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## Matthew Arnold's Refuge of Art: "Tristram and Iseult"

Robert A. Greenberg

IN HIS 1852 volume, Matthew Arnold offered his two most ambitious poems up to that time, "Empedocles on Etna" and "Tristram and Iseult." For the edition of 1853, he abandoned "Empedocles" and only tampered with "Tristram." His grounds for the omission are familiar. A poem not only provides an accurate representation, it also inspires and gives pleasure. It does so best by assuming as its central concern a human action possessing both dimension and nobility.<sup>1</sup>

Now as a criticism, granted its assumptions, Arnold's words seem unexceptionable, and we understand his gesture of firmness in withdrawing the poem. But what must also be clear is that the same critical principles, applied to "Tristram," should have led to precisely the same consequence—the dropping of the second long poem. As a hero, Tristram is a worn and infirm creature, haunted in his final moments by memories he cannot assimilate; and he dies some two-thirds of the way through. Like Empedocles, he has lost the power of joy well before the poem begins; what is worse, we attend the process of loss through Tristram's retrospects. Nor are the two Iseults any more inspiring: Iseult of Ireland is the fated victim of passion, and she arrives but to expire on Tristram's breast; Iseult of Brittany, emptied and abandoned, continues wearily in a life that will offer no sustaining satisfactions. As to action, we are given Tristram's fitful and dismaying dreams; the painful meeting and deaths of Tristram and the first Iseult; the storytelling close of the second Iseult and the children. But we encounter nothing that approximates noble human action.

The problem, then, must be to determine what saving qualities Arnold thought his poem to possess: in what sense he felt he had either satisfied or disarmed his own criteria. The solution, I would suggest, has significance beyond the mere presence of "Tristram and Iseult" in 1853. It shows Arnold resolving those difficulties of sub-

ject and form he is again to raise in the "Preface"; it compels a reestimate of his technical accomplishment in "Tristram," and of the esthetics that support it.

Our best approach is through the possibilities opened by another of Arnold's poems, written at the same time he was completing "Tristram" and placed, moreover, directly after it in the 1853 volume. I refer to "Memorial Verses," that poem of high intelligence in which Arnold surveys the responses, by poet-heroes, to the trials of this iron age. The characterization of Byron with which he begins is especially helpful, for, brief as it is, it encompasses all that is salient in Tristram. Byron's, too, was a "fiery life," spent in "Titanic strife," a strife of "passion with eternal law," a "front[ing] of the cloud of mortal destiny." The kinship of the two for Arnold is that they are variants of a type of modern culture hero, the hero as martyred warrior.<sup>2</sup> Because Byron fought our battle, it is with him we identified—"with shivering heart the strife we saw"; "our soul/ Had *felt* him like the thunder's roll." But if Byron made the challenge, in the end he did nothing more. His martyrdom was powerless to redeem, for he could not transcend the dilemma that was his life—as a poet, "He taught us little." The Tristram story, offered in Byron's mode, would have been a monologue of pain, and as such inadmissible by the criteria of 1853.

Directly opposed to Byron Arnold stands Wordsworth, the healer and reconciler, who "laid us as we lay at birth,/ On the cool flowery lap of earth"—we felt again the "freshness of the early world." Arnold's apparently unqualified praise is deceptive. We remember that he is commemorating Wordsworth; that he was requested to by Wordsworth's son-in-law;<sup>3</sup> and that he was, of course, deeply moved by Wordsworth's death. But even then, constrained as Arnold was by the occasion, there remains the implicit qualification of all he has not said, as in the final lines:

Keep fresh the grass upon his grave  
O Rotha, with thy living wave!  
Sing him thy best! for few or none  
Hears thy voice right, now he is gone.

*Editor's note:* This article, like the one which follows by Mrs. Packer, was read at the MLA meeting in Chicago.

1. "Preface to the First Edition of Poems (1853)," in *On the Classical Tradition*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960), pp. 1-5.

2. Sohrab is a mildly developed version; Heine, the tormented soldier of humanity, is a full and complex version.

3. *Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. H. F. Lowry (New York, 1932), pp. 114-115.

But Rotha can symbolize only half of life, and Arnold's world was not the "early world." We are back implicitly to Arnold's harsher judgment of the year before, in the first "Obermann" poem, where to achieve his benefactions, Wordsworth averted his eyes "From half of human fate" (11. 53-54). Arnold understood only too well that in Wordsworth's hands, the Tristram story could not have been written; which is but to say that for the poem Arnold himself had to write, Wordsworth, like Byron, could be of little help.

In a medial position stands Goethe, and it is through the image of the German poet that Arnold projects his own stance and method. In the "Obermann" poem he had spoken admiringly of "Goethe's wide/ And luminous view," but he had also noted the difficulty of emulating Goethe's course (11. 79-80, 55-56). What that course implies we discover more precisely the following year in "Memorial Verses."

In the hope of brevity, I should like to take two liberties: first, that of substituting Arnold's name for Goethe's in what follows; and second, that of freely combining paraphrase with quotation.

Arnold, then, "is the physician of this iron age. He studies the suffering human race, reading each wound and weakness. He sees Europe's dying hour of fitful dream and feverish power; he sees the weltering strife, the turmoil of expiring life. As a physician, Arnold predicts the end is everywhere. As an artist, he also urges that Art only has truth because it allows a wide and luminous view. And as both physician and artist, Arnold prescribes: Take refuge in Art. This recourse gives him happiness, if one can be happy knowing the causes of things and seeing the lurid flow of terror and insane distress."<sup>4</sup>

How true the analytical portions of this paraphrase and its original are to Arnold we know from both his other poetry and his letters, especially those to Clough. But we need not press further than "Tristram and Iseult," and the remarkable congruence that the very words Arnold uses to characterize Goethe's vision relate in precise detail to the longer poem. The "fitful dream" that Goethe witnesses makes up the bulk of Part I, in which Tristram suffers the nightmare of his past. The "wound" reappears as the mysterious wound which has enfeebled Tristram but which Arnold carefully avoids defining in specifically physical terms. The "turmoil of expiring life" we find dramatized in Parts I and II, during the long period of Tristram's death. The "weakness," the "feverish power,"

the "weltering strife"—all are notes to the modern condition that Arnold has chosen to present. Like the Goethe he projects, Arnold, in the role of physician, has "look'd on Europe's dying hour."<sup>5</sup>

But Arnold is also the artist, and like his mentor he takes refuge in art, where truth, detached and unaffected, still endures. The "wide and luminous view," so difficult to emulate, allows both a perspective and commentary on experience. It empowers Arnold to set forth and meditate what he dares not resist, his own life record, the modern predicament—in other words, most of what Wordsworth had finally to avert his eyes from; all that Byron had been shattered by.

"Resignation" might have been the poem in which Arnold considered the esthetic possibilities of distance, but his involvement with oriental metaphysics led him to higher grounds. Still, we have the memorable line, "Not deep the poet sees, but wide," and we are fortunate in also having the letter to Clough in which that line is first revealed. Arnold is at work on "Tristram"; he is also abusing Clough, whose poetry, he says, lacks "an absolute propriety of form [which is] the sole *necessary* of Poetry as such: whereas the greatest wealth and depth of matter is merely a superfluity in the Poet as such." Arnold then ventures a critical restatement:

The trying to go into and to the bottom of an object instead of grouping *objects* is as fatal to the sensuousness of poetry as the mere painting, (for in *Poetry*, this is not *grouping*) is to its airy and rapidly moving life.<sup>6</sup>

Rather than probe or copy, the poet arranges his objects, constitutes a set of relations, creates a pattern. Arnold's very next words are "Not deep the Poet sees, but wide." As to poor Clough, he succeeds best in the "hymn, where man, his deepest personal feelings being in play, finds poetical expression as *man* only, not as artist." The artist is distinguished from the profound thinker and feeling man to the extent that he groups and achieves form and order. To this end, he proceeds from without.

The details of the Tristram story Arnold had read on his Swiss holiday, and its possibilities must have occurred to him at once. We know that he had begun composing before his return.<sup>7</sup> But how present materials that were essentially so close to him? The form Arnold chose was not that of "Empedocles," not dramatic, but rather a combination of narrative and dramatic. In Part II he

4. "Memorial Verses," 11. 15-33.

5. In the structure of "Memorial Verses," the characterization of Goethe follows that of Byron: the effect is of Goethe's speaking of Byron at the same time his words refer to the general situation of Europe. So Byron's "Titanic strife" and "death" become Goethe's vision of "weltering strife" and "expiring life."

