plebian heroine, “The blood of the Claverings rolls through your veins, Mary Price; and therefore I have willed unto you . . . the domain of my ancestors” (Reynolds, *Mary Price*

2: 346). In some novels, the restoration of identity achieves political agency as well. When he discovers his aristocratic heritage and inherits an estate, the erstwhile servant Joseph Wilmot gains the vote and becomes an M.P., having fulfilled the property requirement for suffrage and Parliamentary service (Reynolds, *Joseph Wilmot*), while lowly Allan Fearon manages an even more impressive feat of social ascent when he is recognized as “a prince of royal blood” – that is, the illegitimate son of the Prince Regent – and is granted an Earldom, complete with all the perquisites of a peer of the realm (Rymer, 2: 246). In these allegories of restitution, “blood” signifies the immutable belonging of the people, while the inheritance of an estate fulfills an inalienable claim to the land. With the tropes of family and home, these novels symbolically realize the essentialist claims to blood-and-soil Englishness. They also chart the enormous affective dimension of radical politics, which went well beyond the limited agency that could be achieved by reforming the franchise. Marginalized and disdained in real life, working-class readers could imaginatively enter an alternate reality, a virtual England in which they were privileged members.

To radicals, the metanarrative seemed irrefutable, based on the very essence of England itself, but of course Parliament and the establishment press repeatedly rejected their demands. Not surprisingly, members of the House of Lords were not inclined to see the estates their families had held for centuries as stolen property or to regard English history since 1066 as a misguided departure from the country’s true destiny. Though it offered a deep sense of affirmation to the working classes, the metanarrative lacked persuasive power among England’s elite. Radical politics’ continued commitment to these claims through much of the century is a good example of Lauren Berlant’s cruel optimism: “a sustaining inclination to return to the scene of fantasy that enables you to expect that *this* time, nearness to *this* thing will help you or the world to become different in just the right way” (2). Even as Parliament repeatedly rebuffed suffrage petitions, motivated by its own fantasies of working-class incapacity, radical politics clung to its original story.

The International Turn

“WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THOSE FANTASIES [that sustain optimism] start to fray?” Berlant asks (2). Though the metanarrative never disappeared, the working classes also looked to other nations for ideas and inspiration. By the time of the Crimean War, English radicals had been forging relationships with their counterparts in other nations for some time, a dimension of working-class history that lays the foundation for the fantasies that animate these Other East novels. Reynolds enthusiastically supported this international turn. A seven-year sojourn in France as a young man left him with a lifelong admiration for that country’s republican politics, along with a French passport, while *Reynolds’s News* and *Reynolds’s Miscellany* provided extensive coverage of popular movements in other countries.¹⁸ Drawing out and simplifying threads of complex relationships, Reynolds’s novels highlight these new identifications and moments of solidarity to craft a utopian vision of an extra-national community.

Ideologically, the most significant contribution of European radicalism was the idea of natural or human rights, grounded in Enlightenment values and popularized by Thomas Paine’s *The Rights of Man* (1791). Departing dramatically from land-based claims rooted in a specific national history, the doctrine of human rights asserted that all men are entitled

to political agency simply by virtue of being human. Powerfully influential, it managed to co-exist alongside nativist claims despite the obvious logical contradiction.¹⁹

Less concrete but equally powerful were the psychic rewards that attended encounters with international others. External support and validation provided a temporary escape from a discouraging lack of status or progress at home. In England radicals were rebuffed by Parliament and frequently reviled in the mainstream print culture, especially when they were represented as a group exercising agency. Individual workers might be reasonable, articulate, or pathetic, but as a political bloc, they were mostly demonized as members of an animalistic mob or as a frightening, undifferentiated, non-human mass whose sheer numbers would “swamp” more deserving voters.²⁰ But in meetings with foreign counterparts, radicals were welcomed as important allies and political thinkers. When a Chartist delegation traveled to France in 1839, it engaged in a kind of unofficial (or anti-official) diplomatic mission, reassuring French working men that it rejected the English government’s hostility and discussing possible responses to the shifting alliances among France, England, Russia, Austria, and Turkey (Lowery 164–65). Reflecting the movement’s sophisticated understanding of international politics, these discussions created a sense of political participation, solidarity, and agency that was difficult to achieve at home. To borrow the rhetoric of Jacques Rancière, working people moved from a national context in which they were “the uncounted, a part of those who have no part” (33) to an international one in which they played an important part and their ideas were taken into account.

This contrast intensified in 1848. While populist revolutions raged in Europe, English Parliament rejected yet another suffrage petition and O’Connorville, a Chartist agrarian community, began its slide into legal dissolution. Seeing themselves as citizens of the world, the working classes could stand with French, Italian, and Hungarian patriots and imaginatively participate in the birth of new democratic orders. Extensive newspaper coverage brought details of these revolts to readers. Exiled patriots such as the Italian Giuseppe Mazzini and the Hungarian Lajos Kossuth were fêted in London as celebrities while the popular press chronicled their movements and circulated their portraits, knitting these foreign personages into the fabric of English politics. Emerging from this moment, the Association of Fraternal Democrats sought to model an international community held together by a shared commitment to freedom that transcended national boundaries. Englishmen, Frenchmen, Poles, and Hungarians, all victims of government oppression, formed a “holy alliance” in the organization (Frost 128), while representatives of other nations grouped themselves together under the title “Young Europe.” At a series of meetings of the Association of Fraternal Democrats, founded in London in 1845 and active until 1853, Russians sat with Polish members, and Spaniards joined the French. All held membership cards bearing the motto “All men are Brethren” in twelve languages (126). According to historian Margot C. Finn, such connections were part of “an international community of labour [united] . . . behind a common political cause” (122).²¹ Chartist Thomas Frost describes a euphoric meeting celebrating the abdication of King Louis-Philippe of France: vividly portraying the multicolored flags hanging together on the wall, Frost depicts the “electrical” effect of the announcement of the abdication (128): the “mingled assemblage of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Poles, and Hungarians” hoisted up the flags of each other’s nations and then, “with linked arms and colors flying,” spilled out into the street in a display of “enthusiastic fraternization” (130).²²

Reynolds offers a similar scene of international community in his novel *Joseph Wilmot*, which eventually awards its hero an estate, the vote, and Parliamentary membership. When

Joseph travels to France and stumbles upon a secret society planning to overthrow Louis-Philippe, he finds a “conclave of all grades and of both sexes, linked together by one common bond of patriotic enthusiasm” (1: 406). Overcome by this display of unity, Joseph agrees to help them and is embraced as a full-fledged member: “You are welcome, citizen, amongst us; and you will receive the thanks of the patriots here assembled for yielding to the impulses of your own generous nature and joining the sacred cause we have in hand” (1: 404). Before he attains his English birthright, Joseph finds a better home among French rebels. Serialized on the eve of the Crimean War, *Joseph Wilmot* suggests the endurance and attraction of the dream of international brotherhood, even within a story arc largely shaped by the nativist metanarrative.

The satisfactions of international encounters – the exhilaration and sense of belonging – must have been powerful. They held out a glimpse of an expansive class-specific community, aspirational but believable. Perhaps because these moments were intermittent, unlike the ongoing struggles of domestic radicalism, they were easy to idealize. Standing at a distance from internal conflicts, foreign patriots could function in similar ways, as political *imagoes*. So *Reynolds’s Miscellany* described Mazzini, the Italian patriot, as “a type of moral and intellectual genius and strength,” an “exemplification of genius” who is “incarnated with the grand conception of Italian republican unity . . . [and] the divine spirit of Dante” (“Joseph Mazzini”). The rhetoric of “type,” “exemplification,” and “incarnated” promised readers that their ideals could come into being, whole and perfect. Of course, relations with European counterparts were not always rosy, nor did they definitively undermine a sense of national identity. Competing expatriots fell in and out of fashion, while, in solidarity meetings, different groups sometimes engaged in a kind of parallel play: national toasts and rituals were honored but not always engaged in, or even understood, by members of other groups. Still, internationalism became a key component of English radical politics. The 1848 revolutions promised such dramatic, wholesale change that they provided resources for utopian fantasies that were as compelling as the dream of national inheritance and were more firmly grounded in the real world.

The Crimean War both exacerbated class antagonism and renewed the internationalism that had abated somewhat in the intervening years. A showcase of aristocratic privilege and military ineptitude, the war further alienated the working classes from their own country. While the English aristocracy had been the standard villain in the metanarrative, resentment spread to England itself, undermining the “partisan patriotism” that co-existed, somewhat paradoxically, with relentless critique (Finn 172).²³ Real-time exposure provided ample opportunity for commentary and judgment. Describing the conflict as the first “media war,” Stefanie Markovits analyzes the extensive, first-hand coverage it received as it was unfolding (3). Unlike previous conflicts in which information was carefully packaged in official dispatches, this one attracted an array of on-the-spot reporters from the *Times’s* official correspondent William Howard Russell to the soldiers themselves, whose letters home were published by their families. This widespread and diverse coverage created a new discursive context: strategies, battles, and logistics were dissected as never before, making the war a site of concerted public reflection on England itself and its role on the international stage. Though the conflict was no one’s idea of a well-managed endeavor, criticism in elite periodicals was nothing compared to the vituperation heaped on the government and its generals by the radical press. While the mainstream press reported military failures, it also struggled to find some shred of heroism or bravery. Radical papers dispensed with the struggle; for

them, the only story was the military ineptitude that resulted directly from class privilege. Indeed, the war not only reflected but intensified class injustice. According to Reynolds, the elite background of the generals trained them only in arrogance and stupidity, yet these “aristocratic nincompoops” actually enlarged their privileges as they were awarded additional titles and estates for their service (“Omar Pasha and General Williams”).²⁴

Moreover, the interpretation of the conflict itself broke down along class lines: what the government saw as a potentially dubious attempt to control Russian aggression and maintain its own sphere of power in eastern Europe, popular periodicals saw as a transnational, populist struggle for freedom. While class oppression in England was a national problem to be addressed by the franchise, the Norman invasion also defined it as the outcome of a foreign occupation, an understanding that enabled identification with the targets of Russian imperialism.²⁵ Just as the radical press presented the French, Italian, and Hungarian people as fellow-travelers in the cause of democracy, so *Reynolds's Newspaper* encouraged readers to identify with the Circassians, the Mingrelians, the Wallachians, the Turks, and the Poles. Indefatigable (if unsuccessful) defenders of their liberty, the Poles were frequently compared to the English; in the words of a popular ballad, they “sustained a hundred fights” to defend their independence, just as the English “are born to freedom” (qtd. in Finn 175).²⁶ The Circassians were celebrated for their defense against foreign incursions, while Turkey was viewed as exemplary in its fierce resistance to Russian aggression, representing the ideals of the free-born Englishman better than his own country. The subtitle of one article praising the Turks, “Ottoman Bravery and English Calumny,” re-situates patriotic pride in a foreign land (“The Turkish Victory at Kars”).²⁷ Just as it had idealized Mazzini, the radical press promoted the bravery and intelligence of foreign leaders, urging readers to invest in the heroes of other nations. It lionized Schamyl as “the Prophet Warrior” (“Schamyl the Prophet Warrior”) and extolled Omar Pasha as “the greatest field-general of his day” (Reynolds, “Who Must Be Blamed?”) while denouncing the failures of English officers.²⁸

In its most radical form, such critiques identified England with Russian tyranny in spite of its military opposition to Russia. In the cases of Poland, Turkey, and Circassia, England's indifference is understood as enabling Russian aggression.²⁹ Indeed, by failing to protect the integrity of the Turkish people, “the allies have done in Turkey what Russia sought to do” (“Kossuth and the English People”). Addressing an audience in London, the Hungarian patriot Kossuth accused England of fighting to defend Austrian tyranny rather than Turkish freedom (“Kossuth and the Austrian Alliance”).³⁰ Aligning England ideologically with the despotic countries it opposes militarily, Kossuth suggests that the interests and values of the English working-classes are better promoted by Turks and Hungarians. Though the allies won militarily, England lost the war of ideals that inspired the working classes:

We were fighting for freedom and civilization; the object of the war was to restrain barbarism, to overthrow tyranny. . . . These dreams of the British people, it is not necessary to state, have not been realized. The European peoples, thanks to the management of [the British government], are still in their chains. (“Reasons for Rejoicing”)

Thus, the popular press redrew official alliances, associating England as a nation with Russia the oppressor on the one hand, and the English working classes with oppressed Eastern populations on the other. The category of “the people” superseded that of nation.

