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Pater and His Younger Contemporaries

Gerald Monsman

WHEN WALTER PATER EXHORTED the young men of Oxford to burn, like the stars of the French Pléiade, with a "hard, gemlike flame," he was challenging them in the concluding paragraphs of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* to devote their lives to a new ideal, to the search for beauty, and "the love of art for art's sake." Unfortunately, his description of the aesthetic life seems to have seduced many of his younger contemporaries into the pursuit of naked beauty up the stairs of the ivory tower. That was not the life Pater had meant to describe, but confusion persisted, and until recently his reputation suffered. T. S. Eliot's essay on Pater is representative of the disrepute in which his writings were held during the decades after World War I. Eliot found Pater's novel, *Marius the Epicurean,* a "hodge-podge" because his mind was "incapable of sustained reasoning"—which meant for Eliot and his readers that Pater was primarily neither a philosopher, a literary critic, a classicist, nor a master of any other systematic discipline. Further, because Pater's mind was "morbid" and because he had confused art and life in his studies in *The Renaissance,* Eliot charged him with the blame for a number of "untidy lives" among his self-proclaimed disciples in the nineties.[1] So, tarred with decadence and covered with the feathers of too many disciplines, the Paterian corpus was borne from academia in derision.

But despite Eliot's dismissals, the influence of Pater's aesthetic ideal on modern literature has been extensive, though not yet fully documented.[2] In particular, his ideal of the gem-like flame, the moment of aesthetic ecstasy isolated within the flux of sensations, seems to have had a pervasive influence on many who read him. In addition to Eliot—reestablishing the religious significance of the Paterian "moment"—poets as diverse as Hopkins,[3] Yeats, Dowson, Johnson, Symons, Wilde, Pound, Stevens, Auden, MacNeice and novelists such as James, Conrad, Woolf, Joyce, Lawrence, and Proust have exhibited Pater's influence. And among artists and aestheticians, critics and historians of art, George Santayana's and Bernard Berenson's experience of being dazzled as undergraduates at Harvard by Pater's *Renaissance* seems not unusual. Although Pater missed the chance in 1888 to admit the future historian of Italian art to his lectures, in after years Berenson testified that Pater's mythic and imaginary portraits "revealed to me what from childhood I had been instinctively tending toward. . . . It is for that I have loved him since youth and shall be grateful to him even to the House of Hades where, in the words of Nausicaa to Odysseus, I shall hail him as god. It was he who encouraged me to extract from the chaotic succession of events in the common day what was wholesome and sweet, what fed and sustained the spirit."[4]

I

The principal route of Pater's influence on twentieth-century literature led from the decadents to Yeats. Richard Le Gallienne pays tribute to the centrality of Pater among the literati of the *fin de siècle:* "Among the men . . . who were rapidly putting on immortality under our very eyes, perhaps the most important of all, as in certain directions the most influential, was . . . Walter Pater. Mr. George Moore has put himself on record more than once to the effect that Pater's 'Marius the Epicurean' is the most beautiful book in the English tongue. This was the opinion also of many young men in the '90's." In his *Confessions of a Young Man,* Moore had praised Pater's novel as "the book to which I owe the last temple of my soul," declaring that he shared with the novel "the same incurable belief that the beauty of material things is sufficient for all the needs of life."[5] Whatever preconceptions these young men of the nineties may have brought to *Marius,* owing to the construction they put on the aestheticism of *The Renaissance,* the beauty of its style, if not its vision of ideal love, remained for them undiminished despite the changing taste of the times: "Three or four years ago I reread *Marius the Epicurean,*

1. "Arnold and Pater," *Selected Essays: New Edition* (New York, 1960), pp. 382-93. First published in 1930.
2. Studies of "Influence" are cited by Lawrence Evans in *Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research,* ed. David DeLaura (New York, 1973), pp. 355-56. One addition to Evans' list should be Harold Bloom, "Late Victorian Poetry and Pater," *Yeats* (New York, 1970); post-1973 studies of influence have not substantially altered Evans' survey of the field.
3. For a study of this relation as well as an outline of Pater's thought see my "Pater, Hopkins, and the Self," *VN* (Fall 1974), 1-5.
4. *Sketch for a Self-Portrait* (New York, 1949), p. 163. See also Berenson, *Sunset and Twilight: From the Diaries of 1947-1958* (New York, 1963), pp. 343, 526; *Letters of Walter Pater,* ed. Lawrence Evans (Oxford, 1970), p. 172; Sylvia Sprigge, *Berenson: A Biography* (Boston, 1960), p. 42 and *passim;* and *The Letters of George Santayana,* ed. Daniel Cory (New York, 1955), pp. 238-39.
5. *The Romantic '90s* (New York, 1925), p. 97; John Pick, "Divergent Disciples of Walter Pater," *Thought,* XXIII (March 1948), 123.

expecting to find I cared for it no longer," wrote Yeats in his *Autobiography* in 1922, "but it still seemed to me, as I think it seemed to us all, the only great prose in modern English, and yet I begin to wonder if it, or the attitude of mind of which it was the noblest expression, had not caused the disaster of my friends. It taught us to walk upon a rope, tightly stretched through serene air, and we were left to keep our feet upon a swaying rope in a storm."[6]

The "friends" to whom Yeats refers were members of the Rhymers' Club, fellow walkers on the tightrope of ecstasy, precariously alienated from their audience and isolated from each other. Obsessed with innocence and evil in a society that cared merely for respectability, they led lives which were at best "untidy," and, as one critic observed, most died as soon as their constitutions would decently permit. Among the Rhymers, Yeats, Johnson, Dowson, Symons, Herbert Horne, and Wilde (an occasional visitor when the Club met in private houses) could be numbered as disciples of Pater. Although as a group these young men barely articulated an aesthetic philosophy of their own, the "Conclusion" of Pater's *Renaissance* focused much of what they believed, and in its three or four years of existence the Club carried the banner of "art for art's sake" and celebrated Pater's writings as the ultimate expression of that slogan. In his "Introduction" to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse,* Yeats wrote:

> The revolt against Victorianism meant to the young poet a revolt against irrelevant descriptions of nature, the scientific and moral discursiveness of *In Memoriam,*. . . the political eloquence of Swinburne, the psychological curiosity of Browning, and the poetical diction of everybody. . . . Poetry was a tradition like religion and liable to corruption, and it seemed that [poets] could best restore it by writing lyrics technically perfect, their emotion pitched high, and as Pater offered instead of moral earnestness life lived as "a pure gem-like flame" all accepted him for master.[7]

Then, as an example of pure poetry detaching itself from the flux in a moment of ecstasy, Yeats began his anthology by printing in *vers libre* Pater's purple passage on the Mona Lisa.

In later years Yeats acknowledged that whereas Rossetti's work had held an emotional, subconscious attraction for him, the Paterian celebration of pure, intense experience provided him with his conscious aesthetic program. Stylistically the early Yeats out-Paters Pater. Particularly notable is Yeats' fantasy, "Rosa Alchemica" (1896), modeled on Pater's prose rhythms and presenting a nineties-style Marius as its hero: "I gathered about me all gods because I believed in none, and experienced every pleasure because I gave myself to none, but held myself apart, individual, indissoluble, a mirror of polished steel."[8] As Yeats evolved toward a poetic style with a new, astringent beauty, he sloughed off the stock romantic pathos and derivative diction of the nineties. In "The Phases of the Moon" (1919), his puppet figure Robartes complains, "He wrote of me in that extravagant style / He had learnt from Pater." But as a *prosateur,* Yeats never repudiated Pater's polyphonic richness and subtle consonance. From such earlier visionary prose-poems as "The Moods" (1895) and "The Autumn of the Body" (1898) to later works such as *Per Amica Silentia Lunae* (1917), the *Autobiography* (1914, 1922), and "Dove or Swan" in *A Vision* (1925), Yeats displayed a diction and cadence worthy of the most ardent of Pater's stylistic disciples.

But more sinister than any stylistic indulgence was Yeats' pursuit of that intensity which Pater had suggested as the chief end of man. Art should convey the most intense moments of life, refining experience until, nearing the purity and elevation of religious ritual, passion yields up knowledge and vision. For the Rhymers this Paterian "ecstasy" connoted the perfect absence of ideology or value judgments. In a broadcast entitled "Modern Poetry," Yeats recalled that the Rhymers "wished to express life at its intense moments, those moments that are brief because of their intensity, and at those moments alone."[9] This poetry of ecstasy looked to the flux of immediate impressions for its nourishment, and Yeats notes that when he began to write he avowed for his models those poets of "the aesthetic school" who "intermixed into their poetry no elements from the general thought, but wrote out of the impression made by the world upon their delicate senses."[10] He is undoubtedly recalling here the antecedent Keatsean celebration of beauty mediated so impressively through Rossetti; however, it was Pater who explicitly proclaimed these subjective impressions of beauty as the only knowable reality. The first step of critic and artist alike is "to know one's own impression as it really is."[11] Pater used the word *impression* a half dozen times in the second paragraph alone of the "Preface" to *The Renaissance,* and in the "Conclusion" he exhorted the young men of Oxford "to be for ever curiously testing new opinions and courting new impressions."

6. *The Autobiography of William Butler Yeats* (New York, 1953), p. 181.
7. *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse, 1892-1935* (Oxford, 1936), p. ix.
8. *The Secret Rose* (London, 1897), pp. 223-24.
9. *Essays and Introductions* (London, 1961), p. 494.
10. *Essays,* p. 347.
11. *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (London, 1910), p. viii. In effect, Pater is using Ruskin's critical impressionism to undercut Arnold's famous dictum that the "aim of criticism is to see the object as in itself it really is."

Of the genuinely talented Rhymers, only Yeats lived long enough eventually to be troubled by the exclusion of so much from this poetry of intense moments, for it left him, as he says, "alone amid the obscure impressions of the senses."[12] In his *Autobiography,* he attempted to explain something of the tragedy in the lives of two of the most promising Rhymers, Ernest Dowson and Lionel Johnson, precisely in terms of this obsession with a "pure" beauty "separated from all the general purposes of life." They made in their writing, said Yeats, "what Arnold has called that 'morbid effort,' that search for 'perfection of thought and feeling, and to unite this to perfection of form,' sought this new, pure beauty, and suffered in their lives because of it."[13] Just as Pater's writings had extended the premises of Arnold's, Rossetti's, and Ruskin's views of art, so with the Rhymers there occurs a certain drawing out of attitudes that seem to pertain almost exclusively to the "Conclusion." Although the "Conclusion" was merely a prologue to Pater's broader concern with the cultural heritage, it more than any other document sums up his influence on his disciples. In his *Memoirs,* Yeats does cite the "Animula Vagula" chapter of *Marius* as an influence upon himself and the Rhymers. Unfortunately, though avidly read, the novel was viewed merely as giving an antique setting to the modern aesthetic doctrines of the "Conclusion." In the seventies, certainly, it was easy to misread Pater; and if he had failed to publish successive "correctives" in the eighties and nineties, one could justly accuse him of being culpably vague about aesthetic ideals.

But no mere "corrective" succeeded in altering Pater's image, and accordingly Yeats blamed the "attitude of mind" expressed in *Marius,* rather than in the "Conclusion," for putting the Rhymers on the "tightrope" of intensity. The Rhymers saw only the solitary figure of Marius, isolated from life as if on some high-wire, balancing between birth and death a whole dreamworld of ideally exquisite passions. They loved those choice moments of revelation or near revelation extracted from common events; their spirits soared at the suggestion of a vision lurking just behind the veil of gross reality. John Davidson might aestheticize telegraph wires and factory chimneys; Symons might find inspiration in the theatre, the dance hall, the cafe; and Le Gallienne might allude to the "iron lilies of the Strand" (the gaslights); but in general the Rhymers tended to avoid as far as possible any contamination by quotidian life. They learned from the writings of Pater the paradoxical lesson that beauty was both the supreme manifestation of culture and yet radically independent of that culture. They looked to an inner vision, and drifted ever deeper into their private world of rarefied emotions.

Ernest Dowson, who sang of remote, ideal love and the vanity of life, produced in his "Non Sum Qualis Eram Bonae Sub Regno Cynarae" (1896) the definitive expression of alienation. The distance from the "Conclusion" to this expression of the brevity of life and its despair was shorter than Pater had realized. *Marius,* too, with its almost mystical love of religious ritual and its beatific vision of the saintly Cecilia and the Christian community was easily assimilated into Dowson's despairing Catholicism. There are specific echoes, even, such as the one in Dowson's "Extreme Unction" in which the phrase "all the passages of sense" is taken from Pater's description of the last sacrament.[14] Certainly Pater's fatal Lady Lisa shadowed not only Dowson's profane loves but also his sacred ideal, Cynara, who as Adelaide Foltinowicz was his twelve-year-old epitome of innocence. Failing to capture this beatific vision of purity, Dowson stumbled toward death with, in Symons' memorable phrase, the face of a "demoralized Keats." Or perhaps he was more like a Pater who had visited the France of Verlaine, Baudelaire, and Gautier and on whose return the sea change was apparent, the taint of mortality was upon him. And so Dowson cries: "Unto us they belong / Us the bitter and gay, / Wine and women and song." He was dead of tuberculosis and drink at thirty-two.

Lionel Johnson in his self-imposed isolation was another casualty. He rose at six in the evening, spent his waking hours in his library in the company of whisky, and went to bed at dawn. Like Pater's Sebastian van Storck, he hated his image, and after the age of twenty-one would not allow himself to be photographed or drawn. But Pater was worth the effort of a visit, and Johnson reported after one such excursion that the master had "talked theology and praised Anglicanism for its 'reverent doubt and sober mysticism.'"[15] Sharing religious mysticism and a tendency to distill the intellectual aspects of religion into gracious sentiment, the two also shared a style sensitive to the precise value of words, a style which often pressed words back into their Latinate meanings. Twice Johnson wrote of Pater in his poetry. "A Friend" (1894) begins: "His are the whitenesses of soul, / That Virgil had. . . ." And in the 1902 elegy Johnson praised Pater as the "Hierarch of the spirit" and "Scholarship's constant saint," extolling him at the conclusion as "that unforgettably most gracious friend." But the Paterian contrast between the ideal whiteness of soul and the life of the senses becomes in Johnson's religious poetry a tragic conflict exacerbated by the introspective

12. *Essays,* p. 349.
13. *Autobiography,* p. 188.
14. *Marius the Epicurean* (London, 1910), II, 224.
15. *Letters of Pater,* p. xxiv.

melancholia of his spiritual isolation. Although he understood Pater's humanism and his call for an aesthetics in harmony with cultural norms, Johnson almost despite himself felt the sinister undertow of a shadow self, the Dark Angel: "Through thee, the gracious Muses turn / To Furies, O mine Enemy! / And all thing things of beauty burn / With flames of evil ecstasy." Pater, too, had spoken of the "ecstasy" of burning, but his enthusiastic desire in the seventies to explore the possibilities of aesthetic life had, with the Rhymers, entered into a new and terrifying phase which, tragically, Johnson could not escape. He became "one of those who fall,"[16] morally and physically, until, trying to sit on one pub stool too many, he fell off, fractured his skull, and died. He was thirty-five.

Because of difference of opinion and the clash of personalities, the Rhymers gradually separated in 1894 or 1895. But Yeats never abandoned his belief in Paterian intensity; rather, as his contemplative passions became active he quit the ivory tower, descended into the market place, and discovered life anew. As a young man, Yeats had been inspired both in his portrayal of the Muse as Destroyer and in his submission to Maud Gonne by Pater's description of the sinister Mona Lisa. In *Marius,* the epiphany of this goddess, which only tentatively structured the loosely knit portraits of *The Renaissance,* became a dramatically conceived antithesis. Here Venus (and her varied manifestations as Faustina and assorted courtesans) is contrasted with Saint Cecilia (anticipated in Psyche and Wisdom). Harlot and saint, both suggest fertility or rebirth, but in the virginal yet maternal Cecilia the pagan rites of slaughter and the old pagan sense of the earth as a mother become personified in another sort of muse, a "new vision."[17] Yeats seemed eventually to have found in Cecilia that Unity-of-Being toward which he aspired and to have realized that Lady Lisa was less Pater's ideal than his timely warning.

In "A Prayer for my Daughter," Yeats sought the custom and ceremony of Cecilia's holy house for his daughter Anne, who, he prayed, might also be learned in "courtesy" and mistress of a house where innocence and beauty are born "in custom and ceremony." Anne's "radical innocence" of soul and her ritualistic bridegroom are a Yeatsean elaboration of the Psyche / Cecilia ideal as Pater had portrayed it. In this poem Yeats no longer found Pater's aesthetics an isolating tightrope in a storm; the gale may come howling in from the Atlantic, but Anne quietly sleeps, guarded by what Pater would call her bond with "all worthy men, living and dead. . . . There, I say, is the principle of custom raised to the level of heroism."[18] Among those worthy dead lay Robert Gregory who had been eulogized by Yeats the preceding year in the same house with the same bitter wind shaking the shutter. Although Yeats had rejected the intensity of the femme fatale, he utilized the intensity / death equation in his elegy for Gregory, creating after the fashion of Pater a portrait of the artist dead in his prime. Gregory burned with the Paterian "intensity" of a true Renaissance hero: "Our Sidney and our perfect man." Like an aristocratic Irish version of Pater's Duke Carl, Gregory went out to meet life with courtesy, to conquer it with ceremony, and to die with his youth (though in fact he was nearly forty) still upon him.