6. *Letters to Clough*, pp. 98-99. This is essentially an abstract formulation of what Arnold had written to Clough some fourteen months earlier: "Yet to *solve* the Universe as you try to do is as irritating as Tennyson's dawdling with its painted shell is fatiguing to me to witness: and yet I own that to *re-construct* the Universe is not a satisfactory

attempt either—I keep saying, Shakspeare, Shakspeare, you are as obscure as life is: yet this unsatisfactoriness goes against the poetic office in general: for this must I think certainly be its end" (*ibid.*, p. 63). Clough goes to the bottom of, or solves; Tennyson paints, or dawdles; Shakespeare groups, or reconstructs. The difference lies in the certainty that characterizes Arnold's later statement.

7. See the letter to Herbert Hill, printed in full by R. E. C. Houghton in *TLS*, May 19, 1932, p. 368. Arnold "read the story . . . in an article in a French Review"; he "had never met with it before, and it fastened upon" him; by the time he "got back to England . . . the poem was in the main formed."

would have first the dramatic encounter of Tristram and Iseult of Ireland, and then, after their deaths, the intervention of a narrator. In Part I he would alternate rhythmically between the narrator's commentary and Tristram's fitful rememberings. In the concluding Part he would abandon the dramatic entirely, and allow the narrator's point of view to govern. By mixing his forms, by grouping his objects, Arnold had found a means of resolving his difficulty.<sup>8</sup>

His first major grouping occurs at the level of the characters, where he places Tristram and, at either side of him, the two Iseults. Through what they are individually, and through their relationships, Arnold enacts the drama of Europe's dying hour—the fitful dream, the turmoil of expiring life. He displays the passionate exhausting and finally consuming themselves; the emptied living on, enduring. All this proceeds as a drama or spectacle, complete in itself, shaped to correspond to the physician's analysis.

But if Arnold's view is "wide," it is not yet "luminous." He has not yet advanced beyond accurate representation, beyond the embodiment of "modern problems." His method is still that of "Empedocles." To achieve luminosity, or truth, Arnold must assert the faculties not of the analyst, but of the artist, who is imaginative and synthetic; and that assertion he effects through the combining of forms, by the introduction of a narrative voice not his own.

It has been generally assumed that the narrator is Arnold himself.<sup>9</sup> But the narrator's opening, with its coyness and indirection, its quick-paced tetrameters, should stand as a caution. To his own question, "What Knight is this so weak and pale?" the narrator responds:

I know him by his harp of gold,  
Famous in Arthur's court of old;  
I know him by his forest-dress—  
The peerless hunter, harper, knight,  
Tristram of Lyonesse. (I, 19-23)

And later the narrator urges: "Ah, sweet angels, let him dream!" "Ah, sweet saints!" Arnold's intent seems clearly to be to constitute a voice neither his own nor Tristram's, a voice therefore that need not express Tristram's difficulties, which are also the dilemmas of Arnold and of modern man. After one of Tristram's dreams, the narrator comments:

Ah! he wanders forth again;  
We cannot keep him; now, as then,  
There's a secret in his breast  
Which will never let him rest. (I, 243-246)

And after another:

Ah, poor soul! if this be so,

Only death can balm thy woe. . . .  
Ah! his eyelids slowly break  
Their hot seals, and let him wake;  
What new change shall we now see?  
A happier? Worse it cannot be. (I, 288-297)

For all his sympathy, the narrator is not a fellow sufferer: his role is rather to explain, to meditate, and most of all, since he is the artist in the poem, to transform by shaping or grouping according to his own vision. His one constraint is that he is powerless to interfere with the events of the drama, which are the given elements of legend and of modern reality. But otherwise, he is free to interpret and to dispose or group; more particularly, to play the artist. As Arnold's surrogate he can proceed, as Arnold, in his own voice, if he remains true to himself, cannot. How he proceeds is the source of the poem's luminosity; the pattern he creates becomes the truth that art, as distinct from reality, can offer. His contribution takes the poem beyond mere accurate representation.

We can best appraise the narrator's function by considering the conclusions to the three Parts, where he is most willfully assertive. Each is appended to the spectacle; each takes the form of a picture, or tableau, rounded and complete, a miniature work of art; and in each instance, the added material mitigates the pain and woe of what has preceded. In a letter to Herbert Hill, Arnold declares his motive for including the last of the three: "The story of Merlin . . . was brought in on purpose to relieve the poem which would else I thought have ended too sadly."<sup>10</sup> To "relieve" the spectacle, otherwise too "sad," is precisely the function of the narrator-artist.

Part I shows Tristram fitfully dreaming on his death-bed. His last words bid Iseult offstage, to her bed. The narrator, watching her leave, himself turns offstage to the sleeping children, in their "shelter'd rest," their "eyes closed/ The lashes on the cheeks reposed." The image he creates—of calm and peace, of fair rather than fitful dreams—is, in effect, a transformation of the motifs of sleep and dream, the principal elements of what has preceded. In giving them a new embodiment, and in his manner of placement, the narrator asserts the triumph of art.

His intervention at the end of Part II is even bolder, for he now creates a fanciful and unique relation between the lovers and the huntsman on the arras, and in the process destroys the dimension of time which has ruthlessly governed the spectacle. The huntsman is Tristram himself in better days, and he is permitted to meditate the bodies before him—himself and Iseult. The narrator assures him they are not asleep, but neither is it clear

8. Arnold pretty evenly divides the narrative and dramatic in Parts I and II. Part I consists of twelve sections, six given to Tristram, six to the narrator. Part II consists of two sections, one hundred lines of dialogue between Tristram and Iseult, ninety-three lines of narrative.

9. The notable exception is Professor Baum who sees the narrator as a "Breton bard" whose function is one of narrative convenience—"to fill in supplementary or explanatory

details" that might otherwise be obscure (*Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold* [Durham, N.C., 1958], pp. 40-41). But, as Professor Baum notes, this identification makes for a number of anachronisms (cf. II, 192-193; III, 119-121); and it cannot account in any meaningful way for the non-informational, or interpretative, commentary.

10. See note seven above.

that they are dead.<sup>11</sup> We get only a picture of immobility—"the moon shines bright"; Iseult's "outspread" arms "Still hold her lover's hand"; her "half-buried" head is "bow'd":

... and there,  
Strung like white stars, the pearls *still* are,  
And the golden bracelets, heavy and rare,  
Flash on her white arms *still*.

(II, 101-111; my italics)

The image, composed of careful and static detail, is given striking emphasis by the next lines which revert to Iseult's prior condition, when she seemed death-in-life—a "restless ghost/With hot-flushed cheeks and brilliant eyes/And quivering lips" (II, 116-118). If we detect the presence of Keats, of both the "Grecian Urn" and the "Eve of St. Agnes," it is not surprising: Arnold had no better touchstone to the affirmation of art.<sup>12</sup>

In Part III, though the spectacle is continued in the sampling of Iseult's remaining days, the narrative dominates completely. The voice presents, meditates, evaluates, indeed so much so at one point that Arnold, fearing he had perhaps overdone it, was uncertain of retaining some forty lines.<sup>13</sup> The voice is hardly his own:

Dear saints, it is not sorrow, as I hear,  
Not suffering, which shuts up eye and ear...  
(III, 114-115)

And yet I swear, it angers me to see  
How this fool passion gulls men potently;  
Being, in truth, but a diseased unrest,  
And an unnatural overheat at best.

(III, 133-136)

Were this simply Arnold, the sententia would be commonplace and thus powerless to assuage the anguish of the breast. So long, however, as it remains within the fabric of the poem, as the narrator's wisdom, it does clarify, does remain unassailable, and does win our consent.

But the final triumph is the Merlin story, added, as we have seen, to "relieve" the poem. Iseult's one relief is hearing old Breton stories: "She herself loves them still, and.../Can forget all to hear them" (III, 110-111). Iseult's response conditions ours. We too are inspired, as the narrator, in his final offering, recasts and gives form to the chaotic passions of the poem in the new and controlled tale of Merlin's entrapment.