Leila, *The Loves of the Harem*, and *Omar* owe their plots and values to this context. As a group, they take the Crimean War as their direct or indirect inspiration, assuming readers' knowledge of the region and its issues. (*The Loves of the Harem* is particularly opportunistic, as Reynolds exploited the conflict to repurpose some exotic eastern stories as inset tales within a new frame narrative.) Along with the political reporting quoted above, periodicals published descriptions of Constantinople, a profile of the Turkish Sultan Abdul Medjid Kahn, a short story about a Circassian slave, the review of a travelogue about the region, and similar pieces. These articles fleshed out the map of the Other East geographically, politically, and symbolically, bringing this once-exotic region home to readers in concrete ways. Published on the heels of one another, these novels are linked together and to the war by multiple intertextual connections: the first chapters of *Leila* and *The Loves of the Harem* appear in Reynolds's *Miscellany* alongside *Omar* on 5 January 1855 (369–73); and references to Mingrelia, Circassia, Turkey, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Poland cross over from one novel to another. Set in 1807, *The Loves of the Harem* makes an anachronistic allusion to the Crimean War when a Russian frigate attacks a Turkish pleasure boat in spite of the alliance between the two countries, a reference that would not have been lost on a reading audience steeped in reports of Russian aggression. Moreover, the presence of historical figures in the novels, counterbalancing their more fantastic elements, encouraged readers to see them as relevant to real life. *Omar* appeared frequently in the press, while various other characters such as King John Soblieski of Poland, Kara Mustapha, Sultan Selim the Third, and Sultan Mahmoud the Second, who populate *The Loves of the Harem*, were historical figures.

Drawing on the Crimean conflict enabled these novels to challenge the primordial Englishness that was also celebrated by radical politics. Most obviously, unlike the novels shaped by the metanarrative, these do not take place on English soil and, except for *Omar*, make almost no reference to England. Offering no English characters worthy of emulation, these novels encourage readers to reorient their imaginative sympathies to the heroes and destinies of other countries. While other penny novels maintain a sense of England as a homeplace, only temporarily in the hands of usurpers and soon to become the property of its true inheritors, these novels do not give readers an imaginary England to inhabit or a utopian national future to anticipate. Instead, the notion of a stable national territory and a single, immutable national identity is undermined by the chaotic geopolitics of the region. Land grabs, foreign occupations, and shifting national boundaries draw the novels into the flow of modern history, displacing the ahistorical metanarrative. The fantasy worlds of these novels are composed of different places and peoples, even different *conceptions* of place and identity. *Leila* touches briefly on this possibility, while *The Loves of the Harem* deploys it suggestively but chaotically. The potential of these new conceptions is realized most completely in *Omar*, which thematizes them (relatively) coherently, imagining a fully-formed if counterintuitive community beyond the nation.

Setting the Stage: Leila and The Loves of the Harem

LEILA AND THE LOVES OF THE HAREM consistently direct readers' investments to the Other East. *The Loves of the Harem*, for instance, dislodges Eurocentrism by dating several tales according to the Muslim as well as the Christian calendar and referring to Europe as "the Far West," adopting the perspective of the Turks (136). Echoing journalistic accounts, the novels portray Eastern peoples as freedom fighters whose love of liberty parallels that of the

English working classes. In the face of Russian incursions, the Mingrelians retain “a certain shadow of independence, with their own princes, and their own laws” (Reynolds, *Leila* 4).³¹ Poland, the subject of the longest of the inset tales in *Loves of the Harem*, protects Venice from foreign invasion. In clear if implicit references to England, these novels praise the good government of their heroes, setting their utopias on foreign soil. A Mingrelian sovereign is “beloved and adored by his people” because of “the undeviating course of justice which he pursued and the liberal institutions which he voluntarily established” (Reynolds, *Leila* 90), while Mahmoud the Second is “a liberal, and an enlightened” ruler, always “faithful to the interests of his subjects” (Reynolds, *Loves* 333). Wish-fulfilling resolutions occur, not on a landed English estate, but under the benevolent rule of Eastern leaders.

Even more radical is the play of identities this setting allows. Religion is a particularly fruitful ground for re-making identities – or rather, for replacing identity with identifications. In the region’s turbulent history, countries that were once Christian are now Moslem; and countries are divided between Christianity and Islam, making religious affiliation a matter of chance and choice rather than deep, enduring faith. One tale in *The Loves of the Harem* opens as an entire village converts from Christianity to Islam (21).³² Throughout, religious identity is mutable, contingent. When an erstwhile Christian prays to Mohammed for the defeat of a Christian army, explains to a surprised companion, “Young man, thou knowest not how soon circumstances may turn the heart, and eradicate those ideas and prejudices in which we were born” (64). Circumstances and new loyalties trump inherited identities.

In *Loves of the Harem*, this religious fluidity has the most far-reaching effects. Multiple time frames and settings fracture the coherence of a single national history. The tales are set in 1287, 1389, the end of the fourteenth century, 1483, the seventeenth century, 1803, and 1683; geographically, they take place in Serbia, Bavaria, France, Turkey, Greece, Venice, and a part of Asia Minor “occupied by a Byzantine or Greek garrison” (21). They narrate various historical conflicts in the general region such as an ancient battle in Kosova involving Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Walachians, Poles, Hungarians, and Turks; and the siege of Venice by the Ottoman Empire, turned back by the heroic resistance of John Sobieski, King of Poland. In this stew of nations and periods, England is completely displaced, its geography and history nowhere to be found. Alliances change; though the Turks are the heroes in the frame narrative, they are the enemy of the Poles during the siege of Venice, while Albania is a separate nation in the fourteenth-century inset narrative but is partially absorbed into Turkey in the 1807 frame narrative (37). Although the Other East remains the novel’s setting, the reader’s more specific sympathies shift from tale to tale along with national borders and transnational alliances (though Russia is always the enemy). However shallow or commercial Reynolds’s reasons for creating such a pastiche, the chaotic structure of *The Loves of the Harem* dismantles the idea of a single national origin or history, a single national or religious identity, a privileged place or people. Nations are not conceived as static essences but as contingent entities subject to historical change. This layered history creates multicultural spaces such as Constantinople, where “Turk, Armenian, Jew, Greek, [and] Frank” coexist (2). Individuals also have multiple identity markers: a Greek man makes his home in the Turkish section of Albania, a Turkish man looks like a Parisian, while a Bavarian man looks Greek. In its treatment of nations, alliances, and religion, *Loves of the Harem* presents a world in which nations are flexible formations, complicated and revised over time.

Given the new alliances and precarious national borders that characterized the Crimean war, this understanding is resonant but also disturbing: in this modern context, what would

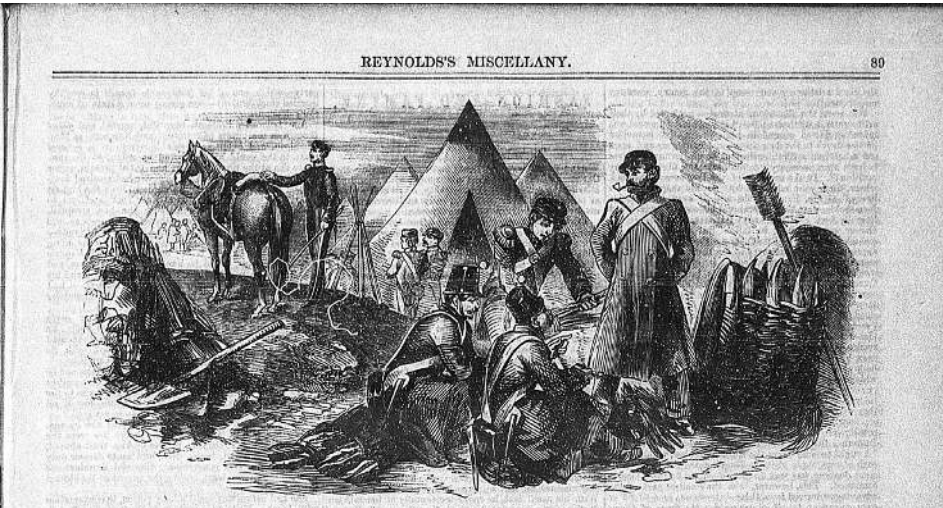
become of the metanarrative of radical politics, based on an essentialist conception of people and nation? Perhaps this anxiety underlies the ambiguous attention the novel gives to the Janizaries. This elite (and real) military corps is composed of Christian soldiers who are forced to convert to Islam, protect the sultan, and fight against soldiers of their own nation. In the siege of Vienna, the Janizaries fight fiercely of necessity: “Christian renegades, or the sons of Christians who had abjured their faith, what mercy could they expect at the hands of soldiers who might be almost termed their fellow country-men?” (Reynolds, *Loves* 306). These warriors are a fun-house mirror reflection of the fruitful mutability that threads through the rest of the novel. They exemplify disloyalty, ruthlessly extorting wealth from their leaders with threats of rebellion and staging a coup against the benevolent sultan.

This predicament suggests the dark side of *The Loves of the Harem*'s fluidity as the novel registers the cost of relinquishing national identity: the loss of a stable community, dependable attachments, and enduring loyalties. The increased vulnerability of the Janizaries in battle also signifies the psychic toll of contingent identities and historical change. To a people accustomed to staking their claim in terms of a primordial connection to the land and an essentialist sense of Englishness, embracing a more instrumental version of national inclusion would be difficult. Whatever formal mechanisms of citizenship they won and whatever new agency they attained, their privileged status would count for nothing. What conception of belonging could take its place? What affective satisfaction would be sacrificed with loss of the autochthonic fantasy? What articles of faith would have to be demoted to the status of illusion and given up? Berlant insists that cruel optimism should not be seen as an “error” but as “a scene of negotiated sustenance that makes life bearable” (14). Primordial belonging was a counterweight to the profound depredations suffered by the working classes: not only poverty and the lack of political agency but the indignity of subordination, demonization, and invisibility. Primordial status granted the working classes a valued and central personhood they did not have in real life. The loss of this security threatened familiar forms of community and communal identity. As Berlant writes, imagining new formations calls for “compensation for . . . profound, collective, material, and fantasmic loss” (222).

