

# THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER

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## Victorian Group News

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#### I. Business

#### II. Papers and Discussion: Miscellaneous Topics in Victorian Literature

1. "Why Unblossoms the Best Hope?: Victorian Narrative Forms and the Explanation of Calamity," James R. Kincaid
2. "Browning: The Activation of Influence," Loy D. Martin
3. "The Intricate Evasions of As': Meredith's Theory of Figure," Michael Sprinker
4. "Victorian Philology and Victorian Poetry," Dennis Taylor

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The Victorian Luncheon will be held after the Victorian Division meeting in the Buckingham Room of the Pick Congress Hotel, Cash Bar 12 to 1, Luncheon 1-2. For reservation, please send check for \$10.00 by December 20, to Professor

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## Trollope and Romanticism

David R. Eastwood

THAT ANTHONY TROLLOPE'S FICTION, taken as a whole, deserves to be called realistic is beyond dispute, but that his fiction shows evidence of some kind of romantic influence has been less frequently observed. When the observation is made, however, we are usually told that the influence was a positive one and that Trollope has, for good or ill, tried to write at least partly in the romantic mode. One recent critic has even complained that Trollope has ruined or marred a number of his works by incorporating in them sentiments and situations which this critic characterizes as "romantic."<sup>1</sup>

We have here a problem involving the significance of apparently romantic elements present in fiction that purports to be essentially realistic. Without going into an extended discussion of romantic and realistic modes of fiction, let us say for now that the essential difference between them is not so much the subjects presented as the viewpoints from which those subjects are seen, by both the author and his readers.<sup>2</sup> The perspective from which most of Trollope's stories are presented comes from their non-participant narrators, who, while not wholly omniscient, are of the type we usually consider reliable. Their information and the judgments they make as to its significance are intended to be trustworthy, and, generally speaking, our responses to most of Trollope's stories closely approximate or are identical to those of such narrators.<sup>3</sup> When we find the narrators of many of Trollope's works self-consciously comparing and contrasting sections of their own narrative to "romances" and labelling certain elements "romantic," it is apparent that Trollope is using these narrators to manipulate our attitudes towards such elements, and it would be clearly unwise for us to condemn out of hand the presence of such elements, even in passages where no label is given them. Instead, an awareness of his various ways of responding to and representing romantic conventions and commonplaces can help us avoid certain kinds of misreadings and at the same time can heighten our appreciation of an aspect of his realism that has been largely overlooked.

As far as tone is concerned, with rare exceptions the references his narrators make to romantic conventions

are genial and playfully ironical. Most of their statements disavowing suspense and heroic character types are made as mock-apologies for departing from these conventions. In a well-known passage in *Doctor Thorne*, for example, the narrator even makes a facetious apology for his style:

From my tedious way of telling it, the reader will be led to imagine that the hand-squeezing had been protracted to a duration quite incompatible with any objection to such an arrangement on the part of the lady; but the fault is all mine: in no part hers. Were I possessed of a quick spasmodic style of narrative, I should have been able to include it all—Frank's misbehavior, Mary's immediate anger, Augusta's arrival, and keen Argus-eyed inspection, and then Mary's subsequent misery—in five words and half-a-dozen dashes and inverted commas.

Although this passage has been occasionally cited as evidence that Trollope considered his own style faulty,<sup>4</sup> it seems clear that the passage serves two other purposes: it makes the reader smile at the sentimentality and melodrama of the little episode and serves as an occasion for fun at the expense of the Spasmodics, a neo-Byronic group of poets who had flourished a few years earlier. The original scene had given us no cause to doubt Mary's integrity, and the apology is quite as long as the scene it pretends was so tedious.

In a number of passages Trollope's narrators playfully pretend they are adhering to romantic conventions. When Frank Gresham is separated from Mary Thorne for a year, for example, the narrator speaks of "banishment" and remarks that "Frank Gresham was absent from Greshamsbury for twelve months and a day: a day is always added to such absences, as shown in the history of Lord Bateman and other noble heroes." Frank's absence is discussed in mock-heroic terms which are consistent with the deflation of his frequently melodramatic behavior. Earlier, when Mary treated his first proposal as a joke, "Frank, of course, went upstairs to see if his new pocket-pistols were all ready, properly cleaned, loaded, and capped, should he find after a few days' experience, that prolonged existence was unendurable."<sup>5</sup>

1. Bradford A. Booth, *Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 164-166.  
 2. See, for example, M. H. Abrams, *A Glossary of Literary Terms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1957), p. 76.  
 3. See Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 158-159.  
 4. See Booth, *Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art*, p. 172; Praz, *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction*, trans.

Angus Davidson (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), p. 285.  
 5. *Doctor Thorne*, chaps. xxxi and vi. In chap. i, the narrator jokingly tells us, "Those who don't approve of a middle-aged country doctor as a hero, may take the heir to Greshamsbury in his stead, and call the book, if it so please them, 'The Loves and Adventures of Francis Newbold Gresham the Younger.'" The joke appears again in chap. ii.

By inserting "always" and "of course" into these passages, the narrator both acknowledges his use of romantic conventions and emphasizes the fact that they have become clichés.

In *The Small House at Allington*, after Crosbie has jilted Lily Dale, we are told that "Mrs. Dale and Bell were frightened, . . . remembering stories of poor broken-hearted girls who had died because their loves had been unfortunate,—as small wax tapers whose lights are quenched if a breath of wind blows upon them too strongly." The narrator, however, assures us that "Lily was in truth no such slight taper as that" and observes that Lily would talk about her misfortune openly "with an assurance and strength which seemed to ridicule the idea of a broken heart." In *Doctor Thorne* the narrator pretends that such a melodramatic fate lies in store for Mary:

Though by so doing, we shall somewhat anticipate the end of our story, it may be desirable that the full tale of Mr. Gazebee's loves should be told here. When Mary is breaking her heart on her death-bed in the last chapter, or otherwise accomplishing her destiny, we shall hardly find fit opportunity of saying much about Mr. Gazebee and his aristocratic bride.

Here, as elsewhere, Trollope's narrator is poking fun at conventional romantic endings, for both the narrator and the reader are fully aware that Mary's strong-mindedness also renders preposterous the idea of a broken heart.<sup>6</sup> In *Barchester Towers* the conventional alternative, the sentimental happy ending, is playfully mocked ("The end of a novel, like the end of a children's dinner party, must be made up of sweetmeats and sugarplums"), and the final chapter of *Framley Parsonage* is facetiously titled "How They Were All Married, Had Two Children, And Lived Happy Ever After" to mock the same convention.<sup>7</sup>

Probably the chief concern of Trollope's narrators is how to portray a wide range of characters in a manner that will cause us to respond with the appropriate degrees of detachment and sympathy. Besides their playful use of self-conscious commentary on the nature of the work in hand, his narrators also guide our responses to characters by deflating the settings of their stories in fairly direct ways. Although descriptions of landscapes and architecture seem to occur more frequently in Trollope's short stories, the same techniques to deromanticize them are apparent in his novels. In *Framley Parsonage*, for example, the beauty of Cornwall is played down as it

is in the short story "Malachi's Cove": there Josiah Crawley spent ten years "in a bleak, ugly, cold parish on the northern coast," and there he was changed from a young idealist into "a strict, stern, unpleasant man" by the "poverty . . . sickness, debt, and death" that he encountered during those years. In *Rachel Ray* Devonshire is given approximately the same amount of unenthusiastic praise which it receives in his short story "The Parson's Daughter of Oxney Colne": "Of all counties in England Devonshire is the fairest to the eye; but, having known it in its summer glory, I must confess that those southern regions are not fitted for much noonday walking." Equally typical is the treatment of landscape in *The Golden Lion of Granpère*, a novel which Sadleir considered written "on romantic lines and with full complement of foreign and picturesque scenery."<sup>8</sup> In the first chapter, however, we are told:

the scenery round Granpère is very pleasant, though the neighboring hills never rise to the magnificence of mountains or produce that grandeur which tourists desire when they travel in search of the beauties of Nature. It is a spot to love if you know it well, rather than to visit with hopes raised high, and to leave with vivid impressions. There is water in abundance . . . , and a so-called mountain summit within an easy distance, from whence the sun may be seen to rise among the Swiss mountains. . .

The belittling of mountain scenery here is similar to that in "La Mère Bauche," and the nearby "wild ravine" (which "helps to excuse the people of Granpère for claiming for themselves a great object of natural attraction") is described simply as "very pretty" and is made the setting for the humorous farewell-picnic for the rejected lover of Marie Bromar.

While we are told explicitly at the outset that Granpère has "no mansion . . . , no baron's castle, no manorial hall,—not even a château," such architectural wonders appear—and are deromanticized—in others of Trollope's novels: e.g., Ullathorne Court in *Barchester Towers*, Greshamsbury House, Courcy Castle, and Gatherum Castle in *Doctor Thorne*, and Portray Castle in *The Eustace Diamonds*. The treatment of the Tudor country manions, Ullathorne Court and Greshamsbury House, is considerably more sympathetic than the treatment of any of the castles. The narrator of *Barchester Towers* rather proudly includes himself among the small circle of "those who love the peculiar colour and peculiar ornaments of Tudor architecture," and Ullathorne, like Greshamsbury, is highly praised. The admiration is tempered, however, in

6. *Doctor Thorne*, chap. xxxviii; Mary's strong-mindedness has been apparent since the end of chap. iii.

7. However, the last chapter of *Framley Parsonage* has been condemned, largely on the basis of its title, as Trollope's half-hearted attempt to please sentimental readers; see Russell A.

Fraser, "Anthony Trollope's Younger Characters," *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 6 (1951), 99–100.

8. *Framley Parsonage*, chap. xiv; *Rachel Ray*, chap. ii; Sadleir, *Trollope: A Commentary*, p. 271.

both descriptions by frank admissions that the houses lack some of the comforts of more modern ones and by humorous remarks (e.g., whether the motto "Gardez Gresham" means "beware the Gresham" or "take care of the Gresham"). In both descriptions the narrators are attempting to mediate between the romantic viewpoint of those who are "sighing and regretting, looking back . . . and cherishing," like Miss Monica Thorne, and the unromantic viewpoint of utilitarians and commercial interests. While he grants that "buying and selling is good and necessary," the narrator of *Doctor Thorne* expresses this hope about Greshamsbury: "may such symbols long remain among us; they are lovely and fit to be loved. They tell us of the true and manly feelings of other times; and to him who can read aright, they explain more fully, more truly than any written history can do, how Englishmen have become what they are."<sup>9</sup>

The castles of the Earl de Courcy, the Duke of Omnium, and Lizzie Eustace are generally represented as dull, cold, unattractive, uninviting, comfortless buildings. Courcy Castle is an ugly "huge brick pile" whose "right to be called a castle" depends largely on "two round, stumpy adjuncts, which were, perhaps properly, called towers, though they did not do much in the way of towering," and one very small "castellated parapet, through the assistance of which, the imagination no doubt was intended to supply the muzzles of defiant artillery." Gatherum is an immense, expensive parody of Italian architecture whose portico is so magnificent and disproportionately large that it "destroyed the duke's house as regards most of the ordinary purposes of residence"; when the castle was completed, "the noble owner found that he had no rooms to live in; and . . . he resided in a house of perhaps one-tenth the size, built by his grandfather in another county." As its facetious name suggests, Gatherum is used primarily for entertaining large groups of people, and its unfitness for anything else makes it a source of laughter in several of Trollope's other novels.<sup>10</sup> Portray Castle, set on a desolate stretch of Scottish coast, is described as "sombre, exposed, and, in winter, very cold." Like Courcy Castle's, Portray's right to be called a castle depends on its fortified appearance (including "an excavation called the moat"), and this appearance, like Courcy's, was determined by someone's self-conscious attempt to make it picturesque: its battlements, its tower, and its "gate which looked as if it might have had a portcullis" had all been added recently. As was the case with

Gatherum, the space needed for comfort had been "surrendered to magnificence" so that most of the bedrooms of Portray were "small and dark" and "as a house it was not particularly eligible."<sup>11</sup>

Generally speaking, the sympathy or antipathy Trollope's narrators express towards various dwellings seems related to the kinds of people who were created to inhabit or use such places: disagreeable, cold-hearted characters are given the pretentious, cold castles, while warmer-hearted, frequently foolish, but more open and likeable characters are allotted the older, more comfortable, and more historically authentic country houses. The account of Portray's romantic pretensions and deficiencies follows a summary of the faults of the would-be romantic, Lizzie Eustace. When Courcy Castle is called "dull," the narrator slyly adds: "but it may be presumed that the De Courcys found it to their liking, or they would have made it other than it was." Gatherum Castle, like Cheops' pyramid, is "an immense pile," a "monument" for "the largest landowner in that county."<sup>12</sup>

Most important, of course, are the numerous characters in Trollope's works who are portrayed as being to some degree romantically-minded. With certain characters, of course, romantic sentiments are in their minds or on their lips so frequently that few readers could fail to remember them when inferring the motives behind other words and deeds of these characters. Such men and women, for example, are Frank Gresham, John Eames, Major Henry Grantly (who courts Grace Crawley in *The Last Chronicle of Barset*), Signora Neroni, Lily Dale, Mrs. Dobbs Broughton, Madalina Demolines, and Lizzie Eustace. With various other characters, however, romantic tendencies are directly alluded to only once or twice. Readers would do well to note such tendencies, for they can significantly aid one in accounting for the behavior of these characters. Although Miss Dunstable, for example, is loud, unsentimental, and often sarcastic, her advice to Frank Gresham reveals her commitment to a romantic standard of value: "Greshamsbury is a very nice place . . . but its green knolls are not half so nice, should not be half so precious, as the pulses of your own heart. That is your own estate, . . . your own and another's; whatever may go to the money-lenders, don't send that there." This statement goes a long way towards clarifying her attitudes about her own vast wealth and her rejection of scores of suitors. It even helps us to see why, in a later novel, she loves and marries Dr. Thorne, and why, in a still later

9. *Barchester Towers*, chap. xxii; *Doctor Thorne*, chap. i.

10. Courcy Castle: *Doctor Thorne*, chap. xv; Gatherum Castle: *Doctor Thorne*, chap. xix, *Framley Parsonage*, chap. viii, and *Can You Forgive Her?*, chap. lxxx.

11. *The Eustace Diamonds*, chap. xxi.

12. The narrator of *Doctor Thorne* makes it clear in the first chap-

ter that he prefers the Greshams to the De Courcys, and in *Barchester Towers* general affection is expressed for all who are like the Thornes of Ullathorne: "May it be long before their number diminishes" (chap. xxii). Sadleir briefly touches on architecture and its relation to various characters in *Trollope: A Commentary*, pp. 190-192.

novel, she pleads John Eames's case to Lily Dale.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the knowledge that Dr. Thorne and Squire Dale have been romantically-minded in their younger days helps us to understand better the strains of idealism, self-sacrifice, and scrupulous honesty in these rather tight-lipped, austere middle-aged gentlemen.<sup>14</sup>

Other characters fall somewhere between these two groups: although their responses to situations are frequently romantic ones, they do not consciously seek occasions for such responses like the characters of the first group, and their romantic tendencies are commented on only slightly more often than those of the characters of the second group. Mr. Arabin, who, "moth-like, burnt his wings in the flames of the signora's candle," who considered Signora Neroni's physical affliction an "additional attraction," and who spent an afternoon "wandering about . . . , dejected and sighing, full of imaginary sorrows and Wertherian grief" when he fell in love with Eleanor Bold, is one such character.<sup>15</sup> Another, possibly more notable example, is Eleanor herself. As young Eleanor Harding in *The Warden*, we see her comparing herself to Iphigenia when she tries to sacrifice her love of John Bold for her father's sake. As Eleanor Bold in *Barchester Towers*, she dooms herself "to an eternity of sorrow" after her husband's death and resolves "she would never again take any man's part" in this world with all its villainy when she is disillusioned about Mr. Slope. As middle-aged Eleanor Arabin in *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, she warmly praises John Eames as "quite a hero of romance" and promises to take his part with Lily Dale if she ever gets the chance. Repeatedly her responses are determined by her underlying romantic temperament, and repeatedly they are described with irony so gentle that, unless it is expected, it might easily be overlooked.<sup>16</sup>

As a final example, let us look briefly at that proud, inflexible, tormented, unpleasant clergyman, Josiah Crawley. Clearly, he is an instance of what Trollope has called the "morbid" romantic mind, the romantic mind which has been soured by experience.<sup>17</sup> In *Framley Parsonage*

we learn of his youthful ideals, as he, newly ordained and newly wed, went to the "bleak, ugly, cold parish" in Cornwall:

They two had gone forth determined to fight bravely together; to disregard the world and the world's ways, looking only to God and to each other for their comfort. They would give up ideas of gentle living, of soft raiment, and delicate feeding. . . . In such manner would they live, so poorly and decently, working out their work, not with their hands but with their hearts.<sup>18</sup>

When the experiences Crawley suffers during his ten years in Cornwall devastate him, romantic sentiments rather than his wife or his God are the sources of his comfort. As we learn in *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, he holds the romantic belief that "it was better to starve than to beg," thinks of death in terms of "a bare bodkin or a leaf of hemlock," indulges in grief "till it became a luxury to him," spends long hours "revelling in the sense of injustice done to him," and habitually identifies with legendary and historical figures who suffered injustice: "Polyphemus and Belisarius, and Samson and Milton, have always been pets of mine. The mind of the strong blind creature must be so sensible of the injury that has been done to him!"<sup>19</sup>

Crawley is no more to be taken at his own estimate than any of Trollope's other romantically-minded characters. Like a number of them, he draws much of his strength from romantic sentiments: his sense of honor apparently comes from such a source, and he prepares for his encounter with the Proudies by reading ("almost with joyous rapture") not his Bible but "the story of Oedipus."<sup>20</sup> We cannot, however, ignore Crawley's weaknesses and the fact that they, too, are fostered by romantic sentiments. To say, as one critic does, that "he rises to the heroic, to the tragic" when he "compares himself to . . . Polyphemus, Belisarius, Samson, Milton," is to mistake one of Crawley's morbid indulgences for reliable narrative commentary.<sup>21</sup> We may consider it tragic that a person with

13. *Doctor Thorne*, chap. xxix; *Framley Parsonage*, chaps. xxviii and xxxix; *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, chap. lii.

14. *Doctor Thorne*, chap. ii; *The Small House at Allington*, chap. i.

15. *Barchester Towers*, chaps. xxiv and xxxiv. Bradford Booth, however, believes that Arabin was intended to be seen primarily as "a wit, dripping with eloquence and humor," and implies that it is Trollope's lack of skill that makes Arabin seem "a very dull and awkward fellow" (*Anthony Trollope: Aspects of His Life and Art*, p. 43).

16. *The Warden*, chap. xi; *Barchester Towers*, chaps. ii and xli; *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, chap. lxx. Joseph Warren Beach, for example, singles out one of these passages to show that "Victorians were prone to apologize for their characters' conduct": "when his heroine has been so impulsive as to box the ear of the odious Mr. Slope, [Trollope] thinks it a proper occasion to devote a long page to her defense" (*The Twentieth Century Novel: Studies in Technique* [New York: Appleton, 1932], p. 21). Trollope, however, considers Eleanor's action

funny: the chapter is titled "Ullathorne Sports—Act II," and at the end of it, as Eleanor cries in grief over what she has done, we are told, "Twas thus she played the second act in that day's melodrama." In the following chapter, when Eleanor relates the incident to Miss Stanhope, "Charlotte Stanhope laughed heartily at the finale of the tragedy." The episode "was wormwood to Eleanor," who has sinned against her own ideal of propriety, but to the narrator, as to Miss Stanhope, it was an occasion to laugh at Mr. Slope and smile at Eleanor.

17. Anthony Trollope, "The Genius of Nathaniel Hawthorne," *North American Review*, 129 (1879), 203–205.

18. *Framley Parsonage*, chap. xiv.

