

Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism

NCLC

168

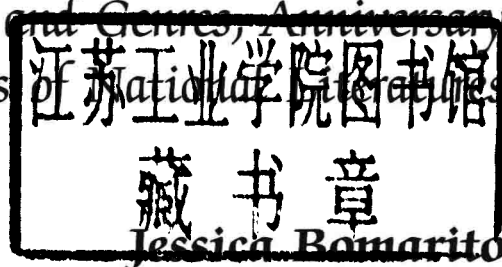
TOPICS VOLUME

Volume 168

Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism

Topics Volume

Criticism of Various
Topics in Nineteenth-Century Literature,
including Literary and Critical Movements,
Prominent Themes and Genres, Anniversary
Celebrations, and Surveys of National Literatures



Russel Whitaker
Project Editors

THOMSON
★
GALE



Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism, Vol. 168

Project Editors

Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker

Editorial

Kathy D. Darrow, Jeffrey W. Hunter, Jelena O. Krstović, Michelle Lee, Rachelle Mucha, Thomas J. Schoenberg, Noah Schusterbauer, Lawrence J. Trudeau

Data Capture

Frances Monroe, Gwen Tucker

Rights and Acquisitions

Emma Hull, Jacqueline Key, Ron Montgomery

Imaging and Multimedia

Dean Dauphinais, Robert Duncan, Leitha Etheridge-Sims, Lezlie Light, Michael Logusz, Dan Newell, Kelly A. Quin, Denay Wilding

Composition and Electronic Capture

Carolyn A. Roney

Manufacturing

Rhonda Dover

Associate Product Manager

Marc Cormier

© 2006 Thomson Gale, a part of The Thomson Corporation. Thomson and Star Logo are trademarks and Gale is a registered trademark used herein under license.

For more information, contact

Thomson Gale
27500 Drake Rd.
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535
Or you can visit our internet site at
<http://www.gale.com>

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means—graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, taping, Web distribution, or information storage retrieval systems—without the written permission of the publisher.

This publication is a creative work fully protected by all applicable copyright laws, as well as by misappropriation, trade secret, unfair competition, and other applicable laws. The authors and editors of this work have added value to the underlying factual material herein through one or more of the following: unique and original selection, coordination, expression, arrangement, and classification of the information.

For permission to use material from the product, submit your request via the Web at <http://www.gale-edit.com/permissions>, or you may download our Permissions Request form and submit your request by fax or mail to:

Permissions Department

Thomson Gale
27500 Drake Rd.
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535
Permissions Hotline:
248-699-8006 or 800-877-4253, ext. 8006
Fax 248-699-8074 or 800-762-4058

Since this page cannot legibly accommodate all copyright notices, the acknowledgments constitute an extension of the copyright notice.

While every effort has been made to secure permission to reprint material and to ensure the reliability of the information presented in this publication, Thomson Gale neither guarantees the accuracy of the data contained herein nor assumes any responsibility for errors, omissions or discrepancies. Thomson Gale accepts no payment for listing; and inclusion in the publication of any organization, agency, institution, publication, service, or individual does not imply endorsement of the editors or publisher. Errors brought to the attention of the publisher and verified to the satisfaction of the publisher will be corrected in future editions.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER 84-643008

ISBN 0-7876-8652-2
ISSN 0732-1864

Printed in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Preface

Since its inception in 1981, *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism (NCLC)* has been a valuable resource for students and librarians seeking critical commentary on writers of this transitional period in world history. Designated an “Outstanding Reference Source” by the American Library Association with the publication of its first volume, *NCLC* has since been purchased by over 6,000 school, public, and university libraries. The series has covered more than 450 authors representing 33 nationalities and over 17,000 titles. No other reference source has surveyed the critical reaction to nineteenth-century authors and literature as thoroughly as *NCLC*.

Scope of the Series

NCLC is designed to introduce students and advanced readers to the authors of the nineteenth century and to the most significant interpretations of these authors’ works. The great poets, novelists, short story writers, playwrights, and philosophers of this period are frequently studied in high school and college literature courses. By organizing and reprinting commentary written on these authors, *NCLC* helps students develop valuable insight into literary history, promotes a better understanding of the texts, and sparks ideas for papers and assignments. Each entry in *NCLC* presents a comprehensive survey of an author’s career or an individual work of literature and provides the user with a multiplicity of interpretations and assessments. Such variety allows students to pursue their own interests; furthermore, it fosters an awareness that literature is dynamic and responsive to many different opinions.

Every fourth volume of *NCLC* is devoted to literary topics that cannot be covered under the author approach used in the rest of the series. Such topics include literary movements, prominent themes in nineteenth-century literature, literary reaction to political and historical events, significant eras in literary history, prominent literary anniversaries, and the literatures of cultures that are often overlooked by English-speaking readers.

NCLC continues the survey of criticism of world literature begun by Thomson Gale’s *Contemporary Literary Criticism (CLC)* and *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism (TCLC)*.

Organization of the Book

An *NCLC* entry consists of the following elements:

- The **Author Heading** cites the name under which the author most commonly wrote, followed by birth and death dates. Also located here are any name variations under which an author wrote, including transliterated forms for authors whose native languages use nonroman alphabets. If the author wrote consistently under a pseudonym, the pseudonym will be listed in the author heading and the author’s actual name given in parenthesis on the first line of the biographical and critical information. Uncertain birth or death dates are indicated by question marks. Single-work entries are preceded by a heading that consists of the most common form of the title in English translation (if applicable) and the original date of composition.
- The **Introduction** contains background information that introduces the reader to the author, work, or topic that is the subject of the entry.
- A **Portrait of the Author** is included when available.
- The list of **Principal Works** is ordered chronologically by date of first publication and lists the most important works by the author. The genre and publication date of each work is given. In the case of foreign authors whose works have been translated into English, the list will focus primarily on twentieth-century translations, selecting

those works most commonly considered the best by critics. Unless otherwise indicated, dramas are dated by first performance, not first publication. Lists of **Representative Works** by different authors appear with topic entries.