II

It seems clear that for the major modernists, the significance of the nineties lay in the misrepresentation of the Paterian moment of "ecstasy" as a revolt against "rhetoric" (the climate of nineteenth-century philosophy and morals) and as a celebration of pure sensation and form, as a "de-idealizing" of a type of experience which went all the way back to Wordsworth's "spots of time." Just why they could so lightheartedly dismiss Pater's Goethe-and-Gautier Aestheticism, as it was called, may in part be explained by the fact that these younger writers no longer wished to admit their debt to *any* Victorian. To protect his image as a revolutionary modern, Yeats' close friend, Ezra Pound, covered up his embarrassment at Pater's early influence with the patronizing confession that he "is not dull in the least. He is adolescent reading, and very excellent bait."[19] Yet in three of his early essays, "Vortex," "Vorticism," and "Vortographs," Pound, who would have been a thirty-one-year-old "adolescent" when he wrote the last of these essays, credits "the immediate ancestry" of his school to Pater's dictum that "All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music." (Pound quotes Whistler as ancestor also, but Pater's insight is accorded priority, doubtless owing to Pound's experimentation with the "rhythm-phrase.") Pater's assertion that "In its primary aspect, a great picture has no more definite message for us than an accidental play of . . . fallen light, caught as the colours are in an Eastern carpet,"[20] epitomizes Pound's argument in "Vorticism" that patterns of form and color seen and felt directly are superior to symbols used merely "to back up some creed or some system of ethics or economics." Not only does Pound's phrasing here echo Pater's "Conclusion" in particular ("theory or idea or system"), but when Pound defines the poetic image as "a radiant node or cluster, . . . a VORTEX, from which, and through which, and into which, ideas are constantly rushing," he both adapts Pater's metaphor of the gem-like flame and reaffirms the Paterian perception of consciousness as a "whirlpool" (for this image Yeats also had uses). If the poets of the nineties, isolated amidst the flux, owed their despair to Pater, poets in the first decades of the following century who proclaimed the kinetic gospel of vital forces were also his heirs—the Paterian flame, "point" of "purest energy," became the Poundian vortex, "point of maximum energy."[21] Small wonder Yeats was led to inquire a shade apprehensively: "Did Pater foreshadow a poetry, a philosophy, where the individual is nothing, the flux of *The Cantos* of Ezra Pound?"[22]

Pound's fellow countryman Wallace Stevens was equally indebted to what, afterwards, he called the "dreadful goings-on of Walter Pater," adding that "it would be impossible nowadays, I suppose, to concede anything at all in that direction."[23] Certainly the Paterian sensibility informs Stevens' richly sensuous first volume, *Harmonium* (1923), especially "Tea at the Palaz of Hoon" which may be cited as echoing the aesthetic self-sufficiency of Pater's "supreme, artistic view of life." Pater is again present in "Two or Three Ideas" and in *The Necessary Angel's* "morality of the right sensation," as well as in "the impossible possible philosophers' man" of "Asides on the Oboe," and above all in "Notes Toward a Supreme Fiction" which tentatively sanctions Pound's "magic moments" and Pater's "ideal instants": "Perhaps there are times of inherent excellence /. . . . moments of awakening, / Extreme, fortuitous, personal, in which / We more than awaken." Pater's influence on Stevens may be traced at least in part to his Harvard mentor, Santayana, friend of Berenson and of Pater's ardent disciple, Lionel Johnson. A charming stylist and aesthete whose "sense of beauty" shaped itself in the intellectual milieu of Ruskin and Pater, Santayana began as a poet of fragile sonnets not unworthy of Edmund Gosse. During Stevens' Harvard years, Santayana's *Sense of Beauty* (1896) and *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion* (1900) unveiled a Pateresque "materialistic Platonism" which blended neo-pagan naturalism with the metaphysics of the flux and elevated poetry to the seat of religion—all of which left a lasting impression on Stevens' aesthetics. In one of his best late poems, "To an Old Philosopher in Rome," Stevens pays tribute to Santayana and depicts the moods and sensations of death in terms similar to Pater's description of Marius' last illness. Such lines as "The threshold, Rome, and that more merciful Rome / Beyond, the two alike in the make of the mind" forcefully recall Pater's description of the earthly city and the Rome on high.

When Pound set out "to bring poetry up to the level of prose," he was, of course, thinking not only of the French prose masters but of Pater as well, and it may be that Pater's influence was greater on the novelists of the twentieth century than on its poets. Possibly Henry James best expressed the paradoxical response of the emerging twentieth-century novelist when in an 1894 letter to Gosse after Pater's death he parodied the image of the gem-like flame and yet concluded with a line of absolutely genuine praise: "Faint, pale, embarrassed, exquisite Pater! He reminds me, in the disturbed midnight of our actual literature, of one of those lucent matchboxes which you place, on going to bed, near the candle, to show you, in the darkness, where you can strike a light: he shines in the uneasy gloom—vaguely, and has a phosphorescence, not a flame. But I agree with you that he is not of the little day—but of the longer time."[24] Certainly one reason for Pater's durability lay in the distinguishing technical characteristic of his prose romances, their emphasis not on action, but on attitudes. He does not render immediate gesture and utterance, but their temperamental equivalents; that is, finely discriminated "sensations and ideas" (the subtitle of *Marius*). Although his "imaginary portraits" lie outside the generic categories of Victorian literature, in their diminished plot emphasis they may be considered forerunners of one of the major developments of twentieth-century literature, the "psychological novel" with its stress on the rendering of impressions, on character and point of view. Writers such as James, Conrad, Ford, and Woolf, translating into fictional technique the concepts of self and time explored by William James and Henri Bergson, were anticipated in Pater's preoccupations by nearly a quarter-century.

Soon after James first "took possession" of London, he met Pater and found him "far from being as beautiful as his own prose." In the eighties the two men often had the opportunity of conversing at "literary tea-drinkings" and dinner parties; at one such gathering for J. S. Sargent, Violet Paget observed "Pater limping with gout and Henry James wrinkling his forehead as usual for tight

16. "Mystic and Cavalier"; alluded to in Yeats' elegy for Robert Gregory and quoted in the *Autobiography* as emblematic of Johnson and his tragically "fallen" generation.
17. *Marius,* II, 108.
18. *Letters of Pater,* p. xxv.
19. *Guide to Kulchur* (New York, 1952), p. 160.
20. Thus all the arts become "a matter of pure perception," and "the sensuous material of each art brings with it a special phase or quality of beauty, untranslatable into the forms of any other." *Renaissance,* pp. 130-38 and *passim.* This theoretical passage in "The School of Giorgione," together with the "Conclusion," doubtless explains Pound's inclusion of Pater among "the great critics" in his 1909 introductory lecture at the Regent Street Polytechnic. Charles Norman, *Ezra Pound* (London, 1969), p. 31.
21. *Renaissance,* p. 236; "Vortex," *Blast,* No. 1 (June 1914), 153.
22. *Modern Verse,* p. xxx.
23. *Letters,* ed. Holly Stevens (New York, 1966), p. 606.
24. *The Letters of Henry James,* ed. Percy Lubbock (New York, 1920), I, 222.

boots, and a lot of artists buzzing about."[25] As early as 1873 James had wanted to review Pater's *Renaissance*, but found "it treats of things I know nothing about."[26] Yet by 1879 he is citing Pater in his fiction ("A Bundle of Letters") as the exponent of the life-is-an-art doctrine; and by 1881 the Paterian exhortation for a "quickened sense of life" and a "quickened, multiplied consciousness" is echoing in his description of Isabel Archer's "quickened consciousness" and "multiplied life."[27] James, sharing with Pater a celibate dedication to art, was likewise an aesthetic observer, a spectator of life, recording in an "architectural" style rich in preciosity of phrase—albeit mixed with un-Paterian touches of the colloquial—the multiplicity and intensity of his impressions. A few years later Pater's influence becomes equally evident in Joseph Conrad's 1897 "Preface" to *The Nigger of the "Narcissus."* "A work that aspires, however humbly, to the condition of art should carry its justification in every line." With this brash conflation of dicta from the "Giorgione" and "Style" essays, Conrad introduces his famous symbolist manifesto saturated with verbal echoes from Pater's work. In its final paragraph (to leap to the end) Conrad assimilates two of Pater's most striking sentences describing Giorgione's "ideal instants." The verbs "arrest" and "pause" and the phrases "a sigh, a smile" and "all the truth of life" echo their Paterian original ("a look, a smile" and "all the fulness . . . of life"). As he was finishing *The Nigger,* Conrad slyly described to Edward Garnett in a letter (November 6, 1896) a Cambridge don who admired his work: "He—I fancy—is not made in the image of God like other men but is fashioned after the pattern of Walter Pater which, you cannot but admit, is a much greater distinction."

Virginia Woolf's absorption in the "moment of being" likewise betrays an indebtedness to Pater. In "Modern Fiction" she portrays the mind in true Paterian fashion as receiving "a myriad impressions—trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel"—and in "The Moment: Summer Night" she describes "the terror, the exultation" as the walls of the moment open and the self is freed (at the close of *Mrs. Dalloway* Woolf substitutes the even more Paterian "ecstasy" for the second noun in this pair). Clarissa Dalloway herself might serve as an excellent fictional equivalent to Pater's awareness that "not to discriminate every moment some passionate attitude in those about us, and in the very brilliancy of their gifts some tragic dividing of forces on their ways, is, on this short day of frost and sun, to sleep before evening." Even more typical of Pater's metaphysics of multipersonal selfhood and its gem-like confluence is Woolf's delineation of a series of Clarissa-selves which attempt to consolidate, as she describes it in a Paterian passage, into "one centre, one diamond."[28] Elsewhere, as in *The Voyage Out* and *The Waves,* Woolf develops another aspect of the multiplicity of self, utilizing the theme of the mythic double much as Pater had done in *Marius.*

Woolf, who incidentally had been taught Greek by Pater's sister Clara, "very white and shrivelled" she described her,[29] explicitly acknowledged her debt to Pater in the "Preface" to *Orlando* in which she thanked the friends who had helped in the writing of the book, beginning with those dead "and so illustrious that I scarcely dare name them, yet no one can read or write without being perpetually in the[ir] debt." Pater's name rounds out her brief list; and for good reason, since *Orlando* not only displays a very Paterian interest in the relation of the present moment to the changing flux of time and experience, but the hero-heroine is a symbolic figure of multiple selfhood who, like Pater's Mona Lisa, spans the centuries and epitomizes history in a culminating vision of the present moment. In "The Modern Essay" Woolf praised Pater's "vision" of Leonardo da Vinci—"a vision, such as we get in a good novel where everything contributes to bring the writer's conception as a whole before us. Only here, in the essay, where the bounds are so strict and the facts have to be used in their nakedness, the true writer like Walter Pater makes these limitations yield their own quality." Though Woolf felt compelled to note that "nowadays"—Stevens used this identical adverbial disclaimer—"nobody would have the courage to embark on the once-famous description of Leonardo's lady," she cannot resist either quoting Pater's purple panel or berating Max Beerbohm for failing to write like Pater.[30] But Woolf admitted that polysyllables and purple were "nowadays" passé, and she confessed that "the only living Englishman who ever looks into these volumes is, of course, a gentleman of Polish extraction."

Sensing the uniqueness of individual experience as basic to fiction, Pater nevertheless failed to explore the possibilities inherent in the first-person narrator. But for that, his imaginary portraits might have provided the "new form" which Conrad and others set out to find. Notwithstanding, on the Continent in the works of a gentleman of French lineage, also much admired by Woolf, this failed Paterian "spectator persona" was triumphantly translated into the first person and so redeemed. Some years before Proust began publishing on Ruskin, he met Oscar Wilde, then at the height of his vogue. Proust would have been intrigued by his contacts with Ruskin, but Wilde and his friend Montesquiou could hardly have failed to praise that rival Oxonian apostle of beauty, Pater. It cannot be determined when Proust first read Pater, but Pater's friend, Douglas Ainslie, who had originally been introduced to Pater by Wilde, wrote of his conversations with Proust in 1897; "We fairly often began discussions on the respective value of Ruskin and Walter Pater. . . . He did not want anyone glorying in Pater rather than Ruskin, and when I told him that Pater had said to me one day: 'I can't believe Ruskin has been able to discover in St. Mark's more things than I,' he shrugged his shoulders and said: 'As you wish, we shall never agree about English literature.' "[31] Probably Proust effectively discovered Pater only after he began, painfully but successfully, to read him in the original; on one occasion he exclaimed: "What an interesting collection one could make with the landscapes of France seen through English eyes: the French rivers of Turner, the Versailles of Bonnington; the Auxerre or Valenciennes, the Vezelay or Amiens of Walter Pater; the Fontainebleau of Stevenson, and many others!"[32]

On a profounder level, the impressionistic Ruskinian-Paterian tradition of perception—the insistence less upon the Arnoldian seeing of the *object* as it really is than upon knowing one's *impression*—sets the stage for Proust's exploration of interior, psychic reality. In particular, the opening chapters of *Swann's Way* evoke the veiled autobiography of Pater's "Child in the House" by their nostalgic recollection of childhood and mother love (evoking *Marius* here also) from the vantage of middle age, by their sequence of moods woven from sharply etched memories and conveyed through idealizing adjectives and intricately balanced syntax, and by the central vision of the pink hawthorn in the garden near Combray. Proust's vision contains nearly the same components as Pater's: a fenced and forbidden park; the perfume in the wind and the thickness of the blossoms on the aged stock; the boy's loitering along the pathway with the massed flowers at his feet; authorial comparisons to tapestry and painting; the initial unexpectedness and subsequent mysterious longing; and the blossoms gathered for decoration, as seen earlier in the white hawthorns on the altar. Perhaps Proust even noticed those moments when Pater stumbled by technical error toward the twentieth century (by saying "the child of whom *I* am writing" instead of "the child of whom *Florian* was thinking") as his third-person mask slipped halfway into first-person narration.

III

Pater alone among the major Victorian prose-prophets seemed to reject the Victorian conception of art as quasi-ethics and to urge in its stead the morality of pure sight and sensation. Pater alone conceived of the revelation of personality (Marius' and Lisa's) in terms of mythic archetypes. But because these insights have become so widely assimilated and hidden within the modern sensibility, the literal minded might question the propriety or maybe the sobriety of claiming that this impotent Oxford don (pater of no little feat) fathered the future. Yet circumstances suggest that when Proust groped among his memories of Albertine and found the ego to be "composed of the superimposition of our successive states," each "fresh memory" bringing a "different Albertine,"[33] he was aware of how Mona Lisa had embodied the antinomies of the flux, perhaps aware too of how Marius had gathered successive visions of Cecilia and her equivalents or antitheses. Or again, as the ultimate source of Woolf's multipersonal self, of her sense of the divisibility of time in contrast to the "moment of being," of her emphasis upon the androgyne and upon the intensity / death equation (all but embodied in Clarissa Dalloway and exemplified in herself), and of her Ezra-Poundian interest in the primary significance of rhythm and syntax, Pater stands as the *Ur*-modern. But he is a modern whose greatest contributions often lie beyond the range or compass of sources either peripheral or direct; rather, he exists as a "praeter-source" in unacknowledged, subliminal associations which have combined with other influences and emphases not exclusively his own. Considered in this light, countless twentieth-century threads lead back to him, as for example D. H. Lawrence's "Poetry of the Present" which describes a supercharged Paterian intuition of "the immediate, instant self": "The quivering, nimble hour of the present, this is the quick of Time. This is the immanence. The quick of the universe is the pulsating, carnal self, mysterious and palpable." To imagine Pater murmuring this to a friend would be (one

25. Quoted in Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Conquest of London* (New York, 1962), p. 331, and *Henry James: The Middle Years* (New York, 1962), p. 116.
26. *The Air of Reality: New Essays on Henry James,* ed. John Goode (London, 1972), p. 167.
27. *The Portrait of a Lady,* Chapters VII and XLII. In *The Tragic Muse* (1892) the so-called "Montesquiou-Whistler-Wilde aestheticism" of Gabriel Nash (partially a persona for James himself) has its closest Victorian analogue in Pater's writings; and in *The Wings of a Dove* (1902) Susan Stringham's imagination has been fed on Pater as well as Maeterlinck.
28. *Mrs. Dalloway* (London, 1942), pp. 42-43.
29. Quentin Bell, *Virginia Woolf: A Biography* (New York, 1972), I, 68.
30. *Collected Essays* (New York, 1967), II, 43, 46. Max, not surprisingly, had felt obliged to accuse Pater of writing English "as a dead language" (his parody of Pater's style is a classic). "Diminuendo," *The Works of Max Beerbohm* (London, 1922), p. 129.
31. "Hommage à Marcel Proust," *La Nouvelle Revue Française,* XX (1923), 258-59.
32. Quoted by E. de Clermont-Tonnerre in *Robert de Montesquiou et Marcel Proust* (Paris, 1925), p. 97.
33. *Remembrance of Things Past,* trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff (New York, 1934), II, 764.

hopes) more parody than truth; yet Pater did suggest something not unlike it.

James Joyce, entangled by the critics in Aquinas, Vico, and whatever, might also be described as the beneficiary, preeminently so, of Pater-as-praeter-source. Whereas Joyce's parody of Pater's style in the "Oxen of the Sun" episode in *Ulysses* is truly comic, the postcard Joyce sent his brother, a "photograph" of Pater he claimed, was more heartless, picturing as it did the distorted face and swollen brass nose of the Brasenose College gate knocker (in *Finnegans Wake* Pater's college is parodied as "Bruisanose" and "Brazenaze"). Yet Joyce's 1902 "portrait" of James Clarence Mangan is Pateresque both in its rhythms and in its lyric love of beauty; and not only does Joyce, in comparing Mangan's brooding lady to the Mona Lisa, utilize Pater's intuitions (a figure of "many lives"), words ("presence," "delicacy," "lust," "weariness"), and phrases (Joyce: "distant terrors and riotous dreams, and that strange stillness," Pater: "strange thoughts and fantastic reveries and exquisite passions"; Joyce: "embodiment of that idea," Pater: "embodiment of the . . . idea"), but he also explicitly describes the Irish poet himself as a questing Paterian hero: "he seems to seek in the world . . . 'what is there in no satisfying measure or not at all.' "[34] In the concluding paragraphs of this essay, Joyce borrows Pater's myth of the exiled pagan gods reborn in Pico della Mirandola (passionately alive though unreadable) to describe Mangan (unread yet imaginatively vital), verbally echoing the eloquent culminating affirmation of Pater's study. Joyce's unconscious caricature of the heroic Pico in the feeble-bodied Mangan with his confused learning, pitiful loves, baggy pants, and early death, may possibly anticipate such later parodies as Finnegan's comic death and rebirth, in which case the Paterian motif of the gods reborn takes its place along side theosophical schemes and Viconian cycles as an influence on this most experimental novel of the century.