19. *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, chaps. i, ix, xii, and lxii; cf. Trollope's short stories "The Adventures of Fred Pickering" and "The Spotted Dog."

20. *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, chaps. xliii and xvii.

21. Praz, *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction*, p. 306.

Crawley's intellect and will spends so much time nursing his grievances, but in doing so we are judging Crawley's notion of tragic heroism as a symptom of a vastly different kind of tragedy.

Romantic heroes, heroines, and villains cannot exist in Trollope's pages primarily because we are led to regard all his characters with a certain degree of irony. The perspective of his narrators and the details they select prevent us from idealizing or identifying with his characters as we might do with Byron's characters. If nothing else were ironic in *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, the information that Mrs. Dobbs Broughton snores, that Lily Dale is getting stouter, and that John Eames's boast of his speedy, sleepless journey across Europe can be laughed at (" 'He's probably a clerk on a fortnight's leave of absence, seeing how many towns he can do in the time' ") would effectively diminish the romantic poses these peo-

ple assume.<sup>22</sup> That Trollope was reacting against certain romantic conventions is evident from the fact that he so often chose to represent romantically-minded characters in this manner. One need only imagine *The Corsair* with a Medora who snores, a Gulnare who is stout, and a Conrad whom anyone can laugh at to see how Trollope's shift in perspective precludes the romantic effect. We can, then, respond affirmatively to such questions as these by a reviewer of *The Hero in Eclipse*: "Is 'Romanticism' really as important a factor in the problem as Professor Praz suggests? Would the work of Trollope (for example) have been completely different if . . . Byron had never written?"<sup>23</sup> Without Romanticism, particularly without Byronic Romanticism, Trollope's work could not have been the same.

*U.S. Merchant Marine Academy*

## Thomas Hardy's Financial Exigencies

Money's money—very much so—very—I always have said it.  
—Clerk Crickett, *Desperate Remedies*

William J. Hyde

THOMAS HARDY did not wear his shoes until his feet protruded through them nor walk the streets of London by night for want of the price of a lodging. Still he may have been guarding against the eventuality of the latter experience by purchasing a two-way railroad ticket when he first went to London to seek his fortune.<sup>1</sup> The son of a former servant girl and a not-too-ambitious building contractor, Hardy did not come from affluent surroundings, whatever denials he might make of family poverty. His purchasing *The Boys' Own Book* with money earned surreptitiously as a fiddler and keeping the book "to the end of his life"<sup>2</sup> suggests that he must otherwise have lacked pocket money for such indulgences. When selling *Desperate Remedies* to Tinsley, he tells that he put up a guarantee of £75 in 1871 when he "had only £123 in the world, beyond what he might have obtained from his father—which was not much." It is difficult then to believe that his father could have substantially helped him through

college, even if he "never absolutely refus[ed] to advance him money in a good cause" such as "a University career."<sup>3</sup> When Hardy identifies the germinal idea of *Jude*, the plight of a poor man "who could not go to Oxford," he seems both to declare and shun his own identity with Jude, as if he were the poor man, yet we must never think of him as poor: "There is something [in this] the world ought to be shown, and I am the one to show it to them—though I was not altogether hindered going, at least to Cambridge, and could have gone up easily at five-and-twenty."<sup>4</sup> Five-and-twenty would be a late age to matriculate in 1865. How readily could Hardy, self-taught in Greek like Jude, have hired a first-rate tutor to help him qualify for a scholarship? The other alternative, paying his own way, Jude estimates would first require careful saving for about fifteen years.<sup>5</sup> Unlike Jude, Hardy accepted the advice of Horace Moule to give up the translating of Greek plays and, accordingly, give up academic

22. *The Last Chronicle of Barset*, chaps. li, liii, and lxx.

23. "The Anti-Heroic Novel," *Times Literary Supplement*, 15 June 1956, p. 360.

1. F. E. Hardy, *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 46.

2. *Early Life*, p. 30.

3. *Early Life*, pp. 110, 44. Robert Gittings, *Young Thomas Hardy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1975), p. 7, notes, however, that Har-

dy's father, far from sinking the family fortunes, steadily prospered, especially in the twenty years after 1871, and in 1892 left an estate of £850 or in modern terms £10,000.

4. *Early Life*, pp. 272-273.

5. *Jude the Obscure* (London, 1951), p. 136. This and subsequent references in the text to Hardy's fiction are to the Macmillan Library Edition of the Novels and Stories (London, 1949-52).

ambitions because he had "as his father had insisted . . . to make an income in some way by architecture in 1862."<sup>6</sup>

Much related, I think, to signs of an early want of means are details of the elderly Hardy's "meanness" or "tightness" that have been revealed by servants, neighbors, and visitors in several of the monographs of J. Stevens Cox. His reluctance to tip, his economizing removal of coals from the fire, and the legendary thin, small slices of bread at tea at Max Gate are now familiar parts of the evidence. There was never a good dinner given at Max Gate. "Tommy was too tight."<sup>7</sup> More than one account suggests that the meanness was a settled characteristic of the Hardy family, witnessed in the times of both mother and first wife. Emma "could make 1/2 lb. of liver do for four."<sup>8</sup> In contrast, after his death Florence "bought a car and engaged a chauffeur. Things were changing, the money began to flow."<sup>9</sup> She also had electricity and in-door plumbing installed. Part of Hardy's "meanness" may then derive from early conditioning under both a mother and a wife defensively conscious of a want of means. His own early knowledge of poverty also may count for much. Hardy, of course, nowhere confesses poverty of his own but is sharply aware of that of others. He mentions his mother's early poverty when her widowed mother "was at her wit's end to maintain herself and her family"; Jemima, Hardy's mother, then underwent "stressful experiences of which she could never speak in her maturer years without pain."<sup>10</sup> Then there was the tradition of the church choir feeding at the Hardys on Christmas eve and at other times in his paternal grandfather's day. Bright scenes in *Under the Greenwood Tree* derive from these experiences, but in the *Early Life* (p. 15) Hardy refers to the choir members as "mainly poor men and hungry." Finally, the argumentative Baptist pupil at Hicks' office drew Hardy into acquaintance with the Baptist minister Perkins' family, whose "austere and frugal household" was a point in their favor (*Early Life*, p. 39).

Robert Gittings in *Young Thomas Hardy* cites still other evidence of poverty close to home for Hardy. There was the never mentioned uncle John Hardy, an ordinary laborer, whose family seems to have disappeared from Dorset around 1835, "an example . . . of poverty and per-

haps despairing emigration in Hardy's own immediate family" (p. 13). On his mother's side were the Sparks and Antell families of Puddletown, for whom "poverty was never far off" (p. 14). Distress was widespread and intense among laborers in Dorset at the time of the Corn Law debates in 1846, when young Hardy had dipped his wooden sword in pig's blood and shouted "Free Trade or Blood!"<sup>11</sup> In material supplied to Rider Haggard in 1902, Hardy confessed to knowing by sight in his childhood "a sheep-keeping boy who, to my horror, shortly afterwards died of want, the contents of his stomach at the autopsy being raw turnip only."<sup>12</sup> The horror, if not the poverty, was Hardy's own. Miss Titterington, the Hardys' parlormaid in the 1920's, reflecting upon the elderly Hardy's eccentricities, reasonably surmised that "the memory of his early days, when he was poor, must have remained with him and influenced his behaviour."<sup>13</sup> This is precisely the kind of defensive explanation Dr. Johnson gave of Garrick's parsimony. "Garrick was very poor when he began life; so when he came to have money, he probably was very unskilful in giving away, and saved when he should not."<sup>14</sup>

At least two problems central to an understanding of Hardy arise from his disinclination to spend money. First there is the inconsistency between his behavior and the fact of his wealth, perhaps made more understandable with the observations of Miss Titterington and Dr. Johnson. Hardy "left an estate of some £90,000," which Weber equated with \$450,000,<sup>15</sup> and which we would have to multiply considerably to express it in terms of today's purchasing power. Neighbors like the gardener at Kingston Maurward need not have wondered so much at Hardy's frugal behavior until he "died and left all that money."<sup>16</sup>

A more crucial critical problem is the seeming inconsistency between Hardy's personal behavior and his views as a writer, what caused one reader to find him "a most peculiar man to have written such lovely things."<sup>17</sup> There is need to consider the man so deeply moved by the modern thought of Comte, Mill, Darwin, and Spencer, one who endorsed "progress" at the expense of "picturesqueness" for the agricultural laborer and preferred

6. *Early Life*, p. 43.

7. Fred Stemp, in *Hardyana II*, Monographs of the Life, Times and Works of Thomas Hardy: No. 53, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1969), p. 225.

8. See *Hardyana II*, pp. 227 and 228; Annie Mitchell, *Cook at Max Gate 1913-1914*, Monographs . . . No. 65, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1970), p. 398.

9. E[llen] E. T[itte]rington, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Hardy (1921-1928)*, Monographs . . . No. 4, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Beaminster, Dorset: Toucan Press, 1963), p. 16.

10. *Early Life*, p. 9. Gittings, *Young Thomas Hardy*, p. 8, stresses that Hardy's mother was actually "a pauper child."

11. Gittings, pp. 15-16; *Early Life*, p. 27.

12. H. Rider Haggard, *Rural England*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1902), I, 282, and mentioned in Gittings, p. 15.

13. Titterington, *The Domestic Life*, pp. 12-13.

14. Boswell, *Life of Johnson* (New York: Modern Library, n.d.), p. 655.

15. J. Stevens Cox, in *Hardyana II*, p. 225; C. J. Weber, *Hardy of Wessex* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1940), p. 227.

16. Stemp, in *Hardyana II*, p. 225; cf. Titterington, *Afterthoughts of Max Gate*, Monographs . . . No. 59, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1969), p. 343: "People did not think Mr. Hardy was a rich man."

17. Mrs. A. I. Prideaux, in *Hardyana III*, Monographs . . . No. 71, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Guernsey: Toucan Press, 1971), p. 495.

"widening the range of their ideas, and gaining in freedom" to "remain[ing] stagnant and old-fashioned"; "change and the necessity for change, . . . the key point in understanding Hardy,"<sup>18</sup> must be set against his foregoing the expenses of plumbing and electricity down to 1928. The virtue of charity recommended by Jude, the high ideal of altruism revealed in Lady Constantine, an altruism that becomes the central point in Hardy's whole conception of ethical progress in Professor Hyman's recent study,<sup>19</sup> have to be set against the observation that "he was a mean man. You never saw his name on a subscription list."<sup>20</sup> Professor Hynes might resolve the paradox, as he indicates in a review, by claiming that "no man is a hero to his biographer," that we just cannot expect "the makers of great art to be great men."<sup>21</sup> Insofar as Hynes means that Hardy's life fell short of its intentions, just as Hardy saw that his novels fell short of his initial conceptions of them (*Early Life*, p. 231), the result is a recognizable part of Hardy's humanity. But if we are still tempted to see the shortcoming as an inconsistency, the problem persists at a deeper level of either callousness or insincerity on Hardy's part. For to concede that one need expect no correlation between an author's life and his imaginative ideals is to assume the ideals were superficial to the author, and it then becomes hard to value the critic's role in exploring them seriously. It may nevertheless be possible to explain part of the inconsistency without explaining away all of Hardy's human failings.

First it may be wondered whether some of the reports of Tommy's tightness are exaggerated. Not all of the remarks are equally damaging. Elsie Meek, a housemaid at Max Gate in 1924, both admired Hardy and enjoyed her work there, remarking that the removal of coals from the fire was the only sign of parsimony; a gardener of the same era was paid "far above the rate."<sup>22</sup> More important, Hardy's handling of money, while a possible reflection of his values, is not necessarily a direct contradiction of his human ideals. To wish to liberate the thought and extend the freedom of the agricultural laborer is not contradicted by failure to give him money. Altruism, charity, and ethical progress in the novels depend upon a breadth of feeling, an extension of sympathy not covered by material measurements of giving. A disinclination to spend, as it is a disinclination to display wealth or to possess things, may even support Evelyn Hardy's observation that Hardy lacked interest in money, making money, or

writing for money.<sup>23</sup> The imaginative artist can function as well with an oil lamp as with electricity and may find bicycles more invigorating than motor cars.

The above remarks may help to qualify but can hardly explain away all of the questionable tendencies in Hardy's behavior. It remains to show that on the less than ideal side of this behavior there is some consistency between the man and the imaginative artist. Money becomes a socially compulsory means to an end for many middle-class heroes in the novels. There is repeated necessity for a young man, much like the early Hardy himself, to launch himself in professional life and make money as a means to his goal. The irony, observed by the narrator in *Desperate Remedies* (p. 49), is that the ideal lover, a student of poetry and art, "has had no time to get rich," and "the man who works up a good income has had no time to learn love to its solemn extreme." The practical middle-class conclusion, however, is that ideal love must yield to the necessity for money. Egbert Mayne, a poor schoolmaster, after laboring for five years as a writer in London with hopes of rising to the heroine's level "by years of sheer exertion," finally wins some applause but not much money. "But this he hoped might soon come."<sup>24</sup> Edward Springrove, with little confidence of fame, goes to London to advance in his profession of architecture, desiring only "an easy life of reasonable comfort," which Cytherea interprets as "reasonable wealth" (*Desperate Remedies*, p. 49). Stephen Smith, already a London architect when he meets Elfride, is without "any income of his own deserving the name" but departs promising "to make a fortune, and come to you, and have you" (*Pair of Blue Eyes*, pp. 92, 103). Bathsheba's response to Gabriel Oak's initial proposal seems far more promising to the reader than it does to the modest Oak, but all thought of any right to pursue the courtship vanishes when Oak loses his sheep and, without them, his material independence. Christopher Julian for a while bestirs himself in London for an appointment as organist in a large church, the "nucleus of a professional occupation and income," aiming to qualify as Ethelberta's lover "whom I am not going to marry until he gets rich" (*Hand of Ethelberta*, p. 90, 146). Swithin St. Cleeve, while reversing the order of success and marriage with his secret marriage to Lady Constantine, is thereupon fired to "work harder than ever, or you will never be able to own me" (*Two on a Tower*, p. 168). George Somerset, though not pressed hard for money, worries about Paula's

18. Hardy, "The Dorsetshire Labourer," in *Life and Art*, ed. Ernest Brennecke, Jr. (New York: Greenberg, 1925), p. 36; Virginia R. Hyman, *Ethical Perspective in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat, 1975), p. 36.

19. *Ibid.*, esp. Ch. II, "Ethical Evolution and 'The Science of Fiction.'"

20. E. L. Grasby, in *Hardyana II*, p. 223.

21. Samuel Hynes, rev. of *Young Thomas Hardy*, by Robert Git-

tings, *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 31 (June 1976), 99-100.

22. Meek, in *Hardyana III*, pp. 489 and 493; W. H. Weston, in *Hardyana II*, p. 231.

23. Evelyn Hardy, *Thomas Hardy, A Critical Biography* (London: Hogarth Press, 1954), p. 322.

24. Hardy, *An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress*, ed. C. J. Weber (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), pp. 76, 89.



superior wealth, and Captain de Stancy fears that he is "too old, and too poor" (*A Laodicean*, pp. 305, 342).

Thus many of Hardy's heroes are obliged to pursue material success, if not initially valuing money, conceding its necessity for the ends they seek. A want of sufficient driving ambition becomes an index of probable failure for Christopher Julian and Giles Winterborne and, up to a point, for Oak and Diggory Venn. Ethelberta clearly sees the practical flaw of idealism in Julian's character when she admits that "the very qualities I like in him will, I fear, prevent his ever being in a position to ask me" (p. 161).

With Venn, however, the issue is not money, for a red-dleman can produce "a well-lined purse" (*Return of the Native*, p. 89), but social position. While Shaw's Parson Sam Gardner might see this as a higher issue than money, it is likely that Hardy did not. Thomasin's aunt Mrs. Yeobright, in desiring her niece to "look a little higher" (*Native*, p. 92), shares the ambition that Keeper Day, Parson Swancourt, and George Melbury show for their daughters. Melbury is particularly made to face the tragic error of his views, whereas Swancourt, with his hasty identification of Smith in his copy of *The Landed Gentry*, is made a butt of Hardy's ridicule, and Geoffrey Day submits to his daughter in the end. Mrs. Yeobright's ambitiousness is silenced on another occasion by Clym's pointed question, "Mother, what is doing well?" (p. 208). It is a question to which the worldly Eustacia might have cited volumes in reply. But high social position together with evident wealth and comfort would seem questionable values in Hardy. Lady Constantine displays exceptional altruism, but at the same time she does undergo poverty under her late husband's will, and for a moment she comes to enjoy poverty with Swithin. On the other hand, a note of languorous decadence affects the character of ladies of inherited wealth such as Miss Aldclyffe, Mrs. Charmond, and Lucetta. It is this stage of "wordly advance" (*Native*, p. 203) that Clym wishes to by-pass in raising the intellectual level of the surrounding peasantry. There is no question that Hardy himself declined to lead an easy life of wealth and comfort; Weber indicates too that he may have even three times refused knighthood.<sup>25</sup>

Closer to a virtue in Hardy's novels is the effort put forth for a goal, even the vain attempt to succeed, based on a self-denying, sometimes money-seeking work ethic revealed in many of the young heroes and exceptionally strong in the character of Michael Henchard. Henchard, much like young Heathcliff, disappears from the reader's view during a crucial stage of self-recovery, then reappears bearing the fruits of persistent work, a dogged will-

power, and perhaps a dash of dishonesty (in Henchard's sales of sprouted grain). "He worked his way up from nothing when 'a came here; and now he's a pillar of the town" (*Mayor*, p. 39). Hard work on the part of Oak and of Tess and Jude throughout their lives provides no such wealth as the Mayor for a time attains, yet appears to be an honest step in the right direction, just as Egbert Mayne had found "absolutely no other honest road to [the Lady's] sphere" (*Heiress*, p. 76). As a man of sound worth, Oak displays, along with readiness for work and unique skill as a shepherd, a very practical sense of the value of money, even to the point of seriously agreeing in principle with Bathsheba when she tells him at the outset that he ought to marry for money. Laboring during the storm to save Bathsheba's ricks, which he thinks of as £750 under threat of being reduced to "less than half its value" (*Crowd*, p. 279), he stands in contrast with the dissipated Troy, whose talents lay rather in spending his wife's savings. Money is a vital issue in Tess' life, not only for self-preservation but to assist her parents and family. A sense of obligation to pay for the loss of Prince sends her first to the Stoke-d'Urbervilles; after her separation from Clare, half of her £50 is handed over to her mother, with £20 of her £30 allowance soon to follow to pay for new thatch and a ceiling on the Durbeyfield cottage. It is this expense that makes her so desperate for work at Flintcomb-Ash. Ultimately to provide food and shelter for the widowed Joan Durbeyfield's family, Tess is driven to the selling of herself. The import of money in Jude's quest for an education can also briefly be told. Only by working and saving carefully "with the best of fortune" over a stretch of fifteen years (p. 136) could the stonemason hope to buy his way into a college, and this with no allowance of any responsibilities for a wife or family. When Jude speaks to the Remembrance Day crowd in the rain, he asserts that "it was my poverty and not my will that consented to be beaten" (p. 393).