- Reprinted **Criticism** is arranged chronologically in each entry to provide a useful perspective on changes in critical evaluation over time. The critic's name and the date of composition or publication of the critical work are given at the beginning of each piece of criticism. Unsigned criticism is preceded by the title of the source in which it appeared. All titles by the author featured in the text are printed in boldface type. Footnotes are reprinted at the end of each essay or excerpt. In the case of excerpted criticism, only those footnotes that pertain to the excerpted texts are included. Criticism in topic entries is arranged chronologically under a variety of subheadings to facilitate the study of different aspects of the topic.
- A complete **Bibliographical Citation** of the original essay or book precedes each piece of criticism.
- Critical essays are prefaced by brief **Annotations** explicating each piece.
- An annotated bibliography of **Further Reading** appears at the end of each entry and suggests resources for additional study. In some cases, significant essays for which the editors could not obtain reprint rights are included here. Boxed material following the further reading list provides references to other biographical and critical sources on the author in series published by Thomson Gale.

Indexes

Each volume of *NCLC* contains a **Cumulative Author Index** listing all authors who have appeared in a wide variety of reference sources published by Thomson Gale, including *NCLC*. A complete list of these sources is found facing the first page of the Author Index. The index also includes birth and death dates and cross references between pseudonyms and actual names.

A **Cumulative Nationality Index** lists all authors featured in *NCLC* by nationality, followed by the number of the *NCLC* volume in which their entry appears.

A **Cumulative Topic Index** lists the literary themes and topics treated in the series as well as in *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism*, *Literature Criticism from 1400 to 1800*, *Twentieth-Century Literary Criticism*, and the *Contemporary Literary Criticism Yearbook*, which was discontinued in 1998.

An alphabetical **Title Index** accompanies each volume of *NCLC*, with the exception of the Topics volumes. Listings of titles by authors covered in the given volume are followed by the author's name and the corresponding page numbers where the titles are discussed. English translations of foreign titles and variations of titles are cross-referenced to the title under which a work was originally published. Titles of novels, dramas, nonfiction books, and poetry, short story, or essay collections are printed in italics, while individual poems, short stories, and essays are printed in roman type within quotation marks.

In response to numerous suggestions from librarians, Thomson Gale also produces an annual paperbound edition of the *NCLC* cumulative title index. This annual cumulation, which alphabetically lists all titles reviewed in the series, is available to all customers. Additional copies of this index are available upon request. Librarians and patrons will welcome this separate index; it saves shelf space, is easy to use, and is recyclable upon receipt of the next edition.

Citing Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism

When citing criticism reprinted in the Literary Criticism Series, students should provide complete bibliographic information so that the cited essay can be located in the original print or electronic source. Students who quote directly from reprinted criticism may use any accepted bibliographic format, such as University of Chicago Press style or Modern Language Association style.

The examples below follow recommendations for preparing a bibliography set forth in *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 15th ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003); the first example pertains to material drawn from periodicals, the second to material reprinted from books:

Franklin, J. Jeffrey. "The Victorian Discourse of Gambling: Speculations on *Middlemarch* and *The Duke's Children*." *ELH* 61, no. 4 (winter 1994): 899-921. Reprinted in *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*. Vol. 168, edited by Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker, 39-51. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006.

Frank, Joseph. "The Gambler: A Study in Ethnopsychology." In *Freedom and Responsibility in Russian Literature: Essays in Honor of Robert Louis Jackson*, edited by Elizabeth Cheresch Allen and Gary Saul Morson, 69-85. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1995. Reprinted in *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*. Vol. 168, edited by Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker, 75-84. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006.

The examples below follow recommendations for preparing a works cited list set forth in the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*, 6th ed. (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 2003); the first example pertains to material drawn from periodicals, the second to material reprinted from books:

Franklin, J. Jeffrey. "The Victorian Discourse of Gambling: Speculations on *Middlemarch* and *The Duke's Children*." *ELH* 61.4 (Winter 1994): 899-921. Reprinted in *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*. Eds. Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker. Vol. 168. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006. 39-51.

Frank, Joseph. "The Gambler: A Study in Ethnopsychology." *Freedom and Responsibility in Russian Literature: Essays in Honor of Robert Louis Jackson*. Eds. Elizabeth Cheresch Allen and Gary Saul Morson. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1995. 69-85. Reprinted in *Nineteenth-Century Literature Criticism*. Eds. Jessica Bomarito and Russel Whitaker. Vol. 168. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2006. 75-84.

Suggestions are Welcome

Readers who wish to suggest new features, topics, or authors to appear in future volumes, or who have other suggestions or comments are cordially invited to call, write, or fax the Associate Product Manager:

Associate Product Manager, Literary Criticism Series
Thomson Gale
27500 Drake Road
Farmington Hills, MI 48331-3535
1-800-347-4253 (GALE)
Fax: 248-699-8054

Acknowledgments

The editors wish to thank the copyright holders of the criticism included in this volume and the permissions managers of many book and magazine publishing companies for assisting us in securing reproduction rights. We are also grateful to the staffs of the Detroit Public Library, the Library of Congress, the University of Detroit Mercy Library, Wayne State University Purdy/Kresge Library Complex, and the University of Michigan Libraries for making their resources available to us. Following is a list of the copyright holders who have granted us permission to reproduce material in this volume of *NCLC*. Every effort has been made to trace copyright, but if omissions have been made, please let us know.

COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL IN *NCLC*, VOLUME 168, WAS REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS:

Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens, v. 44, October, 1996. Reproduced by permission.—*CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture: A WWWeb Journal*, v. 3.2, June, 2001, for “British Travel Writing about the United States and Spanish America, 1820-1840: Different and Differentiating Views” by Frank Lauterbach. Copyright © 2001 Purdue University Press. Reproduced by permission.—*Cultural Critique*, fall, 1986 for “The Return of William James” by Frank Lentricchia. Copyright © 1986 by University of Minnesota. Reproduced by permission.—*Early American Literature*, v. 31, 1996. Copyright © 1996 by the University of North Carolina Press. Used by permission.—*ELH*, v. 61, winter, 1994. Copyright © 1994 The Johns Hopkins University Press. Reproduced by permission.—*Feminist Studies*, v. 21, fall, 1995 for “Alternatives to the Missionary Position: Anna Leonowens as Victorian Travel Writer” by Susan Brown. Copyright © 1995 by Feminist Studies, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of the publisher, Feminist Studies, Inc.—*Henry James Review*, v. 18, fall, 1997. Copyright © 1997 The Johns Hopkins University Press. Reproduced by permission.—*Leviathan*, v. 6, March, 2004. Reproduced by permission.—*Partisan Review*, v. 64, winter, 1997 for “‘We Pragmatists ...’: Peirce and Rorty in Conversation” by Susan Haack. Copyright © 1997 by Susan Haack. Reproduced by permission of the author.—*Philological Papers*, v. 44, 1998-1999. Reproduced by permission.—*PTL: Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature*, v. 3, October, 1978. Reproduced with permission from Elsevier.—*Raritan*, v. 8, winter, 1989. Copyright © 1989 by *Raritan: A Quarterly Review*. Reproduced by permission.—*Southwest Review*, v. 85, autumn, 2000. Copyright © 2000 Southern Methodist University. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—*Victorian Literature and Culture*, v. 24, 1996 for “‘That Ain’t no Lady Traveler ... It’s a Discursive Subject’: Mapping and Re-mapping Victorian Women’s Travel Writing” by Catherine Barnes Stevenson. Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press and author.—*The Victorian Newsletter*, v. 79, spring, 1991 for “Images of Middle-Eastern Women in Victorian Travel Books” by Charisse Gendron; spring, 2001 for “The Travels of RLS as a Young Man” by Gordon Hirsch. Both reproduced by permission of the publishers and the respective authors.

COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL IN *NCLC*, VOLUME 168, WAS REPRODUCED FROM THE FOLLOWING BOOKS:

Brennan, Bernard P. From *William James*. Twayne Publishers, 1968. Copyright © 1968 by Twayne Publishers, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of The Gale Group.—de Waal, Cornelis. From *On Peirce*. Wadsworth, 2001. © 2001. Reprinted with permission of Wadsworth, a division of Thomson Learning: www.thomsonrights.com.—Fitzpatrick, Kristin. From “American National Identity Abroad: The Travels of Nancy Prince,” in *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing*. Edited by Kristi Siegel. Peter Lang, 2004. Copyright © 2004 Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Frank, Joseph. From “The Gambler: A Study in Ethnopsychology,” in *Freedom and Responsibility in Russian Literature: Essays in Honor of Robert Louis Jackson*. Edited by Elizabeth Cheresch Allen and Gary Saul Morson. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1995. Copyright © 1995 by Northwestern University Press. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Frawley, Maria H. From *A Wider Range: Travel Writing by Women in Victorian England*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994. Copyright © 1994 by Associated University Presses, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Hollinger, David A. From “The Problem of Pragmatism in American History: A Look Back and a Look Ahead,” in *Pragmatism: From Progressivism to Postmodernism*. Edited by Robert Hollinger and David Depew. Praeger, 1995. Copyright © 1995 by Robert Hollinger and David Depew. Reproduced by permission of Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., Westport, CT.—Lawrence, Karen R. From *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*. Cornell University Press, 1994. Copyright © 1994 by Cornell

University. Used by permission of the publisher, Cornell University Press.—Ledford-Miller, Linda. From “A Protestant Critique of Catholicism: Frances Calderón de la Barca in Nineteenth-Century Mexico,” in *Gender, Genre, and Identity in Women’s Travel Writing*. Edited by Kristi Siegel. Peter Lang, 2004. Copyright © 2004 Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Lovejoy, Arthur M. From *The Thirteen Pragmatisms and Other Essays*. Johns Hopkins Press, 1963. Copyright © 1963, renewed 1991 The Johns Hopkins University Press. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission of The John Hopkins University Press.—Melton, Jeffrey Alan. From *Mark Twain, Travel Books, and Tourism: The Tide of a Great Popular Movement*. University of Alabama Press, 2002. Copyright © 2002 The University of Alabama Press. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Mulvey, Christopher. From “Anglo-American Fictions: National Characteristics in Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature,” in *American Literary Landscapes: The Fiction and the Fact*. Edited by Ian F. A. Bell and D. K. Adams. Vision Press, 1988. © 1988 by Vision Press Ltd. Reproduced by permission.—Peirce, Charles Sanders. From “What Pragmatism Is,” in *Peirce’s Pragmatism: The Design for Thinking*. Edited by Phyllis Chiasson. Rodopi, 2001. Copyright © Editions Rodopi B. V. Reproduced by permission.—Rae, Patricia. From *The Practical Muse: Pragmatist Poetics in Hulme, Pound, and Stevens*. Bucknell University Press, 1997. Copyright © 1997 by Associated University Presses, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Reith, Gerda. From *The Age of Chance: Gambling in Western Culture*. Routledge, 1999. © Gerda Reith. Reproduced by permission.—Schmeller, Erik S. From *Perceptions of Race and Nation in English and American Travel Writers, 1833-1914*. Peter Lang, 2004. Copyright © 2004 Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., New York. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission.—Wiener, Philip P. From “Pragmatism,” in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. vol. 3. Edited by Philip P. Wiener. Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1973. Copyright © 1973 by Charles Scribner’s Sons. Reproduced by permission of Thomson Gale.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND ILLUSTRATIONS APPEARING IN NCLC, VOLUME 168, WERE RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCES:

James, William, photograph. The Library of Congress.—Kingsley, Mary H., drawing. The Granger Collection, New York. Reproduced by permission.—Men seated at a gambling table in a Monte Carlo, Monaco casino, c. 1897, photograph. The Library of Congress.—Mer de Glace, photograph. Mary Evans Picture Library. Reproduced by permission.

