Perceptions of Childhood in the Victorian *Fin-de-Siècle*

Perceptions of Childhood in the Victorian *Fin-de-Siècle*

By

Jennifer Sattaur



Perceptions of Childhood in the Victorian Fin-de-Siècle, by Jennifer Sattaur

This book first published 2011

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2011 by Jennifer Sattaur

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-4438-2688-X, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-2688-4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Chapter One	. 13
Chapter Two	
Chapter Three	. 55
Chapter FourChildhood and Empire: <i>The Jungle Books</i> and the Savage Child	. 79
Chapter Five The Uncanny Child: <i>The Turn of the Screw</i>	105
Chapter Six	127
Conclusion	149
Bibliography	153
Index	163

INTRODUCTION

CHANGE AND CHILDHOOD

This book attempts a reading of Victorian fin de siècle literature through the medium of perceptions of childhood. It seeks to examine a connection between monstrous and idealistic symbolic representations of childhood represented by some of the cultural discourses of the Victorian fin-desiècle. Specifically, anxieties about change are linked closely to anxieties about childhood, procreation, and maturation in a range of Children's and Adults' texts from the 1860s to the 1890s. The adult texts examined are Stevenson's Jekyll and Hyde (1885), in which I examine the connection between childhood and evolution through images of the monstrous child; George MacDonald's Lilith (1895), in which I examine childhood and spirituality through images of the suffering child; Henry James' Turn of the Screw (1898), in which I examine childhood and psychology through images of the uncanny child. The children's texts include Oscar Wilde's The Happy Prince and Other Tales (1888), in which childhood and aestheticism are examined through images of the idealised child; Kipling's The Jungle Books (1894), in which childhood and anthropology are examined through images of the savage child; Hillaire Belloc's Cautionary Tales for Children (1907) in which childhood and education are explored through images of the criminal child. In doing so, this book hopes to demonstrate the ways in which some of the emergent social movements which have come to define and represent change in the fin-de-siècle period were inherently concerned with the ideas of childhood and parenthood and the ways in which they represented both the promise and the threat of the future. The texts are arranged by theme, and grouped according to whether they are seen primarily as intended for children, or for adults. In texts intended for adult readers, images of childhood tend to be more covert and more metaphorical than those texts aimed at child readers, in which overt pedagogical concerns are often brought to bear. This introduction takes a brief look at the field of children's literature, and its importance in relation to perceptions of childhood both in the Victorian fin-de-siècle period, before giving a brief break-down of their usage in the chapters that follow.

The Victorian Era and Perceptions of Childhood

If one is going to look at perceptions of childhood, it makes sense to understand something of the genre of children's literature, and its critical issues and concerns. Doing so not only provides a second perspective on such perceptions, but also indicates some of the ways in which an understanding of such a perspective is important for the study of both Victorian and children's literature, and for the study of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth attitudes towards childhood. The genre of children's literature, having experienced something of a "golden era" in the Victorian period, is a rich and relatively untapped field of literature when it comes to an examination of the social themes and trends of that era. It is therefore worth examining some of the ways in which this genre has been and is usually approached.

It is very clear that when it comes to literary criticism, there is a vast gap between the methodology and concerns applied to literature for adults and that applied to literature for children. Part of this has to do with the fact that children have very little to do with the genre of children's literature. Valerie Krips, for example observes that:

Children's literature bears the unmistakable traces of the social relations that construct it. Written, published and generally bought by adults for children, the genre adjusts to the dimensions and particularities of its market as it fashions itself for an ever-renewed audience, an audience which comprises not just the child but the adult too.¹

Speaking particularly of modern children's literature and the publishing industry, Jack Zipes says: "Children's literature *per se* does not exist. Literature intended for young readers is always written for the author him or her self and for editors", while Sarah Gilead agrees, particularly stressing the importance of the adult's involvement in the shaping of the genre: "Even its child-directed products reflect the adult writer's intentions and satisfy adult readers' notions about children's tastes and needs, as well as fulfilling the needs of the adult societies to which the children belong". Essentially what this means is that the genre can at times get away with taking very little account of "real" children and the "real" condition of childhood (as opposed the adult *image* of the child and of childhood). The

¹ V. Krips. "Imaginary Childhoods." Critical Quarterly 39.3 (1997): 42-50. p. 45.

² J. Zipes. *Breaking the Magic Spell*. 2nd ed. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2002. p. 207.

³ S. Gilead. "Magic Abjured." *PMLA* 106.2 (1991): 277-93. p. 277.

profound connection that exists between text and (child) reader is fragmented in children's literature, as an adult perception continually gets in the way. One way in which this has frequently been addressed in criticism is by applying more sociological and psychological methodologies to critiques of children's culture: education, child psychology, and library studies have led the way in closing the gap between children's texts and the concerns and contexts of "real" childhood. What I propose in this study instead, however, is to examine precisely that adult image which often gets in the way. This image is as important to the genre as the "real" child is, as it is an image which is involved in every stage of the life-cycle of children's literature.

The gap between children's and adults' literature, consists largely in the particular attitude prevalent in our society towards children themselves, and consequently their status as readers. Famously, Jacqueline Rose describes the problem of the "audience" of children's literature by referring to the "Impossibility of Children's Fiction" and says that: "Children's fiction rests on the idea that there is a child who is simply there to be addressed and that speaking to it might be simple. It is an idea whose innocent generality covers up a multitude of sins." Barbara Wall also discusses the problem of what a "children's book" really is in the introduction to *The Narrator's Voice*5, while Stephen Heath, in "Childhood Times" says the following:

Culturally ... the child is conceived as the very embodiment of the ideal and the reflection of some unchanging and inviolable value (with the treatment of children taken as supreme indication of the societies' moral health and fitness) and the adult recognises childhood as ground and goal, the certainty of his or her own value, a freedom of self (both the enjoyment of the desired ideal self and release from the constraints of the socially interactive and constrained adult self...)⁶

The idea of childhood as a state that can be reached by adults only vicariously, through memory and through contact with children, contributes in part to the attitude we hold towards children. If we remember the best about our childhoods, we wish to give children the same, and if we remember the worst, we wish to protect children from what was unpleasant for us. It is not surprising, therefore, that the child as

⁴ J. Rose. *The Case of Peter Pan, or*, *The Impossibility of Children's Fiction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992. p. 1.