Whether Arnold's success is complete in his use of the narrator is perhaps debatable; but his having used him so answered to the criteria of 1853. The very form of "Empedocles" had precluded a similar employment, though it is suggestive that Arnold approaches that possibility in the figure of Callicles who also transforms pain through the agency of art. But Callicles must fail in his primary role just because he is committed to the action. Though he asserts his own value against that of the physician Pausanias and stays on to soothe the hero, his songs of Typho and Marsyas only intensify Empedocles' disaffection.<sup>14</sup> No such danger attends "Tristram and Iseult," for the narrator makes no attempt to relieve the hero, who must fulfill his destiny; the narrator's powers are reserved rather for the reader who stands by as witness. And that, the salutary effect of the work, is what most concerns Arnold in 1853.

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## Sun and Shadow: The Nature of Experience in Tennyson's "The Lady of Shalott"

Lona Mosk Packer

### 1

AS WE FINISH READING *The Lady of Shalott*, like Sir Lancelot in the 1842 conclusion, mystified, teased, tan-

talized, feeling an attraction beyond the rational, we are inclined to muse in bafflement, "She has a lovely face."

The appeal is similar to the response we make to certain

11. Clough sensed the ambiguity in his "Review of Some Poems by Alexander Smith and Matthew Arnold," *Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (London, 1888), pp. 365-366. See also W. Stacy Johnson, *The Voices of Matthew Arnold* (New Haven, 1961), p. 99, for comments which support the reading I give not only of this passage but of the two other endings.
12. That Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn" is unmistakably in the background is even clearer in the revised version of 1853 which adds line 164 and makes the huntsman the speaker: "What place is this, and who are they? / Who is that kneeling Lady fair? / And on his pillows that pale Knight / Who seems of marble on a tomb?" (II, 164-167).

More important, the impetus for the passage almost certainly came from "The Eve of St. Agnes": "The arras, rich with horseman, hawk, and hound, / Flutter'd in the besieging wind's uproar" (II, 358-359)—with this compare Arnold's lines 150-156. There are other echoes, for example, Arnold's concluding lines, "Cold, cold as those who lived and loved / A thousand years ago" (II, 192-193) of, from Keats' concluding stanza, "And they are gone: aye, ages long ago / These lovers fled" (II, 370-371).

13. Arnold omitted lines 112-150 in both 1853 and 1854, but returned them in 1857.
14. "Empedocles on Etna," II, 89ff, 191ff.

Romantic poems such as *The Ode to a Nightingale* and *Kubla Khan*. It is the ancient sorcery, the magic charm, the spell of the incantation, which touches a deeply buried awareness within us of we know not what. Tennyson's friend Arthur Hallam attempted to analyze the elusive quality of such poems when he wrote in 1831 that the heights and depths of art were most likely to be encompassed by those poets "whose poetry is a sort of magic, producing a number of impressions, too multiplied, too minute, and too diversified to allow of our tracing them to their causes. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

Is that all, then? Are we to write off *The Lady of Shalott*, certainly one of the most esthetically satisfying and artistically realized of Tennyson's poems,<sup>2</sup> as merely an effervescence of late post-Keatsian romanticism? That it belongs within the Romantic tradition is undeniable, but that it also appears to make a statement of some kind about the human condition is apparent from the numerous attempts to strip off the swathings and the veils enshrouding the figure of the Lady in order to uncover the concealed core of her being.

As not infrequently happens in scholarship, by now critical comment about *Shalott* has come to follow an established pattern. With some variation most of the writers who in the course of frying other fish find themselves confronted by the mysterious Lady agree that the poem deals with the antithetical nature of art and reality and that it sets forth an unresolved conflict which tends to reflect the poet's personal predicament. The isolated tower overlooking the island, the Lady's loom, web, and magic mirror which reflects the passing events of the

world outside are generally considered as the paraphernalia of art. The brilliant figure of the sunlit Lancelot, which, although seen only as an image in the mirror, is nonetheless powerful enough to shatter the enchantment, the sequent curse, and the manner of its final fulfillment are regarded as the related aspects of reality.

Though there is general agreement about the symbolic meaning of the Lady's occupation—she is Jerome Buckley's "dedicated artist," a variant of Lionel Stevenson's "high-born maiden," the Jungian archetypal image of the *anima*—there is much less critical agreement about the nature of the intrusive reality.<sup>3</sup> Most writers, following Sir Charles Tennyson,<sup>4</sup> have interpreted reality as the direct experience of daily life. Although Professors Buckley and Stevenson have both suggested that reality may be considered emotional experience, neither writer has developed this fruitful insight. My own view, which I intend to support in this paper, is that reality, as it appears in the poem, has both a metaphysical orientation in Platonic dualism and a sexual content. The poet has dramatized a personal conflict which at a certain stage in his development may have looked crucial to him: on the one hand his need for the kind of protective seclusion which would ensure the realization of his full potential as an artist, on the other hand his passionate need as a man for that total emotional commitment which could both nurture and interfere with his poetic development. That the conflict existed at a deeper level than the explicitly conscious may account in part for the enigmatic quality of *Shalott*, which possesses the compulsive formality and the strange vividness of certain dreams.

1. "On Some of the Characteristics of Modern Poetry," first published in *The Englishman's Magazine* (August, 1831), reproduced in Walter E. Houghton and G. Robert Stange, *Victorian Poetry and Poetics* (Boston, 1959), p. 804.
2. Paull Baum, not Tennyson's most uncritical admirer, has called the 1842 revised *Shalott* "as near perfect as the work of mortals ever gets to be," a poem "which not only deserves the trite comment of being the finest thing of its kind in our language, but is an example of what is probably the best way for moderns to handle the Malory material." *Tennyson Sixty Years After* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1948), pp. 74, 177.
3. Jerome H. Buckley, *Tennyson, the Growth of a Poet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 49. Lionel Stevenson, "The High-Born Maiden Symbol in Tennyson," *PMLA*, LXIII (March, 1948), 234-243. Buckley agrees with Stevenson that the Lady symbolizes the *anima*, that part of the unconscious self representing the feminine element in the human psyche, and suggests that the poem "explores the maladjustment of the aesthetic spirit to the conditions of ordinary living." Stevenson sees the Lady as a Shelleyan figure, an artist like the Witch of Atlas (likewise a weaver and a traveler by water), and her web "as a tapestry of beautiful pictures which are derived entirely at second hand through the mirror," resembling in their artificiality and lifelessness the "copious, facile poems" Tennyson was then writing at Somersby and Cambridge (p. 237).

Arthur J. Carr believes that the poem "sketches the predicament of a mind trying to free itself from a web of

fantasy." For this writer reality would seem to be internal, a kind of imaginative sensuality, stimulated by the senses but drawing nourishment from a frustrating denial of gratification; and the soul's recognition of its paradoxical tension produces the sudden crack in the subjective mirror, the outward manifestation of an inward state. "Tennyson as a Modern Poet" in *Victorian Literature*, ed. Austin Wright (New York, 1961), pp. 320-321.

Like Carr, E. D. H. Johnson reads the poem with *The Palace of Art* and *The Lotus-Eaters* in view. The poet's repudiation of art for art's sake, as an ideal leading to sterility in "the isolated consciousness," is common to all three poems. Both web and mirror represent the creative imagination, which cannot tolerate the impact of "direct experience." *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry* (Princeton, N.J., 1952), pp. 9, 11, 51. For a discussion of the prevalence of symbolism in Tennyson's work, see also Johnson's "The Lily and the Rose: Symbolic Meaning in Tennyson's *Maud*." *PMLA* (Dec. 1949), 1222-1227.

*Shalott* has often been regarded as an early Pre-Raphaelite masterpiece. Margaret J. C. Reid, writing in *The Arthurian Legend* (London, 1938, 1960), suggests that the poem "foreshadows the Pre-Raphaelites in the romantic treatment of its subject and in the exactness of its descriptions" (p. 91). Both Holman Hunt and D. G. Rossetti illustrated *Shalott* in Moxon's illustrated 1857 edition of Tennyson's *Poems* (pp. 64, 75).

4. Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (New York, 1949), p. 132.

Critics in general, W. D. Paden excepted,<sup>5</sup> have paid little attention to Tennyson's own explanation. "The new-born love for some thing, for some one in the wide world from which she has been so long excluded takes her out of the region of shadows into that of realities," is what he told Canon Ainger.<sup>6</sup>

In the poet's brief comment we are given three related pieces of information: first, that the Lady has been "excluded from the world"; second, that she dwells in the region of shadows; third, that the "new-born love" for person or object takes her out of her shadowy existence into the realm of reality. While we cannot discount the fact that Tennyson may have wished to conceal as well as to reveal his intention, significantly in his explication art is not balanced against the kind of reality which represents the condition of ordinary daily life. The Lady is conceived as living in shadow, and the knowledge of love which she acquires in one blinding instant brings her out of shadow into reality, which, the poet implies, consists of relationship, with some one or some thing. Now in the poem the relationship is with Lancelot, who rides in the sun, a figure of dazzling brightness and light.