Thomson Gale Literature Product Advisory Board

The members of the Thomson Gale Literature Product Advisory Board—reference librarians from public and academic library systems—represent a cross-section of our customer base and offer a variety of informed perspectives on both the presentation and content of our literature products. Advisory board members assess and define such quality issues as the relevance, currency, and usefulness of the author coverage, critical content, and literary topics included in our series; evaluate the layout, presentation, and general quality of our printed volumes; provide feedback on the criteria used for selecting authors and topics covered in our series; provide suggestions for potential enhancements to our series; identify any gaps in our coverage of authors or literary topics, recommending authors or topics for inclusion; analyze the appropriateness of our content and presentation for various user audiences, such as high school students, undergraduates, graduate students, librarians, and educators; and offer feedback on any proposed changes/enhancements to our series. We wish to thank the following advisors for their advice throughout the year.

Barbara M. Bibel

Librarian
Oakland Public Library
Oakland, California

Dr. Toby Burrows

Principal Librarian
The Scholars' Centre
University of Western Australia Library
Nedlands, Western Australia

Celia C. Daniel

Associate Reference Librarian
Howard University Libraries
Washington, D.C.

David M. Durant

Reference Librarian
Joyner Library
East Carolina University
Greenville, North Carolina

Nancy T. Guidry

Librarian
Bakersfield Community College
Bakersfield, California

Heather Martin

Arts & Humanities Librarian
University of Alabama at Birmingham, Sterne Library
Birmingham, Alabama

Susan Mikula

Librarian
Indiana Free Library
Indiana, Pennsylvania

Thomas Nixon

Humanities Reference Librarian
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Davis
Library
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mark Schumacher

Jackson Library
University of North Carolina at Greensboro
Greensboro, North Carolina

Gwen Scott-Miller

Assistant Director
Sno-Isle Regional Library System
Marysville, Washington

Contents

Preface vii

Acknowledgments xi

Literary Criticism Series Advisory Board xiii

Gambling in Nineteenth-Century Literature

<i>Introduction</i>	1
<i>Representative Works</i>	1
<i>Overview</i>	2
<i>Gambling in American Literature</i>	7
<i>Gambling in British Literature</i>	39
<i>Gambling in Russian Literature</i>	57
<i>Further Reading</i>	84

Pragmatism in the Nineteenth Century

<i>Introduction</i>	85
<i>Representative Works</i>	85
<i>Overviews</i>	86
<i>Pragmatism and Literature</i>	133
<i>Charles Sanders Peirce</i>	152
<i>William James</i>	165
<i>Further Reading</i>	208

Travel Writing in the Nineteenth Century

<i>Introduction</i>	210
<i>Representative Works</i>	210
<i>Overviews</i>	212
<i>Women's Travel Writing</i>	243
<i>Other Notable Travel Writers and Their Works</i>	312
<i>Further Reading</i>	347

Literary Criticism Series Cumulative Author Index 349

Literary Criticism Series Cumulative Topic Index 457

NCLC Cumulative Nationality Index 471

Gambling in Nineteenth-Century Literature

The following entry provides commentary on the treatment of gambling in nineteenth-century literature.

INTRODUCTION

The rise in democracy, industrialism, and capitalism in European and American societies during the nineteenth century brought about a rise in opportunities for attaining wealth, access to gambling, and commercial enterprises. Prior to the nineteenth century, gambling, or “gaming,” in Europe was a purely recreational activity. Men of the privileged class gathered in exclusive, private clubs to affirm their wealth by demonstrating that they could afford to lose large sums of money. Depictions of gambling in the literature of this period reflect this reality. The size of the middle class greatly increased in America during the nineteenth century, and as more and more Americans and Europeans gained access to sources of wealth previously unavailable to them, the nature of gambling and the prevailing social opinion of it changed from one of a seemingly harmless pastime of the wealthy to a threat to social responsibility and morality. American literature presented an ideal man who was both financially successful and socially responsible, characterizing those who amassed fortunes through success in trade or commerce as respectable and those who achieved financial success through speculation and gambling as disreputable. Literature warned that luxury could lead to the valuing of personal gain over the public good. Critics have noted that the members of the landed aristocratic classes feared the upsetting of the traditional social hierarchy, and believed that the members of the middle and lower classes—perceived by the elite as less educated and less inclined toward social responsibility—who gained wealth would spend their money irresponsibly on luxury items, or recklessly engage in gambling, ultimately leading to the corruption of society as a whole. Anti-gambling tracts offered fictionalized versions of supposedly true stories of good people’s lives being ruined by gambling.

Commentators have also discussed gambling in Russian literature of the nineteenth century, assessing Russian authors’ treatment of the theme of “chance” as a means of grappling with the political and social realities faced by individuals seeking to assert themselves in imperialist Russia. In the works of many Russian authors, cards and card games serve as a metaphor for the idea of fate and destiny being controlled by external forces.