 ⁵ B. Wall. *The Narrator's Voice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991.
 ⁶ S. Heath. "Childhood Times." *Critical Quarterly* 39.3 (1997): 16-27. p. 18.

an "other" is an often idealised image of what we feel children *ought* to be like.

Furthermore, roughly attributable to the Romantic era and the writings of Rousseau and other educational reformers like him, the child has been perceived in part, if not in whole, as a *tabula rasa*, and the temptation to mould, influence, and carefully shape is potentially overwhelming for any adult in a position to do so. Valerie Krips says: "From its inception it was well nigh understood that children's literature was a mechanism for socializing the child", while according to Nicholas Tucker "Children's literature ... will always be picked on more often than adult books for its possible bad effects, reflecting society's desire to produce future generations in the mirror of its own more positive values, but without its faults". Speaking more specifically of the importance of children's literature for the nineteenth century *fin de siècle*, Jenny Bourne Taylor says:

the child... as a being which, standing on the boundary between "here" and "elsewhere", and linking the present with the past and the future, turns the lens on the ways in which childhood was simultaneously understood as a crucially problematic social category and as a state of inner consciousness, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The genre of children's literature, therefore, can reveal a great deal about the prevalent attitudes towards childhood in many eras; as this study attempts to show, the attitudes which have shaped the genre of children's literature, commonly assumed to be relevant *only* to that genre, are in fact just as prevalent in other literatures of the same period and have much to tell us about the social conditions of their time: in this case the unfolding of the Victorian *fin-de-siècle*.

Children's literature, as a genre, saw its "golden age" in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, from roughly the 1860s until the first World War, and as such, a large proportion of the books considered as children's "classics" were written during the Victorian era. It is widely accepted that a shift in the perception of childhood roughly coincided with, and was a part of, the Romantic movement. As Kimberley Reynolds says:

⁷ "Imaginary Childhoods." p. 43.

⁸ N. Tucker. *The Child and the Book.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. p. 214.

⁹ Taylor, J. B. "Between Atavism and Altruism." p.90 In: Lesnik-Oberstein, K. *Children in Culture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998. pp. 89-121.

It is not true (though often said) that the Victorians invented childhood as we know it, or even that theirs was the first period simultaneously to idolise and resent its children ... However, in the course of Queen Victoria's long and full reign (1837-1901) the middle and upper classes evolved a more self-conscious and sustained myth of childhood than any that had gone before ... this celebratory attitude to childhood came to prominence in the middle years of the century; the very moment when *fin de siècle* parents were entering the world. ¹⁰

Christine Sutphin speaks of the evangelical notion that "children were tainted by original sin and must be closely controlled in order to save their souls" 11, an idea closely associated with earlier Puritan views of childhood. Where previously the child had been considered as an entity in preparation for adulthood, naturally corrupt and ripe for correction and instruction at the earliest opportunity, in line with works such as Rousseau's Emile and the poetry of Wordsworth and Blake the child became the emblem of innocence and purity, naturally perfect and in need of protection from the corruptions of growing-up¹². Both of these concepts of childhood remained prevalent, and in tension. Sarah Gilead says: "Since the Romantics, the conceptual status of the child has been unstable. The child as embodiment of the creative imagination does not easily comport with the traditional notion of the child as naturally subject to superior adult authority". 13 Whether one sees the child as in need of protection or in need of stern correction, however, the end product remains a tendency to control, perhaps even manipulate, the child. This includes, of course, children's reading material.

Books for children, then, found their characteristic traits being shaped by the era in which they became a popular genre. While children were still considered as adults in the making, very little specialised literature existed for them. However, once the idea of the child as separate, special, unique and "other" had set in, a genre of literature which was also "other" and tailored to their uniqueness was needed.

There was throughout the nineteenth century a move towards books intended to give pleasure as well as (or in spite of, or even without)

¹⁰ K. Reynolds. *Children's Literature in the 1890s and the 1990s*. Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994. pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Christine Sutphin. "Victorian Childhood." p. 54. In: Karin Lesnik-Oberstein. *Children's Literature: New Approaches*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. pp. 51-77.

pp. 51-77.

12 For a more indepth discussion of this trend, see F. J. Harvey Darton's *Children's Books in England*, one of the classic works on this subject.

13 "Magic Abjured." p. 281.

instruction. Other conventions, such as the "cleaning up" of disturbing elements, the construction of happy endings, the inclusion of child protagonists and perspectives, the use of simpler language and black and white situations – that is, situations where the choices presented are easy to separate into "good" and "bad" – and a greater use of fantasy, became standards suited particularly to keeping the child innocent and imaginative. Thus, the very basic foundations of the genre – which, although challenged consistently by more progressive writers throughout the history of children's literature, have remained the starting point for the bulk of contemporary books written for children – have their roots in the values of the Victorian era, and particularly in Romanticism and its after effects.

Furthermore, the trend for moral regulation in literature meant that the idealist outlook of parents found both an outlet and a market. Claudia Nelson explains:

[T]he didacticism of Victorian children's authors ... who assume – or at least evince a willingness to cater to parents' assumption – that fiction for the young should be morally uplifting, does not distinguish them from artists addressing an adult audience. At least in theory, what art's midcentury patrons wanted to sponsor ... was art with a substantial moral component ... the state of the mid-Victorian art market ... commodified and profited from a moral uplift that was supposed to remain untainted by commercialism.¹⁴

Unfortunately, children's literature as an established genre has its roots specifically in commercialism – at least in the West. Its development coincided closely with the rise of the middle-classes, industry and capitalism, and the children's book, as we are familiar with the product, became established very much as a commodity for the leisured classes. As ingrained as the tendency to treat children as a special category of "other" became, that tendency was also a marketable one, and has remained so. The concern most parents naturally have for their children, and the concern of society with the production of the next generation, have made adults more than willing to pump money into books for their children which promote those interests, and therefore publishers remain eager to publish such books.

It is left to the historians of childhood studies to debate whether or not.

¹⁴ C. Nelson. "Art for Man's Sake." *Bookbird* 26.2 (1998): 19-24. pp. 21-22.