Omar's Imagined Community

OMAR: A TALE OF THE WAR takes up this anxiety by imagining a community based on neither blood nor soil. Using the war to disavow England and the very idea of national identity, it displays a full-fledged anti-Englishness, fashioning a multi-national community from flexible, layered identities.³³ Though it follows the episodic, multi-plot format of most penny novels, it tames the chaos of *The Loves of the Harem* and streamlines its anarchic structure into a more coherent narrative.³⁴ Capitalizing on the ability of fiction to cultivate identifications and dis-identifications through character and narrative, *Omar* implicitly urges readers to de-cathect from Englishness.

Published as the conflict was unfolding and taking the war as its subject, *Omar* had an unusually close relationship to journalism, exploiting a class-specific perspective to fashion characters and events. Serialized literally alongside commentary in *Reynolds's Miscellany* and in the midst of news reports in other radical periodicals, it relied on readers' knowledge of the war (Figures 16 and 17). Profiles of generals, descriptions of Constantinople, and advertisements for maps to help readers visualize events appeared alongside the parts of the novel, while the novel itself included maps and detailed descriptions of battles. At one point,



CAMP SCENE IN THE CRIMEA.

With all its many privations, sufferings, and horrors, there is a kind of fantastic charm about camp life. Its wild freedom—the very Robinson-Crusoe-like solitude—grateful to the hazy soldier after the monotonous routine, and the "eribbed, cabin'd, and confin'd" limits of the barracks. At all events, those out in the Crimea endure it and write of it as none but heroes can. The following description reached us with our illustration:—

"I trust that we are, one and all, ready to endure any amount of hardship as long as we are in the Crimea. Here we have no long faces; that would never do. Come rain, hail, snow, frost, or blow—and we have had them all, and shall have more of them as winter advances—there is always a cheerful countenance, a merry heart, a ludicrous pun, a comic tale. Let me briefly tell you how the day is passed. Early in the morning, generally at half-past four, there is a scraping at the tent door, and a voice is heard calling out the hour. The British soldier is soon up and doing; his coffee is drunk, biscuit and pork consumed, a wallet is thrown across the shoulder, containing provender for the day and a flask of rum; the sword is girt on, and away goes our companion to the trenches, to remain until six p.m., leaving us to snore away until the sun has afforded us a cheering supply of light and heat, when we rise from our bed of blankets, and having drunk in pure air during the night, rush to breakfast with ravenous appetites. The breakfast table, made of two pieces of plank nailed upon four stakes, is covered with tin spoons, tin pots, tin plates, tin canisters, and all those little tin articles for salt, pepper, &c., so well known to campaigners; and when we are seated, waiting anxiously for hungry coach travellers of old, in comes a face-faded, finger-battered soldier, with a large supply of fried pork or beef floating from a black frying-pan in one hand, and in the other a corgie of mashed blanch, which, to give it a flavour, has been baked in the fat of ratoon pork—blit, with new and then a potato, or onion for a change, and a cup of two of coffee, forms our breakfast. The pipe, that indispensable friend of the soldier in the field, follows every meal, pour *excellent digestion*; and after it, should no duty (rare occurrence) call us away, each employs himself as inclination prompts. As to what we get for dinner, that depends very much upon circumstances, but we generally have a good meal, as we go upon the principle that the best preserver of health under our sherry tins of constitution is good and regular food, and, therefore, that it is wiser to have a well supported body rather than a richly-supplied purse; and when laughing and joking is there over the smoking camp-kettle. One is accused of taking all the meat, another of forgetting that the delicacies of the season cost money, a third is blamed under arrest for consuming more than his ration of grog; indeed, each in his turn is voted a robber of his neighbour, and all with most perfect good humour, that we are like the happy family in *Arcturion-square*, for the slightest disagreement is unknown to us. By this time dinner is over, darkness has well set in; then it is we all gather beneath the canvas and talk over the occurrences of the day—and very pleasant talk they say, even when the loss of some officer causes a damp to come over us all. Of course, the military consciousness of the day are thoroughly discussed, and they lead to the prospect before us—judging, the country, and all matters connected with this important subject; at times we grow a little sentimental, and then school-boy days, living brothers, devoted sisters, noble-minded parents, curly hairies, future dings, and those many

subjects connected with home have their moments; and this goes on until the nightfall, having been comfortably applied to the head, we make for our bed, not of reeds but of blankets, there to do just that amount of sleep which duty allows."

"Of course, this must be considered as the bright side of the picture. Circumstances, however, sometimes reverse it, and here we have its canvas-side—

"The scene in the camp (says a correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing after the memorable storm that did so much damage in our camp) was one of extreme desolation; the roar of the heaviest, preventing a voice from being heard, and no spot of brightness in the iron-grey clouded sky to hold out a hope of abatement—the total absence of all shelter—the chilling cold—the mud—the absence of all fire to cook the food, by no means inviting from its soiled condition—officers and men sitting on their fallen tents and striving to keep their few articles of clothing and bedding together, by huddling them beneath the flapping canvas—with, at intervals, driving showers of hail and rain, or snow—all combined to make up a scene of abject discomfort, happily not often experienced even in camp life. Though not so fatal in its consequences, it presented for a time all the aspect of misery seen on the deck of a distressed ship at sea. The condition of the sick and wounded, exposed by the falling of the hospital tents, was especially lamentable. Happily few of the latter remained in camp; they had been all but the few casualties of the preceding day or two, which had occurred in the batteries, removed to the hospital or ships at Balaklava. The firing of the siege guns, and those from the enemy's batteries, ceased as if by mutual consent. The human strife yielded to the warring elements."

How little has been effected since by those in command, or the authorities at home, to counteract the terrible effects of such horrors as these here described, is patent to every newspaper reader!

LIGHT.

BY J. M. KNOWLTON.

Terra's beauty in the light that shines
Upon the burning earth,
That spreads the landscape for our eyes,
And gives each object its birth;
But, oh! there is a brighter light
Than that from sun or sky—
That pure and steadfast gleam that shines
Upon us from on high—
That light from him that formed the world
And bids the realm revolve;
A light that fills the fainting heart,
And reinvigorates the soul.
For, like the grateful dew that falls
Upon each herb and flower,
That gives its freshness to the sod,
Its fragrance to the breeze—
So to him that's lost in sin,
That glorious light shall come,
To lift us and bid us greet
Like the green bay-tree thorn;
To save us from eternal death,
His faith, its hopes to raise,
Until it yields its Maker's
And gives eternal praise.

A CHACK REGIMENT.—It has been remarked by a desperate and atrocious buffoon, that if a light division of our home force is wanted abroad, the best troops to send will be the Cork militia.—Punch.

THE TOM THUMB IMPOSTURE.

[From the "Critic."]

Mrs. BARNUM, the American "showman," has just published his *Memories*, in which he unblushingly gives an account of that most stupendous prodigy of human nature, General Tom Thumb. Remembering, as we do, the manner in which classes of our own society suffered themselves to be taken in by this hardened imposture, we approach this subject with a feeling akin to shame, and are forced to acknowledge that Barnum had the wit to include within one gigantic article the whole British people, from the Sovereign to the meanest of her subjects. Here is his own account of General Tom Thumb, alias Master Charles B. Stratton:—"He was only five years old, and to exhibit a dwarf of this age might provoke the question, How do you know that he is a dwarf? Since *how* would I know *with* the *fact*? but, even with this advantage, I really felt that the adventure was nothing more than an experiment, and I engaged him for the short term of four weeks at three dollars per week—all charges, including travelling and boarding of himself and mother, being at my expense. They arrived in New York on Thanksgiving-day, December 3, 1840, and Mrs. Stratton was greatly astonished to find her son harried in my Museum bills as General Tom Thumb, a dwarf of eleven years of age, just arrived from England."

And we should have been very much surprised too, if we had had so little experience of Mr. Barnum as simple Mrs. Stratton had; for here were two barefaced wifful falsehoods, put forth with the most unblushing effrontery. When Barnum published these bills he knew that Charles Stratton was only five years of age, and he had just engaged him at Bridgeport. Commenting upon the fact, in very coolly admits that his announcement contained two deceptions; but that he may be allowed to plead the extenuating circumstance that, if he had announced him as only five years of age, it would have been impossible to excite the interest or awaken the curiosity of the public.

The dodge took, and the speculation was eminently successful. In a very short time the engagement runs from three dollars per week to twenty-five, and not long afterwards an agreement was signed, under which the General was taken on lease for a year, to be exhibited in Europe at the rate of fifty dollars per week, and all expenses.

In February, 1844, Barnum and General Tom Thumb landed at Liverpool, and lost no time in proceeding to London. The fame of the General had gone before him. Barnum relates that the first gleam of sunshine which came to him in England was a note from Madame Cécile, offering him a private box at the Liverpool theatre. The next gleam was the appearance of Mr. Maddox, of the Princess's Theatre, who came down to Liverpool (as all great managers do) ready, "with a view to making an engagement" his offers were closed with, and Tom Thumb appeared in Oxford Street for three months (to use Mr. Barnum's own significant words), "as a rare advertisement." "The news was out that General Tom Thumb was on the tapis, as an unparalled curiosity; and it only remained for me to bring him before the public (on my own hook, in my own time and way)." How this time and way went about, and was managed by the astute showman, is very well known in this country. Barnum states that he took "a furnished house in Great-street, Bond Street, West End, in the centre of fashion. Lord Brougham and half-a-dozen families of

Figure 16. Reynolds's Miscellany covered the Crimea War as it unfolded during the publication of Omar ("Camp Scene in the Crimea," Reynolds's Miscellany, 3 Mar. 1855, 80).

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

No. 330. Vol. XIII.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1855.

[PRICE ONE PENNY]



OMAR: A TALE OF THE WAR.

BY GEORGE W. M. REYNOLDS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVIEW.

THE territory known by the name of Croatia, is divided into two provinces—one belonging to the Turkish dominions, and the other to the Austrian. With the exception of Dalmatia, Austrian Croatia forms the most southern part of that huge empire which from a comparatively mean and insignificant Arch-duchy a few centuries back, has grown into such heterogeneous, colossal, but unwieldy proportions. Austrian Croatia is washed on its western shore by the Adriatic Sea; it is a mountainous district—its inhabitants are a wild and warlike race—and their religion is chiefly that of the Greek Church. They are therefore generally included amongst those nations or tribes which bear the denomination of Schismatic Christians. They endure the Austrian yoke with impatience, and would perhaps rise in a desperate attempt to hurl it off altogether, if the system of despotism were strained to the same extent as in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire. Croatia is under the authority of a governor bearing the denomination of Ban, and who is alike the supreme military and civil chief in that province. The principal towns are Carlstadt and Agram,—both situated in the interior of the country, and both having at different times been made the seat of the local government.