Eliot was closer to the truth than he probably had a right to be when in a discussion of *Ulysses* with Virginia Woolf he called Joyce "a purely literary writer . . . founded upon Walter Pater with a dash of Newman."[35] Significant Paterian motifs in the Mangan essay migrate to *Stephen Hero* and afterwards are found in Joyce's Pateresquely entitled *Portrait* as well as in *Ulysses* and *Finnegan*—not only a sentence from "Pico" parodied in *Ulysses* or the lines on Mona Lisa burlesqued in *Ulysses* and *Finnegan*, significant as these may be, but the entire idea of the "epiphany" itself. That moment of revelation which Joyce described in "Mangan" and the *Portrait* as "less than the pulsation of an artery, [but] equal in its period and value to six thousand years," derives from Blake's *Milton* via Pater's "pulses" / "pulsations" imagery in the "Conclusion." These epiphanies throughout Joyce's work are very much like the expanded interval of the gem-like flame or such other indelible Paterian moments as Florian's discovery of the hawthorn (in Joycean terms, Pater's "Child in the House" is a study in the epiphanies of an artist's childhood) or Marius' vision in the Sabine Hills or Giorgione's "ideal instants."[36] As illustrative of the manner in which Pater-as-praeter-source functions, it could be shown (though it has not yet been) how completely Joyce dramatizes Pater's "Conclusion" in Stephen Dedalus' climactic epiphany on the beach at the end of the fourth chapter of the *Portrait*. The spirit liberated or reborn through its passion for art is the subject of both passages, and the general Paterian celebration of new impressions as well as the basic vocabulary of "ecstasy" and "flame" is everywhere applied to Stephen.

In scenic terms, Pater's initial image of summer bathing, which modulates into "movements of the shore-side, where the water flows down" at ebb tide, anticipates Stephen's seashore encounters, as does Pater's presentation of the perpetual flux in the "drift" of the tide, which finds its fictional realization in Stephen's wading among the "endless drift of seaweed." Equally pertinent to Joyce's description of Stephen's epiphany is Pater's definition of aesthetic passion as the only escape from the prison of one's experience of time and history; the mind, isolated like "a solitary prisoner," is seemingly "ringed round for each one of us by that thick wall of personality through which no real voice has ever pierced on its way to us, or from us to that which we can only conjecture to be without." For Stephen, this "incertitude that had ringed him round" tinged with unreality the calls of his bathing friends until the mythic overtones in their banter struck him like a "voice from beyond the world," a note "piercing" his isolation, and he conceived an aching "desire to cry aloud, the cry of a hawk or eagle on high, to cry piercingly of his deliverance." As is frequently noted, the bird imagery in this passage defines Joyce's central Daedalus / Icarus archetype of the artist, and this, on the praeter-source hypothesis, now appears to hark back to Pater's prison image and his stress on the power of art to "set the spirit free." Additional support for the Paterian origin can be found in Joyce's use of confinement,

34. From Pater's "A Prince of Court Painters," *Imaginary Portraits* (London, 1910), p. 44. Joyce's opening discussion of classic and romantic as constant states of mind may possibly derive from Pater's "Postscript" to *Appreciations*.

35. Quoted in Woolf, *A Writer's Diary*, ed. Leonard Woolf (London, 1959), p. 50.

36. In *Stephen Hero* Joyce defined the epiphany as "a sudden spiritual manifestation, whether in the vulgarity of speech or of gesture or in a memorable phase of the mind itself, . . . the most delicate and evanescent of moments."

flame, and cry for freedom to describe Mangan's earlier failure to escape: "History encloses him so straitly that even his fiery moments do not set him free from it. He, too, cries out, in his life and in his mournful verses. . . ." What the Joyce of the *Portrait* brought to the Pater / Mangan *donné* is the dramatization of these themes in myth, although the epigraph to *The Renaissance*—"Yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove" (Ps. 68: 13)—suggests elements of this legend, as does the Cupid / Psyche story in *Marius* which patterns the quest of its hero in the same archetypal fashion.

In the final paragraph of the "Conclusion" Pater elaborates his image of the prisoner, describing man as "under sentence of death" and citing Rousseau, to whom "an undefinable taint of death had clung always," as one who discovered the desired liberation in aesthetic passion. Joyce could hardly have missed Pater's description of this as "the awakening in him of the literary sense." And not only is Stephen's apprenticeship as an artist initiated by his sense of "cerements shaken from the body of death," but it also coincides with a repudiation of the priesthood in harmony with Pater's assertion that any facile orthodoxy "which requires of us the sacrifice of any part of [aesthetic] experience, in consideration of some interest into which we cannot enter, . . . has no real claim upon us." Finally, Stephen's culminating vision of the bird-girl, though only faintly anticipated in the "Conclusion" by several references to the perfected or friendly "face," is nonetheless yet another Paterian import from the Mangan essay—Leonardo's ambiguous Mona Lisa. The epiphany of the profane goddess, the "presence that rose thus so strangely beside the water," may well have served as the prototype for Stephen's avowedly sensual "angel of mortal youth and beauty" (the ending of this chapter, after all, is designed as an explicit parallel to the "swoon of sin" which concludes the second chapter). As we see him later, writing a villanelle to his "temptress," Stephen is little more than a budding Dowson. He was lucky to have escaped.

Unlike Joyce and the other major modernists, Pater is not now and probably never will again become popular with any number of readers outside the walls of academia. But Eliot himself has given the lie to his own assertion that Pater failed to influence any first-rate mind: "No! Shakespeare's kings are not, nor are meant to be, great men" writes Pater;[37] "No! I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be" comes the Prufrockian echo of the young Eliot. And on the more elusive level of unacknowledged associations, the mature Eliot in the second of his moving "Four Quartets" proves he has not forgotten Pater's "Conclusion" or the pilgrimage of Marius:

> Home is where one starts from. As we grow older
> The world becomes stranger, the pattern more complicated
> Of dead and living. Not the intense moment
> Isolated, with no before and after,
> But a lifetime burning in every moment
> And not the lifetime of one man only
> But of old stones that cannot be deciphered.

If one looks, one can find in Pater's ideal of the gem-like flame many such fugitive threads out of which our present literature is woven.

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The "Central Fiery Heart": Ruskin's Remaking of Dante

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John Ruskin's lifelong interest in the *Divine Comedy* is an established fact.[1] But it has yet to be shown how Ruskin takes images from, or relating to, Dante and merges these with his own vision *of* Dante as poet of the "central fiery heart." Again: Ruskin's chief contributions to aesthetic thought during the decade 1846-1856—his concepts of the "penetrative imagination," the "Gothic," the "grotesque," and the poetic-psychological "bal-

37. *Appreciations* (London, 1910), p. 199.

1. See Charles Eliot Norton, "Introduction," *Comments of John Ruskin on The Divina Commedia*, comp. by George P. Huntington (Boston, 1908), p. ix; E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, eds., *The Complete Works of John Ruskin* (London, 1903-1912), XVII, xxxviii (all Ruskin citations below refer to this edition). Beatrice Corrigan, in "Introduction," *Italian Poets and English Critics, 1755-1859* (Chicago, 1969), notes the numerological significance of 1300 for Ruskin.

ance" by which the "pathetic fallacy" is overcome—have received attention.[2] But the imagery of fire and center in which Ruskin embodies these ideas as he incorporates them into an emerging myth of Dante has not been traced or interpreted. What must be demonstrated is that as Ruskin's aesthetic thinking develops, his own poetic art develops concurrently with it and inseparably from it. This means that his poetic images are by no means confined to the function of illustrative similes but take on a life of their own. Specifically, through his use of the related images of 'fire' and 'center' (the latter suggesting also the idea of 'heart') as these recur and are amplified during the decade just mentioned, Ruskin constructs a vision of Dante as expression of the Ruskinian ideal of intense and organized consciousness—a poetic myth that stands as a major Romantic achievement (comparable, for example, to Blake's[3]) in its combination of aesthetic, moral, and psychological values. And an adequate analysis of this Dante-vision as it unfolds must above all show how at each stage imagery adds a new level of meaning to theory.

The four stages of this unfolding may be briefly summarized. First, in *Modern Painters* (Vol. II, 1846) Ruskin uses the image of a human shadow on a wall of fire from Dante's *Purgatorio* to symbolize Dante's own "penetrative imagination" as it pierces through to the "central fiery heart" of reality—and of the human spirit. Combining the image of the fiery human figure with that of the poet who provided it, Ruskin presents Dante as man-of-the-fiery-center, i.e., as poet of imaginative intensity combined with moral compassion. Next, in *The Stones of Venice* (Vol. II, 1853), Ruskin makes Dante the iconic 'center' or incarnation of the Gothic spirit, which itself is presented as reaching its point of maximal energy in the "central" year 1300, the year of Dante's vision. The third stage of this development of Ruskin's Dante vision occurs in the third and final volume of *The Stones of Venice* (1853), where Dante is seen as overcoming the emotional dangers arising in the mental states associated with "apathetic" and "satirical" grotesque art, to attain the state of consciousness responsible for the highest possible artistic achievement—that of the "symbolical grotesque." Dante not only provides the images to illustrate all forms of the grotesque, but he also becomes the "central" symbol of its highest intensity of awareness. Finally, returning to *Modern Painters* (Vol. III, 1856), Ruskin recombines the "center" idea with his original Dantean image of the human figure outlined in fire, associating this image now with a newly expanded vision of Dante as exemplifying that ideal "balance" of faculties which corrects the "pathetic fallacy."

Throughout this development Ruskin's "center" imagery adds an ontological dimension to his aesthetic thinking: as Mircea Eliade observes, "Attaining the center is equivalent to a consecration, an initiation; yesterday's profane and illusory existence gives place to a new, to a life that is real, enduring, and effective."[4] And an investigation of the fire imagery represents in addition the kind of phenomenological inquiry for which Gaston Bachelard has set the example, a study "which could be undertaken to show the fundamental influence on the life of the mind of certain meditations aroused by objects"—especially of images of the elements.[5] Each of the four stages in Ruskin's Dantean vision will therefore be examined in some detail, and parallels from both the Romantic and religious traditions will be drawn to provide a context for interpretation.

I

In *Modern Painters* II Ruskin defines imagination as a "penetrating possession-taking faculty" (IV, 251). Though in another passage he describes the "penetrative imagination" as only "one of the forms, the highest, of imagination" (IV, 228), this difference in phrasing is not important, since Ruskin's chief aim is to sharpen the Coleridgian contrast between imagination (which penetrates to the "heart and inner nature" of things) and fancy (which only "sees the outside"—IV, 253). The example Ruskin chooses to illustrate the activity of this power is taken from *Purgatorio* xxvi. 4-8, a passage wherein the poet, Dante-as-narrator, recalls how his own shadow, when cast upon the wall of flame in which the

2. George P. Landow, *The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin* (Princeton, 1971) is good on the symbolical grotesque and on the balance that overcomes the pathetic fallacy; his references to Dante in connection particularly with this balance are useful (pp. 32, 140, 388). He does not, however, mention the apathetic and satirical grotesques, which I characterize below as the first two stages in Dante's Ruskinian *commedia* or journey toward the highest, or symbolical, stage of grotesque-sublime awareness. For imagination and Gothic, see John D. Rosenberg, *The Darkening Glass: A Portrait of Ruskin's Genuis* (New York, 1961), pp. 13-18, 47-63. Harold Bloom, "Introduction," *The Literary Criticism of John Ruskin* (Doubleday, 1965), p. xxiii, also comments briefly on Ruskinian "imagination."
3. Bloom compares Ruskin to Blake (pp. xxi, xxv), but almost solely in the context of Ruskin's later work, *The Queen of the Air*. In that work, Bloom comments, "Ruskin does not seem to invent 'Giant Forms' or titanic personages, as Blake does, but he invents and explores states-of-being in a manner very similar to Blake's. . . ." Yet, as I suggest below, the Dante of "penetrative imagination" does indeed look very much like the "Giant Form" of Los-Urthona, while the Dante of the "symbolical grotesque" resembles the "Giant Form" of Albion. These appearances of Dante are genuinely Blakean "Visionary forms."
4. Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York, 1959), p. 18. Pierre Fontaney, in "Ruskin and Paradise Regained," *Victorian Studies*, XII (1969), 347-58, has done a Bodkin-Eliade reading of a "cosmic mountain" passage from *Praeterita*.
5. Gaston Bachelard, *The Psychoanalysis of Fire*, trans. Alan C. M. Ross, Preface by Northrop Frye (Boston, 1964), pp. 102, 89.

spirits of the penitent Lustful were refined in Purgatory, seemed to increase the redness of the red fire within the shadow's outlines:

> Feriami 'l Sole in su l'omero destro
> Che già raggiando tutto l'Occidente
> *Mutava in bianco aspetto di cilestro.*
> Ed io facea *con l'ombra più rovente*
> *Parer la fiamma.* (IV, 250; underscorings are Ruskin's)

Cary, whose translation of the *Divina Commedia* Ruskin evidently esteemed more highly than Milton's *Paradise Lost*,[6] offers this rendering:

> The sun
> Now all the western clime irradiate changed
> From azure tinct to white; and, as I passed,
> My passing shadow made the umber'd flame
> Burn ruddier.[7]

Dante's vision reveals the "intense essence of flame," which is "lambent annihilation" (IV, 250); he has conveyed in the plainest words a vivid sense of the true 'fieriness' of fire. And the image does show remarkably precise observation of the coloring of a shadow cast upon a mass of flame.

But at the same time there is something not easily forgotten, something uncanny or suggestive of the supernatural in the outlined image of a human figure suddenly superimposed upon a wall of fire. Similar vivid, refulgent forms come to mind from the Bible and from the visionary writings of Blake. One may think, for example, of the mysterious fourth figure who appears (like a "son of God") together with the three mortals cast into Nebuchadnezzar's "burning fiery furnace," and who is compared by Blake to Los the fourth Zoa, the Zoa of imagination.[8] (Eliade has studied comparable "luminous theophanies" from a great variety of traditions.[9]) Ruskin, impressed with the potentialities of this striking image, removes it from its context in the *Purgatorio* narrative to enrich and deepen its meaning:

> Such is always the mode in which the highest imaginative faculty seizes its materials. It never stops at crusts or ashes, or outward images of any kind; it ploughs them all aside, and plunges into the very central fiery heart; nothing else will content its spirituality. . . . (IV, 250)

Here the imagination itself "seizes" its materials, "ploughs" aside encumbrances, and "plunges" toward its goal: these vigorous, active verbs prepare us for Ruskin's next suggestion, namely, that the human imagination is identical in nature with the "central fiery heart" of reality to which it penetrates. The imagination not only *sees* fire truly, it seems to *be* a kind of fire. For no matter what the imagination encounters in its searches—"no matter what be the subject submitted to it, substance or spirit, all is alike divided asunder, joint and marrow, whatever utmost truth, life, principle it has, laid bare, and that which has no truth, life, principle, dissipated into its original smoke at a touch" (IV, 251). The fiery imagination pierces through vain shows in its search for the central fire of reality; indeed, "nothing else will content its spirituality"—a phrase that recalls the Fire-Logos that the Stoics adapted from Heraclitus.

One may also see in Ruskin's depiction of imaginative fire as a force that "plunges" to the center or "heart" of reality a very useful parallel with Novalis' Romantic fire imagery as Bachelard summarizes it: "The same heat animates both the rock and the miner's heart. 'One would say that the miner has in his veins the inner fire of the earth which excites him to explore its depths.' "[10] In similar fashion, the image of the "heart" is fully as basic to Ruskin's symbolism as that of fire, and inextricable from it. Imagination's

> nature and dignity depend on its holding things by the heart. Take its hand from off the beating of that, and it will prophesy no longer; it looks not in the eyes, it judges not by the voice, it describes not by outward features; all that it affirms, judges, or describes, it affirms from within. (IV, 251)

In Ruskin's concern for the prophetic inwardness of imagination he may have overstated his case: the imagination must to *some* extent describe by "outward features" as well as "from within"—though of course, as he has shown, it must select precisely those outward features that express what is truly within. But Ruskin has in any case clearly established the "central fiery heart" as a focus for his meditations on imagination's nature and goal. A deep-rooted force of firelike penetration, the imagination pierces with unswerving directness to the equally deep-lying inner core of reality. The metaphorical fieriness shared by imagination and by its deep-lying goal indicates that the values this penetrative faculty reveals at reality's center are akin to its own inwardness or "heart." One next discovers that this same fire symbol is also at the center of Ruskin's thinking about Dante him-

6. In *The Stones of Venice* (Vol. II, 1853) Ruskin says, "if I could only read English, and had to choose, for a library narrowed by poverty, between Cary's Dante and our own original Milton, I should choose Cary without an instant's pause" (X, 307).
7. Henry Francis Cary, trans., *The Vision; or Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, of Dante Alighieri* (London: H. G. Bonn, 1844), p. 313.
8. *The Poetry and Prose of William Blake*, ed. David V. Erdman, comm. Harold Bloom (New York, 1968), pp. 297, 865. See specifically *The Four Zoas* 3:9 and Daniel 3:25.
9. Mircea Eliade, *The Two and the One*, trans. J. M. Cohen (New York, 1965), pp. 19-77.
10. Bachelard, p. 41.

self. In another passage (a few pages after the original introduction of the *Purgatorio* image) "fire" and "heart" are still inseparable for Ruskin, but he extends the idea of their interrelationship: he now sees the fire of imagination as identical with the warmth of moral compassion. Imaginative empathy and moral sympathy mutually imply and stimulate each other, and Dante is refashioned into the embodiment of the synthesis: "Hence, I suppose that the powers of the imagination may always be tested by accompanying tenderness of emotion; and thus, as Byron has said, there is no tenderness like Dante's, neither any intensity nor seriousness like his . . . [which] fuses all down into its own white-hot fire" (IV, 257-58).

Here, as Ruskin expands his notion of imagination into an imaginative-moral ideal, an already mythicized fiery vision of Dante emerges as the type of intensity and tenderness. Note the stages in the reshaping process so far. First Ruskin analyzes an image in Dante, which he finds both scientifically precise and supernatural in implication. He next develops it into a metaphor for a synthesis of imagination and compassion. Finally, he projects the new ideal onto the poet who furnished the original image, merging poet and image into a new vision: the poetic man of fire. As the thought develops, so does the symbol: their mutual effects are inseparable in Ruskin's poetic process.

The application of such a moral-imaginative synthesis as he has described to a specific kind of art (the Gothic) will further extend Ruskin's myth of Dante. For Ruskin considers the Gothic ideal so much an expression of the Dantean one that he is moved to transform Dante into an incarnation of the Gothic spirit, and his year of vision into a focus of its "energy"—an energy center.

II

In Volume II (1853) of *The Stones of Venice* Ruskin gives his well-known analysis of Gothic architecture as a manifestation of two underlying premises regarding the psychology of art: the aesthetic premise that the basis of imaginative life is growth and the ethical premise that one must develop a tolerance of the "imperfection" (lack of formal perfection) necessarily entailed by growth (X, 204). The encouragement of life in the imaginative realm requires empathy in the ethical realm as well. And since Dante as fiery poet has been made the representative image of just such a synthesis, Ruskin proceeds in *The Stones of Venice* to place Dante at the symbolic center of the Gothic era.