In short, money, in the given realistic social context, is shown to be a necessary means to an end for many of Hardy's figures. The end in sight may be love and successful courtship, education, support of a family, sheer physical survival, or for Henchard perhaps that self-realization or self-correction for which money becomes a measure of fulfilled resolve. Without an end to gain, the money may be pointless. Egbert Mayne yields to an interesting inclination to leave off work when he loses hope of his goal in love (*Heiress*, p. 110). Money for the sake of material display can be a sign of bad taste. Such is felt to be the effect rendered by the Stoke-d'Urberville estate, awesome and new as it appears to Tess: "Everything

25. *Hardy of Wessex*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), p. 284; cf. *Early Life*, p. 20: "that lack of social ambi-

tion which followed him through life."

looked like money—like the last coin issued from the Mint" (p. 43). To reverse the role of money, making it not the means to something but itself the end of living and working, is to expose a life of shallowness at best. Farfrae reveals this kind of industry, putting money ahead of the things it can bring. With his mind on business while in the midst of courtship, with his plans for charging admission to his dance on the Walk, and in his concern during the search for Henchard about making a hole in a sovereign, he sharply differs from Henchard, whose air of open-handed if impulsive liberality is consistent with his sly generosity to Abel Whittle's mother. It is Henchard's altogether more casual way of handling money that reveals a difference of character, proving Farfrae the abler businessman but inferior as a person.<sup>26</sup>

Hardy's own concern for acquiring money can be seen as consistent with that of many of the characters in his novels. From the time of Moule's advice and his own father's insistence, he faced the necessity to launch himself and earn a living, very early knowing the alternative threat of the physical distress of poverty, and afterwards linking success in a profession to the fulfillments of courtship and marriage. As his success in fiction grew, the result was apparently a solid reserve of the security that money represented, not a concern for money in itself and certainly no concern to make a display of his wealth but rather to conceal it. This security would stand against any horror of poverty developed early in his life, and at the other end it would serve the needs of his family beyond his own lifetime. As late as 24 August, 1922, Hardy had made provision to leave Max Gate to his eldest child and the residue of his estate to his children after providing for Florence and making other particular bequests.<sup>27</sup> If Hardy in his eighties still hoped for children, it is to be assumed that he foresaw money as a substitute for many years of personal care.

Acts of parsimony by those not poor can either reflect early ingrained habit or suggest fears of future insuffi-

ency; to Hardy perhaps both considerations applied. In reference to the latter motive, the troublesome question remains, how much is enough? The purchasing power of what today might be well over a million dollars would seem more than adequate for the goal which Evelyn Hardy defined as "sufficient to keep his wife and himself in decent comfort."<sup>28</sup> Some limited editions of individual poems, arranged by Hardy late in his life in his wife's name, are an indication that the quest for decent comfort still went on. Although Purdy states that many copies of these were unsold, many given away, and some designed for charity, yet it would seem that Sidney Cockerell first alerted Hardy to doing them himself by pointing out that Clement Shorter's doing of them was "very evidently . . . profitable."<sup>29</sup> A similarly thorough concern for security might be found in the behavior of Ethelberta in the novels. Her aim to benefit her parents and brothers and sisters parallels that of Tess, but does so under far less extremity of need. In her resolve to serve her family, Ethelberta goes the full length, beyond the affluence of Ladywell and Neigh to the supposed abundance of old Lord Mountclere, and so forfeits the admiration of Christopher Julian. An exceptionally talented member of a working-class family, she had both the opportunity and the sensitivity to be touched in her youth by some indelible experiences of poverty, for whom more than enough was now not too much.

A final human analogy might be drawn, once more, from Dr. Johnson, who, with or without his pension, showed no remarkable fear of poverty. Johnson's special fear was of death and the attendant uncertainties of damnation. Taking satisfaction in his old age from the spiritual evidence afforded by a man who accurately foretold his own death, Johnson was assured by Dr. Adams that he had evidence enough without that kind, to which Johnson replied, "I like to have more."<sup>30</sup>

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26. Here Hardy would seem least a personal model of his ideal. See the evaluation of Farfrae in Dale Kramer, *Thomas Hardy: The Forms of Tragedy* (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1975), esp. pp. 75–80.

27. *Thomas Hardy's Will and Other Wills of His Family*, Monographs . . . No. 36, ed. J. Stevens Cox (Guernsey: Toucan

Press, 1967), pp. 1–5.

28. *Thomas Hardy*, p. 322.

29. Richard L. Purdy, *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954), p. 349.

30. Boswell, *Life*, p. 1109.

## George Eliot's Debt to *Villette*

Charles Burkhart

CHARLOTTE BRONTË was dead before George Eliot published her first work of fiction. They never met, though Charlotte Brontë had encountered George Henry Lewes, probably her best contemporary critic, as early as 1850.<sup>1</sup> In 1853 George Eliot wrote her friends Charles and Cara Bray, "Lewes was describing Curren Bell to me yesterday as a little, plain, provincial, sickly-looking old maid. Yet what passion, what fire in her! Quite as much as in George Sand, only the clothing is less voluptuous."<sup>2</sup> It is not quite in passing to remark that Lewes was famous for his ugliness,<sup>3</sup> and George Eliot was scarcely noted for her beauty: there is a tone of active personal interest in every reference George Eliot makes to the author of *Jane Eyre*.

Gordon Haight relates the imaginary Jane's situation to the actual situation of George Eliot: "In 1848 she had expressed her contempt for Jane Eyre's refusal to become Mr. Rochester's mistress, to accept his pledge of faith and live as his wife without marriage; she doubtless approved of Jane's initiative in returning to offer herself to the widowed Rochester."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps George Eliot noticed, what many other readers caught up in the euphoric ending of *Jane Eyre* have failed to remark, that Jane rushes back to Rochester before she knows that his marital status has changed. The pseudonym which Marian Evans rather arbitrarily chose for her years of fame, "George Eliot," may in itself be another mark of the abiding interest that "Curren Bell"—famous, and only three years her senior—had for her, since, as Gordon Haight points out, Jane Eyre disguises herself under the name Jane Elliott when, after fleeing Rochester's immoral proposal, she is befriended by her cousins the Riverses.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever she thought of Jane's conventional morality, she admired Charlotte's books passionately—one chooses the word just because it is seldom used in connection with George Eliot. To no other contemporary novelist that one knows of did she give such consistent high praise. Like Lewes she had read all four of Charlotte's novels, including *The Professor*. When Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Char-*

*lotte Brontë*, to which Lewes had contributed his correspondence with Charlotte, appeared in 1857, she wrote of it, "We thought it admirable—cried over it—and felt the better for it."<sup>6</sup> The admiration was long-standing; in 1851 when John Chapman had suggested to George Eliot that Charlotte Brontë could be asked to write an article on the modern novel for the *Westminster Review*, Eliot refused: "There would be the same objection to Miss Brontë as to Thackeray with regard to the article on Modern Novelists. She would have to leave out Curren Bell, who is perhaps the best of them all."<sup>7</sup> This was pre-*Villette*. Two years later, it was "the brilliant, the imperishable 'Villette,'" as Mrs. Ward was to call it later in the century,<sup>8</sup> that aroused Eliot's most excited admiration. She seems to have read it on publication, and in letters to the Brays she wrote, "I am only just returned to a sense of the real world about me for I have been reading *Villette*, a still more wonderful book than *Jane Eyre*. There is something almost preternatural in its power"; and later she demanded, "I want to know what *you* think of *Villette*" and "*Villette—Villette—have you read it?*"<sup>9</sup> She borrowed the vocabulary of *Villette* and referred to the actress Rachel as "Vashti" and Belgium itself as "Labassecour," as Charlotte had renamed them; visiting Brussels, she explored locales that figure in Charlotte's novel. Nor did the admiration wane; in 1856 in the *Westminster Review* she was writing of the new cheap edition of *Villette*, "which we, at least, would rather read for the third time than most new novels for the first."<sup>10</sup>

Years later, when she came to the writing of the climactic love scene of *Middlemarch*, which is Dorothea and Ladislav's mutual confession of their love in the 83rd of its 86 chapters, she appropriated as a crucial phrase "My heart will break" from a climactic scene in the 41st chapter of the 42 chapters of *Villette*, where Lucy Snowe, the heroine, movingly defies her employer Mme. Beck in order to pursue her lover M. Paul.<sup>11</sup> The phrase in *Villette* appears with an exclamation point; it is an exclamatory

1. For an account of the influence of Lewes's reviews on Charlotte Brontë see the essay by Franklin Gary, "Charlotte Brontë and George Henry Lewes," *PMLA*, 51 (1936), 518-42.

2. *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954-55), II, 91.

3. "One of the ugliest men in London": Gordon S. Haight, *George Eliot: A Biography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 128.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

6. Haight, *Letters*, II, 330.

7. Haight, *Letters*, I, 335.

8. Introduction to vol. 2, *Shirley*, of the Haworth Edition (London: Smith, Elder, 1905-6), p. xxviii.

9. Haight, *Letters*, II, 87, 91, 92.

10. Haight, *Biography*, p. 183.

11. I have mentioned this before, in my book *Charlotte Brontë: A Psychosexual Study of her Novels* (London: Gollancz, 1973), p. 101. Also see the passionate Maggie's outburst in *The Mill* (I, v): "'O, please forgive me, Tom; my heart will break. . . .'"

novel; the scene, as love scene, is altogether more effective in Charlotte Brontë than in George Eliot. (As Ladislaw finally embraces Dorothea, she sobs in his arms that she has seven hundred pounds a year of her own, and the chapter ends; we are not told Ladislaw's reaction, but we hope it was one of relief.) It is quite unimportant whether the borrowing was conscious or unconscious on George Eliot's part; what is interesting is how it indicates that the power of *Villette* was indeed in her case "almost preternatural," that she may have recognized—and again it is unimportant at what level of cognition the realization took place—the possession by Charlotte of one great gift she herself lacked, or only intermittently and imperfectly owned: to present in fiction a convincing, honest, shared, and adult sexual passion. It somehow seems a typically Victorian anomaly that what she knew very well in her life she could scarcely show in her books. But then she was not in any sense the innocent woman that Charlotte was.

A parallel between *Villette* and *Middlemarch* both more central and more speculative can be found in the two young doctors, John Graham Bretton and Tertius Lydgate, who are important figures in their respective novels. "Dr. John," as he is often called, is one of the two loves of Lucy Snowe, the heroine of *Villette*; Lydgate is, of course, a central character in one of the four distinct but interconnected plots of *Middlemarch*, among which contrasts and comparisons intricately abound. Lydgate is a man defeated not only by an unfortunate marriage and an unfavorable climate of opinion—an unpropitious medium—but also by his own moral inadequacies, his "spots of commonness." In contrast Dr. John moves on to marriage with an heiress, and a life that is, in Lucy's words, blessed, peaceful, and happy: "It is God's will," says Lucy (Chapter 37), a will less thoroughly analyzed by Charlotte Brontë, but as sure in its workings, as the moral determinism of George Eliot.

In terms of real-life prototypes Eliot's Lydgate has been more discussed than any other character in *Middlemarch* except the middle-aged scholar Casaubon, about whose origin there has been much controversy. Anna T. Kitchel in the *Quarry for Middlemarch* is particularly useful in suggesting origins for Lydgate, and cites a total of four physicians that George Eliot knew: Sir Clifford Allbutt, Dr. Bury of Coventry, John Chapman, and Edward Clarke. Sir Clifford was long thought the most likely candidate. He was physician to "one of the earliest fever hospitals in the country," in Leeds, where Lewes and George Eliot were his guests in 1868, just before she began *Mid-*

*dlemarch*. According to Kitchel, George Eliot "confessed that Dr. Allbutt's early career at Leeds had given her suggestions,"<sup>12</sup> a lead elaborated upon by H. D. Rolleston in his biography of Allbutt.<sup>13</sup> Dr. Bury of Coventry was physician to George Eliot's father, Robert Evans, during his last illness; he was connected with the Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital, and certain resemblances to the situation in the two hospitals in *Middlemarch* can be traced. Dr. John Chapman, George Eliot's early friend, seems an unlikely candidate, since, at the period she knew him best, he was editor of the *Westminster Review* and did not become a doctor until some time after their association had become less intimate. But the leading authority on George Eliot, Gordon Haight, finds Edward Clarke much the most convincing source:

Many of George Eliot's acquaintances were confident that they recognized the 'originals' of her characters. Dr. Clifford Allbutt, who had taken her over his new Infirmary at Leeds, was convinced that she drew Lydgate from him; and his biographers, who seldom read the novel with care, repeat the error as if it were some high distinction to have posed for the story's most conspicuous failure. A far likelier prototype can be seen in George Eliot's brother-in-law Edward Clarke, who like Lydgate was better born than the other country surgeons, went bankrupt with a debt of £1,000, and died young.<sup>14</sup>

Against this evidence is a curious letter of Lewes's in 1872, just after the publication of the novel: "... It seemed to him [Sir James Paget, a famous doctor of the period] that there must have been a biographical foundation for Lydgate's career. When I told him that she had never even known a surgeon intimately, and had no acquaintance in any degree resembling Lydgate, he said it was like 'assisting at the creation—a universe formed out of nothing!'"<sup>15</sup>

But nothing, except perhaps universes, comes from nothing, nor did Lydgate. Undoubtedly he is a composite, of Clarke and Allbutt and even perhaps of Lewes himself, busily engaged in his physiological psychology, a model near at hand for George Eliot in her creation of the earnest young researcher Lydgate, who hoped to find the original and basic primitive tissue: Lewes, busily sharing his experimental findings with the fascinated George Eliot, and providing her with many of the scientific metaphors which enrich the texture of *Middlemarch*. Just as Dr. John was inspired by Charlotte's publisher, George Smith, but is obviously based on a great deal else that Charlotte had seen and felt, there went into Lydgate all the author's observation and intuition, her shrewd per-

12. Anna T. Kitchel, ed., *Quarry for Middlemarch* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), p. 2 ff.

13. H. D. Rolleston, *Sir Clifford Allbutt: A Memoir* (New York:

Macmillan, 1929).

14. Haight, *Biography*, pp. 447-48.

15. Haight, *Letters*, V, 337-38.

ceptions of human nature, her speculative and objective enquiry into the causes and results of conduct. In this sense every major character in a novel is the product of a thousand experiences and a thousand thoughts.

One of George Eliot's experiences had been her ardent admiration, as we have seen, of *Villette*. Her hero Lydgate, with his heavy black hair, has many points in common with Dr. John, whose sunny auburn locks so fascinate Lucy Snowe.<sup>16</sup>

Both Lydgate and Graham are large men, large-natured, big in physique and personality. They are expansive, forthright, dominant. They have large hands, but like surgeons use them adeptly and tenderly, whether it is Lydgate plaiting his Rosamond's hair of "infantine fairness" or Graham resetting his delicate Paulina's dislocated shoulder. They have a kind of powerful gentleness, and it is highly attractive to women; as Lucy says of her Dr. John, "he looked at once determined, enduring, and sweet-tempered. Who could help liking him?" (Chapter 20) Both are generous with their medical skills and often treat their poorer patients without fee.

They are gentlemen, and they have gentlemanly ways; but in both the other side of this particular coin is arrogance and snobbery. Lucy sees Graham's attraction to the young heiress Paulina Home de Bassompierre and addresses him in her imagination, much more in sorrow than in anger, "Ah, Graham! I have given more than one solitary moment to thoughts and calculations of your estimate of Lucy Snowe: was it always kind or just? Had Lucy been intrinsically the same, but possessing the additional advantages of wealth and station, would your manner to her, your value for her, have been quite what they actually were?" (Chapter 27) George Eliot says of her doctor: "Lydgate's spots of commonness lay in the complexion of his prejudices, which, in spite of noble intention and sympathy, were half of them such as are found in ordinary men of the world: that distinction of mind which belonged to his intellectual ardour, did not penetrate his feeling and judgment about furniture, or women, or the desirability of its being known (without his telling) that he was better born than other country surgeons." (Chapter 15)

Both are masculine men, and both are poor judges of women; the feminine side of their own nature seems undeveloped. Lydgate repeats his foolish infatuation for the French actress Laure (the "divine cow") in his complete misunderstanding of the woman who so easily ensnares him, Rosamond Vincy; Graham nearly falls victim to the beautiful and vain Ginevra Fanshawe. Too late, Lydgate comes to realize, if only momentarily, the human, as op-

posed to merely female, worth of Dorothea Casaubon; he sees what an equal relationship between a man and woman might be. Graham, much more fortunate, much more the fairytale hero than the grimly realistic Lydgate, ends with the lovely Paulina. (It should be pointed out, however, that one of Lucy's last comments on Paulina is a comparison between her and an affectionate little spaniel bitch named Sylvie.)

Both men are typical Victorian sexists in the role they expect and exact from their women, that of mindless angel. Lydgate wants only a charming and submissive helpmeet, with a brain of filigree and a soul of sugar water, to afford him an escape from the worries of the real world. He sees her in a series of poses like the fashionable beauties in the keepsake books he affects to despise. Paulina has some mind of her own—she is studying German, always a sign of intellectual vigor in Charlotte's novels—but Graham too makes a mere thing out of his lover; Paulina is the object of his vanity, a trophy awarded for the successful chase. Both novelists condemn their heroes' arrogance, and what Eliot calls Lydgate's basic flaw could just as well refer to Graham: "that personal pride and unreflecting egoism which I have already called commonness." (Chapter 36) Lydgate is more choleric than Graham; Graham's sense of humor is warm and sly while Lydgate's takes the form of an increasingly bitter irony. But to sum it up: if it is impossible to imagine Dorothea Brooke in a novel by Charlotte Brontë, or Jane Eyre or Lucy Snowe in a novel by George Eliot, yet it is not too fanciful to say that Graham, if one grants all kinds of differences in intention and technique, could, with only a few alterations, step into the pages of Eliot, and that, in turn, Lydgate could conceivably inhabit Charlotte's more passionate prose.

It is natural to refer to Charlotte's hero by his first name and Eliot's by his last. It is also natural to refer to Charlotte as Charlotte, but it is almost as hard to call George Eliot "Marian" as it would be to call Milton "John." Perhaps, after Milton, George Eliot is the most commandingly intellectual figure in English literature. But was there not something provincial or over-earnest about her intellectualism—the elaborate schemes of reading and learning foreign languages, the huge amount of research that went into the background of *Romola*, the erudition that can cast a pall even in *Middlemarch*? Charlotte Brontë also believed in duty and in work, but the difference between the two writers that one is trying to point out is her gift for the immediate and personal and passionate. "My heart will break!" There is hardly anything that one will not grant George Eliot in the way of novel-

16. I have analyzed some of the *Villette* imagery in "The Moon of *Villette*," *Explicator*, 21 (September, 1962), and in Chapter

VI, *passim*, of my *Charlotte Brontë: A Psychosexual Study of Her Novels*.

istic skills; they were prodigious. But there is this one thing.

In itself it makes a more interesting comparison than any indebtedness, from the real to the barely possible, that can be adduced. It means that Lydgate is presented with a wonderful dispassionate subtlety; we know him and see him in intellectual and physical and psychological terms;<sup>17</sup> but Charlotte, forever dealing with feeling, sensation, emotion, makes the figure of Graham, though far less complexly treated, intimately alive. The story of Lydgate satisfies us in its believability, its shapeliness, and its austere but compassionate ironies, but Graham, like Rochester or Heathcliff, is as much myth as man.

It may have been the poetry of *Villette*, using the term

very generally, that attracted Eliot. For example its profusion of metaphor may have helped to suggest her own far more conscious and stately image-ordering, though her own most mythopoeic work is the small and perfect *Silas Marner*. The point of view, the lofty angle of narration, of *Middlemarch* is what is called omniscient, and indeed Eliot's knowledge and understanding, however prosaic her prose, often seem godlike. But the point of view in *Villette* is first person, and with that point of view comes the lyric candid passion which it is one of the most interesting signs of George Eliot's genius to have recognized and admired.

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## Francis Turner Palgrave's Criticisms of Tennyson's

### *In Memoriam*

John O. Waller

AMONG the treasures at the Tennyson Research Centre in Lincoln, England, is a first edition, first state, of *In Memoriam* with numerous penciled notes in the hand of Francis Turner Palgrave.<sup>1</sup> Apparently Palgrave intended the notes to be read by Tennyson, since several employ the second person pronoun and many offer advice, mostly technical (about diction, supposed obscurities, and the like), concerning particular lines in the individual poems.