Our tale opens in the year 1830. It was a fine morning in the month of June, when all Carlstadt was alive with bustle and activity; for the Ban of Croatia was to hold a review on a wide plain in the neighbourhood of the city. There was at that time in the province a larger assemblage of the regular Aus-

trian troops than had been usual for some years past, on account of some manifestations of discontent which the Croats had exhibited at certain apprehended encroachments on their privileges by the Ban. The present review, therefore, was not so much intended as a mere military spectacle, as for a demonstration of the numerical strength of the regular Austrian forces in the province, and their superiority in this respect over the provincial regiments composed of native Croats. The present Ban was by no means popular; he was a thorough Austrian, not merely by birth, but likewise by his sympathies with that rigid system of despotism which, emanating from Vienna, was everywhere strained to the extreme degree of tension that the respective provinces were likely to endure. The Ban of whom we are speaking, and who was newly appointed to the Croatian government, appeared inclined to stretch the tyranny of Austrian domination to a greater degree than his predecessor; hence the discontent amongst the population—a discontent which was believed to be spreading amidst the ranks of the provincial regiments themselves. Hence also the concentration of the large body of regular Austrian troops at Carlstadt, and the grand military demonstration which was now to take place.

Nevertheless, it was a holiday with the inhabitants of Carlstadt; and by ten o'clock in the morning numbers of persons of all classes, as well as of both sexes, might be seen wending their way towards the plain where the review was to be held. There were a few lumbering old-fashioned carriages to be seen toiling along the road, attended by domestics in equally antiquated liveries, and of course conveying the aristocracy of Carlstadt. There were several fine horses bearing handsome-looking cavaliers and well-dressed ladies; the men and women of the burgher class proceeded on foot,—often mingling with the still more numerous shoals of the inferior orders, between whom and themselves there was no very strongly drawn line of social demarcation. There was much richness of costume amongst the higher grades; the burgher class might be

said to be the most soberly and unassumingly clad of all; while the attire of the lower orders was characterized by a picturesque variety. For their manly athletic forms, as well as for natural symmetry of the female shape—for masculine looks where frankness blended with courage and resolution, and for feminine attractions where large dark lustrous eyes gave an unspeakable animation to well-formed features and olive complexion with the rich blood warmly mantling through—the eye of the observer might have sought the inferior grade of those multitudes that were thronging towards the scene of the military demonstration.

The air was filled with the hum of countless voices, together with that peculiar melody, deep and rich, which characterize the laughter of Croatian women of the lumbering spheres,—until presently a stern, and perhaps in some sense a more inspiring music began to roll upon the ear, as the several regiments, with their bands playing, advanced from different points towards the spot of general concentration. It had been mutually ordered by his Excellency the Ban that the regular Austrian troops should advance from one side of the town and the Croatian regiments from the other,—so that the inhabitants, while proceeding along the road, should, on looking to the right, be struck with the great numerical superiority of the former over the latter, which might be seen upon the left. And it was not for the population alone that this marked discrepancy was thus purposely rendered so prominent; the design was likewise to convince the Croatian troops themselves that they would have no chance, if rebelliously inclined to obey the impulse of discontent, and at any time to dare a collision with the regular imperial soldiary.

The plain was reached by the troops; the regiments speedily took up the proper positions; and through a junction was thus effected between the Austrian regulars and the Croatian corps, yet there was no intermingling distribution of the regiments—but when the line was formed, the Austrian force constituted the

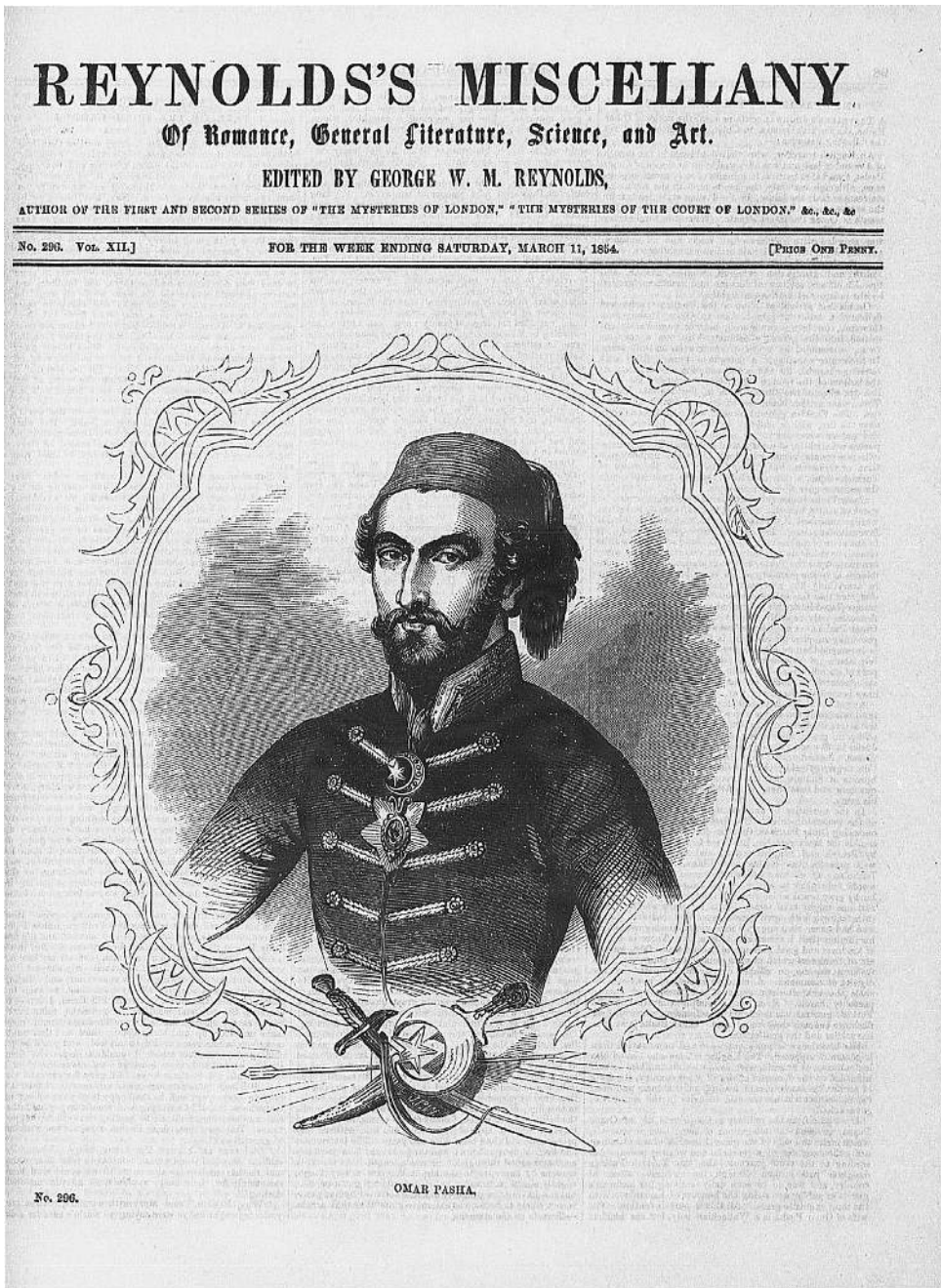
Figure 17. Omar opens with an illustration much like those used in news coverage of the war (*Reynolds's Miscellany*, 6 Jan. 1855, 369).

Reynolds apologizes for including so much “purely historical” material in a novel, but it is clear that, if he fears boring his readers, he nevertheless wishes to shape their responses in politically salient ways (*Omar* 262). The Reynolds brand tied together *Omar*, *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, and *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, ensuring that, in spite of Reynolds’s apology, *Omar* presented itself as a credible, reality-based recounting of the war, though an unusually lively one.

Reynolds’s decision to focus his novel on Omar Pasha, the Turkish general, immediately suggests the novel’s intent. A key signifier in the class-specific analysis promoted by the populist press, Omar marked a dividing line between the English establishment and radical politics. Along with its more general excoriation of aristocratic incompetence, *Reynolds’s Newspaper* repeatedly held up Omar as a true hero, unlike England’s incompetent generals (Figure 18). The organization of his forces is “acknowledged to be perfect in every respect,” Reynolds claims, adding that the English army’s usual fortifications would “bear no comparison” (“A Scene”). *Reynolds’s Newspaper* assures its readers that England is alone in failing to honor Omar – “on the Continent, the Pasha’s name is mentioned with profoundest respect in all military circles” (“Omar Pasha and General Williams”) – a neglect it characterizes as “inexpressibly mean” and motivated by jingoistic “envy” (“Omar Pasha’s Victory,” “Omar Pasha – The Betrayal of Kars”). These articles shift readers’ investment to Omar as the exemplar of heroism and honor. Reynolds further encourages this shift by aligning Omar with European populist heroes. Though the novel generally occupies the first page of the *Miscellany*, it is twice displaced by profiles of the European patriots Mazzini and Kossuth, creating a lineage of political *imagoes* that includes Omar (Figures 19, 20, and 21). Emphasizing the roles of Kossuth and Mazzini in the 1848 uprisings, the profiles remind readers of this moment of international brotherhood and suggest that it might be a precursor to similar revolts against the tyrants of the Crimea. Narratively and visually, the novel underscores this connection when a ghost who appeared in 1848 to signal the death of a despotic Prussian king returns to haunt his descendant in 1855 (Figure 22).