Ruskin's new variation of this theme of centrality is expressed through his characterization of the Dantean vision-year, 1300, as the focal point of the energies of the Middle Ages:

> I have above said, that all great European art is rooted in the thirteenth century; and it seems to me that there is a kind of central year about which we may consider the energy of the Middle Ages to be gathered; a kind of focus of time, which, by what is to my mind a most touching and impressive Divine appointment, has been marked for us by the greatest writer of the Middle Ages, in the first words he utters; namely, the year 1300, the 'mezzo del cammin' of the life of Dante. Now therefore, to Giotto, the contemporary of Dante, and who drew Dante's still existing portrait in this very year, 1300, we may always look for the central mediaeval idea in any subject. . . . (X, 400)

Through the rhetoric of apotheosis, the year of Dante's vision has become an *axis saeculi,* a temporal equivalent of the *axis mundi* or world center, a nexus of sacred power. And Ruskin's phrasing is further calculated to convey the impression that Giotto, by drawing Dante's portrait in the magical year, has received the latter's strength of vision and so can now be consulted for the "central mediaeval idea" concerning any artistic theme whatever.

The mythopoeic logic here needs analysis. The year 1300 is "central" to the Middle Ages and to Dante's life if we consider both these lifespans, historical and personal, as measurable and thus as divisible: Dante's vision comes (according to Ruskin) at the midpoint of both. But the vision is experienced *by Dante* as a new beginning; it marks the inception of an epoch of his life, the epoch of awakened vision. So in a deeper sense (deeper than spatialized time) the temporal equivalent of a "center" is a time of renewal, of renewed contact with the ontological goal or source of vision, with "central" reality. As Eliade shows, the "periodic regeneration of time" in such ceremonies as New Year's rituals (and *a fortiori,* we might add, New Century rituals, as in this Ruskin passage) involves as a rule "a repetition of the cosmogonic act," a reenactment of the original act of creation *"in illo tempore."*[11] In experiencing his vision by "Divine appointment" Dante enters into, or partakes of, its creative or regenerative power, and Giotto, who in turn experiences a vision of Dante during the same year, likewise enters into the power of what he beholds. The principle at work here is the coalescence of seer and seen. It is the same principle already shown in the case of the original fire image from *Purgatory:* because Dante beheld the image of the fiery figure, he became *one with it* as 'fiery poet' in Ruskin's thinking.

In effect, the principle of the coalescence of seer and seen is at work throughout the development of Ruskin's Dantean vision. Ruskin's creation of the "fiery poet" myth as a symbolic expression for his concept of the penetrative imagination is itself an act of penetrative imagination: he takes part in the activity he ascribes to Dante. In the same way, Ruskin's setting up of a ritual of regeneration in the midst of his discussion of Dante and the Gothic creates in him (Ruskin) an evident feeling of renewal. And it will be equally evident that in working out his presentation of Dante as embodying the kind of awareness that results in the art of the symbolical grotesque, Ruskin himself creates his most effective symbolical grotesque.

III

The Ruskinian "grotesque" in all its forms is closely akin to the sublime because it is rooted in the emotion of awe. The "symbolical grotesque" is reached by way of a journey through two preliminary (lower but still valuable) forms of grotesque-sublime consciousness, the "apathetic" and the "satirical." As the "apathetic" grotesque opens up a perspective of sacred horror, Dante provides as its symbol an appropriate image of despair—of which, however, as artist he maintains the required control. The "satirical" grotesque needs greater control: this Dante shows by the precision of his depiction of demons. The "symbolical grotesque," finally, is the pinnacle of art as well as the attainment of genuine fullness of being, and here Ruskin's mythmaking becomes particularly ambitious. Ruskin's entire discussion may be regarded as following the pattern of a quest for the center, showing the "difficulties of the seeker for the road to the self, to the 'center' of his being, and so on. The road is arduous, fraught with perils, because it is, in fact, a rite of the passage from the profane to the sacred, from the ephemeral and illusory to reality and eternity, from death to life, from man to the divinity."[12] In fact, we must follow Dante downward before we see his visionary prospect rise: the first Dantean vision cited by Ruskin occurs relatively early in the *Inferno;* the second is later, lower, and more frightening. But once these perils are passed, we descry in the final stage a messianic Dante who stands firmly at the center, having finished his Ruskinian *commedia.*

In the "apathetic" grotesque, the Gothic artisan's partial relaxation of control allows somber and troubling intuitions to arise—a sense of tragedy, a feeling of the "presence of sin and death" in the world (XI, 167). This awed consciousness of chaos within the cosmos, this "Divine fear," is for Ruskin best symbolized by the chilling effect of the Furies' cry to Medusa as they summon her to petrify Dante with her gaze: "Venga Medusa; si lo farem di smalto" (XI, 169; *Inf.* ix. 52—"Hasten Medusa; so to adamant / Him shall we change"[13]). Here again the stages in Ruskin's poetic process are important. The petrifying threat of Medusa's approach toward Dante is associated in Ruskin's mind with the stone gargoyles in Gothic cathedrals, and these gargoyles seem to him to express intimations of the 'dark sacred,' of disturbing energies in the psyche and in nature. The feelings aroused by these gargoyles Ruskin then projects back into the Dantean image—which acquires a greatly altered range of resonance: the Dantean image has received a new role by being incorporated, as it were, into a new poem.

In the second kind of grotesque art, evil is typically satirized in the form of grotesque demons. Dante, in Cantos xxi and xxii of the *Inferno,* has presented "the most perfect portraitures of fiendish nature which we possess," by combining precise observation of detail with a sense of horror, and adding mockery as well (XI, 175). But the Dantean image Ruskin selects to embody the satirical grotesque is more fearful than funny: it is the phrase, "con l'ali aperte e sovra i pie leggiero" (XI, 175; *Inf.* xxi.33—Cary's version: "With wings outstretched, and feet of nimblest tread"). The critic may object that in choosing this description of a savage devil (whose "aspetto fero" is remarked by the poet—*Inf.* xxi.31) Ruskin has ignored the genuine comedy in Dante. But as usual Ruskin is using Dante for his own purposes. He has chosen here to explore the psychology of states of mind in which dark intimations rise to trouble the spirit, for his ultimate aim is to arrive at a vision of a total poetic consciousness able to preserve its balance when such challenges occur. The calm precision of Dante's description of horrors proves to Ruskin that the medieval poet shows mastery of unruly forces, and so Dante is now eligible for transformation into a symbol of the highest stage of "grotesque" awareness, of psychological and poetic synthesis.

Ruskin connects the images of symbolically grotesque art with the "ungovernableness of the imagination" in a state of heightened inspiration: the vision "comes uncalled" to the "seer" and "forces him to speak as a prophet" (XI, 178). Biblical visions such as Jacob's ladder to Heaven and Ezekiel's four beast-angels about the throne of God are symbolic grotesques or "true dreams," seen in a "living sleep" with a "sacredness in it as of death, the revealer of secrets" (XI, 180-81). These true dreams are "grotesques" because the sublime truths they reveal (or half reveal) are so powerful and far-reaching that the symbols expressing them are bound to appear crudely

11. *Cosmos and History,* pp. 52, 21.

12. *Cosmos and History,* p. 18.

13. "Smalto," of course, means enamel; Ruskin discusses this word in *Modern Painters* III (V, 285).

naive or weirdly distorted in contrast with the vast content those symbols are forced to embody.

Ruskin immediately embodies this theory in his own symbolical grotesque. His assertions, firstly, that the prime "test of greatness in periods, nations, or men" is "the development among them, or in them, of a noble grotesque," and, secondly, that in Dante specifically "the grotesque reaches at once the most distinct and the most noble development to which it was ever brought in the human mind" (XI, 187) are designed to provide the setting for Dante's reappearance in a new form. Dante now becomes the "central man of all the world, as representing in perfect balance the imaginative, moral, and intellectual faculties, all at their highest" (XI, 187). Here the Dante-symbol has been tested to its limit, fraught with emotion-laden meanings in precisely the same way as the "symbolically grotesque" art with which Ruskin has chosen to associate it. In the context of religious myth, the phrase "central man of all the world" is Ruskin's boldest use of *axis mundi* rhetoric, suggesting a Messiah or Christ-figure. And in the context of Romantic tradition, the only symbol fully comparable to the Ruskinian one of man psychically unified in imaginative awareness is Blake's poetic myth of the resurrected Albion (Universal Man), all of whose faculties or Zoas are fully active in a creative tension or dialectical balance (Los or Urthona representing imagination, Urizen reason, Luvah passion, and Tharmas the integrative force). The threefold synthesis, "imaginative, moral, and intellectual," that Ruskin ascribes to the poetic consciousness of Dante is basically the same as the "fourfold vision" of Blake's reawakened Albion, with the fourth or integrative faculty remaining implicit.

We note Ruskin's emphasis on intellect as a third factor in the Dantean synthesis. For the grotesque to "exist in full energy," Ruskin says, the artist must be "great in imagination and emotion no less than in intellect" (though of course there must be no "hardened preëminence of the mere reasoning faculties"—XI, 187). As he turns from the concluding volume of *Stones of Venice* (1853) to resume work once again on *Modern Painters* (Vol. III, 1856), Ruskin will attempt to work out the implications of this statement. And he will do so by way of a final reenvisioning of the fire image with which he had started out, along with the "center" motif which he had originally joined to it.

IV

To summarize briefly: if intellect does *not* contribute fully to perception, the "pathetic fallacy" will result; when the intellect is not vigorous enough to counterbalance the force of emotion to the degree that accurate perception requires, the poet's perceptions will be distorted (V, 205). This distortion is the "error . . . which the mind admits, when affected strongly by emotion" (V, 205); the "pathetic fallacy" results from excess of pathos or distraught feeling within the poet, and only poets of the "first order" (Shakespeare, Homer, Dante) can truly escape it (V, 205n). Dante, in describing "the spirits falling from the bank of Acheron 'as dead leaves flutter from a bough,'" (*Inf.* iii.2. Ruskin's rendering) can portray both the leaves and the souls' "scattering agony of despair" with evocative accuracy (V, 206) only because, overcoming the contagion of despair, he retains full intellectual and psychological control of himself and thus of the description.

The vigor of a poet's mind, the breadth of context within which he perceives things, is therefore the necessary coordinate of his penetrative depth. For although the overpowering emotion expressed by poets subject to the pathetic fallacy is of value as contrasted with the dullness of those who cannot feel, nevertheless

> . . . it is a still grander condition when the intellect also rises, till it is strong enough to assert its rule against, or together with, the utmost efforts of the passions; and the whole man stands in an iron glow, white hot, perhaps, but still strong, and in no wise evaporating; even if he melts, losing none of his weight. (V, 208)

The wording and imagery are crucial. The intellect rises in order to rule "against, or together with" the passions. There is to be a balance of two contrasting intensities, a creative tension between passion and intellect. To represent this synthesis, Ruskin returns to the human figure outlined in fire from *Purgatorio:* "the whole man stands in an iron glow. . . ." The man of fire remains emblematic of an imaginative transfiguration involving a synthesis of psychic elements. And it always suggests the related idea of a center: the reason why the "high creative poet" might be thought "impassive (as shallow people think Dante stern)" is that such a poet has "a great centre of reflection and knowledge in which he stands serene" (V, 210). The mythicized Dante is the central figure of fire.

Ruskin's continuing fascination with the image of a man of fire ensures that, in developing his paradigm of the imaginatively realized and integrated psyche, he never allows the Romantic goal of poetic intensity to be sacrificed to "moderation." One must not try to make the work of intellect, or of imagination as a whole, artificially easier by weakening one's emotions; for this lessening of psychic energy would diminish the intensity of the whole man in the privileged state of awareness. Rather than dampening or cooling the emotions, the intellect must "rise" to its own highest power to cope fully with the challenge these feelings represent: thus the pathetic fallacy is avoided without intellectual or imaginative laziness or escapism.

The poetic fires are not to be reduced in temperature; rather, through the mutually responsive heightening of all the faculties, the fitful flame of the pathetic fallacy is transformed into a constant and steady refulgence, the Dantean "iron glow," a center of radiating energy.

Here again Ruskin allies himself with Romantic tradition in ways that become clear only when his imagery is studied. The balance of intensities he describes is precisely analogous to that envisioned by Blake:

> Men are admitted into Heaven not because they have curbed & governed their Passions or have No Passions but because they have cultivated their Understandings. The Treasures of Heaven are not Negations of Passion but Realities of Intellect from which All the Passions Emanate (Uncurbed) in their Eternal Glory. . . .[14]

The word glory as Blake uses it here preserves its meaning of an effulgence (cf. emanation) of light—but by no means without warmth. Blake's Albionic artist avoids the error of Urizen, who sought mental stability by isolating himself from the emotions for fear of living "in unquenchable burnings": Urizen, we recall, quickly discovered that "a solid without fluctuation" was in no sense identical to that "joy without pain" he had hoped to reach.[15] For whatever its acknowledged dangers, the "fire" with which Urizen so self-defeatingly "fought" is shown, both by our study of Ruskin's myth of Dante and by Bachelard's study of fire-reverie, to be in imagination's language "the proof *par excellence* of substantial richness and permanence; it alone gives an immediate meaning to vital intensity, to intensity of being."[16] Putting this Bachelardian statement together with Eliade's assertion that the "center" is "preeminently the zone of the sacred, the zone of absolute reality,"[17] we find additional confirmation of the inherent interrelation of the images of fire and center, both in poetry and religion, as representing the imagination's sense of being awakened into full actuality or realization.

Yet Ruskin's man-of-the-fiery-center myth is distinguished not only by its intensity but also by its organized complexity. It may in fact be said to incorporate elements of all three of those categories of fire-interpretations which Bachelard has analyzed under the headings of the "Novalis," "Prometheus," and "Empedocles" complexes, and which Northrop Frye connects, respectively, with the "cardinal points of creation, redemption and apocalypse."[18] The corresponding elements in Ruskin's Dantean fire symbol cluster would be the search for communication with a primal center (Novalis), the stress on active intellect (Prometheus), and the openness of the imagination even to influences potentially overwhelming in their power (Empedocles). The symbol of Dante as central fiery poet tests the extreme limits of an image's capacity to embody a state of awareness. If it therefore takes on the character of a symbolical grotesque, this is a result of Ruskin's attempt to envision a genuinely inclusive balance. For symbolically grotesque art, as Ruskin both formulates and practices it, is an art of inclusiveness, of testing limits. And by embodying his aesthetic ideals in a compelling pattern of imagery at the same time that he is presenting them in conceptual form, Ruskin helps bring these ideals to realization, to actuality.

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14. From "A Vision of the Last Judgment," in Blake, *Poetry and Prose*, pp. 553-54.
15. *The Book of Urizen* 4:10-14, in Blake, p. 70.
16. Bachelard, p. 111.
17. Eliade, p. 17.
18. Frye, "Preface" to Bachelard, p. viii.

Why Thackeray Went To See a Man Hanged

Albert I. Borowitz

Critics generally assign Thackeray a negative role in the history of crime literature, with major emphasis placed on his persistent and resourceful opposition to the sensational crime fiction of the 1830's and 1840's, the so-called "Newgate" novels.[1] However, the customary portrayal of Thackeray as savage critic of crime fiction should not be permitted to obscure his own personal interest in crime or his affirmative contributions to the literature of crime, particularly his writings against capital punishment, *The Case of Peytel* (1839) and *Going to See a Man Hanged* (1840).[2]

In approaching a definition of Thackeray's attitude toward crime literature, one must begin with the patent fact that Thackeray was an aficionado of crime. In this

1. See Keith Hollingsworth, *The Newgate Novel 1830-1847* (Detroit, 1963).
2. References to Thackeray's works are to the Biographical Edition of *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray*, 13 volumes (New York and London, 1898) (hereafter referred to as *Works*).

respect, he was not to be distinguished from most of the literary figures of his period, including the Newgate novelists. In 1832, in the early days of his journalistic career, Thackeray wrote that to newspapermen "a good murder is a godsend," and proceeded to list their favorites among nineteenth-century murderers—Corder, Cook, Burke, Bishop and Williams, and especially Thurtell.[3] In rating murderers in terms of quality, Thackeray's newspapermen were following in the footsteps of Thomas DeQuincey, who had given ironic sanction to the application of aesthetic standards to the study of crime in his essays "On Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts," of which the first appeared in 1827. Thackeray, like DeQuincey, was well-versed in the criminal annals of England, from which Catherine Hayes, the heroine of his anti-Newgate satire, *Catherine* (1839), was drawn. Thackeray not only deemed criminal cases worthy of private study and enjoyment, but, like DeQuincey and Defoe before him, he wrote a criminal biography. Among the pieces published in his *Paris Sketchbook* of 1840 appears a witty account of episodes from the quicksilver career of Cartouche, a famous eighteenth-century French thief, murderer, and confidence man.[4]

Thackeray considered criminal themes, if properly handled, an appropriate subject for novels as well as nonfiction. Almost all of his early fiction is concerned with rogues making their selfish way through society over the heads of dupes and in the shelter of social pretense and snobbery. The supreme rogue is Becky Sharp herself, and Thackeray subtly implies both by textual innuendo and by his illustrations that she capped her career of knavery by the murder of Jos Sedley.[5] In *Denis Duval,* his last, unfinished novel published in 1864, one of the major characters is Francis Henry de la Motte, a historical criminal convicted of treason against England in 1781. In the surviving chapters, de la Motte, though not romanticized, is presented with considerable warmth and sympathy.[6]

Thackeray's position in the Newgate controversy therefore cannot be explained by his distaste for the subject of crime or for its portrayal in literature. His attack stemmed rather from his disapproval of the glorification and sentimentalization of criminals, criminal acts, and low life. In addition to his concern that the romantic portrayal of crime was capable of inducing imitative criminal conduct,[7] he was convinced that the presentation of crime and the underworld in a falsely attractive light was bad moral teaching. He charged further that the Newgate writers did not know from their own experience the milieu of which they wrote, and therefore were not equipped to add the necessary corrective elements of misery and squalor.