Lancelot is not a thing: he is a person, a man. If we must classify love, the kind of love the Lady feels for him is a woman's attraction toward a man. And this is in fact the kind of love that Elaine, the Fair Maid of Astolat, feels for the great knight Lancelot both in Malory's treatment and in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.<sup>7</sup>

Several interesting conclusions emerge if we look at the poem in the light of Tennyson's illuminating comment. One is that the Lady does not voluntarily choose exile from the world as does the Soul in *The Palace of Art*, a poem with which *Shalott* is often compared. Exile in her high tower has been imposed upon her. Furthermore, she does not appear to be what Clyde de L. Ryals has called "the suffering maiden" of Professor Stevenson's conception.<sup>8</sup> She works at her weaving and she sings "cheerly" at the task she "delights" in. She uses gay colors for her designs<sup>9</sup> and she observes closely the passing parade of medieval life reflected in her mirror. She is, then, content despite her exclusion (for which the world, not she, must take the blame) until she is awakened by sexual desire, the passion "oute of mēsure" which in Malory's version the "fayre maydyn off Astolat" conceives for the knight.

Second, once she gives herself over to "new-born love," she acts decisively. For it is she who brings the curse upon herself, and it is her own choice which results in the shattering of web and mirror, freeing her from her occupation to go out into the world and seek the love of which she has had only a glimpse. She does not falter or hesitate, and once she knows her objective, opportunity in the shape of a Shelleyan boat is waiting for her.

What is more, she achieves her goal. Dead or alive, she manages to reach Camelot and gain recognition from the great knight. Neither in Tennyson's comment nor in the text of his poem does he seem to regard the Lady's death as total defeat. Love brings her into contact with reality, says the poet, and in the poem her end is doubly triumphant: Lancelot muses on her beauty, as in the

5. In tracing Tennyson's conception of the Lady to etymological and mythological sources, W. D. Paden argues convincingly that the poet made use of early nineteenth-century antiquarian knowledge (chiefly George Stanley Faber, *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry* [London, 1816]) and Neoplatonic doctrine. Recalling Bishop Percy's observation that "*Ladies* was the word our old English writers used for Nymphs," Paden points out that in Porphyry the nymph occupied in weaving represents the human soul about to be born into the world. In Tennyson's reworking of this material, "the birth of a soul is identified with the coming of love, and love brings with it the doom of God." *Tennyson in Egypt, a Study of the Imagery in His Earlier Work* (University of Kansas Humanistic Studies No. 27, Lawrence, Kans., 1942), pp. 155-156, n. 204.
6. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson, a Memoir by His Son*, 2 vols. (London, 1897), I, 117.
7. In "The Source of Tennyson's *The Lady of Shalott*," *MLN*, XVII (Dec. 1902), No. 8, 473-477, L. S. Potwin investigates the story, originated by Palgrave, that the poem was suggested to Tennyson by an Italian romance upon the Donna di Scalotta. Following John Churton Collins' further hint that the Lancelot-Elaine story appeared in a collection of Italian novellas printed in Milan in 1804, Potwin located at the Harvard University library a copy of the novella (LXXXI) which relates the love of "Damigella di Scalot" for "Lancialotto de Lac," and reproduces it both in the original Italian and in translation. A comparison of the 1833 *Shalott* with this novella leads him to the conclusion that Tennyson drew upon it as well as on Malory.

However, we know that the story of the Maid of Ascolat occurred not only in Malory but also in the fourteenth-century "Stanzaic Morte," which, Margaret Reid states, was the first of the Arthurian romances to contain the story of Lancelot and Elaine (p. 27). Scholars believe that both this work and Malory's had the lost French prose romance as a common source. Now the Roxburghe Club brought out two editions of the "Stanzaic Morte," the first in 1819, the second, edited by Furnivall, in 1864. It is not unlikely that Dr. Tennyson's well-stocked Somersby library, which besides the 1816 edition of Malory contained a twelve-volume collection of *Ancient Romances* and numerous works on mythology and British antiquarian lore (Brand, Bryant, Gorse, etc.; see *Alfred Tennyson*, p. 32) would also have had a copy of the 1819 edition of the "Stanzaic Morte," to which the 1833 *Shalott* shows resemblances. But probably the youthful Tennyson ran across the story in various sources, perhaps in one of the twelve volumes of *Ancient Romances*.

8. Clyde de L. Ryals, "The 'Fatal Woman' Symbol of Tennyson," *PMLA*, LXXIV (Sept. 1959), 441-443.
9. Tennyson's use of symbolic coloring is dealt with by Elizabeth Hillman Waterston in "Symbolism in Tennyson's Minor Poems," reproduced in *Critical Essays on the Poetry of Tennyson*, ed. John Killham (New York, 1960). Contrasting with the gray walls and the gray towers are the gay colors the Lady weaves into her web, which "duplicates the jewel colours of the knight as he rides through yellow fields . . ." (p. 121).

*Lancelot and Elaine*<sup>10</sup> the Fair Maid had hoped he would, and she makes her impression upon the world of Camelot, which stops all its busy activities to gaze upon her and to speculate about her identity. She is no longer excluded from the wide world although paradoxically she can participate in it only by dying.

If this is so, how then may we explain the enigma of the curse? Are we to assume that the poem implies that the experience of recognizing sexual love carries with it the ancient curse that came upon Eve when she tasted the forbidden apple? In the 1833 version of *Shalott* the terms of the curse are defined more explicitly:

No time hath she to sport and play  
A charmèd web she weaves away.  
A curse is on her if she stay  
Her weaving, either night or day  
To look down on Camelot.

The Lady is accursed if she cease her occupation for "sport and play," the preliminaries to love, of which the practice has been perfected in the sophisticated court circles of Camelot. A deleted line further informs us that in her high tower "she lives with little joy or fear." The choice, then, would be between occupation, carried on in an emotional void, or that experience through total emotional relationship which not only interferes with occupation but usurps the whole of life, becoming simultaneously its goal and its destruction. Despite the poet's apparent ambivalence toward his material, the paradox indicates a truth perceptible at a deeper level than the surface interpretation yields. Emotional experience, not occupation, brings the secluded personality into the broad stream of human life (the river) and while the drift is toward death, which overtakes life on its journey toward love, it is only through a knowledge of love that contact with the wide excluding world can be established.

A further point should be noted. Even before her glimpse of Lancelot in the mirror, she has become restless and discontented with her unsubstantial world of shadowy images. The reflection of virile knights riding in pairs disturbs her, and she thinks of them immediately in terms of their sexual relationships. Each, she assumes, is in the service of some lady to whom he devotes his triumph; only she has no loyal and loving knight. The facsimiles of death and love, the plumed funeral, and the newly married lovers in the moonlight stimulate her longing to know the *Ding-an-sich* and not merely its phenomenal appearance, and she grumbles that she is "half-sick of shadows," a portentous admission for her and one which

prepares her in advance for Lancelot's intrusion upon her world of shadows.

He crashes into this world, a virility symbol blazing with light. He rides between the barley sheaves, which earlier in the poem (line 29) have been described as "bearded," and he appears to her like "some bearded meteor, trailing light." His very shield carries on it the symbol of sexual dedication, the red-cross knight forever kneeling to his lady.

He rides in the sun, and he is embellished with all the synonyms for brightness in the poet's formidable word-board: the dazzling sun flames upon his brazen leg armour; his shield sparkles; his bridle encrusted with gems glitters like clusters of stars in the golden Galaxy; his helmet and helmet-feather burn like one burning flame; his broad clear brow glows in the sunlight; even the hooves of his war-horse are burnished as he flashes into the crystal mirror singing his "tirra lirra" song.

The striking contrast between the world of bright light in which Sir Lancelot rides and the tenebrous world in which the Lady dwells is too obvious to be ignored. The sun-brilliance surrounding the knight causes the shadows to appear even gloomier, and once beholding the incandescence, the Lady is impelled to follow in its brilliant wake, to seek it out, and to exchange shadow for light.

