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Respectability and Romantic Poets: Late-Victorian Guides to Reading

John L. Kijinski

Respectability, professionalism, nationalism, controlled consumerism—all were rising concepts during the late-Victorian period, and in the world of publishing, they were perhaps best embodied in the House of Macmillan. In an age when, as N. N. Feltes has demonstrated, publishers first began to think of their books as "branded goods" that offered to potential consumers a known "reputation-value" (Feltes 84), the name "Macmillan's" on a book assured buyers that its content would be professionally solid and respectable (Morgan 101-102).

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Macmillan's offered several successful series—aimed at the middle-class, but not necessarily university-educated, reader—that worked to define a strong sense of a national culture. These included such popular ventures as John Morley's "English Men of Letters" series (begun in 1878); T. Humphrey Ward's *English Poets* (begun in 1880); Stopford Brooke's *English Literature* (1876), which would become part of a series of primers on literature and history edited by J. R. Green; Green's own *Short History of the English People* (1874) and *The Making of England* (1882); and the "Twelve English Statesmen" series (begun in 1877). During a period marked by a widely-perceived sense of cultural crisis, these books and series worked to establish for a large readership a notion of a shared, organic English culture, one that united all citizens of the nation regardless of class. Harold Perkin has recently chronicled the rise of a professional class in England that begins to come into its own during the late nineteenth century. The Macmillan "English" series served as vehicles for professionalizing the discussion of England's cultural past. As Perkin demonstrates, the professional claims to speak from a position that is above class conflict and outside the control of market forces (7, 117). From this position, the professional gains "the psychic security and self-confidence to press his own social ideal, his own vision of society and how it should be organized, upon the other classes" (8). The professional arbiters of culture writing for Macmillan's became important voices within the larger project—which Brian Doyle sees as characteristic of the 1880-1920 period—that worked to introduce to a growing reading public "a sequence of strategies to combine traditions of aristocratic cultural mystique with utilitarian programmes of industrial and social administration" (90), the primary goal of which was "to develop a new collective sense of Englishness" (91).

The most popular of the Macmillan "English" series—and certainly the most enduring—was John Morley's "English Men of Letters." Morley, working for Macmillan's as a reader, proposed in 1877 to develop a series of biographical / critical volumes on the great writers of England's past. He hoped to direct it toward a popular audience, readers he described as too busy to devote large amounts of time to the acquisition of "knowledge, criticism, and reflection." The series would, as Morley states, bring "all these three good things within reach of an extensive, busy, and preoccupied world" (*Recollections* 1: 92). The books that resulted from this plan—thirty-nine were published under Morley's editorship between 1878 and 1892—provided readers hoping to become "culturally literate" with professional instruction in the judgment and appreciation of England's literary tradition. I have examined elsewhere the impact the series had on late-Victorian attitudes toward the novel (Kijinski). In this paper I consider how the series worked to place the writings of the English Romantic poets under the sign of literary respectability. The series included volumes on the five major English Romantic poets (Blake is not considered) published in this order: John Addington Symonds, *Shelley* (1878); John Nichol, *Byron* (1880); F. W. H. Myers, *Wordsworth* (1881); H. D. Traill, *Coleridge* (1884); and Sidney Colvin, *Keats* (1887). The series also included volumes on other important poets of the period: Richard H. Hutton, *Sir Walter Scott* (1878); J. Campbell Shairp, *Robert Burns* (1879); Edward Dowden, *Southey* (1879); and Sidney Colvin, *Landor* (1881).

Perhaps the most pressing critical task of the Victorian literary establishment was to interpret the literary achievement of the turbulent first part of the nineteenth century, and the "English Men of Letters" series offers us an important overview of how this could be done for a general audience. Starting from the assumption that poetry is the most powerful and noble branch of literature, writers for the series show how the respectable late-Victorian reader could best profit from the poetic achievement of English Romanticism. This is accomplished by three critical moves. First of all, readers are invited to judge the poetry against the background of the morally exemplary lives of the poets (even if the lesson is negative). Second, the series systematically ranks the poetic achievement of the Romantics, judging where they deserve to stand within a grand national tradition. The Romantics are evaluated as a part of a particularly English—but also universally valuable—tradition that members of the "English race" need to know how to preserve as a part of their national heritage. Finally, the series provides instruction on specific reading habits and standards of judgment that allow for the proper consumption of literature: what is it that culturally literate people should think and say as they read and talk about the great poets of *our* national tradition?

Myers's treatment of Wordsworth is typical of how writers for Morley's series invoke the life of the poet as public figure as the source of authority that controls a proper appraisal of the poems. Myers lay down the following ground rules on how the professional critic / biographer of a great public figure is to view his subject:

> I have endeavoured, in short, to write as thought the Subject of this biography were himself its Auditor, listening, indeed, from some region where all of truth is discerned and nothing but truth desired, but checking by his venerable

> presence any such revelation as public advantage does not call for, and private delicacy would condemn. (2)

Such a stance allows the biographer to emplot a life that is primarily instructive, and Myers gives us a Wordsworth who is important for the lessons he teaches in respectability. Myers argues, for example, that "The Happy Warrior" is one of Wordsworth's most important poems because it has gained for him the high honors that are due to a poet who is also a *public man* as opposed to one who is merely a man of letters:

> And if a poet, by strong concentration of thought, by striving in all things along the upward way, can leave us in a few pages, as it were, a summary of patriotism, a manual of national honour, he surely has his place among his country's benefactors not only by that kind of courtesy which the nation extends to men of letters of whom her masses take little heed, but with a title as assured as any warrior or statesman, and with not less direct a claim. (83)

Myers thus places Wordsworth's early revolutionary enthusiasms within a proper perspective; Wordsworth's glory is found in the public service he has performed for his country as an instructor in national honor. Myers reminds the reader that Wordsworth, even in his radical period, had always approved of class distinctions: he desired only moral—but never social—equality (92). Furthermore, his early familiarity with the rural poor allowed him to know better than to subscribe to a view of the lower classes that underwrites so much revolutionary thinking: his portraits of workers are "free . . . from any idealization of the poorer classes as such, from the ascription of imaginary merits to an unknown populace which forms the staple of so much revolutionary eloquence" (151). According to Myers, the only thing that might prevent Wordsworth from being the perfect example of bourgeois respectability is that his life did not offer him enough trials to be overcome (72). Still, throughout his volume, Myers speaks of the "Wordsworthian faith," and this faith is based upon the solid character that stands behind the poetry.

Dowden's treatment of Southey is an even more emphatic example of invoking the life of the public man as a means of validating the literature produced by that man. Dowden never argues that Southey is a poet of the very highest rank; he does, however, argue that he is an exemplary person whose voice must be preserved within the national tradition because of the virtues of the man behind the voice: "But he who has once come to know Southey's voice as the voice of a friend, so clear, so brave, so honest, so full of boyish glee, so full of manly tenderness, feels that if he heard that voice no more a portion of his life were gone" (2). Southey is particularly admirable because of the earnestness of his life. What we are to admire, and to consider in our estimation of the poetry, is the prodigious efforts of a man who during all his life "was actively at work accumulating, arranging, and distributing knowledge" (2). As in the case of Wordsworth, the revolutionary sympathies of Southey's youth are dismissed as a momentary straying from his true self: "all this time there was a real Robert Southey, strong, upright, ardent, simple" (27). Here Dowden relies on an assumption that runs through all the volumes of this series: the professional biographer / critic can find within the works and life of an author an "essential self." The author's life, when viewed professionally, can be treated as an organic whole, even when actions of the author seem to call this into question. The critic's job is to get at the *true* personality of the author; it is this true personality that writes the poetry and underwrites its value. In Dowden's hands, Southey's becomes the model life, and he turns to the literature primarily because it has been produced by this eminently respectable man, who lived a life noted for "its simplicity, purity, loyalty, fortitude, kindliness, truth" (81). In a key passage summing up the value of Southey's life, Dowden makes him a knight of respectability; the quiet life devoted to the bourgeois ideals of domestic comfort and success are equated with the highest acts of chivalry:

> Perhaps, on the whole, for him it was not only more prudent but also more chivalrous to study to be quiet; to create a home for those who looked to him for security; to guard the happiness of tender women; to make smooth ways for the feet of little children; to hold hands in old age with friends of his youth; to store his mind with treasures of knowledge; to strengthen and chasten his own heart; to grow yearly in love for his country and her venerable heritage of manners, virtue, laws; to add to her literature the outcome of an adult intellect and character; and having fought a strenuous and skillful fight, to fall as one whose sword an untimely stroke has shattered in his hand. (111)

In the ideology of respectability, prudence becomes heroism.

The cases of Coleridge and Byron offer examples of how the lives of less obviously respectable poets are called into the service of respectable views of literature. In these cases, the lives are treated as negative exemplars, warnings about what happens when weakness or poetic excess gets the best of prudence. Traill's treatment of Coleridge is particularly interesting because he sees his subject as a true Englishman whose shining virtues are usually masked by disease and lack of self-control. Here, for example, he explains in pathological terms his subject's early flirtation with radical politics: "Coleridge not only took the 'frenzy-fever' [enthusiasm for the French Revolution] in a more violent form than either Wordsworth or Southey and uttered wilder things in his delirium than they, but the paroxysm was much shorter, the *immediate* reaction more violent in its effects, and brought about by slighter causes in his case than in theirs" (14). Here, again, as in the case of Southey, we find expressed a firm belief in a unitary subject, the true self that might be obscured when the author's life or poetry is looked at without the guidance of the professional critic. Traill is able to dismiss the impact of the French Revolution on the Lake Poets and to congratulate his subject on an earlier turn away from its implications.

For Traill, however, any explanation of Coleridge's failure to achieve his full potential must take into account his lack of a proper respectability: it is fortitude that allows one's life—as in the case of Southey—to take on all the features of the bourgeois success story, and it is precisely a lack of this quality that dooms Coleridge and prevents him from taking what could have been his place among the greatest men of the English tradition. Traill speculates that if he had prudently and vigorously pursued a regular and remunerative occupation

as a journalist—that is, if he had became, like Traill, a professional literary man—the chief defects of his writing would have been remedied along with the defects of his character:

> What, after all, would the loss in hours devoted to a comparatively inferior class of literary labour have amounted to when compared with the gain in much-needed habits of method and regularity, and—more valuable than all to an intellect like Coleridge's—in the constant reminder that human life is finite and the material of human speculation, infinite, and that even a world-embracing mind must apportion its labour to its day? (82)

As he moved away from respectability, Coleridge placed his literary standing in jeopardy, and it is only his final return to respectability that allows him to take his place among the lasting figures of the English tradition:

> But henceforth he recovers for us a certain measure of his long-lost dignity, and a figure which should always have been 'meet for the reverence of the hearth' in the great household of English literature, but which had far too long and too deeply sunk below it, becomes once more a worthy and even a venerable presence. (144)

But even given this late period of respectability, Coleridge can never be numbered among the foremost heroes of the national literature. Manliness—the chief of all respectable virtues, the one that all others rest upon[1]—is precisely what Coleridge lacks: "It is difficult not to feel that Coleridge's character, apart altogether from defects of physical constitution, was wanting in manliness of fibre" (198).

With Byron, of course, the problem of respectability becomes even more pronounced. Nichol, in an effort to promote a renewed English appreciation of Byron's poetry in light of the stature that this English poet had achieved among foreigners, tries to demonstrate that the man—as opposed to the legend—had many respectable features. One strategy that Nichol uses is to remind the reader of Byron's moral superiority to less notorious, and even admired, figures of his age, as when he notes that Byron, in spite of his indiscretions, "had never been the first means of leading any one astray—a fact perhaps worthy the attention of those moral worshipers of Goethe and Burns who hiss at Lord Byron's name" (49). Nichol certainly censures Byron's lack of prudence and reticence, and contrasts him with Scott on these points (82), but he also emphasizes Byron's tender respect for those who were traditionally religious: He gives us a lengthy quotation from a letter Byron wrote to a widower whose recently dead wife had prayed for Byron's salvation; the letter clearly shows the appreciation Byron felt for this act of piety (Nichol 156-57). He further reminds us that Byron—although a revolutionary—was no leveler; he maintained strictly respectable views on class distinction: "On all these occasions, as afterwards on the continent, Byron espoused the Liberal side of politics. But his role was that of Manlius or Caesar, and he never fails to remind us that he himself was *for* the people, not *of* them" (73). Furthermore, Nichol maintains that the skillful, mature, and principled manner in which Byron conducted himself on behalf of Greek liberation should finally mark him as a public figure worthy of admiration (181). In the last analysis, the life of the poet makes the poetry significant most of all for the instruction it can provide the reader: "We may learn much from him still, when we have ceased to disparage, as our fathers ceased to idolize, a name in which there is so much warning and so much example" (214).

Shelley presents a similar problem to the late-Victorian biographer / critic. Symonds's essential task is to convince his reader that the popularly held picture of Shelley as materialist, atheist, and revolutionary is inaccurate. He argues that any of Shelley's defects come from an overabundance of idealism, and that those tendencies that might be viewed as revolutionary turn out to be the enthusiasms of one who would have learned lessons of moderation if he had only lived longer. Symonds admits that, at an early age, Shelley "had adopted the conclusions of materialism," but he adds that "he was at heart all his life an idealist" (27). Symonds further exonerates Shelley by showing that his criticism of traditional beliefs in God were simply attacks on inadequate conceptions of divinity, attacks for which Shelley should be honored. He cannot be numbered among ordinary (or vulgar) non-believers and freethinkers:

> His clear and fearless utterances upon these points place him in the rank of intellectual heroes. But his own soul, compact of human faith and love, was far too religious and too sanguine to merit either epithet [atheist, agnostic] as vulgarly applied. (42)

And although Shelley's name had been associated, by Arnold and others, with license, Symonds assures us, with the following quotation from Hogg's biography, that Shelley's tastes and standards of action actually embodied the highest respectability:

> "In no individual perhaps was the moral sense ever more completely developed than in Shelley; in no being was the perception of right and of wrong more acute. . . . I have had the happiness to associate with some of the best specimens of gentlemen; but with all due deference for those admirable persons . . . , I can affirm that Shelley was almost the only example I have yet found that was never wanting, even in the most minute particular, of the infinite and various observances of pure, entire, and perfect gentility." (31-32)

What is most important is that Shelley's life, and particularly the troubles that came to him, in part, as the result of his own excesses, provide the reader with a lesson that contains real moral instruction if read properly. Shelley's life, like

[1]Throughout the "English Men of Letters" series, one finds a frequently-expressed concern for manliness. The word is one of the most often used terms of praise within the series. Conversely a damning charge that is made against authors and characters (particularly in those volumes that deal with novelists) is that of effeminacy.

Byron's, becomes a moral text. Symonds protests that "Shelley is too great to serve as a text for any sermon . . ." but he goes on to say,

> and yet we may learn from him as from a hero of Hebrew or Hellenic story. . . . From this rude trial of his moral nature he arose a stronger being; and if longer life had been granted him he would undoubtedly have presented the ennobling spectacle of one who had been lessoned by his own audacity, and by its bitter fruits, into harmony with the innumerable laws which he was ever seeking to obey. (94)

Symonds relies on speculation to establish a fully respectable Shelley. Yet, even though the evidence of full respectability is necessarily speculative, Symonds insists that the authority for interpretation of the works of Shelley must be located in the poet's life. In fact, he explains and justifies his narrative / biographical approach to Shelley's works as follows: "His life has, therefore, to be told in order that his life-work may be rightly valued: for great as that was, he, the man, was somehow greater; and noble as it is, the memory of himself is nobler" (183). Symonds provides here as clear a statement as we have of this series' commitment to promoting the doctrine that the site of authority and value of a given poem is located within the life of the poet rather than within the poetic text itself.

A case not quite as difficult as Shelley's is that of Keats, and like Symonds, Sidney Colvin works to give the reader of his volume a picture of the poet that contradicts popular notions. Colvin wants to dispel the image of Keats that an only partially informed public hold of the poet:

> Taken together with the notion of "Johnny Keats" to which *Blackwood* and the *Quarterly* had previously given currency, the *Adonais* and the *Don Juan* passage alike tend to fix in the public mind an impression of Keats's character as that of a weakling to whom the breath of detraction had been poison. It was long before his friends, who knew that he was "as like Johnny Keats as the Holy Ghost," did anything effectual to set his memory right. (210)

Colvin attempts to set the record straight for a large late-Victorian audience. Although he admits that the early poetry does sometimes suffer from "effeminacy and physical softness" (100), a valid overview of the poet's life and works reveals an abundance of manly qualities. For example, Colvin assures us that Keats's desire, during his final illness, to end his life, did not arise out of an "unmanly fear of pain," but rather out of a noble concern for the pain of his friends (205). Colvin can sum up Keats life as exemplary:

> Left fatherless at eight, motherless at fifteen, and subject during the forming years of his life which followed, to no other discipline but that of apprenticeship in a suburban surgery, he showed in his life such generosity, modesty, humour, and self-knowledge, such a spirit of conduct and degree of self-control, as would have done honour to one infinitely better trained and less hardly tried. (211)

A particularly respectable treatment of the lives of the poets, then, is a central feature of these volumes, and closely related to this is the task of ranking these poets and their work: Just how important is each? Where does each stand within what needs to be seen as a particularly English, and yet universally valuable, canon which all members of the "English race," regardless of class, have a stake in preserving? In the case of Wordsworth, we see the clearest illustration of how poetry can be judged as great according to the power it has to define and celebrate what is essentially English. Myers notes that the countryside in which Wordsworth sets his poetry produces a peasantry superior to any other, and which is essentially English (42). But even more important is the picture that Wordsworth gives us in *The Prelude* of his own youth, which is valuable because it presents "as strong and simple a picture as we shall anywhere find of hardy English youth—its proud self-sufficingness and careless independence of all human things" (13). As we have seen, Myers finds "The Happy Warrior" a particularly important accomplishment, and this is because the poem which celebrates the essentially English hero is sung by the essentially English poet (79). We have, embodied in literature, a concrete dramatization of the perfect Englishman: "And surely these two natures [Wordsworth's and Nelson's] taken together make the perfect Englishman. Nor is there any portrait fitter than that of *The Happy Warrior* to go forth to all lands as representing English character at its height . . . " (80). Truly great poetry helps to formulate and promote a sense of what it means to be an ideal Englishman. In fact, it is Wordsworth's main virtue that he has given us—more profoundly than any other poet of his age—a portrait of the national spirit of England:

> We may almost venture to generalize our statement further, and to assert that no writer since Shakespeare has left us so true a picture of the British nation. In Milton, indeed, we have the characteristic English spirit in a white glow; but it is the spirit of the scholar only. . . . Wordsworth gives us that spirit as it is diffused among shepherds and husbandmen—as it exists in obscurity and at peace. And they who know what makes the strength of the nations need wish nothing better than that the temper which he saw and honoured among the Cumbrian dales should be the temper of all England, now and for ever. (151)

This invocation of Shakespeare is typical of all the volumes on the Romantic poets as they set out to rank what is genuinely important within "our" national tradition. They promote an ideal view of a united group of readers whose knowing scrutiny keeps alive a national tradition at the head of which stands Shakespeare. Poets are valued according to how they relate to "that long line of poets who form the peculiar glory of our English speech" (Myers 7). This is what determines the lasting value of a poet's work, as when Myers evaluates a group of Wordsworth's sonnets:

> But these *Sonnets to Liberty* are worthy of comparison with the noblest passages of patriotic verse or prose which all our history has inspired—the passages where Shakespeare brings his rays to focus on "this earth, this realm, this England"—or where the dread of national dishonour has kindled Chatham to an iron glow—or where Milton rises from the polemic into the prophet, and Burke from the partisan into the philosopher. (78)

Nichol's treatment of Byron is also illustrative. In an attempt to establish a proper appraisal of Byron, Nichol dwells on his place within a national tradition, and again Shakespeare's is the name that is most prominently evoked as when, for example, he quotes with approval Sir Egerton Brydges's remark on *Cain* that "there are speeches in the mouth of Cain and Adah, especially regarding their child, which nothing in English poetry but the 'wood-notes wild' of Shakespeare, ever equaled" (149). Nichol further agrees with Scott's estimation of *Don Juan*: "It has the variety of Shakespeare" (172). As for the *Vision of Judgment*, Nichol asserts that it "will endure with the language" (152) because it is the supreme satire of our tradition: "Nowhere, in such space, save in some of the prose of Swift, is there in English so much scathing satire" (154). But Byron's value can be properly estimated only when we see him not as heir of the "so-called Augustans" (205) but (according to Nichol) rather as a part of the far greater tradition of "the elder Elizabethans" (216): "He is more nearly a dwarf Shakespeare than a giant Pope" (211).

Shelley and Keats are also dealt with as cult figures within a great national tradition. Symonds's tone indicates that he writes particularly for those readers to whom he refers as "Shelley's worshipers" (17). As is the case with authors of the other volumes on the English Romantics, Symonds is quick to compare Shelley to Shakespeare, noting that he is "second only to Shakespeare in the sympathetic delineation of a noble feminine ideal . . ." (10). Moreover, Shelley's poetry can be used as a touchstone for testing the poetic worth of readers: "A genuine liking for *Prometheus Unbound* may be reckoned a touch-stone of a man's capacity for understanding lyric poetry" (124).