Thackeray's horror of glamorized crime, far from being invented to lash Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, or other English competitors, was also evidenced by his responses to French fiction and drama. In 1843 he described Eugene Sue's *Mysteries of Paris* as "thieves' literature" and gave thanks for the cessation of similar literature in England. Two years later he referred to Sue's novel as one of the most immoral books in the world.[8] In his review of French drama in the *Paris Sketchbook* he also expressed his disgust with the murders, adulteries, and other offenses which were put forward appealingly as the standard fare of the dramas of Hugo and Dumas.[9]

At the very time when Thackeray was leveling his attacks against the crime novelists he was making his own most important contribution to crime literature and history, namely, his essays of 1839 and 1840 in favor of the abolition of capital punishment. This aspect of Thackeray's career has been relatively ignored, in comparison both with his role in the Newgate controversy and with Dickens' role several years later among the advocates of abolition. However, no other subject in his literary work is more deeply rooted in his background and personality. Throughout his life, Thackeray appears to have been obsessed with capital punishment, both as a horrifying physical fact capable of arousing morbid fascination and as a personal issue intimately related to his own speculations about the meaning of life and death, health and illness, and divine involvement in human affairs.

Thackeray spent several years of his London youth amid the names and symbols of butchery and hanging. When he was between the ages of eleven and seventeen he attended the Charterhouse School, which was located close to the Smithfield Market, the principal slaughtering yards of London, and to Newgate Prison, where men were hanged to the delectation of the public. For many years after leaving the School, and well into middle age, Thackeray was accustomed to refer to his alma mater as the "Slaughterhouse," a pun which may have been derived from the School's propinquity to Smithfield, but

3. Quoted in Harold Strong Gulliver, *Thackeray's Literary Apprenticeship* (Valdosta, 1934), p. 195.
4. "Cartouche," *Works,* V, 70.
5. Hollingsworth, pp. 212-15. Thackeray seems to have been obsessed with the Bluebeard theme. He abandoned a Bluebeard play he had begun; it was "too dreadfully cynical and wicked." *The Letters and Private Papers of William Makepeace Thackeray,* ed. Gordon N. Ray, 4 volumes (Cambridge, Mass., 1945-1946) (hereafter referred to as *Letters*), II, 735.
6. *Works,* XII, 443. Denis Duval claims descent from the seventeenth-century highwayman, Claude Duval, about whom Ainsworth had planned to write a Newgate novel. Thus, Thackeray's last work linked his interest in crime with that of his old literary antagonists.
7. *Letters,* I, 395.
8. *Letters,* II, 92, 202.
9. "French Dramas and Melodramas," *Works,* V, 235.

would also have been justified by the cruel regime imposed on Charterhouse students by whipping; the institutionalized but unregulated aggression of fellow students; and the calculated brutality of the Headmaster.[10] Thackeray's writings reflect the central role of flogging in his school life, and he gives one of his fictional schoolteachers the ominous name of "Dr. Birch."[11] It is not unfair to speculate as to whether the brutality of English public-school life could not have combined with the institution of public hanging to contribute to the preoccupation of Thackeray and many of his contemporaries with criminal punishment.[12]

There is no reason to believe that Thackeray attended a public hanging during his stay at the Charterhouse School. The first references to public hangings in his correspondence are made in letters to his mother from Cambridge in 1829. In recounting the events of the week of March 22nd, he wrote that the Assize judges had taken up their traditional residence at Trinity College and that "the court was thronged with little boys & girls to behold the mighty men as they passed to the Judgement."[13] In an entry in the same letter, made several days later, he noted that the judges had departed and that the criminals were awaiting sentence. He did not know whether any of them would be hanged, but, in any event, he had not, like some men he knew, arranged for a breakfast party to see them hanged. This first acquaintance with the devotées of hanging was still in his mind a decade later. In his novel *Catherine* the Hayes family are pictured as enthusiastic attenders of public hangings. Thackeray comments in an aside:

> I can recollect, when I was a gyp at Cambridge, that the 'men' used to have breakfast-parties for the same purpose; and the exhibition of the morning acted infallibly upon the stomach, and caused the young students to eat with much voracity.[14]

Thackeray's reaction to hanging in his college days establishes the pattern that was to mark his career, an obvious fascination with the subject accompanied by a reluctance to become a participant.

Thackeray's interest in executions bloomed in the fostering air of France. In 1836, during his residence in Paris, where he had been studying art and was beginning to try his hand at journalism, he made unsuccessful efforts to attend two executions. The first was that of Giuseppe Fieschi, who had participated in an unsuccessful assassination conspiracy against Louis Philippe. The assassins attacked a procession of Louis Philippe and his attendants with a rapid-firing "infernal machine" of Fieschi's manufacture. The King's elbow was grazed, but about twenty people, including spectators, were killed. The day for Fieschi's death was purposely kept secret, and he was executed in some remote quarter of Paris. Thackeray therefore missed the execution but was revolted by the carnival-time crowd which scoured the city hoping to crown its merrymaking with the sight of Fieschi's guillotining. Several weeks later, he set out to witness the execution of Lacenaire, the nihilist murderer (and sinister villain of the film *Children of Paradise).* This time Thackeray arrived too late for the execution but came upon a group of street-boys dancing in triumph around a little pool of ice tinged with the blood of Lacenaire and his accomplice Avril who had been guillotined with him.[15]

Though these experiences did not immediately inspire Thackeray to record them, they remained vivid in his memory and imagination. In 1839 they came rushing forth under the impulse of a new French case of crime and punishment, that of Sebastian Peytel.[16]

Peytel, a *notaire* of the town of Belley, was tried and executed for the murder of his wife and their servant, Louis Rey. The case has a certain amount of the inevitable interest engendered by a family murder involving middle class people well known to a closely knit community. However, much of the Parisian furor over the Peytel case was artificially aroused by the intervention by Honoré de Balzac in behalf of Peytel, whom he had met while Peytel was serving as theatre critic on a journal with a prophetically criminal name, *Le Voleur*. Balzac, competitive soul that he was, was eager to attach his name to the defense of a cause célèbre, as Voltaire had done in the Calas case.[17] To Thackeray's credit, it cannot be said that his interest in Peytel was aroused by either literary fashion or journalistic loyalty. Though he equivocated as to his personal belief in Peytel's innocence, he felt strongly that the evidence on which he was convicted was insufficient and unduly magnified by the force of community prejudice. He did not argue, as Balzac had done in substance, that Peytel must be innocent because he was a lit-

10. Gordon N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Uses of Adversity 1811-1846* (New York, 1955), pp. 81-86.
11. "Dr. Birch and His Young Friends," *Works,* IX, 73.
12. In his essay, "On Being Found Out," *Works,* XII, 288, Thackeray, in a predominantly humorous tone, maintains that everyone has guilty secrets. Significantly, he begins by recalling a nighttime ordeal to which he and his schoolmates were put by a master in an effort to obtain a confession of petty theft, and proceeds to consider the anxiety of the murderer as only an extreme example of a universal human fear of being found out: "Ah me! what would life be if we were all found out, and punished for all our faults? Jack Ketch would be in permanence; and then who would hang Jack Ketch?" (p. 291).
13. *Letters,* I, 47. In 1832, Thackeray witnessed the slaughter of sheep and oxen at an abattoir (*Letters,* I, 235).
14. *Works,* IV, 613.
15. *Works,* V, 233.
16. *Works,* V, 209.
17. André Maurois, *Prometheus* (New York, 1965), p. 371.

erary man of a sort. Thackeray had a low opinion of the letter which Balzac had published in defense of Peytel. It was, he wrote, "so very long, so very dull, so very pompous, promising so much, and performing so little, that the Parisian public gave up Peytel and his case altogether" (V, 209).

Peytel's wife had been shot on the Lyons Road during a nocturnal trip in a coach driven by her husband, and their servant, who had accompanied them in a separate vehicle, was found lying dead nearby. It was Peytel's story that the servant had fired at his wife from a distance in an attempt to rob them of a sum of money they were carrying and that Peytel had pursued the servant and struck murderous blows in retribution. Public opinion said otherwise and held him guilty of the deliberate murder of an unwelcome spouse on whom he had already perpetrated financial frauds, as well as of the servant who was reputed to have formed the third apex of the family triangle so dear to French theatregoers. To Thackeray, the prosecution in the case smacked too much of the theatre. The act of prosecution, from which he quotes at length, was written in the spirit of a melodrama, in which Peytel emerged as the villain and the victims were romanticized. We know Thackeray's low opinion of crime in the French theatre and he thought no better of the introduction of theatre into French crime. His article contains his own mock *dramatis personae,* in which he lists the principal personages in the case with a description of the stock characters the prosecution sought to assign them.

Peytel was executed in October 1839 in Bourg. Thackeray did not attend the execution but quoted a report of Peytel's last days and his execution from a French newspaper. The principal focus of Thackeray's commentary is on capital punishment as the cruel result of an inflammatory prosecution which may have sent an innocent man to his death. However, after quoting the newspaper account of the execution, Thackeray broadens his attack, raising the question whether any "single person, meditating murder, would be deterred therefrom by beholding this—nay, a thousand more executions" (V, 231). He theorizes that capital punishment is psychologically rooted in man's blood-lust and that it is related to other forms of entertainment providing a release for the delight in blood. He recalls the excitement the audience feels at a new tragedy on the stage and the joy at the first drawing of blood at a wrestling or boxing match.

As his vision of the function of capital punishment widens, Thackeray remembers the carnival rabble which hunted for Fieschi's guillotine and also the urchins who danced around the blood of Lacenaire. In the light of these memories, he realizes that execution proceeds not only from the blood-lust, but from a pleasure in the misfortunes of fellow men, a human trait which had been observed by Lucretius and la Rochefoucauld. This malicious joy leads men to enjoy a good breakfast after an execution, to cut jokes upon it. Thackeray is led on to a peroration in which the principal arguments against capital punishment are swiftly and powerfully made:

> But, for God's sake, if we are to enjoy this, let us do so in moderation; and let us, at least, be sure of a man's guilt before we murder him. To kill him, even with the full assurance that he is guilty, is hazardous enough. . . . What use is there in killing him? You deter no one else from committing the crime by so doing; you give us, to be sure, half an hour's pleasant entertainment; but it is a great question whether we derive much moral profit from the sight. If you want to keep a murderer from further inroads upon society, are there not plenty of hulks and prisons . . . ? Above all, . . . can any man declare positively and upon oath, that Peytel was guilty, and that this was not *the third murder* in the family? (V, 233-34)

It appears that Thackeray's perceptions of the injustice of executions were internalized to a remarkable extent and became inextricably involved with his own personal traits and religious outlook. His preoccupation with execution as a dramatic event of suffering was probably related to his strong anxieties about death and illness. From an early age he was the victim of apparently psychosomatic symptoms which were followed by a series of physical ills which were only too real. While at Charterhouse School he began to suffer from severe headaches which have been attributed to a nervous origin associated with unjust treatment by the Headmaster.[18] He continued to suffer painful headaches during his lifetime, as well as a painful stricture of the urethra and digestive problems aggravated by his own intemperance. His concern with his own ills seemed to translate itself to an acute empathy for the physical suffering of others. This tendency can only have been sharpened by the death of his infant daughter Jane in March 1839. In addition to his physical sensitivity, he was constantly moved to rebellion against his mother's fundamentalist conviction that all ills were visited by a retributive God.

The link of these personal preoccupations with Thackeray's developing views on capital punishment can be seen in his revealing letter to his mother written in late December 1839, one month after his article on Peytel. Thackeray begins in a melancholy mood induced by news he has received that a friend, Salt, is near death from consumption. As is his wont, he immediately thinks of his

18. Chester M. Jones, M.D., "The Medical History of William Makepeace Thackeray," *Letters,* IV, Appendix XXVIII, pp. 453-59.

own happier state and of the religious implications of "unequal lots." He announces his belief that God represents an Abstract Good that does not determine, but transcends, defects in material things such as illness, pain, sorrow, and crime. The conclusion follows that God does not repay material sin by vengeance on the immortal soul. With an ironic sideswipe at his generation's overweening faith in science, which satisfied him no more than fundamentalism, he remarks that "Judas Iscariot came into the world with diseases from his mother, and phrenological bumps—who shall visit the sins of his carcass upon his immortal soul?" (The humor is enhanced when it is recalled that the phrenologist who examined Lacenaire had found "bumps of benevolence and religious veneration.") Applying to human affairs his doctrine that divine justice does not punish or deter crime, Thackeray expresses his view that there is no moral basis for criminal sanctions. "One act of violence is not right because it has been preceded by another," he writes, "philosophically and religiously we have no right to retaliate but we are obliged to make such bargains and compromises for peace & quietness' sake."[19]

In 1840 Thackeray's tortuous path of several years was at last to lead him to a public hanging, the execution of the valet Courvoisier for the murder of his master, Lord William Russell. In May Thackeray wrote to his mother that the murder was a nuisance and that "the stupid town talks about nothing else."[20] Despite Thackeray's professed distaste for the case, he was persuaded to attend the execution in the company of Monckton Milnes, who had recently voted in Parliament in favor of an unsuccessful motion by William Ewart to abolish capital punishment. He put on a brave front the day before the hanging, writing to Milnes declining an invitation to stay up with him all night and instead most strongly recommending "sleep as a preparative to the day's pleasures."[21]

Shortly after the execution, Thackeray wrote to his mother in a very depressed mood. Beginning with a response to his mother's report of the illness of a friend, he adds the insightful comment that "I am . . . always beginning speaking of myself, when another's misfortunes or danger are spoken of." He then shifts to the subject of the Courvoisier hanging, which clearly has contributed to his low spitits:

> I have been to see Courvoisier hanged & am miserable ever since. I can't do my work and yet work must be done for the poor babbies' sake. It is most curious the effect his death has had on me, and I am trying to work it off in a paper on the subject. Meanwhile it weighs upon the mind, like cold plum pudding on the stomach, & as soon as I begin to write, I get melancholy.[22]

The paper to which Thackeray refers was starkly titled *Going to See a Man Hanged* and was originally published in *Fraser's Magazine.*[23] Thackeray begins his account with an imaginative reconstruction of the night before the hanging, which strongly contrasts the "unequal lots" of the participants in the drama and of those Londoners who pass the night unaware of the coming execution: the sleepless Thackeray; Monckton Milnes, up all night at his Club in the hilarious company of an eminent wit; the anonymous dying rich and poor surrounded by weeping friends and "solemn oily doctors"; and the resigned Courvoisier who has no duties left to fulfill but a letter to his mother and dispositions of his miserable property.

Monckton Milnes calls for Thackeray in his carriage and the trip to Snow Hill and Newgate Prison is described. Thackeray does not entrust to words the first visual impact the gallows made on him but instead draws a solid black rectangle surmounted by a thick-lined frame and the noose rings. As the sight of the gallows defeats his pen, so the balance of the narrative of the execution appears to consist largely of a series of subjective diversions from the facts of the experience. Thackeray comments on the insignificance of political decisions as compared with the immovable mass of the crowd. He remarks favorably on the good behavior of the common people and their festive mood, which appears to please him more than the riotousness of the French. He even spots two girls who put him in mind of Dickens' Miss Nancy. But when the moment of the hanging arrives, a moment with which he had been flirting since 1836, he learns as much about himself as about the event he came to see:

> I am not ashamed to say that I could look no more, but shut my eyes as the last dreadful act was going on, which sent this wretched, guilty soul into the presence of God. (III, 646)

As in the Peytel article, the greatness of Thackeray's *Going to See a Man Hanged* lies in its eloquent peroration. The second article marks an advance in Thackeray's emotional response because he is satisfied that Courvoisier was guilty of murder. Yet the experience leaves him with "an extraordinary feeling of terror and shame," springing from his partaking with 40,000 others in "this hideous debauchery, which is more exciting than sleep, or than wine, or the last new ballet" (III, 646).

In accord with his lifelong religious disputations with his mother, Thackeray hotly denies that it is natural that when a man has killed he should be killed. He notes that

19. *Letters,* I, 402-06.
20. *Letters,* I, 443.
21. *Letters,* I, 451-52.
22. *Letters,* I, 453.
23. *Works,* III, 633.

man has rejected the lesser compensations of Mosaic law, an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth, but retained the most terrible, a life for a life. He reserves his final barb for the deterrence theory. His point drives home in a magnificently spare sentence that echoes the conclusion of the Peytel article but universalizes his condemnation of capital punishment by rendering irrelevant the guilt of the hanged man: "I fully confess that I came away down Snow Hill that morning with a disgust for murder, but it was for *the murder I saw done*" (III, 648).

The same equation of the crimes of murderer and executioner is made in *The Irish Sketchbook* (1843). Commenting on the report in a Dublin newspaper of the death sentences of two convicted murderers, Thackeray writes:

> I confess, for my part, to that common cant and sickly sentimentality, which, thank God! is felt by a great number of people nowadays, and which leads them to revolt against murder, whether performed by a ruffian's knife or a hangman's rope: whether accompanied with a curse from the thief as he blows his victim's brains out, or a prayer from my Lord on the bench in his wig and black cap. (V, 281)

Thackeray's outcries against capital punishment were spontaneous reactions to his experiences in the late 1830's and early 1840's and did not recur. However, his tactful wrangles with his mother over her evangelical attachment to the doctrine of divine retribution continued unabated throughout his life, and he displayed special energy in expressing his views to his daughters when his mother attempted to indoctrinate them. There are scattered mentions of hanging, generally in a light vein. It is not clear whether we should attribute callousness or embarrassment to Thackeray's letter (in French) to Mrs. Irvine in 1848, in which he apologetically reports that he is to dine at Newgate the next day with the Sheriffs of London and that they are to see the prisoners, the treadmills, and the "*jolis petits condamnés*" who are to be hanged.[24] Only a small portion of capital criminals were actually executed in Victorian England, but the inappropriate frivolousness of Thackeray's reference still strikes a discordant note. Later in 1848 he mentions in a letter to Rev. Brookfield his visit to a favorite haunt, the Cyder Cellars, "to hear the man sing about going to be hanged."[25] The song to which he refers, the ballad of the condemned chimney sweep Sam Hall, was then the rage in London. There is an intriguing possibility that even in these apparently trivial letters, as in his cheerful note to Milnes on the eve of Courvoisier's hanging, Thackeray's more troubled responses may have been close to the surface. He notes that after his entertainment by the ballad singer he returned home with a headache.[26]

It was justly observed of Thackeray that he was not a reformer. His sympathies were more easily engaged by individuals than by ideas or causes. During his visit to America in 1853 his first impression was that the miseries of slavery had been greatly exaggerated by the abolitionists. But when he met Harriet Beecher Stowe he found to his surprise that she was "a gentle, almost pretty, person, with a very great sweetness in her eyes." He added, in a letter to Mrs. Baxter: "I am sure she must be good and truth-telling from her face and behaviour: and when I get a country place and a leisure hour shall buckle to Uncle Tom and really try to read it."[27]

Thackeray's essays on the horror of capital punishment voiced his personal distress but did not carry him into public action in support of abolition. Perhaps it was of himself he spoke when he gave Henry Esmond the lines: "I can't but accept the world as I find it, including a rope's end, as long as it is in fashion."[28] Dickens, much more committed to social reform, participated several years after the publication of Thackeray's essays in the campaigns to abolish capital punishment and public hangings. But certain points must be noted in Thackeray's favor. Dickens, in Philip Collins' words, was not "a masculine Madame Defarge" but he attended at least three, and possibly four, executions.[29] Thackeray, though drawn powerfully by the fascination of public hanging, could bring himself, so far as we know, to attend only one execution and then he could not bear to look. While in Cairo in 1844 he declined an invitation to attend a public execution. He later explained his refusal in his *Journey from Cornhill to Grand Cairo* (1846): "Seeing one man hanged is quite enough in the course of a life. *J'y ai été*, as the Frenchman said of hunting" (V, 718).