¹⁵ That is to say, books intended to give children pleasure or to amuse them, rather than those specifically designed to teach, such as etiquette and conduct books, or school grammars.

as F. J. Harvey Darton suggests, the Victorians were the first to pigeon-hole recreation and imagination as the realms of childhood (the attitude toward Maggie Tulliver's obsessive love of books, and particularly story books, in *The Mill on the Floss* is a striking example); however, it is certainly the case that imaginative literature enjoyed a great deal of popularity in both the late 1800s and the early 1900s, as commodity items aimed at the future generations.

The Victorian Fin-de-Siècle: Change and Upheaval

The Victorian *fin-de-siècle* is often discussed in terms of the breaking free of morbid repression: the picture of the prudish, repressed early- and mid-Victorians and the decadent, rebellious (but still in some ways repressed) late-Victorians is a familiar one. 16 It is true that the Victorian era was one of profound change and upheaval for Britain: advances in technology were accompanied by resultant changes in just about every aspect of life, be it trade and commerce, scientific knowledge and exploration, religious faith, family and moral values, and so forth. From the 1850s onwards, industry and technology progressed in leaps and bounds: Sir Joseph Swan's development of the dry plate led to rapid advances in photography in the 1880s; in 1885 Daimler developed the surface carburettor and 1893 saw the construction of Karl Benz's first four-wheeled car; Joseph Swan demonstrated the first carbon-filament incandescent light-bulb in 1878; in 1879 the first telephone exchange was established in London and the 1880s saw Heinrich Hertz's development of wireless telegraphy. Thus, within the space of little more than twenty years, the foundations of the modern world were laid. Perhaps the most exciting and drastic of these technological developments was Nobel's invention in 1879 of blasting gelatine, and the further development in 1884 of soluble nitro-cotton which made the large-scale production of explosives possible. 17 The effects of such leaps in technology were tremendous: people could see

¹⁶ See, for example: S. Marcus. *The Other Victorians*; P. Cominos. "Late Victorian Sexual Respectability and the Social System" in *International Review of Social History*, No. 8; Maurice Disher's *Blood and Thunder*; W. L. Burnes' *Age of Equipoise*. More recent and more mainstream is Judith Flanders' *The Victorian House: From Childbirth to Deathbed* (2004), which describes some of the practical, everyday situations and commonplaces of Victorian life which both support and refute the idea of the repressed Victorian. A. S. Byatt's *Possession* is one example of fiction which plays with the idea of the repressed Victorian.

¹⁷ See: A. N. Wilson. *The Victorians*. London: Arrow Books, 2003. pp. 437; 493-495.

better, travel faster and more conveniently, communicate rapidly across vast distances, and kill each other (and those less fortunate in technology than themselves) more ruthlessly. Hills and mountains could be blasted out of the way to make space for roads and railway tracks. Electric lighting meant that work could continue with convenience and relative safety after dark, and the automobile began (very slowly) to replace the horse on the nation's roads.

The growth of industry also meant a new focus on city life: from 1837 to 1891 the number of places with populations of 100,000 or more rose from five to twenty-three; from 1841 to 1891 the proportion of the population living in cities rose from 17.27% to 31.82%. Attention began to be focused seriously on the condition of the labourer and the living conditions of the poor: in 1884 the vote was granted to the agricultural as well as the urban labourer, 19 1883 saw the Cheap Trains Act which compelled railway companies to offer workman's fares, and in 1884 the Royal Commission to examine the special housing problems of the working classes was formed. 20 Against concerns such as these were highlighted such troubling events as the formation, on 30th December 1884, of the Socialist League, the 1888 formation of the Matchmakers League, and the 1889 Dock Strike and National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers' Strike (the first to win the concession of an eight-hour working day).²¹ Empire brought a whole new set of concerns along with the benefits of trade and commerce: beginning with the Indian Mutiny in 1857, there was a sense of unrest fuelled by disasters – the 1879 mutiny of the Egyptian Army, the riots in Alexandria in the summer of 1882, and the death of General Gordon in the Mahdi Uprising in Khartoum on the 26th January, 1885 – and by new prospects – the *Times* coined the phrase "scramble for Africa" in 1884; the 1866 discovery of diamonds on Afrikaner farms led to the arrival by 1870 of over five thousand diamond seekers in South Africa, while the 1886 discovery that there was gold to be found as well would eventually provide the impetus for the Boer War in 1898.²² Scientific Enquiry was opening up exciting new possibilities as well as stirring up religious anxieties: apart from Darwin, there were numerous commentators on evolution and natural progression, such as Philip Henry Gosse's Omphalos: An Attempt to Untie the Geological Knot published in 1857, and T.H. Huxley's 1870 On the Physical Basis of Life

¹⁸ See: A. Briggs. *Victorian Cities*. London: Penguin Books, 1968. p. 59.

¹⁹ See: A. Briggs. *Victorian People*. London: Penguin Books, 1955. p. 304.

²⁰ See: A. Briggs. *Victorian Cities*. pp. 15; 19.

²¹ See: A. N. Wilson. *The Victorians*. p. 512.
²² See: A. N. Wilson. *The Victorians*. p. 597-613.

and 1893 Evolution and Ethics. The Society for Psychical Research was founded in 1882, ²³ and in 1875 the well-known spiritualist Madam Blavatsky formed the *Theosophical Society* (549-51). Change was evidently in the air.

The idea of the "repressed Victorians" has become outdated, and literary and historical studies present a much more complex and fluid view of the Victorian era. Stringent middle-class codes of behaviour coincided with liberal elements such as the rise of professional journalism (Dickens' "Sketches by Boz" for the *Morning Chronicle* are well known, as are Henry Mayhew's social commentaries on the London poor for the same paper), large-scale advertisement (such as *Pears' Soap*, whose advertising posters and slogans are popular even today as collectors' items, and are instantly recognisable in popular culture), the concept of the "New Woman" (For example, Sarah Grand's *The New Aspect of the Woman Question* and Eastwood's *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact*, both published in 1894), and both scientific and popular exploration in sexuality (famously, Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* of 1886), to name but a few instances.