But what makes Shelley's poetry most memorable and worthy of preserving is that it has contributed qualities that can be drawn upon to develop the national character. Symonds notes that Shelley's poetry had recently been included in a volume that played a central role in mid-Victorian canon making: "A glance at the last section of Mr. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* shows how large a place they [Shelley's lyrics] occupy among the permanent jewels of our literature" (162). What has gained Shelley this high place within the national literature, what assures the reader that this poet has created a "music that will sound as long as English lasts" (103) is primarily this: "As a poet, Shelley contributed a new quality to English literature—a quality of ideality, freedom, and spiritual audacity, which severe critics of other nations think we lack" (184). This poetry—which seems to the untrained reader so abstract, so ethereal—can, when read correctly, offer a utilitarian service: it contributes needed and universally valued qualities to the literature of the nation. The work of this poet, once considered morally dangerous, can now contribute to the building of a desirable citizenry. With this contribution, Shelley must be a valued part of the national tradition. He falters, Symonds warns, only when he takes up specific political issues, when his poetry moves away from the universal into the particular:

> As a satirist and humourist, I cannot place him so high as some of his admirers do; and the purely polemical portions of his poems, those in which he puts forth his antagonism to tyrants and religions and custom in all its myriad forms, seem to me to degenerate at intervals into poor rhetoric. (185)

Thus, the revolutionary Shelley, the Shelley that had been admired most by working-class radicals, can be dismissed; the poetry of the essential Shelley is above political particulars.

Keats is given an even more reverent treatment, with Colvin claiming more consistently a Shakespearean status for the poet. Even the earliest poems place Keats within the great national tradition: "Who much exceeds him, even from the first, but Shakespeare in momentary felicity of touch for nature, and in that charm of morning freshness who but Chaucer?" (61). The position in the canon of this "essentially . . . English" (96) poet cannot be questioned as he was, Colvin notes, "the most Shakespearean spirit that has lived since Shakespeare . . ." (218). Thus Keats becomes more than just a poet; he becomes a cultural icon, a national treasure, of eternal value to all English people. Writing of his last illness and untimely death, Colvin notes:

> Three days later his body was carried . . . to its grave in that retired and verdant cemetery which for his sake and Shelley's has become a place of pilgrimage to the English race for ever. (208)

The poet becomes an object of national devotion. Buried on foreign soil, his grave becomes an obligatory station at which the late-Victorian traveler, pursuing the newly popular middle-class cultural tour of Europe, can celebrate an essentially English genius.[2]

The works of the Romantic poets become national possessions, and when a poet—as in the case of Coleridge—fails to live up to his poetic potential, this failure is to be seen in national terms. When Traill introduces us to the period of Coleridge's life during which the poet lived least respectably, he notes that we are "entering upon that period of Coleridge's life—a period, roughly speaking, of about ten years—which . . . no lover of English letters . . . can ever contemplate without pain" (106). Coleridge's failure is presented as something that affects all readers who care about the national tradition.

Morley's series is concerned with the preservation of a cherished tradition, and to promote this end it also works to teach readers specifically how to judge and value works of this tradition. Throughout the series, we find the assumption that the average reader might misuse literature or be misguided by those writers who would misuse it. This fear of the wrong kind of reading is what makes Dowden so value the profes-

[2]For a recent account of the growing impact of the legacy of the Romantics on the mid-Victorian travel industry, see Buzard.

sional life of Southey. Dowden congratulates Southey's fight against those who would damage the national literature by pandering to the improper reader:

> But there was one offence which was to Southey the unforgivable sin against the holy spirit of a nation's literature. To entice poetry from the altar, and to degrade her for the pleasure of wanton imaginations, seemed to Southey, feeling as he did the sanctity of the love of husband and wife, of father and child, to be treason against humanity. (171)

Southey becomes the model for respectable consumption of literature, and Dowden approvingly quotes Southey's remark which compares reading a carefully selected group of English masterpieces with the accumulation of capital: "what a wealthy and well-stored mind would that man have, what an inexhaustible reservoir, what a Bank of England to draw upon for profitable thoughts and delightful associations who should have fed upon them!" (107-108). Dowden further connects books with the joy of accumulation as he gives us four pages on Southey's systematic building of a library which "grew and grew, year after year, until the grand total mounted up to eight, to ten, to fourteen thousand" (113). The value of the commodity itself is celebrated, for Dowden finds touching Southey's devotion to his books even after he is no longer able to read them: "And at last, in his hours of weakness, once more a little child, he would walk slowly round his library, looking at his cherished volumes, taking them down mechanically, and when he could no longer read, pressing them to his lips" (102). Southey, in his proper consumption of books, serves as an example to readers who would work to preserve the great English tradition. He is presented as the consummate professional, the man of letters who devotes his life to acquiring the knowledge needed to instruct others in a proper appreciation of literature.

The less respectable reader, however, is likely to admire literature for the wrong reasons. Nichol's comment on who is and who is not qualified to read *Don Juan* is particularly revealing in the distrust it shows for popular appeal:

> Many of the readers of *Don Juan* have, it must be confessed, been found among those least likely to admire in it what is most admirable—who have been attracted by the very excesses of buffoonery, violations of good taste, and occasionally almost vulgar slang, which disfigures its pages. Their patronage is, at best, of no more value than that of a mob gathered by a showy Shakespearean revival, and it has laid the volume open to the charge of being adapted "laudari ab illaudatis." (173)

The word *mob* is revealing: we have a clear case of "them" disfiguring "our" literature, cheapening it by liking it for the wrong reasons.

If Nichol fears that the surface charm of the work will win inappropriate praise for Byron, others worry that the work of more meditative poets will be undervalued because of a lack of surface brilliance. Myers warns that *The Prelude* demands multiple readings: the poem, "at first sight so tedious and insipid, seems to gather force and meaning with each fresh perusal" (13). For those who read *The Prelude* correctly, the profit is real: "We feel in reading it as if the stock of mankind were sound" (37). Traill echoes Myers' judgment recommending that his reader turn to Coleridge's criticism for further confirmation of the soundness of Wordsworth when properly read: "To the Wordsworthian, anxious for a full justification of the faith that is in him, the whole body of Coleridge's criticism on his friend's poetry in the *Biographia Literaria* may be confidently recommended" (149).

The works of Coleridge, on the other hand, pose a special problem to one who would read them respectably. Elements of the fantastic in Coleridge's work are likely to seduce the untrained reader, but Traill reminds us that, if we are proper readers judging according to the highest standards of taste, romance and true poetry have little in common:

> Nor of course can there, from the point of view of the highest conception of the poet's office, be any comparison between the two [poetry and romance]. In so far as we regard poetry as contributing not merely to the pleasure of the mind but to its health and strength—in so far as we regard it in its capacity not only to delight but to sustain, console, tranquillise the human spirit—there is, of course, as much difference between the idealistic and the realistic forms of poetry as there is between a narcotic potion and a healing drug. (44)

The best of literature, properly consumed, always does more than merely please: it very practically adds to the resources that allow us to live a profitable life.

Readers of this series, then, interested in gaining a "culturally literate" understanding of the Romantics were given an extremely reassuring view of the poets treated. In a time when respectability, nationalism, professionalism were all ascending concepts within a culture that felt itself in the process of threatening change, the series brought before the public a domesticated Romanticism: the lives of the poets were offered as lessons in respectability, and the works of the poets were put into a clear ranking that showed how they merged with a great national tradition. Finally, the volumes open up that tradition for the aspiring middle-class reader. If these poets were approached as the volumes suggested, the reader could become a sharer in the sustaining and stabilizing intellectual wealth of this great national tradition.

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From a Certain Point of View in "A Scandal in Bohemia": Outsmarting Mr. Sherlock Holmes

James Griffith

In the opening lines of "A Scandal in Bohemia," Dr. Watson reminisces about Irene Adler: "To Sherlock Homes she is always *the* woman"; of course, the attraction owes nothing to love, let alone lust, for such emotions "were abhorrent to his cold, precise but admirably balanced mind" (161). Watson proceeds to recount the tale of the King of Bohemia, who fears embarrassment from exposure of a former liaison with Adler. In the event, she fortunately also has no interest in publicizing the relationship, but Holmes fails to recover the evidence, a photograph of the former lovers, because "the best plans of Mr. Sherlock Holmes were beaten by a woman's wit" (175). Hence, his admiration for Irene Adler as *the* woman.

Throughout the chronicles of Holmes's adventures, few characters, either adversaries or allies, could claim to outwit him for long—and almost never for good. The same applies to the readers; were we able to anticipate Holmes at every step of the way, we would not long enjoy reading of his cases simply in order to see that he finally catches up with us. Instead, we more or less share the stance of Dr. Watson. The narrative obviously comes through Watson's point of view, but we also stand with him in relation to Holmes: Watson's slower apprehension of the facts matches our pace, and with Watson, we can only be amazed at Holmes's powers of deduction.

The excellent characterizations of these two principal characters stand prominently among the many fine qualities of the film adaptions for Granada television (seen in the US on the PBS series *Mystery* and, in repeats, on the Arts and Entertainment cable network). Nevertheless, by employing a point of view that violates this fundamental relationship—that does not keep us situated with Watson, in awe of Holmes's extraordinary mind—the adaptation of "A Scandal in Bohemia" finally fails to capture the essential pleasures of the adventure.

Early in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's version, the discussion of the note fairly well illustrates this pleasure in being amazed at Holmes's extraordinary abilities. Asked by Holmes to examine the missive, Watson, "endeavoring to imitate my companion's processes" (163), remarks that the stationery appears expensive, but can offer only rather tentative guesses after that simple assumption. This same piece of paper quickly leads Holmes to identify the Bohemian paper manufacturer, and judging from the syntax of the note, he deduces that the writer must be German.

As the story goes on, the amazing deductions continue even as the elements of the mystery grow. And throughout, our amazement depends upon our learning the case through Dr. Watson. If Holmes wrote his own memoirs (Conan Doyle conveniently has him uninterested in doing so for the time being), the case histories would follow a steady and much less interesting pattern: initial presentation of a problem, quick deduction of the solution, extended test and confirmation of the solution—the end. Because Dr. Watson tells the story and because he cannot know everything that goes on in the mind of Holmes, we have a mystery to enjoy while Holmes has a solution to test.

In the case at hand, Watson can agree to cooperate in Holmes's plan, but he cannot know all that the plan entails. With Watson, we get hints that the plan will require daring: "You don't mind breaking the law? (169); "There will probably be some unpleasantness" (170). We also learn Watson's duty (if not the significance of that duty) to spy through a window, toss in a smoke bomb, raise a cry of fire—and then walk away and wait for Holmes., If all goes well, Holmes asserts, he will not have to discover Adler's secret location for the photograph because "I will get her to show me" (171). This paradoxical event will occur after Watson raises the alarm and leaves, so he naturally wonders how she could be induced to betray herself. As luck and narrative would have it, the explanation must wait, for they have arrived at the scene and the plan must proceed. Later, when Holmes rejoins Watson, he reports his success: the smoke and alarm caused her to reveal the hiding place, for, as Holmes cleverly anticipated, "When a woman thinks that her house is on fire, her instinct is at once to rush to the thing which she values most" (173).

We learn later that this success will not end the case as Holmes assumes, a surprise that runs counter to our confidence in Holmes: as Watson puts it, "So accustomed was I to his invariable success that the possibility of his failing had ceased to enter into my head" (167). Returning to lay hands on the photograph, they find only a note left for Holmes. In the note, Adler admits being taken in by his plan, but adds that she realized her mistake immediately and quickly followed him home, audaciously bade him goodnight, and thereby confirmed her suspicion that "the celebrated Mr. Sherlock Holmes" was her adversary; thus alerted, she writes that she has taken the photograph to keep only as a "safeguard," and fled the country with her new husband (175). Holmes, in noting

the secret panel to which she rushed, failed to note her reaction immediately afterwards. Therefore, he could not report it to Watson, and we could not know either. Hence his—and our—admiration for "*the* woman."

As with almost all adaptations, the film version makes changes. In regard to the Granada series, one writer in *The Baker Street Journal*, a publication of *The Baker Street Irregulars*, warns that "the filmed versions of the Canonical tales will always vary from the Sacred Texts," so "we Sherlockians, as keepers of the flame, should be aware of at least the more egregious of these omissions and interpolations" in order to correct any "false impression held by the less fortunate . . . who depend a little too heavily upon the movies and TV for their information" (Cleary 47). Minor changes would hardly matter, therefore, to readers, except those who want an absolutely faithful rendering of the original (and the preceding reference suggests disputes could turn on questions of reverence as much as fidelity). In this case, for instance, the beginning of the story has Watson returning from a trip concerning his medical practice; he does not, as in the printed version, drop in on Holmes after a long absence brought about by his recent marriage.

Other changes, however, alter more than details, and one need not be an acolyte to object. As written by Alexander Baron and directed by Paul Annett, the film unfortunately make one large, if common, change: the first-person point of view has become omniscient. Theoretical discussions about literature and film usually assume (wrongly, I think) that the latter lacks the former's range in points of view, so filmmakers often make no attempt to adapt a first-person point of view. (The mistake comes from presuming that a point of view virtually equals what a narrator actually sees, whereas it should more accurately be understood as a technical limit upon what a narrator may know. Readers of illustrated editions of Watson's records will recall that Sidney Paget's drawings often include Watson in the picture because, when we read his account, we get information from him without standing in his shoes and seeing through his eyes.) Of course, when the pleasures of a short story or novel depend so much upon the first-person narration, a different technical choice will more likely ruin any adaptation—which fate befalls "A Scandal in Bohemia."

The omniscience of the film narrative becomes apparent immediately. Behind the opening credits, we see two thugs ransack a room, even cutting a portrait of a woman. When a man confronts them, they show their knives in challenge, but when the woman seen in the portrait enters with a gun, they surrender—only to be sent running by the woman. She, of course, is Irene Adler, and the scene cleverly introduces her as an admirably strong character, and further introduces the important motif of her picture. At the scene's conclusion, we hear the overlapping voice-over of Watson, speaking the lines that open the story. This voice-over, which could signify a first-person narration, here comes in the context of an omniscient narration, for Watson does not speak until we have already witnessed events of which he remains ignorant.

Nevertheless, this alteration has betrayed no answers to any mysteries. Later, however, we see our hero in a way that he would not share with Watson, which view, therefore, Watson could not tell us in the story. In Watson's telling, the account of Holmes's investigation and unexpected role in Adler's wedding comes from Holmes himself. In the film, much the same events occur, and Holmes recounts them to Watson as in the short story. Yet, because of the film's omniscient point of view, we see flashbacks to the events that Holmes reports—and we see what Holmes will not quite admit to Watson: the degree to which he is smitten with the object of his investigation. He can tell Watson that she had "a face a man might die for," just as he does in the short story, but he does not report the angle of vision—from his knees—nor the soft light on her face through her veil, nor his stunned, admiring look. Again, these scenes betray no secrets of the mystery, and if we come away thinking that Holmes protests too much on the subject of women, we may regard the new information as an interesting complication of his character.

But if seeing through these protestations only complicates his character, seeing through his ruse to recover the photograph defeats his character. Much as in the short story, Holmes enlists Watson's aid in his scheme without explaining how the plan will actually work. After Watson plays his part by tossing the smoke bomb through the window, the omniscient point of view remains with Holmes in Adler's room. Consequently, rather than having to wait for Holmes to rejoin Watson and recount his success, we see the action as it takes place—and we see too much.

The editing of the revelation scene, following the cry of "Fire!," proceeds as follows: a close-up of Irene, her face showing worry before she rushes off to the right; a full shot of her butler's hurried entrance into the room; a medium shot of the fireplace mantle, to which Adler comes from the left and opens a panel; a tight close-up of her finger on a button; a close-up of Holmes's observing her; a full shot of the butler as he advises that they all get out of the room; a close-up of Adler, apparently startled again, as she turns to look at Holmes; a close-up of Holmes as he suddenly feigns a coughing spell; a medium shot of Holmes as he gets up and moves toward the window; a tight close-up of Adler's hand slamming shut the panel door; and a medium shot of Adler's looking intently at Holmes. He soon "discovers" the smoke bomb, but Adler has already discovered him: that startled look at him must be motivated by her realization that she has given away her secret, for she can hardly be startled again by the smoke. In the short story, although the same realization must have occurred to her, we cannot know it at the time because Holmes does not see it and therefore cannot report it to Watson. Here, unfortunately, we see her discovery and thereby get a step ahead of Holmes.

Baron's script extends this unseemly advantage we have over Holmes. According to Holmes's report in the short story, when the supposed crisis passed, Adler "rushed from the room" and was not seen again that night (173)—at least not seen again in a manner of which Holmes would be aware. Before she follows Holmes to Baker Street, the film's version of Adler remains to ask searching questions; in the scene (shot in a series of reverse-angle two-shots), she stands near him, looking at him closely, even suspiciously, and he at first keeps his face averted:

> "You said it was a trick. Who would play such a trick on me?"
>
> "One of the gang, madam."
>
> "But to what purpose? I've escaped them."
>
> "Revenge!" [turning to face her as he answers]
>
> "Are there such wicked people?"
>
> "Yes, there are such people in this world, madam, to whom revenge is, in itself, a reward."
>
> "I cannot imagine such feelings."
>
> "I'm sure you cannot, madam."

We can easily detect the double meaning of his replies: part fiction for his cover, but more an appeal to her conscience about what he fears she intends to do with the photograph. Moreover, we can see the skepticism in her face as he gives these replies, so we should wonder if Holmes realizes her questions examine him more than the events. At the end of their conversation, she affects appreciation for his aid: stepping forward into a tight close-up, facing him, she begs to know "At least your name, your address, that I may thank you adequately." Now Holmes is the one startled, and he takes his leave, saying, "Well, I am just a humble servant, madam, of the all-seeing providence." We, however, are the ones who are all-seeing.

How do we know that Holmes did not catch on during the conversation? In the short story, he rejoins Watson and recounts the success of his plan. Just so, in the film he rejoins Watson, but we do not hear his full account of the events (we already know what happened). Instead, we hear exultant laughter as their cab pulls away and still as it pulls up at Baker Street: Holmes's laughter must come from the feeling of unmitigated success. Furthermore, when Adler passes by to bid him good night, his reaction, as in the short story, shows mystification—not the reaction of a master detective who thinks his cover may have been discovered.

At the end, therefore, because we know the ruse has not gone undetected, we cannot be surprised at Adler's having decamped, although we can still feel relief that her note promises not to use the photograph against the king (assuming we care anymore about his interests). In fact, we once more get information unavailable to Holmes. As in the short story, Adler promises to keep the photograph "only to safeguard myself, and to preserve a weapon which will always secure me from any steps which [the king] might take in the future" (175). Behind her voice-over of this pledge, we see her and her new husband beside the rail of a ship, and we also see that she tosses the photograph into the sea. Holmes admires her ability to outwit him; only we understand that this "well-known adventuress" (165) has severed all connections to that adventurous past and will not likely need to outwit anyone anymore.

Changes occur inevitably in adapting written fiction to the screen, but serious alterations in the pleasures of the original text need not follow as a consequence. We can, without much difficulty, imagine using Watson's point of view in voice-over to narrate the adventure; he would not have to speak constantly, for many scenes already proceed through dialogue and action, and when other characters report incidents, flashbacks would appropriately depict events as Watson understood them. We can, in other words—and through other means—put "A Scandal in Bohemia" on the screen and still enjoy the same pleasures of mystification and astonishment. Under no circumstances should we accept a version of a Holmes story in which the solution too soon follows the mystification—and Holmes's solution follows embarrassingly later. When Holmes summons us, saying, "The game is afoot," we should not have to respond, "Go back to bed. The game is over."

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Michael Henchard: Hardy's Male Homosexual

Tod E. Jones

Often considered the most tragic of Hardy's male characters is the strong-willed Michael Henchard, the protagonist of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886). Albert Guerard compares him with Conrad's hero: "Henchard, who is Hardy's Lord Jim, stands at the very summit of his creator's achievement; his only tragic hero and one of the greatest tragic heroes in all fiction" (146). Both characters seek atonement for the past, and both resist self-punishment. As a tragic protagonist, Henchard could also be compared with Tess; but, whereas Tess's tragedy overcomes her only after having valiantly fought against it, Henchard's is unconsciously invited through a punitive and self-destructive impulse that can be understood only in its derivative sexual context.

Henchard's internal conflict and confusion of desires marks his character from the beginning of its development in the novel's first chapter. With his wife and daughter he enters a furmity tent, where his drink is spiked with smuggled rum. As he drinks, his bond with the other men gathered in the tent intensifies, the theme of their conversation being "the ruin of good men by bad wives, and, more particularly the frustration of many a promising youth's high aims and hopes, and the extinction of his energies, by an early imprudent marriage" (10). Significantly, the unity of men is occasioned by a common avowal of the antagonism between men and women, or more specifically, of the oppression of men by women and, perhaps also, the victimization of the male through his own

sexual desires. Under the pretense of escaping from the oppression of his meek wife, Henchard, severely inebriated, inadvertently reveals the repulsion beneath his seeming indifference when he auctions her off at five guineas to a sailor. In Chapter 2 Henchard awakes, still half drunk, and in bitter remorse renounces alcohol for twenty years. What Henchard discloses about himself while intoxicated, but what is less dramatically evident while he is sober, is his misogyny, ambiguous sexuality, and need for male bonding.[1]

Henchard freely admits his misogyny to Farfrae when he attempts to explain his solitary life: "Being by nature something of a woman-hater I have found it no hardship to keep mostly at a distance from the sex" (78). The narrator then notes "his well-known haughty indifference to the society of womankind, his silent avoidance of converse with the sex" (83). Henchard's hatred of women is based, in part, on the flow of his desires, but is also grounded in his masculine insecurities and in his obsessive need to compensate for those insecurities by maintaining superiority and control. Henchard demonstrates absolute control over the opposite sex by selling his wife, and in so doing, assumes a hyper-masculinity that establishes him as the man among men in the furmity tent, even though the oppressiveness of this extreme display of power sets him apart from the other men. There is an obvious insecurity in Henchard's struggle to avoid any gender ambiguity in his personality or behavior.[2] Especially careful of his masculine identity, he avoids any discourse in which the balance of power might threaten his feelings of control and superiority. Lucetta's "independence and sauciness"(229) challenge his masculinity and compel him toward a conquest which is denied him. When she seems clever, he retorts, "'The artful little woman!'" (150); when she is too preoccupied to immediately visit with him, he defends his status, saying, "'That's rather like giving herself airs!'" (151). Her greater wealth intimidates him visibly, so that he must admit to her, "'But the fact is, your setting up like this makes my bearing toward you rather awkward'" (177). These instances, together with Henchard's threatenings toward Lucetta after she declines his marriage proposal, reveal his compulsive need for power over women and his faltering sense of masculinity.