Dickens, only a few years after ardent campaigning for total abolition of capital punishment, abandoned this position, though he remained convinced that hanging should not be conducted in public. It is doubtful that Thackeray ever qualified his abolitionist beliefs, based as they were on the repugnance which his flesh had felt to the hanging of Courvoisier. His cousin, Richard Bedingfield, reports that Thackeray once deprecated his compliment on *Going to See a Man Hanged* with the remark: "I think I was wrong. My feelings were overwrought. These murderers are such devils, after all." But Bedingfield immediately adds that Thackeray "did not like the idea of capital punishment."[30]

24. *Letters*, II, 351.
25. *Letters*, II, 442.
26. Thackeray's fiction abounds with scenes of, or references to, execution. In addition to the prime example of *Catherine*, see *The Rose and the Ring*, *Works*, IX, and the stories "The Notch on the Ape," *Works*, XII, and "The ———'s Wife," *Stray Papers*, ed. Lewis Melville (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 377. In his last work, *Denis Duval*, Thackeray may have intended to describe the executions of two historical criminals (see *Works*, XII, 559-61, 565-66).
27. *Letters*, III, 273.
28. *Works*, VII, 13.
29. *Dickens and Crime* (London, 1962), pp. 234-37.

It is ironic that Lewis Melville, one of Thackeray's earlier biographers, cites this passage as a basis for inferring that Thackeray's views on capital punishment changed.[31] It is Bedingfield who, among Thackeray's intimates, most clearly saw the link which bound his hatred of hanging to his ardent anti-evangelicalism and his loathing for bullies: "He hated 'Jack Ketch' and his worse than 'bloody trade'; he hated all things unmerciful and ruthless. He sees 'no hint of damning in the universe'; he inveighs against the lash in the army; he has a loathing detestation of bullies, small and big."[32]

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30. Richard Bedingfield, "Recollections of Thackeray," *Cassell's Magazine*, N.S., II (October 1870-March 1871), p. 231. Lady Ritchie wrote of her father's response to the Courvoisier hanging that "he never spoke of that dreadful experience without a shudder" (*Works*, IV, xxii).
31. Melville, Note in Thackeray's *The Fitzboodle Papers* (London, 1904), p. ix.
32. Bedingfield, p. 74.

"Nor help for pain": Matthew Arnold and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*

Ellen S. Gahtan

Matthew Arnold's response to classical literature and, in particular, to the plays of Sophocles, has received long and careful attention. Nonetheless, a lack of critical consensus is still apparent in one important detail, namely, the annotation of the Sophoclean lines of "Dover Beach," tantalizing in themselves and crucial to a unified reading of the poem. Likewise, there is a singular omission in the list of those Sophoclean works thoroughly explored by students of Arnold—the tragedy with a "happy" ending, *Philoctetes.* The juxtaposition of these two curious gaps in the study of Arnold's classicism reveals much that is helpful—first in terms of "Dover Beach," and subsequently in relation to other portions of the Arnold canon. Passages in the *Philoctetes* suggest themselves as strong contenders for that oft diffused honor of being the most relevant source of the Sophoclean reference in "Dover Beach," while an examination of the play in its entirety, with reference to Arnold's poetry—notably "Tristan and Iseult" and *Empedocles on Etna*—further illumines the sensitivity with which he absorbed and exploited a body of ancient myth.

The second verse paragraph of "Dover Beach," beginning, "Sophocles long ago / Heard it on the Aegean," is generally assumed to be essential to an understanding of the poem's central metaphor. Thus, it is disquieting to note the arbitrariness of the various annotations of this passage. John Bryson states that the "reference is not identifiable with certainty. It may be to the *Antigone*, ll. 583 et seq; but parallels in the *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus Coloneus* are possible."[1] Kenneth Allott, like others, contends that none of these "meets the case"; that all are "irrelevant," but he nonetheless guides the reader toward the *Trachiniae*.[2] Douglas Bush joins Allott in this, dismissing the attribution problem while noting that "Arnold's allusion to his favorite Greek dramatist has the effect . . . of joining past and present in one long chain of suffering."[3]

Paull F. Baum had earlier made the argument for irrelevancy, and, like Bush later, concluded that the name, Sophocles, merely takes the reader "back in time"; that the tragedian was unlikely to have compared the vicissitudes of life to the ebb and flow of the tide "because there is little tide on the Aegean."[4] This testimony seems to be contradicted by W. D. Anderson's claim that "the composite image" that may have been in Arnold's mind "early became a commonplace of Greek poetry, for the Aegean and Mediterranean have always menaced those who must face them in small craft." Anderson leans toward the *Antigone* as the likeliest source, though he backs away from that position, too, asserting that "the lone figure on the beach . . . suggests the age of Byron rather than of Pericles."[5]

Given the accepted importance of the Sophoclean reference, as well as the confusion generated by the disparate

1. Bryson, ed. *Matthew Arnold: Poetry and Prose* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 789.
2. Allott, ed. *The Poems of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1965), p. 241.
3. *Matthew Arnold* (New York, 1971), p. 76.
4. *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold* (Durham, 1958), p. 88.
5. *Matthew Arnold and the Classical Tradition* (Ann Arbor, 1965), p. 102. As shall be argued later, aside from, though intimately related to Philoctetes, it is Tristan (rather than Byron) whose situation best corresponds to this context.

annotations, it is surprising that no one has explored the possible implications of the one other Sophoclean source put forth. In their *Commentary* (though not in their edition of Arnold's poetry) Tinker and Lowry offer the following: "Mr. Allen Hazen has indicated to us also these lines from Philoctetes [685ff.]":

> There is wonder, indeed, in my heart
> how, how in his loneliness,
> listening to the waves beating on the shore,
> how he kept hold at all
> on a life so full of tears.[6]

The critics mentioned earlier all observe that the three commonly acknowledged source passages (i.e., from the *Antigone, Oedipus Coloneus,* and *Trachiniae)* are similies. In them, Sophocles compares the whelming of man in his littleness or greatness to the rush of waves on crags or beaches. Yet even on this level of figurative relevance, the critics encounter serious problems. Baum's argument that Arnold "chose the name because Sophocles *was* his favorite tragic poet" is persuasive, but when he confronts the image itself, he is less certain. "Any tragedy . . . moves from prosperity to disaster, but not back and forth like the waves."[7] As we shall see, this assumption is not easily demonstrated in the *Philoctetes* (or in Euripides' *Alcestis,* or in other Greek tragedies of the type Aristotle startlingly refers to in Chapter XIV of the *Poetics:* "Best of all is the last alternative, the way of Merope in the *Cressphontes* where she intends to kill her son but does not do it when she recognizes him . . .").[8]

Sophocles' is the only extant play treating the story of Philoctetes, son of Poeas, inheritor of the bow of Herakles, who, while voyaging to Troy, unwittingly violated a shrine and was consequently bitten by a snake. His wound festered and developed an unbearable stench which together with the violence of his pained outbursts, rendered him offensive (in both a personal and superstitious sense) to his companions, who abandoned him on the desert island of Lemnos. Later, a prophecy having revealed that Troy could not be taken without Philoctetes and his bow, the Greeks sent Odysseus and Diomedes to bring the suffering hero back to Troy. Sophocles substitutes the young Neoptolemus for Diomedes, creating a moral conflict of considerable magnitude both between Neoptolemus and Odysseus and within the younger man himself.

Philoctetes consistently resists the entreaties of the two envoys until the *deus ex machina* appearance of Herakles at the play's end. Though Herakles' intervention is prepared for in the typological correspondences established between himself and Philoctetes, it is difficult to perceive his eleventh hour arrival as the externalization of an already softened Philoctetes. Rather, like the awesome wrath of Achilles which recognizes not even the legitimate reparations offered by Agamemnon, the stubborn refusal of Philoctetes seems to exceed the permissible. Structurally, the play does move "back and forth" and concludes on a forward thrust. On the psychological level, it is the wavering Neoptolemus who parallels this structural motion; Philoctetes remains recalcitrant and fatalistic.

With regard to "Dover Beach" there is much in the *Philoctetes* that supports its claim to Hazen's and our attention. Unlike the other passages cited, the first of several in the *Philoctetes* highly relevant to Arnold's poem is not introduced in the original by the Greek equivalent of "as" or "like." These verses, on the contrary, are simple, literal, and direct:

> But I know of no other, by hearsay, much less by sight, of all mankind
> Whose destiny was more his enemy when he met it
> Than Philoctetes, who wronged no one, nor killed
> but lived, just among the just,
> and fell in trouble past his deserts.
> There is wonder, indeed, in my heart
> how, how in his loneliness,
> listening to the waves beating on the shore,
> how he kept hold at all
> on a life so full of tears. (ll. 680ff.)

Like the speaker in "Dover Beach," Philoctetes is imagined here as listening to the waves and combatting the despair implicit in his condition. This straightforward depiction of circumstance, fraught nonetheless with imaginative implications, is distinctively close to Arnold's portrayal of himself listening to the surf and musing on the human lot. Thus, it is first on the most literal level that the situation and language of the *Philoctetes* approach nearer the Arnoldian passage than the figurative application of an impersonal sea image to a disastrous human event—as is the case with the other suggested sources. In the original Greek of the *Philoctetes,* the crucial descriptive word, "amphiplakton," beating all around, recalls the insistent rhythm of Arnold's response. It is "eternal sadness" and not calamity that Arnold defines in the Sophoclean lines. The catastrophic impulse, abundantly evident in the other sources cited, belongs in "Dover Beach" to the subsequent image of ignorant armies, not to the sea metaphor.

6. *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary* (Oxford, 1940), p. 177. Tinker and Lowry give the Plumptre translation; that given here is by David Greene in Greene and Lattimore, eds., *Sophocles II* (New York, 1967), p. 230. Subsequent quotations are from this text.
7. Baum, p. 88.
8. *On Poetry and Style,* trans. G. M. A. Grube (New York, 1958), p. 28.

In both the *Philoctetes* and "Dover Beach" the physical circumstances of weather and tides determine many of the emotional responses. Sophocles' play, like Arnold's poem, opens with a description of the shore that emphasizes its lonesome aspect:

> This is it; this Lemnos and its beach
> down to the sea that quite surrounds it, desolate
> no one sets foot on it; there are no houses.

At crucial moments the dialogue is laden with references to the weather, a particularly momentous passage occurring at line 855, where the chorus urges Neoptolemus to seize the sleeping Philoctetes and his bow by stealth: "It is a fair wind, boy, a fair wind; the man is eyeless and helpless outstretched under night's blanket."[9] Later, when Philoctetes realizes that he has been duped (and before Neoptolemus reverses his moral stand in the hero's favor), he addresses the chorus, projecting and inverting his own experience on Lemnos, self-mockingly applying the image of the lone figure on the beach to his tormentor: "By the shore of the gray sea, he [Odysseus] sits and laughs at me" (l.1124).

Arnold's "Long, withdrawing roar / Retreating, to the breath of the night wind" evokes yet another passage in the play. "In his wretchedness," the chorus explains, in place of human compassion and solicitude for his great trouble, "there is only a blabbering echo, that comes from the distance speeding from his bitter crying" (ll. 188ff.). Here and elsewhere—as when Philoctetes himself refers to the "deep, male growl of the sea-lashed headland" and to "the storm of his sorrow"—the forthright presentation of the poet's identification of emotion with the sea again ties the particular mood of the play to that of Arnold's northern sea with strands "more interwoven and complete" than those suggested by the powerful sea images in the other proposed Sophoclean sources, removed as they are from the events of the plot.

The larger thematic relevance of play to poem is at least as significant as the linguistic and circumstantial correspondences. The "note of sadness" sounded most frequently in the *Philoctetes,* as in "Dover Beach," is the discord of pain and incertitude. Again and again, Sophocles reminds us of the dual nature of his hero's suffering: the real wound of the flesh and the wound of the spirit; physical isolation and psychic betrayal. Philoctetes punctuates the relation of his history to Neoptolemus with tragic humor: "In all I saw before me nothing but pain; but of that a great abundance, boy" (ll. 382-84); and in the same recital, he tells his listener that "a roof for shelter, if only [he] has fire, gives [him] everything but release from pain" (ll. 297-98). The chorus remarks early in the play that it is his lone suffering, the absence of someone to care for him, that leaves him "bewildered and distraught at each need as it comes" (l. 174). And he himself constantly refers to his lonely state, his friendlessness, his sense of man's inhumanity to man.

The incertitude that Philoctetes senses (from which he is ostensibly released only by the *deus ex machina* appearance of Herakles at the play's end) recalls not only the speaker in "Dover Beach," but also the melancholy posture of the hero of Arnold's "Mycerinus."[10] Both Philoctetes and Mycerinus derive feelings of incertitude from subjective perceptions of their situations vis à vis the gods. Philoctetes observes in response to Neoptolemus' recital of the state of the Greek army, of heroes living and dead, that "nothing evil has yet perished / The Gods somehow give them [i.e., the evil ones: here, Odysseus and Agamemnon] most excellent care" (ll. 446-47). "How can I reckon the score," he persists, "how can I praise, / When praising Heaven I find the Gods are bad?" (ll. 451-52).

Mycerinus' shocked disillusionment burgeons into a dramatic loss of faith and then resolves itself, as does that of Philoctetes, into incertitude. All evidence contradicts the would-be believer and the believed. Once the limits of mortality have been imposed, Mycerinus no longer needs to set moral limits for himself. For him as for Philoctetes, both moral and mortal limits are set in the framework of a depersonalized destiny. Both recognize this fact, yet both are provoked to outrage (soon sadly muted) at the injustice accorded their struggles for self-definition: ". . . on the strenuous just man, Heaven bestows / Crown of his struggling life, an unjust close" ("Mycerinus," ll. 29-30). What the two learn is that their very senses of worth and justice were initially misplaced, mistakenly attributed to those higher beings to whom, as Mycerinus concludes, one "must bring / Ill deeds, ill passions." The inexplicable sentence of doom imposed upon Mycerinus leads him to self-exile and to a pale carpe diem resolution; Philoctetes, faced with the imminent revocation of his unsought exile, responds with even greater uncertainty and profound malaise. While willing disbelief—a natural consequence of the outrages they suffer—both heroes yield to and act out the destinies ordained for them. Since Arnold's poem is brief and lacks the structure and context of tragedy, its protagonist's not quite tragic enlightenment dissolves almost too easily into a melancholic uncertainty. Perhaps, Mycerinus muses, "the great powers we serve themselves [are] / Slaves of a tyrannous necessity?" (ll. 41-42). Philoctetes, of course, is a more heroic figure and has had much time for specu-

9. Cf. Sophocles' use of the weather motif in ll. 465-66 and 637ff.
10. It must be noted that "Mycerinus" belongs to the same period of Arnold's poetic life as *Empedocles on Etna,* "Tristan and Iseult," and, according to most critics, "Dover Beach."

lation before he is called upon to act.

The intimacy of sorrow conveyed in "Mycerinus" is present, too, in "Dover Beach" and in the *Philoctetes,* despite its dramatic context. Philoctetes, moved by Neoptolemus' betrayal, reduces his cosmic disappointment to the most personal terms (much like the speaker in "Dover Beach"): "I have been deceived and am lost. / What can I do? / Give it [the bow] back. Be your true self again. Will you not? No word, then I am nothing!" (ll. 948-51). The words themselves are profoundly reminiscent of Arnold's lyric.

As the play moves inexorably toward its "happy" resolution, Neoptolemus keeps faith with himself and with the hero by returning the bow. Philoctetes answers Neoptolemus' appeals from untold depths of bitterness and incertitude. "It is not the stings of wrongs past," he argues, "But what I must look for in wrongs to come" (ll. 1358-59). Thus, the Sophoclean hero, standing on the shores of the Aegean, like the poet of "Dover Beach" by the "distant northern sea," concludes that "the world, which seems / To lie before us like a land of dreams, / So various, so beautiful, so new, / Hath really neither joy, nor love, nor light, / Nor certitude, nor peace, nor help for pain." This last phrase, "help for pain," both intrinsically and in its use as transition to the final image of "ignorant armies [that] clash by night," implies that physical injury is symbolic of the alienation, loneliness, and futility evoked in the poem. The many variants of the phrase "help for pain" that appear in the *Philoctetes,* as well as the very setting of the tragedy, seem to be closely related to "Dover Beach" and to suggest a source not only for the Sophoclean lines, but also for the unusually pessimistic tone of Arnold's relation to Sophocles. It is in the understanding of what the "world . . . hath *really*" that Philoctetes is so like the speaker in "Dover Beach." For though Philoctetes ultimately yields, there is nothing in the language of the play to demonstrate a corresponding alteration in the hero's disillusioned perception of reality.[11]

It is Herakles who, in the context of a carefully developed typological relationship between himself and Philoctetes,[12] commits the latter to the resolution of an irresolvable debate (not unlike the one to which Arnold's Empedocles yields). Arnold's perception of this relationship may, I think, be assumed. A direct reference to Philoctetes appears in *Merope,* where Merope urges Polyphontes to flee to "Some rock more lonely than that Lemnian isle / Where Philoctetes pined" (ll. 1746-47). Arnold also retells one variant of the Herakles / Philoctetes story in the long chorus of *Merope* beginning at line 1795. Arnold's interest in the matter of Herakles /Philoctetes is further substantiated by his reference to it in the "Antigone" fragment (ll. 97ff.), which also belongs to the same period of his poetic life as "Dover Beach."[13]

More importantly, it can be argued that another major work, *Empedocles on Etna,* stands in a particular relation to "Dover Beach" and to the *Philoctetes.* The coincidental link between the two Arnold poems (namely, that the opening lines of the lyric were recorded on the back of a sheet containing notes on Empedocles) is strengthened by the correspondences both display to the *Philoctetes.* In the introduction to their translation, Greene and Lattimore remark that Philoctetes' choice of the "old known pain" claims our sympathy, but that it is

> also irreconcilable with the vital principle which in anyone's life involves change and risk. It is easy for young Neoptolemus to face the future confidently. He has not yet been hurt enough to know what it feels like. Philoctetes' refusal is a great tragic human truth.