An inscription in the book shows that it was given to Palgrave in June 1850. I do not know when Palgrave gave it to Tennyson, but it could not have been until some time after November 28, 1851, the date of a *Times* review of *In Memoriam* to which one of Palgrave's notes refers.<sup>2</sup> By then, Palgrave and Tennyson had become close friends. According to Palgrave's recollections more than a half-century later, they had first met on March 31, 1849, and had visited together again two days after that, when Tennyson read his new acquaintance several poems written about Arthur Hallam and some songs to be inserted

in *The Princess*. After that, so far as Palgrave could recall, they did not meet again until "the late Autumn of 1850." Tennyson, recently married, was living at Twickenham, within two miles of Palgrave's place of employment, so that over the next three years "we met often."<sup>3</sup> The friendship became lifelong. Possibly the book was not given to Tennyson until some time before 1855, when he was working on revisions for the sixth edition of *In Memoriam*. One of Palgrave's notes, at CI (present version), uses language ("This [poem] has always seemed to me . . .") that suggests considerable time may have passed since the poem was new.

The notes provide valuable insights into the mind of the man who a decade later would, with Tennyson's encouragement and assistance,<sup>4</sup> edit the most influential anthology of lyrical poetry to come out of the Victorian period. They show what may appear a sometimes inhibiting fastidiousness, an overvaluing of mere simplicity, and, most notably, a near-obsessive aversion to any phrasing that even approaches obscurity. But some of these re-

17. A thorough account of Lydgate in relation to science and scientists of his own and earlier times may be found in Robert A. Greenberg, "Plexuses and Ganglia: Scientific Allusion in *Middlemarch*," *NCF*, 30 (1975), 33-52.

1. No. 4063 is Nancie Campbell, comp., *Tennyson in Lincoln: A Catalogue of the Collections in the Tennyson Research Centre*, Vol. II (Lincoln, England: Tennyson Society, Tennyson Research Centre, City Library, 1973). This material is published with the kind permission of Lord Tennyson and the Lincolnshire Library Service. I am personally indebted to Mr. Laurence Elvin, librarian for the Lincolnshire History and Tennyson

Collections, for numerous courtesies beyond the call of duty. My work at the Centre was made financially possible by a grant from Andrews University.

2. Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., *Tennyson and the Reviewers* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 156.

3. *Alfred Lord Tennyson; A Memoir by his Son* (London: Macmillan, 1897), II, 484-487. Cited hereafter as *Tennyson . . . Memoir*.

4. See Gwennlian F. Palgrave, *Francis Turner Palgrave, His Journals and Memories of His Life* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), p. 63, and *Tennyson . . . Memoir*, II, 502-503.

actions may merely reveal certain Palgravian preconceptions concerning the particular genre of the lyric. He claimed in his late "Personal Recollections" to have found the "two green volumes" of the first form of *The Princess* (a poem not lacking in experimental daring) to have been "to me, as to thousands more, Gateways into a new Paradise."<sup>5</sup>

Anyone familiar with Shannon's *Tennyson and the Reviewers* will know that in spotting Tennyson's sometimes peculiar diction, and pointing to obscurities, Palgrave was working a vein long picked at by Tennyson's critical detractors. There was an important difference: Palgrave wished to be systematically helpful, hoped perhaps to assist his friend to heights of verbal perfection beyond the range of mediocre reviewers. Unfortunately, the clear and smooth perfection Palgrave so valued was not always compatible with Tennyson's sometimes rugged genius. Evidently, though, no harm was done. The Tennyson-Palgrave friendship remained healthy and *In Memoriam* went largely unaltered. As we shall see, the 1855 edition had at most two or three minor revisions that correspond to Palgrave's notes.

When I myself refer to a Roman section number of *In Memoriam*, I shall use the numbers of the familiar final version of *In Memoriam*, rather than of the first edition, which had two sections fewer. When I transcribe a note verbatim, I shall use the number Palgrave used, followed by the familiar number in square brackets.

Palgrave's ultimate compliment to a lyric was simply to call it "Perfect" or "Most Perfect" or "Most happy." These superlatives he awarded to fourteen sections (the word, unless otherwise indicated, was "Perfect"): V ("I sometimes hold it half a sin"); VII ("Dark house, by which once more I stand,"); XIV ("If one should bring me this report"—despite underlining of "muffled," line 5, "Again used p. 71 [XLIX], last stanza"); XVIII (" 'Tis well; 'tis something; we may stand"); XXXVIII ("With weary steps I loiter on"); LI ("Do we indeed desire the dead"); LIV "Most Perfect" ("Oh yet we trust that somehow good"); LXXIV ("As sometimes in a dead man's face"); LXXXIX "Most happy" ("Witch-elms that counterchange the floor"); XC ("He tasted love with half his mind"); CII ("We leave the well-beloved place"); CXVII ("0 days and hours, your work is this"); CXXIII ("There rolls the deep where grew the tree"); CXXV ("Whatever I have said or sung").

From four other sections Palgrave withheld his "Perfect" because of a single reservation: X ("I hear the noise about thy keel"—"The only approach to less than perfection seems to be the use of *wells* in st. 5"); XXXI

("When Lazarus left his charnel-cave"—at line 8, "I wish that a little obscurity which appears to hang over these words were removed from this perfect poem"); LXVII ("When on my bed the moonlight falls"—at "eaves," line 11, "I wish this one expression did not seem to mar the simplicity of this perfect poem"); XCI ("When rosy plumelets tuft the larch"—at "peers," line 6, "See p. 66 [XLIV]—but I hardly dare to criticize a poem in whose praise I cannot trust myself to words").

Concerning XIX ("The Danube to the Severn gave") Palgrave had two or three reservations (at "along," line 9, "?"; and at "brim" and "drowning," line 12, "'brim' seems used in rather a forced manner: the whole stanza not so choice in expression as the rest—else I would venture to write 'perfect'").

The note at CI ("Unwatched, the garden bough shall sway") seems to me perhaps the most interesting, and exasperating, of all. Palgrave underlined "Unwatched," line 1; "Unloved," line 5; "Unloved," line 9; and "Uncared," line 13, and wrote, "This has always seemed to me one of the most exquisite poems in the whole collection. Yet there appears to be a certain obscurity in the use of the participles which begin the first stanza, which I have observed have puzzled several persons to whom it has been read. If I might suggest so far—might not a preliminary stanza, anticipating the general feeling of the whole, be inserted?" (But surely a connoisseur of "exquisite" poems, such as Palgrave was, ought to have felt instinctively that here "the general feeling of the whole" depended heavily upon the form, just as it stood, and would be culpably damaged by the superadding of anything, particularly at the beginning!)

At this point we will return to the beginning of *In Memoriam* and transcribe Palgrave's notes sequentially, skipping those sections we have already observed and, of course, those where Palgrave wrote nothing.

I. At "forecast," line 5, "This would seem to me a little obscure." At "drown'd," line 9, and at line 10, "This appears to me a far-fetched metaphor—even tho' found in Milton [three Latin words, illegible]."

II. At lines 5, 6, "Is this a local allusion?" At line 15, "This seems to me a mannerism in use of 'blood.' See page opposite [III]—also in 'fail from out.'" (As we shall see, Palgrave worried a lot about "mannerisms," painfully explaining to Tennyson and trying to exemplify what he meant by the term.)

III. "This poem seems to me rather obscure from its very condensation." Underlining of "vice of blood," line 15.

VI. Between stanzas 6 and 7: "I wish there were a stan-

5. *Tennyson . . . Memoir*, II, 485.

za here to soften the transition." At "ranging," line 26, "Might not a more definite word be used? To 'range' is slightly ambiguous." Following the last line, "I think there is a little feebleness in the sound of 'unto.'"

VIII. At "flower," line 15, "q? flower—or does it matter?"

IX. At "urn," line 8, "unreal word." At "Sphere," line 13, "Might some other word be found to save the use of 'sphere' as a verb? See p. 128 [LXXXVI]."

XII. At "weight" and "nerves," line 7, "I see why you use 'nerves'—but (anatomically speaking) I do not quite like 'weight' in connection with them." At "mirrors" and "rounded," line 9, "This peculiar use of 'round' appears again on p. 67 [XLV]. It sounds to me a mannerism—especially when used to govern 'large.'"

XIII. At line 8, "This seems inappropriate. The greeting of hands in hands rather supersedes *speech*, in the intercourse of the affectionate. Would not its absence leave 'vacancy' rather than 'silence?'" At "many years," line 13, "There seems something required to govern 'years.'"

XV. At "from yonder dropping day," line 2, "This seems to me a little obscure." At stanzas 3 and 4, "These appear to me by far the most obscure stanzas in the book." (Probably they are. Editors from Tennyson's time to the present have felt they require glossing.)

XVI. At "fuses," line 18, "Reappears p. 69 [XLVII], 168 [CIX]."

XVII. At "breathe," line 4, "'waft?'" At "bosom," line 16, "?"

XX. At "like to," line 16, "May not 'to' be omitted?" At "good" and "kind," line 20, "Might not these epithets be transposed, so as to place the stronger last?"

XXI. At "comes," line 12, "?" (The final stanza of this section was revised in the 1855 version from the 1850, and meets an objection Palgrave raised. Line 25 formerly read, "And unto one her note is gay," line 27, "And unto one her note is changed." Palgrave wrote, "The sound of 'unto' seems always slightly feeble. Here it comes *twice*." The 1855 revisions read, "And one is glad; her note is gay," and "And one is sad; her note has changed.")

XXIII. At "Falling lame," line 5, "Is not this conversational?"

XXIV. At "orb," line 15, "The use of 'orb' as a verb seems to me open to the same objection as 'sphere' (p. 12) [IX], 'rounded' (p. 18) [XII], and 'brim' (p. 32) [XIX]. See p. 128 [LXXXVI] and last page."

XXVI. At "hither," line 14, "Does not 'hither' imply motion in space?" Underlining of "waiting" and "with the keys," line 15; underlining of "cloak" [changed in 1855 edition to "shroud"; Ricks, citing E. F. Shannon, *Tennyson and the Reviewers* (1952), p. 162, thinks "prob-

ably . . . because of an objection by *The Times*, 28 Nov. 1851"] and of "proper," line 16, "I much wish that were expanded. It seems obscure—almost hurried—as it stands."

XXVII. At stanzas 2 and 3, "These stanzas seem to me somewhat obscure from condensation—and hence, perhaps, not entirely worthy to precede such a stanza as the 4th."

XXVIII. At "The," line 1, "'And.'" At "merry merry," line 20, "?"

XXIX. At "vexes household peace," line 2, and "decease," line 3, "I wish you could find more forcible expressions in place of these." At "loving nothing new," line 14, "? the two 'ing's' combine unpleasantly."

XXX. At "Hope," line 32, "??"

XXXV. At "Aeonian," line 11, "A very beautiful word but I think too obscure for the place. See p. 100 [LXXI]." At line 26, "The idea of the Satyr or Beast nature appears thrice in the volume. Might I suggest that—from its difficulty to an unclassical reader,—it might perhaps be rendered more clear, when first introduced hereby, by greater expansion?"

XXXVI. "The first stanza here—or the 1st line especially—seem somewhat obscure from great condensation."

XLI. At "secular to-be," line 23, "Obscure as too classical? Used again p. 104 [LXXIV]."

XLII. At "the," line 8, "'my' required to give definiteness?"

XLIII. "Like no. III: the whole seems to me somewhat obscure from its very condensation."

XLIV. At "peers," line 12, "This word appears to me unusual, ambiguous, and in some degree deficient in harmony." At lines 15, 16, "?"

XLV. At "rounds," line 9, "See p. 18 [XII]." Between stanzas 3 and 4, "Might not a stanza be here inserted for further elucidation of the idea suggested?"

XLVI. "See no. III & XLII [XLIII] There seems to be rather less unity here, than in the rest." Underlining of lines 1, 3. At "there," line 4, "?" Underlining of "tract."

XLVII. At "fusing," line 2, "This somewhat unusual word reappears on p. 27, 168 [XVI, CIX]." At lines 2–4, "Even in spite of the 'Times' I cannot but wish this greatly condensed expression expanded or modified." (See Shannon, *Tennyson and the Reviewers*, p. 157, for an easily accessible account of what the *Times* reviewer said about these lines.)

XLVIII. At line 12, "Might not a more definite phrase be introduced?"

XLIX. At stanzas 3 and 4, "The latter st. seem to me rather obscure, and not altogether worthy to follow the [illegible word] of happy description in i and ii." Un-



derlining of "But," line 10. At line 11, "?" At "muffled motions," line 15, "See p. 22 [XIV]."

L. At lines 7, 8, "These metaphors seem to me almost *violent*." (Tennyson must have ground his teeth, violently, when he came upon that comment What, other than violent, should such powerful metaphors seem?)

L. At lines 11, 12, "These two lines seem to be extremely obscure."

LIII. At line 6 [illegible].

LV. At "lends such evil dreams," "I wish this were exchanged for a more definite and forcible expression." (But, if done, might it not strike Palgrave as *too* forcible, even perhaps *violent*?)

LVI. At stanza 6, "Is not 'music' a broken metaphor?" and, "I much wish this were expanded and made more clear. It does not (*con licenze*) appear to me quite worthy of the rest of the poem. As philosophical it seems to require the utmost clearness throughout."

LVIII. At stanzas 1 and 2, "The 1st two stanzas—See No. III, XLII [XLIII], XLV [XLVI]." (Supposedly all were obscure because too condensed.) At *cease*, line 8, "Might not this be replaced by a more forcible word?" (Surprisingly often, a word Palgrave wishes "replaced" is a rhyme word, whose replacement would probably entail a reworking of the whole stanza.)

LXI. At "ransom'd," line 2, "?" At line 12, "The introduction of another name [Shakespeare], however great, breaks the ideality [illegible word] followed else throughout the whole volume. Only in the sharp cut imagery of Dante could the Dead be named with their human names. Besides—the sense is none the stronger for the [illegible]."

LXII. At *downward cast*, line 1, and *blench or fail*, line 2, "These first lines seem to need somewhat greater distinctness."

LXIII. At line 1, "??"; at lines 1, 2, "See opposite [LXII]."

LXIV. At line 6, "'skirts' used p. 69 [XLVII]. I much wish the line were somewhat simpler in expression."

LXVII. At "down," line 1, "colloquial?"

LXIX. At "ancient," line 2, "Is this sufficiently forcible in sound?"

LXXI. (In 1850 edition, line 6 read, "So bring an opiate trebly strong." Palgrave underlined "So," which was changed in 5th edition, November 1851, to "Then." "Treble" not changed to "trebly" until 1855.) Underlining of "Drug" and "blindfold," line 7. At line 9, "broken metaphor."

LXXII. Underlining of "sick'n'd," line 7.

LXXIII. At "large," line 15, "I should be inclined to call a somewhat peculiar use of 'large' in your poems a mannerism. See p. 173 [CXII] ("High wisdom holds"). I

observe it is used by your imitators." (That Tennyson did frequently use "large" in a characteristic manner is confirmed by the concordance. The effect, I think, is usually pleasing.)

LXXVI. At "secular," line 6, "Too classical a word? Used again p. 63 [XLI]."

LXXVIII. At "hoodman" (line 12), "local?"

LXXIX. At "fee" (line 4), "obscure?"

LXXXIII. At "little," line 10, with the word given scansion marks, "little," "I wish this were a more perfect spondee."

LXXXIV. At "clap," line 18, "Please use a softer word!" (In the poem Tennyson is thinking about the children that might have been born had Hallam lived to marry Emily Tennyson. They would have "babbled 'Uncle' on my knee," and he would have been able to "clap their cheeks . . . call them mine." Evidently Palgrave winced at such athletic treatment of tender children; but doubtless Tennyson knew how a hearty Lincolnshire uncle would do these things.) At "Arrive at last," line 41, "Unusual use of verb? See p. 75 [LIII]." (It is not clear what this cross-reference meant.)

LXXXV. At "cycled," line 28, "?" At "equal-poised control," line 33, "??". Scansion marks over "spiritual," line 54. At "of," line 77, "q from?" At "A part of stillness," line 78, "? I do not quite like this phrase."

LXXXVI. At "rapt," line 5, "?" At stanza 4, "There seems to me a little something of the commonplace in this last stanza—a (sic) especially in the last line."

LXXXVII. At final line, "Might it not be possible to intimate to those who do not know the portrait of M. Angelo the meaning of this significant expression? Mr. Spedding explained the meaning to me." (One sympathizes with Palgrave's perplexity, but rejects his solution. "The bar of Michael Angelo" was a private association that has always required a footnote; but expanding the poem would only flaw it more.)

LXXXVIII. At "quicks," line 2, "I would venture to call this a *mannerism* in spite of its genuineness—because the feeling of novelty in the word—i.e. the manner of speech or expression used—appears more prominent & impresses the mind more deeply than its force or significance." Double-underlining of "dusking," line 6 (changed to "darkening" in 1855 edition).

XCII. At "canker," line 3, "?" At "chances," line 5, "Might not a more distinct word be found?"

XCIII. At "sightless," line 9, "?" At "gods," line 10, "Seems slightly to break in on the Christian tone of the book—on the 'downright Bible heaven' found elsewhere." (Palgrave was no doubt correct in his feeling about the intrusion of "gods," but he was oversimplifying Tennyson's poetical speculations concerning the afterlife. By

no means did these all postulate a "downright Bible heaven.")

XCIV. At "Aeonian," line 41, "See p. 54" [XXXV].

XCIX. At "eaves," line 9, "?" At "care," line 10, "There seems to be some want of distinctness in the use of 'care.'"

CIII. At "what," line 10, "I wish you could use 'the' here instead." At "made," line 22, "?"

CVI. At line 19, "Is it [illegible] to remark of this most beautiful song that the reference to the general subject of the book comes in with a somewhat *forced* air in this particular place? Might it not be transferred to the position now held by st. 2 or 3?"

CVIII. At "bells," line 8, "?"

CIX. At "fused," line 17, "see p. 69 [XLVII]."

CXI. At "To him who," line 3, "?" At "gentleman," line 22, and "charlatan," line 23, "I do not quite like these rhymes—indeed the whole seems to wear a little too much the appearance of having been written after /48." (Actually, according to Christopher Ricks in his Longmans edition of Tennyson, this section is in the Trinity ms. and was presumably finished before 1842.)

CXII. Underlining of lines 13, 14, "I wish another stanza—to avoid a little appearance of abruptness at the close, cd be added here."

CXV. Underlining of line 2 with double-underlining of "burgeons," "See p. 128 [LXXVI]."

CXVI. At "the crescent prime," line 4, "See p. 134 [LXXXVIII]."

CXX. At "stay," line 8, "I wish this word were exchanged for another more forcible." Underlining of "greater ape," line 11, "???"

CXXI. Underlining of lines 2-4, "The first stanza does not seem to me quite as finished a choice as the others."

CXXII. At "deeply," line 20, "?"

CXXVI. At "vast" (1850 edn., changed to "worlds" in 1855 edn.), and, "See p. 104 [LXXVI]."

CXXVII. At "Aeon," line 16, "See p. 140 [XCV]."

CXXVIII. At stanza 1, "The first stanza here appears to me a little indistinct from condensation."

CXXX. Underlining of *prosper*, line 15, "I almost wish the word were exchanged for one a little less peculiar."

Epilogue. At "and," line 65, "?" At "pelt," line 64, "?" At "white-favoured," line 86, "?" At lines 123-126, "I very much wish these were modified—or entirely omitted.

It is an epilogue as well as an Epithalamium." At "whereof," line 137, and "was a noble type," line 138, "I could wish that the recurrence to the original theme were a little softened in the introductory words—or perhaps, a little expanded in treatment." (Did anyone besides Palgrave ever toy with the idea that this epilogue ought to be lengthened?)