Henchard's response to the sexuality of women is remarkably ambivalent. He confides to Farfrae, "'Between you and me, as man and man, I solemnly declare that philandering with womankind has neither been my vice nor my virtue'" (79). This cannot be explained as resulting merely from his misogynous attitudes, for misogyny in heterosexual men is frequently expressed through sexual dominance. Dale Kramer, in his introductory notes to Hardy's novel, suggests (not necessarily as an alternative explanation) that Henchard's sexual energy is redirected into his aggressive drive for economic and social success: "his 'heat' had been poured out upon business" (xv). Without doubt, sublimation does partly account for the significant lack of direct sexual expression in Henchard's behavior; however, in consideration of his overt preference for masculine companionship, it should not be assumed that the desire being sublimated is heterosexual. Even more inadequate as an explanation is Kramer's hypothesis that "Henchard's needs do not include sexual or romantic love" (xiv). On the contrary, Henchard's unstable feelings of masculinity, along with his physical vigor, create in him a need for love, both emotional and sexual, as desperate as that of any of Hardy's men, even though his insecurities regarding his own identity keep obstructing his efforts toward fulfillment.[3] The tragedy of the mayor of Casterbridge cannot be fully grasped without an awareness that the protagonist's sexuality is not only sublimated, but is primarily homoerotic, a repressed homosexuality.

Both gender-transitive and gender-intransitive definitional models of homosexuality began to emerge toward the end of the nineteenth century. In the former, "the paradigmatic fin-de-siècle model of sexual inversion" (Showalter 172), the homosexual man is represented as having acquired congenitally or through social construction such traits as are traditionally perceived as comprising femininity. In the latter model, the homosexual man is represented as an ultra-masculine embodiment of male-centered desire. Elaine Showalter notes that the gender intransitives' "sexual preference for their own sex was seen as determined by their sexual disgust for the opposite sex rather than by their sharing its desires" (173).[4] Also relevant to an understanding of Henchard might be the early-twentieth-century psychoanalytic theory of latent homosexuality, according to which homosexuality lies dormant in the human mind until it is aroused by instinct or experience. Once aroused, homosexuality, though no longer latent, may be repressed or sublimated.

No evidence exists in the life of the mayor of Casterbridge of active homosexuality; however, there are the characteristics already noted—his misogyny, masculine insecurities and aggressive hyper-masculinity, and his ambivalence toward heterosexual activity—as well as his inordinate affection for Farfrae, which suggest at least a repression of homosexual desires.

In Chapter 5, Henchard is sitting as mayor in the town counsel, making a weak defense for himself under the accusation of having sold "grown wheat" to the public. He is heard by a traveling Scotsman, Donald Farfrae, who, in Chapter 6, tells Henchard the secret of ameliorating his produce. The mayor is immediately and intensely attracted to this young man and strives to win his services as manager of his corn department. When Farfrae at first refuses, Henchard muses to himself, "To be sure, to be sure, how that fellow draws me! . . . I suppose 'tis because I'm so lonely. I'd have given him a third share in the business to have stayed!" (57).

In Hardy's novels, it is not unusual for men to seek relief from loneliness through male companionship. Boldwood speaks to Oak as "one who yearned to make a confidence and relieve his heart by an outpouring" (*FFMC* 315). Melbury confides to Winterborne "with great relief" the burden that had for years been troubling his conscience (*W* 171-72). And, "with that curious tendency evinced by men, more especially when in distant lands, to entrust to strangers details of their lives which they would on no account mention to friends," Clare admits to another English farmer in Brazil "the sorrowful facts of his marriage" (*TD* 329). Similarly, but with more desperation for friendship, Henchard relates to Farfrae the circumstances regarding the selling of his wife, Susan, and of his brief affair with Lucetta (77-80), a confidence that Henchard later regrets, perceiving it as having empowered Farfrae (100).

Henchard's attraction to the young Scotsman has far more in it than commercial interests, and even the mayor's loneliness does not account for his desire for masculine companionship. When the aged and debilitated Susan discovers Henchard in Casterbridge and observes his friendly manner with Farfrae, she says, "'I am thinking of Mr. Henchard's sudden liking for that young man. He was always so'" (59). Elizabeth-Jane's "quiet eye discerned that Henchard's tigerish affection for the younger man, his constant liking to have Farfrae near him, now and then resulted in a tendency to domineer, which however was checked in a moment when Donald exhibited marks of real offense" (91). The mayor's predilection is obvious, and he freely confesses, "'I am the most distant fellow in the world when I don't care for a man. But when a man takes my fancy he takes it strong'" (65). Henchard finally tells Farfrae, when the division between them is complete, "'God is my witness that no man ever loved another as I did thee at one time'" (273-74).

Assessing the prevalence of sexual desire as a formative agent in nineteenth-century experiences of male bonding is problematic from a twentieth-century critical perspective, particularly when influenced by the modern cultural fears of homophobia or "homosexual panic."[5] Autobiographers, social historians, and literary critics would do well to proceed with caution, in regard to their subjective positionings, when analyzing a male / male relationship of which the structure may be neither determined nor influenced by these fears.[6] Nevertheless, while reciprocated affection without overt sexuality may have been characteristic of some male friendships of the Victorian period, affectionate bondings between young men frequently led, then as now, into some form of homosexual experience.[7]

The relationship between Henchard and Farfrae significantly differs, however, from the traditional and encouraged male friendships of Victorian society in that it is not a relationship of peers, nor casually develops from a spirit of camaraderie as associates. It is evident that Hardy had in mind the Hellenistic man when constructing both the character and history of the mayor of Casterbridge. Kramer notes, "Henchard lays fair claim to being the most Greek-like hero of the Victorian novel, bearing analogies at once with Oedipus, Creon, Agammenon, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus" (xiv). This strange admixture of Greek and English (Wessex) traits not only makes Henchard unique as a tragic hero but extends to his sexuality as well.

Greek homosexuality was closely associated with the process of male initiation and was commonly arranged on a master / apprentice, teacher / pupil, or mentor / disciple basis. As with the relationship between Henchard and Farfrae, social inequality was prerequisite. As Eva Cantarella establishes, in the traditional homosexual relationship, which was pederastic, a boy would occupy the position of the beloved during the years between twelve and seventeen (37). Although a young man who had reached the age of majority at eighteen was expected to take the active role and become the pursuer, there were always men who disregarded the conservative morality; the poet Euripides was the lover of Agathon until the latter was forty years old (Cantarella 42).[8] Becoming the active partner in a homosexual relationship was even perceived as an essential stage in the development of masculinity, so that in Thebes and Sparta, "male lovers were encouraged as part of military training and discipline, an early acknowledgement of the close link of Ares and Eros" (Richards 94). This association between masculine aggression and (homo)sexuality is also evident in Henchard's competitive urge toward superiority with Farfrae, in his "tendency to domineer," the aspect of his affection that the Scotsman most clearly resists.

In accordance with the Hellenistic homosocial model, Farfrae's rejection of Henchard's superiority necessarily precludes the reception of his erotic and condescending affection. Having first refused his love, Farfrae then engages Henchard in a competition of masculinities that ultimately displaces power, forcing Henchard into a passive position relative to Farfrae that is to the older man as destructive as it is unusual. The reversal of roles begins with Farfrae's apparently innocent gesture of organizing holiday amusements for the township. Unwilling to risk any loss of community recognition and affection, Henchard determines to surpass the efforts of his friend. After having "erected greasy-poles for climbing,"

[1]"It has long been believed that alcohol and other drugs that weaken repression may bring such latent tendencies into the open, revealing the hidden homosexual inclinations" (Salzman 238).

[2]Rosemary Sumner observes that Henchard's "aggressiveness and quickly induced sense of failure are related to a feeling of insecurity about his own identity and significance" (64).

[3]"Hardy's analysis of Henchard's mode of loving reveals two main elements; as a man of violent extremes, it is natural that his sexual feelings are also violent and extreme; and also as a man with a desperate need for superiority, any kind of love and admiration, whether sexual, filial, or friendly is a necessity to him" (Sumner 74).

[4]Eve Sedgwick, in *Epistemology of the Closet*, explains that separatist-feminist theory postulates "same sex desire as being at the very definitional center of each gender, rather than as occupying a cross-gender or liminal position between them. Thus, women who loved women were seen as *more* female, men who loved men as quite possibly more male, than those whose desires crossed boundaries of gender." According to this theory "male homosexuality could be, and often was, seen as the practice for which male supremacy was the theory" (36).

[5]Sedgwick, in *Between Men*, defines "homosexual panic" as "the most private, psychologized form in which many twentieth-century western men experience their vulnerability to the social pressure of homophobic blackmail" (89).

[6]Robert Gittings, in his biography *Young Thomas Hardy*, notes, "Modern thought is apt to deal heavy-handedly with the topic of Victorian male affection. Hardy has left evidence . . . that he felt for [Horace] Moule in some way as Shakespeare did for his friend, and as Tennyson did for Hallam" (182)

[7]According to Ronald Pearsall, "For many of the upper classes, homosexuality approached them in stocking feet via the passionate friendship that was the done thing in the public schools. Homosexual experiences were the rule rather than the exception" (452).

[8]"Unlike the situation which prevails today (at least as a rule) between two adult homosexuals, there was no interchangeability of roles between Greek couples. Following the model of the pederastic couple, couples consisting of two adults assumed that only one of them would take on the receptive role—and this gave rise to the social and moral problem that caused tensions, contradictions and quite a lot of hypocrisy. Only one of the pair was formally breaking the rules" (Cantarella 46).

Henchard investigates the work of his competition: "Passing to and fro the mayor beheld the unattractive exterior of Farfrae's erection in the West Walk" (104-05). By a *double entendre*, Hardy reveals in his character's behavior a competition of masculinities in its most primitive form, a comparing of erections.[9] When Henchard "perceived the immense admiration for the Scotchman that revealed itself in the women's faces" and Farfrae's "unlimited choice of partners" (106), jealousy incites him to relieve Farfrae of his management position.

As the process of displacement and reversal continues, Henchard is rejected by Lucetta in favor of Farfrae, an event that controverts Henchard's assertion of masculine superiority not only by demonstrating his inability to control women, but also by, once again, having him fail in masculine competition. The climax to this process occurs in a moment of introverted pseudo-enlightenment, when, after having surrendered his desperate attempt to kill Farfrae, Henchard experiences his subjugation as feminization:

> So thoroughly subdued was he that he remained on the sacks in a crouching attitude, unusual for a man, and for such a man. Its womanliness sat tragically on the figure of so stern a piece of virility. (274)

Henchard's subjective experience of the loss of masculinity becomes evident in his feminine posturing, which is not merely unbecoming for a man, but is significant symbolically as the unbecoming of a man. Without a hyper-masculine identity, he immediately falls into assuming a femininity that becomes as equally severe in its passivity. Having lost not only the man he loves, but also, in his competition against him, the affection of Lucetta, Elizabeth-Jane, and the community, Henchard now loses his sense of self, which was profoundly genderal, and will ultimately result in his premature loss of life.

The life of the mayor of Casterbridge demonstrates not the tragedy of homoerotic impulses, but rather the catastrophic circumstances that can follow from acting under the influence of desires that are unacknowledged, unidentified, and thus necessarily unaccepted. Subjectively informed by a repressive sexual ethics, Henchard could neither be comfortable with his sexuality nor be sure of himself as a man; and, without sympathetic understanding, he was left to walk the path of self-destruction "without light to guide him on a better way" (115).

Henchard, Hardy, and Masculine Beauty

A peculiarity of Henchard's homoerotic attraction to Farfrae is that it reflects the humanistic values of Hardy, suggesting what is most appealing in his fellow beings. In analyzing the attraction of Henchard, the narrator informs the reader,

> The poor opinion, and but ill-concealed, that he entertained of the slim Farfrae's physical girth, strength, and dash, was more than counterbalanced by the immense respect he had for his brains. (91)

Apparently, Henchard would have preferred his young, male friend to have had both the celebrated physique of a Hellenistic athlete and a mind well-developed through modern education. But Hardy does not believe that the two ideals are likely to co-exist in the same person or that the two ideals are equally practical in Victorian society. In *The Return of the Native* (1878), the narrator, speaking of the physical appearance of the native, remarks that Clym Yeobright "already showed that thought is a disease of the flesh, and indirectly bore evidence that ideal physical beauty is incompatible with growth of fellow-feeling and a full sense of the coil of things" (138). In the same novel, Hardy elaborates,

> Physically beautiful men—the glory of the race when it was young—are almost an anachronism now; and we may wonder whether, at some time or other, physically beautiful women may not be an anachronism likewise. (136)

According to Hardy, empathetic intelligence is wearisome to the flesh and inimical to the aesthetic qualities of the body. Anticipating a time when women would be as involved in such intellectual pursuits as were then available primarily to men, Hardy supposes that the appearance of women would suffer the same fate. By his values, men without physical beauty could possess a greater attraction through an enlarged intelligence. Henchard, ostensibly endowed with his creator's ideals, regards superior intelligence as a more than adequate compensation for inferior physique.

Another peculiarity of Hardy's concept of masculine beauty is that women and men are attracted to any particular man in inverse proportions. To the same extent that a woman will determine a man to be attractive, another man will determine that same man to be unattractive. The simple fact that Henchard did not regard Farfrae as physically appealing is sufficient to ensure that both Elizabeth-Jane and Lucetta would. Of Damon Wildeve the narrator states, "Altogether he was one in whom no man would have seen anything to admire, and in whom no woman would have seen anything to dislike" (*RN* 40). Such a statement seems naively suggestive of a male sexuality more "hetero" than what is generally recognized as heterosexuality. Havelock Ellis, the sexologist contemporary with Hardy, acknowledges that some men find physically beautiful men to be not only aesthetically appealing, but also sexually attractive.[10] Yet, Hardy seems to have retained this idea of sexual dynamics throughout his novel-writing period; in *Life's Little Ironies* (1894), the idea is again presented in "The Fiddler of the Reels." Of the fiddler, Wat Ollamoor, he writes, "He was a woman's man, they said,—supremely so—externally little else. To men he was not attractive; perhaps a little repulsive at times" (*DP & OT* 286).

[9]In *The Return of the Native*, Hardy uses the May Pole as a symbol of masculine fertility when he has Thomasin look toward the erection to find Venn, the man who will soon be her husband (391).

[10]"The perfection of the body of man is not behind that of woman in beauty, but the study of it only appeals to the artist or the aesthetician; it arouses sexual enthusiasm also exclusively in the male sexual invert" (189).

Hardy's presumption—that whereas women are attracted to physical beauty in a man, the majority of men share his own preference for an appearance of intelligence—and his too severe disclaimer—that men and women do not share sexual attractions—raise a question of whether, as a response to homosexual panic, Hardy, like Henchard, took recourse in claiming masculine normality in an inauthentic extreme. Without suggesting that Hardy was at all homosexual, this question does raise the possibility that he had homoerotic feelings to repress, and that he was able to repress them far more effectively than did Henchard. In consideration of nineteenth-century sexual ethics, it is less remarkable that Hardy partly succumbed to homosexual panic than that he allowed Henchard the narcissistically homoerotic wish that Farfrae had a body like his own.

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Spencer's Doctrines and Mr. Hyde: Moral Evolution in Stevenson's "Strange Case"[1]

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In the year following the publication of his famous "Strange Case," Robert Louis Stevenson paid tribute to various writers including Herbert Spencer in his essay "Books Which Have Influenced Me" (1887). Though he cites no specific works, Stevenson remarks, "No more persuasive rabbi exists, and few better" (*Novels* 22: 305). Stevenson encountered Spencer's work while a university student; about 1870, he writes to his cousin Bob and reports that he is "reading Herbert Spencer just now very hard" (qtd. in Hellman 122). By that date, Spencer had detailed his "synthetic philosophy" of evolution in *First Principles* and *Principles of Psychology*. In these works, he argued that mankind had evolved from a primitive to a social state via the hereditary transmission of moral sentiments. Evolution would eventually produce an equilibrium between individual and social needs, thus resulting in "the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness" (*First* 517).

This, of course, was a radical departure from the Calvinist dogma in which Stevenson had been raised. But he apparently found something very positive in the theory of evolution as evidenced in his essay "Pulvis et Umbra" (1888). Describing man as an "ennobled lemur," Stevenson writes, "A new doctrine, received with screams a little while ago by canting moralists, and still not properly worked into the body of our thoughts, lights us a step farther into the heart of this rough but noble universe. For nowadays the pride of man denies in vain his kinship with the original dust. He stands no longer like a thing apart" (*Novels* 15: 296).

Critics who have discussed the atavism of Hyde have generally construed it as a manifestation of the cultural anxiety produced by Darwin's theories or as a subterfuge for Victorian sexual repressions about which Stevenson, an author of boys' tales, could not have written. The connection between Hyde's primitivism and Spencer's theory of evolution has not been

[1]I am indebted to Faye Kuzma and Michael Yetman for their comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

explored despite Stevenson's tribute.[2] Yet, Spencer's principles have a remarkable capacity to "explain" Jekyll's metamorphosis via chemical agents as well as Hyde's brutish nature and the revulsion with which he is greeted by late Victorian society.[3] There is, however, a contrast between the "ending" of Spencer's theoretical narrative and that of Stevenson's famous tale about "the primitive duality of man" ("Strange" 82) which indicates that Stevenson's embrace of evolutionary theory was indeed tentative.[4]

In "A Chapter on Dreams" (1888), Stevenson recounts how the germ of the story came to him in his sleep—the gift of certain inspirational agents he referred to as his "Brownies." Noting that critics had censured "the business of the [chemical] powders," he credited the invention of this device to his muses (*Novels* 15: 263-64). Indeed, there were those critics who felt the means of Jekyll's metamorphosis to be "pseudo-science," "impossible," and "absurd" (qtd. in Maixner 200, 202).[5] But an unsigned review in *The Times* voiced the opinion that the transformation via chemical agents, though amazing, was perhaps not completely unthinkable, arguing, "it is always possible that we may be on the brink of a new revelation as to the unforeseen resources of the medical art" (qtd. in Maixner 206).

Other critics, according to Stephen Gwynn, criticized the drug as being "too material an agency" (129). And yet, J. A. Symonds's objection to the tale indicates that the idea of a moral transformation via a material agent was not so much implausible as unsettling. Writing to Stevenson he remarked, "Physical and biological Science on a hundred lines is reducing individual freedom to zero, and weakening the sense of responsibility. I doubt whether the artist should lend his genius to this grim argument" (qtd. in Maixner 210-11). As Spencer's own frequent denials of charges of materialism indicate, Victorians were disturbed by scientific theories which bypassed the soul as the source of moral behavior and attributed human action to physiology.

Yet for Spencer, this was cause for optimism. In *First Principles*, he argued that moral evolution was essentially guaranteed because thoughts, feelings, and hence motives were grounded in the nervous system. According to his "use-inheritance" theory, the sentiments which civilized life engendered and strengthened, such as sympathy and justice, would be passed down as hereditary traits to subsequent generations supplanting those primitive aggressive tendencies which had been necessary for self-preservation in the pre-social state. Starting from the concept of "the persistence of force," Spencer argues that metamorphosis constitutes the general rule of life; evolution is essentially the "continual redistribution of Matter and Motion" (*First* 541). In a chapter entitled "The Transformation and Equivalence of Forces," he asserts that internal "mental forces" obey the same general laws of external, physical forces and that such correlation allows the metamorphosis of one force into another. Modes of consciousness can be produced either by external or internal forces—emotions—and are transformed into physical forces in the form of muscular motions. Spencer posits a link between consciousness and chemistry, stating that "mental action is contingent on the presence of a certain nervous apparatus" having "a particular chemical constitution on which its activity depends" (*First* 214-15). He cites the effects on "mental manifestations" produced by phosphorous and nitrous oxide as well as those produced by "nervous stimulants and anaesthetics" as proof "that the genesis of the mental energies is immediately dependent on chemical change" (*First* 216-17).

While such "physical" forces alter feelings, feelings can also alter one's physiology. Spencer notes the effects of emotions on the body in his chapter "Aestho-physiology" in *Principles of Psychology*. There, discussing the "seats of emotions" in terms of "afferent and efferent nerves," "centripetal and commissural nerves," and "the *libero-motor* elements composing those higher centres in which nervous changes become changes of consciousness," Spencer demonstrates that an emotion constitutes an internal force which "works changes, external and internal throughout the body at large. The respiration, the circulations, the digestion, as well as the attitudes and movements, are influenced by it even when moderate; and everyone knows how strong passions, pleasurable or painful, profoundly disturb the whole system" (1: 123-24).