Compare Frank Kermode's perception of Callicles' attitude toward Empedocles:

> to the young Callicles there is nothing genuine in the plight of Empedocles. Callicles has not yet understood. 'The sophists are no enemies of his,' he says, and prefers what is for himself the more comfortable explanation, that Empedocles has 'some root of suffering in himself . . .' There follows a richly ironical debate between a poet ignorant enough to know joy and an ex-poet who knows that its grounds are not true, who scrabbles prosaically among the rubbish for the ethical fragments of which he must try to build himself a shelter.[14]

Although there are no substantive philosophical parallels between the two works, these passages do suggest similarities in the working out of a meaningful weltanschauung for their respective protagonists. In both plays, the essential drama takes place within the major figure; in both, a catalyst is provided by the presence of a youthful, challenging mind—one which, curiously, dearly desires to justify the current and ongoing establishment, but recognizes in the defiant, though resigned elder figure the embodiment of a "true," though personally non-viable alternative. The external parallels between the self-immolation of Empedocles on Etna, the death of Herakles on the pyre on Mt. Oeta (accomplished with the assistance of Philoctetes and / or his father, depending upon the variant form of the legend used), and Philoctetes' own stated desire to be cast into the Lemnian fire need no belaboring.

The structural comparison between Arnold's lyric drama and the *Philoctetes* grows more interesting in light of Arnold's condemnation of *Empedocles on Etna* in the "Preface" of 1853. He tells his readers that the work fails "to inspirit and rejoice," that the "suffering finds no vent in action . . . a continuous state of mental distress is prolonged, unrelieved by incident, hope, or resistance, in which there is everything to be endured, nothing to be done."[15] Arnold might well have been paraphrasing Philoctetes' account of his exile prior to the arrival of Neoptolemus. The mental distress of which Arnold speaks lies, for Philoctetes, in his unrelenting indifference to societal demands and in his simultaneous denial of self-interest. As Greene and Lattimore indicate, "the moment chosen for the play's action is when the restoration to potency is near."[16] It may be remarked that this is reminiscent of the situation in *The Tempest.* So, too, is the fact that Philoctetes is being urged by Neoptolemus first, and later by Herakles, to admit the existence of a new order—a healing both physical and spiritual that seems as magical a change as that effected by Prospero. The irony of the prospect of a "brave new world that hath such people in it" is shared by Philoctetes who, like Empedocles, knows what the world "really hath," and by the speaker in "Dover Beach." The latter's exhortation, "Ah, Love, let us be true to one another," is, we remember, premised upon the knowledge that follows: "for the world, which seems / To lie before us like a land of dreams, / So various, so beautiful, so new / Hath really neither joy. . . ." Similarly, drawing upon his empirical knowledge, Philoctetes justly claims that he is worried by "the stings to follow."

The final and initially surprising link between Arnold's "Dover Beach" and the *Philoctetes* was forged in another context. Like Philoctetes, the Celtic hero, Tristan, is a lone figure, one who clearly played a prominent role in Arnold's imaginative world.[17] Philoctetes and Tristan have much in common; indeed they share a single tradition. Sigmund Eisner, enlarging upon Scheppele's earlier work, concludes that Tristan's "Voyage for Healing is ultimately derived from the story of the isolation of Philoctetes and the death of Paris."[18] Tristan's wound also festers and will not heal. Of the greatest significance is the stench they both give off. Even in the Norsk version of the Saga of Tristram and Isönd, the narrative relates that "his friends and kinsmen were very loath to be near him because of the stench that came from him."[19] Bedier's retelling of the romance makes the same point and stresses Tristan's decision to be carried into a "hut apart on the shore," where, "Lying facing the sea he awaited death." Gottfried von Strassburg's variant explains in detail that the "stench [became] so fearsome that life became a burden to him and his body an offense. Further, his greatest grief the whole time was the realization that he was beginning to weigh upon those who, till now, had been his friends; and he understood more and more the meaning of Harold's curse."[20]

Like Philoctetes, Tristan can be healed only by voyaging to the company of his erstwhile enemies. In both cases, physical renewal demands, at the least, a spiritual price. Tristan pragmatically comes to terms with that reality far sooner than Philoctetes, whose reluctance is owing to another, more insistent reality and constitutes his tragic posture. While Eisner treats the matter of the healing of Tristan at the hands of former enemies as derived from the story of the death of Paris, he fails to draw the similarly obvious parallel with the wound of Philoctetes. The latter, too, can be healed only by journeying to Troy and placing himself at the disposal of the Atreidae and their friends, all of whom are represented in Sophocles by a most insistent Odysseus. As Tristan and Iseult are potential enemies turned lovers, so Philoctetes and the Greeks are comrades turned "enemies."

It is surely admissible, and even probable, that Arnold, with his considerable interest in and knowledge of both

11. Writing of Arnold's repeated and seemingly erroneous emphasis on the mellowness and serenity of Sophocles, Anderson observes that "of the seven works which time has spared, only the *Philoctetes* sounds a note of joyous affirmation" (p. 98). As has been suggested above, this is a questionable assessment, though the *Philoctetes* does have a happy ending—like the *Alcestis* of Euripides and the lost *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus (both of which cast Herakles in the role of savior). It is curious to note that Arnold's reading list for 1888 names the *Alcestis,* the *Philoctetes,* and *Prometheus Bound* alone among Greek tragedies (Lowry, Young and Dunn, eds. *The Notebooks of Matthew Arnold* [London, 1952], p. 623). Perhaps he, like so many others, was intrigued and personally magnetized by the concept of "happy" tragedy.
12. Edmund Wilson, in *The Wound and the Bow* (New York, 1947), p. 293, describes the relationship thus: "The case of Heracles connects a poisoning that produces a murderous fury with an infection that, though it distorts the personality, does not actually render the victim demented: the wound of Philoctetes whose agony comes in spasms like that of Heracles. All these cases seem intimately related." In the play itself, instances of this typological identification can be found at ll. 800-4; 668-70; 1128ff. Most explicit is that at l. 799, where Philoctetes begs Neoptolemus to "take up this body of mine and burn it on what they call the Lemnian fire" (l. 799).
13. "The Lemnian isle" is also the subject of a very disappointing sonnet by Wordsworth, "When Philoctetes on the Lemnian Isle," which Arnold must have read and obviously rejected for his edition of Wordsworth's poems. This merits mention because Philoctetes is rarely referred to in the literature of the period.
14. Frank Kermode, *The Romantic Image* (New York, 1964), p. 15.
15. R. H. Super, ed. *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold* (Ann Arbor, 1960), II, 2-3.
16. Greene and Lattimore, p. 200.
17. I am indebted to Professor Barbara Fass for mention of a possible parallel to Tristan.
18. *The Tristan Legend: A Study in Sources* (Chicago, 1969), p. 149.
19. P. Schach, *The Saga of Tristram and Isönd* (Lincoln, Neb., 1973), p. 45.
20. Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan,* trans. A. T. Hatto (Penguin Classics, 1960), p. 138.

Celtic and Greek mythology, recognized (at least on the intuitive level) the startling relationship between the Philoctetes and Tristan stories. Circumstances suggest that the two were simultaneously alive in his imagination between 1849 and 1852 while he was at work on his own "Tristan and Iseult," *Empedocles on Etna,* and the Sophoclean lines of "Dover Beach." Thus, the lone figure of Philoctetes, hearing the waves beating all around and speculating at length on the meaning and purpose of his own, original relation to the universe, may well have been reciprocally reinforced in Arnold's mind by the equally pained, though less tragic figure of Tristan, lying in his hut by the seaside, suffering and considering, like his forerunner in Greek myth, and like Arnold centuries later, the unattractively narrow range of alternatives in man's search for help for pain and an end to incertitude.

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When Did Tennyson Meet Rosa Baring?

Jack Kolb

THANKS LARGELY to Ralph Rader's careful research, we know much of the "biographical genesis" of Tennyson's love for Rosa Baring in the 1830's.[1] The attractive and wealthy granddaughter of Sir Francis, founder of the house of Baring, Rosa lived with her mother, sister, and stepfather in Harrington Hall, two miles from Somersby. When he wrote his first verses to Rosa ("Thy rosy lips are soft and sweet") on her birthday in 1834, Alfred was the poor son of a recently deceased clergyman, a young poet whose work had just enjoyed the dubious distinction of Croker's caustic review.[2] And though the Tennysons, like many other families in the neighborhood, were admitted to the extensive social life at the manor, neither the intensity of Alfred's feelings, nor his poetic addresses, nor even the small inheritance he received upon his grandfather's death in 1835, were sufficient to qualify him as one of Rosa's many eligible suitors.

That Tennyson for his own part had become disillusioned with Rosa two years before her marriage to Robert Shaftoe in 1838 seems clear from a number of poems, including "Ah fade not yet," "To Rosa," and "How thought you," all composed circa 1836.[3] But the beginnings of the relationship are more difficult to ascertain. As Rader notes, Rosa's diaries and letters from this period in her life have been lost. And records of the Laureate's early life offer little information; Alfred's various personal papers from the same time were subject to the censorship of Hallam Tennyson, whose filial sense of propriety excluded any reference to Rosa in the *Memoir.* Lacking conclusive evidence, Rader hypothesizes, reasonably, that Alfred knew Rosa about two years before he left Lincolnshire for Trinity in 1827, and that their acquaintance was renewed when he returned to Somersby following his father's death in March 1831.[4] The first tangible evidence of their friendship has been his 1834 birthday verses. Passages from three unpublished letters from Arthur Henry Hallam to Emily Tennyson seem, however, to offer a more precise date.

In the fall of 1832 Arthur was in London studying law (at the Inner Temple) and thus separated from both his fiancée and his closest friend. Concerned about Emily's isolation at Somersby, he nevertheless pretended to be "rather jealous," as he wrote on October 12, to learn that she had recently participated in some entertainment with certain "partners." Later in the letter he admitted being pleased that Emily, a homebody and partial invalid, had established some social contact outside of the Somersby household:

> I am glad you have lighted on a new friend. If you really like her, I hope you will cultivate the acquaintance in spite of Mary's astonishment. Hitherto your friendships have not been very lasting; perhaps one so close to Harrington may have better issue. Who are these Miss Barings? I do not remember to have heard the name even. Do they live in the great house at Harrington?[5]

1. *Tennyson's Maud: The Biographical Genesis* (Berkeley, 1963). See also H[ardwick] D[rummond] Rawnsley, *Memories of the Tennysons* (Glasgow, 1900), pp. 62-67, and Christopher Ricks, *Tennyson* (London, 1972), especially pp. 147-48.
2. Alfred's seven-line poem is printed in Ricks, *The Poems of Tennyson* (London, 1969), p. 634; subsequent references are to this edition. As Rader points out, we know that Rosa was born on September 23, but not whether she was 20 or 21 in 1834 (p. 130, notes 18 and 28). Croker's review of *Poems* (1832) appeared in the *Quarterly Review,* XLIX (April 1833), 81-96.
3. Tennyson's inheritance was a property at nearby Grasby, valued at £3,000 (see *Tennyson,* p. 149). For his poems to Rosa, see *Poems,* pp. 647-48, 652-53. For information on Shaftoe, whom Rosa married October 22, 1838, see Rader, especially pp. 25 and 42-49. As Ricks notes (*Tennyson,* p. 148), Alfred became seriously involved with Emily Sellwood in 1836.
4. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son,* 2 vols. (London, 1897). See Rader, pp. 24-25, for his conjecture about the beginning of the relationship.
5. Letter in the Wellesley College Library.

In 1832, Arthur had been betrothed to Emily for nearly two years and had known Alfred for nearly four. Thus at least one implication of his inquiry seems clear. If so close a friend of the family had never even heard of the Barings, it is extremely unlikely that any of the Tennysons knew Charlotte-Rose or her sister Fanny before October 1832.

Other conjectures are more speculative. At this time, the Tennyson family was extremely close-knit, sharing the same friends and frequently attending social occasions together. Thus, if Emily's new friend (perhaps one of her unidentified "partners") was either Baring sister, it is likely that Alfred would have become acquainted with them at the same time. The difference in the social standing, activities, and temperament of the two families would explain Mary Tennyson's astonishment at the friendship. One should note that in 1832, Harrington was a tiny parish of about 70 inhabitants, which could have offered few, if any, possible friends for Emily other than the residents of the Hall.[6]

That Emily, probably accompanied by one or more of her brothers, continued to take (for her) an unusually active part in social activities seems clear from Arthur's question in his letter of November 8, 1832: "Did you go to the Ball? Full particulars are requested." Unfortunately we do not have Emily's response.[7] But we know from the poet's 1836 address "To Rosa," written after their quarrel at a ball at Spilsby, that Alfred and Rosa subsequently attended such events together.[8] And the Barings, one of the most prominent families in the area, would certainly have been invited to the 1832 ball, and might possibly have sponsored it. Thus we may assume that Alfred had another chance to meet Rosa Baring early in November 1832.

In this context, an excerpt from a third Hallam letter is potentially more revealing than it might initially seem. Writing Emily less than two weeks after his inquiry about the ball, Arthur first described in great detail his flirtations in London society. Then he abruptly inquired about Alfred:

> I am over-perplexed what Alfred can possibly mean by an enigmatical sentence about "Love being deaf" in his letter today. I entreat the riddle may be solved, or I shall pine for curiosity: I am utterly at a non-plus, & can guess no shadow of a meaning.[9]

Arthur was to visit Somersby a month after his November 20 letter, and he may have waited until then to pursue the subject. In any case, there is no further mention of the enigma anywhere in Hallam's extant correspondence. Thus not only the solution, but also the significance of the "riddle" can only be conjectured. It is possible that Alfred was alluding to his brother Frederick's ultimately unsuccessful relationship with another attractive neighbor, Charlotte Bellingham. But Arthur was already familiar with Frederick's difficulties with Charlotte, and Alfred rarely, if ever, alluded to his brother's affairs, in his letters or elsewhere.[10] The difficulties Hallam encountered in his own engagement to Emily were by this time a constant subject in his correspondence with the Tennyson family; he certainly would have understood an allusion to *that* topic.

Because Arthur was a close friend, the manner in which he responded to Alfred's phrase gives some indication of its significance. The tone of the inquiry—unique in its expression of interest and demand for information among all his letters—shows that Arthur was genuinely surprised, even mystified by what his friend might have meant. Since the two had spent six weeks together on a tour of Holland and Germany only four months earlier, it seems clear that Alfred was referring to some recent development—apparently a new person—in his life.[11]

It may seem precipitous to give so much attention to a potentially insignificant reference, to which Arthur (apparently) never alluded again. However, one must remember that all of Arthur's letters during the last ten months of his life to Alfred, and to other members of the Tennyson family, were subject to the scrutiny of, and substantial tampering by Hallam Tennyson. The oblique references in the three letters to Emily quoted above, letters that escaped the blue pencil and scissors, may reveal circumstances in Tennyson's life which his son would have liked to suppress.

6. See Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of England,* 5 vols., 3rd. ed. (London: S. Lewis and Company, 1835), II, unpaged. That the Tennysons already knew perhaps the only other prominent family at Harrington, the Trollopes (relatives of Mrs. Frances Trollope), is clear from Arthur's letter of May 19, 1832, to Emily, in which, after discussing *Domestic Manners of the Americans,* he inquired: "Pray, is [Mrs. Trollope] anyhow of kin [to] your neighbor" (letter in the New York Public Library).
7. Arthur's letter is in the Wellesley College Library. Virtually all letters to Arthur were destroyed, after his death, by his father.
8. See *Poems,* pp. 648-49, and Rawnsley, pp. 64-67. Hardwick Drummond's son, Willingham Franklin Rawnsley, notes that Rosa and Hardwick's aunt, Sophy, were Tennyson's favorite dancing partners at Horncastle balls ("Personal Recollections of the Tennysons," *The Nineteenth Century,* XCVII [February 1925], 192).
9. Letter dated November 20, 1832, in the Wellesley College Library.
10. Arthur mentions Miss Bellingham (and that Frederick might marry her) for the first time in a letter to Frederick dated July 8, 1831 (at Harvard). In February 1833, Arthur wrote Emily: "I am glad Frederick has become resolutely cool as to that vixen Charlotte" (letter in the Tennyson Research Centre).
11. Alfred and Arthur left England on July 1, 1832, and returned in mid-August. During the fall, Arthur, acting as Alfred's literary agent, wrote to him regularly while the poet prepared his second volume of poems.

Arthur's first reference to the Baring sisters proves, I believe, that Alfred's involvement with Rosa can have begun no earlier than late in 1832. By September 23, 1834, Rosa's "rosy lips" and "fairy form" could inspire Alfred's birthday poem. What was the status of their relationship during the intervening period? If Alfred's cryptic remark in his November 1832 letter (to his closest friend) did refer to his own romantic attachment, all contextual evidence indicates that his unresponsive "love" was Rosa Baring. We may thus hypothesize that Alfred's infatuation with Rosa grew very quickly after their initial encounter, and that Rosa (probably experienced in such matters) may have just as quickly discouraged his attentions, establishing a pattern that ultimately led to Alfred's complete disenchantment in 1836.

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Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

February 1975–July 1975

I

General

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Green, William A. "The Crest of Empire." *Victorian Studies,* March, pp. 345-54. Review-article.

Tobias, Richard C., ed. "Guide to the Year's Work in Victorian Poetry and Prose." *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 143-74.

CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Barnes, James J. *Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement 1815-1854.* Routledge and Kegan Paul. Rev. *TLS,* 13 June, p. 678.

Booth, Michael R. "A Note on *The Road to the Stage.*" *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research,* Spring, pp. 23-35. A first systematic attempt to gather in one book information that would benefit the aspiring actor.