Furthermore, the changes that were affecting Britain were also affecting other areas, particularly Europe and America, and to limit the field of attention to only the British Empire is to both exclude and include a wide range of outside influences. It is difficult to know whether, for example, the native people of India should be considered a part of "British" society, or whether widely read European literature, such as *The* Grimm's Fairytales or Le Tour du Monde en Quatre-Vingts Jours (Around the World in Eighty Days) should be included in the analysis. Also, any attempt at drawing a temporal boundary can at best be arbitrary, or at least provisional. It is evident that the Victorian era marked a period of immense change and upheaval for Britain, and for a large number of British people of all ages, classes and localities, although the change might have come more slowly and less drastically to some than to others. Although it would be incorrect to characterise the Victorian people as predominantly anxious and fearful, it would also be foolish to ignore the probability that such fears and anxieties did exist and have an impact on the writing of the period. This book, while acknowledging that the Victorians were not an exclusively anxious society, nevertheless chooses to focus on such fears and anxieties as they appear in literature.

I have chosen to focus on six distinct areas in which these fears and anxieties made themselves especially felt: (1) evolutionary science and (2)

²³ See: A. N. Wilson. *The Victorians*. p. 439.

aesthetic culture, which could be seen as concerning themselves with the physical body; (3) spirituality and (4) psychology, which could be seen as concerning themselves with the mind and soul of that body; and (5) anthropology and (6) Education, which were concerned with the world or society in which that body lived. I chose to examine two children's texts for the category of "society", as it is concerned with the more overt pedagogical concerns best demonstrated in texts aimed at a child readership. Likewise, I chose to examine two adult texts for the category of "mind and soul" as it is concerned more with the sort of covert and metaphorical exploration of childhood at play in texts aimed at an adult readership. The chapters are therefore arranged as follows. The first section, on the physical body, looks at *Jekyll and Hyde* (adult's) and *The Happy Prince* (children's). The second section, on mind and soul, looks at *Lilith* and *The Turn of the Screw* (both adult's). The final section, on society, examines *The Jungle Books* and *Cautionary Tales* (both children's).

I first examine childhood and the monstrous child, focusing on the physical body in a discussion about evolutionary and medical science as they appear in Stevenson's Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. In this chapter, I combine evidence from the writing of evolutionists such as Sir Charles Lyell and Charles Hodge, as well as Darwin himself, along with material as disparate as the writings of nineteenth-century anthropologists, Max Nordau's Degeneration, Samuel Smiles' Self Help, the social critiques of Henry Mayhew and Charles Dickens, and various nineteenth century writers on the theory of science and on medicine. As a motley a collection as this may seem, these writings all have a similar thrust in common: concerned as they are with ideas of evolution and devolution (used in the loosest sense of those terms) within the society of Victorian Britain, each of these writings shows a concern with the physicality of human generation analogous to (and no doubt an influence upon) the physical visibility of the immorality in Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Much as in evolutionary theory itself, these off-shoot writings (along with the writings I have included which are not in any way directly concerned with evolutionary theory) are all preoccupied with the human body, and its status and vulnerabilities as a marker of internal mental and spiritual flaws.

In the second chapter I look at childhood and the idealised child in Oscar Wilde's *The Happy Prince and Other Tales*. Aesthetic culture and its concern with the physical body, with art and with sexuality is examined through two main sources: Wilde's own writings on aesthetics and education are placed alongside the Victorian symbolism of flowers so often used in courtship, and discussion of the popular image of Wilde himself in the media. Here, more than in any other section, the link

between these social movements and concerns and childhood are very nearly explicit and conscious.

Chapter three, moving on to the theme of mind and soul, examines childhood and the suffering child in George MacDonald's Lilith, which I look at through the lens of spirituality, in particular dissenting, mystical Christianity, which shapes what can be considered to be the first piece of fantasy-fiction writing in English. In this chapter, I examine a range of writings on religion and the human soul, ranging from other evangelical preachers and writers — such as the Unitarian Francis Power Cobbe (campaigner for women's rights and anti-vivsectionist), Sir John Seeley (author of Ecce Homo, which was in turn contested by the evangelical writer and politician William Gladstone). William Wilberforce, and journalist W. T. Stead — to the pre-Victorian mystical teachings of Blake, Novalis, and Bohme, who had a major influence on the development of MacDonald's own spiritual philosophies. The main focus of these writings is on rebirth: a spiritual ideal which in *Lilith* in particular focuses on the child and childhood as a locus for necessary suffering and growth, and the potential for an enlightened future.

Chapter four examines childhood and the uncanny child in Henry James' *The Turn of the Screw*. Here the early psychological movement and the *fin-de-siècle* fascination with spiritualism and the occult are examined together through the writings and interests of William James, as well as a number of other contemporary writers on the occult and on the mind, to explore how *Turn of the Screw* effectively uses discourses concerning madness and the supernatural to posit childhood as an unstable state of mind which can infect the unwary, a form of insanity which stifles the possibility of further life. In particular, the child is seen as hampering the progress of the adult into the future, by lingering after childhood has passed.

Chapter five brings us to the section on "society"; childhood and the savage child are examined in Kipling's *The Jungle Books* (Books 1 and 2). In this chapter works on evolutionary theory such as G. J. Romanes *Darwin and After Darwin* of 1895, are combined with more socially-oriented works on anthropology and the social consequences of British Imperial power and authority, such as Valantine Ball's *Jungle-Life in India*, and Baden-Powell's *The Indian Village Community*, especially as they relate to the socialisation, once again, of children. The partially-subconscious equation of animals to children and children to "natives" is a particular focus of these texts.

The final text examined is Hillare Belloc's Cautionary Tales for Children, in which I focus on education and the criminal child. In this

chapter the tension between restrictive educative methods and the supposed innocence and freedom of the child is explored through a number of contemporary writings on education and child-rearing. It focuses particularly on the idea of childish misbehaviour as criminal, and on the subversive quality of Belloc's humour in these tales which, *Alice*-like, have a carnivalesque quality to them.

To conclude then, this book is concerned with the ways in which a number of *fin-de-siècle* social and cultural formations reveal, through the literature which explores them, a fundamental but varying perception of childhood in the Victorian *fin-de-siècle*.

CHAPTER ONE

CHILDHOOD AND EVOLUTION: JEKYLL AND HYDE AND THE MONSTROUS CHILD

Despondency and despair, decadence, excitement about and distrust of progress, the desire for purpose and the uncertainty whether, if there is a God, he is concerned with the problems of humanity: these are themes which are prevalent in Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.* Hyde. At the time of its publication in 1886, concerns about progress and the future of the Empire – and the youths who would inherit it – had reached a level of conscious concern for those who saw the British Empire as the centre of the civilised world: Jekyll and Hyde can be seen as exploring the anxieties which attached to the physical bodies of the British race and their fitness to continue Imperial rule, and is a clear example of how such anxieties could be projected onto the process of procreation. What Hyde creates is not just a degenerate monster, but a degenerate *child* monster; and one who destroys both his parent(s), himself, and any chance of a future in his society. Although such a reading of the conjunction between Henry Jekyll and Edward Hyde is by no means exhaustive of the rich possibilities offered by Stevenson's text, concentration on these particular aspects through the lens of evolutionary and medical science offers us a particularly interesting perception of childhood as monstrous.