## 3

Although the numerous studies of Tennyson's use of classical mythology in his poems have familiarized us with this aspect of his borrowing, his utilization of Greek philosophy in *Shalott* has gone unnoticed, and yet the poem cannot be rightly understood without reference to Plato's metaphysical allegory, as Socrates relates in the seventh book of *The Republic*.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the fact that Tennyson was too much the artist to write a purely philosophical poem, he could have found in the Platonic allegory of the cave-dwellers an imaginatively stimulating treatment of the problem of appearance and reality, which Buckley has called "the ultimate Tennysonian question." In this allegory, the shadows in the Cave represent the unreality of phenomenal objects perceived through the senses, and the sun, which appears to the chained den-dwellers as a distant fire glow, symbolizes the light of knowledge, which is the ultimate reality of the universe. But if any one of them should be turned around and forcibly exposed to the illumination, though at first his eyes are pained and dazzled, once his

10. 'And there the great Sir Lancelot muse at me . . .' (l. 1048).  
' . . . And Lancelot later came and mused at her' (l. 1260).

Lancelot does not appear in the 1833 ending. But in the 1842 revision he replaces the "well-fed wits" of Camelot of the earlier version, thus providing the necessary unity lacking in the original conception.

11. Although W. D. Paden finds abundant evidence of the Tennyson brothers' knowledge of Latin authors, he finds little evidence to support Professor Lounsbury's assumption that they were equally familiar with Greek authors (pp. 99, 104). In *Timbuctoo* Tennyson displays a knowledge of Plato's legend of Atlantis, but Paden believes he may have

acquired this information in Washington Irving's appendix to his *Life of Columbus* (Paden, p. 141, n. 162). Although Buckley tells us that shortly after Alfred's marriage, he and Emily studied together the classical philosophers, especially Plato and Lucretius (p. 137), this was in the early 1850's, the decade that saw the development of his friendship with Jowett; and it is not likely that he was ignorant of *The Republic* until then. His father's classical knowledge, his studies at Cambridge, and his association with such an avant-garde group of young intellectuals as the Apostles would have ensured his familiarity with Plato's thought.



sight grows accustomed to the strong glare, he will come to understand that real existence is possible only in the light of the sun and that the shadows he formerly believed to be real are but illusions.

The Lady's occupation with shadows, then, may be placed directly in this metaphysical tradition: she is copying in her tapestried web the shadows of reality, and her own work is no more than the copy of a copy.<sup>12</sup> But in modifying the allegory Tennyson has introduced differences chiefly attributable to his medieval source, such as the enchanted tower, the magic spell, and the crystal mirror. And he has exchanged the austere bareness of background for an elaborate setting, the richly fertile English countryside with its barley and rye fields sliced by the flowing river.

Not only is the poem distinguished from the allegory by its romantic medieval features and its rural Somersby landscape, but even more important, by the poet's dramatization of the central issue. The crisis of enlightenment, a vaguely supposed situation in the Platonic allegory, takes on the explosive excitement of denouement in the poem. A portentous event of symbolic significance precipitates the dramatic climax: the Lady paces three times through the room before she looks down to Camelot. Here as in the *Hesperides* Tennyson has utilized the ancient esoteric formula of numerology,<sup>13</sup> which in this instance takes on additional dimension by its association with the Christian doctrine of Trinity.

Furthermore, the prominence given the magic number of three in the narrative is buttressed by the poem's structure. The trinal regularity of the fixed nine-line stanzas (three is the root number of nine) and the repetitive refrain which unifies them help to create the impression of a circular rhythm characteristic of the hypnotic ritual of the incantation. Moreover, the refrain is restricted to three rhyme words, *Shalott*, *Camelot*, *Lancelot*. Even the dramatic climax follows the ternary design. Once the Lady has made her decision, three distinct events follow in swift succession: the mirror cracks, the web flies out, the Lady suddenly and intuitively apprehends the meaning of the curse.

Like the Platonic den-dwellers, after she has turned her back on shadows, she acquires a new clearness of vision. Taking on a Merlin-like configuration, she is compared to "a bold seer in a trance." Although in this capacity she foresees her own fate, the Lady, like Tennyson's Ulysses, nonetheless embarks upon unknown waters and follows the sun-symbol, her own "sinking star," to undiscovered horizons.

Integral to the structural design is a pattern of antithesis. The action is enclosed between the polarities of

Shalott and Camelot, isolation and participation. A second contrast is between dynamism and stasis, the masculine and feminine principles which operate within the poem: for example, the Lady's life of quiet seclusion compared with Lancelot's military activity. The major contrast, as we have seen, is between sun and shadow, knowing and unknowing.

The dominant light imagery in the poem, linked at times with an astronomical figure ("branch of stars... hung in the golden Galaxy," "starry clusters bright," "bearded meteor, trailing light"), heightens the significance of the sun-shadow symbolism. It is further reinforced by the auditory imagery which plays counterpoint to the scintillating visual images. Lancelot's armor rings as he rides, his bridle bells jingle, and the mighty silver bugle hanging from his ornamental shoulder belt holds in reserve a latent blast. His "tirra lirra" song accompanies the flashing of his image into the crystal mirror. In fact, the auditory imagery provides one of the leading symbolic contrasts in the poem: the Lady sings as she dies floating down the river, and the death song she chants is both the complement of and the antithesis to Lancelot's life song.

4

In this work, then, we see Tennyson grappling with the metaphysical problem of the relation between appearance and reality, a problem which interested him as early as 1823<sup>14</sup> in *The Devil and the Lady* and as late as 1885 in *The Ancient Sage*. He treats the problem throughout *In Memoriam*, and as Professor Buckley reminds us, in *The Princess* as well.<sup>15</sup> In this socially oriented poem the philosophical concern with "shadow and substance" is incongruously linked to the sexual issue, as it is more congruously in *Shalott*. Although in both poems sexual love liberates the introspective isolate, it banishes the "curse" in the one case, and in the other precipitates it.<sup>16</sup>

The influence of the Platonic rationalistic dualism is evident in both poems, but in *Shalott* Tennyson has cast the Greek doctrine (ultimate reality as the apprehension of truth) into a Christian mold and further modified it by injecting into it the courtly content of medieval romance. Reality in this poem takes on a specialized meaning: knowledge of truth becomes by way of Christian logic knowledge of love, but more particularly, knowledge of sexual love. And yet the poet is not at all convinced that this kind of human experience may be acquired without destroying the creative capacity of the artist. Paradoxically the liberating "curse," which can free the creative personality from a cocoon-like seclusion—one both desired and detested—and bring him into the main current of human life, may at the same time prove his undoing as an artist.

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12. Johnson in *The Alien Vision* (p. 9) observes that her web is "the shadow of a shadow," but interprets it as "an idealized version of the actuality which will destroy her when she meets it face to face."  
 13. See G. Robert Stange, "Tennyson's Garden of Art: A Study of the *Hesperides*," in Killham, pp. 107-109.  
 14. Sir Charles Tennyson, who owns the first of the two extant manuscript versions of this early blank verse drama, says it was written when Tennyson was either fourteen or

fifteen years old (pp. 39-40).  
 15. Buckley, pp. 100, 101, 273-274, n. 24.  
 16. While it is true that the passages relating to the Prince's "weird seizures" were not inserted into *The Princess* until the 1851 fourth edition, a year after Tennyson's marriage, they point toward a recapitulation of the dark, lonely years of his bachelorhood and indicate his ambivalent attitude toward the problem engrossing him.

## “Alice in Wonderland” in Perspective

Elsie Leach

CONFRONTED WITH *Alice in Wonderland*, the adult reader does not quite know what to think. He senses that it is an original work of the imagination, with meaning for adults as well as for children. He dismisses as a fantastic diversion for children the plot-line—what little there seems to be—and the character of Alice, and he appropriates the witty dialogue as though it were intended for him alone. Thus the part which is quite peripheral to the meaning of the book—divorced from character and action—he makes central in his appreciation.