Spencer acknowledges that although the "law of metamorphosis" seems incredible when applied to states of consciousness, the human agent is nevertheless a part of the phenomena on which nature's laws work uniformly. His constant response to charges of materialism was to invoke the inscrutable nature of matter and force as in fact lending credence to his arguments.[6] Thus, he concludes:

> Those modes of the Unknowable which we call motion, heat, light, chemical affinity, &c., are alike transformable into each other, and into those modes of the Unknowable which we distinguish as sensation, emotion, thought. . . . How this metamorphosis takes place—how a force existing as motion, heat, or light, can become a mode of consciousness—how it is possible . . . for the forces liberated by chemical changes in the brain to give rise to emotion—these are mysteries which it is impossible to fathom. But they are not profounder mysteries than the transformations of the physical forces into each other. They are not more completely beyond our comprehension than the natures of Mind and Matter. They have simply the same insolubility as all other ultimate matters.
>
> (*First* 217-18)[7]

This interdependence of mind and body—this connection between chemistry, consciousness, and conduct—essentially insures the moral evolution of mankind. For Spencer argues that "Hereditary transmission applies to psychical peculiarities as well as to physical peculiarities" because mental states, through habit, become physiologically engrained (*Psychology* 1: 422). The condition of civilized life developed in mankind "distinct emotions"—the result of "daily-repeated combinations of mental states which social life involves"; via evolution, these "new" emotions and their accompanying "nervous actions" became "organically connected" ("Bain" 254-55). And just as "the modified bodily structure produced by new habits of life is bequeathed to future generations, the modified nervous tendencies produced by such new habits of life are also bequeathed" (*Psychology* 1: 422). This accounts for the "moral differences" of races and nations of which , says Spencer, "countless illustrations" exist (*First* 505-506).

Taken together, Spencer's law of the "transformation of forces" and the doctrine of the hereditary transmission of "civilized" habits imply that Henry Jekyll's metamorphosis into the "troglodytic" Hyde by means of "a simple crystalline salt" and a phial containing "phosphorous and some volatile ether" (76), while beyond the bounds of experience, seems not to be beyond the bounds of conceptualization. Spencer's link between states of consciousness, the nervous system, and the organic evolution of social conduct lends an eerie plausibility to Jekyll's transfiguration, especially since Spencer insists that even the most common transformations among physical forces are beyond human comprehension and thus no less "miraculous."

If Stevenson's muses knew their Spencer, then the dream which produced the creation of Hyde had a certain "logic." Jekyll tampered with the chemistry that constituted his "civilized" consciousness by taking the drug which "shook the very fortress of identity" (83) and somehow released both the primitive physiology and morality of his "forbears." This drug, says Jekyll, substituted "a second form and countenance . . . none the less natural to me because they were the expression, and bore the stamp, of lower elements in my soul" (83). Indeed, the phrase bears a striking resemblance to that with which Darwin concludes the *Descent of Man*: "with all his noble qualities . . . Man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin" (2: 387).

Certainly, the portrayal of Hyde is consistent with the images of "savages" popularized by Spencer and other ethnological studies of the time (see Stocking, particularly Ch. 6). In *First Principles*, "primitive man" is described as having small legs, equally short fore limbs, large jaws, and possessing a less complex nervous system than civilized man (341-42). In an 1860 essay in which he outlines the process of the organic transmission of moral traits, Spencer remarks that certain sentiments characteristic of Europeans "are wholly or in a great part absent from the savage. . . . The lowest savages have not even the ideas of justice or mercy" ("Bain" 131-32). And in "The Comparative Psychology of Man" (1876), the trait of impulsiveness is said to be the special mark of "men of inferior types"; in them the emotion of revenge takes the form of violent "sudden gusts of feelings . . . excessive in degree as they are short in duration" (*Works* 13: 358).

Both physically and emotionally, Hyde fits the image of Spencer's "savage." He is "brutish" (90, 94), "ape-like" (47, 97), "dwarfish" (40, 67, 78), and somehow "deformed" (34, 40, 50); he has a face that resembles a monkey's (68) and hands that are corded and hairy (88). More like a beast than a man, he hisses, snarls, screeches, chatters (39, 40, 69, 94), and cries out "like a rat" when cornered (66). He is marked by those "aggressive impulses" which Spencer alleged of the "pre-social state—those tendencies to seek self-satisfaction regardless of injury to other beings, which are essential to a predatory life" (*First* 511).

Like Spencer's "savages," he "delight[s] in giving pain rather than pleasure" and is "almost devoid of sympathy" ("Bain" 131-32). Encountering the gentle, elderly Sir Danvers Carew, Hyde breaks out "in a great flame of anger, stamping his foot, brandishing his cane" and tramples Carew "with ape-like fury" (47). Jekyll later reflects on the emotions he experienced as Hyde at the moment of the murder: "With a transport of glee, I mauled the unresisting body, tasting delight from every blow; and it was not till weariness had begun to succeed that I was suddenly, in the top fit of my delirium, struck through the heart by a cold thrill of terror" (90-91). Even when hunted by the police and in danger of losing his life, he is "shaken with inordinate anger, strung to the pitch of murder, lusting to inflict pain" (93). There can be little doubt that Stevenson attempts to create in Hyde the "monstrous spectre" (*Novels* 15: 291) of primeval man—the horrid ghost of a previous collective life. "This" says Jekyll of his metamorphosis, "was the shocking thing: that the slime of the pit seemed to utter cries and voices; that the amorphous dust gesticulated and sinned; that what was dead, and had no shape, should usurp the offices of life" (95).

Hyde is indeed shocking to the other characters of the tale because their more highly evolved moral natures are unaccustomed to such "brutish" behavior. Spencer argued that sociality cultivated the sentiments of sympathy and "fellow-feeling" (*Psychology* 2: 571). Communal living made these emotions more pleasurable and beneficial than the predatory emotions of pre-social life. Thus, mankind's "states of consciousness" had adapted to social conditions—the primitive "egoistic sentiment" had been supplanted by an "ego-altruistic sentiment," one supplying gratification to others while provid-

[2]See the discussions by Block, Heath, Hogle, Lawler, Punter (Ch. 9), Saposnik (Ch. 6), and Veeder. Block's essay focuses on the materialist "evolutionist psychology" of Thomas Sully, a disciple of Spencer's, and the manner in which his theory of dual consciousness is manifested in Utterson and Jekyll / Hyde.

[3]I have constructed my argument primarily on material from the second editions of both *First Principles* (1867) and *Principles of Psychology* (vol. 1, 1870; vol. 2, 1872) and to a lesser extent on works published before "Jekyll and Hyde." There is no record that Stevenson read these particular works, but the main tenets of Spencer's "synthetic philosophy" of evolution were well circulated in the quarterlies, Spencer himself publishing a number of essays on evolutionary theory between 1852 and 1886.

[4]Citations for "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" are from the Penguin Classics edition (Jenni Calder, ed.). All other citations for Stevenson's work are from *The Novels and Tales of Roberty Louis Stevenson.*

[5]Critical reaction to the device of the "powders" seems to vary with changes in the perceived state of medical knowledge. James Pope Hennessey writes that "to our own generation, which takes the change or control of personality by drugs for granted, Jekyll's nostrum does not seem especially far-fetched" (208).

[6]In "Pulvis et Umbra" Stevenson echoes Spencer, calling "matter" "a thing which no analysis can help us to conceive; to whose incredible properties no familiarity can reconcile our minds" (*Novels* 15: 291).

[7]In the first edition (1862), this passage appears in Part II, Ch. IX, "The Correlation and Equivalence of Force" (section 82). In the second edition (1867), it appears in Part II, Ch. VIII, section 71 and remains unchanged until the sixth edition of 1900.

ing "ulterior benefits to self" (2: 595).[8] Friendship and sympathy are highly evident in the tale—in the "friendly meetings" of Utterson and his associates, in his Sunday walks with Enfield, in the loyalty which the men show to one another, in the horror with which Enfield and his fellow witnesses respond to Hyde's trampling of a child, and in the fainting of the maid at the window who sees the Carew murder only moments after being filled with a feeling of "peace with all men" and "kindness for the world" (45).[9]

Also evident in the story is the concern for social approval which Spencer saw as a result of the development of the ego-altruistic sentiments. Indeed, he argues that in them originates the consciousness of right and wrong. They "impel and restrain" human agents through the desire for approbation and the dread of reprobation (*Psychology* 2: 602). Maintaining one's reputation is certainly a strong motive force for Jekyll as well as his friends. The concern for preserving "a good name" is seen in the very first chapter—"The Story of the Door"—in which Enfield's "delicacy" about refraining from questions and revealing details is lauded by Utterson as "a very good rule" (33). Upon hearing the murder of Carew proclaimed by newsboys in the street, Utterson grows reflective: "That was the funeral oration of one friend and client; and he could not help a certain apprehension lest the good name of another should be sucked down in the eddy of scandal" (53).

In fact, Jekyll states that his fondness for "the respect of the wise and good among my fellow-men" led to his experiments in the first place (81). The hybrid sentiment of "ego-altruism" is experienced by Jekyll (and, as he indicates, probably by most others) as a "profound duplicity of life" (81). He found in mid-life that his "undignified" pleasures (85) were hard to reconcile with his "imperious desire to hold [his] head high" (81). The conflict between the primitive yearning for self-gratification and the civilized need for social approval is described by Jekyll as a "perennial war among my members" (81-82).[10] "I learned to recognise," he says, "the thorough and primitive duality of man; I saw that, of the two natures that contended in my field of consciousness, even if I could rightly be said to be either, it was only because I was radically both" (82).

Jekyll feels that life could only be bearable if each nature was "housed in separate identities"; the "unjust" nature could then go its own way, "delivered from the aspirations and remorse of his more [literally and figuratively] upright twin" (82). Upon discovering the means to do this, he delights in knowing that he can "plod in the public eye with a load of genial respectability, and in a moment, like a schoolboy, strip off these lendings and spring headlong into the sea of liberty" (86). With his transformation into Hyde comes a feeling of the dissolution "of the bonds of obligation" to society (92). Hyde is "pure evil"—"his every act and thought centered on self; drinking pleasure with bestial avidity from any degree of torture to another" (86). His "wonderful selfishness" (97) is unmixed with the concern for reputation of civilized man; he lacks the "balancing instincts" (90) of Jekyll's hybrid ego-altruistic consciousness.

Spencer's theory "promised" that the kind of moral conflict which Jekyll experienced would eventually be eliminated. He argued that moral adaptation would continue until mankind's "internal forces" or feelings were in "equilibrium" with the conditions of civilized life. At this state of social organization, the individual would have no desires other than those acceptable to society, and society likewise would place no restraints upon the individual other than those voluntarily respected (*First* 512). But in Stevenson's story, the promised evanescence of evil is denied. There is more Calvinistic gloom than evolutionary optimism in Jekyll's final reflections when he writes that his experience taught him "that the doom and burthen of our life is bound for ever on man's shoulders; and when the attempt is made to cast it off, it but returns upon us with more unfamiliar and more awful pressure" (83). Hyde is simply the diabolical in primordial guise. Indeed, what is striking is the mixture of evolutionary imagery with traditional religious rhetoric—Jekyll's numerous references to his "soul" despite the material agency with which he achieves his moral transformation.

And yet, Spencer's version of evolution was not so difficult to graft onto a traditional world-view. The evolutionary process which Darwin portrayed as random and accidental was, in Spencer's version, a cosmic, teleological drama which guaranteed moral perfection. It was, in other words, a narrative which promised redemption from the secular equivalent of "original sin"—that "indelible stamp" of mankind's "lowly origins." As Alvar Ellegard observes, "man's early history, as told in the Bible, was closely bound up with the important religious concepts of the Fall, Original Sin, Atonement, and Redemption. These ideas were explicated in terms of events in sacred history. If those events were to prove fictitious [through scientific discoveries], the concepts themselves would appear to hang in the air" (122). Spencer's theory provided secular analogues for these. His first work, *Social Statics*, was a virtual secular New Testament, infused with religious terminology. Sin was represented by non-adaptation, the condition of being "organically evil"; atonement was achieved through the exercise of the faculties—called "The Divine Idea"; and redemption was of course the promised state of perfection which evolution would bring.

Stevenson's story may be seen as an attempt to integrate evolutionary doctrine with Christian dogma. Indeed, in works such as "Pulvis et Umbra" and "Lay Morals," he evinced a tendency to take from each body of beliefs that which fit his own personal philosophy; these essays demonstrate that his concept of evolution, like Spencer's, forwarded a progressive

[8]Spencer argued that feelings of altruism were dependent on egoism, "for unless a sensation or emotion has been felt, it cannot be sympathetically excited" (*Psychology* 2: 616).

[9]Veeder's essay notes that the word "friend" appears at least thirty-three times in the text (108).

[10]John Gibson interprets this as an obvious reference to sexual organs (135-36), failing to consider Stevenson's other uses of this expression as in *The Ebb-Tide*. In light of Stevenson's reputation as a writer of wholesome boys' tales, it is highly unlikely that he would have used this phrase if it conveyed such an "obvious" sexual meaning. A remark by Jekyll does imply that some of Hyde's "pleasures" were of a lascivious nature. But Stevenson objected to this characterization, insisting that Hyde was not "a mere voluptuary" but "the essence of cruelty and malice, and selfishness and cowardice" (qtd. in Maixner 231).

view of human nature. And yet, in the final analysis, his "strange case" must be seen as essentially undermining the glad tidings of moral evolution; its "ending" does not corroborate Spencer's "narrative" of progress toward perfection. While it utilizes the imagery of evolution in its depiction of Hyde, its "conclusion" fails to explain the meaning of Jekyll's moral and mortal failings in light of evolution's promised development of consciousness.

As Peter Garrett argues, in Jekyll's discovery of "a new province of knowledge" we recognize "an appeal to impulses and fears more powerful than the tale's moral framework, to fantasies and fears of releasing desire from social restraints and responsibilities" (71). Even in its representation of the lives of Utterson and Lanyon—the repression and abstinence which many critics have noted—the story fails to translate into fictional form the satisfactions of the ego-altruistic state as outlined by Spencer. Though the original combative instincts have been subdued, there remain egoistic longings of a darker nature than simply the urge to cruelty and lust. The relic of egoism in contemporary "man" is, in addition to a longing for "undignified pleasures," a morbid self-consciousness such as Jekyll's, born from the recognition of "those provinces of good and ill which divide and compound man's dual nature" (81) as well as a modern will to power—the desire to rule over those provinces for personal ends through the means of scientific knowledge. It is this which resonates through the tale rather than any sense that moral progress over "the lower impulses" has been made.

Both Garrett and Donald Lawler place the tale in the genre of Gothic fiction which is characterized by a complicated and often unresolved narrative form (Garrett 71, Lawler 251).[11] While the story's "ending" supplies a technical explanation for the mysterious identity of Hyde and his relation to Jekyll, it fails to provide a moral resolution by having either Utterson or the omniscient "narrator" place into perspective Jekyll's moral dilemma, his experiment, and his death. Indeed, the story's "incompleteness," its lack of a finalizing "moral," is one reason why it continues to attract modern readers. To recast it as a defunct Victorian fable, we need only supply a final scene with Utterson, attended perhaps by Jekyll's faithful servant Poole, offering his pronouncements on the folly of Jekyll's attempts to tamper with human consciousness and on the inevitability of his tragic fate. But such a scene, shepherding the reader's interpretation, is not there.

Donald David Stone remarks that the novels of the 1880s generally reflect "a watershed in which the impotent idealism of the previous era and the emergent subjective forces of the modern world can be viewed" (16). The emphasis on social order so common to the Victorian novel was supplanted by themes exhibiting a spirit of iconoclasm, such as the freeing of the ego from its constraining social matrix. Stone argues that it was, in fact, "precisely the effect of the freeing of the ego from his societal bonds which, combined with the new materialistic philosophies, insured the emergence of modern man" (22).

Despite its invoking of the "progressive" materialistic doctrine of evolution, Stevenson's tale is marked by this modern sensibility both in its treatment of agonized introspection and in its lack of a closure which moralizes the series of events portrayed. The "balanced" consciousness which Spencer argued would lead to a harmony between private and public desires is denied by Jekyll's conclusion. He surmises that the dual elements of human consciousness would not become integrated but would remain polarized—or even worse, that "man will be ultimately known for a mere polity of multifarious, incongruous and independent denizens" (82).

In the same year in which "Jekyll and Hyde" appeared, Spencer once again defended the use-inheritance theory in "The Factors of Organic Evolution," arguing that natural selection could not be the sole means of evolutionary development. The essay was prompted by his belief that Darwin's hypothesis had become so universally accepted that many readers were not even familiar with the use-inheritance alternative. It is interesting, however, that Spencer's detailed argument is largely built upon evidence concerning the transmission of physiological traits in plants and animals, although a preface added to the pamphlet edition briefly invokes the significance to psychology, ethics, and sociology in ascertaining the genesis of human emotions and moral intuitions (iv).

By 1889, August Weismann's work concluding that acquired characteristics were not transmissible would become well-known, though this did not mean the end of faith in moral progress through evolution.[12] At any rate, Stevenson's praise of Spencer in the "Books" essay was even then mingled with a cautious note: "How much of his vast structure will bear the touch of time, how much is clay and how much brass, it were too curious to inquire" (*Novels* 22: 305). Jekyll's dilemma and the moral world which he inhabits reflect only too well this tenuousness about the march toward moral perfection which Spencer's doctrines predicted.

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[11]See also comments by Hogle (161, 198-200) and Thomas (*Dreams* 237-53, "Strange" 73-90) on the narrative structure of the tale.

[12]Indeed, ten years later H. G. Wells still found it necessary to argue that human nature had not changed in any significant way from "the Stone age" in his essay "Human Evolution, an Artificial Process." For Weismann's impact on the popular and literary mind see Morton 165-73.

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Matthew Arnold and the French Marguerite Tradition

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Bill Bell's and Wendell Harris's recent meta-critical debate regarding the uses of Arnold's biography by Miriam Allott and Park Honan has provided us with some important caveats. Although Honan and Allott both engage in the hypothetical constructions of the *margarita speculativa* tradition initiated by Hugh Kingsmill and Iris E. Sells, their hypotheses have undeniably increased our enjoyment and understanding of the Switzerland texts as well as the text of Arnold's life. Honan's research into Mary Claude, for example, has provided the suggestion that Arnold both knew of and drew on the French Marguerite tradition of poetry in his own Marguerite series. I would like to propose the French Marguerite and a related patristic tradition as a source of intertexts and analogues which along with the biographical parameter extends the possible meanings of Arnold's poems. No one can with any precision determine Arnold's familiarity with the poems of Chaucer, Froissart, Deschampes, or Machaut; the only authorial intention that we can confidently assert is that most poets in the nineteenth century attempted to expand and amplify rather than restrict allusion and resonance.

The symbolism of the pearl and daisy (Fr. *marguerite* = daisy, pearl; Lat. *margarita* = pearl) should be added to the critical equation in any interpretation of Arnold's Switzerland series since Arnold must have been conscious to some degree that he was writing the Marguerite poems, particularly "A Dream," in the French Marguerite tradition. Arnold may have learned of the Marguerite tradition directly from the poets themselves, from the writings of Senancour (the final letter of *Obermann*) or St.-Beuve, or from Mary Claude, who adopted the daisy as a symbol of isolation in "The Daisy (To Margaret)" (Honan, "Note" 13) and in her *Twilight Thoughts*, particularly "The Winter Daisy" (Honan, "Character" 148). Jean Froissart (*Le Dit de la Margherite*), Eustace Deschampes (*Lai de Franchise*), and Guillaume de Machaut (*Le Dit de la Marguerite* and *Le Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite*) all wrote poems to a mysterious pure woman, personified by pearls and daisies, who symbolizes Christian humility, patience, and isolation as a function of her transcendent beauty. The tradition was imported into England by Chaucer, an aficionado of French love poetry, through his *Legend of Good Women*. John Lydgate, prone to imitate anything Chaucerian at the drop of a daisy, disseminated the complex of imagery further into English poetry, continuing in "The Temple of Glas" Chaucer's identification of the daisy with the

mythological Alceste:

> And aldernext was he fresshe quene,
> I mene Alceste, the noble trwe wyfe,
> And for Admete hou she lost hir life,
> And for hir trouth, if I shal not lie,
> Hou she was turnyd to a daiesie. (70-74)

V. A. Kolve, in "From Cleopatra to Alceste: An Iconographic Study of the Legend of Good Women," attempts to trace the identification of the pearl with the daisy and with Alceste, and finds that the myth of Alceste served as a convenient symbol of the resurrected life in late pagan Roman and early Christian sarcophagus art (171) just as the pearl later symbolized the soul in patristic sources. The association of the divine with daisies, however, perhaps an innovation of Machaut, remains obscure, although the French poets praise these divine characteristics of the flower—its whiteness (purity, *sine macula*), simplicity, heliotropism, and tendency to fold its petals against the evils of the world. The flower is popularly associated with resurrection and eternal life; one species of marguerite is called pâquerettes in France (Fr. pâques = Easter).