Evolution, Degeneracy and Scientific Progress

In A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction, Robert Mighall describes Jekyll and Hyde as: "[A] Gothic tale which represents the transgression of those hierarchical and taxonomic structures effected through the establishment of evolutionary models of cultural and physical development". As numerous critics have pointed out, Stevenson's portrayal of Hyde in

-

¹ R. Mighall. *A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 145.

many ways indicates an attack on evolutionary theory and the concerns that surrounded it in late Victorian society. One of the many ways in which the character of Hyde can be read is as an evolutionary throw-back, or as primitive man; a view which naturally raises questions about the fin de siècle perception of human origins and development, and about the nature of Jekyll himself, the supposedly modern man. The idea of the human potential in animals, and of the animal inherent in humans, was one that many people — particularly the religious — found deeply disturbing; such a notion certainly unsettled the sense of human identity that had been instilled in Christians for thousands of years. That such concerns existed can be inferred, for example, from the collection of letters and memorandum published by Charles Darwin's son; in the section entitled Religion. Francis Darwin discusses the wealth of correspondence Darwin himself received on the matter of religion, questioning his beliefs and asking how his theories could possibly be compatible with Christian thought. In one instance, Darwin replied:

I am much engaged, an old man, and out of health, and I cannot spare time to answer your question fully,- nor indeed can they be answered. Science has nothing to do with Christ, except in so far as the habit of scientific research makes a man cautious in admitting evidence. For myself, I do not believe that there ever has been any revelation. As for a future life, every man must judge for himself between conflicting vague probabilities.²

In another instance, he writes that: "[W]ith me the horrid doubt always arises whether the convictions of man's mind, which has been developed from the mind of the lower animals, are of any value or at all trustworthy" (316). Darwinian theory sparked a certain amount of anxiety in the general public about the relationship of man to God. Julia Reid, for example, in *Robert Louis Stevenson, Science, and the Fin de Siècle*³ and George Levin in *Darwin and the Novelists*⁴ both discuss how a number of key novelists wrote not about their own opinions and readings of Darwin's work, but rather more unconsciously about the impact of Darwinian theory on the popular imagination; this is certainly true of *Jekyll and Hyde*. Darwin's correspondents and his responding comments seem to indicate an

² F. Darwin (ed.). *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*. Vol. 1. London: John Murray, 1887. p. 307.

³ J. Reid. *Robert Louis Stevenson, Science, and the Fin de Siècle*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

⁴ G. Levine. *Darwin and the Novelists: Patterns of Science in Victorian Fiction.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988.

accompanying anxiety about human identity which his theories must have sparked: anxieties about what it meant to be made in the image not of God but of beasts. Perhaps more importantly, Darwin as a scientist points out the unsettling notion that, if his theories are correct, then the scientific mind which formulated them cannot be trusted; a paradoxical situation is posed in which the scientist can only trust himself if he is proven to be wrong.

Hyde can also be read along postcolonial lines as an embodiment of the fear of "backwards" or "primitive" humanity; his connections to the animal world as well as the primitive man echo traits we will later see in The Jungle Books. In their introduction to Empire and the Gothic, for example. Andrew Smith and William Hughes say: "The Gothic use of non-human and ab-human figures such as vampires, ghosts and monsters of various kinds is calculated to challenge the dominant humanist discourse"⁵ and this is to a certain extent how Hyde functions, showing the primitive and bestial monstrosity at the heart of London itself, and by analogy weakening the position of supposed superiority that "Englishmen" as rulers of the Empire saw themselves as holding. As Smith further elaborates in Gothic Radicalism, "There is ... a fear of degeneration ... a fear that the evolutionary model (and the class hierarchy) could be reversed". 6 Sir Charles Lyell, quoting Hallam's Introduction to the Literature of Europe in 1873, writes the following observation on Man's place in the natural process of evolution, in which Hallam wonders:

[W]hether, while the creation of a world so full of evil must ever remain the most inscrutable of mysteries, we might ... be led some way in tracing the connexion of moral and physical evil in mankind, with his place in that creation, and especially, whether the law of continuity, which it has not pleased his maker to break with respect to his bodily structure, and which binds that, in the unity of one great type, to the lower forms of animal life by the common conditions of nourishment, reproduction and self-defence, has not rendered necessary both the physical appetites and the propensities which terminate in self; whether again the superior endowments of his intellectual nature, his susceptibility of moral emotion, and of those disinterested affections which, if not exclusively, he far more intensely possesses than an inferior being – above all the gifts of conscience and a capacity to know God, might not be expected ... by their conflict with the

⁵ A. Smith and W. Hughes (eds.). *Empire and the Gothic*. London: Macmillan, 2003. p. 2.

⁶ A. Smith. *Gothic Radicalism*. London: Macmillan, 2000.

animal passions, to produce some partial inconsistencies.⁷

This passage imparts a clear sense of the types of debate which Darwinian theory had sparked in a society attempting to reconcile religion to science: no longer could the physical and spiritual bodies be clearly distinguished from one another, and no longer could the divide which united animals with "immoral" behaviour and humans with "moral" behaviour be maintained. As Hallam suggests, there may be "partial inconsistencies" when the "animal passions" conflict with the "conscience and ... capacity to know God". Charles Hodge likewise outlines the problematic questions raised by Darwinian theory in his 1874 book entitled *What is Darwinism? Darwinism and Its Relation to the Truths of Natural and Revealed Religion*: "The great problem which has ever pressed upon the human mind is to account for its [the universe's] existence. What was its origin? To what causes are the changes we witness around us to be referred?" He then quotes an earlier work by Thomas Huxley, who wrote:

The question of questions for mankind ... is the ascertainment of the place which man occupies in nature and of his relation to the universe of things. Whence has our race come, what are the limits of our power over nature, and of nature's power over us. $(p. 2)^9$

Although Huxley was writing some ten years earlier, Hodge, Lyell and Huxley all identify a common concern with the special identity of humanity which accompanied the development of evolutionary theory, and which would continue to accompany its development throughout the *finde-siècle*. ¹⁰ The link between fears about evolution and, by association, devolution or degeneration, and the future of the Empire is implied in Huxley's statement: if "our race" can no longer be certain of its superiority, even over animals, can superiority over other humans (including those "less evolved") be assumed?