REPRESENTATIVE WORKS

Anonymous

The Gambler; or, Memoirs of a British Officer Distinguished in the War of the American Revolution (novel) 1802

Crockford’s; or, Life in the West (novel) 1828

Benjamin Disraeli

The Young Duke (novel) 1831

Henrietta Temple (novel) 1836

Sybil; or, The Two Nations (novel) 1845

Fyodor Dostoevsky

Igrok [*The Gambler*] (novella) 1867

George Eliot

Middlemarch: A Study of Provincial Life (novel) 1871-72

Daniel Deronda (novel) 1876

Percy Fitzgerald

Fatal Zero (novel) 1868; published serially in the journal *All the Year Round*

James Grant

The Great Metropolis (essays) 1837

Vasilii Ivanovich Maikov

Igrok lombera (epic poem) 1763

Herman Melville

Redburn: His First Voyage (novel) 1849

George Meredith

The Amazing Marriage (novel) 1895

Alexander Pushkin

Pikovaia dama [*The Queen of Spades*] (short stories) 1834

Charles Reade

A Woman-Hater (novel) 1877

Rebecca Rush

Kelroy (novel) 1812

Andrew Steinmetz

The Gaming Table: Its Votaries and Victims, in All Times and Countries, Especially in England and France (history) 1870

Aleksandr Vasil'evich Sukhovo-Kobylin

Kartiny proshedshego [*The Trilogy of Alexander Sukhovo-Kobylin*] (plays) 1869

William Makepeace Thackeray

The Kickleburys on the Rhine, by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh (sketches) 1850

Anthony Trollope

The Duke's Children (novel) 1880

Caroline Matilda Warren

The Gamesters; or, Ruins of Innocence (novel) 1805

Mason Locke Weems

God's Revenge against Gambling (sketches) 1810

Sarah Wood

Dorval; or, The Speculator (novel) 1801

OVERVIEW

Gerda Reith (essay date 1999)

SOURCE: Reith, Gerda. "The Nineteenth Century: Playing with Numbers." In *The Age of Chance: Gambling in Western Culture*, pp. 74-87. London and New York: Routledge, 1999.

[In the following excerpt, Reith surveys the various forms of gambling popular during the nineteenth century and discusses how certain scientific, political, and economic shifts "dramatically changed the face of gambling."]

In the nineteenth century, various changes occurred which dramatically changed the face of gambling. The commercialisation of games of chance during the Industrial Revolution converged with the commercialisation of economic life and with the denouement of probability theory—the science that had 'tamed' chance. As the calculation of odds became more fully understood, the nature of the games played changed so that they became more amenable to commercial organisation, more homogeneous and, ultimately, more 'sellable'. It is in this period that the recognisably modern forms of the casino, the public racetrack and the mechanised slot-machine first appeared. In place of the huge sums wagered by the individuals of the seventeenth-century aristocracy came more democratic games for many

players organised around modest stakes which allowed for prolonged rather than excessive play. These conventions are still visible in the gambling behaviour of today. . . .

THE CASINO

In the industrial discipline of the nineteenth century, the separation of the spheres of leisure and work, which had been ongoing for the previous two hundred years, was finally consolidated. Such a development was particularly evident in the gambling arena which at this time was disengaged from its surrounding social life and organised into distinct, highly commercial spheres. The casino was perhaps most representative of the trend; it emerged in the second half of the century as a collection of public rooms devoted exclusively to gambling, away from its earlier formulation as a dancing saloon and summer-house (McMillen 1996).

In this period, the fashionable watering places of the aristocracy continued to be popular gaming centres and were supplemented by the development of a series of resorts throughout Europe, in which gaming houses—now casinos—were the central attraction. This development of what Turner and Ash (1975) describe as a decadent and extravagant 'Pleasure Periphery' in the French Riviera included Nice, Cannes and Monte Carlo, or, as the French called them, 'the World, the Flesh and the Devil'. Baden Baden, Bad Homberg and Wiesbaden were small localities whose deliberate expansion turned them from health spas into gambling resorts (a process which would be perfected in the twentieth century in the creation of Las Vegas).¹ Although generally exclusive, the commercialism of at least some of these resorts bore witness to some degree of democratisation. In Bad Homberg and Wiesbaden the great mass of visitors were of the middle and lower-middle classes, causing Steinmetz to note with disapproval that 'the general run of guests is by no means remarkable for birth, wealth or respectability' (Steinmetz 1870, p. 213).

By the end of the nineteenth century then, dramatic changes had transformed the nature of commercial games of chance, overseeing the formulation and codification of what we now recognise as modern casino games. Just as the economic imperatives of emergent capitalism were reflected in the growth of commercial gaming houses, so the games themselves came to reflect the social logic of a capitalist system. It is these changes we shall turn to next.

CARDS

In cards, traditional games that revolved around various kinds of patterns and sequences, such as the gaining of suits, trumps and tricks or the making of combinations like flushes and marriages in melds, were being sup-



Photo of men seated at a gambling table in a Monte Carlo casino, c. 1897.

planted by a new form of game. This new style of play was based on the arithmetical values of the cards in their properties as individual numerals, and forms the basis of all modern casino card games.

Such a shift was made possible by an experiment of the Woolley Card Company. In 1884, in keeping with the statistical spirit of the times, they printed a numerical value at diagonally opposite corners of each card in what was known as an *indice* (Hargrave 1966, p. 189). As numbers 'poured into' the nineteenth century, so they poured on to packs of cards. With this seemingly trivial development, the face of cards was literally changed forever. The value of these new cards was depicted by a bold unequivocal number, no longer represented by an image, which was necessarily more ambiguous. The authority of the number was not open to interpretation; it was a fact. Not only was it instantly more striking, in the new style of games, but the number on these cards was also more *important* than all the other information they contained. In games based on the speedy calculation of number, it was vital that each card be immediately recognisable to the player. A simple digit in each corner met this requirement in a way that a more vague pictorial depiction never could. Given the commercial environment of the new games, it was not only important that players should quickly recognise their cards, but equally, that other players should *not*. Until now, the backs of cards had been either plain or decorated with a single one-way design. This meant that they could easily be marked, or, in the case of

decorated cards, arranged with some backs upside-down, for example, to distinguish high cards from low ones, face cards or suits (Sifakis 1990, p. 57). The possibilities for cheating with such packs were unlimited; even a player with a poor memory could not fail to recognise specific cards from their backs after a while. In the nineteenth century this golden age of cheating was ended when companies began experimenting with uniform back designs so that, by the end of the century, simple two-way designs had rendered cards indistinguishable. These twin developments made cards at once both unique *and* standardised. As instances of 'the same kind of thing' they were indistinguishable, yet within this general category each one was recognisably the bearer of a specific value. Similarly, in the wider society, *l'homme moyen* was characterised by his representativeness of all others of his kind. At the same time, these characteristics came out in individual properties which displayed as much statistical variation in their particular sample as, say, the individual cards in their particular pack. In the nineteenth century then, both *l'homme moyen* and the new-style cards came to be represented as individual variations on a single, standard theme. By streamlining them, the numbering and standardisation of cards was integral to the development of new styles of play, loosely termed banking games, which evolved into casino games.