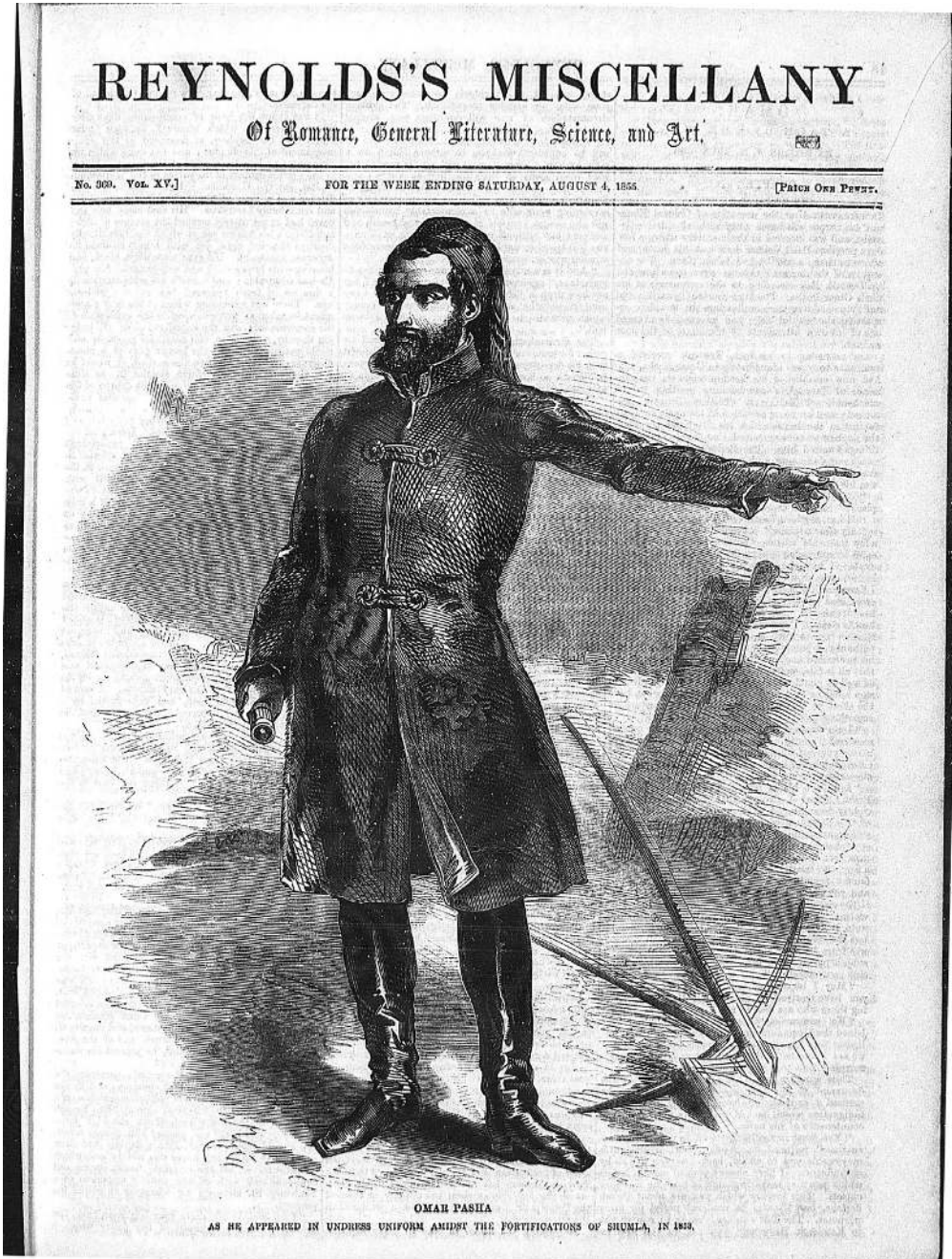
In contrast to over-privileged English generals, Omar occupies a lower rung of the social hierarchy and expresses the populist solidarity that goes with it. A “subaltern” who is above “national prejudices,” he eagerly joins a foreign army to confront Austrian imperialism (Reynolds, *Omar* 2). As in *Leila* and *The Loves of the Harem*, the egalitarian institutions of the Other East shame England. Omar does not need to be an aristocrat, or even a Turk, to command the Turkish army because “promotion was rewarded to merit and . . . the humblest individual might hope to rise to the loftiest position – inasmuch as no patrician exclusiveness or hereditary privilege usurped the monopoly on all posts of honour and distinction as the aristocracy does in other countries” (11) (Figure 23). Unlike the English army, which reproduced the class system and alienated ordinary soldiers, this army welcomes anyone who shares its idealistic goals.³⁵ Along with his military triumphs, Omar molds his men into his own image, urging them to lay aside partisan attachments and enter fully into the community of the army. Only by recognizing the abilities of their fellow soldiers can they promote the army’s ideals. He fulfills the role of *imago* by modeling not only expert generalship but also interpersonal ethics. As he counsels a particularly hard case, “to be generous is to be just” (160).

The hard case is Sidney Hazlewood, an English officer, who, if not the villain of the novel, nevertheless has a lot to learn. His Englishness is his problem: he is xenophobic, envious, arrogant, and elitist, exemplifying all the qualities Reynolds reviles in his news reports about



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Figure 18. Before the publication of the novel, the real Omar was presented as a military hero (“Omar Pasha: A Personal Sketch,” *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 11 Mar. 1854, 97).



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Figure 19. Omar on the first page of an issue of *Reynolds's Miscellany* during the novel's publication (*Reynolds's Miscellany*, 4 Aug. 1855, 17).

REYNOLDS'S MISCELLANY

Of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art.

No. 885. VOL. XV.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1855.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.]



JOSEPH MAZZINI.

THE political and progressive life of a whole nation during the last twenty years has rested in the thoughts and actions of this extraordinary man. Amidst all the admirable and noble spirits brought under the actual view of our generation, he stands pre-eminently foremost—a type of moral and intellectual genius and strength. Insaturated with the grand conception of Italian republicanism unity, his whole soul, in harmony with the prophetic and sublime spirit of Dante, has been consecrated to the realization of that stupendous work. Stupendous, not from any intrinsic difficulty existing in the Italian people—but from the magnitude of the interests arrayed against Italian independence, and the utter unscrupulousness with which every means, however cruel or base, is employed on behalf of those interests. The varied life of Mazzini throughout exhibits the continued and uninterupted application of his brilliant powers to the cause which he has proclaimed to his countrymen. Detestation of the Austrian domination needed not to be taught; union and enlightenment were the great lessons to be learned. Accordingly, we find everywhere in the political writings of Mazzini, the inculcation of the necessity of those great truths. It had been the policy of the foreign conquerors, and it became the policy of native governments,

to foster petty provincial jealousies, and destroy, by dividing, the political energies of the people. Mazzini has proclaimed to the twenty-six millions of people constituting the inhabitants of Italy, that they are one people, by community of language, habits, traditions, and aspirations, and that they should set their life in Europe and the world as one great nation. He is thoroughly, intensely democratic in his nature, manners, and convictions. "God and the people!" (*Dieo et il popolo!*) has always been his device, significative of his reverential aspiration to the Deity and of his belief in the unity of Humanity.

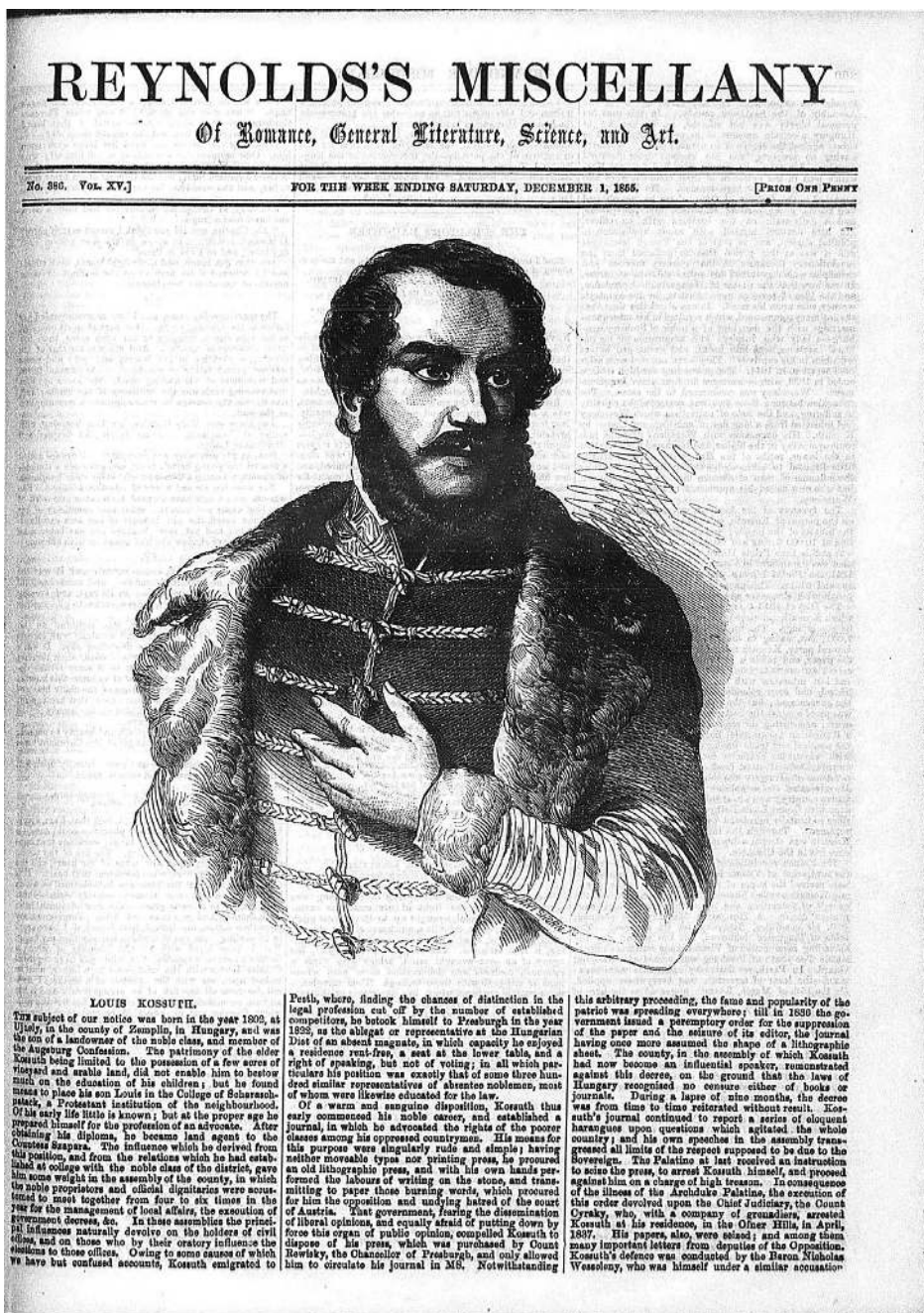
Mazzini is the truest exemplification of Genius; we know, his mind being poetical and logical in the highest degree; everything he says, everything he does, being said and done in the best possible manner, and showing him equally the man of action and of thought. No man can look upon him and question his genius; it is instinctively evidenced in every look, word, and motion. With all his strength of conviction, he is ever the most forbearing, generous, and gentle of opponents; and had he every money in his power he would not cause one of them a moment's pain, unless he saw that his duty to God and the people demanded it. He is absolutely dead to hatred, as he is to vanity or ambition. All he undertakes or attempts, he enters into without a personal

consideration. We do not believe that the consideration of personal comfort or discomfort ever arises in his mind, when in contemplation of any of the great actions of his life. If we are told that we have been painting a prodigy of goodness, strength, and genius, we frankly declare that Mazzini possesses all these attributes in the highest degree we can conceive.

Mazzini was born in Genoa, in 1805, and is therefore now forty-six years of age. His father was a physician, and Medical Professor in the university of that town, and was somewhat eminent and successful in both avocations. He had little sympathy with the views of his illustrious son; but nevertheless, it is believed that his paternal feeling and pride found gratification in the contemplation of the pure and devoted career of the founder of *La Giovine Italia* ("Young Italy"). The father died about seven years ago, leaving a widow, the mother of Mazzini, devoted to her son, and truly appreciating his noble character, and the importance of the work in which he is engaged. Mazzini was educated at the University of Genoa, for the law. From boyhood he felt bitterly the degradation of his country, and from the earliest period the regeneration of Italy filled all his thoughts. In the year 1820 a remarkable article, entitled *Amor patrio di Dante* ("Love for the Country of Dante"), appeared in the *Antologia*, a magazine pub-

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Figure 20. Mazzini takes over ("Joseph Mazzini," *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 24 Nov. 1855, 273).



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Figure 21. Kossuth takes over the first page of *Reynolds's Miscellany* during the novel's publication ("Louis Kossuth," *Reynolds's Miscellany*, 1 Dec. 1855, 189).