And then at the very end of the poem, Palgrave made one final attempt at reinforcing a point he had been repeatedly hammering home—that Tennyson was prone to certain "mannerisms": "The main words, a certain peculiarity in the use of which does not appear to me altogether counterbalanced by their expressions—& which may hence be considered mannerisms—are 'large,' 'skirt,' 'quick,' 'the vast,' to 'sphere,' 'orb,' 'round,' all mathematical or astronomical." Palgrave might have been gratified to find in the concordance that, either thanks to or in spite of his repetitious efforts, those mannerisms, except for "large," do not appear in any of Tennyson's later poems.

Tedious and irritating as Palgrave can often seem in his labored annotations, it must surely be that nobody except Tennyson himself ever more thoroughly inspected the poetic workmanship of *In Memoriam*. Undoubtedly Palgrave did locate various weaknesses and relatively obscure places in that great sequence of poems. It does us no harm to look with his eyes, to think the thoughts of a deeply involved, admiring contemporary of the poet. But the impression persists that, had it been possible for Tennyson to oblige with all the changes Palgrave felt desirable, *In Memoriam* would have been flattened out into a less varied, less interesting work.

As an afterthought, one turns to the poems that Palgrave simply passed over, neither marking anything nor pronouncing them "perfect." What, one wonders, did the man find wanting in some of these—especially in XI ("Calm is the morn without a sound"), XXII ("The path by which we twain did go"), XXXIV ("My own dim life should teach me this"), C ("I climb the hill: from end to end"), CXXIV ("That which we dare invoke to bless"), CXXIX ("Dear friend, far off, my lost desire"), or CXXXI ("O living will that shalt endure")? But then, on second thought, maybe one would prefer to remain unenlightened.

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# The Sources of Hopkins' Inscap: Epistemology at Oxford, 1864-1868

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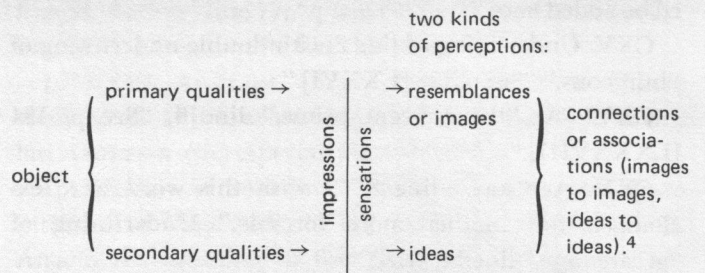
ALTHOUGH there have been numerous explications of Hopkins' theory of inscape and instress, many scholars have been limited by the relative inaccessibility of a major segment of Hopkins' essays from his undergraduate days at Oxford. These unpublished "Oxford Essays" reflect his study of philosophy at Oxford, especially his reading in the epistemological writings of the "ancients" (both Western and Eastern) and the "moderns" (the English empiricists, but Kant as well).

The "Oxford Essays" (1864-1868) are a group of Hopkins' short compositions which cover a period roughly equivalent to his years in residence at Oxford (1863-1867). The essays which have already been published in *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins* include "Poetic Diction" (n.d.), "On the Origin of Beauty" (1865), "The Position of Plato to the Greek World" (n.d.), "The Probable Future of Metaphysics" (1867), "All words mean things or relations of things" (1868), "Parmenides" (n.d.), and "Notes on the history of Greek Philosophy" (1868).<sup>1</sup> A substantial number of the "Oxford Essays" remain unpublished.<sup>2</sup> Both the published and the unpublished writings indicate the range of Hopkins' studies of the key issues of perception which underlie his theory of inscape and instress. Although Hopkins' terminology indicates his distinctive vision of the world, the unpublished writings reveal that his concepts are part of an on-going tradition of epistemological analysis.

In the present study, by using material from the unpublished essays, I will develop a philosophical frame of ref-

erence among the sources of the two well-known concepts in Hopkins' work. A brief review of these two concepts is in order: "inscape" connotes an inner design or carefully formed internal shape in nature or art; "instress" has two related meanings—it is an inherent force in nature (or in the artist's personality) by which the inscape remains an entity, or instress as *cause*, and it is the bridge or "stem of stress between us and things," or instress as *effect*.<sup>3</sup>

Since the terminology Hopkins uses in his studies of philosophy is rooted in the English empiricist tradition, especially in Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), a review of Locke's analysis of perception is necessary before examining the "Oxford Essays." The process of perception in Locke may be outlined as follows:



According to Locke, the perceiving mind establishes a relationship with an object in two stages: "impressions" are "made on our senses by outward objects" and "sensations"

1. The "Oxford Essays" which have been published are in *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Humphrey House and completed by Graham Storey (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

2. The unpublished "Oxford Essays" are located at Campion Hall, Oxford. Passages from these essays have been quoted in the present study with the kind permission of Father Winterborn, Master of Campion Hall. They are cited in these notes by the code numbers found in either of the following catalogues: (1) Anthony Bischoff, "The Manuscripts of Gerard Manley Hopkins," *Thought*, 26 (Winter, 1951), pp. 551-580; (2) Graham Storey, "Catalogue of MSS at Campion Hall, Oxford," in *Journals*, pp. 529-535. The Bischoff catalogue is the more exhaustive of the two. In my "Note on the Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hopkins' 'Oxford Essays,'" *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 69 (1975), pp. 409-411, I have listed the titles of three essays not recorded in Bischoff's catalogue. Only two studies of Hopkins' work—Todd K. Bender, *Gerard Manley Hopkins: The Classical Background and Critical Reception of his Work* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966) and James Finn Cotter, *Inscap: The*

*Christology and Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1972)—have quoted some of the unpublished material, but they do not deal with the philosophical issues analyzed in the present study.

3. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 127. W. A. M. Peters, *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Critical Essay Towards the Understanding of his Poetry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), pp. 14-15, makes this careful distinction between instress as cause and instress as effect. For a more speculative discussion of the matter, see Alan Heuser, *The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), Chapter 4, "Two Words of Being."

4. The chart is of my own devising, but I have relied on the following studies for guidance and support: Richard I. Aaron, *John Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937; 1955); Roderrick M. Chisholm, *Perceiving: A Philosophical Analysis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957); Robert J. Swartz, ed. *Perceiving, Sensing, and Knowing* (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Books, 1965); and R. S. Woolhouse, *Locke's Philosophy of Science and Knowledge* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1971).

are the effects of the "impression or motion made in some part of the body," such as a sense organ.<sup>5</sup>

Historically, Locke's terms were put to varied and often conflicting use. From the diagram above, for instance, it is evident that associationism—the dominant trend in the philosophy of literary criticism from Locke's time to the Victorian period—focuses on only one aspect of the process of perception, that of the linkages of ideas and images. The "sensationalists," similarly, are those who emphasized the "sensation" or the source of perception in the material (objective) world. Hopkins was conscious of both tendencies in the empiricist tradition, and he took pains to correct what he considered misplaced emphases on parts of the whole process of perception. Hopkins eventually emphasized the whole process, from object to image, because of his study of the various epistemological theories of both the "ancients" and the "moderns."

The epistemological aspects of Hopkins' writings of the 1860's involve the following topics: (1) Cyrenaic hedonism, (2) Eastern philosophy, (3) associationism, and (4) Greek philosophy in general. It is important to observe that many of these rather technical philosophical subjects are modified by Hopkins in a consistent and specific way, that is, by a concept of immanent divinity: whether we read Hopkins as a Christian or as a pantheist, we will discover that his work always points to a divine force informing nature.

The essay on the Cyrenaics, "Connection of the Cyrenaic Philosophy with the Cyrenaic Morals," like the other essays on philosophical issues, was written for Robert Williams, an Oxford fellow and Hopkins' tutor. Walter Pater, as readers of *Marius the Epicurean* are aware, also revived the Cyrenaic philosophy; Pater was Hopkins' tutor for a time at Oxford, but *Marius* was not published until 1885. (There is no record of any exchange between Hopkins and Pater on the Cyrenaics.) I quote Hopkins' analysis of the Cyrenaic philosophy in full:

The Cyrenaic philosophy presents sensationalism in a very complete shape. The Cyrenaics however were not the only sensationalists; they were contemporary with or anticipated by the Sophists, Protagoras in particular. Partly for this reason, partly from the dislike both intellectual and moral which existed against scepticism, expressed just as fully by Plato as by the prosecutors of Socrates, Aristippus is called by Aristotle and others a Sophist. His system however is logical and complete, which may be considered a test perhaps of a philosophy as distinguished from a rhetorical habit of thought. His psychology may be easily put: we can be sure of nothing but of having our own sensations, white

and black, sweet and bitter; we cannot prove our own are like those of others' but agree to use the same names; and there is no reason why the objects would be in any [way] like the sensations they give, for in jaundice men see yellow and in ophthalmia red and drunkards and madmen see double.

The ethics of the school will be found parallel to the psychology. Pleasure and pain must be taken as the starting point here as sensations generally above. Good and bad are relative and subject to debate; pleasure and pain are ultimate and fixed. All Greek ethics begin by assuming in some sense or other happiness as their end: a form of happiness appears therefore in the Cyrenaic system. But as their psychology shows life to be a string of sensations of which only the present is certain, so their happiness is made to be *tò êk tón merikon êdonon systema*, a sum total of particular pleasures. As the present only is apprehended by the intellect so the particular pleasures are to be seized for their own sakes, as substantive and as alone certain. Exactly as sensationalism destroys the unity of thought so happiness is made to be, not as Aristotle would have it [,] a result to which various and even contrary causes may work together, true universally but not to be realised in any one particular moment; but on the contrary simply a name for a succession of moments of similar sensations.

In pleasure they placed the good and in pain the bad, arguing from the certainty with which all creatures follow and avoid them and on the other hand the uncertainty and shiftings of the morality which has to be expressed *nómo*, by laws of convention. If the real substantive good lies in pleasure it is reasonable to make pleasure good wherever it may be found. Dishonest pleasures were to be avoided for their consequences. And this theory is just as capable of being the basis for the ordinary rules of morality as utilitarianism.<sup>6</sup>

Hopkins' essay highlights the hedonistic basis of sensationalism: the Cyrenaics' pleasure of the "particular moment" leads inevitably to a definition of happiness as "a succession of moments of similar sensation." Although Pater suggested, about seventeen years later, that the "New Cyrenaicism" of *Marius the Epicurean* refined hedonism, the earlier "Conclusion" to *The Renaissance*, dated 1868 (and thus written roughly at the same time as Hopkins' essay), states clearly that "our one chance" in life is "in expanding that interval" we know as life and "in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time."

This obsession with the "moment" of experience leads Hopkins from historical analysis to contemporary matters: he offers a critique of English sensationalism in a note to his essay on the Cyrenaics. The Cyrenaics, writes Hopkins, asserted that:

5. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), in *The Philosophical Works of John Locke*, ed. J. A. St. John (London: George Bell, 1877, 2 vols.), I, p. 222 (Book II, Section i, Para. 23).

6. Hopkins, "Connection of the Cyrenaic Philosophy with the Cyrenaic Morals," unpublished essay at Campion Hall, D XI 2.

Only the present is certain; no likeness can be proved between the present sensation and any past or to come, hence the wise man will seize the pleasure wherever it is found. With the same premises the cynics refused pleasure, because it was gone and became a nothing. With the same atomist or nominalist premises, the principle of probability being added, we have utilitarianism.<sup>7</sup>

This note only begins Hopkins' criticism of the sensationists, a criticism which he develops at greater length in his analysis of Hobbesian psychology. In "The Moral System of Hobbes," an unpublished essay, Hopkins argues that Hobbes' morality is "consistently drawn from his psychology." Hobbes would argue that "objects affect us by sensation; sensation then is motion—the motion of matter, for the motion of matter can cause only the motion of matter. The mind then is matter." Hopkins discovers in Hobbes a psychology which argues for man's ethical self-sufficiency, for if Hobbesian psychology admits "religion" or "morality" only as "general names" learned through sensation, then no innate ideas are possible:

Since then all knowledge is of or from sensation, and that our own sensation, general ideas in the Realist sense are impossible and only general names are used.

In nature man is born without religion or morality, neither with them nor with the seeds of them: they are pure compounds or constructions. All concepts, that is every thought more complex than a sensation, come from association of sensations or, beyond that, association of ideas.<sup>8</sup>

Hopkins then summarizes the logical development of the Hobbesian position. Since "nature is a state of war," Hobbes believes that the sensations men receive motivate their passions: only when the Hobbesian contract for "mutual" convenience is made and when men form a community (governed by a monarch as man's best representative) is an "ethical" life possible.

Hopkins' reasons for rejecting the implications of the Hobbesian system are not explicit in his essay. We know from many of his poems and notes, however, the reasons: there is no role in Hobbes for the individual soul's contact with God and no recognition of the creative divine impulse behind the motions of nature. With both these aspects lacking, strict associationism remains, with only the bridge (sensations) between man and his world: Hobbesian psychology lacks the correct means of analyzing sensations as one *stage* of a deeper apprehension of reality.

For Hopkins the correct means is instress, as causal force in natural inscapes and as effect acting upon the

senses of the individual. Immanent divinity provides the motor force of the whole process. Hopkins found in writings on the Brahmin schools of philosophy an Eastern recognition of that force. In extracts from Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop* (1867) annotated by Hopkins, the definition of Brahmin and its identification with the self are ideas similar to Hopkins' many comments in his *Journals* on inscape, instress, and "selving" (the soul's recognition of both its uniqueness and its origins in God).

In the following extracts from Müller, for example, a phrase such as the "propulsive power of creation" adequately describes what Hopkins calls instress:

(Development of the idea of Bráhmín, literally) Force, will, wish and the propulsive power of creation (but) in the sense of prayer also, originally what bursts forth from the soul, and, in one sense, what is revealed (into the idea of Self and next of the god Brahma; whereas the idea of Átman) . . . originally breath or spirit (in fact *átmós*), constantly signified *Self*.<sup>9</sup>

Hopkins' restatement of the Christian concept of the soul as the self which, in an analogy to inscape, is immanently a part of divinity, is similar to his reading of the Rig-veda:

(The Rig-veda) "Who has been the first born, when he who has no bones\* bore him that had bones? Where was the life, the blood, the Self of the world? Who went to ask this from any that knew it?"

(Again) "Self is the lord of all things, Self is the king of all things. As all the spokes of a wheel are contained in the nave and the circumference all things are contained in this Self; all selves are contained in this Self. Bráhmín itself is but self."<sup>10</sup>

In the Eastern philosophy which Hopkins outlines from Müller, metaphysics and epistemology are closely tied. Sense-knowledge is the prime deceiver of man and keeps him from attaining the true knowledge of the real. Hopkins outlines the schema as follows:

The following is *the* or *a* recognised Buddhist metaphysic—existence is caused by attachment; attachment an object; an object perception; perception contact; contact, at least sensuous contact (and to this it fairly resolves itself), the senses; the senses are only possible by the form, the distinctness, the distinction of things; distinction comes from ideas, our illusory ideas; these from ignorance of the truth: hence ignorance (*avidyá*) is the cause of existence.—The

\* Müller defines "no bones" as "form."

7. Hopkins, "Connection of the Cyrenaic Philosophy," D XI 2.

8. Hopkins, "The Moral System of Hobbes," unpublished essay at Campion Hall, D XI 3.

9. Hopkins, extracts from Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop* (London, 1867), I, p. 70, unpublished notes at Cam-

pion Hall, D VII 5. All parentheses are Hopkins' brackets in the original, containing his annotations; the ellipsis is also his.

10. Hopkins, extracts from Müller, *Chips*, I, p. 70, D VII 5.

seizure of the notion of *distinction* is the accentual and also the interesting and valuable part of this.<sup>11</sup>

Hopkins' own position in these notes is implicit: there is the emphasis on the "distinctness" or "distinction of things" which is in fact the essence of the definition of inscape.

It is not difficult to see in Hopkins' studies of Eastern philosophy some of the major ideas of his developing theories. In one passage derived from Müller's essay on the *Vedas* in *Chips from a German Workshop*, three systems of Brahmin philosophy are identified:

(i) a monism—one Being, without a second: all else delusion to be removed by true knowledge; (ii) a dualism—of self-existent self and matter: phenomena reflection of self in mirror of matter: emancipation won by withdrawal into self; (iii) rigid atomism.<sup>12</sup>

Hopkins' own studies are in, similarly, (1) Parmenides' monism, (2) a tentative dualism which Hopkins later rejects as religiously untenable, and (3) the atomists (the sensationalists and the associationists). We know from Hopkins' "Comments on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola" (written in 1880) that he eventually rejected the second position, the dualism, because it calls for a "self-existent self." During his Oxford days, however, he seriously investigated the first and third positions.

The first position, the monism of Parmenides' philosophy, attracted Hopkins because a theory of an all-inclusive Being places man, nature, and divinity in a interactive continuum. In an "Oxford Essay" published in the *Journals*, "Parmenides" (c. 1868), Hopkins glosses various texts attributed to Parmenides and places him in a context of pantheism and Platonic Realism:

His great text, which he repeats with religious conviction, is that Being is and Not-being is not—which perhaps one can say, a little over-defining his meaning, means that all things are upheld by instress and are meaningless without it. An undetermined Pantheist idealism runs through the fragments which makes it hard to translate them satisfactorily in a subjective or in a wholly outward sense. His feeling for instress, for the flush and foredrawn, and for inscape /is most striking and from this one can understand Plato's reverence for him as the great father of Realism.<sup>13</sup>

In this passage we find Hopkins' first known use of "instress" and "inscape." Parmenides' concept of "the one and the many" is the necessary background for an understanding of Hopkins' coinages:

For the phenomenal world (and the distinction between men or subjects and the things without them is unimportant in Parmenides: the contrast is between the one and the many) is the brink, limbus [border], lapping, run-and-mingle / of two principles which meet in the scape of everything—probably Being, under its modification or siding of particular oneness or Being, and Not-being, under its siding of the Many. The two may be called two degrees of siding in the scale of Being. Foreshortening and equivalency will explain all possible difference. The inscape will be the proportion of the mixture.<sup>14</sup>

Being is the unity or oneness of all parts of the phenomenal world (the Many). In the "scape" or form of "everything" in the "scale of Being," the One and Many are found: in so far as a phenomenon *exists* it is under the "modification" of Oneness or Being; in so far as a phenomenon *differs* from another phenomenon, it is under the "modification" of the Many. If the inscape is the "proportion of the mixture," then it may be tentatively defined as that which sharply differentiates one phenomenon from another, or an object's "distinctness."

Inscape and instress are also defined by Hopkins—again using Parmenides—in relation to the object-image distinction which is characteristic of Lockean empiricism. What Hopkins has been translating in "Parmenides" as "Being" may also "roughly be expressed by *things are* or *there is truth*." This identification is crucial because in the process of discovering an inscape—that is, when the mind encounters instress as effect—both perception and the potential for communication of images result:

*Ēsti* may roughly be expressed by *things are* or *there is truth*. Grammatically it = *it is* or *there is*. But indeed I have often felt when I have been in this mood and felt the depth of an instress or how fast the inscape holds a thing that nothing is so pregnant and straightforward to the truth as simple *yes* and *is*. "Thou canst never either know or say / what was not, there would be no coming at it." There would be no bridge, no stem of stress between us and things to bear us out and carry the mind over: without stress we might not and could not say / Blood is red / but only / This blood is red / or / The last blood I saw was red / nor even that, for in later language not only universals would not be true but the copula would break down even in particular judgments.<sup>15</sup>

Therefore: "To be and to know or Being and thought are the same."<sup>16</sup> The Parmenidean copula implies both the existence of phenomena as well as their perception and retention by a conscious mind; the metaphysical and epis-

11. Hopkins' schema, derived from Müller, *Chips*, I, D VII 5.

12. Hopkins' schema, derived from Müller, *Chips*, I, D VII 5.

13. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 127. Hopkins' slash (/) usually identifies a pause; it is roughly equivalent to a colon.

14. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 130. The slash is Hopkins'.

15. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 127. Slashes are Hopkins'.

16. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 129.

temological circuit is complete in perception as a whole process.

The third position which Hopkins studied—the “rigid atomism”—is evident in Hopkins’ critique of the sensationalist tendency to substitute a part of the process of perception for the whole. Many of the unpublished “Oxford Essays” analyze the errors of sensationalism also developed in a contemporary critique of sensationalism—John Grote’s *Exploratio Philosophica* (1865). In the same notebook which offers the schema of three Brahmin systems of philosophy, Hopkins records this passage from Grote’s book:

An instance of what appears to me the confusion between philosophy or logic on the one side and physiology or phenomenalism on the other appears in the manner in which the whole question of sensation has constantly been treated. “Sensation,” meaning by the term an affection or modification (however we may style it) of our senses (to use that misleading expression), nerves, and brain, is a phenomenon belonging to the domain of physiology. It is what I have above called “communication.” “Sensation,” meaning by the term a feeling on our part, or a portion or instance of consciousness, which, in whatever manner, grows into knowledge, is a fact, so far as we call it one, belonging to a different order of thought, and it is philosophy or logic which must deal with it so far as it can be dealt with.

Our whole body is a sense to, or, if we prefer the expression, the sense of, our intelligent self, which latter is the “we” or “I” of *consciousness* and the *subject* of knowledge.<sup>17</sup>

It is especially in the second paragraph—on the relationship of self and the senses—that Hopkins’ own position becomes magnified: sensationalism, in itself a dead-end, is a crucial step in the development of the self in its relationship to the external world and through that relationship to a higher truth (either philosophical or religious).

Even while investigating Greek philosophy, Hopkins often returns to the crucial issue of sensationalism. To understand its role in philosophical systems, it must be placed, as Hopkins places it, in the empiricist tradition dominated by Locke and his followers. In an exposition of Platonic epistemology—in his unpublished notes titled “Plato’s Philosophy”—Hopkins writes: “In modern philosophy we say (the subject is worked out by the Scotch school) sensation is no criterion of objects, perception is.”<sup>18</sup> In the nineteenth century, the “Scotch school” was probably best known through Thomas Brown’s *Lectures*, numerous editions of which had been published by mid-century. In his article on Brown in the *Dictionary of*

*National Biography* (1886), Leslie Stephen wrote that he was the major transitional figure from Hume to the Mills, especially in the associationist theory of cause and effect.

One of the unpublished “Oxford Essays” is Hopkins’ version of the empiricist position on cause and effect. The essay, “Causation,” implicitly emphasizes the role of perception rather than the limiting contribution of sensation. The essay, which begins as a routine undergraduate investigation of various schools of philosophy, develops at the end into Hopkins’ characteristic emphasis on the precise perception of forms. The essay forms a close link between Hopkins’ investigation of sensationalism and his own theory of instress as cause and effect. Since “Causation” has never been published, I quote it entirely:

The theories of cause and effect are practically two, or at least the difference between the Cartesians and Kant is of no importance when either is contrasted with the Empirical explanation. It is best to begin with the latter first.

Hume said—and he had been preceded by Glanvill, Hobbes, and Malebranche—that causation meant no more than a perpetual association of two things together in our experience, so that in time when we saw one we should look to see the other: of these the earlier we call cause and the the latter effect. When he was answered that this is not all our idea, because we have a notion of power in the cause, he tried to show that this notion was a sort of illusion, and here he has been followed and his ground worked out by Brown, Mill, and others. Brown’s explanation seems lacking: he says that all his notion of power, analyse it how he will, is that [one] thing *infallibly* follows another. One or two corrections may be made so as to give the Empirical theory in its latest form. Lewes remarks that there is no need for our experience perpetually to have associated two things together, once is sometimes enough; a burnt child dreads the fire, that is [,] associates scorching heat with the fire, after one trial. The Empirics usually define causation as invariable sequence, cause being antecedent, effect consequent; and to say that everything has a cause, they would explain, is to say that everything comes after something else.

With the Cartesians causation would be one of our innate ideas, our necessary beliefs. Kant threw causation under the third head of his twelve categories, namely Relation. He said an antecedent cannot of itself make us expect any particular consequent: the connection which we feel for instance between lighting a fire and the room warming must be looked for in our minds, not in the things themselves. Mere sequence he said may be actually shown to be insufficient, or else why is not day the cause of night?—not seeing that day is cause of night and night day. The belief in causa-

17. Hopkins, extracts from John Grote, *Exploratio Philosophica* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1865), pp. 19–20, unpublished notes at Campion Hall, D VII 6. “Phenomenalism,” Grote writes on p. 6, is like “positivism” in that it emphasizes “material or corporeal movement” in the process of “communica-

tion,” or transference of sensations from sensory nerves to the brain. The underscoring of “consciousness” in the last line of the quotation is Hopkins’ addition, for it is not in Grote’s book.  
18. Hopkins, “Plato’s Philosophy,” unpublished notes at Campion Hall, D VIII.

tion then is a form of thought and beyond this point allows no further analysis, is inexplicable.

Perhaps if the Positivist definition of cause and effect were made more comprehensively the Kantian arguments would not be felt so effective against it. For we speak of effects coming before their causes, as if we take umbrellas because it's going to rain. It will of course be said that this is mis-stated: we take umbrellas because we know it's going to rain. Yet it does not appear that this really make a difference: no one thinks it is necessary to say we go out because we know we have a place to walk to, but (if they are pressed for a reason) because we *have* a place to walk to. However, be this as it may, an indisputable case may be given of effects coexisting, being exactly timed, with their causes. An instance may be taken from the arts, always useful in analogy of this sort. Suppose a white disk on a dark ground, say of a frescoed wall. On the disk are four dark pear shaped pieces, their points meeting at the center of the disk, their round ends touching the circumference, so that they may make a sort of letter X. The figure made will be a quatrefoil. Its draughtsman or architect, its material cause the dark color, its formal cause the four pieces because if there would have been a trefoil, and if five a cinquefoil. Here this point deserves notice, that causes cannot be counted. If the figure had five members we should cease to call it a quatrefoil at all, but if merely the curves of the foiling had been ever so little prolonged or rounded together it would no longer have been *this* quatrefoil. Every point therefore in a figure is a cause, every condition. Now we have called the figure a quatrefoil, the figure so called is the effect in question, the white interstices left in the disk by their limiting and throwing up the foiling are prominent among the causes. The eye looking at a figure on a church wall might however be suddenly struck by the thought that not a quatrefoil but a Maltese cross was meant, a white cross thrown up on a dark ground. At once the sheaf of causes become the effect, the old effect the qua-



trefoil, is scattered into a number of causes. Accordingly an effect is nothing but the way in which the mind ties together, not the sequences but all the conditions it sees. A cause therefore is a condition of a thing considered as contrasted with the whole thing, an effect a whole as contrasted with its conditions, elements, or parts.<sup>19</sup>

In this essay, Hopkins seems to give the balance of his judgment to the Kantians over the "Positivists" (the most determinist of the nineteenth-century empiricists). When he offers his own striking example of "coexisting" causes and effects, however, he seems to be correcting what he considers the inadequacies of the empiricist tradition. Looking at his example, our visual perception of the sketch shifts from quatrefoil to Maltese cross. If we see a quatrefoil, then the white region is cause, the dark is effect (and we sense the quatrefoil as dark); if we see the Maltese cross, the white is effect and the dark the cause. This "coexisting" of causes and effects brings Hopkins to the brink of the theory of instress: instress is both cause and effect of the perception of an inscape.

In addition to studies in Cyrenaicism, Eastern philosophy, and the associationist tradition, Hopkins also investigated Greek philosophy in general and Plato and Aristotle in particular. Although these areas of study were common fare for Oxford undergraduates, their use by Hopkins was distinctive.

It is possible to see, for example, the following passage from a published "Oxford Essay"—"Notes on the history of Greek Philosophy" (1868)—as Hopkins' attempt to develop the object-image distinction of Lockean epistemology for his own characteristic terminology:

A word then has three terms belonging to it, *ôroi*, or moments—its prepossession of feeling; its definition, abstraction, vocal expression or other utterance; and its application, "extension," the concrete things coming under it. It is plain that of these only one in propriety is the word;

19. Hopkins, "Causation," unpublished essay at Campion Hall, D VI 2. I have made one silent correction in the second paragraph: the third sentence has "taking" underscored by a hand other than Hopkins'; Hopkins probably intended "lacking." In addition to the essay as I have transcribed it, there are four notes by Hopkins. I record them here because they indicate his attempts at a full investigation of the wide range of problems in the empiricist tradition:  
 —first note, directly following essay, labelled "Further Notes": Lewes' friend who did not see that everything must have a cause. This time principle. He would have seen had you explained cause, and to do that properly you take away the mystical idea.  
 Notwithstanding, metaphysicians have no doubt come to be mentally unable to acquiesce in the true notion of causation. This strong for the Positivists, for are other ideas any more strongly possessed with the inexplicable, mystical character? Explanation at all events wanted.  
 Truth too in the effect being in some way like the cause—which Mill kicks so much.  
 —second note, explaining the opening sentence of the essay: This is incorrect. There are three theories of causation just

as with other questions and if we throw them into two Kant will fall with the Empirics, not with the ontologists. The latter are marked off by their supposition of a *reale substratum* of power or force. This Kant would deny as fully as the Empirics and his view comes to be in truth indistinguishable from theirs. Kant is a refinement on Hume.  
 (It would have, however, to be allowed that the category of causation was nothing more than one form of our power of making concepts, generalising, would it not?)  
 —third note, explaining the "Positivist definition" in the fourth paragraph:  
 The Postivist theory of causation properly stated would allow effects to coexist as well as to follow causes.  
 —fourth note, explaining the last sentence of the essay:  
 The true theory in fact anticipated by Aristotle, who gives such a list of causes for a statue as that their whole is the statue.  
 Mill says rightly our choice of a cause is arbitrary or rather it depends on our subject or point of view.  
 For Causation see the end of Jowett's essay on Necessity and Free Will.



the third is not a word but a thing meant by it, the first is not a word but something connotatively meant by it, the nature of which is further to be explored.

But not even the whole field of the middle term is covered by the word. For the word is the expression, *uttering* of the idea in the mind. That idea itself has its two terms, the image (of sight or sound or *scapes* of the other senses), which is in fact physical and a refined energy accenting the nerves, a word to itself, an inchoate word, and secondly the conception.<sup>20</sup>

The last paragraph is strikingly similar to Ruskin's distinction in *Modern Painters II* (1845) between "visible" and "verbal" forms derived from external objects. Hopkins terms are "image" and "conception": the image consists of the form of the impression conveyed by the senses (if we read "scapes" as "shapes" or forms); a conception would of course be a verbal formulation.

Hopkins continues the analysis begun in his "Notes on the history of Greek Philosophy" in an unpublished essay, "Is the difference between *a priori* and *a posteriori* truth one of degree only or of kind?" In this essay, which is also critical of the English empiricists, he writes that the "Empirics give no explanation of our having two and only two forms of quantity and of their incompatible difference. The sensations of the eye are given in space, those of the ear in time: why not a new form for each of the senses?"<sup>21</sup>

The question about a "new form for each of the senses"—which I would argue is the equivalent of an "image" or "scape"—raised first at Oxford in the 1860's, becomes an important part of Hopkins' *Journal* observations in the early 1870's: these observations indicate the result of Hopkins' deep investigation into a theory of perception based on his philosophical studies. The crucial step for Hopkins lies in his acceptance of the priority of the "image" over the "sensation" or the "sense impression": images have a permanence in so far as they can be re-called or re-created in prose or poetry or in a sketch.

During the 1870's Hopkins had observed one evening what he thought was a meteor; it was actually a piece of fireworks. He analyzes why it seemed to pass on the near side of a hill, while it clearly went over the far side of the hill and disappeared:

At two minutes to ten at night a greenish white meteor fell with a slow curve from right to left between this and Pendle over Mitton. I judged so because it seemed to pass this side of the crest of the hill but only a little way and then disappeared, so that perhaps I might be mistaken.

It was a firework, for I saw just such another but not falling so far another night at just the same time. But its seeming to pass the crest of Pendle is curious. It may be because the eye taking up the well-marked motion and forestalling it carries the bright scape of the present and past motion (which lasts 1/8 of a second, they say) on to a part of the field where the motion itself has not or will not come.<sup>22</sup>

In this passage, the "scape" of the motion is retained by the eye and "seen" as continuing even after the object or phenomenon has actually passed "out of sight": the "scape" in effect arrests the "present and past motion" and holds it.

Within a few months, Hopkins made a similar entry after a fishing trip:

Mackerel fishing but not much sport. Besides I was in pain and could not look at things much. When the fresh-caught fish flounced in the bottom of the boat they made scapes of motion, quite as strings do, nodes and all, silver bellies upwards—something thus [sketch].<sup>23</sup>

Here the phenomenon is more common in our experience of vibrating strings or tuning forks; like the first example, it is an "afterimage" phenomenon, and Hopkins even includes a sketch of the scapes or retained images. While observing a river on still another occasion, Hopkins perceived not the forward motion of the water, but "lateral motions":

Yesterday [the river] was a sallow glassy gold at Hodder Roughts and by watching hard the banks began to sail upstream, the scaping unfolded, the river was all in tumult but not running, only the lateral motions were perceived, and the curls of froth where the waves overlap shaped and turned easily and idly.<sup>24</sup>

The eye can select these images of the "lateral motions" and the "scaping" becomes obvious.

Readers of Hopkins' prose and poetry could add numerous examples which indicate that Hopkins' theory of perception proved successful in ordering the observations of the natural world. Sense impressions were never enough: only in the completion of the process of perception (from object—inscape—to image) could the mind be ready to communicate. The creation of an idiosyncratic vocabulary to describe various aspects of his theory was not an invention of the moment nor a justification for poetic oddities. His vocabulary reflected his study of philosophy at Oxford and his careful reworking of the materials of the English empiricist tradition.

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20. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 125.

21. Hopkins, "Is the difference between *a priori* and *a posteriori* truth one of degree only or of kind?" unpublished essay at Campion Hall, D VI 1.

22. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 232 (June 25, 1873).

23. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 234 (August 9, 1873).

24. Hopkins, *Journals*, p. 200 (October 20, 1870).

## The Uses of Solitude: Dickens and *Robinson Crusoe*

G. W. Kennedy

*Robinson Crusoe* was a work that evoked a strongly divided reaction from Dickens. From a critical perspective, he had little respect for *Crusoe* as a novel. In a letter from Paris in 1856 to John Forster, who had only recently published a brief biography of Defoe, Dickens comments:

You remember my saying to you some time ago how curious I thought it that Robinson Crusoe should be the only instance of an universally popular book that could make no one laugh and could make no one cry. I have been reading it again just now, in the course of my numerous refreshings at those English wells, and I will venture that there is not in literature a more surprising instance of an utter want of tenderness and sentiment, than the death of Friday. It is as heartless as Gil Blas. . . .

He goes on to describe the "second part of Robinson Crusoe" (*The Farther Adventures*) as "perfectly contemptible, in the glaring defect that it exhibits the man who was 30 years on that desert island with no visible effect made on his character by that experience." In the same letter Dickens characterizes Defoe himself as "a precious dry and disagreeable article."<sup>1</sup> (Dickens was, of course, not the only Victorian to attack eighteenth-century writers for their alleged "want of tenderness and sentiment": one thinks of Thackeray's more violent attack on Swift.)

Dickens' relationship with *Robinson Crusoe* was far more complex than this rather simplistic attack would indicate. Like virtually every other literate Victorian, Dickens read and re-read *Robinson Crusoe* as a child, and it was on the shelves of the library at Gad's Hill at the time of his death.<sup>2</sup> Dickens appears to have had this long-standing involvement with *Crusoe* in mind when he wrote to Walter Savage Landor a few months after the Forster letter. Here Dickens repeats his earlier statement about his puzzlement that "one of the most popular books on earth has nothing in it to make anyone laugh or cry." This time, though, Dickens admits his fascination with *Crusoe*: "It is a book I read very much; and the wonder of its prodigious effect on me and everyone, and the admiration thereof, grows on me" (*Letters*, II, 785).

In keeping with his belief that *Robinson Crusoe* portrays human nature in an absurdly inaccurate way—ex-

hibiting a man unchanged by "30 years on that desert island"—Dickens often finds it difficult to take Robinson Crusoe seriously. In many of his references, he sees the figure of the castaway on his island, with his guns, menagerie of animals, and goatskin clothing, as essentially amusing or outlandish. In an 1842 letter to David Colden, written from Cincinnati, Ohio, Dickens humorously enumerates the difficulties of washing and dressing on board a canal boat, stating, "I feel something between Robinson Crusoe and Philip Quarll, with a dash of Sinbad the Sailor—and I think of leaving off ordinary clothes, and going clad, for the future, in skins and furs; with a gun on each shoulder, and two axes in a belt round my middle."<sup>3</sup> In *American Notes* Dickens pretends to be alarmed that the husband of a lady of "great personal attractions" carried "more guns than Robinson Crusoe, wore a shooting coat, and had two great dogs" (2). Also in a facetious vein, David Copperfield echoes Crusoe's description of himself surrounded by his various pets—one of Defoe's own rare efforts at humor—when he enters his sitting room at Mrs. Crupp's and finds "my aunt . . . with her two birds before her, and her cat on her knee, like a female Robinson Crusoe" (34). In *Little Dorrit*, the residents of Bleeding-Heart Yard, in their hilarious efforts to teach English to Cavalletto, construct "sentences, by way of teaching him the language in its purity, such as were addressed by the savages to Captain Cook, or by Friday to Robinson Crusoe. Mrs. Plornish was particularly ingenious in this art; and attained so much celebrity for saying 'Me ope you leg well soon,' that it was considered in the Yard, but a very short remove indeed from speaking Italian" (Book I, 25).

As the connection of Crusoe with Sinbad the Sailor in the Colden letter suggests, Dickens' own explanation of the "wonder" of *Crusoe's* "prodigious effect on me and everyone" is to link Crusoe with characters from fairy tale and fantasy—to transform the castaway on his island into one of those magical figures that could evoke the memories of childhood which played such an important role in Dickens' imaginative life. In *A Christmas Carol*, the Ghost of Christmas Past causes Scrooge to relive his

1. *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, ed. Walter Dexter (London [Bloomsbury]: Nonesuch, 1938), II, 767-768. Unless otherwise indicated, all references to Dickens' works are from the Nonesuch edition. Chapter numbers—and, if necessary, Book numbers—will be placed in parentheses following each quotation. (It is likely that Dickens viewed *The Farther Adventures* as an integral part of *Robinson Crusoe* because of the

nineteenth-century practice of publishing the two novels together in a single volume with no indication that they are separate works.)

2. See T. W. Hill, "Books that Dickens Read," *The Dickensian* 45 (1949), 201-207.

3. *The Letters of Charles Dickens* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), ed. Madeline House and Graham Storey, III, 185.

childhood reading by making him see figures from the books he loved. Ali Baba, Orson and Valentine, and the Sultan's Groom appear at first, followed by Crusoe's parrot and "Friday, running for his life to the little creek." Scrooge's enthusiasm at the sight of these characters marks the first break in his miserly demeanor: "To hear Scrooge expending all the earnestness of his nature on such subjects, . . . would have been a surprise to his business friends in the city, indeed" (Stave 2).