At least this is essentially the approach of the modern critics of *Alice*. A professional philosopher concentrates on the logical fallacies and principles illustrated in *Alice* and points to Dodgson's concern with philosophical concepts of time, justice, and personal identity. The student of semantics has long enjoyed his own *Alice in Wonderland*, though he finds *Through the Looking Glass*, especially Humpty Dumpty's remarks, a richer text than the first book. One reader maintains that *Alice* and its companion book are allegories of the intellectual struggles at mid-Victorian Oxford: the Oxford Movement, the *Essays and Review* controversy, and the Huxley-Wilberforce debate. They “are books for children in much the same sense as *Gulliver's Travels* is a book for children.” Another reader uses *Alice* and Dodgson's other writings to psychoanalyze the author. And although William Empson has read the book more seriously and carefully than the others, he too focuses on what the book has in it for him. He insists on the Freudian implications of the work, and in describing it, distorts to prove his point.<sup>1</sup>

What Dodgson was doing in *Alice in Wonderland* can be seen if the reader compares the book to standard fare written earlier for children. Though collections of folk tales, such as the Taylor translation of *Household Tales* (1823) and the Dasent translation of *Norwegian Popular Stories* (1859), were available for children, few authors chose to model their stories upon the fairy tale or to incorporate fairy-tale elements into new narratives for chil-

dren. Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales were published first in 1835 and translated into English by 1846, but no English writer had yet emulated his practice. Thackeray's *The Rose and the Ring* (1854) is a spoof of the fairy tale from a common-sense, adult position, not an enthusiastic exercise of the liberated imagination. English books written for children were supposed to be realistic in order to provide essential instruction in religion and/or morality, that the child might become a virtuous, reasonable adult. But unlike earlier English writers, Dodgson used a number of characteristics found in fairy tales, and his tentative title, *Alice Among the Elves*, suggests that he recognized the fact himself. As a matter of fact, there *are* no elves in his book, but there are changes in size and transformations (the baby into a pig), haughty royalty (albeit playing cards), an abundance of talking animals, and such details as magic objects and the tiny golden key opening the door into the garden. Perhaps it is not irrelevant that his heroine is the small child turned out into a magical world, as in so many folk tales. Of course, *Alice* differs from the folk tale in that the heroine's antagonists are not clearly defined as “black” villains or villainesses, and no magical formula guides her to triumphant vindication. But the similarities to the fairy tale help mark the book as a departure from the norm of contemporary stories written for children.

The choice of fairy-tale elements is just one indication that in writing *Alice* Dodgson rejected the rational approach of earlier writers for children, that is, their insistent appeal to the reason of their readers. Nothing could be more antirational than Dodgson's narrative, for he chose a *dream* situation as central (and this dream is no orderly allegory). Conscious exercise of reason is not apparent in the situations which occur or in Alice's particular attempts to cope with them. The narrative thread itself is seemingly lost in the vagaries of Alice's adventures; they are not dictated by the usual rewards-punishments or challenge-response plot structure. In fact, one of the difficulties of the book for some readers is its lack of conventional orientation. It is doubtless fitting that the scene in court (in both senses of the phrase) should come last, but Alice's “progress” cannot be described in meaningful, social, spatial, temporal, or moral terms.

*Editor's Apology:* By an error in collation, a truncated version of this article appeared in the Fall, 1963, issue of *VNL*. The entire article is therefore printed here.

1. Roger W. Holmes, “The Philosopher's *Alice in Wonderland*,” *Antioch Review*, XIX (1959), 133-149 (see also C. J. Woollen, “Lewis Carroll: Philosopher,” *Hibbert Journal*, XLVI [1947], 63-68); Alexander L. Taylor, *The White Knight: A Study of C. L. Dodgson* [Edinburgh, London, 1952], p. vi; Phyllis Greenacre, *Swift and Carroll: A Psychoanalytic Study of Two Lives* [New York, 1955]; *Some Versions of Pastoral*

[London, 1950], pp. 253-294). Empson says, for example, that “the rule” about talking animals in *Alice* “is that they are always friendly though childishly frank to Alice when she is small, and when she is big (suggesting grown-up) always opposed to her, or by her, or both” (p. 266). But he is sound in saying that they remind one of adults.

The character of Alice herself is a bit puzzling, even to the modern child, because it does not fit a stereotype. How much more unusual she must have seemed to Victorian children, used to girl angels fated for an early death (in Dickens, Stowe, and others), or to impossibly virtuous little ladies, or to naughty girls who eventually reform in response to heavy adult pressure. Margery of the famous *Goody Two Shoes* (still popular in Dodgson's time) is a female Horatio Alger, wise and mature in her infancy, a mouthpiece for the author's rational abhorrence of superstitious belief in ghosts and witchcraft, and a successful climber of the social ladder. The heroine of Maria Edgeworth's *Frank and Rosamond*, one of the better books for children in the early nineteenth century, recognizes and shuns her own immature behavior after the kindly probing and reasonable questioning of her parents, much as Emma Woodhouse finally recognizes her folly upon the prompting of Mr. Knightley.<sup>2</sup> But Alice is neither naughty nor overly nice. Her curiosity leads her into the initial adventure and most of the later ones of the book, yet she is not punished for it, nor does she regret what she has done. On the other hand, we are not left with the feeling that Alice's experiences have been especially rewarding either. Alice feels great bewilderment and distress when she shoots up rapidly after sampling the cake labeled "Eat Me" and tries to establish her identity by reviewing, in her words, "all the things I used to know": multiplication tables, geography, the improving verse, "How doth the little busy bee." Nothing comes right. Her earlier experience is no help to her, and her education has not prepared her for *this* experience.

Indeed, one of the most striking features of the book, especially if one reviews what was standard fare for children of the time, is the strong reaction *against* didacticism which so many of the episodes illustrate. Dodgson's parodies of the instructive verse which children were made to memorize and recite ridicule its solemnity and the practice of inflicting it upon the young. Isaac Watts' "How doth the little busy bee" becomes the amiably heartless "How doth the little crocodile," and his highly edifying "The Sluggard" is rendered as a nonsensical narrative about a lobster. Alice's "Father William" is hardly the venerable patriarch of Southey's poem. Some of the characters Alice meets order her to "stand up and repeat" such poems as a test of her memory, and in other ways too they display the usual adult preachy officiousness. The Caterpillar, for example, is very abrupt and irritable with Alice, and orders her to keep her temper. Not five minutes later, the polite Alice inadvertently offends him by expressing dissatisfaction with her present height of three inches. He draws himself up to his full three inches and loses *his* temper. However, a more obvious example of unreasonableness is the Duchess. At her first meeting with Alice, the Duchess has been rude and violent, but perhaps because of her fear of beheading she is wonderfully mellowed when Alice encounters her during the croquet game. In her own kitchen she indulges in baby-beating and brutal candor. "If everybody minded

their own business,' the Duchess said, in a hoarse growl, 'the world would go round a deal faster than it does.'" Thus she answers Alice's exclamations about the barrage of pots and pans.

At the croquet ground she is all sweetness, though not necessarily a bearer of light. When Alice comments politely, "The game's going on rather better now," the Duchess replies,

"'Tis so, . . . and the moral of that is—'Oh, 'tis love, 'tis love, that makes the world go round!'"

"Somebody said," Alice whispered, "that it's done by everybody minding their own business!"

"Ah well! It means much the same thing, . . . and the moral of *that* is—"Take care of the sense, and the sounds will take care of themselves."

"How fond she is of finding morals in things!" Alice thought to herself.

In this episode, the Duchess' motto is "Everything's got a moral, if only you can find it," and she becomes more and more extravagant and nonsensical in her application of axioms to everything Alice says and does. When Dodgson makes a ridiculous character like the Duchess praise and practice moralizing in this manner, he clearly indicates his attitude toward didacticism directed against children. I wonder whether he had consciously in mind the comment in *Goody Two Shoes* that Mrs. Margery "had the art of moralizing and drawing instructions from every accident," as when the death of a pet dormouse gave her the "opportunity of reading them [the children] a lecture on the uncertainty of life, and the necessity of being always prepared for death."<sup>3</sup>

Not only is the Duchess inconsistent, unpleasant, and pointlessly didactic, but she is of no help to Alice in her predicament. Nor are the other characters Alice meets; with the exception of the amiable Cheshire Cat, the only one to admit he is mad, they snap at her, preach to her, confuse her, or ignore her. They behave to her as adults behave to a child—they are peremptory and patronizing. Only the eccentric Cat accepts her as an equal. In the guise of dream fantasy, *Alice* states the plight of a little girl in an adult world. Throughout the book Dodgson describes sympathetically the child's feelings of frustration at the illogical ways of adults—their ponderous didacticism and contradictory behavior. They aren't consistent and they aren't fair. And their puzzling use of language is one very important manifestation of their bullying and condescension; it is primarily a mode of self-exposure rather than an exercise in logic and semantics. The underlying message of *Alice*, then, is a rejection of adult authority, a vindication of the rights of the child, even the right of the child to self-assertion. Though the Queen is the most threatening of the figures Alice meets, Alice dares to contradict her at their first meeting and later at the trial;

2. "A Day of Misfortune," in *Anthology of Children's Literature*, ed. Edna Johnson, Evelyn R. Sickles, and Frances C.