Along with the threats posed by Imperial expansion and technological progress, scientific discoveries in anthropology and psychology were

-

⁷ C. Lyell. *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man.* 4th ed. London: John Murray, 1873. pp. 542-43. The text quoted is as follows: H. Hallam. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe.* 1873

C. Hodge. What is Dawinism? London: T. Nelson and Sons, 1874. p. 1-2
 The text quoted is as follows: T. H. Huxley. Evidences of Man's Place in Nature, and Other Anthropological Essays. 1864.

¹⁰ One reason, perhaps, for the publication in 1887 of Charles Darwin's letters by Francis Darwin, a choice which indicates continued interest in the man and his theories by readers of the *fin-de-siècle*.

teaming up to add to this Victorian sense of unease about identity. If evolutionary (and psychological) theories were to be trusted, then within every modern human being lurked a primitive and savage racial history and, furthermore, the mixture of good and evil inclinations within the human soul was a natural state of being, resulting from man's animalistic origins. This is what we see in Mr. Hyde. Dr. Jekyll attempts an experiment which will liberate man's primitive self from his civilised and respectable self, allowing each to lead an autonomous life free from moral tensions. He hopes this division will allow him to enjoy the best of both worlds; however, when he finds that he cannot separate his two selves satisfactorily, he is left morally and socially bound to a being he designates firmly as "Other", a monstrous child whose "birth" frees neither him nor itself.

Hyde has been widely recognised as corresponding to "primitive" man, or the "monkey within man" within the novel. The description is given of him in the novel by the unspecified third-person narrator as "pale and dwarfish" 11, while in other places he is described as "that human juggernaut" (JH, 37), "hardly human! Something troglodytic" (JH, 40), "more of a dwarf" (JH, 67), a "masked thing like a monkey" (JH, 68) and as having "great muscular activity and great apparent debility of constitution" (JH, 77). Upon the murder of Sir Danvers Carew the servant girl describes how "with ape-like fury" (JH, 47) he brutalises his victim, and when he finally kills himself, "A dismal screech, as of mere animal terror, rang from the cabinet" (JH, 69). Moreover, it is not just the physical animality of Hyde which links him to man's primitive state; rather, his physical appearance combines with his particular brand of moral failure to suggest not a supernatural devil, but rather the human evil of uncivilized man. Similar fears can be found in fin-de-siècle anthropological studies; Sir John Lubbock, for example, eleven years after the publication of *The* Origin of Species, writes in The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man:

Man has, perhaps, made more progress in moral than in either material or intellectual advancement; for while even the lowest savages have many material and intellectual attainments, they are, it seems to me, almost entirely wanting in moral feeling ... That there should be any races of men so deficient in moral feeling, was altogether opposed to the preconceived ideas with which I commenced the study of savage life ... I have, however, been forced to this conclusion, not only by the direct statements of

¹¹ R. L. Stevenson. *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.* London: Pemguin Books, 1979. (Hereafter referred to as *JH*). p. 40.

-

travellers, but also by the general tenor of their remarks, and especially by the remarkable absence of repentance and remorse among the lower races of man.¹²

Jekyll is likewise unpleasantly mistaken in his preconceived ideas. Jekyll's failure to recognise that the baser elements of his personality are a part of his humanity and origin is what allows his experiment to slip out of his control. As Tom Hubbard says: "Failure to confront the reality of monkey-into-man will, by default, permit the process of man-into-monkey". That Jekyll attempts to label Hyde as "other" is clear:

This familiar that I called out of my own soul and sent forth alone to do his good pleasure, was a being inherently malign and villainous; his every act and thought centred on self; drinking pleasure with bestial avidity from any degree of torture to another; relentless like a man of stone. (*JH*, 86)

Jekyll's description of Hyde as his "familiar" has sinister connotations: the implication of witchcraft links the idea of evil to Jekyll's pleasures yet again, and the term itself implies that the evil comes from within; it is "familiar", both well-known and a part of the family. ¹⁴ Although Jekyll claims he sent Hyde "forth alone to do his good pleasure", his testimony elsewhere proclaims this an evasion; Jekyll retains memory of his time as Hyde and is aware enough of his new body to enjoy his pleasures at first; as there is only one body it would make sense that Jekyll remains latent in Hyde's body just as Hyde does in Jekyll's body. His attempt to designate Hyde as an "other" indicates that he does not really understand the implications of evolution, and without full understanding he is unable to remain in control of the situation. As we shall see later, the "other" he labels as Hyde has all the characteristics of a child, a son.

If the ability to make decisions about good and evil is something that has evolved along with the human physical form (a presumption which would also support the theories of criminology which suggested the criminal was a primitive throw-back whose criminal tendencies had physical manifestations) then a physical — even Nietzschean — split

¹² Sir. J. Lubbock. *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man.* London: Longmans Green and Co., 1870. pp. 261-70.

¹³ Hubbard, T. *Seeking Mr. Hyde.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995. p. 27. ¹⁴ The Oxford English Dictionary Online gives the following definition: "familiar devil, spirit: a demon supposed to be in association with or under the power of a man". In addition, the following meanings are given, which reflect on the nature of a "familiar" spirit: "Of persons and their relations: On a family footing; extremely friendly, intimately associated, intimate"; "Of knowledge: Intimate".

between good and evil would, presumably, start two new evolutionary strains of humanity — similar to that depicted by H. G. Wells in *The Time Machine*¹⁵. However, as good and evil have evolved together, neither is strong enough to survive alone, and the striving of each part for independence must lead to the destruction of both. Had Jekyll not sought (however unsuccessfully) to physically separate himself from Hyde, he would not have been forced to endure a bodily struggle with his own primitive nature. However, Jekyll *does* undertake the separation, and the disastrous result is the very thing which we have seen Victorian society was most afraid of when it came to evolution: a reversal or corruption of the process. In his seminal work *Degeneration*, Max Nordau indicates the continuing fascination with and anxiety about evolutionary theory when he writes:

When under any kind of noxious influences an organism becomes debilitated, its successors will not resemble the healthy, normal type of the species, with capacities for development, but will form a new sub-species, which, like all others, possesses the capacity of transmitting to its offspring, in a continuously increasing degree, its peculiarities, these being morbid deviations from the normal form — gaps in development, malformations and infirmities. That which distinguishes degeneracy from the formation of new species (phylogeny) is, that the morbid variation does not continuously subsist and propagate itself, like one that is healthy, but, fortunately, is soon rendered sterile, and after a few generations often dies out before it reaches the lowest grade of organic degradation.¹⁶

What is striking here is that Nordau seems to compress the process of evolutionary change or degeneration into a few generations, thereby projecting the anxiety away from unimaginable aeons of time, and on to present-day society – those being born and brought up *now*; he also goes on to link the process he is describing to the "dusk of nations" and the degenerate propensities of a *fin-de-siècle* nation. The horror is not only that Hyde is an animalistic throw-back, but that he exists in the here and now, and that he has sprung from the downfall of a civilized man.

Devolution — the reversal of the progress implied by evolution — and degeneration, with its implications of moral incapacity, were inextricably linked, and the fear was that the achievements of civilization (of which Victorian society was so proud) could be undone. As Linda Dryden says: "Stevenson … locates degeneracy in the heart of respectable England"

-

¹⁵ First Published in 1895.

¹⁶ M. Nordau. *Degeneration*. 7th ed. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1895. p. 16.

(83). The degenerate forgoes the moral strictures of civilized society and, as a result, regresses to animalistic tendencies; the animalistic is associated with violence, cruelty, and moral insanity – the corruption of the physical form is matched by corruption of the moral capacity. It is the degenerate body that Utterson encounters when he searches out Hyde:

Mr Hyde was pale and dwarfish; he gave an impression of deformity without any nameable malformation, he had a displeasing smile, he had borne himself to the lawyer with a sort of murderous mixture of timidity and boldness, and he spoke with a husky, whispering and somewhat broken voice, all these were points against him. But not all of these together could explain the hitherto unknown disgust, loathing and fear with which Mr Utterson regarded him. (*JH*, 18)

The more Henry Jekyll recognises Hyde as his own primitive self, the more he associates him with this trope of violence and savagery and tries to designate Hyde as an "other". However, the descriptions of Hyde throughout the text indicate that his primitive freedom, which is what makes him so attractive to Jekyll in the first place, is based upon a moral insanity which escalates into monstrosity. ¹⁷ The effect of Henry Jekyll's decadent thoughts and desires is the (pro)creation of Hyde's degenerate body and the cause of Jekyll/Hyde's final downfall. Ironically, those decadent impulses are entwined with and fulfilled by Jekyll's lofty scientific ideals – ideals which, as we shall see, also seduce him away from the more "normal", acceptable, healthy procreative standards of society (i.e. marriage and parenthood). ¹⁸

¹⁷ It is worth noting as well the implication of class boundaries and divisons; Hyde's behaviour in Utterson's office is akin to the social awkwardness which might be felt by any lower class person in such unfamiliar and hostile surroundings, and the description Utterson gives of him is reminiscent not only of primitive man but also the descriptions frequently given of the criminal lower classes, where the line between class and criminality is often close to being invisible.

¹⁸ Brenda Mann Hammack speculates that there is an anxiety in the text about the results of drug-induced genius, or scientifically generated progress:

That degenerative consequences afflict transgressive intellectuals who expose themselves to chemical influences in the occult literature of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth- centuries is significant, because the characters' ruination seems to draw upon cultural fears that attached mental, moral, and material consequences to the intellectual subject's attempts to boost creative output ... especially if the subject's endeavours involved subversive, potentially heretical, ideas as is certainly the case for ... Jekyll.

That there is a general fear of the direction taken by scientific progress in the novel is made clear by the tension between Jekyll and Dr. Lanyon concerning Jekyll's experiments, and the conflict between respectability and morality and scientific progress. As J.A. Symonds said in a letter to Stevenson regarding the text: "Physical and biological science on a hundred lines is reducing individual freedom to zero, and weakening the sense of responsibility. I doubt whether the artist should lend his genius to this grim argument". ¹⁹ The bone of contention is that his immoral intentions have produced a subversive, heretical, "fanciful" science which, instead of improving society, allows Jekyll to continue to disrupt and corrupt society undetected. Lanyon says: "[I]t is more than ten years since Henry Jekyll became too fanciful for me. He began to go wrong, wrong in mind" (JH, p. 36). It seems that Lanyon equates being "wrong in mind" with a science that is not strictly rationalistic, a "fanciful" or imaginative science, a new science. Julia Reid, in her study Robert Louis Stevenson, Science, and the Fin de Siècle, discusses how Stevenson's writing appeared at a time when there was "unprecedented publicity" for the concept of a division between the artistic and scientific realms²⁰, while Donald Lawler says: "[T]he trick ... may seem more like alchemy than pharmacology or chemistry", 21 and it is true that Jekyll's experiment does have both the fantastical and spiritual connotations of alchemy, as well as attracting the derision that such a "science" would be likely to attract from turn of the century scientists such as Lanyon supposedly is. In his final statement, Jekyll himself says: "[I]t chanced that the direction of my scientific studies, which led wholly towards the mystic and transcendental, reacted and shed a strong light on this consciousness of the perennial war among my members" (JH, 81-2); that is to say, the desire within him to indulge his immoral (or at least undignified) side led him to that branch of

Th

This is an idea which Sheridan le Fanu similarly explores, although with less finesse, in his ghost story *Green Tea*, in which the protagonist opens himself up to the forces of evil when, in an attempt to sharpen his research and writing abilities, he consumes vast quantities of Green Tea as a stimulant. There are obvious parallels between the demon monkey who appears to haunt the protagonist of *Green Tea* and the simian Hyde. Thus, the fears that accompanied theories of evolution had a wider applicability to scientific progress in general. B. M. Hammack. "Phantastica." *Mosaic* 37.1 (2004): 83-99. p. 95.

¹⁹ Letter, 3 March 1886. (From: P. Maixner (ed.) Robert Louis Stevenson. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981. p. 210-11.)