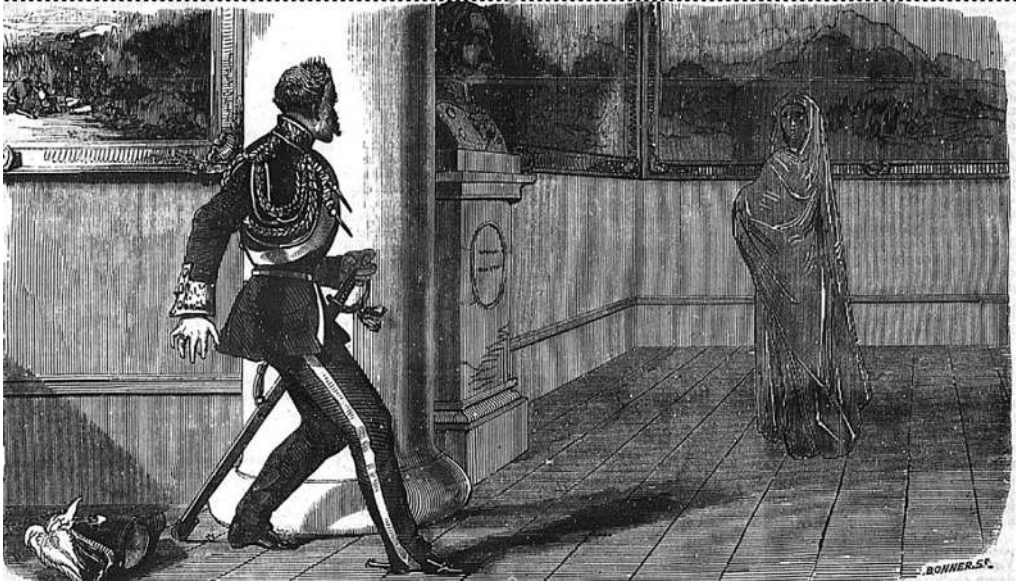


Figure 22. The ghost of 1848 reappears in 1855 (Reynolds, *Omar* 289).

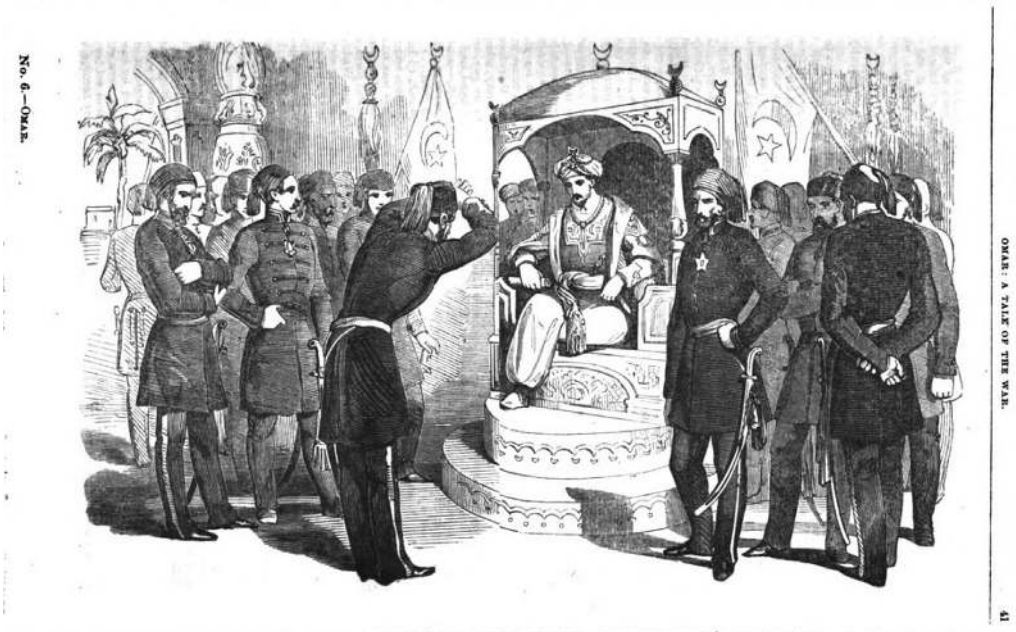


Figure 23. The Turkish sultan selects Omar to command his forces (Reynolds, *Omar* 41).



Figure 24. Disguised as Gustave, a member of the Zoave regiment, Catherine saves Hazlewood's life (Reynolds, *Omar* 165).

English generals. Competing with the French officer Adrian Delancey for the hand of the lovely Eloise Cuthbert, Hazlewood has ample opportunity to display his character: while Delancey is all fairness and openness, Hazlewood is ever on the lookout for “mean, paltry, insignificant” ways to undermine his “chivalrous” rival, in spite of the former’s inconvenient habit of saving his life (Reynolds, *Omar* 84).³⁶ He is equally contemptuous of Gustave, a member of the Zouave regiment (a French division made up mostly of Algerians) who acts as his servant. Though, again, Hazlewood owes Gustave his life, he cannot imagine befriending someone who is so far his inferior in race, class, and nationality (Figure 24). (The fact that both characters need to save his life in order to budge him even a little from his chauvinism suggests just how entrenched, even constitutive, it is.) Hazlewood’s English pride threatens the cohesion of the army when, dissatisfied with a military assignment, he draws his sword on Tewarik, Omar’s nephew and second-in-command. His strong sense of national identity is dysfunctional, reproducing the dangerous antagonisms of the war within the army itself (Figure 25).

Confirming the alienating qualities of the English, General Cuthbert, Eloise’s father, is horrified by her love for a Frenchman, since he considers the French “one of the natural enemies of the British nation” (Reynolds, *Omar* 37).³⁷ Displaying his twin statues of Wellington and the defeated Napoleon at Waterloo in a nationalistic shrine, he is “an Englishman to his very backbone – English in all his ideas and habits – English in his opinions, in his pride, and his sympathies – and English too in his prejudices” (35). The repetition of “English” captures the reified quality of his character: one-dimensional, dependent on

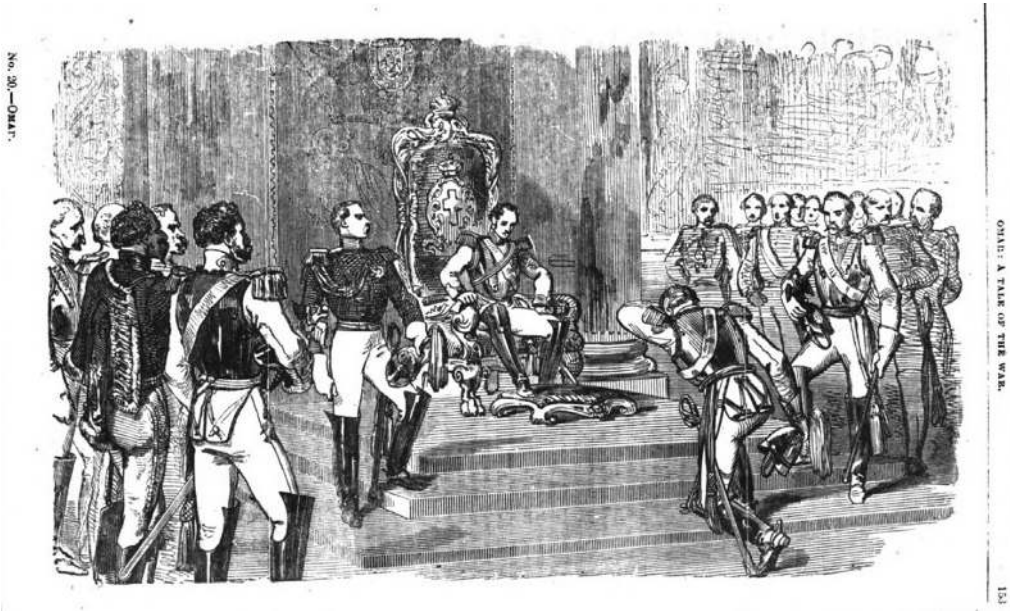


Figure 25. Hazlewood asks Omar's forgiveness for his transgressions (Reynolds, *Omar* 153).

fetishized props, phobic about national others. In *Omar*, this is what national identity has come to.

In contrast to the jingoistic fixity of the English, *Omar* offers a different *kind* of identity. A remarkable mixture of different national and religious identifications, and speaking multiple languages, Omar is a prime example. Beginning the novel as Theodore Lattos, a Christian living in the Austrian section of Croatia, he crosses the border into Turkish-occupied Croatia to fight Austria and its Christian allies. Delighted by the cosmopolitanism of Constantinople, with its “population of Turks, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, and Franks” (Reynolds, *Omar* 11), Lattos adopts the name “Omar” to start his new life. Born a Christian, he declares himself willing to “make any sacrifice – even that of creed itself – in order to have an opportunity of someday fighting against the Austrians” (15), but he follows Christian “conduct” with his monogamous marriage (29). Religion is an identification rather than a fixed identity: Omar’s “sacrifice” implies an attachment to Christianity but one he is willing to put aside to become, mostly, a Muslim, while retaining one of Christianity’s central tenets. His nephew Tewarik, also named Theodore as a Christian living in Austrian Croatia, likewise changes his name, nationality, and religion. As in *The Loves of the Harem*, it is possible to change religion instrumentally and even to semi-change it to follow a hybrid set of practices. These characters are creatures of chosen affiliations and identifications – sequential, partial, and layered.

Gustave is another example of this kind of identity, and his membership in the French/Algerian regiment is not the half of it. Gustave, it turns out, is really Catharine, a Polish woman who, in a labyrinthine plot twist that is extreme even for penny fiction, is actually Hazlewood’s wife, whom he abandoned in search of a more elite mate. Catharine

models a flexible identity: a woman disguised as a man, a multilingual traveler, a Pole disguised as a member of a hybrid French/Algerian regiment allied with the Turkish army. It is poetic justice that Hazlewood finally acknowledges his marriage to Catharine, a national other who, like Omar, has much to teach him about his English hubris, just as it is appropriate that the novel bestows Eloise on Delancey the Frenchman. These mixed marriages repudiate the xenophobia of “English . . . English . . . English” and ensure the hybridity of the next generation.

Moreover, Catharine’s Polishness is not really a national identity in the traditional sense since, as the novel reminds its readers, Poland has been “blotted as a nationality from the map of Europe by Russia” (Reynolds, *Omar* 132). Rather than locking her in a reified position, Catharine’s Polishness is a notional status that leads her to identify with other beleaguered people. When her father complains that their family has been “stripped of our estates – beggared – . . . [and exiled] from our native soil” – a plight that would have resonated with post-Enclosure Acts working-class readers – Catharine sees their dispossession as the grounds for identification with others, a paradoxically international nationalism. “We are Poles” she tells her father, urging him to express his indignation by joining the Turks in “the cause of patriotism” against the Russians (150). Her “patriotism” consists of fealty to an ideal of freedom rather than a particular territory. In *Omar*, this imaginary Poland is the best kind of nation precisely because, freeing its people from the rigidity of birthright citizenship, it enables transnational attachments.