Tom Pinch has a similar experience in *Martin Chuzzlewit*—a novel with many references and analogues to *Robinson Crusoe*—when he wanders through Salisbury on market-day and comes upon a shop displaying children's books. Amidst the copies of the Arabian Nights and "the Persian tales, with flying chests and students of enchanted books shut up for years in caverns," Robinson Crusoe

stood alone in his might, with dog and hatchet, goatskin cap and fowling-pieces, calmly surveying Philip Quarll and the host of imitators round him, and calling Mr. Pinch to witness that he, of all the crowd, impressed one solitary footprint on the shore of boyish memory, whereof the tread of generations should not stir the lightest grain of sand. (5)

The sight of the books causes Tom to live "again, with new delight, the happy days before the Pecksniff era." In a more directly autobiographical way, Dickens repeats this description of the importance of *Robinson Crusoe* to "boyish memory" in "Plate Glass," a piece describing a visit to a glass factory that appeared in *Household Words* in 1851. After describing the "narrow passages or caves" beneath the furnaces where the boys employed in the factory sleep on cold nights, Dickens thinks first of "De Foe's hero, Colonel Jack, among the ashes of the glass-house where *he* worked." Then, in an odd bit of free association, he concludes the article with a passionate statement on the significance of Robinson Crusoe: "And that [the memory of Colonel Jack], and the river together, made us think of Robinson Crusoe the whole way home, and wonder what all the English boys who have been since his time, and who are yet to be, would have done without him and his desert Island."<sup>4</sup>

Dickens returns to this idea once again in his fullest statement about *Robinson Crusoe* and childhood memory, "Where We Stopped Growing," which appeared in *Household Words* on January 1, 1853. Dickens writes

that "this present season" has put him "much in childish company," causing him to ponder "whether there were any things as to which this individual We actually did stop growing when we were a child." *Crusoe* is first on the list: "We have never grown the thousandth part of an inch out of Robinson Crusoe." Dickens goes on to give a detailed list of the images and episodes from *Robinson Crusoe* that have remained with him since "we were among the smallest of the small." These include Crusoe's parrot, dog, fowling-piece, "his rusty money," and even "that blessed ship's spy-glass . . . through which, lying on his breast at the top of his fortification, with his ladder drawn up after him . . . he saw the black figures of those Cannibals moving round the fire on the sea-sand, as the monsters danced themselves into an appetite for dinner." Sailing in a boat reminds Dickens that "our boat-growth stopped for ever, when Robinson Crusoe sailed round the Island, and, having been nearly lost, was so affectionately awakened out of his sleep at home again by that immortal parrot, great progenitor of all the parrots we have ever known."<sup>5</sup> Again, Robinson Crusoe is grouped with characters from fairy tale and fantasy—other figures that mark points at which "our growth stopped" are Haroun Alraschid, Blue Beard, Don Quixote, and Jack the Giant-Killer.

As significant as *Robinson Crusoe* was to Dickens as a talisman of the saving and humanizing memories of childhood, it influenced him in even more far-reaching ways. As a popular novelist and as a writer steeped in eighteenth-century literature, Dickens was inevitably drawn to *Robinson Crusoe* as the essential, almost mythic, image of the self in isolation. Dickens' imagination returns again and again to images and analogues of *Robinson Crusoe* to explore the blessings and dangers of solitude.

This mythic power of *Robinson Crusoe* can be seen in one of Dickens' most common Crusoe motifs, that of the stranded sailor, figuratively shipwrecked on the land. Dickens seems fascinated by the image of an idiosyncratically nautical setting placed in an uncongenial, landlocked environment. Mr. Peggotty, the sole survivor of a generation of "drowndead" sailors and fishermen, raises Ham and Em'ly in a home that resembles "a black barge, or some other kind of superannuated boat, . . . high and dry on the ground, with an iron funnel sticking out of it for a chimney and smoking very cosily" (3).<sup>6</sup> (The Peggottys' ark-like home is located at Yarmouth, where Rob-

4. "Plate Glass," *Charles Dickens: Uncollected Writings from Household Words, 1850-1859*, ed. Harry Stone (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), I, 214-21.

5. "Where We Stopped Growing," *Household Words*, 6 (1 January 1853), 361-363. Dickens is in general agreement here with a major stream of Victorian criticism of *Robinson Crusoe*. This position is best expressed by the anonymous critic for the *National Review* who wrote of the novel in 1855 that "the

universal admiration it has obtained may be the admiration of men: but it is founded on the liking of boys" (*Defoe: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Pat Rogers [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972], p. 130).

6. John Carey, in *Here Comes Dickens* (New York: Schocken, 1974), pp. 43-46, discusses this motif, stating that "a ship on land, or strictly a ship up in the air," is for Dickens a "powerful image of neatness and security" (p. 45).

inson Crusoe first experiences storm and shipwreck and where, in *David Copperfield*, Ham and Steerforth drown in another ship-destroying storm of special, and perhaps supernatural, violence. Standing on the beach, David sees in "the tremendous sea" the vision of "a rending and upheaving of all nature" [55].)

Dickens' land-bound sailors are often far more eccentric than Mr. Peggotty. Bill Barley, Herbert Pocket's future father-in-law in *Great Expectations*, lives in an upper room in the midst of the city that is fitted out "like a chandler's shop"; he keeps "his grog ready-mixed in a little tub on the table" (40) and is constantly heard muttering sea-chanties to himself. Captain Tartar in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* arranges his London apartment like a ship's cabin while growing flowers in window-boxes because, "having been accustomed to a very short allowance of land all my life, I thought I'd feel my way to the command of a landed estate, by beginning on boxes" (17). Dickens is perhaps as much indebted to Captain Marryat as to Defoe for these eccentric sailors—Crusoe, after all, is a merchant-adventurer and not, strictly speaking, a sailor. Even so, essential elements of the Crusoe myth persist, for all the stranded sailors create idiosyncratic private worlds in the midst of alien and often hostile surroundings.

The Dickensian character whose story most closely follows the pattern of the Robinson Crusoe myth is Martin Chuzzlewit. Like Crusoe, he rebels against adult authority, in Martin's case the dubious authority of his grandfather and Pecksniff, to go adventuring across the world. Martin braves tumultuous seas to find himself in the dangerous alien environment of the United States. The America of *Martin Chuzzlewit* is even filled with figurative cannibals who see it as "incalculably more criminal and dangerous to teach a negro to read and write, than to roast him alive in a public city" (21). General Cyrus Choke's choked rhetoric neatly places him and the other hypocritical members of the Watertoast Association on the side of the cannibals: in Choke's letter of support for "a certain Public Man in Ireland," he bombastically calls upon "the naked visitors to Crusoe's Island" to "bear witness to [the] savage nature" of "the British Lion" (21).

Martin brings his Friday with him in the person of the faithful Mark Tapley, who pledges to Martin that "your will's a law, sir" (13). In the company of Mark, Martin finds salvation on his own "Island of Despair" in the "hideous swamp" (23) of Eden. Just as Crusoe, in "terrible Agonies of Mind," runs "about like a Mad-man"

thinking of his "dreadful Deliverance"<sup>7</sup> on the island, Martin's first sight of Eden fills him with despair: he "lay down upon the ground, and wept aloud" (23). He wonders, in a question similar to Crusoe's awakened interest in the workings of Providence, "what have I done in all my life that has deserved this heavy fate?" (23). For both Crusoe and Martin Chuzzlewit, it is a bout of fever that signals the end of the old self and the birth of the new. However, where Crusoe's recovery from fever and his spiritual conversion are both, naturally, accomplished in solitude, Martin's move away from selfishness requires the assistance of others. After Mark has selflessly nursed Martin through his illness, Martin cares for Mark when he becomes ill and it is this sense of interdependence that leads to Martin's conversion. The narrator states that Martin

never would have known [about his selfishness], but that being newly risen from a bed of dangerous sickness, to watch by such another couch, he felt how nearly Self had dropped into the grave and what a poor dependent, miserable thing it was. (33)

As Ian Watt has pointed out, *Robinson Crusoe* is basically an account of the triumph of individualism, of the essential autonomy of the private self.<sup>8</sup> At least when writing in the persona of Robinson Crusoe, Defoe seems completely comfortable with this notion of isolation, accepting it as a simple fact of life, with no misgivings whatsoever. He writes in the chapter "On Solitude" in the *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*:

What are the sorrows of other men to us, and what their joy? Something we may be touched indeed with by the power of sympathy, and a secret turn of the affections; but all the solid reflection is directed to ourselves. Our meditations are all solitude in perfection; our passions are all exercised in retirement; we love, we hate, we covet, we enjoy, all in privacy and solitude. All that we communicate of those things to any other is but for their assistance in the pursuit of our desires; the end is at home; the enjoyment, the contemplation, is all solitude and retirement; it is for ourselves we enjoy, and for ourselves we suffer.<sup>9</sup>

In *Martin Chuzzlewit* Mark Tapley enunciates Dickens' essential disagreement with *Robinson Crusoe's* portrayal of the isolated self triumphant. In his constant search for adversities to overcome, Mark states that he "'used to think, sometimes, . . . as a desolate island would suit me'" but then reasoned that "'I should only have had myself to provide for there, and being naterally a easy man to manage, there wouldn't have been much credit

7. Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, ed. J. Donald Crowley (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 47. All references to *The Strange Surprizing Adventures* are from this edition. Page numbers will be placed in parentheses following each quotation.

8. See Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1957), especially Chapter 3, "Robinson Crusoe, Individualism and the Novel."

9. *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* (Boston: University Press, 1903), p. 4.

in that" (33). He concludes that dealing with and caring for others are far more challenging, complicated, and therefore satisfying tasks than living on a desolate island: "Now here I've got my partner [Martin] to take care on, and he's something like the sort of man for the purpose. I want a man as is always a-sliding off his legs when he ought to be on 'em . . . And I have got him too . . . What a happiness!" (33).

As Mark's statement makes clear, a fundamental difference between Dickens' Crusoes and their original is that Dickens' characters are not coping with the difficulties of physical survival isolated from human society; they are usually dealing with the more complex problems of surviving in the human wilderness of the modern city. Thus, John Westlock in *Martin Chuzzlewit* describes his "few little bachelor contrivances" in London as "the sort of impromptu arrangements that might have suggested themselves to Philip Quarll or Robinson Crusoe" (36). In a more detailed example, David Copperfield, when he finally moves into his own chambers, exults that "it was a wonderfully fine thing to have that lofty castle to myself, and to feel, when I shut my outer door, like Robinson Crusoe, when he had got into his fortification, and pulled his ladder up after him." However, as with Crusoe himself, this liberating sense of independence cannot always compensate for the loneliness of the solitary life: "but I must say, too, that there were times when it [David's life] was very dreary . . . I wanted somebody to talk to" (24).

(Defoe himself saw the relationship between Crusoe's physical isolation and the life of the individual in the city. He has Crusoe state in the *Serious Reflections* that "man may be properly said to be alone in the midst of the crowds and hurry of men and business . . . I can affirm, that I enjoy much more solitude in the middle of the greatest collection of mankind in the world, I mean, at London . . . than ever I could say I enjoyed in eight and twenty years' confinement to a desolate island."<sup>10</sup> In keeping with this, Defoe went on, in *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jacque*, and *Roxana*, to depict characters at least as self-centered and morally isolated as Crusoe operating in urban settings.)

One of the aspects of the Crusoe story that worked most powerfully on Dickens' imagination is the image of cannibalism—the danger that so terrifies Robinson Crusoe and the specter that haunts the America of *Martin Chuzzlewit*. In Bumble's workhouse in *Oliver Twist*, a boy with "a wild, hungry eye" fears "he might some night happen to eat the boy who slept next him, who happened

to be a weakly youth of tender age" (2). Oliver himself is terrified when his dietary allowance is increased by "two ounces and a quarter of bread" because he thinks, "not unnaturally, that the board must have determined to kill him for some useful purpose, or they never would have begun to fatten him up in that way" (3). The youthful Pip faces a similar situation in *Great Expectations* when Pumblechook equates him with a "four-footed Squeaker": "'Dunstable the butcher would have come up to you as you lay in your straw, and he would have whipped you under his left arm . . . and he would have shed your blood and had your life'" (4). The vampire-like lawyer Vholes, who "takes off his close black gloves as if he were skinning his hands" and "lifts off his tight hat as if he were scalping himself" (39), seems to live off the flesh and blood of his clients, looking at Richard Carstone "as if he were looking at his prey" (37).

Like Crusoe, Dickens' characters must survive in an environment that sometimes seems permeated by cannibalism. In *Dombey and Son*, Harriet and John Carker live on the outskirts of the city "like two people shipwrecked long ago, upon a solitary coast" (53) and watch the "stragglers who [come] wandering into London" (33); these travelers are doomed to be "swallowed up in one phase or other of its immensity." They become human "food for the hospitals, the churchyards, the prisons, the river, fever, madness, vice, and death," as they pass "on to the monster, roaring in the distance" (33). Dickens ironically repeats this image of cannibalism in the midst of civilization in the closing pages of *Our Mutual Friend*. At one of the Veneerings' hollow and pretentious dinner-parties, Lady Tippins addresses Mortimer Lightwood as "'long-banished Robinson Crusoe'" and asks him "'how did you leave the Island? . . . how did you leave the savages?'" Lightwood, who has come to see the emptiness of the "Voice of Society," replies, "'They were becoming civilized when I left Juan Fernandez . . . At least they were eating one another, which looked like it'" (67). As Homer O. Brown points out in "The Displaced Self in the Novels of Defoe," the cannibals in *Robinson Crusoe* are the most extreme manifestation of the threatening Other, standing over against Crusoe himself, which he constantly seeks to protect himself against.<sup>11</sup> Dickens, in his image of cannibalism, refuses to see it as an external and exotic threat to the civilized man who ventures into the wilderness—in essence, he brings cannibalism home, showing it to be a part of the threatening and inhuman urban environment.<sup>12</sup>

10. *Serious Reflections*, pp. 4-6.

11. Homer O. Brown, "The Displaced Self in the Novels of Daniel Defoe," *ELH*, 38 (1971), 569.

12. Another likely source of Dickens' strange fascination with cannibalism, and one in keeping with his tendency to mingle mem-

ories of *Robinson Crusoe* with childhood tales, is the grisly fairy tale of "Captain Murderer," which Dickens describes in *The Uncommercial Traveler*. As Dickens writes, "Captain Murderer's mission was matrimony, and the gratification of a cannibal appetite with tender brides."

In an individualized variation of this theme of social cannibalism, Quilp in *The Old Curiosity Shop* is both cannibal and Crusoe. He displays an astonishing power of ingestion, devouring "hard eggs, shell and all" and "gigantic prawns with the heads and tails on," drinking "boiling tea without winking," and biting "his fork and spoon till they bent again" (5). His constant threat throughout the novel is "I'll bite you" and, at one point, he ironically reassures Mrs. Nubbles "I don't eat babies" (21). At the same time, Quilp compares himself to Robinson Crusoe. Revelling in his alienation from society, the dwarf describes his quarters at the "wilderness" of Quilp's Wharf: "'I've got a country-house like Robinson Crusoe—' said the dwarf, ogling his accommodations; 'a solitary, sequestered, desolate-island sort of spot, where I can be quite alone when I have business on hand, and be secure from all spies and listeners'" (50).

Behind the sensible and successful Crusoe stands the figure of Alexander Selkirk, desperate and nearly insane after four years on the island of Juan Fernandez. In the same way, behind Dickens' whimsical or heroic Crusoe-figures lurks the dimension of solitude represented by Quilp—complete, solipsistic isolation from others. This is a particular danger for Dickens' metaphorical castaways because, where Robinson Crusoe finds God in his isolation from other men, Dickens' characters at first find only the deserted, but not necessarily desolate or infertile, island of the isolated self. This essential difference is evident in the realm of language. Although Crusoe is free to call himself governor and prince and to invent the name Friday for his servant, he is no Adam. He is restricted in his unilateral power to name the things around them: "I kill'd a large Bird that was good to eat, but I know not what to call it" (pp. 63-64). On the other hand, Dickens' isolated characters have almost unrestrained linguistic freedom within their private realms. Dick Swiveller in *The Old Curiosity Shop* transforms his single room into "apartments" and his gin-and-water in "the rosy" (7). Sairey Gamp simply conjures up her own "Friday" in the mythical Mrs. Harris. John Harmon, "ship-wrecked" and alone in London as a result of his near-drowning at the beginning of *Our Mutual Friend*, builds a new identity for himself by changing his name to "John Roke-smith." Although this sort of freedom is often the means by which the characters survive in the wilderness of the city, it carries within it the possibility of the complete dislocation of Krook in *Bleak House* or Mr. F's Aunt in *Little Dorrit*.

The promise and the danger of isolation can be seen in Captain Cuttle of *Dombey and Son*, another stranded sailor and one of Dickens' most fully developed Crusoe-fig-

ures. Like Bill Barley and Captain Tartar, Cuttle dwells in an idiosyncratic "land-cabin" in the city. Dickens frequently emphasizes Cuttle's isolation in terms that echo *Crusoe*. In a comic passage, the narrator describes Cuttle after scrubbing the floor, "sitting with his hands in his pockets and his legs drawn up under his chair, on a very small desolate island . . . In the midst of the dreary scene, the Captain, cast away upon his island, looked on the waste of waters with a rueful countenance, and seemed waiting for some friendly bark to come that way and take him off" (23). The image of the castaway on a desolate island is used later in a more serious way. Separated from his youthful protege Walter Gay, who has gone to sea on one of Dombey and Son's ships, and from his old friend Sol Gills, who has gone searching for news of Walter, the Captain looks for companionship from Rob the Grinder. Cuttle's feelings toward Rob are "almost as kindly . . . as if they had been shipwrecked and cast upon a desert place together." When he learns that Rob too will leave him to work for the villainous James Carker, the narrator states that "it is doubtful whether the worthy Captain had ever felt himself quite abandoned until now." His isolation complete, he comes to feel "as lonely as Robinson Crusoe" (39).

The Captain is able to avoid Quilp's self-destructive isolation from others by seeking and not rejecting companionship, by playing the role of the lonely Crusoe, achieving "that but one . . . had been sav'd" (p. 188) from the second wrecked ship. The Captain's loneliness is alleviated by the arrival of Florence Dombey, whose flight from her father's house has left her wandering through the city "like the sole survivor on a lonely shore from the wreck of a great vessel" (48). Florence surely bears little resemblance to Friday, but Captain Cuttle does follow the pattern of Crusoe by calling the companion who completes his private world by a special name of his own invention—"Heart's-delight."

Just as other castaways come to gather on Crusoe's island, the figuratively shipwrecked Cuttle and Florence are joined by a genuine castaway in Walter Gay, the sole survivor of the wrecked *Son and Heir*. Within the setting of Cuttle's "fortified retreat" (32) surrounded by the cannibalistic wilderness of London, the Captain seems to have special powers, somewhat reminiscent of the power Crusoe enjoys on his island, which causes the English mutineers to wonder at one point whether he is God or an angel. Captain Cuttle seems to make Walter magically appear before Florence; he tells her tales of the "wonders in the deep," punctuating each with a variation of the refrain "Poor Wal'r! Drowned, an't he?" (49). At the same time, he slowly has Florence turn around and look

at Walter, who, of course, is standing behind her all the time.<sup>13</sup>

The loving magic that grows out of the Captain's Crusoe-like isolation from the destructive city is also present in Wemmick's moated island-castle in *Great Expectations*. Though Wemmick is not compared directly to Robinson Crusoe, his Walworth castle, with its painted battery of guns, is a fanciful parody of the inland retreat that Crusoe also refers to as his castle. Wemmick has learned Crusoe's lesson that "every Man may be in time Master of every mechanick Art" (p. 68), and he rightly claims to be "my own engineer, and my own carpenter, and my own Jack of all Trades" (25). Wemmick cannot literally camouflage his retreat, as Crusoe does, so that "no Men, of what kind soever" (p. 161) can see it. In the complex environment of the city, Wemmick must adopt the psychologically dangerous strategy of camouflaging his authentic self. He runs the risk of falling into solipsistic eccentricity by putting on the dry "post-office" face of Little Britain in an effort to hide the existence of the castle from Jaggers and to prevent the "Newgate cobwebs" of the city from penetrating and corrupting his carefully maintained island domain.