Sayers, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1959), pp. 1123-1126.  
3. Johnson, Sickles, Sayers, p. 1120.

she alone has the courage to call the Queen's bluff. (Contrast with this Margery's easy accommodation to her great difficulties as a child. Margery succeeds by becoming more adult—more sensible and rational—than most of the adults of *Little Goody Two Shoes*. She lectures them on their follies and superstitions.) The child-adult conflict of

*Alice* gives direction to the heroine's adventures and controls all the notable features of the work—the kind of character Alice is, her relationships with the other characters, the texture of the dialogue, and the placement of the incidents. Thus the work can be read as a meaningful whole, and its meaning is not very esoteric after all.

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## Hardy's Use of Setting and "Jude the Obscure"

Ward Hellstrom

WITH NO OTHER NOVELIST, except perhaps with Faulkner, is setting consistently so vital a concern as it is with Hardy. Egdon Heath is perhaps the most obvious example of this concern, but in the preface to *Two on a Tower* Hardy clearly suggests the importance of setting to that novel when he states that it was his "wish to set the emotional history of two infinitesimal lives against the stupendous background of the stellar universe." Setting is always of primary importance to Hardy, and though as he moves forward toward the gloomy and somber *Jude* the setting itself changes, the function of setting in the novel remains essentially the same.

Samuel Chew suggests "The unity of place—certainly not the *sine qua non* but magnificently adhered to in the novels of the middle years—is discarded more completely [in *Jude*] than in *Tess* and without the counterbalancing advantage there seen of harmonizing the event with the place in which it occurs."<sup>1</sup> What Chew says is true, but he implies that *Jude* in some way suffers because the setting shifts, perhaps that Hardy was careless of setting in his last novel; but this is not the case. The shift of setting in the novel is fundamental. Jude's movement from place to place is a dramatic illustration of "the modern vice of unrest."<sup>2</sup> It is also a reflection of his disestablishment from the land, much in the way that Tess's movement is a reflection of her disestablishment. It is the culmination of a gradual movement away from the land which can be traced from novel to novel in Hardy, from *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) with its pervasive atmosphere of rurality to *Jude* (1895), which forsakes almost completely the rural scene.

The setting of *Jude* then is not a departure for Hardy; he had forsaken the woods and fields and heaths of Wessex, but his forsaking them was more of a progression than a departure. From *Return of the Native* to *The Woodlanders* to *Tess* and finally to *Jude* there was an increasing concern with society and a decreasing concern with external nature. Eustacia Vye found herself in conflict with nature, with the Heath; Jude finds himself in conflict

with society, with Christminster. The setting changes because the foe changes. Certainly the atmosphere with *Tess* and *Jude* gets increasingly gloomy, but that darkening is the effect of a number of causes: first, there are fewer characters in *Tess* and practically none in *Jude* who are seen comfortably at home in their environment. There are not the rustics who are at one with nature and who add humor and charm to the earlier novels because Hardy has forsaken the natural setting of which the rustics are an intrinsic part. Second, with *Jude* at least, the urban setting, which is necessitated by Hardy's concern with society, has less inherent beauty to offer than does nature, which Hardy conceived to be beautiful, though terrible. Third, Hardy becomes more bitter in the later novels because he sees the evils of society as remediable ills, whereas he is more fatalistic about the irremediable ills of nature, which at least are alleviated by nature's beauty.

If, as I contend, the function of setting does not change as Hardy moves from novel to novel, then the setting of *Jude* ought to operate dramatically as does Egdon Heath, for example, in *Return of the Native*. Certainly symbolically at least the Heath is the antagonist; Eustacia Vye tries desperately to get away from it but is ultimately defeated by it as evidenced by her death in the Weir. The Heath is a closed arena in which the battle is fought at the same time that it is the foe. The result is that the setting of *Return of the Native* gave Hardy an opportunity to unify the novel to such a degree that many critics feel it is his most artistic work.

*Jude* certainly lacks this unity of place because Jude is not rooted to nature in the way that Eustacia is. The setting of *Jude* shifts from Marygreen to Christminster to Melchester to Shaston to Aldbrickham and elsewhere, and finally to Christminster again. This shift, as I have said, is to illustrate dramatically "the modern vice of unrest." Hardy's problem, then, is to achieve some kind of unity in the face of Jude's wandering, and he does this with Christminster, which stands gloomy and decayed but solid in the background of the whole novel.

1. *Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1928), p. 69.

2. The decline of agriculture in England, we know, Hardy found alarming. Douglas Brown remarks, "The tragedy of the exodus of the agricultural workers from the villages and

the countryside, and what that tragedy represents, forms one of Hardy's continual themes. Its implications may be said to dominate his last novel." *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1954), p. 37.

In the opening section at Marygreen, it is Christminster that forms the background more than Marygreen. The novel opens with the schoolmaster's removal from Marygreen to Christminster to pursue his education in the hope of ordination. Later the visionary Jude climbs to the top of Brown House and sees his Christminster "either directly seen, or miraged, in the peculiar atmosphere"; he dreams of Christminster, "the heavenly Jerusalem"; he draws in the breeze as if it were "sweet liquor" because it had passed through Christminster some one or two hours before reaching Marygreen; he questions the passing carters about "the city of light." We are reminded of Christminster later when Jude and Arabella are off alone on a hilltop: "They were, in fact, on one of the summits of the country, and the distant landscape around Christminster could be discerned from where they lay. But Jude did not think of that then" (p. 59).<sup>3</sup> Immediately after Arabella leaves him, Jude goes to the milestone where when he was younger he had carved "THITHER J. F." with a hand pointing to Christminster.

Parts II and VI of the novel, which are set in Christminster, will be returned to later. Part III is set in Melchester, but Christminster is not far from mind: Jude reads Paley and Butler, Newman and Pusey, who are all seen by him as intimately bound up with Christminster; the scene between Sue and Jude in which she tells him about her life with the undergraduate at Christminster again focuses our attention on that city; later Sue and Jude argue about Christminster and she describes it as "a place full of fetichists and ghost-seers!" (p. 181). As a matter of fact, Sue becomes associated in Jude's mind with Christminster. He says of her, "Hers was now the City phantom, while those of the intellectual and devotional worthies who had once moved him to emotion were no longer able to assert their presence here" (p. 213). And it is at Christminster (in the Melchester section) that Jude meets Arabella again after her return from Australia. We are told that Jude "repaired to the tavern bar [to wait for Arabella] while the hundred and one strokes were resounding from the Great Bell of Cardinal College, a coincidence which seemed to him gratuitous irony" (p. 219). And thus Hardy brings into dramatic contrast Christminster with all it represents to Jude and the destructive force of women and drink.

At Shaston (Part IV) Jude continues to read those authors whose names he associates with Christminster; it is also at Shaston that Jude burns his books, those symbols of his desire for a Christminster education, in an apparent rejection of his old dreams. But a desire for a Christminster education is his "ruling passion," and he cannot kill it by burning his books. In Part V (Aldbrickham and Elsewhere) we find Sue and Jude at Stoke-Barehills where they have entered a "Model of Cardinal College, Christminster" in the Great Wessex Agricultural Show. Arabella comments, "How like Jude—always thinking of Colleges and Christminster, instead of attending to business!" (p. 355). Later Sue and Jude are forced to keep a bakery booth at the Kennetbridge Fair.

Sue accounts to Arabella for the shapes of the cakes:

"They are reminiscences of the Christminster Colleges. Traceried windows, and cloisters, you see. It was a whim of his to do them in pastry."

"Still harping on Christminster—even in his cakes!" laughed Arabella. "Just like Jude. A ruling passion. What a queer fellow he is, and always will be!"

And Sue answers,

"Of course Christminster is a sort of fixed vision with him, which I suppose he'll never be cured of believing in. He still thinks it a great centre of high and fearless thought, instead of what it is, a nest of commonplace schoolmasters whose characteristic is timid obsequiousness to tradition" (p. 376).