The pearl (M. E. *margarita, margyrye, mariorys*; O. F. *margerie*) also surfaces in the patristic tradition as a symbol of the soul, and often appears in hagiography in the various lives of Saint Margaret. Stories of Saint Margaret enjoyed an immense popularity in Britain throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance. In the Latin *Legenda Aurea*, Saint Margaret is described as "Margareta dicitur a quadam pretiosa gemma, quae margarita vocatur; quae gemma est candida, parva, et virtuosa. Sic beata Margareta fuit candida per virginitatem, parva per humilitatem, virtuosa per miraculorum operationem" [Margaret is named from that precious gem which is called "margarita." That gem is white, small, and virtuous. Thus blessed Margaret was white by her virginity, small through humility, and virtuous through the working of miracles] (Osgood 32). And Osbern Bokenham in his *Legendys of Hooly Wummen* explains the pearl symbolism of St. Margaret:

> And conuenyently this uirgyne gloryous
> May to a margaryte comparyd be,
> Wych is whyht, lytyl, and eek verteuous . . . ,
> Whyht was Margrete be virgynyte,
> Be meknesse lytyl, and most singulerly
> Verteuous be hyr excellent cheryte. (249-255)

Through Matthew 7: 6 (casting pearls before swine), Margaret develops into an archetype of the soul, as well as the Virgin Mary, or chaste woman. In the English *Pearl* (ca. 1350), the repeated refrain of "wythouten spot," links the lost pearl-child to the *sine macula* Virgin Mary.

In Arnold's "The Forsaken Merman," by naming the woman Margaret, perhaps drawing on this patristic tradition of the pearl as *pretiosa gemma* or Christian soul, Arnold plays on the Latin sense of Margaret and suggests her apotheosis in the poem. The critical commentary surrounding the poem demonstrates how ignoring the influence of such pervasive and influential texts as the English medieval pearl tradition can skew interpretations towards certain conclusions. Most interpretations of "The Forsaken Merman" suggest that the sympathies of the poem lie with the Merman and his sensual pagan palace in the sea since, as Culler points out, the land to which Margaret returns contains "all the bleakness and grimness of some middle-class dissenting town in the north of England" (21). Honan, following Fulweiler's full treatment of the poem (209), reads the piece in a similar way: "the Merman gains one's sympathy for his rich pagan values" (*Life* 90). But Louis Bonnerot makes an important distinction: "l'intérêt est bien partagé entre Marguerite d'une part, et d'autre part le Triton qui fait le récit" [the interest of the poem is divided between Margaret on one hand, and the Merman who tells the story on the other] (506). Roper similarly warns, "since the Merman is neither manifestly perverse nor indubitably the sole repository of truth, the poem is peculiarly susceptible to misreading in terms of a critic's moral preferences" (124).

The poem presents a dialogue between the pagan and Christian life. Romantic readers would obviously choose the "positive" values of the Merman—the richness and depth of his world allied to intuition and sensuality—over the world of the narrow walled town. But the amber ceiling and pearl pavement of the Merman's world would have been the subject of harsh criticisms of "worldliness" in the patristic tradition. Arnold himself lamented the "spread of luxury" (*Clough Letters* 111) in his damned times, speaking obviously in spiritual, not economic, terms. Margaret forsakes the Merman's sensual life in the sea precisely because of the pearl pavement of his palace. On the Christian earth, she becomes a coveted prize and archetype of the Christian soul in a theology which sets angels into hierarchies of value; in the Merman's pagan world she will be a mere, undifferentiated, paving stone. It is interesting that Jacob Grimm repeats a *volksetymologie* of "Margaret" from the Anglo-Saxon *meregrôt* meaning sea stone or sea pavement; perhaps a false etymology, but one which seems to have influenced Arnold's poem (Pfiefer 1062, *Littré* 448). Many have praised "The Forsaken Merman" for its dialogic and ambiguous qualities which instead of obscuring meaning allow multiple meanings to coexist in the poem. It offers a unique challenge to the critic since so much extratextual evidence must be brought into the text: and Christian *margarita* symbolism—an essential *donné* of Arnold's audience— weighs heavily as a source of meanings.

Most importantly, the marguerite symbol (both as pearl and daisy) has maintained a surprising semantic stability; unlike the rose, for example, which has suffered a tortuous translation under the hands of the troubadours and Jean de Meun. August von Pauly notes a very ancient Indo-European identification of pearl with dewdrops from heaven "am bekanntesten war die dichterische Vorstellung, daß sie aus himmlischen Tautropfen entstehen, welche in die sich öffnende Muschel fallen und sie befructen. Dieser Gedanke stammt aus Indien" [The best known (of these legends) was the poetic idea that (pearls) originate from heavenly dewdrops which fall in the open mussel and fertilize it. This idea comes from India] (1692). But this does not mean that the erotic could not be commingled with the divine as they often were in medieval love lyrics; as Kolve points out about Chaucer's daisy symbol in the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, paralleling lines from Machaut, Froissart, and Deschampes (Lowes 612-16), "the flower seems to elicit both his erotic love and his religious admiration" (171). The ardent passion

of the narrator for the divine daisy presents no difficulties for Chaucer, but Arnold could not seem to reconcile the simultaneous fleshliness and divinity of his ideal daisy woman. Wordsworth's "To the Same Flower [Daisy]" (1802), a continuation of the Chaucer and Lydgate daisy tradition, presents the same mixture of paradoxical qualities:

> A nun demure of lowly port;
> Or sprightly maiden, of Love's court,
> In thy simplicity the sport
> Of all temptations;
> A queen in crown of rubies drest. (17-21)

Arnold also pondered chastity and *danger* through the myth of Luna and Endymion in "Isolation: To Marguerite."

Arnold's "A Dream" (composed ca. 1849-53) contains the closest echoes of the Marguerite poets. Culler believes Arnold's sexual awakening occurred in 1848-49 and it would not be absurd to read "A Dream," despite the appearance of the Marguerite character who has never been portrayed as anything other than divine in literature up to this point, as a physically sexual experience, expressing both fear of and desire for physical union (125, Tinker and Lowry 167-72). Arnold himself seemed ambivalent or embarrassed enough about the poem to have omitted it from the 1869 and 1877 editions. Except for M. Bidney's article in *Victorian Poetry* on Bachelardian reverie patterns, the poem has not been the subject of any extended exegesis.

As the persona and Martin approach the cottage in their boat, Marguerite and Olivia in their yellow straw hats and billowing white dresses present the precise image of the daisy flower with its white petals and yellow center:

> We shot beneath the cottage with the stream.
> On the brown, rude-carved balcony, two forms
> Came forth—Olivia's, Marguerite! and thine.
> Clad were they both in white, flowers in their breast;
> Straw hats bedecked their heads, with ribbons blue,
> Which danced, and on their shoulders, fluttering, played.
> They saw us, they conferred; their bosoms heaved,
> And more than mortal impulse filled their eyes.
> Their lips moved; their white arms, waved eagerly,
> Flashed once, like falling streams; we rose, we gazed.
> (20-29)

This recalls precisely the same image as Machaut's:

> Quar quant la marguerite est close,
> En ses fueilles enseveli,
> Ha son tresor aveques li -
> C'est sa greinne qui samble or fin.
> Et croy qu'elle le fait a fin
> Que sa greinne ne soit gastée,
> Ravie, tollue, or emblée.
>
> [For when the marguerite is closed, enveloped in its petals, she has her treasure with her—it is her center which is like fine gold. And I believe she does this in the end so that her grain is not spoiled, ravished, seized, or taken away.] (*Fleur* 236-42)

The golden center and white dress (flower eye and petals) are central to a number of daisy poems: Lydgate's Lady of the "Temple of Glas" is dressed in green and white (white petals and green stem—parts of the flower are attached to specific virtues in the French poets) "whos sonnysh here bri3ter þan gold were" (271). Also in *Pearl*

> A py3t coroune 3et wer þat gyrle
> Of mariorys and non oþer ston,
> Hi3e pynakled of cler quyt perle,
> Wyth flurted flowre3 perfet vpon.
> To hed hade ho non oþer werle;
> Her here leke, al hyr vmbegon,
> Her semblaunt sade for doc oþer erle,
> Her ble mor bla3t þen whalle3 bon.
> As schorne golde schyr her fax þenne schon . . . .
>
> [Yet that girl wore a crown adorned with magarites, and no other stone, high pinnacled of clear white pearl with perfectly figured flowers. On her head was no other circlet. Her hair was enclosed all around; her demeanor reserved for Duke or Earl; her color whiter than whale's bone. Like bright shorn gold her hair shone.] (Gordon 205-13)

Critics may argue that the tenuous parallel points only to a diffuse use of the French tradition, perhaps a vaguely remembered image supplied by Senancour or Mary Claude. Yet Arnold used his poetic traditions—classical and northern mythology, English Romanticism, eastern religion, etc.—diffusely. Marguerite and Olivia are, after all, viewed through the vaguely disturbing haze of a dream vision, perhaps signaling the unconscious sublimation of some sexual material.

Froissart writes in *Le Dit de la Margherite* "comme celle est que j'aim d'entente pure" [she is the one whom I love with pure intent] (81). Arnold has been trapped in "A Dream" by his poetic tradition, boxed in by allusion—he cannot soil the pearl of God, the daisy of God's eye. Clough's Claude travels to Rome, hoping "solvitur ambulando"; the hero of the Switzerland series enters Thun thinking "solvitur coeundo." But the poetic Marguerite tradition demands an unrealizable love, as Ribemont points out à propos de Froissart "il y a hésitation sur le symbole de la marguerite ou plus exactement dédoublement. La fleur est message de l'amour, elle appartient donc au domaine du dire, c'est-à-dire au domaine du poète. En tante que représentante de la dame, elle ressortit au champ du souhait, de l'espoir, du désir; champ qui exclut la réalisation de ce désir" [There is a hesitation with regards to the symbol of the marguerite or more exactly a division. The flower is a message of love, it belongs thus to the domain of speech, that is to say, to the domain of the poet. As far as representing the lady, the flower belongs to the realm of wishes, hope, desire; a realm which excludes the realization of that desire] (134). The sexual aspect of the Marguerite tradition should not go unnoticed—Wordsworth's daisy martially repels spoiliation:

> A silver shield with boss of gold,
> That spreads itself, some faery bold
> In fight to cover! (30-33)

In Machaut, by closing its petals at night, the daisy protects its precious treasure against the eager boaters of the world.

Freud points out in lecture ten "Symbolism in Dreams" from *Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis* (1916-17) that in dreams the "male organ can be replaced by objects from which water flows—*water-taps, watering-cans,* or *fountains,*" and "the female genital parts . . . are often represented as *landscapes*, with rocks, woods and water" (154-56). In this reading, Arnold's "burning plains bristled with cities," with the pines, rocks, and moss, may refer to the pudenda, the forfended opening to *la mère*. Machaut's *Le Dit de la Fleur de Lis et de la Marguerite* also includes the sexualized "flower among the spines" trope which Arnold may be employing in "bristled plains":

> 'Com le lis entre les espines
> Est m'amis entre les meschines,'
> Et c'est a dire entre les filles
> Qui tant sont sages et soutilles
> Qu'en cest valée de plour
> Gardent leur corps de deshonnour
> Et de pechie qui tue l'ame.
>
> [How the fleur-de-lis among the spines is my friend among all girls. And that is to say among the girls who are so sage and subtle, who in that valley of tears keep their body from dishonor and from the sin which kills the soul.] (51-57)

The concluding lines of the *Roman de la Rose* had established the flower as pudenda trope as a permanent fixture of flower poetry. In the *Dit de la Rose*, Machaut tries to grab the rose, but the spines prevent him "pour les espines qui poingnoient / Et les ronses qui y estoient, / N'onques ne la pos aprochier / Tant qu'a li peüsse touchier" [because of the spines which held it, and the brambles that were there, I could not approach it, so that I could touch it] (53-56). The famous 1402 portrait of Chaucer with a daisy depicts him with what seems to be the *bellis perennis*. Machaut and the French poets, however, may be writing about the *aster chinensis* or *chrysanthemum segetum* or *leucanthemum* and this is not a matter merely for Linnaean morphologists, since Machaut emphasizes specifically the red crown on the petals. Machaut reminds us of the physicality of the marguerite along with its divine virtues "mais la vermillette coulour / Signefie honte et paour; / Et dame qui est paoureuse, / Et de sa nature honteuse, / C'est ce qui s'onneur sauve et garde" [but the red color signifies shame and fear; and a Lady who is fearful and has shame by nature, she is the one who saves and keeps her honor] (*Fleur* 225-29). Machaut points the reader to the earthliness of the flower in lines which recall the graphic Rose of de Meun. Again, although Arnold may have only known the marguerite tradition obliquely, the French poems did provide him with both an elaborate complex of multivalent flower imagery from which he could draw for his poetic purposes and a more general fund of disseminated pearl symbology, also available to him through well known native sources. This sort of interpretation of the admittedly bizarre imagery of "A Dream," of course, only makes sense if one believes the poem carries a sexual element.

Martin and his friend in the vaguely disturbing vision of "A Dream" witness as they sail by the more than mortal impulse emanating from the daisy women. After the burning plains and bristled cities, will the consummation in the sea be one devoutly to be desired? Olivia and Marguerite should be more chastely guarding their golden grain. The Marguerite poems of the French tradition list the ideal, chaste virtues (*foy, fermeté*) which the flower-woman must possess: she represents all goodness; "une fleur moult gracieuse, / Mout tresbele, et mout vertueuse" (Machaut, *Fleur* 187-88). Yet, "Switzerland stood in Arnold's psychic life for subjectivity, sensuality, poetry as against English objective moralizing responsibility" (Langbaum 71). For the boaters an obvious unresolved tension arises—*amor* struggles with *caritas*, spleen contradicts ideal. Obermann faced the same dilemma at the close of Senancour's novel; to enter into the affairs of the world or to live the pure, cloistered life of self-possession and rapt security, that was his question. In the same Marguerite tradition of Froissart and Machaut, Obermann uses the violet and daisy to symbolize the gulf between heaven and earth:

> La violette et la marguerite des prés sont rivales. . . . La violette rapelle le plus pur sentiment de l'amour; tel il se présente à des coeurs droits. Mais enfin cet amour même, si persuasif et si suave, n'est qu'un bel accident de la vie. Il se dissipe tandis que la paix des campagnes nous reste jusqu'à la dernière heure. La marguerite est le signe patriarcal de ce doux repos" [The violet and the meadow daisy are rivals. The violet recalls the purest feeling of love, such as it appears to true hearts. But in the end even that love, so persuasive and sweet, is only a beautiful accident of life. It disappears while the peace of the country stays with us until the last hour. The marguerite is the patriarchal sign of that sweet repose.] (2: 246)

Here marguerite stands for the eternal life, which may be threatened by an occasional fling, by commerce with the world and interaction with women, represented by the transitory violet. No doubt due to its homophonic resemblance to "violent," admirably exploited by Rimbaud, the violet has come to symbolize violent, brief passion. Like Obermann's flower, Froissart's marguerite stands opposed in every way to Senancour's violet and de Meun's rose: "si la rose de Jean de Meun prend vie, chair, sexe et sang, la marguerite de Froissart demeure enracinée dans le 'champs des escriptures'" (Ribemont 36). In *La Prison Amoreuse*, Froissart rejects the catalogue of earthly flowers, including the "moult doucette violette" for his Marguerite (868-99).

There is an obvious double-entendre in the "virtuousness" of the Marguerite lady in the French poems which points to an important facet of Arnold's Switzerland series. Marguerite represents not only moral and Christian virtue, but also physical, medicinal virtues: this entry appears under "margarita" in the *Peterborough Lapidary* (late fifteenth century): "and somme seyne þat þey comforten lymes & membris, for it clense þ him of superfluite of humours & fasten þe lymes, & helpen ayens þe cordiacle passioun & ayens swonyng of hert, & ayens feblines of Flux by cause of medecyne, & Also ayens rennyng of blod, & ayens þe flyx of þe wombe, as plato seyþ " (108). The daisy also cures the lover's ills in Machaut "Einsi ma dame debonnaire / Refroide, seche et fait garir / Tout maus amoureus et tarir" [thus my fine Lady (of

'good air') cools and dries and heals and stops all the pains of love] (*Fleur* 320-22). And in the same poem, Marguerite "les mors peut faire revivre" [can quicken the dead] (278). In "A Farewell," Arnold wishes his "starting feverish heart away" (30)—to escape the *maux d'amours* caused by Marguerite. He had entered the relationship hoping the virtues of Marguerite would allay his love's fever, yet he sends her away to learn "the eternal Father's smile," a lesson that she should have taught him. Hence the bitter reproaches in "The Terrace at Berne."

In "The Terrace at Berne" the hero speculates that Marguerite may have become a prostitute, perhaps a bitter act of psychic distancing after discovering the physicality of the idealized pearl woman.

> Or hast thou long since wandered back,
> Daughter of France! to France, thy home;
> And flitted down the flowery track
> Where feet like thine too lightly come?
>
> Doth riotous laughter now replace
> Thy smile; and rouge, with stony glare,
> Thy cheek's soft hue .... (17-23)

He imagines that the daisy has been transformed into the violet (flitting transience) or primrose (dalliance), his *fleurs du mal*. The bitter reproach may reveal Arnold's repulsion at adulterous passion in general. Eleanor Leach observes "the courtly French marguerite elicits all love's accustomed energy in an idealization untroubled by conflict. Clearly she represents love as an idea, but as a poet's, not a lover's, idea abstracted from the compromise of fleshly incarnation" (307). Yet, the Switzerland series reveals a protagonist at odds with this tradition, attempting to integrate conflicting emotions, as many lovers do, and rationalizing his failures as a vague "different past."

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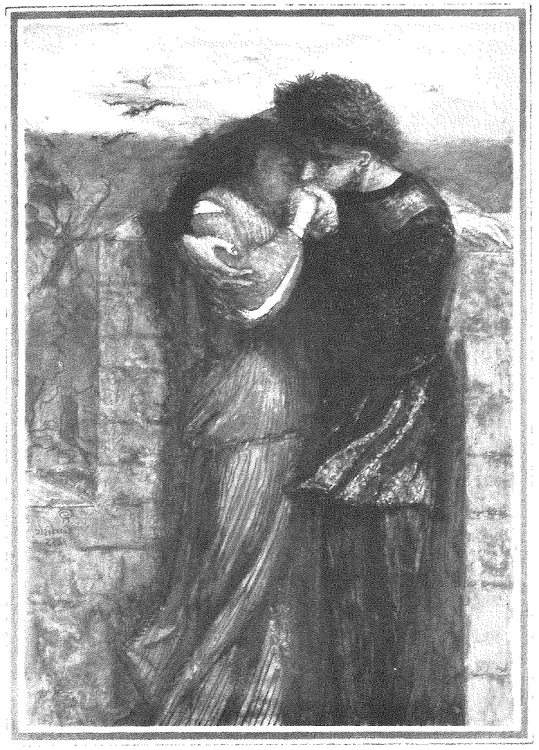
Rossetti's *Carlisle Wall* and Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*

Ernest Fontana



Rossetti's watercolor *Carlisle Wall*, now in the Tate (reproduced with permission), sometimes referred to as *Lovers on the Battlement* (Surtees #60), was painted at Carlisle during Rossetti's day trip there on June 20, 1853, in the company of William Bell Scott, whom he had visited at Scott's home at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the early summer of 1853 (see Surtees 1: 23 and Doughty 137). Neither Surtees, Doughty, Nicholl, Henderson nor myself has identified the literary source for the watercolor. The source is Canto VI of Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), a text that also interested Rossetti for its historical endnotes on the medieval Scottish magus, Michael Scott, whose death is narrated in Canto II.[1]

The Lay of the Last Minstrel is a frame narrative in which the last surviving, ancient Scottish bard recites a series of minstrel narratives for his aristocratic hostess at Newark castle near the river Yarrow. In Canto VI, he narrates the wedding of Fair Margaret and Lord Cranstoun at Branksome Hall, during which three legendary minstrels displayed their art. The first minstrel was Albert Graeme, whose border ballad, in the style of Scott's own collection, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802, 1803), narrates the tragic courtship of an English lady and a Scottish knight. The refrain "The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall" is repeated as an ironic commentary on the tragic action of the ballad in which the English lady's brother poisons her to prevent her Scottish betrothed from taking possession of her lands after their marriage. In his grief the Scottish knight murders his dead beloved's brother and undertakes a pilgrimage to Palestine where he dies.

> It was an English ladye bright,
> (The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall)
> And she would marry a Scottish knight.
> For Love will still be lord of all.
>
> Blithely they saw the rising sun,
> When he shone fair on Carlisle wall;
> But they were sad ere day was done,
> Though Love was still the lord of all.
>
> Her sire gave brooch and jewel fine,
> Where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall;
> Her brother gave but a flask of wine,
> For ire that Love was lord of all.
>
> For she had lands both meadow and lea,
> Where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall;
> And he swore her death, ere he would see
> A Scottish knight the lord of all!
>
> That wine she had not tasted well,
> (The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall)
> When dead, in her true love's arms, she fell,
> For Love was still the lord of all.
>
> He pierced her brother to the heart,
> Where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall;—
> So perish all would true love part,
> That Love may still be lord of all!
>
> And then he took the cross divine,
> Where the sun shines fair on Carlisle wall,
> And died for her sake in Palestine,
> So Love was still the lord of all.
>
> Now all ye lovers, that faithful prove,
> (The sun shines fair on Carlisle wall)
> Pray for their souls who died for love,
> For Love shall still be lord of all! (6: 191-222)

[1]Rossetti drew on Notes #28, 30, and 31 of Scott's *Lay* as background for his three versions of "Michael Scott's Wooing": 1) a chalk drawing, Surtees #222; 2) a prose sketch, Rossetti 1: 437-438; 3) a verse fragment.

The precise relation of Rossetti's two embracing lovers to the action of Albert Graeme's ballad is not obvious. In the ballad, the unnamed lovers' tragedy is contrasted with the repeated image of the sun shining fair on Carlisle wall. Only in the second stanza are the lovers in a narrative or physical relation to the wall: "Blithely they saw the rising sun, / When he shone fair on Carlisle wall." Here they see the morning sun shining on Carlisle wall, which suggests that they are not standing on the wall as they are in Rossetti's watercolor but gazing at it from a distance. Furthermore, in the watercolor the sun is muted by a sky that is dappled yellow and grey, the grey clouds traversed by the black forms of birds in flight. Instead of the brightness of the sun, Rossetti's emphasis is on the force of the wind which has disturbed the lovers' hair, his apron, and her skirt. The lover's passion is "evoked by the strong vertical brushstrokes that counterpoint the marked horizontality of the brick wall and battlements" (Fontana 82).