Sharing the castle with Wemmick is his father, the Aged P., whom Pip likens, in words that could describe Friday's father, to "some clean old chief of a savage tribe" (37). Like Cuttle in his relationship with Florence and Martin with Mark Tapley, Wemmick and his father (later joined by Miss Skiffins) epitomize Dickens' ideal vision of Crusoe-like isolation. It clearly does not idealize Crusoe's

own complete solitude or his narrow master-servant relationship with Friday. Dickens' concept of saving isolation involves a small group of loving individuals seeking refuge from the city in an island sanctuary.

The builders of such islands are literally, like Crusoe, the builders of worlds. Yi-Fu Tuan, in his wide-ranging study of human attitudes toward the environment, emphasizes that man's conception of his surroundings

depicts man's *world* rather than man's environment. Man's world is a fabric of ideas and dreams, some of which he manages to give visible form. For the privilege of having fantasies, of possessing a world rather than simply an environment, man pays with the risk of disaster and the certainty of ultimate impermanence in all his efforts.<sup>14</sup>

In this context, Dickens' ideal Crusoes perform the most basic of all human tasks, building a human-centered and livable world out of the environmental wilderness around them. These characters— Mr. Peggotty, Captain Cuttle, Wemmick, as well as those less explicitly Crusoe-like world-builders Dick Swiveller, John Harmon, and Jenny Wren—combine the earnest dedication of Robinson Crusoe himself with the innocent childhood magic of the fairy tales with which Dickens habitually grouped *Crusoe*. These urban castaways thus change themselves, in effect, into Prosperos, capable of turning their desolate islands into private magical worlds which become the setting for saving transformations.

University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

## Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

FEBRUARY 1977—JULY 1977

### I

#### GENERAL

- ARTS. Armstrong, Nancy. *Victorian Jewelry*. Studio Vista. Rev. *TLS*, 29 July, p. 938.
- Crawford, Alan. "Recent Studies in Late-Victorian Art and Design." *Victorian Studies*, Summer, pp. 413-22. Review-article.
- Fawcett, Jane, ed. *Seven Victorian Architects*. Thames and Hudson. Biographical essays. Rev. *TLS*, 18 March, p. 317.

- Wood, Christopher. *Victorian Panorama: Paintings of Victorian Life*. Faber. Rev. *TLS*, 29 April, p. 537.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY. Tobias, Richard C., ed. "Victorian Bibliography for 1976." *Victorian Studies*, pp. 449-543.
- CRITICISM and LITERARY HISTORY. Adams, Maurianne. "Diverse and Deviant Standards of Poetry Criticism in Victorian Journalism: the Case for Coleridge." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, March, pp. 16-36. No single dominant set of assumptions in Victorian journalistic poetry criticism.
- Arac, Jonathan. "Narrative Form and Social Sense in *Bleak House* and *The French Revolution*." *Nineteenth-Cen-*

13. A similar though far less elaborate reunion occurs in *Bleak House* when Allen Woodcourt returns to England and Esther Summerson after heroic service in "a terrible shipwreck over in those East-Indian seas" (35).

14. Yi-Fu Tuan, "Attitudes toward Environment: Themes and Approaches," in *Environmental Perception and Behavior*, ed. David Lowenthal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 16.

- ture Fiction, June, pp. 54-72. Similar principles of organization define a middle ground for opposed literary practices.
- Armstrong, Isobel. "The Role and the Treatment of Emotion in Victorian Criticism of Poetry." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, March, pp. 3-16. Victorians had a divided feeling about emotion.
- Bargainnier, Earl F. "Browning, James and 'The Private Life.'" *Studies in Short Fiction*, Spring, pp. 151-58. James consciously based his fantasy upon the dual existences of Robert Browning and Frederick Leighton.
- Dowling, Linda C. "The Aesthetes and the Eighteenth Century." *Victorian Studies*, Summer, pp. 357-77. Highly personalized versions of the earlier epoch.
- Fernando, Lloyd. "Other Worlds, Other Seas: The Imperial Theme in British Fiction." *Victorian Studies*, Spring, pp. 299-309. Review-article.
- Findlay, L. M. "Aspects of Analogy: The Changing Role of the Sister Arts Tradition in Victorian Criticism." *English Studies in Canada*, Spring, pp. 51-68. Conflicting views concerning the notion of the intertranslatability of literature and its sister arts.
- Garrett, Peter K. "Double Plots and Dialogical Form in Victorian Fiction." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 1-17. The multi-plot novels depend for their effects more on the complexity of their narrative processes than on large scale organizations.
- Killham, John. "The Idea of Community in the English Novel." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 379-96. Analysis of Raymond Williams' *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence*.
- Life, Allan R. "'Poetic Naturalism': Forrest Reid and the Illustrators of the Sixties." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, June, pp. 47-68. Strengths and weaknesses of Reid's work.
- Mayer, David. "Some Recent Writings on Victorian Theatre." *Victorian Studies*, Spring, pp. 311-17. Review-article.
- Roos, David A. "Matthew Arnold and Thomas Henry Huxley: Two Speeches at the Royal Academy, 1881 and 1883." *Modern Philology*, February, pp. 316-24. Two uncollected speeches shed new light on their amicable conflict.
- Siemens, Lloyd. "Naturalism in the Poetry of Hardy and Meredith." *English Studies in Canada*, Spring, pp. 69-86. Their mutual heterodoxy obscured important distinctions for their Victorian readers.
- Sutherland, J. A. *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*. Athlone. Rev. *TLS*, 29 April, p. 537.
- ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Harvie, Christopher. *The Lights of Liberalism: University Liberals and the Challenge of Democracy 1860-86*. Allen Lane. Rev. *TLS*, 13 May, p. 586.
- Rossi, John P. "English Catholics, the Liberal Party, and the General Election of 1880." *Catholic Historical Review*, July, pp. 411-27. The Liberals made a concerted effort to win over the Catholics.
- HISTORY. Aronson, Theo. *Victoria and Disraeli: The Making of a Romantic Partnership*. Cassell, Rev. *TLS*, 27 May, p. 654.
- MacDonagh, Oliver. *Early Victorian Government 1830-1870*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Rev. *TLS*, 15 July, p. 854.
- Richardson, Joanna. "Queen Victoria's Jubilees." *History Today*, June, pp. 349-57. Imperial grandeur displayed during the two Jubilees.
- RELIGION. Obelkevich, James. *Religion and Rural Society: South Lindsey 1825-1875*. Clarendon Press. Rev. *TLS*, 20 May, p. 633.
- Schiefen, Richard J. "'Anglo-Gallicanism' in Nineteenth-Century England." *Catholic Historical Review*, January, pp. 14-44. The charge of "Gallicanism" was often made with inadequate foundation.
- SOCIAL. Tholfsen, Trygve. *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England*. Croom Helm. Rev. *TLS*, 10 June, p. 701.

## II

## INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- ARNOLD. Davis, Mary Byrd. "George Sand and the Poetry of Matthew Arnold." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Summer, pp. 204-26. Sand was a central influence.
- . "A Source for Arnold's Tale of Merlin and Vivian." *English Language Notes*, December 1976, pp. 120-23. Arnold drew upon Southey's edition of Malory.
- Stitelman, Alice N. "Lyrical Process in Three Poems by Matthew Arnold." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 133-46. In "The Buried Life," "Dover Beach," and "Palladium," Arnold tries to make language serve feeling.
- BRONTËS. Pell, Nancy. "Resistance, Rebellion, and Marriage: The Economics of *Jane Eyre*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 397-420. Brontë's romantic individualism is controlled by an underlying social and economic critique of bourgeois patriarchal authority.
- Shelston, Alan. "A Letter from Charlotte Brontë." *TLS*, 25 March, p. 344. Dated May 28, 1853, the letter reveals Brontë's attitude toward the role of the novelist.
- Siebenschuh, William R. "The Image of the Child and the Plot." *Studies in the Novel*, Fall 1976, pp. 304-17. The image of the child mirrors Jane's odyssey—escape from the fears of childhood to the stability of adulthood.
- Smith, Anne, ed. *The Art of Emily Brontë*. Vision Press. Critical Essays. Rev. *TLS*, 11 March, p. 280.
- BROWNING. Bright, Michael. "John the Baptist in Browning's 'Fra Lippo Lippi.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 75-77. John as foil and mirror to Lippo.
- Korg, Jacob. "Browning's Art and 'By the Fire-Side.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 147-58. The moment of self-identification in the poem is clearly fictional.
- O'Neal, Michael J. "Miltonic Allusions in *Bishop Blougram's Apology*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 177-82. Miltonic parallels.
- Sonstroem, David. "'Fine Speeches Like Gold' in Browning's 'The Glove.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 85-90. The significance of the motif of lofty diction.
- CARLYLE. Clubbe, John, ed. *Carlyle and His Contemporaries*. Duke. 16 essays. Rev. *TLS*, 11 March, p. 259.
- CARROLL. Hudson, Derek. *Lewis Carroll*. Constable. Biography. Rev. *TLS*, 25 February, p. 217.
- CLOUGH. Tener, Robert H. "Clough to Bagehot: A New Let-



- ter." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 14-15. Dated February 3, 1849.
- COLLINS. Kendrick, Walter M. "The Sensationalism of *The Woman in White*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 18-35. Both sensational and realistic.
- DICKENS. Baird, John D. "'Divorce and Matrimonial Causes': An Aspect of 'Hard Times.'" *Victorian Studies*, Summer, pp. 401-12. Dickens' skillful use of a complex contemporary issue.
- Collins, Philip. "Some Unpublished Comic Duologues of Dickens." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 440-49. Material written for a pair of stand-up comedians.
- Feltes, N. H. "To Saunter, to Hurry: Dickens, Time and Industrial Capitalism." *Victorian Studies*, Spring, pp. 245-67. The importance of historical changes on Dickens' artistic consciousness.
- Nadel, Ira Bruce. "'Wonderful Deception': Art and the Artist in 'Little Dorrit.'" *Criticism*, Winter 1977, pp. 17-33. Art interacts with the moral, social and commercial aspects of the book.
- Schwarzbach, Frederic S. "A New Theatrical Source for Dickens's 'A Tale of Two Cities.'" *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 18-20. Suggests Monk Lewis' *The Castle Spectre*.
- Wing, George. "Mr F's Aunt: A Laughing Matter." *English Studies in Canada*, Summer, pp. 207-15. A comic figure.
- ELIOT. Emery, Laura Comer. *George Eliot's Creative Conflict: The Other Side of Silence*. University of California. Rev. *TLS*, 15 July, p. 850.
- Hartnoll, Phyllis. *Who's Who in George Eliot*. Hamish Hamilton. Rev. *TLS*, 18 March, p. 290.
- Kropf, Carl R. "Time and Typology in George Eliot's Early Fiction." *Studies in the Novel*, Winter 1976, pp. 430-40. Time and timelessness play important roles in Eliot's earlier fiction.
- Moldstad, David. "George Eliot's *Adam Bede* and Smiles's *Life of George Stephenson*." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 189-92. Eliot drew upon Smiles in her portrait of Adam.
- Smith, Jane S. "The Reader as Part of the Fiction: *Middlemarch*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Summer, p. 188-203. The creation of an ambiguously defined audience is intrinsic to the narrative technique of *Middlemarch*.
- Stwertka, Eve Marie. "The Web of Utterance: *Middlemarch*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Summer, pp. 179-87. Utterance in both word and deed is fundamental to *Middlemarch*.
- Wallace, R. K. "A Probable Source for Dorothea and Casaubon: Hester and Chillingworth." *English Studies*, February, pp. 23-25.
- MICHAEL FIELD. Ireland, Kenneth R. "Sight and Song: A Study of the Interrelations between Painting and Poetry." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 9-20. The collection of poems draws its inspiration almost entirely from the sphere of painting.
- GASKELL. Wheeler, Michael D. "Mrs. Gaskell's Reading and The Gaskell Sale Catalogue in Manchester Central Library." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 25-30. Many writers influenced her work.
- JOHN GRAY. Dowling, Linda C. "Nature and Decadence: John Gray's *Silverpoints*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 159-9. The collection of poems made an original contribution to the literary movement of the nineties.
- HALLAM. Kolb, Jack. "Arthur Hallam and Emily Tennyson." *Review of English Studies*, February, pp. 32-48. Hallam first met Emily in April 1830.
- HARDY. Jones, Lawrence. "'The Music Scenes in 'The Poor Man and the Lady', 'Desperate Remedies' and 'An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress.'" *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 32-34. Hardy drew on *The Poor Man* independently in the two works.
- Keith, W. J. "Thomas Hardy's Edition of William Barnes." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 121-31. Hardy's alterations make Barnes's poems sound more like his own.
- Wing, George. "Theme and Fancy in Hardy's *The Well-Beloved*." *Dalhousie Review*, Winter 1976-77, pp. 630-44. The narrative machinery suffers from "the noises of mechanical stress."
- HOPKINS. Bergonzi, Bernard. *Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Macmillan. Critical biography. Rev. *TLS*, 3 June, p. 675.
- Bump, Jerome. "Hopkins' Imagery and Medievalist Poetics." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 99-119. The significance of Victorian medievalism to Hopkins' poetic imagery.
- Giffard, C. Anthony. "The Springs of Goldengrove." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 60-65. The influence of a fourteenth-century carol on "Spring and Fall."
- Proffitt, Edward. "'The Wreck of the Deutschland': Stanzas 25-28." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 201-206. The Nun as martyr.
- Thesing, William B. "'Tom's Garland' and Hopkins' Inscapes of Humanity." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 37-48. The stress of social problems broke rather than revealed an inscape.
- Tweedy, C. J. "A Note on Gerard Manley Hopkins: 'The Windhover.'" *Critical Quarterly*, Summer, pp. 88-89. The importance of the kestrel's stoop.
- KINGSLEY. Hartley, A. J. *The Novels of Charles Kingsley: A Christian Social Interpretation*. Bailey Bros. and Swinfen. Rev. *TLS*, 11 March, p. 280.
- KIPLING. Harvie, Christopher. "'The Sons of Martha': Technology, Transport, and Rudyard Kipling." *Victorian Studies*, Spring, pp. 269-82. The poet and prophet of technology.
- Isani, Mukhtar Ali. "The Origin of Kipling's 'Gunga Din.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 83-84. Suggests a narrative in Indian history.
- MACAULAY. Hamburger, Joseph. *Macaulay and the Whig Tradition*. Chicago. Rev. *TLS*, 15 April, p. 462.
- Pinney, Thomas, ed. *The Letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay*. Vol. 4. Cambridge. Covers 1841-1848. Rev. *TLS*, 15 April, pp. 462.
- MEREDITH. Williams, David. *George Meredith*. Hamish Hamilton. Critical biography. Rev. *TLS*, 29 July, p. 910.
- NEWMAN. Dessain, Charles Stephen and Thomas Gornall, eds. *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*. Vol. 21. Oxford. Rev. *TLS*, 8 July, p. 840.
- ARTHUR PINERO. Ronning, Robert. "The Eccentric: The English Comic Farce of Sir Arthur Pinero." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, February, pp. 51-58. Pinero perfected the English eccentric character for dramatic comedy.
- ROSSETTI. Bentley, D. M. R. "Rossetti and the *Hypneroto-*

- machia Poliphili.*" *English Language Notes*, June, pp. 279-83. The influence of *Hypnerotomachia* on Rossetti's painting and poetry.
- . "Rossetti's 'Ave' and Related Pictures." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 21-35. The interrelationship between Rossetti's poetry and painting.
- Grieve, A. I. *The Art of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. Real World Publications. Rev. *TLS*, 18 March, p. 323.
- RUSKIN. Hayman, John. "Ruskin, Mallock and the Pre-Raphaelites." *English Language Notes*, June, pp. 283-89. Ruskin's "The Three Colours of Pre-Raphaelitism" was in response to Mallock's attack.
- Sonstroem, David. "Millet Versus Ruskin: A Defense of Ruskin's 'Of Queens' Gardens.'" *Victorian Studies*, pp. 283-97. Millet's misreading of Ruskin's essay.
- TENNYSON. Edwards, P. D. "Tennyson and the Young Person." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 78-82. Tennyson seems to have been permitted a freedom of reference to physical aspects of sex which most Victorian writers were denied.
- Hoge, James O., Jr. "Jowett on Tennyson's 'Maud': A New Letter." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 16-18. Jowett praised the poem and contradicted the reviewers.
- Hughes, Linda K. "Tennyson's 'Columbus': 'Sense at War With Soul' Again." *Victorian Poetry*, pp. 171-76. The poem's themes and motifs place it squarely in the mainstream of Tennyson's later career.
- Joseph, Gerhard. "Tennyson's Optics: The Eagle's Gaze." *PMLA*, May, pp. 420-28. Particularized objects and hazy vistas.
- Kennedy, Ian H. C. "The Crisis of Language in Tennyson's *Maud*." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, Summer, pp. 161-78. The poem reveals Tennyson's deepest fears about the nature and value of poetry.
- McSweeney, Kerry. "Tennyson's Quarrel with Himself: The Tristram Group of *Idylls*." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 49-59. The dominant concerns of this group are psychological, sexual, and naturalistic.
- Shaw, Marion. "In Memoriam and Popular Religious Poetry." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 1-8. Similarities of imagery, form, and religious attitude between hymns and *In Memoriam*.
- Waterson, Elizabeth. "Tennyson and the Church Bells." *Dalhousie Review*, Spring, pp. 18-27. The importance of the church bells in the conclusion to *In Memoriam*.
- THACKERAY. Ferris, Ina. "The Breakdown of Thackeray's Narrator: *Lovel the Widower*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 36-53. In Thackeray's late novels the narrative dissolves and technique transforms the narrative into an expression of the narrator's consciousness.
- Rogers, Winslow. "Thackeray and Fielding's 'Amelia.'" *Criticism*, Spring, pp. 141-57. *Vanity Fair* was a successful creative response to *Amelia*.
- Roos, David A. "A New Speech by Thackeray." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 22-23. At the 1863 Royal Academy banquet.
- TROLLOPE. Edwards, P. D. "Trollope's Working Papers as Evidence of His Contributions to *Saint Pauls*." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, June, pp. 68-70. The working papers establish almost conclusively Trollope's authorship of four *Saint Pauls* articles.

#### PROJECTS—REQUESTS FOR AID

- MATTHEW ARNOLD. Miriam Allott wants any corrections or emendations for a new edition of *The Poems* edited by Kenneth Allott. *TLS*, 13 May, p. 590.

*The College of Staten Island  
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### Victorian Group News

*continued from inside front cover*

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#### *Special Invitations to Contribute:*

\*The editors of *The Arnoldian* (formerly *The Arnold Newsletter*) invite detailed suggestions for review essays on new books in Victorian Studies, as well as suggestions for retrospective reviews of "classics" in contemporary Victorian scholarship. *The Arnoldian*, while keeping a focus on Arnold, will expand to become a journal featuring the review essay on any subject relevant to the study of Victorian literature. All correspondence should be addressed to *Richard R. Wohlschlaeger*, Department of English, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md. 21402.

\*The *Thomas Hardy Society Review*, an annual of the Society, invites contributions for its third issue in 1978. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, *F. B. Pinion*, 65 Ranmoor Crescent, Sheffield S10 3GW, England. *Harold Orel*, Department of English, University of Kansas, Lawrence 66045, will receive inquiries from the U.S.

\**English Language Notes* is soliciting contributions for a special Winter 1978 issue devoted to nineteenth-century English literature. Essays should be no longer than 5,000 words and must be received by April 15, 1978. Send MSS to *Charles L. Proudfit*, Editor, *ELN*, Department of English, University of Colorado, Boulder 80309.