In this respect, it resembles the unlikely incarnation of such a community: Omar’s army. While characters (mostly) retain some marker of their national origin, they must submerge that loyalty in their military membership. Contemplating the French and English banners flying “in the same breeze,” Delancey counsels Hazlewood, “our hands ought to join in a true fraternal clasp, and our hearts ought to be united by the firmest bonds” (Reynolds, *Omar* 84). Delancey’s assertion recalls the flag-sharing, hand-clasping fraternal sentiment with which European and English radicals celebrated the abdication of Louis Philippe in 1848. In Omar’s army as in that real encounter, national banners exist to signal alliance, not separation and competition. With only the most meager tokens of their origins, the army’s irregulars, its fiercest fighting unit, exemplify the ideals of the army as they march together in a kind of diversity parade:

Some were appareled in a semi-European, semi-Asiatic fashion – others altogether in the primitive Asiatic style, with full ballooning breeches, caftan, and turbans. . . . Their countenances were as diversified as their costumes. There was the fairer European Turk – there was the darker Asiatic – there the still swarthier Moslem from the Levantine Isles of the African coast. (166)

The army itself becomes a model for multi-national cooperation.

Clearly, this community departs from the elitist, nationalistic ethos imputed to the English aristocracy. What is more surprising is that it also dispenses with the imagined England of radical politics, whose unchanging roster of insiders and outsiders stretched back to ancient Saxon culture. Omar’s army exists within the temporal flow of history, accepting new members and reorganizing its structure as the need arises. In perhaps the most dramatic departure from the dominant conventions of penny fiction and the working class political imaginary, the setting of the Crimean War disenchant “the land” into a collection of strategic territories. This point is underscored by the status of Omar Pasha’s birthplace, Croatia. Split

in two and occupied by both Austria and Turkey, it is part of the modern world of geo-political conflict rather than an ancient homeland whose enduring metaphysical meaning confers an identity on its inhabitants. Likewise, the army sets its boundaries in non-territorial terms. It is always on the move, marching from battle to battle, with temporary encampments but without a home.

What holds the army together is what Omar calls “moral courage,” the quality necessarily to relinquish a sense of unique worth to forge broader loyalties (Reynolds, *Omar* 159). This is the term Omar uses to urge Hazlewood to accept others who do not share his ethnicity, class, or nationality – Gustave, the Zouave servant; Catharine, the Polish wife; Delancey, the French rival. Moving beyond the formal qualifications for military service, moral courage requires the practice of specific ethical behaviors and the cultivation of new affective ties. Though Hazlewood’s physical bravery is never in doubt, he repeatedly violates the rules of group cohesion. Within the official boundaries of the army, defined by formal rights and responsibilities, is a second, unofficial community, an inner army of values and relationships. Members of this inner army consciously and voluntarily enroll themselves by demonstrating moral courage. Englishness is no longer privileged – in fact, the English are the least appealing characters in the novel, presented primarily as object lessons in the dysfunctionality of nationalism. Breaking with England, *Omar* makes an equally dramatic break with the working-class metanarrative and blood-and-soil citizenship, disidentifying with its own traditions and with the imaginary of radical politics.

Citizenship: A Thought Experiment

OMAR’S ARMY IS A DISQUIETING utopian space. There is certainly something bizarre about using a military unit as a figure of harmony; of course, it exists to destroy the armies of other nations, and it has its own reified borders, though they are not territorial. However, in his anti-Englishness, his general internationalism, his class-specific investment in the Crimean war, and his hero worship of Omar Pasha, Reynolds fashioned the Turkish fighting force into an idealized site of community. Moreover, Reynolds’s fiction may have some historical logic, for wars are among the few events large enough to compel cooperation across borders. Analyzing the forces that have begun to give rise to what he calls a global imaginary, Manfred B. Steger identifies World War II as a significant factor, in part because multi-national troops modeled, reflected, and consolidated transnational alliances (131). While *Omar*’s military utopia is hard to swallow, it may rest on a realistic sense of how such alliances could emerge in the era of nation-states.

Of course, *Omar* does not provide a functional blueprint for a populist community uniting England, Europe, and the Other East, nor did international class solidarity survive the Crimean War. After the conflict, the working classes turned their attention back to the nation, renewing their demand for suffrage.³⁸ Though the fetishization of the land continued, it was increasingly displaced by more strategic demands and alliances. Setting aside mistrust, working-class and middle-class radicals joined forces, recognizing that England could not avoid becoming a modern representative democracy and arguing that many working men had attained enough education and self-discipline to qualify for the vote.³⁹ Though it is hard to believe that these Other East novels exerted any immediate influence on radical politics, they were prescient in revising their settings, narrative conventions, and tropes away from the land, the family,

and birthright belonging, and perhaps took some part in opening this new direction. Their legacy is not historical but imaginative, as they sketch possibilities that still remain far from realization.

The value of *Omar* in particular is that it offers a provocative thought experiment as it implicitly considers what is lost when birthright belonging is given up and what could take its place. In the age of the nation-state, *Omar* fantasizes about ways of bonding people to a large public community that is *not* a nation, that actively rejects place of birth as a criterion for membership and sets boundaries in non-territorial terms. Rejecting fetishistic national identities in favor of voluntary and sometimes multiple identifications, as in the case of Omar and Catharine, its community forms around a commitment to the ideals of political freedom and intersubjective responsibility. In the distinction between physical and moral courage, *Omar* represents the distinction between membership – being an official part of a larger whole – and belonging, which implies a *feeling* of fitting into a chosen group, of affirming and being affirmed by the other members. Echoing the slogan of the French revolution, the soldier's "fraternal clasp" replaces the hereditary entitlements signified by "blood" with a voluntary recognition of mutual value and attachment. In this way, *Omar* preserves the affective dimension of national citizenship without the nation. It offers the intangible but bounded arena of the army in place of the land and the interpersonal relationships among soldiers in place of the family.⁴⁰

In doing so, *Omar* also exposes a limitation of human rights, the primary alternative to the autochthonic myth. Despite its promise, Victorian radicals never fully embraced it, perhaps because, as James Vernon suggests, its rationality lacked emotional appeal.⁴¹ It could not compete with stirring narratives of Englishness – the golden age of Saxon democracy, the drama of dispossession and restitution. After the war, the re-vamped radical strategy of promoting a certain *kind* of working man as qualified to vote – educated, responsible, self-disciplined – also marked off an irresponsible, uneducated minority that should still be excluded. This putative solution, which acquiesced to negative stereotypes and split "the people" into deserving insiders and devalued outsiders, is certainly disheartening. Priority citizenship dies hard. In its schooling of Sidney Hazlewood, *Omar* registers the difficulty of relinquishing this sense of specialness. I have called this process as "voluntary," but the word hardly captures the effort required. Omar's "moral courage" is a better descriptor because it implies the effort of will and the element of risk involved in giving up the security of autochthonic belonging.

Today, the conception of human rights has been crucial in asserting the rights of individuals living outside their home countries: immigrants, guest workers, refugees, asylum seekers. Peter Geschiere argues that, in a modern global setting, autochthonicity has no place: it is likely to be invented in order to extort resources, and, invented or not, it is "quite an empty notion" that "only expresses the claim to have come first" (28). But this narrow definition fails to take account of the satisfactions it provides, with which any alternative form will have to reckon. Geschiere himself notes that autochthonicity carries with it the powerful sense of "home," in spite of his insistence on its fictionality (29). An indispensable framework for enfranchising the disenfranchised, human rights nevertheless does not provide this sense of home. The category "human" enfranchises everyone; by virtue of its very inclusiveness, the membership it confers is abstract, unmoored to any particularity of place or identity, indifferent to interpersonal relationships. Even staunch opponents of blood-and-soil citizenship acknowledge that human rights does not satisfy the need for the

feeling of belonging; when place and birth no longer determine belonging, “the identity and self-determination that belong to bounded political membership” are also lost (Schachar 260).

As they consider the possibilities for post-national or world citizenship, citizenship theorists often turn to terms that engage the intersubjective and affective dimensions of Omar’s army. Seyla Benhabib, for instance, draws on Kant’s concept of “hospitality.” Following Kant, she is careful to distinguish this word from its commonplace meanings of “kindness” and “generosity” because they imply charity rather than mutuality, a continuation of the distinction between insiders and outsiders. What is important are the “*reciprocal moral obligations*” Kant’s hospitality involves, obligations that tie two parties together (*Rights of Others* 26). With this careful delineation, “hospitality” still carries a sense of welcome and acceptance, an active desire to share space and resources. Similarly, Margaret Somers has adapted Charles Taylor’s recognition ethics to argue for a conception of citizenship that depends on “attachments and inclusion” (7). For Somers, citizenship involves not only political membership but also “the right to *recognition* by others as a moral and social equal . . . due the same level of respect and dignity as other members” (6). I don’t intend to collapse these two terms and their implications into one another (indeed, elsewhere Benhabib is quite critical of recognition ethics as a basis for citizenship⁴²); nor do I claim that Omar’s army exemplifies either one. Rather, I see this fictional fantasy responding to roughly analogous impulses to conceive citizenship as a form of belonging, with all the emotional and psychic comfort that word implies. In the words of another contemporary theorist, citizenship must be understood as “more than a status. It is also is a feeling and a practice” (Staeheli 632).

The centerpiece of Victorian radical politics was the People’s Charter, composed of six specific suffrage demands. But around this document swirled desires and grievances that no concrete, list-able political reforms could address. In *Leila, The Loves of Harem*, especially *Omar*, these unruly impulses surfaced, even as they contradicted the most cherished beliefs of the political movement that gave rise to them. The Crimean War did not inaugurate an era of international populism, but its frustrations opened up new imaginative channels. A flashpoint where class conflict and international relations intersected, it can be seen as a “historical juncture” at which “the rules [of nationality and citizenship] and the struggles surrounding them become much more transparent and visible than at other times,” if only for a brief period and if only for the working classes (*Rights of Others* 18). Paradoxically, the historical and geographical particularities that made these novels so topical, so rooted in a narrow sliver of time and a handful of now-obscure places, also allowed them to dramatically re-map and re-imagine the world they knew.⁴³ Traveling beyond politics as usual, they suggested new possibilities precisely because of their improbability. As Berlant says, “The energy that generates this sustaining commitment to the work of undoing a world while making one *requires* fantasy to motor the program of action, to distort the present on behalf of what the present can become” (263). With implausible fantasies, these novels momentarily loosened the grip of the nation-state, imaginatively if not politically. Their imagined communities participate in a long, uneven process of rethinking the possible sites of citizenship and the affective dimension of political belonging.