In the game of *vingt-et-un* (which later grew into pontoon, and then the casino game of blackjack), and *chemin de fer* (baccarat), suits and court cards were ir-

relevant, numerical values paramount. From their regal status as the most important cards in the pack (many bearing the image of their owner), in baccarat, picture cards were dethroned and given no value at all. A similar fate befell court cards in blackjack which were also democratized and given a single numerical value—ten. Consonant with the statistical spirit of the times, cards in these games, like all the others in the pack, were only important through their representation of number. Both games were basically arithmetical exercises whose principle was to assemble cards whose value did not exceed a specified number: twenty-one in blackjack, nine in baccarat.

With their emphasis on calculation and the irrelevance of any distinctions other than numerical ones, we can see in these games the mirror of the commercial, statistical interests of an increasingly capitalist society.

It was not only in card games that the dynamic relation between games and society was apparent. The early probabilists used games of chance to develop their theorems, and their discoveries in turn affected the games they experimented with. As probability became more fully understood, the games it was applied to became more complex, so that games and theory developed by feeding off each other in an ever more complex dialectic of theoretical and practical application.

ROULETTE

The game of E-O (even-odd) was popular during the eighteenth century in fashionable resorts like Bath and consisted of a wheel with forty cups alternately marked E for even and O for odd. A ball was released as the wheel rotated and players wagered whether it would fall into an E or O pocket. Pascal experimented with a similar ball and wheel device, but did not, as is sometimes claimed, 'invent' roulette. The game as we know it today was actually developed in the nineteenth century when the French addition of thirty-six numbers and colours to the wheel revolutionised the simplicity of the original game (Sifakis 1990, p. 256). The impact of the addition was enormous, greatly increasing the variety of betting available from one to ten, with different odds on each. Players could still bet odd or even, but now any single number or combination of numbers as well. The addition of numbers made roulette a far more exciting and complex game than its rather staid predecessor, and, with the inclusion of a zero (two in America), also made it a very commercial one, for when the ball landed in this pocket all bets were won by the house.

DICE

Advances in the study of probability, aided by commercial developments, also transformed the ancient game of hazard into a faster, more streamlined version known

as craps. Hazard had been played in the same way for centuries, with players betting that they would eventually throw a certain number with two dice, throwing until they did and then continuing to throw until the original number or 'point' came up again. However, since the odds of certain numbers coming up before others varies, a competent player would require a basic understanding of probability to play well. Such an understanding of averages and odds in relation to dice simply did not exist until the seventeenth century, with the result that most bettors did not comprehend all the ways various combinations could be achieved with two dice. For hundreds of years 'A hustler could indeed have made a fortune' (Sifakis 1990, p. 147)!

In France, hazard was known as *krabs* (after the English word for a throw of two or three), later corrupted to *creps* or *craps*. When introduced into America by French colonists, a modified version grew in popularity among black slaves in New Orleans and took its name from French craps (Scarne 1974, p. 39). In the nineteenth century, the incorporation of ever-increasing knowledge about odds and percentages reformulated the rules of hazard into what we now know as the modern game of craps. Dozens of types of bets now became available to the player, with many more variations of each type.

With its multitude of betting strategies and combinations of odds, the appeal of craps as a lucrative commercial game was obvious. To entice it into the casino, further modifications were made, which changed its structure yet again. A small charge was made by the house whenever the thrower made two or more passes. This was known as a take-off game. Next, the house took the opposition against the thrower, so that *all* players now had to bet the dice to win against the house. A simple table layout bearing the six and eight, the field, win and come bets, was drawn up to play on, exactly half of the table layout today. The house now took its cut 'not as a direct charge, but indirectly and less noticeably by offering short odds so that it gained a percentage' (Scarne 1974, p. 41). A further development offered players the opportunity to bet the dice to *lose*, as well as to win. In effect, every bet could now be either for or against the dice or the house. Betting opportunities were doubled, and the craps table reflected the change, changing its shape from a semi-circle to a full oval, with one half a mirror image of the other. The game of craps at times appeared as the archetypal game of probability theory, with its complex permutations of odds, pay-offs and house percentages, a working (or rather *playing*) example of a theoretical construction.

GAMING MACHINES

One of the most significant developments of the nineteenth century was the introduction of gaming machines. The Industrial Revolution had laid the foundations for

automatic gambling when a London bookseller created a vending machine in order to sell proscribed literature, although the introduction and proliferation of coin-operated machines did not appear on a mass scale until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. During this period of technological innovation, the automation of the leisure sphere was complemented by that of the workplace, so that the development of what Costa (1988) called 'automatic pleasures' was symptomatic of the automation of the wider world of the late nineteenth century.

Being born into a secular, industrial age, the ancient image of divinatory drama which ran as a leitmotif through most older, established types of gambling would not be expected to feature in this young form. However, slot-machines did manage to maintain the link of all gambling with the sacred, for the automated machines from which the early gaming machines drew their inspiration were originally used for fortune-telling. In the white heat of the technological revolution, the art of divination was not made redundant, it was simply mechanised.