²⁰ Robert Louis Stevenson, Science and the Fin de Siècle. p. 2.

²¹ D. Lawler. "Reframing *Jekyll and Hyde.*" p. 250. (From: W. Veeder and G. Hirsch (eds.) *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde After One Hundred Years*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988. pp. 247-61).

science which seeks to transcend materiality — alchemy. That alchemy was by that time a discarded, primitive form of science ties in to the idea of devolution, a moving backwards of progress, as well as the idea that alchemy was immoral and irreligious, a form of witchcraft or inspired by the devil. As with the homunculus produced by the alchemists, the child that Jekyll produces is monstrous because the moral rationale behind the attempt is lacking.

Of course, it must be remembered that while the metaphorical goal of alchemy is to transmute base metal into gold, alchemy is commonly regarded as dealing with the exploration of the soul and the acquisition of self-knowledge. If Jekyll is an alchemist, then his story is the story of the age-old failure of alchemy to create gold. The problem, as always, is not in the "impurity" of the chemical — which is, after all, the starting point for alchemists — but in the divided loyalties of Jekyll himself. This division, which the novel so skilfully complicates, is one that is recognised and suffered by the society of which Jekyll is a part, and of which his readers are a part. There is a division between the cold forward momentum of progress and the imaginative backwards searching of self-knowledge. The one is an impetus to grow-up and have "the respect of the wise and good" (JH, 81), while the other is a yearning to find and know the child, who suffers from that "certain impatient gaiety of disposition" (JH, 81). Stevenson seems, then, to be attracted to Jekyll's "fanciful" science even as he condemns it as a failed attempt. It is the man behind the science who is flawed, leaving open the speculation of what he might have achieved had he had not been required to repress his childish self, or if he understood his own soul better. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a contemporary doctor and scientist, wrote that:

Science is the topography of ignorance. From a few elevated points we triangulate vast spaces, inclosing [sic] infinite unknown details. We cast the lead, and draw up a little sand from abysses we may never reach with our dredges. The best part of our knowledge is that which teaches us where knowledge leaves off and ignorance begins. Nothing more clearly separates a vulgar from a superior mind, than the confusion in the first between the little that it truly knows, on the one hand, and what it half knows and what it thinks it knows on the other.²²

At a time when science was such a potentially dangerous field of

²² O. W. Holmes. *The Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Vol. IX: Medical Essays 1842-1882*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1891. p. 211.

exploration, the knowledge of one's own ignorance and faith in one's own morals was clearly seen to be of paramount importance, and it is this knowledge which Jekyll emphatically lacks. Stevenson explores *fin-de-siècle* fears about scientific progress, but he locates those fears within the human psyche: science cannot improve the human condition unless the human condition is first improved to wield it. What is more, Stevenson then creates a being who is both child and monster, a body onto which the failings of human morality can be mapped and which represents the non-existent future that such science is leading towards.

If, then, one puts together the themes of evolution, degeneracy, and scientific progress, a particular image of a monstrous child begins to develop. Criminologist Cèsare Lombroso, in his 1876 volume Criminal Man, said: "[A]dults and inferior groups must be like children of superior groups, for the child represents a primitive adult ancestor". ²³ This image of the child – much like that depicted by early studies of embryology – links evolution to degeneracy, implying a perception of the child as the carrier of degenerate traits. Generational changes which would, in evolutionary terms, take hundreds of thousands of years are, in this case (and as we saw also in Nordau's Degeneration), compressed and applied to the present generation of children with alarming results. The child becomes the symbol for drastic change, be it for better or worse, evolution or degeneration: but the fear is that it will most likely be degeneration. Furthermore, in the tension within scientific discourse between the urge to progress and the need for self-knowledge, the child stands at a mid-way point: as an adult *in potentia* the child is at the edge of scientific progress, but as a child-primitive he also holds the key to self discovery. There is anxiety that both discovery and progress may be tainted by degeneration. As Darwin pointed out, the scientist's theories cannot be trusted because his mind is animalistic. And as Stevenson points out, his morals also cannot be trusted, for the same reason. In the concerns Jekyll and Hyde raises about evolution, degeneration and scientific progress, it is a crippled and stunted Child that emerges; this is a child who cannot be allowed to live to adulthood, who can never inhabit the future, and who signals not promise and enlightenment, but destruction. In looking at themes of birth and parenthood within the novel, this pessimism will become clearer.

²³ Lombroso, Cèsare. *Criminal Man.* 1876. Quoted in: "Reframing *Jekyll and Hyde.*" p. 254. From: *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde After One Hundred Years.*

Hyde as Jekyll's Son

Just as Hyde has frequently been read as an image of prehistoric – perhaps even prehuman – man (which in a certain sense places him as a sort of father), he has also been commonly read as Jekyll's son. That there might be a connection between the primitive and the childish was a possibility in the scientific thought of the *fin-de-siècle*; one late-ninteenth-century text, for example, states:

Students of biology consider the argument for organic evolution especially strong in view of the analogy between race and individual development. The individual in embryo passes through stages which represent morphologically, to a degree, the stages actually found in the ancestral animal series ²⁴

In recent criticism, Jenni Bourne Taylor writes:

[J]ust as aspects of nineteenth-century racial discourse drew on ontogenetic analogy to see colonised races as caught in a prolonged childhood, so childhood was seen as primitive and atavistic, the prime example of the argument that individual growth recapitulated that of race or species.²⁵

It is this relationship between the two halves of man that Stevenson is in part exploring. This is not a comfortable relationship within the novel, and Jekyll is not a willing or even capable parent. That Jekyll "gives birth" is indicated throughout the text. The description of Jekyll's first transformation in his final statement is highly evocative of the birth process:

The most racking pangs succeeded: a grinding of the bones, deadly nausea and a horror of the spirit that cannot be exceeded at the hour of birth or death. Then these agonies began swiftly to subside and I came to myself as if out of a great sickness. (*JH*, 83)

Stevenson thus equates Hyde's appearances with birth from the very first instance of his appearance, which is described as an invasive bodily function. However, there is no sign of pride and love one would expect to be associated with descriptions of the birth process by a mother; instead

-

²⁴ J. M. Baldwin. *Mental Development in the Child and the Race*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1895. p. 15.

²⁵ J. B. Taylor. "Between Atavism and Altruism." In: Lesnik-Oberstein, K. *Children in Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994. pp. 89-121.