Burstein, Janet. "Victorian Mythography and the Progress of the Intellect." *Victorian Studies,* March, pp. 309-24. For the Victorians, the chief appeal of myths lay in the insights they afforded into the ancient mind.

Colby, Vineta. *Yesterday's Woman: Domestic Realism in the English Novel.* Princeton. Rev. *TLS,* 16 May, p. 542.

Cosgrove, Richard A. "Victorian Legal Periodicals," *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* March, pp. 21-28. Describes a selection of these periodicals.

Dowling, Linda C. "Pursuing Antithesis: Lionel Johnson on Hardy." *English Language Notes,* June, pp. 287-92. Johnson's impulse to deal with an imagined Hardy relates to his urgent need to write about himself and his own situation as an artist.

Goodin, George, ed. *The English Novel in the Nineteenth Century.* University of Illinois. Rev. *TLS,* 7 March, p. 260.

Halperin, John. *Egoism and Self-Discovery in the English Novel.* Burt Franklin. Rev. *TLS,* 16 May, p. 542.

Le Bourgeois, John. "Morris, Rossetti, and Warington Taylor." *Notes and Queries,* March, pp. 113-15. Taylor's marriage throws light on the entangled relationship between Morris and Rossetti.

Martin, Robert Bernard. *The Triumph of Wit: A Study of Victorian Comic Theory.* Clarendon. Rev. *TLS,* 11 April, p. 396.

Roll-Hansen, Diderik. "Victorian Poets and the Changing Sense of the Past." *English Studies,* February, pp. 45-48.

Squires, Michael. *The Pastoral Novel.* University of Virginia. Eliot, Hardy, and Lawrence. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 415-16.

Tener, Robert H. "Hutton's Earliest Review of Arnold: An Attribution." *English Language Notes,* December 1974, pp. 102-9. Evidence that the review in the *Inquirer,* December 3, 1853, was written by Hutton.

Vincinus, Martha. *The Industrial Muse.* Croom Helm. Nineteenth-century British working class literature. Rev. *TLS,* 31 January, p. 104.

Wallins, Roger P. "Victorian Periodicals and the Emerging Social Conscience." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* June, pp. 47-60. The periodicals helped develop the social conscience of middle- and upper-class Victorians.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Fisher, D. R. "Peel and the Conservative Party: The Sugar Crisis of 1844 Reconsidered." *Historical Journal,* June, pp. 279-302. The outcome of the crisis reveals the strength of Peel's hold over the party.

Hanson, C. G. "Craft Unions, Welfare Benefits and the Case for Trade Union Law Reform, 1867-75." *Economic History Review,* May, pp. 243-59. The unions' main object remained trade-union development.

Newman, Gerald. "Anti-French Propaganda and British Liberal Nationalism in the Early Nineteenth Century: Suggestions toward a General Interpretation." *Victorian Studies,* June, pp. 385-418. Anti-French rhetoric reveals something useful about the inner workings of liberal nationalism.

Steele, E. D. *Irish Land and British Politics.* Cambridge. Rev. *TLS,* 9 May, p. 505.

HISTORY. Foot, M. R. D., and H. C. G. Matthew, eds. *The Gladstone Diaries.* Vols. 3 and 4. Oxford. Rev. *TLS,* 14 March, pp. 266-67.

Woodall, Robert. "The Jewish Relief Act, 1858." *History Today,* June, pp. 410-17. Twenty-nine years of public controversy preceded the political emancipation of British Jews.

RELIGION. Brendon, Piers. *Hurrell Froude and the Oxford Movement.* Elek. Rev. *TLS,* 14 March, p. 274.

McLeod, Hugh. *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City.* Croom Helm. Rev. *TLS,* 14 February, p. 170.

Morrish, P. S. "County and Urban Dioceses: Nineteenth-Century Discussion on Ecclesiastical Geography." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* July, pp. 279-300. Discussion of how the diocesan map might be more suitably drawn anticipated modern geographical studies.

SOCIAL. Peckham, Morse. "Victorian Counterculture." *Victorian Studies.* March, pp. 257-76. The effort to stamp out the remissive culture of sexual licence was the true sexual counterculture of the Victorian world.

Vicinus, Martha. "A Study of Victorian Popular Culture." *Victorian Studies,* June, pp. 473-83. Review-article.

II

Individual Authors

ARNOLD. Becht, Ronald E. "Matthew Arnold's 'Switzerland': The Drama of Choice." *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 35-45. The speaker's psychic conflict: the demands of the present and the necessities imposed by past experience.

Harris, Wendell V. "Eighteenth-Century Straws in Arnoldian Amber and a Conjecture 'How the Devil They Got There.' " *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 70-74. Eighteenth-century reverberations in "Resignation" and *Empedocles on Etna.*

BRONTË. Scheuerle, William H. "Brontë's *Wuthering Heights.*" *Explicator,* May, No. 69. The significance of a superstition.

BROWNINGS. Aiken, Susan Hardy. "On Clothes and Heroes: Carlyle and 'How It Strikes a Contemporary.' " *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 99-109. Browning creates a structure of imagery reflecting major Carlylean doctrines and metaphors.

Armstrong, Isabel, ed. *Robert Browning.* Bell. Rev. *TLS,* 16 May, p. 543.

Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. *Letters to Mrs. David Ogilvy 1849-1861.* Ed. Peter N. Heydon and Philip Kelley. John Murray. Rev. *TLS,* 25 July, p. 837.

Collins, R. G. "Browning's Practical Prelate: The Lesson of *Bishop Blougram's Apology.*" *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 1-20. The poem establishes Browning as far more of an objective artist than critics have recognized.

Cook, Eleanor. *Browning's Lyrics.* University of Toronto. Rev. *TLS,* 16 May, p. 543.

Garrett, Marvin P. "Language and Design in *Pippa Passes.*" *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 47-60. Browning's artful patternings of images and subtle use of irony.

Guralnick, Elissa Schagren. "Archimagical Fireworks: The Function of Light-Imagery in *Sordello.*" *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 111-27. The poem achieves rudimentary organization through light imagery.

Yetman, Michael G. "Exorcising Shelley Out of Browning: *Sordello* and the Problem of Poetic Identity." *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 79-98. Browning transmuted the historical Sordello into a figure polarized between objective and subjective poetic impulses.

CARLYLE. Turner, Frank M. "Victorian Scientific Naturalism and Thomas Carlyle." *Victorian Studies,* March, pp. 125-43. The influence of Carlyle on the naturalistic espousers.

CARROLL. Miller, Edmund. "Lewis Carroll's Geneological Oversight in 'The Tangled Tale.' " *English Language Notes,* December 1974, pp. 109-11. The two-double-marriages solution.

CLOUGH. McGrail, John P. "Three Image Motifs in Arthur Hugh Clough's *The Bothie of Tober-Na-Vuolich.*" *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 75-78. The crucial function of three motifs: water, trees, a keystone.

DARWIN. Ruse, Michael. "Charles Darwin and Artificial Selection." *Journal of the History of Ideas,* April-June, pp. 339-50. Takes seriously Darwin's own claims about the importance of artificial selection.

DICKENS. Burgan, William. "Little Dorrit in Italy." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* March, pp. 393-411. The Italian settings introduce color and beauty into the novel's drab fictional world.

Easson, Angus. "John Chivery and the Wounded Strephon: A Pastoral Element in *Little Dorrit.*" *Durham University Journal,* June, pp. 165-69. Dickens uses pastoral to show the basic impossibility of John being Amy's lover.

Gilbert, Elliot L. "The Ceremony of Innocence: Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol.*" *PMLA,* January 1975, pp. 22-31. There is a level of the story on which Scrooge's regeneration is entirely authentic.

Gribble, Jennifer. "Depth and Surface in *Our Mutual Friend.*" *Essays in Criticism,* April, pp. 197-214. The dynamism in the novel comes from Dickens' interest in the relationship between individual depth and social surface.

Marlow, James E. "Memory, Romance, and the Expressive Symbol in Dickens." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* June, pp. 20-32. Dickens uses romance to fuse the contradictory impulses of acceptance and escape.

Ousby, Ian. "The Broken Glass: Vision and Comprehension in *Bleak House.*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* March, pp. 381-92. The characters struggle to understand their disordered environment.

Patten, Robert L. "*Pickwick Papers* and the Development of Serial Fiction." *Rice University Studies,* Winter 1975, pp. 51-74. In *Pickwick* Dickens and Chapman and Hall hit upon an arrangement for serializing fiction that revolutionized nineteenth-century publishing and fiction itself.

Sipe, Samuel M. "The Intentional World of Dickens's Fiction." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* June, pp. 1-19. Dickens' metaphors of transformation provide a crucial insight into the ontology of his fictional world.

ELIOT. Baker, William. "George Eliot's Projected Napoleonic War Novel: An Unnoted Reading List." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* March, pp. 453-60. The reading list throws light on Eliot's unfinished novel.

Bamber, Linda. "Self-Defeating Politics in George Eliot's *Felix Holt.*" *Victorian Studies,* June, pp. 419-35. The novel reveals the dimensions of Eliot's search for a political stance as well as the mechanisms that finally defeat her.

Benson, James D. " 'Sympathetic' Criticism: George Eliot's Response to Contemporary Reviewing." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* March, pp. 428-40. Eliot believed that sympathy was the prerequisite of responsible criticism.

Greenberg, Robert A. "Plexuses and Ganglia: Scientific Allusion in *Middlemarch.*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* June, pp. 33-52. The scientific allusions in the novel are central to Eliot's design.

Herbert, Christopher. "Preachers and the Schemes of Nature in *Adam Bede.*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* March,

pp. 412-27. Dinah Morris and Mr. Irwine define the moral and metaphysical issues around which the story revolves.

Knoepflmacher, U. C. "*Middlemarch*: An Avuncular View." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction,* June, pp. 53-81. Mr. Brooke remains a caricature of the paternal provider.

GASKELL. Craik, W. A. *Elizabeth Gaskell and the English Provincial Novel*. Methuen. Rev. *TLS,* 11 April, p. 396.

Sucksmith, Harvey Peter. "Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton* and William Mudford's *The Iron Shroud*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 460-63. Mrs. Gaskell's interest in fiction in *Blackwood's*.

W. S. GILBERT. Stedman, Jane W. "A New Absurdity from Tomline: W. S. Gilbert's 'Dramatic Sell.'" *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research*, Spring, pp. 1-21. *The Blue-Legged Lady* is demonstrably Gilbert's work. Text of play included.

HARDY. Collister, Peter. "'Past Things Retold': A Study of Thomas Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree* and *The Trumpet-Major*." *Durham University Journal,* June, pp. 147-56. Both novels indicate Hardy's withdrawal from modernity.

Gittings, Robert. *Young Thomas Hardy*. Heinemann. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 414-15.

Gregor, Ian. *The Great Web: The Form of Hardy's Major Fiction*. Faber and Faber. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 415-16.

Hynes, Samuel. "How to Read Hardy." *Sewanee Review,* Summer, pp. 484-92. Seeing the novels as the forms that Hardy found for his understanding of history.

Jacobus, Mary. "Sue the Obscure." *Essays in Criticism,* July, pp. 304-28. The unique complexity of Sue.

Pittman, Philip McM. "An Unpublished Hardy Letter." *Notes and Queries,* March, pp. 115-16. To Tinsley, dated April 8, 1872.

Taylor, Dennis. "The Patterns in Hardy's Poetry." *ELH,* Summer, pp. 258-75. Hardy deliberately dramatizes how patterns of experience develop and inevitably grow rigid.

Vigar, Penelope. *The Novels of Thomas Hardy*. Athlone Press. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 415-16.

Weatherby, Harold L. "Hardy and the Fragmentation of Consciousness." *Sewanee Review,* Summer, pp. 468-83. No unified authorial consciousness.

White, R. J. *Thomas Hardy and History*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 415-16.

Zietlow, Paul. *Moments of Vision: The Poetry of Thomas Hardy*. Harvard. Rev. *TLS,* 18 April, pp. 415-16.

HOPKINS. Cartwright, Jerome D. "Hopkins' *Binsey Poplars*." *Explicator,* May, No. 72. The use of the familiar music of childhood chants.

Driscoll, John P., S.J. "'The Wreck of the Deutchland': Stanza 33." *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 137-42. The poem tries to explain the evil of suffering.

Eble, Joseph. "Levels of Awareness: A Reading of Hopkins' 'Felix Randal.'" *Victorian Poetry,* Summer, pp. 129-35. The poem reveals a wide range of Hopkinsian themes and verbal effects.

Thomas, Alfred. "G. M. Hopkins: 'The Windhover'; Sources, 'Underthought,' and Significance." *Modern Language Review,* July, pp. 497-507. Christ is the poem's "underthought."

R. H. HUTTON. Tener, R. H. "R. H. Hutton's Editorial Career: Part III. The *Economist* and the *Spectator*." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* March, pp. 6-17. Evidence relevant to attribution.

KINGSLEY. Chadwick, Owen. "Charles Kingsley at Cambridge." *Historical Journal,* June, pp. 303-25.

ANDREW LANG. Weintraub, Joseph. "Andrew Lang: Critic of Romance." *English Literature in Transition,* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, pp. 5-15. Lang was the most visible proponent of the new romance.

MEREDITH. Morris, Christopher. "Richard Feverel and the Fictional Lineage of Desire." *ELH,* Summer, pp. 242-57. Delusion and dislocation.

MILL. Mazlish, Bruce. *James and John Stuart Mill: Father and Son in the Nineteenth Century*. Basic Books. Rev. *TLS,* 23 May, p. 565.

Schweik, Robert C. "Rhetorical Art and Literary Form in Mill's *The Subjection of Women*." *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* February, pp. 23-30. The work incorporates a fictive world which underlies and supports its argument.

ARTHUR PINERO. Miner, Edmund J. "The Theme of Disillusionment in the Drama of Arthur Pinero." *Contemporary Review,* April, pp. 184-90. This theme pervades Pinero's plays.

ROSSETTIS. Keane, Robert N. "Rossetti: The Artist and 'The Portrait.'" *English Language Notes,* December 1974, pp. 96-102. Like his other poems, "The Portrait" shows Rossetti's development at many stages.

Peattie, R. W. "William Michael Rossetti's Art Notices in the Periodicals, 1850-1878: An Annotated Checklist." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* June, pp. 79-92.

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. Markgraf, Carl. "John Addington Symonds: An Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Him." *English Literature in Transition,* Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 79-138.

TENNYSON. Gliserman, Susan. "Early Victorian Science Writers and Tennyson's 'In Memoriam': A Study in Cultural Exchange." *Victorian Studies,* Part I, March, pp. 277-308; Part II, June, pp. 437-59. The relationship between a literary text and its cultural context.

Goslee, David F. "The Stages in Tennyson's Composition of 'Balin and Balan.'" *Huntington Library Quarterly,* May, pp. 247-68. Tennyson made his narrative more continuous and thus more realistic.

Hoge, James O., ed. *The Letters of Emily Lady Tennyson*. Pennsylvania State University. Rev. *TLS,* 14 March, p. 274.

Kozicki, Henry. "Philosophy of History in Tennyson's Poetry to the 1842 *Poems*." *ELH,* Spring, pp. 88-106. Tennyson's philosophy of history is essentially a Christian one and much of his poetry reflects his historical thinking.

Stevenson, Catherine Barnes. "Tennyson's 'Mutability Canto': Time, Memory, and Art in *The Princess*." *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 21-33. The poem is imbued with the awareness of mutability.

Tennyson, Charles, and Hope Dyson. *The Tennysons: Background to Genius*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS,* 14 March, p. 274.

Whitbread, L. G. "Tennyson's 'In the Garden at Swainston.'" *Victorian Poetry,* Spring, pp. 61-69. The artistry of the poem is evident.

THACKERAY. Lerner, Laurence. "Thackeray and Marriage." *Essays in Criticism,* July, pp. 279-303. A central theme in Thackeray's novels is the contrast between romantic marriage and marriage of convenience.

Lougy, Robert E. "Vision and Satire: The Warped Looking Glass in *Vanity Fair*." *PMLA,* March, pp. 256-69. The novel embodies both the impulses of the moral and social satirist and those of the visionary or prophet.

Shillingsburg, Peter L. "Thackeray's *Pendennis:* A Rejected Page of Manuscript." *Huntington Library Quarterly,* February, pp. 189-95. The page sheds light on Thackeray's working habits and the importance of his illustrations.

TROLLOPE. Hall, N. John. "Trollope Reading Aloud: An Unpublished Record." *Notes and Queries,* March, pp. 117-18. Trollope's "out loud" reading for the last six years of his life.

Hamer, Mary. "*Framley Parsonage*: Trollope's First Serial." *Review of English Studies,* May, pp. 154-70. Analysis based on manuscript evidence.

Wall, Stephen. "Trollope, Balzac, and the Reappearing Character." *Essays in Criticism,* January 1975, pp. 123-43. Reappearance in Trollope was a means of apprehending that in the individual which is unique.

Staten Island Community College,
City University of New York

English X News

A. THE SAN FRANCISCO MEETING

Chairman, Richard C. Tobias, *University of Pittsburgh*
Secretary, Ruth apRoberts, *University of California (Riverside)*

I. Business

II. Papers and Discussion: Literature and Popular Culture

1. "Murder in the Middle Class: Sensation Novels of the 1860's," Elaine Showalter, *Douglass College, Rutgers University*
2. " 'Feeling Hot': Victorian Drama and the Censors," John R. Elliott, *Syracuse University*
3. "A Straight Bat and a Modest Mind," Coral Lansbury, *College of South Jersey, Rutgers University*

1975 Program Chairman: George Levine, *Livingston College, Rutgers University*

Bibliography Committee: Chairman, Richard C. Tobias, *University of Pittsburgh;* Ward Hellstrom, *University of Florida;* G. Jackson Kolb, II, *University of California (Los Angeles);* Dale Kramer, *University of Illinois;* Edward S. Lauterbach, *Purdue University;* David Paroissien, *University of Massachusetts;* Robert C. Slack, *Carnegie-Mellon University;* Rodger L. Tarr, *Illinois State University.*

Editors, The Victorian Newsletter: William E. Buckler, *New York University;* Robert A. Greenberg, *Queens College, City University of New York.*

B. THE VICTORIAN LUNCHEON

The 1975 Annual Victorian Luncheon will be held on 27 December in the Georgian Room (St. Francis), with cocktails at noon and luncheon at 1:00 p.m. For reservations please send a check for $9.75 to Stanley Tick, Department of English, San Francisco State College, 1600 Holloway Avenue, San Francisco, California 94132.

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