Rather than representing the unnamed lovers of Graeme's ballad narrative, Rossetti represents two lovers who embody the faithful lovers addressed, in apostrophe, in the last stanza of Graeme's ballad and who are asked to "Pray for their souls who died for love / For Love shall still be lord of all!" Rossetti's two lovers are, therefore, archetypal lovers, represented in the culturally archetypal gesture of the kiss (he is kissing her elevated hand). Their embrace and his kiss, which are associated visually with both the intense wind and the birds in flight, are contrasted with the images of constriction—wall and massive, overshadowing battlement—images suggestive of impregnable, institutional structures. Thus instead of representing Carlisle wall, illuminated by the rising sun, in Graeme's ballad an image of illusory hope, Rossetti darkens Carlisle wall and magnifies its battlements. The wall and ominous battlement become, consequently, metaphors for those antithetical forces, like the greed and treachery of the English lady's brother in Graeme's ballad from Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, forces which seek to enclose and thwart the energy of archetypally faithful lovers.

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The Sublimity of Catherine and Heathcliff

Patrick Kelly

Critics of Catherine and Heathcliff in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* generally classify them as inhuman, superhuman, or all too human. Charlotte Brontë places the pair outside the human pale, especially Heathcliff, who in her view was not a man at all but rather "a man's shape animated by demon-life—a Ghoul—an Afreet" ("Preface"). Writing in our own century Lord David Cecil also found Catherine and Heathcliff essentially bloodless, "child[ren] of the storm"[1] who no more than the elements were accountable for their actions. Later critics, reacting against Cecil's allegorizing of character, took a psychological tack instead, seeing the protagonists as specimens of frail humanity whose conduct is extenuated by fate's hard blows.[2] Different though their approaches are, both the allegorical and the psychological critics dismiss moral questions as irrelevant. It is doubtful, however, that the reader's moral sensibility can be bypassed so entirely. Moral indignation certainly pervades Charlotte Brontë's condemnation of Catherine and Heathcliff as "lost and fallen" spirits (443); yet this view is as reductive as the modern studies which make the psychology of the suffering pair their only concern. Clearly needed is an approach to character in *Wuthering Heights* that can accommodate moral judgments while suggesting their limitations. A clue to such an approach was provided back in 1848 by an anonymous reviewer who noted that "the anguish of Heathcliff on the death of Catherine approaches to sublimity."[3] This conception of character as sublime is crucial to our understanding the work. Although fallible in their misdeeds Catherine and Heathcliff in other ways approach sublimity, an Olympian state which compels from us neither censure nor sympathy but awe. How and why Emily Brontë invites such a response towards characters who never repent of their destructive acts are the subject of this paper.

From the time of Longinus to the Romantic period, the sublime was associated with transcendence.[4] The idea of God was sublime, as were its concomitants of infinity or immortality. Grand spectacles, especially those which appeared boundless, like a fierce storm, a seemingly endless chain of mountains, or a vast ocean, were also sublime. As well, sublimity could be achieved by artistic works which induced a state of emotional transport, such as Milton's *Paradise Lost* or Bach's Mass in B minor. The poems of Ossian had this effect upon the young Branwell Brontë: in a letter he wrote to the editor of his own "Branwell's Blackwood's Magazine," he solemnly judged them to be "most sublime,"[5] a whimsical example of just how common the term had become by the early nineteenth century. Transcendent experiences also included the preternatural, a phenomenon that took a dark turn in the Gothic romance.[6] The mystery in which ghosts were shrouded, for example, could not fully be grasped by the human mind, and so inspired in the terrified beholder both fear and awe. Obscurity, a key ingredient of sublimity which fostered this response, was used very effectively by Emily Brontë to impart mystery to Catherine and Heathcliff, thereby removing them from the narrow speculations of Nelly Dean and Lockwood. Edmund Burke's famous dictum that "A clear idea is therefore another name for a little idea" (108) justly applies to Heathcliff and Catherine, the magnitude of whose love and the grandeur of whose character, especially in their manifestations after death, defy complete understanding.

At critical moments in the novel both Heathcliff and Catherine become sublime, made so either by association with nature in tumult and the preternatural, or by their extraordinary words and deeds. It should be noted that they are not always sublime: indeed, the book's chief dramatic interest derives from their loss and eventual recovery of sublimity. The sublime characterizes them in basically two ways: it suggests the intense and otherworldly nature of their love, and it becomes the measure of their conduct. Although the sublime could result from religious devotions or practices, adherence to a given creed or dogma is not essential to it (see Morris 9-10). For this reason it perfectly suits Heathcliff and Catherine, whose pursuit of each other both in this world and in the next leads them to reject the Christian idea of heaven and hell. The grandeur which the sublime conveys cannot coexist, however, with pettiness and base villainy. Thus, in his assessment of Milton's Satan, A. C. Bradley qualifies that character's sublimity: "Milton's Satan is sublime when he refuses to accept defeat from an omnipotent foe; he ceases to be so in tempting Eve, because here he shows not power but cunning, and we feel not the strength of his cunning but the weakness of his victim" (46-47). Similarly Heathcliff ceases to be sublime when he beats Hindley and entraps Catherine junior. Catherine's sublimity disappears when she betrays her love for Heathcliff by marrying Linton and forces an absurd *ménage à trois* upon the two men.

The sublime illuminates the Gothic elements in *Wuthering Heights*, for the Gothic primarily conveys Heathcliff and Catherine's loss of sublimity. The sublime and the Gothic achieve their effects by the same means—the preternatural, obscurity, grandeur, and the wild aspects of nature—but to an essentially different end. The Gothic inspires mainly fear, whereas the sublime summons up an awe of which fear is merely one component and which points to the transcendent. In her study of Percy Shelley, Margaret Leighton argues that the atheistic poet never truly experienced the sublime. He met instead its dark opposite in the uncanny, the essence of Gothicism, which unleashed in him a fear "of the empty spaces that haunt consciousness after the gods have disappeared" (23).

The Gothic conveys this spiritual emptiness in *Wuthering Heights* when Catherine and Heathcliff waver in their devotion to each other by pursuing other goals: Catherine seeks a mundane union with Linton, and Heathcliff covets the worldly satisfactions afforded by revenge and avarice. Catherine becomes estranged from herself and from all the universe, even being subject at one point to a haunting by her own ghost. Separation from Catherine condemns Heathcliff to an existence that is in its own way harrowing. Only their rededication to each other rescues them from their Gothic hell and restores them to sublimity.

In what follows, I will first illustrate the difference between the Gothic and the sublime by reference to Nelly's vision of two kinds of ghosts, the apparition of Hindley as a child which is followed by a more terrifying spectacle at Wuthering Heights. I will then show that our approval of, or at least our suspended judgment upon, Catherine and Heathcliff depends on whether or not they appear in Gothic or sublime trappings. The sublime points up the recovery of their strange, transcendent love; the Gothic, by contrast, charts their lapses from sublimity when each becomes haunted by the empty space created by the disappearance of the other. Finally I will try to show that an understanding of the sublime in *Wuthering Heights* helps to resolve the vexed question of whether the spirits of Heathcliff and Catherine are real or only imagined.

Nelly's strange experience which begins at the crossroads and ends at Wuthering Heights shows in a com-

[1]He does concede that Catherine and Heathcliff, as well as other characters in the novel, "are clothed so convincingly in flesh and blood that most readers fail to notice that they represent spiritual principles at all" (177). But the emphasis of his study is mainly on a quasi-allegorical view of Catherine and Heathcliff. This approach is carried even further in Dorothy Van Ghent's description of the protagonists as "portions of the flux of nature, children of rock and heath and tempest" (191).

[2]Representative critics who take a sympathetic view of Catherine and Heathcliff are Kettle 139-55, Matthison, Hagan and Paris.

[3]The unsigned review appeared in the *Britannia* 15 Jan. 1848: 42-43; it is reprinted in Allott 223-26. The passage quoted is on p. 225.

[4]The best general study of the sublime is still that by Monk. Also useful, especially for the association of the sublime with religious experience, is Morris. The sublime in the works of the romantic poets is considered from the perspective of semiotics in Weiskel. Very suggestive connections between the sublime and the Gothic are made in Leighton. Finally, the best study of the sublime in relation to character is Bradley.

The epithet "sublime" has at times been applied to the novel. Cecil, for instance, refers to the "sublime passage" of Catherine's description of her love for Heathcliff (156) and describes the subject of the novel as sublime (192). But, as far as I know, there has been no thorough application of the concept of the sublime to the novel. Gordon discusses the sublime, not according to its traditional associations, but rather in terms of the precise meaning it has in Julia Kristeva's psychoanalytic theory.

[5]Gérin quotes the letter in full (29): "I write to accwaint you of a circumstance which has happened to me and which is of great importance to the world at large. On May 22 1829 the Cheif Genius Taly [Charlotte] came to me with a small yellow book in her hand—she gave it to me saying it was the POEMS of that Ossian of whom so much has been said about whose works could never be got. Upon a attentive perusal of the above said works I found they were most sublime and excellent I am engaged in publishing an edition of them. Quarto 3 vols with notes commentary etc.

Branwell undoubtedly read Hugh Blair's critical commentary on *Ossian*, which was regularly appended to editions of the poems. As Monk points out, Blair judged the poems to be sublime, especially in those scenes describing the visitations of ghosts (127). Ratchford states that Macpherson's *Ossian* "influenced Branwell superficially and Emily profoundly" (19).

[6]Ware has demonstrated convincingly how Mrs. Radcliffe's Gothic effects derive from Edmund Burke's analysis of the sublime.

pressed way how the Gothic and the sublime are distinct.[7] Shortly after Heathcliff's return to the Heights, Nelly passes a spot at the crossroads where she and Hindley had played as children twenty years before. Suddenly, as she recounts, "it appeared that I beheld my early playmate seated on the withered turf, his dark, square head bent forward, and his little hand scooping out the earth with a piece of slate" (133). The child lifts its face, stares at Nelly, then vanishes. The "gush of child's sensations" (133) that Nelly had initially felt now gives way to a fear that something terrible has happened to Hindley. She is seized by an "irresistible yearning" (134) to be at Wuthering Heights and hastens there at once, only to find that "the apparition had outstripped [her]; it stood looking through the gate" (134). But the sublimity of Nelly's first vision is followed by Gothicism. The child she sees is not Hindley at all but Hareton, an infant transformed from her nursling into a creature whose curses "distorted his baby features into an expression of malignity" (134). The Gothic child acknowledges Heathcliff as his Gothic father , or "'Devil daddy'" (135). When Nelly asks Hareton to fetch Hindley, his natural father, she meets instead his Gothic surrogate, Heathcliff, the sight of whom makes her run away "feeling as scared as if [she] had raised a goblin" (136).

The sublime vision of Hindley which transports Nelly back to childhood is soon displaced by the Gothic apparitions of the malign Hareton and his "Devil daddy," Heathcliff. She later seeks to dismiss all of these hauntings as the cheating of her senses (133), but striking parallels between this incident and events in the life of Heathcliff and Catherine seem designed to persuade the reader that reality can be extraordinary. Nelly's "gush of child's sensations" on remembering her youthful bond with Hindley recalls the close relationship between Heathcliff and Catherine in childhood. Her "irresistible desire" to go to the Heights is reminiscent of Catherine's ardent wish to return there when, married to Linton and ill, she exclaims, "'Oh, if I were but in my own bed in the old house!'" (151). The ghostly Catherine that Lockwood sees tries to make that wish a reality. The most haunting coincidence, however, resides in Nelly's seeing the ghost of Hindley at the crossroads, the very place to which the cursing Heathcliff had condemned him to an ignominious burial (227). Nelly experiences the sublime only once in the vision of Hindley, but the Gothic terror inspired by Heathcliff recurs throughout the book. In the case of Catherine and Heathcliff, however, the sublime eventually displaces the Gothic, although in ways that are by no means straightforward.

Catherine's development throughout the book is more circular than linear, for in the end she recaptures the sublimity of her youth. This sublimity was evident in her early conviction that "'there is, or should be, an existence of yours beyond you'" (101). But Catherine's sublimity as a young girl consisted in more than just this affirmation. On one occasion, for example, Emily Brontë used both the natural sublime and indirect allusions to *King Lear* to aggrandize her. The storm that rages after Heathcliff departs is construed by Nelly as a Gothic visitation: "About midnight, while we still sat up, the storm came rattling over the Heights in full fury . . . [like] a judgment on us" (105). But the terror that Nelly and Joseph feel is absent in Catherine, who fearlessly refuses to take shelter, "bonnetless and shawl-less" (105) maintaining her vigil for Heathcliff in the very midst of this terrifying storm. It has often been pointed out that the novel contains so little description of nature and yet conveys it powerfully, nature in tumult especially. This paradox may have led Cecil towards allegory in his calling Heathcliff and Catherine children of the storm. Yet the storm suggests the sublimity of Heathcliff and Catherine, not by definition, but by association. Mrs. Radcliffe pointed out this aggrandizing of character by association with the natural sublime in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, where the elements and local scenery are "always in unison with [the characters], heightening their effect. So the conspirators at Rome pass under the fiery showers and sheeted lightning of the thunder-storm, to meet, at midnight, in the porch of Pompey's theatre." Like Catherine, they seem oblivious to the storm which is "not more terrible to them than their own passions." Mrs. Radcliffe acutely notes that "the sublimity of these attendant circumstances" heighten our sense of Caesar's power and grandeur (145).

The effect of the natural sublime in imparting grandeur to Catherine makes her not only like the characters in *Julius Caesar* but also like Shakespeare's King Lear in the storm scenes, whom Charles Lamb felt to be sublime.[8] The echo is unmistakable: the "bonnetless" Catherine defies the elements exactly as the "unbonneted" Lear does:

> This night, wherein the cub-drawn bear would couch,
> The lion and the belly-pinched wolf
> Keep their fur dry, unbonneted he runs,
> And bids what will take all. (III. i. 11-15)

Significant in this connection is Lockwood's amusing comparison of himself to King Lear when he is attacked by the dogs that guard Wuthering Heights. As he tells it, he made "several incoherent threats of retaliation that, in their indefinite depth of virulency, smacked of King Lear" (21). The reader is meant to savor the ironic distance between the tragedy of King Lear and Lockwood's petty crisis, one which also enforces Lockwood's remoteness from the sublime type.

Catherine's loss of sublimity, like a tragic hero's fall from grace, is caused by a fatal flaw: in her case, the self-deception about her desire for the wealth and social status that Linton offers. In marrying him she fails to act according to the belief which she had expressed at the age of twelve that "'the earth might melt into nothing, before [she] could consent to forsake Heathcliff'" (109), her love for whom she compared to the "'eternal rocks'" (101). She naively assumes that this marriage will not affect her relationship with Heathcliff: each man, she is confident, will learn to tolerate the other. To the surprise of no one but Catherine, neither ever does.

Catherine's deception of herself is abundantly clear in her rationale for marrying Linton: "'I want to cheat my uncomfortable conscience, and be convinced that Heathcliff has no notion of these things—he has not, has he? He does not know what being in love is?'" (100). Nelly shrewdly notes that Linton's appeal for Catherine has to do with social status, or what she identifies as his four key attractions: his being "'handsome, and young, and cheerful, and rich'" (97). By contrast, Heathcliff is completely unprepossessing, in Catherine's own words, "'an unreclaimed creature, without refinement—without cultivation . . . a fierce, pitiless, wolfish man'" (126). All the same, Catherine's assertion—"'Nelly, I am Heathcliff'" (102)—is one of essence which makes Heathcliff's disagreeable qualities irrelevant. Catherine believes that her oneness with Heathcliff cannot be sundered even by death, let alone by marriage: "'Who is to separate us, pray?'" (101). Thus she tricks herself into seeing marriage to Linton as inconsequential.

Catherine tragically misjudges the effects of this marriage. Heathcliff sees it as a separation from her, a belief that impedes his union with her ghost; and Catherine finds that it alienates her from her own deepest feeling. She had said that "'the Universe would turn to a mighty stranger'" (101) if Heathcliff were annihilated. For a brief period, when he disappears from her life, her world does indeed turn strange. The twelve-year-old Catherine had spoken rapturously of dreams that had gone through her "'like wine through water, and altered the colour of [her] mind'" (99). Eight years later, Mrs. Linton says to Nelly: "'I dread sleeping, my dreams appal me'" (151).

When Catherine loses her sublimity she enters a Gothic world of nightmares and ghosts.[9] After locking herself in her room and fasting for three days, she tells Nelly, "'I've been tormented! I've been haunted, Nelly!'" (149). Her world once again becomes a mighty stranger when she fancies that Nelly dislikes her and that the other members of the household, including Edgar and Isabella, "all turned enemies in a few hours" (149). The uncanny returns to terrify her when, imagining herself back in her old room at the Heights, she is haunted by a ghost that appears in her own mirror. When Nelly finally convinces her that the ghost she sees is her own reflection, Catherine says cryptically: "'Myself . . . and the clock is striking twelve! It's true, then; that's dreadful!'" (151). I would suggest that the antecedent of "it" here is the waking dream that she relates to Nelly shortly afterwards.

This dream, or reverie, occurs as Catherine revives from her fainting spell, the hysterical condition brought on by the quarrel between Heathcliff and Edgar. Not fully recovered, she imagines that she is back in the oak-panelled bed at Wuthering Heights just as she was on the terrible night that Hindley ordered her to be separated from Heathcliff. Catherine's misery during this waking dream is caused by her separation from Heathcliff in the present for which she herself is responsible. Because Catherine represses this knowledge of her own guilt, it surfaces in the nightmarish experience that she struggles to explain to Nelly:

> But supposing at twelve years old I had been wrenched from the Heights, and every early association, and my all in all, as Heathcliff was at that time, and been converted at a stroke into Mrs. Linton, the lady of Thrushcross Grange, and the wife of a stranger; an exile, an outcast, thenceforth, from what had been my world—You may fancy a glimpse of the abyss where I grovelled!" (153)

Significantly, Heathcliff and Catherine's ill-fated venture at Thrushcross Grange occurred in the month following Old Earnshaw's death when Catherine was twelve years old. Thus the clock's striking twelve marks, in Catherine's mind at least, her conversion "at a stroke" into Mrs. Linton at the age of twelve, for when she returned home after her convalescence at Thrushcross Grange, she was already in a sense Mrs. Linton, thoroughly socialized, amorous of Edgar—and effectively separated as a result from Heathcliff.

Catherine's gradual recognition of the reasons for which she is haunted at first plunges her into despair, but this suffering is necessary to the recovery of her love for Heathcliff. Shortly after she describes her dream to Nelly, she flings open the window and delivers an apostrophe to Heathcliff which seems already to be given from the perspective of a spirit, the form she will take for him after her death:

> It's a rough journey, and a sad heart to travel it; and we must pass by Gimmerton Kirk, to go that journey! We've braved its ghosts often together, and dared each other to stand among the graves and ask them to come. . . . But Heathcliff, if I dare you now, will you venture? If you do, I'll keep you. I'll not lie there by myself; they may bury me twelve feet deep, and throw the church down over me, but I won't rest till you are with me. . . . I never will!" (154)

Catherine recalls that moment in the past when, sublimely fearless, she and Heathcliff had dared the dead to appear; and she anticipates a time in the future when they will be "'incomparably beyond and above'" (197) all earthbound creatures in their renewed sublimity. But Catherine's observation that Heathcliff is "'considering . . . he'd rather I'd come to him!'" (154) suggests that the road to reunion after death will not be a direct one for the lovers, chiefly because for a time Heathcliff follows his own lead rather than Catherine's.

Like Catherine, Heathcliff is distracted from his love by the things of the world, although in his case the world signifies the objects of his avarice and revenge. His betrayal of their love is more understandable than Catherine's: as he tells her, their separation was caused by no act of his, but rather by her marriage to Linton (198). If this separation had not occurred, Heathcliff might not have become a Gothic villain at all. Heathcliff's statement of how he would have acted had he been Linton, for example, evinces a magnanimity greater than that of Linton:

> "I wish you had sincerity enough to tell me whether Catherine would suffer greatly from his loss. The fear that

[7]For different interpretations of Nelly's experience, see Dunn and London.

[8]In arguing that Lear's character cannot be conveyed by an actor, Lamb states: "What have looks, or tones, to do with that sublime identification of his [Lear's] age with that of the *heavens themselves*. . . (1: 107).

[9]One of the few critics to discuss Catherine's self-haunting is Tayler.

> she would restrains me: and there you see the distinction between our feelings—Had he been in my place, and I in his, though I hated him with a hatred that turned my life to gall, I never would have raised a hand against him. You may look incredulous, if you please! I never would have banished him from her society, as long as she desired him. The moment her regard ceased, I would have torn his heart out, and drank his blood! But, till then, if you don't believe me, you don't know me—till then, I would have died by inches before I touched a single hair of his head!" (181)

But Heathcliff's sublimity remains potential for most of the story chiefly because he is unable to believe in that which lies beyond the grave: union with Catherine.