The earliest gaming machines invited individuals to discover their future by means of a spinning pointer, a card dispenser or some kind of animated figure (Costa 1988, p. 21). Their patents stated that they could be used either as divinatory devices or as games of chance, although in an attempt to limit their appeal, both forms of amusement were only allowed to return tokens such as cigarettes and chewing-gum and not cash, as prizes. The design of many of these first machines was simply an automatic adaptation of already existing games—hence the popularity of images of cards and horses, as well as of pieces of fruit, from which the term 'fruit machine' is derived.

The first automatic three-reel machine, or 'one-arm bandit'—the prototype of our modern gambling machines—appeared in San Francisco in 1905 when Charles Fey developed a device in which a handle was pulled to spin three wheels and, if a winning combination was made, a stream of nickels poured out into a tray below (Sifakis 1990). The one-armed bandit (which Fey patriotically named the Liberty Bell) was developed in a rush of pioneering individualism typical of the Gold Rush state of that time. Throughout the nineteenth century risk-hungry Californians, whom Findlay (1986) called 'people of chance', were possessed of a dynamic, innovative spirit which culminated in their westward advance across Nevada and the subsequent creation of Las Vegas. It is no wonder then that in an era of technological advance, it was these 'people of chance' who gave slot-machines their final configuration and so created the most modern form of gambling device.

HORSES

The numerical preoccupation of the nineteenth century, along with technological innovation, was to dramatically change the face of horse-race betting. The role of newspapers became steadily more important in this process, along with newly established journals such as *Sporting Life* (1863) and *Sporting Chronicle* (1871), disseminating tips, news and forecasts to a hungry audience. For the second time in history,² print encouraged—and was encouraged by—gambling. This plethora of sporting journals fed the voracious public appetite for information, and was crammed full of facts and statistics about horses, races, jockeys and odds. Aided by the electronic telegraph system, which meant the press could quickly publish results and starting odds, and the establishment of a credit network, the 1880s saw the development of large-scale organised betting (McKibbin 1979; Chinn 1991; Clapson 1992; Munting 1996). In a move which the aristocracy would have fought bitterly against, railways helped to make horse-racing a national spectator sport by sponsoring races and linking towns (and therefore fee-paying punters) to courses.

These nineteenth-century developments revolutionised racing. Now thoroughly democratised, its status was reversed from being the prerogative of a rich elite to being a massive working-class entertainment. Under the sway of commercial developments, spectacular, individual upper-class bets disappeared and popular betting between a mass of punters—both on and off the track—took over. Such bets were subject to strict odds: the chances of a horse winning a race were calculated by taking many variables into account, and expressed in a numerical equation. Pay-offs were equally subject to strict calculation, based on the amount of the original stake and the odds on the particular horse. No longer a simple 'gentlemen's agreement' for a set amount, betting became a complex contract between bettors and central race organisers, relayed through a number of betting shops. The physiognomy of betting also changed: from being private and limited it became public and widespread. Its role in providing a source of excitement as well as hope of financial gain at a time when poverty made alternative forms of economic advance, such as saving, unrealistic, meant the popularity of betting was assured (Chinn 1991; Clapson 1992). This broad place in working-class culture was reflected in an increasing dissemination of bookmakers, runners and their agents on street corners, in the backs of shops and throughout private homes. The first betting house opened in Britain in 1847: three years later over 400 existed, and almost immediately, an 'epidemic of gambling was declared to have attacked even the poorest class' (Neville 1909, p. 99). Needless to say, a wave of legislation—the Street Betting Acts of 1853, 1874 and 1892—swiftly appeared, designed to eradicate all forms

of popular, working-class betting.³ Again, it was too late. The popular tide of betting simply went underground, largely unaffected by the 'suppression', until betting shops were reinstated in 1961.

THE NEW STYLE OF PLAY

The highly numerical nature of all these forms of gambling was consonant with the statistical milieu of the nineteenth century, and was particularly suited to the imperatives of commercial organisation. These developments were to change the experience of play forever. In gaming halls and public houses, people played all day and all night at games like craps and roulette, which had been refined and organised in such a way as to include a 'space' for a 'player' who always won—the house, or dealer. Commercialisation encouraged dealers to rely increasingly 'upon the more predictable and more secure profits provided by odds fixed inflexibly in their favour' (Findlay 1986, p. 91). Realising the impossibility of winning the games they operated, these commercial interests—the 'house'—made a brilliant move whereupon winning was assured. Rather than participate in a game, they removed themselves from it altogether and allied themselves with the very law that told them they had to lose. By placing themselves actually *within* the probability equation, they could simply sit back and await the profits which would inevitably result from favourable odds once the law of large numbers was given enough time to come into effect. Backed by the indomitable authority of probability, the house could not possibly lose. On the other hand, the alliance of both odds *and* house edge meant that individual gamblers could not possibly win. They found themselves competing against an invisible opponent with a permanent place at every table and unlimited resources. What is more, they were forced to play against the house, for this element of competition had been built into the commercial games and was now inherent in their structure. Gamblers no longer played against each other but against the house, whose invisible impersonal force mirrored the imperatives of economic behaviour, the 'invisible hand' of market forces.

Commercialisation also changed the social composition of play by encouraging less wealthy players. As wagers became smaller, participation dramatically increased. Hiding behind the iron laws of probability, gambling entrepreneurs made profits, not by increasing the stakes of games, but by increasing the volume of players. They might not make 'leviathan' wagers, but these more modest players could be relied on to place a regular flow of smaller bets, so guaranteeing the profits of the house.

As its nature was transformed through commercialisation, the experience of gambling itself underwent a change. Participation, not winning *per se*, became paramount and, as Findlay points out, this changed the

meaning of gambling itself: 'Players still hoped to win . . . but they looked upon betting more as a commodity for sale . . . as an experience worth purchasing with losing wagers' (Findlay 1986, p. 92). In a capitalist economy, gambling had finally succumbed to commodification. But this was no ordinary commodity, for it had a unique experiential component. Players continued to gamble, but as much for the thrills and excitement of the game itself as for financial rewards. Fast games and moderate stakes became valued for prolonging participation and therefore maximising excitement. Now that their main motivation was participation, gamblers played simply to *play*, for: 'Next to the pleasure of winning is the pleasure of losing, only stagnation is unendurable' (Bankcroft, in Findlay 1986, p. 94).