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NOTES

1. See Claybaugh, Phegley et. al., Hughes and Robbins, and Gibson for examples of recent transatlantic and transnational scholarship; see also Levine's delineation of transnational literary networks (112–31).
2. Here I paraphrase McKenzie and Silver's trenchant comment, "The political culture of democratic Britain assigns to ordinary people the role, not of citizens, but of subjects" (*Angels in Marble* 251, qtd. in Nairn, *Break-Up of Britain* 29, n. 27). Also, I use the term "sons" deliberately, since the suffrage demands of radical politics did not extend to women.
3. The Crimean War has recently attracted excellent new scholarship, but this work does not acknowledge the class dimension of the war or cite radical periodicals in accounts of news coverage and public responses. For the new scholarship, see Markovits and "Charting the Crimean War." As my article suggests, the war had very different meanings for the working classes and the elite.
4. I deliberately use the term "radical politics" loosely to include the different strains of Chartism and the working-class groups that continued this legacy after the unraveling of Chartism proper after about 1850. Though agendas differed, these groups were unified by their commitment to the working-classes, their shared demand for political citizenship, and their sustained investment in the autochthonic narrative, though often alongside the competing idea of human rights, a conflict I take up later in this article. Political historians make finer distinctions, but such distinctions aren't necessary to analyze the narrative conventions of penny novels, which paint issues with a broad brush. I use "Chartist," "radical," and "populist" to refer to the political activity of the working classes in the mid-Victorian period.
5. Though this vision coincides historically with the Victorian cosmopolitanism which Anderson has explored, it diverges because it is a largely political rather than cultural phenomenon – that is, it emerged strategically to fulfill certain political aspirations rather than to experience and embrace a wide range of cultural experiences. (Reynolds's celebration of French literature falls within this cosmopolitanism but it is not a defining feature of radical politics as a whole.) To generalize from Anderson's extremely rich, wide-ranging argument, Victorian cosmopolitanism is characterized by an openness to the values and customs other cultures and a position of "reflective distance" in relation to the nation, as opposed to parochialism and ethnocentrism of a rigid nationalism (127). Its divergence from radical internationalism is clear in Anderson's discussion of John Stuart Mill, whose support of this expansive mindset ended when it "threaten[ed] national cohesion" (127). Radicals' internationalism assumed a lack of national cohesion because of class conflict and, in its most extreme form, rejected national loyalty precisely as Mill feared. Moreover, the agenda-driven specificity of English radicals' internationalism – emerging from a particular historical moment, extending only to certain nations, entered into for concrete strategic reasons, and most obviously, engaging only a specific class – also distinguished it from the more diffuse, less programmatic interactions that formed Victorian cosmopolitanism.

In the context of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the idea of cosmopolitanism as an appreciation of other cultures has been vastly complicated and expanded but not completely rejected. See for instance Appiah's idea of "cosmopolitan patriots" as "citizens of the world" (91) who balance commitment to their country of birth with a cosmopolitanism that "values human variety for what it makes possible for free individuals" (108). English radicalism was not particularly concerned with "human variety."

6. They died out in the 1860s, I suspect because the passage of the Second Reform Bill made them less important.
7. See also Rosenman, "The Virtue of Illegitimacy."
8. For an especially clear example, see King (90).
9. Several decades after Humpherys introduced Reynolds to scholars in "G.W. M. Reynolds: Popular Literature and Popular Politics," he is receiving sustained attention. Key sources are Humpherys and James' essay collection *G. W. M. Reynolds* and Haywood (see especially 162–91).

10. James reports that Reynolds's *Mysteries of London* sold over 40,000 a week, and that, when his serialized novels arrived at a climax, newsagents had to hire wagons to transport the periodicals to their shops (*Fiction* 46–47). According to Altick, Reynolds's *The Soldier's Wife* sold 60,000, and *The Bronze Soldier* sold 100,000 for the first two numbers; sales of Reynolds's works, he claims, "undoubtedly were enormous" (384). Since every part or novel had many readers – certainly more than the better-heeled readers of mainstream fiction – we can see that Reynolds's works reached an impressive audience.
11. Authors insisted that the apparent gap between readers' actual experience and penny fiction should be no obstacle to vicarious participation or to identification with a protagonist. As the author of an especially implausible gypsy story writes: "If the tale should fall under the eye of anyone who, in secret, is striving against the cold-hearted pride and *keep-him-downism* of the world, to raise himself in the scale of being – and if it should for one moment cheer him in his labours, or strengthen his resolution, then the writer will be satisfied that it has not been written in vain" ("Il Zingaro" 379).
12. Here, too, I allow myself some terminological looseness. "Primordial," "foundational," "nativist," "metaphysical," "essentialist," and "autochthonic" all refer to the same set of assumptions about the people's claim to Englishness based on their putative ancient relationship to the soil and their Anglo-Saxon heritage.
13. In fact, Saxons had a hereditary aristocracy (Hill 11).
14. See Rosenman, "On Enclosure Acts."
15. See, for instance, Chase, Vanden Bossche (75–84).
16. See, for instance, Benhabib et al. on "the power of primordialism" to promote national identity as "nonnegotiable" ("Introduction" 3); see also Nairn, *Faces* (6–9); Paul James 1–23.
17. Discussing the emergence of nationalism among colonized people – a status the working classes implicitly claimed – Anderson identifies kinship and home as the two key metaphors (143).
As I argue in "The Virtue of Illegitimacy," these characters are often the offspring of illegitimate liaisons between working-class and aristocratic parents, and thus belong to both classes. This detail is significant because it insists on the reality of a working-class identity, which would be erased in the founding plot.
18. For discussions of Reynolds's attachment to French politics and culture, see Sara James and McWilliams. Reynolds was also a node in the international circulation networks Levine discusses. He read extensive amounts of French literature, publishing a guide in *The Modern Literature of France* and basing his popular *Mysteries of London* on Eugène Sue's *Les Mystère de Paris* (1842–43). His own work was translated into French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Priya Joshi argues that "he was the most persistently popular" non-canonical novelist in India (74).
19. Thompson discusses the influence of Paine's thought and its challenge to traditional claims about Saxon heritage at length (see especially 88–98). Vernon also considers Paine's challenge to these claims, especially to the authority of a lost Saxon constitution (305–9). Like Vernon and unlike Thompson, I do not see that the "rights of man" argument definitively supplanted the nativist metanarrative in radical politics, and its promise was not realized politically. In England, unlike most European nations, suffrage reform for both men and women proceeded by lowering the property requirement bit by bit until it finally disappeared.
20. For representations of the working classes as a mob, see Mill (32), Brontë (329–38, ch.19), Gaskell (173–80, ch. 22), and Eliot (421–33, ch. 33). Assertions about working class voters swamping the rest of the electorate are quoted by Carlisle (10), Hall et al. (94), and Saunders (90, 98, 125). The metaphor was so ubiquitous that Reynolds felt the need to tackle it head-on in "The Lords and the Reform Bill," where he dismisses the idea of a legitimate electorate "swamped" by working class voters as the paranoia of "the professional howlers at democracy" in Parliament (1).
21. See also Saunders, especially 131–60.
22. See also Robert Lowery's report of the delegation (164–65).

23. Colley notes that the London Corresponding Society, forerunner of the Chartist movement, considered naming itself the Patriotic Club (336).
24. See also "Reasons for Rejoicing": "The British oligarchy has . . . come out of the struggle with flying colors" at home if not on the battlefield.
25. This colonial gloss helps to explain Reynolds's extraordinary popularity in early twentieth-century India, described by Joshi.
26. The Polish cause was a continuous thread in the radical press. *Reynolds's Miscellany* demanded as the war began: "Before the dying shriek of Poland had ceased to vibrate on the ears of Europe, should another nation have been left to be swallowed up by barbarous aggressors?" ("Glances"). See also "The Cause of Poland," "Polish Resuscitation," and Reynolds, "A Plea for Poland," for other representative examples. McLean notes that radicals maintained this closeness even when the establishment turned away from Poland (139–40) and references Chartist Ernest Jones's novel *The Maid of Warsaw* (1854), set during the Russo-Polish war (122–23).
27. See, for instance, "Glances"; see also "Omar Pasha's Victory," which praises "Turkish courage" in contrast to the weakness of "English popinjay officers."
28. *Reynolds's Newspaper* also calls Schamyl "the Prince, the Prophet, and the Hero" of popular resistance ("The Theatre of Omar Pasha's Campaign"). McLean notes that Schamyl was equally well known to middle-class readers, though his image was somewhat more complicated. Though he was recognized for his bravery, Circassia was also associated with Ireland, so that support for Schamyl might also signify a critique of England's autocratic imperial power, as in Frances Browne's poem *Star of Attéghéi* (qtd. in McLean 146).
29. For examples, see "Glances," "John Russell," "A Plea for Poland," and "The Theatre of Omar Pasha's Campaign."
30. Kossuth had good reason to despise Russia and Austria, since Russia helped Austria put down the 1848 Hungarian Revolution.
31. As Louis James writes, the novel "is vigorously anti-colonial" ("Time, Politics and the Symbolic Imagination" 199).
32. This flux also characterizes another penny novel of the Crimean war, Thomas Peckett Prest's *Schamyl*. Similarly valorizing the people of the Other East, it also rejects the nativist plot when Schamyl agrees to the marriage of his son Hamed and Catherine, a Russian woman, in spite of the fact that "the blood of the hated enemies of our country flows within her veins" (Prest 410). Russian and Circassian, Christian and Moslem wed, unexpectedly blurring the boundaries that defined friend and enemy, insider and outsider. The blood that flowed through the veins of Mary Price, Joseph Wilmot, and Allan Fearon, fixing them in families and homeplaces, is here brushed aside in favor of a voluntary, affective attachment. It is not inconsequential that Catherine wins Schamyl's favor by shooting a Russian would-be assassin, casting her lot with the freedom fighters rather than the imperialists. Here, felt loyalties and shared democratic ideals trump inherited national identities.
33. In this way, it is very different from the middle-class novels of the Crimean War discussed by Markovits, which tend to focus on the threats to English masculinity and national identity presented by this unheroic war. Analyzing the work of Charles and Henry Kingsley, she notes, "their novels about the war have a tendency to become novels about the state of things at home in England" (69).
34. "More" is the operative word here. Penny fiction is a genre in which through-lines tend to wax and wane. Markovits notes that Omar himself is often off-stage in *Omar*, attributing his absence to his marginal position in the war, but it is also true that penny fiction often sidelines central characters to proliferate subplots. For her discussion of Omar as a non-hero, see 64–65.
35. The English army granted officers comforts and conveniences unavailable to soldiers, whose living conditions were said to be worse than those of servants and convicts ("Army"). Moreover, in earlier decades, volunteer soldiers stationed in particular locales developed greater solidarity with the local poor than with their officers and regiment (Colley 316–17). Colley also notes that, after the Napoleonic wars, returning soldiers "were clearly angry at returning home to poverty and neglect," having risked

- their lives for their country, and sees some of the energy of radical politics emerging from the dissonance between military service and disenfranchisement (321).
36. This idealized French character is also part of the distinctive perspective of working-class discourse, given the prevalence of anti-French sentiment in canonical novels. As Moretti argues, France is the anti-country against which England defines itself (29, 73). Reynolds' political and cultural Francophilia makes itself felt here.
 37. Cuthbert has apparently been reading his Moretti, especially regarding the role of the Napoleonic Wars in cultivating English Francophobia.
 38. See Saunders for a consideration of how and why Parliament took up suffrage reform after mid-century (see especially 79–130).
 39. See especially McClelland.
 40. Of course, “fraternal” also carries the echo of the family, though it foregrounds more flexible horizontal rather than hierarchical attachments.
 41. Vernon emphasizes the role of an imagined Saxon constitution rather than conceptions of the land, so his focus is different from mine, but I share his sense that the mythologizing of the historical past is a crucial element of the appeal of radical politics. Vernon sees Paine's influence as limited for this reason (see especially 319).
 42. Benhabib critiques recognition for leveling real needs, claims, and power differentials among competing groups, and for muting other concerns such as the distribution of resources (*Claims of Culture*, see especially 49).
 43. Of course, these forgotten places could quickly reassert themselves, as recent events in the Crimea demonstrate.

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