Although Heathcliff lacks Catherine's intuitive conviction of a transcendent union, he does believe in ghosts. In pleading with Catherine to haunt him—what other character in literature ever begged to be haunted?—the usual Gothic formula is reversed. The spirit answers Heathcliff's request on the night of her funeral: "'A sudden sense of relief flowed from my heart through every limb. I relinquished my labour of agony, and turned consoled at once, unspeakably consoled. Her presence was with me; it remained while I re-filled the grave, and led me home'" (350). Heathcliff seems to have a similar experience just before his death, although Nelly notes that his rapture gave way at times to anguish (405). Indeed, until his final days on earth, Heathcliff's repeated hauntings by Catherine cause him anguish only, for he is not granted so much as "'one glimpse'" (351) of her.

Although Heathcliff is continually haunted, he never experiences Gothic terror; he does, however, inspire it in others. For example, Heathcliff's vow to haunt Thrushcross Grange when Catherine is ill bristles with sinister meaning. Then there is the terror, described in Gothically harrowing terms, that he makes his son feel: "'. . . my presence is as potent on his nerves as a ghost; and I fancy he sees me often, though I am not near. Hareton says he wakes and shrieks in the night by the hour together'" (347). Heathcliff's most conspicuous act of Gothic villainy is in his entrapment of the innocent young Catherine, whom Nelly compares to a sheep abandoned by God to an "evil beast" (132). The baffling aspect of Heathcliff's behavior is his failure to comply with the dying Catherine's injunction that he come to her by the route which she tries to indicate, "considering" instead and seeming to prefer his own way of Gothic villainy. The consequences begin with the ghostly Catherine's first maddening disappearance.

After Heathcliff's attempt to possess Catherine's dead body is halted by her spirit, he returns to her room convinced that he will meet her there. On arrival, however, he is frustrated by her failure to appear. As so often happens in *Wuthering Heights*, the juxtaposition of passages provides its own commentary. Heathcliff's terse mention of kicking Hindley before proceeding on to Catherine's room should be compared with the lengthy account that Isabella gives of Heathcliff's repeatedly dashing Hindley's head against the flags (216-20), especially her taunt that Catherine would have witnessed "'a repulsive scene'" (222) had she risen from the grave and seen Heathcliff beating her brother.[10] Heathcliff's brutal actions may well be the reason that he is granted no other blissful communion with Catherine's spirit. The uncanny terror of empty space leads to Heathcliff's second attempt to disinter Catherine. This time he not only opens her coffin but actually embraces her, grimly determined if balked of her spirit at least to possess her body, however decomposed. In rejecting the transcendent Catherine on this occasion, he becomes ghoulish rather than sublime. Yet even though he speaks nihilistically of someday mixing his dust with hers, he does not abandon his belief in her spirit. On the contrary, in admitting to being tortured by her ghost, he tacitly acknowledges its existence. Presumably this is why Lockwood finds the lock in Catherine's bedroom window soldered: Heathcliff actually tries to bar entry to Catherine's spirit (30). Unaware that his conduct stands between himself and Catherine, Heathcliff assumes that she is tormenting him wantonly after death much as she did in life. Thus for a hellish interval he does not so much disbelieve in her spirit as refuse to be racked by its absence.

This reading of events gives a new importance to Lockwood's dream, for this dream causes Heathcliff to renew his devotion to Catherine's spirit, and in so doing, to regain sublimity. Having heard his lodger describe his encounter with a Catherine Linton, Heathcliff wrenches open the lattice and does what no one with a normal fear of the supernatural would ever do: he begs to be haunted: "'Come in! come in!'" he sobbed. 'Cathy, do come. Oh do—*once* more! Oh! my heart's darling, hear me *this* time—Catherine, at last!'" (35). From one point of view, both Lockwood's occupying and dreaming in Catherine's old room are chance events: the servant Zillah was not supposed to have led him to that room at all. But, when one looks closely at the intriguing symmetrical patterns evident everywhere in the novel, one sees here yet another parallel—this one between Lockwood and Heathcliff—that makes it fitting for Catherine's room to be occupied by a man who is cruel and violent.

What both men have in common is hinted at in the seemingly irrelevant anecdote that Lockwood tells about his own interest in a beautiful girl at the sea-coast.[11] When she reciprocated his attentions, however, he "shrunk icily into [himself], like a snail," treating her so coldly that she fled in confusion (7). Lockwood's callous rejection of this girl explains his mother's prediction that he would never enjoy a "comfortable home" (7), presumably because he is unable to make the full commitment that love requires. Seen in this light, the waning of Lockwood's initial fancy to Catherine junior and his cutting the wrist of the ghostly Catherine acquire a new significance: he rejects the two Catherine Lintons, both the deceased Catherine Earnshaw, whose married name was Linton, and her daughter. The "sin that no Christian need pardon" (29) of which Lockwood is accused in his dream would seem to be the rejection of love.[12] The relevance of this idea to Heathcliff's conduct cannot be emphasized too strongly. Lockwood's cruelly rubbing the ghost's wrist on the broken window recalls Heathcliff's wounding of Catherine by his brutality to her brother and to her daughter; and Lockwood's icy withdrawal from the girl at the sea-coast has a counterpart in Heathcliff's rejection of his beloved Catherine during the period between his second visit to her grave and the night of Lockwood's dream.

Although Lockwood's dream forces Heathcliff to seek Catherine once more, union with her spirit does not occur immediately. Heathcliff must first relinquish his worldly desires, specifically revenge and avarice. To accomplish this, Emily Brontë puts to fictional good use the resemblance that children often bear to their parents. Heathcliff finds that, when he sees Catherine's eyes looking at him from her daughter's face, he can no longer strike her. As a result, the barrier of Heathcliff's vicarious revenge upon Linton crumbles, setting him free to commit himself fully to Catherine once more.

Also helpful in purging Heathcliff of his desire for revenge is his relationship to Hareton. In depriving Hareton of an education to get revenge upon Hindley, Heathcliff fashions an image of his younger self, thereby condemning himself to contemplate his past suffering. But when Heathcliff sees the love-smitten Hareton, he is made to recall his passion for Catherine. As he confesses to Nelly, "'Hareton's aspect was the ghost of my immortal love, of my wild endeavours to hold my right, my degradation, my pride, my happiness, and my anguish—'" (394). This ghost is a metaphoric one: Heathcliff's youthful love for Catherine is reflected eerily in Hareton's love for Catherine's daughter.

Emily Brontë's depiction of Catherine's haunting of Heathcliff—or, more precisely, Heathcliff's belief in that haunting—shows a brilliant use of obscurity to create mystery. The Gothic function of obscurity can be detected in Nelly's fearful musings about Heathcliff: "But where did he come from, the little dark think, harboured by a good man to his bane?" (403). By scrutinizing Nelly's comments and filling in the lacunae, however, it is possible to discern through obscurity, not the Gothic, but the sublime. Before Heathcliff describes Hareton's effect on him to Nelly, he alarms her by commenting on "'a strange change approaching'" (393). The first sign of this change is noted by Nelly several days later when she records "a strange joyful glitter in [Heathcliff's] eyes" (398). It is clearly the strangeness, and not the joy, of his look that Nelly finds arresting. She late refers to this look as "unnatural" (400). Shortly after this, she comes upon what she thinks is Heathcliff asleep, and gets a start from "Those deep black eyes! That smile, and ghastly paleness! It appeared to me, not Mr. Heathcliff, but a goblin" (402). Nelly finds Heathcliff's joyful aspect first strange, then unnatural, and finally Gothic. For the reader, however, Heathcliff's strange joy may suggest an encounter with the transcendent.[13]

The gaps in Nelly's account, that is, her silence in the face of what she cannot understand, should be regarded as circumspectly as her Gothic views. It is odd, for instance, that she records Heathcliff's significant comment—"'To-day, I am within sight of my heaven—I have my eyes on it—hardly three feet to sever me!'" (401)—but makes no attempt to interpret it. Even more peculiar is her failure to elucidate the object of Heathcliff's gaze:

> Now, I perceived he was not looking at the wall, for when I regarded him alone, it seemed, exactly, that he gazed at something within two yards distance. And whatever it was, it communicated, apparently, both pleasure and pain, in exquisite extremes: at least, the anguished, yet enraptured expression of his countenance suggested that idea. (405)

Perhaps it does not occur to Nelly that Heathcliff might be gazing upon the ghostly Catherine because, for Nelly, ghosts inspire only fear, not rapture.

It is precisely fear of this Gothic sort that overpowers Nelly when she finds the dead Heathcliff by the open window, the window whose lock was once soldered shut. The following passage provides a striking instance of how the narrator forces a Gothic interpretation upon Heathcliff:

> I hasped the window; I combed his black long hair from his forehead; I tried to close his eyes—to extinguish, if possible, that frightful, life-like gaze of exultation, before anyone else beheld it. They would not shut—they seemed to sneer at my attempts, and his parted lips and sharp, white teeth sneered too! Taken with another fit of cowardice, I cried out for Joseph. Joseph shuffled up, and made a noise, but resolutely refused to meddle with him. (411)

The telling detail here is Heathcliff's "life-like gaze of exultation" which strikes Nelly as "frightful"; yet to the reader this same gaze makes Heathcliff sublime in death, for the adjective "life-like" suggests the continuation of life after death, and the noun "exultation" his consummate joy in achieving what for so long had been denied him.

Even after we penetrate Nelly's Gothic obfuscations, the mystery of Heathcliff and Catherine's existence after death remains. On visiting their graves, Lockwood seems to answer negatively the question of whether or not their ghosts could possibly roam the moors:

> I lingered round [the head-stones], under that benign sky; watched the moths fluttering among the heath, and harebells; listened to the soft wind breathing through the grass; and wondered how any one could ever imagine unquiet slumbers for the sleepers in that quiet earth. (414)

What Lockwood forgets in denying the hauntings experienced by several people, including himself the night he slept in Catherine's oak-panelled bed, is that the otherworldly Heathcliff and Catherine manifest themselves only in turbulent weather. The "sublimity of attendant circumstances"

[10]The fact that there are two versions of Heathcliff's beating of Hindley is also noted by Flahiff xix-xx and by Benvenuto 114-15.
[11]Anne Smith rightly points out that this incident suggests Lockwood's "frozen emotional condition" (11).
[12]For different interpretations of the "unpardonable sin" in the novel, see Bell, Madden and Sagar.
[13]In an interesting essay in which she compares Heathcliff's death to John Wesley's, Katherine M. Sorensen has argued for the religious aspects of Heathcliff's death.

described by Mrs. Radcliffe attaches to their two ghosts which appear to Joseph "on every rainy night since [Heathcliff's] death" (412). Brontë's use of the natural sublime in connection with Heathcliff and Catherine disinclines us to share Lockwood's skepticism about the existence of their ghosts when he visits their graves, for his views are formulated under, and no doubt influenced by, the very tame natural conditions prevailing at the time. That "attendant circumstances" can alter our perception of the sublime has been pointed out by Margaret Drabble in her study of landscape in British literature. Intrigued by eighteenth-century writer Thomas Gray's description of the Goredale Scar (a magnificent waterfall situated, appropriately enough, in Brontë's Yorkshire), which she calls a perfect example of the sublime in literature, Drabble travelled to see the place. She found the cliffs less awesome, or sublime, than Gray suggested, but she notes perceptively, "Of course, Gray saw it on a 'gloomy uncomfortable day,' and I have seen it only in good weather" (126, 129). Similarly, in the unthreatening setting of a graveyard presided over by a benign sky, with a soft wind blowing and moths fluttering among the hare-bells, Lockwood naturally scoffs at the idea that Heathcliff and Catherine roam the earth. He seems utterly oblivious of the fact that they make their ghostly selves evident only in sublimely stormy circumstances.

Those critics who ignore the numinous element in *Wuthering Heights* do so at their peril. Since Lord Cecil's essay, the general tendency towards the supernatural in the novel has been not so much to deny its presence in the work as to declare it to be outside the realm of criticism. With a Lockwood-like skepticism, for example, one critic asserts that "although the supernatural pervades the whole texture of *Wuthering Heights*, we are never allowed, finally, to believe or to disbelieve it" (Smith 18). Such an attitude seems to require for the solution of the novel's metaphysical mystery the kind of evidence produced in a court of law. The sublime, by contrast, points to that which passes understanding. The human heart is always difficult of access. How much greater is such inaccessibility when, as in the case of Catherine and Heathcliff, our knowledge of them is filtered through the other characters; and how much more complicated by the fact that it is not just their hearts, but ultimately their souls, that remain mysterious to us. In Catherine's words, "'Whatever our souls are made of, his and mine are the same'" (100). It is this last and deepest mystery of character, finally inexpressible though it is, that Emily Brontë intimates through the sublime.

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Kate Field and Anthony Trollope: Re George Eliot and George Henry Lewes*

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Two recent biographies of Anthony Trollope perpetuate an error attributable to Trollope himself, for he ended a letter to Kate Field by saying of George Eliot: ". . . She was one whose private life should be left in privacy . . . " (*Letters* 3: 892). The error is that Field wanted intimate information from Trollope about George Eliot and George Henry Lewes so that she could write a gossipy article about them. In his recent biography, Richard Mullen wrote: "After both Lewes and Eliot were dead, Kate Field wanted to write an article about the great novelist and asked Trollope for private information" (473). And Victoria Glendinning in her biography noted: "Kate Field . . . wrote to Anthony for information about the circumstances of Eliot's liaison with Lewes" (490).[1]

Their error is understandable to a point, since Field had written articles about other individuals she had met at Villino Trollope, among them Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Walter Savage Landor, though the fact of the matter is that she never violated confidences or exposed private affairs. She was always the professional, never the gossip, in all her articles. Even in her two editions of *Pen Photographs of Charles Dickens's Readings*, there is no allusion to Boz's troubled relations with his wife or to a rumored affair with another woman. Actually, all Field wanted from her friend Trollope was a simple statement of fact with which she could defend herself against an attack upon her credibility as a journalist.

* * *

Upon the death of George Eliot, Whitelaw Reid, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, requested Field to write an article about the novelist, for he knew that she had met her and Lewes at the Villino Trollope and had already touched lovingly upon her in the *Atlantic Monthly* sixteen years earlier in her "English Authors in Florence." Field was happy to oblige Reid, who on 24 December 1880 proceeded to publish alongside her two-column tribute ("A Letter of Reminiscences—George Eliot in Italy—/ The Many Beautiful Traits of Her Disposition") a full-column unsigned obituary ("'George Eliot' Dead . . . Her Life and Works").

Unfortunately, the two articles were conspicuously discrepant on one crucial point: whether Eliot had published the stories that formed *Scenes of Clerical Life* before she met Lewes (as the unsigned article alleged), or whether Lewes had urged her to publish them and, in addition, had encouraged her to become a novelist (as Field alleged). The unsigned article reported:

> When "Adam Bede" was published it attracted the attention of Mr. George Henry Lewes, who pronounced it to be a work of extraordinary genius. Thinking thus, he eagerly sought the personal acquaintance of the author . . . . [and] he took the step of writing to her and of offering her any literary assistance in his power. Her letter of thanks was followed by a correspondence, and the letters of Mr. Lewes overcoming the reserve of George Eliot, she at last consented to an interview.

Field, contrariwise, reported a statement that Eliot had purportedly made to her at the Villino Trollope:

> For years [she quoted Eliot][2] I wrote reviews because I knew too little of humanity, and I doubt whether I should ever have ventured upon a novel had not Mr. Lewes urged me to it. To him I submitted my "Scenes of Clerical Life," short stories of the worth of which I was in doubt. Mr. Lewes insisted upon their publication, and their success put an end to my reviews. All my manuscripts pass through his hands before they are submitted to the public. He is my critic and my inspiration.

When the *New York Tribune*, a morning paper, appeared, the New York *Evening Post* that very evening published an attack on Field. Citing the statement that Field attributed to Eliot, *The Post* remarked:

> Now the "Scenes of Clerical Life" were published both serially and in book form before "Adam Bede" was printed, and it puzzles us to understand how Miss Evans happened to submit the stories to Mr. Lewes before their publication, more than two years before she attracted Mr. Lewes's attention, before Mr. Lewes wrote her that letter introducing himself, and before the book which prompted him to write the letter was published or written. If, as the *Tribune* says, Mr. Lewes's attention was first attracted to her by "Adam Bede," we cannot make out what George Eliot meant when she told Miss Field that she doubted whether she ever would have ventured upon a novel had not Mr. Lewes urged her to it.
>
> We question this matter closely because Miss Field's reminiscences—like all reminiscences—depend for their value upon their accuracy, and if she remembers that George Eliot said things which she could not have said, her confusion of memory throws painful doubts upon the

*I am grateful to Professor K. K. Collins of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale for finding the *New York Evening Post*'s attacks on Kate Field.

[1]Hall in *Trollope* attributes no nefarious motive to Field, but matter-of-factly writes: "Kate had written an article for the *New York Tribune* immediately on the novelist's [George Eliot's] death and apparently hoped to do something more ambitious" (488). Super merely mentions Trollope's letter to Field in passing (412).

[2]There is no way to determine how accurately Field quoted Eliot. To be sure, she constantly kept a journal, rich in detail, as indicated by Whiting's copious quotations from it, but it has disappeared.

accuracy of all that she tells us of that evening [when she talked with Eliot at the Villino Trollope]. . . .

In a letter to the *New York Tribune* dated 25 December and published on the 28th, Field responded:

> My attention has been called to an article in *The Evening Post*, wherein I am . . . accused of inaccuracy because my letter concerning George Eliot, contributed . . . to The Tribune, does not agree in a certain particular with The Tribune's official notice. By some mysterious process of reasoning, I am made responsible not only for what I did write but also for what I didn't; consequently what I did write not agreeing with what I didn't, what I did write is not supposed to be worthy of credence! I am sorry that in the presence of so noble a genius as George Eliot, a journalist can descend to such unjust and ignoble cavilling.

Given this lame reply, the *Evening Post* on that very evening challenged Field again:

> What the *Tribune* said is in accordance with the common understanding, namely, that George Eliot did not know George Henry Lewes until after "Adam Bede" was published. That has been the universal understanding and criticism has rested in that belief in its attempt to measure the influence of Lewes's learning and thought upon George Eliot's later work. If Miss Field is correct, however, in her recollection of what was said at Villino Trollope, this understanding is utterly wrong, and not only the later works of George Eliot, but "Adam Bede" also, and possibly even the "Scenes of Clerical Life" were written after Lewes's influence became a directing force in George Eliot's life. In that case we have absolutely no novel written by George Eliot which we can confidently regard as wholly free from the influence of her association with a very learned and profound philosophical thinker, whose philosophy may have given color to all that she wrote.
>
> This, it seems to us, is an important matter, with which the public has a right to concern itself . . . . It is important to know which of these hypotheses is correct, as both of them cannot be so, and as the point affects literary history and literary criticism in very important particulars . . . .
>
> We want to know the facts.

Field did not need to be prompted to find the facts. She had already written enquiries, not only to Trollope, but to an unnamed wife of a Member of Parliament and to George Du Maurier, all three intimates of Eliot and Lewes. Though Field's letters on this score are not extant, the responses of her correspondents make it clear that she put only one question to them: Was Lewes responsible for Eliot's becoming a published writer of fiction?

Armed with their replies, Field wrote a letter dated 11 February 1881 "To the Editor of The Tribune," which the *Tribune* published on 14 February under the heads, "Miss Kate Field's Recollections/Miss Field Deals Effectively with an Assailant—English Testimony—Trollope, Du Maurier, and Others." She began by quoting the *Evening Post*'s latest challenge and said that all she was able to do in the circumstances "was to write to England for the memory of others." Specifying her correspondents, she proceeded to quote them in turn. The MP's wife said that, though she was an "old and intimate friend of George Eliot," she was unable to give Field "accurate information," and in default sent her *The Academy*, a London weekly, for 8 January 1881, "which gives," she added, "the truest notice that has yet been written."

The Academy, as it turned out, favored Field's position, and she quoted it accurately as saying: "It was after she thus became the wife of Mr. Lewes that all the works by which she is best known were given to the world" (28). As Field recognized, this statement was equivocal, so her only comment on it was, "So far, so good," and she then took up Trollope's letter, which also proved inconclusive:

> I hardly know how to answer your letter [Field quoted Trollope], because, though I was very intimate with George Eliot, she never spoke to me of her life before I knew her, nor, so far as I am aware, did she to her other friends. Nor did he [Lewes]. He was a friendly, affectionate man, but very reticent, especially as to those matters which concerned her.
>
> I do not know where George Eliot and Lewes became acquainted. I think it was in the pages of "Blackwood" if the word *where* can be applied to a magazine. I think I may say that the two were acquainted some time before "Adam Bede" came out. I knew them, living together, shortly after the publication of "Adam Bede." But my information, though I feel sure of it for my own purposes, cannot be taken as a positive assertion.[3]
>
> Fortunately for me [Field continued], one of my correspondents can assert as a fact what my memory recalled. Mr. Du Maurier, whose genius shines through *Punch*, writes as follows: "I know very little of the personal history of George Eliot, but can at least answer part of your question. You are quite right in stating that the friendship between her and the late George Henry Lewes began before the publication of 'Scenes of Clerical Life.' This I know from what he himself has told me. But I do not know when they first met . . . ." It seems to me [Field went on] that my schoolgirl memory requires no further fortification, but if it does, to-day's Tribune [11 February], which has come to me since writing the last sentence, ought to settle the matter. In your republication of *Blackwood's* tribute to George Eliot [in its February number] I read : "It was in the autumn of 1856 that the late Mr. G. H. Lewes sent to the Editor of *Blackwood*, 'The Sad Fortunes of Amos Barton' as a work of an anonymous friend."[4] It is a comfort to find such indisputable proof. To assume, however, because Lewes was an inspiration to George Eliot, that he moulded her mind, is absurd. She was a learned woman before she ever met Lewes . . . . George Lewes would have been the first to disclaim the assertions of misinformed critics. His inspiration took the form of encouragement, than which nothing is so grateful nor so needed to the doubting artist. The world is indebted to George Lewes because he made George Eliot believe in herself as a writer of fiction. . . .