Out of this process of commercialisation emerged a distinctive type of gambling which, despite distinct differences, also shared common elements with the gambling of the seventeenth-century aristocrat. Crucially, for both, money served only as a measure of play, unimportant in itself. The high stakes of the aristocracy showed their indifference to money and as such, the aristocrat played to *participate*, never to win. The low stakes of the nineteenth-century gambler at first seem far removed from the leviathan bets of the aristocrat, but they served a similar purpose: to lengthen participation. Again, money was only a *means* of play, and the indifference of these latter gamblers to it stemmed from their participation in play itself. These orientations are also to be found in modern gamblers. . . .

The commercialisation of gambling was to gather speed over the following hundred years, overseeing its gradual development into a widespread, popular and—just as importantly—legal form of consumption. In this process centuries of condemnation which had persistently attempted to eliminate games of chance from social life—and especially the social life of the poor—were finally overturned.

Notes

1. See Russell T. Barnhart's history of these gambling centres, as well as the illustrious figures who frequented them (Barnhart 1983).
2. The first being the dissemination of cards from the printing presses of the fifteenth century.
3. Both of these Acts were hugely unpopular, and largely unworkable. In particular, the 1906 legislation represented an attempt by anti-gambling lobbies (mainly the National Anti-Gambling League) to outlaw all forms of working-class gambling. In this, it has been described as 'a monstrous sample of class legislation' (Clapson 1992, p. 31), which ensured that gambling was to remain a political issue.

References

- Barnhart, R. T. (1983) *Gamblers of Yesteryear*, Las Vegas: Gamblers Book Club Press.
- Chinn, C. (1991) *Better Betting with a Decent Feller: Bookmakers, Betting and the British Working Class 1750-1990*, Hemel Hempstead, Herts: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Clapson, M. (1992) *A Bit of a Flutter: Popular Gambling and English Society 1823-1961*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Costa, N. (1988) *Automatic Pleasures: The History of the Coin Machine*, London: The Bath Press.
- Findlay, J. (1986) *People of Chance: Gambling in American Society from Jamestown to Las Vegas*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hargrave, C. (1966) *A History of Playing Cards*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- McKibbin, N. (1979) 'Working class gambling in Britain 1880-1937', *Past and Present*, 82, 147-178.
- McMillen, J. (ed.) (1996) *Gambling Cultures: Studies in History and Interpretation*, London: Routledge.
- Munting, R. (1996) *An Economic and Social History of Gambling in Britain and the USA*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Neville, M. (1909) *Light Come, Light Go*, London: Macmillan.
- Scarne, J. (1974) *Scarne on Dice*, Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books.
- Sifakis, C. (1990) *The Encyclopedia of Gambling*, New York: Facts on File.
- Steinmetz, A. (1870) *The Gaming Table*, vol. 2, London: Tinsley Brothers.
- Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975) *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*, London: Constable.

GAMBLING IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

Karen A. Weyler (essay date 1996)

SOURCE: Weyler, Karen A. "A Speculating Spirit": Trade, Speculation, and Gambling in Early American Fiction." *Early American Literature* 31, no. 3 (1996): 207-42.

[In the following essay, Weyler examines American novelists' treatment of such subjects as the desire for and accumulation of wealth within the context of social morality during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.]

"We thought when once our liberty was gain'd,
And Peace had spread its influence thro' the land,
That Learning soon would raise its chearful head,
And arts on arts would joyfully succeed;
'Till all Columbia's genius 'gan to blaze,
And in true science more than rival'd Greece:
But *Speculation*, like a baleful pest,
Has pour'd his dire contagion in the breast:
That monster that would ev'ry thing devour. . . ."

From *The Glass or Speculation: A Poem: Containing an Account of the Ancient, and Genius of the Modern, Speculators*

The excerpt quoted above, from a poem printed in pamphlet form in 1791, captures both the hope and the disappointment wrought by changing economic conditions in the newly formed United States after the Revolution. "Speculation" and its companion vices avarice and greed dismayed republicans throughout the United States as the self-sacrificing civic virtue of the war years gave way to more profit-oriented forms of individualism.¹ Novels written in America arose at precisely the time when this postcolonial economy was in great flux, and they point to the possibilities and dangers inherent in a capitalist economy that placed grave demands upon trust between widely separated and differing individuals. Novelists, poets, political writers, and belletrists, regardless of their political orientation, expressed considerable anxiety about how this changing economy would affect the moral virtue of American citizens. The luxuries resulting from this changing economy became a locus for these fears, and luxury came to refer not only to specific items procured in international trade, but also to an urbanized, sophisticated lifestyle.² Although novelists were concerned about abuses of luxury, they were perhaps more concerned about the problematic issue of accumulating capital. While most early American novels exalt industry and the potential for economic advancement that the American economy offered, these novels simultaneously point to contemporary economic anxieties, primarily the fear that people would attempt to make money without industry through such means as gambling, speculating, and counterfeiting. I argue in this essay that reading novels alongside political pamphlets, economic tracts, and belles lettres reveals that American fiction was an active and significant link in the nexus of public discourse during the 1790s and the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Deeply engaged with economic issues facing Americans of the rising middle-class, fiction contributed to public economic discourse by exploring ways to reconcile desire for personal economic advancement with larger civic interests; at the same time, fiction contributed to the gendering of the American economic system by presenting trade as a virtuous means of making money and by simultaneously constructing economic desire as a specifically masculine prerogative.

Novels written between 1789 and 1815 provide a window into post-Revolutionary America that allows us to