Though the *Evening Post* now owed Field an apology for attacking her credibility, it sourly announced that evening that the "testimony of these friends of George Eliot [and Kate Field] comes too late to be of service," for *Blackwood's* had decided "the point before Miss Field could do so."

* * *

Thus Field's quarrel with the *Evening Post* came to an end, with Field vindicated, in consequence of which a new facet of the Eliot-Lewes relationship was established once and for all and made widely known to boot. Indeed, in 1885, four years after this quarrel took place, George Eliot's own confirmation of Field's position was made public by her husband, John Walter Cross. In the autobiographical section of her Journal (1: 298-99) called "How I Came to Write Fiction," Eliot had noted:

> It had always been a vague dream of mine that some time or other I might write a novel. . . . He [Lewes] began to say very positively, "You must try and write a story [first]. . . ." I deferred it, however, after my usual fashion . . . . But one morning, as I was thinking what should be the subject of my first story . . . I imagined myself writing a story of which the title was—"The Sad Fortunes of the Reverend Amos Barton."[5]

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Super, R. H. *The Chronicler of Barsetshire: A Life of Anthony Trollope*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1988.

Whiting, Lilian. *Kate Field: A Record*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1899.

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[3]Apart from one verbal change ("being together" to "living together") and a few minor changes in punctuation, Trollope's letter is accurately quoted.

[4]The article was chiefly written by Allardyce, the assistant editor to William Blackwood, according to "Blackwood's Contributors' Book." See *The Wellesley Index* (1: 155, Item 5619). The passage is accurately quoted, apart from Field's failing to indicate omission of material irrelevant to her purpose. Though Allardyce seems not to have consulted with John Walter Cross, he drew heavily on the correspondence between Blackwood and Lewes regarding the serial publication of *Scenes of Clerical Life* in *Blackwood's*.

[5]This passage, as quoted, does not differ substantively from the version, dated 6 December 1857, in Haight's edition of the Eliot letters or in his Eliot biography (206-07).

Books Received

Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy*. Rethinking the Western Tradition. Ed. Samuel Lipman. New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1994. Pp. xix + 230. $30.00 cloth, $11.00 paper. In addition to the text, there is a brief sketch and a chronology of Arnold, a publishing history of the work, a glossary, and commentaries by Maurice Cowling, "One-and-a-half Cheers for Matthew Arnold"; Gerald Graff, "Arnold, Reason, and Common Culture"; Steven Marcus, "*Culture and Anarchy* Today"; and Lipman, "Why Should We Read *Culture and Anarchy*?."

Eckley, Grace. *The Steadfast Finnegans Wake: A Textbook*. Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1994. Pp. [xv] + 335. $47.50. "This book provides an introduction to the narrative sequence and the epic hero of *Finnegans Wake*. In . . . William T. Stead, Joyce found the ultimate weapon of silence—one so closely identified with his personal life that no one would suspect its presence. Stead is disquised by his name (a common noun), by birthdate (similar to that of Joyce's father), by craft of writing (similar to Joyce himself), by forgotten source" ([7]).

Emerson, Sheila. *Ruskin: The Genesis of Invention*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. Pp. xiv + 274. $54.95. ". . . in precise and distinctive ways, Ruskin learned what he later taught—whether or not about himself, whether or not about art—from how he learned to write. What makes this book unlike others about Ruskin is its concentration not only on how he learned to write but more specifically on the language with which he represents his learning" (1).

Foor, Sheila M. *Dickens' Rhetoric*. Dickens' Universe vol. 2. New York: Peter Lang, 1993. Pp. x + 149. $37.95. Concerned with a single novel *Bleak House*, Foor divides her study in two—the written word and the spoken word.

Fulweiler, Howard. *"Here a Captive Heart Busted": Studies in the Sentimental Journey of Modern Literature*. New York: Fordham UP, 1993. Pp. 207. $25.00 cloth, $18.00 paper. "Rather than attempting to cover . . . nineteenth and early twentieth century cultural history relating to sentimentality, my purpose is to concentrate . . . on the actual development of human consciousness beneath the external phenomena. To accomplish this task I have chosen six major writers [Tennyson, Dickens, Hardy, Hopkins, T. S. Eliot, Lawrence] . . . . My plan is to consider each writer generally but to focus on a single representative work as a window into the wider societal consciousness from which it arises" (29-30).

Gilbert and Sullivan: Interviews and Recollections. Ed. Harold Orel. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1994. Pp. xviii + 214. $29.95. Includes 10 entries "Gilbert, Mostly without Sullivan"; 19 entries "Sullivan, Mostly without Gilbert"; and 10 entries "Gilbert and Sullivan: Collaborators." Most the entries are extracts.

Gissing, George. *The Collected Letters of George Gissing. Vol. 4: 1889-1891*. Eds. Paul F. Mattheisen, Arthur C. Young, Pierre Coustillas. Athens, OH: Ohio UP, 1993. Pp. xxxii + 362. $55.00. Includes an intro., chronology, and two indexes as well as some 225 letters, most to his brother Algernon and sister Ellen and to Eduard Bertz.

Grubgeld, Elizabeth. *George Moore and the Autogenous Self: The Autobiography and Fiction*. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1994. Pp. xviii + 287. $49.50. "In looking at Moore's essay-dialogues and his voluminous correspondence, I address the use of dialogue as a mode of self-creation and propose a number of different perspectives from which his correspondences might be considered acts of epistolary autobiography. I conclude with a discussion of his theories of memeory and autobiogrpahical process in the later novels and in *Memoirs of My Dead Life*. . . . The writings of George Moore, like his life, abound in antithetical ideas, and accordingly this study abounds in the qualifying and contrasting phrase. During the 1890s, Moore's ambivalences occasionally resulted in a morass of incoherence from which he feared he might never escape, but for the majority of his career his deeply ironic outlook enabled him to see the internal inconsistencies of the premises by which our lives are lived and explained" (xii).

Jackson, Vanessa Furse. *The Poetry of Henry Newbolt: Patriotism Is Not Enough*. Greensboro, NC: ELT P, 1994. Pp. 210. $30.00. A revaluation of Newbolt, of whom it was said in the year of his death "Newbolt, with an irritating monotony of metre, and a great appearance of nobility, celebrated the worst side of Imperialism"; he was described as "an even more nautical Kipling," and as "Kipling's 'well-dressed shadow.'"

Kennedy, Richard S. *Robert Browning's "Asolando": The Indian Summer of a Poet*. Columbia & London: U of Missouri P, 1993. Pp. xiii + 152. $27.50. "It is my purpose to offer critical commentary on all of the poems in *Asolando*, sometimes descriptive, sometimes analytical, oftentimes judgmental, and to try also to indicate how the poems are representative of Browning's ideas and practices during his long career" (xii).

Maynard, John. *Victorian Discourses on Sexuality and Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993. Pp. xii + 394. $54.95. "This book looks at the rather substantial discourses on the relations of sexuality and religion in a number of Victorian writers [Clough, Kingsley, Patmore and Hardy]. They were in the first instance chosen for the degree to which they placed this conjoint subject at the center of their thinking and writing" (1).

McGhee, Richard D. *Guilty Pleasures: William Wordsworth's Poetry of Psychoanalysis*. Troy, NY: Whitson, 1994. Pp. 350. $35.00. "It is aimed at recognizing continuities from the earliest to the latest work. Its method is based upon a simple premise that Wordsworth is a poet of psycho-analysis, that his poetry is a record of an unending analysis. He knew he was this kind of poet , which is one of the reasons we still read his writings with great interest. This essay postulates a common identity of purpose between Wordsworth's kind of poetry and Freud's kind of psycho-analogy—a deep analysis of self as a construct of language, expanding to become a deep analysis of history and society" ([ii]).

Mendes, Peter. *Clandestine Erotic Fiction in English 1800-1930: A Bibliographical Study*. Aldershot: Scolar P, 1993. (Dist. Ashgate Pub. Co., Old Post Road, Brookfield, VT.) Pp. xviii + 479. $124.95. "Most, if not all, of the books emanated from five European cities: London, Brussels, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Paris. Though a few items were issued in the United States during the pre-1920 period, and a great number between c. 1920 and c. 1950, I have not included these . . . . I mean the term 'erotic fiction' to include works ostensibly autobiographical—the blend of erotic fact and fantasy being notoriously complex and difficult to separate, if indeed it can be. By 'clandestine' I mean books whose publishers and printers attempted to hide their identities, either by offering no information or . . . misleading information as to date and/or place of publication" (vii). "I have taken it as my bibliographical task not only to locate, describe and classify all the printings of all the titles within the period (including reprints of texts first published pre-1885), but also to attempt to establish where and when they were printed and published, and by whom; how they were advertised, distributed and sold; what they cost and, where possible, who wrote them" (viii).

Middleton, Dorothy. *Victorian Lady Travellers*. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1993. Pp. xvi + 182. $11.00 paper. A reprint of an edition published by Dutton in 1965, it includes chapters on Isabella Bird Bishop (1831-1904), Marianne North (1830-1890), Fanny Bullock Workman (1859-1925), May French Sheldon (1848-1936), Annie Taylor (1855-?), Kate Marsden (1859-1931), Mary Kingsley (1862-1900).

Miles, Alice Catherine. *Every Girl's Diary: The Diary of a Victorian Debutante*. Ed. with commentary by Maggie Parsons. London: Andre Deutsch, 1992. (Dist. Trafalgar Square, North Pomfret, VT.) Pp. ix + 182. $35.00. The diary of Alice Miles from age 17 to 19 (1868-1870) and a commentary which brings Alice's story down to her death in 1926. The text includes illustrations and an index.

Monk, Leland. *Standard Deviations: Chance and the Modern British Novel*. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1993. Pp. 199. $32.50. My "argument . . . addresses three areas of interest. The first is *a general history of ideas*; I provide an overview of the philosophical, scientific, and (as evidenced in the novel genre) literary thinking about chance from the pre-Socratics to postmodern art. The second area is *literary history*, in which I consider why and how late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British novelists' unprecedented interest in chance influenced modernist narrative practices. The third area is *narrative theory*, where I argue that chance is an essential feature of *all* narratives" (10). There are chapters on Eliot's *Middlemarch*, Conrad's *Chance*, and Joyce's *Ulysses*, and chance in the modern novel, as well as an appendix on chance in Hardy and James.

Morgan, Rosemarie. *Cancelled Words: Rediscovering Thomas Hardy*. London & New York: Routledge, 1992. Pp. xi + 215. $44.95. "The purpose of this book is to present a collation and critical interpretation of the revisions made to Hardy's holograph manuscript of *Far from the Madding Crowd* for its first publication in *The Cornhill Magazine* (Smith, Elder & Co., 1874). . . . To this end [understanding the creative mind at work], and to overcome the time-consuming work and laborious attention that would be involved if I simply presented a list of cancellations and revisions to be collated, compared and interpreted by the reader, my approach is not only editorial, in so far as I am presenting hitherto unpublished portions of Hardy's text, but also exegetical, interpretive and analytical" (1-2).

Moss, Sidney P. and Carolyn J. Moss. *Dickens and His Chicago Relatives: A Documentary Narrative*. Troy, NY: Whitson, 1994. Pp. xv + 191. $23.50. "Augustus, Charles Dickens's youngest brother and his junior by some fifteen years, became, with Bertha Phillips, the progenitor of the American family of Dickenses. Of the seven children Bertha bore, three survived. (A son died in infancy and triplets died soon after birth.) . . .

The information about Augustus and Bertha, once they reached America, is voluminous: surprisingly so, since virtually none of it has been uncovered before, let alone woven into a coherent pattern. Apart from being interesting and often dramatic in its own right, as well as in its historical context, the information becomes importantly so in connection with the English Dickens family. For the lives of Charles and Augustus unavoidably impinged upon each other, an impingement that climaxed in an international scandal for the great Charles" (2-3).

Nixon, Jude V. *Gerard Manley Hopkins and His Contemporaries: Liddon, Newman, Darwin, and Pater*. New York & London: Garland, 1994. Pp. xviii + 324. $51.00. Demonstrates "Hopkins's relationship of indebtedness to four prominent literary figures of the nineteenth century, an attempt that says as much about Liddon, Newman, Darwin, and Pater as it says about Hopkins. Equally significant, the study also illustrates Hopkins's interaction with nineteenth-century discourse on religion, science, and aesthetics. Except for the treatments of Liddon and Newman, whose influence on Hopkins proceeds chronologically from his years at Oxford through his Jesuit career, the work for the most part ignores rigorous chronology. Rather, it wrestles with critical Victorian concerns and engages Victorian texts and documents hitherto slighted or unexamined in order to illuminate in a new way the historical context in which Hopkins lived and that helped to shape his writings" (xiii-xiv).

Parry, Jonathan. *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain*. New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1993. Pp. viii + 383. $40.00. "Liberalism was the dominant political force of Victorian Britain. . . . Between 1830 and 1886, a coalition of anti-Conservatives known at various times as whigs, Reformers and Liberals was out of office for scarcely a dozen years and lost only two of fourteen general elections. . . .

This book aims, first and foremost, to be a general account of parliamentary Liberalism during its nineteenth-century heyday. On the face of it, it is astonishing that no satisfactory account of it exists. The contrast with the Conservatives is striking" (1).

Polidori, John William. *"The Vampyre" and "Ernestus Berchtold; or The Modern Oedipus": Collected Fiction of John William Polidori*. Eds and intro. D. L. Macdonald and Kathleen Scherf. Toronto, Buffalo, London: U of Toronto P, 1994. Pp. x + 197. $45.00 cloth, $17.95 paper. Includes an introduction, annotations, texutal variants and appendices in addition to the texts.

Reilly, Jim. *Shadowtime: History and Representation in Hardy, Conrad and George Eliot*. London & New York: Routledge, 1993. Pp. 185. $45.00. "[E]xamines 'the imaginative values then assumed by the past,' the period's sense of man being 'emptied of history' and its sense of the signs of man having 'fallen silent.' It will not tend to endorse the trace of humanist assertion . . . in the notion of a new historicity emergent from ' the depths' of 'man himself.' Rather it is more in tune with the more characteristically Foucauldian formulation . . . which posit [sic] a future beyond humanist history in which 'man would be erased, like a face drawn in sand at the edge of the sea. . ." (5).

Ryals, Clyde de L. *The Life of Robert Browning: A Critical Biography*. Oxford & Cambridge, US: Blackwell, 1993. Pp. xi + 291. $29.95. "In this study . . . I undertake a kind of paradoxical or antithetical criticism that is both Romantic and modernist (or post-modernist). That is, I show Browning's poetry as one of both biographical presence and biographical absence and this paradox as essential to his self-fashioning. Browning was born, but 'Browning' was scripted over a period of many years. "Relying chiefly on his own theatrical metaphors, I portray the poet as he depicted himself: as both the presenter and the presented. . . . To a lesser degree I use the religious metaphors of immanence and transcendence and in addition suggest that the Christian Incarnation served as the paradigm for Browning's concept of the poet" (ix).

Sala, George Augustus. *Letters of George Augustus Sala to Edmund Yates*. Ed. Judy MacKenzie. Victorian Fiction Research Guides 19-20. Queensland: U of Queensland English Department, 1993. Pp. vi + 272. Paper. Includes an intro., chronology, and 170 letters.

Tobin, Beth Fowkes. *Superintending the Poor: Charitable Ladies and Paternal Landlords in British Fiction, 1770-1860*. New Haven & London: Yale UP, 1993. Pp. ix + 195. $25.00. Includes chapters on "*The Man of Feeling*, Arthur Young, and the Dissolution of the Paternal Order," "Economic Man and Civic Virtue: Godwin's *Caleb Williams* and Bage's *Mount Henneth*," "The Moral and Political Economy of Property in Austen's *Emma*," "*Mansfield Park*, Hannah More, and the Evangelical Redefinition of Virtue," "Women, the Clergy, and the Battle for the Superintendency of the Poor," "The Cottage Visitor, the Housekeeper, and the Policeman: Self-Regulation and Surveillance in *Bleak House*."

Ty, Eleanor. *Unsex'd Revolutionaries: Five Women Novelists of the 1790s*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: U of Toronto P, 1993. Pp. xvii + 189. $40.00 cloth, $18.95 paper. "This book studies the way in which five women writers of the 1790s politicized the domestic or sentimental novel. Influenced by the radical thinkers of the decade following the French Revolution of 1789, Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Hays, Helen Maria Williams, Elizabeth Inchbald, and Charlotte Smith wrote fiction that questioned existing social, economic, legal and cultural practices as they related to women. In particular, they dealt with historically specific gender issues such as female education, the rights and 'wrongs' of woman, and the duties of wife. What is most interesting about these authors to a twentieth-century reader is the way they manipulated and changed the function and scope of the domestic novel in the process of challenging the patriarchal order" ([xi]).

Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society. Eds. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel. Toronto, Buffalo: U of Toronto P, 1994. Pp. [xiii] + 370. $125.00 Contents: Richard A. Cosgrove, "Law"; M. Jeanne Peterson, "Medicine"; Ruth Richardson, Robert Thorne, "Architecture"; Albert Tucker, "Military"; William H. Brock, "Science"; Leanne Langley, "Music"; Patricia Anderson, "Illustration"; Robert A. Colby, "Authorship and the Book Trade"; Jane W. Stedman, "Theatre"; John E. C. Palmer, Harold W. Paar, "Transport"; David J. Moss, Chris Hosgood, "Financial and Trade Press"; Terence Nevett, "Advertising"; Bernard A. Cook, "Agriculture"; Olwen C. Niessen, "Temperance"; J. Donn Vann, "Comic Periodicals"; Tony Mason, "Sport"; Jonathan Rose, "Worker's Journals"; Rosemary T. VanArsdel, John S. North, "Student Journals."

Vida, E. M. *Romantic Affinities: German Authors and Carlyle, A Study in the History of Ideas*. Toronto, Buffalo, London: U of Toronto P, 1993. Pp. xvi + 257. $45.00. "This book attempts to expand previous findings and to provide a broader basis for a comparative study in two ways. First, if offers a wider range of German authors. Besides discussing such well-known literary personalities as Goethe, Jean Paul [Friedrich Richter], Novalis, Fichte, and Schelling, it also introduces Zacharias Werner, Ludwig Tieck, E. T. A. Hoffmann, F. de la Motte Fouqué, Wilhelm Hauff, Franz Horn, and the critic Friedrich Schlegel, all of whom are considered in a variety of combinations.

"Second, it presents literary perspectives that have hitherto been neglected, such as fictional techniques, thematic patterns, and character delineations. . . . Grouping influences according to such topical associations will clarify how Caryle met with recurring themes and concepts in all his German readings, and how their cumulative impact made the Romantic affinities so effective" (xi-xii).

Wilding, Michael. *Social Visions*. Sydney Studies in Society and Culture 8. Sydney: Dept. of English, U of Sydney, 1993. Pp. 186. $25.00 paper. Includes chapters on *Beauchamps Career*, *Heart of Darkness*, and *Nostromo*.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Political Writings: A Vindication of the Rights of Men; A Vindication of the Rights of Women; An Historical and Moral View of the French Revolution*. Toronto & Buffalo: U of Toronto P, 1993. Ed. Janet Todd. Pp. xxxiii + 411. $65.00 cloth, $24.95 paper. Includes a 26 page introduction with a brief bibliography and a chronology and 23 pages of notes by the editor in addition to the texts of the three works.

Victorian Group News

Announcements

The Southeastern Nineteenth Century Studies Association, an organization for the interdisciplinary study of nineteenth-century culture, announces its 14th annual conference, which will be held at LOYOLA COLLEGE, Baltimore, Maryland, on 30 March - 1 April 1995. The topic is CONFLICT AND RESOLUTION. Featured speakers will be Frederick Burwick of UCLA and Roger Lane of Haverford College, The Conference will examine the period from the French Revolution to the end of the Victorian Age. They invite papers exploring how change in artistic, literary, philosophical, political, economic, religious, scientific, and social endeavors generated conflict among traditionalists, innovators, reformers, and radicals and how it elicited their creativity in resolving or otherwise managing their differences.

Proposals (one or two pages) for twenty-minute papers should be accompanied by a brief curriculum vitae. Proposals for open sessions will also be considered. All materials should reach the Program Director Regina Hewitt, English Dept. CPR 107, University of South Florida, 4202 E. Fowler Ave., Tampa, FL 33620-5550, no later than 1 November 1994. Direct other inquiries to Gayla McGlamery and Paul Lukacs, English Dept., Loyola College, 4501 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21210-2699.

The DICKENS PROJECT at the University of California at Santa Cruz, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95064, will sponsor a Summer Institute, *The Dickens Universe* 31 July - 6 August, 1994, which will focus on *Hard Times*. College credit may be earned. The registration fee for the conference is $593 for a single room and $520 for a double per person. Nonresidents pay $175. The registration fee includes all programs and parties. For information write the Dickens Project at the above address.

The DICKENS PROJECT will also sponsor a scholarly conference 4 - 7 August 1994 on *Victorian Work*. Participants of *The Dickens Universe* summer institute will be admitted to the Conference without charge. For all others the fee is $60. Write The DICKENS PROJECT, University of California, at Santa Cruz, 1156 High Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95064.

Notice

The number on your address label is the number of the last issue covered by your subscription. Renewals should be made at the rate of $5/yr. or $9/2yrs.—$6/yr. foreign and Canada.

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