Parts II and VI are set in Christminster. Just as Egdon Heath is seen differently by different characters in *Return of the Native*, so is Christminster seen differently by the different characters in *Jude*. There is one Christminster seen by Jude in his dreams and at night, his ideal—the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of light, the city of the ghosts of great thinkers and writers of England, the city of tradition. At night the buildings are surrounded with ghosts, and their antiquity appeals to Jude and appears sympathetic to him. But in the light of day "he found that the colleges had treacherously changed their sympathetic countenances: some were pompous; some had put on the look of family vaults above ground; something barbaric loomed in the masonries of all. The spirits of great men had disappeared. . . . What at night had been perfect and ideal was by day the more or less defective real" (p. 97). At the same time there is Sue's Christminster—the Christminster of decayed medievalism, of "ghastly glories of saints, dead limbs of gibbeted Gods," "an ignorant place." There is also the Christminster of Father Time, who says he doesn't like the place and asks whether the college buildings are gaols. And lastly there is the Christminster of the slums, the Christminster of "Freckles" and "Bower of Bliss," of Tinker Taylor and Uncle Joe, or of the policemen who walk the streets.<sup>4</sup> The city changes depending upon who is looking at it, just as Egdon Heath changes as it is alternately viewed by Eustacia, or by Clym, or by Diggory Venn.

Also like Egdon Heath, Christminster is a symbolic background: it is the symbol of Jude's aspirations; it is the place of ghosts from which Jude is barred during life. At the same time it is symbolic of that frustration—there is a wall which surrounds it: "Only a wall divided him from those happy young contemporaries of his with whom he shared a common mental life; men who had nothing to do from morning till night but read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. Only a wall—but what a wall!" (p. 100). Christminster is as intimately bound up with Jude's life as Egdon Heath is with Eustacia's, and just as

3. All citations to *Jude* are to the Harper Classics edition.

4. These characters have little affinity with Hardy's rustics,

but are rather related to the denizens of Mixen Lane in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

Eustacia is defeated by the Heath and by herself, so is Jude defeated by Christminster and by himself. His defeat is foreshadowed when he approaches the city for the first time (Part III): "They [the outmost lamps of the town] winked their yellow eyes at him dubiously, and as if, though they had been awaiting him all these years in disappointment at his tarrying, they did not much want him now" (p. 91). Later when Jude, Sue, and the children return to Christminster (Part VI), Sue is forced to take a room, the room in which Father Time hangs the other children and himself, overlooking the college buildings:

At some distance opposite, the outer walls of Sarcophagus College—silent, black, and windowless—threw their four centuries of gloom, bigotry and decay into the little room she occupied, shutting out the moonlight by night and the sun by day. The outlines of Rubric College also were discernible beyond the other, and the tower of a third further off still. She thought of the strange operation of a simple-minded man's ruling passion, that it should have led Jude, who loved her and the children so tenderly, to place them here in this depressing purview, because he was still haunted by his dream. Even now he did not distinctly hear the freezing negative that those scholared walls had echoed to his desire (p. 401).

It is the night of Remembrance Day that Father Time

murders the children, and it is a year later to the day that Jude dies. Just before his death Jude hears the shouts and hurrahs outside his window and realizes that it is Remembrance Day, which of course brings up all his old memories; it is in fact for him Remembrance Day. Jude then quotes with bitter despair from the third chapter of the Book of Job, and the verses are interspersed with the hurrahs of the Remembrance Day games; yet Hardy has prepared us for the destruction of Jude at the hands of Christminster just as he had prepared us for the destruction of Eustacia by the Heath. Jude's lifelong passion has been to enter Christminster. His whole life has been a continual thwarting of that desire. As he thirsts for water in his last hours, which he is denied, so had he thirsted all his life for knowledge. That he should die within sight of, but outside of, the walls of Christminster is the most esthetically satisfying end to his life. Christminster's final and ironically introduced rejection of him is not gratuitous cynicism; it is symbolic truth.

Hardy's use of setting in *Jude* is different from that in the earlier novels, but the change is not a radical one. As the setting of *Return of the Native* symbolically represented the antagonist, so is the setting of *Jude* symbolically the antagonist. The change is necessitated by the change in foe; it is neither careless nor capricious. What Annie MacDonnell said of Hardy's novels in 1894, before the publication of *Jude*, holds true for *Jude* as well: "In most other novels the scenery could be altered with little effect on the action or the characters. In Mr. Hardy's it is always inevitable and organic."<sup>5</sup>

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## George Eliot and William Hale White

Stephen Merton\*

"I CAN SEE HER NOW," Hale White wrote in *The Athenaeum* in 1883 concerning George Eliot, "with her hair over shoulders, the easy chair half sideways to the fire, her feet over the arms, and a proof in her hands in that dark room at the back of No. 142 [Strand]." The highlight of Hale White's early years in London was his friendship with George Eliot, assistant editor of the *Westminster Review* and fellow lodger in the Chapman household. She was then (1852-1854) a comparatively unknown young writer, but her distinction as a human being was to Hale

White immediately discernible. He recognized her "extraordinary genius" and her "even more precious" human qualities when she was relatively unknown (in the 1850's). He has given us a glimpse of her in a letter to *The Athenaeum*: "She occupied two dark but very quiet rooms . . . She was then not quite what she appeared to be in later years. She never reserved herself, but always said what was best in her at the moment, even when no special demand was made upon her. Consequently she found out what was best in everybody. I have not heard better talk than hers, even when there was nobody to listen but myself and the ordinary members of the Chapman household."<sup>1</sup> In Hale White's first novel, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford*, she appears as Theresa, niece of Wollaston, the publisher. Mark is struck by her

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5. *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1894), p. 37.

1. *The Athenaeum*, No. 3502 (December 8, 1894), p. 790.

incisive thinking, her vigorous, firm gait, her way of looking straight at the person with whom she is speaking. He is struck also by her beautiful hair, yellowish and naturally waved, and her grayish blue eyes, "generally soft and tender, but convertible into the keenest flash," as he records of her in his notebook.<sup>2</sup> But above all he is struck by her talk, which, again in his notebook, Hale White precisely delineates: "The style of Miss Evans's conversation was perfect; it was quite natural, but never slipshod, and the force and sharpness of her thought were never lost in worn phrases." To Mark in the *Autobiography* she is a constant study, unclassifiable as a human being and certainly as a woman by any standards he has ever known. At first he thinks her hard, but then he finds by accident that nearly all her earnings are given to support a couple of poor relations (a point Hale White also makes in his essay on George Eliot in his published journal). She delights in music (George Eliot introduced Hale White to Gluck's *Orfeo* and played Beethoven for him). To Mark she gives what all his life he has been seeking—intelligent companionship. The portrait of her in the *Autobiography* resembles somewhat that of Mary Mardon in her directness and her touch of unconventionality. Even more, it resembles that of the finely tempered, clearheaded type of woman that Hale White is to honor in his later novels, notably in *Clara Hopgood*. "At times she appeared passionless," he says of Theresa, "so completely did her intellect dominate, and so superior was she to all the little arts and weaknesses of women; but this was a criticism she contradicted continually."<sup>3</sup> On one occasion a stupid blunder at his job caused all Mark's pent up feeling of worthlessness in a life of repeated failures to well up: "I was beside myself, and I threw myself on my knees, burying my face in Theresa's lap and sobbing convulsively. She did not repel me, but she gently passed her fingers through my hair. Oh the transport of that touch! It was as if water had been poured on a burnt hand, or some miraculous Messiah had soothed the delirium of a fever-stricken sufferer, and replaced his visions of torment with dreams of Paradise. She gently lifted me up and as I rose I saw her eyes too were wet."<sup>4</sup> After that he "worshipped Theresa, and was entirely overcome with unhesitating absorbing love for her." Hale White was to remark later of George Eliot, "I could worship that woman,"<sup>5</sup> and he testified toward the end of his life, "It is a lasting sorrow to me that I allowed my friendship with her to drop . . ."<sup>6</sup>

His early love for her remained with him all through his later years. "When I was last in town I had an interesting day with Mrs. Lewes, widow of George Eliot's stepson," he writes to a friend in 1898. "I sat at the desk where the novels were written, read her letters, and

what was still better worth reading, her little memorandum books in which she jotted down the things that came into her head. What a picture they gave of her strenuousness, of her keen, constant endeavor! I was driven when I came back to begin upon her again, and am glad to find that my love for her after so long an absence from her is unchanged."<sup>7</sup> George Eliot, like Dorothy Wordsworth, possessed for him that rare combination of qualities with which he endowed the heroines of his novels: intellectual force, feminine softness, and unconventional, because forthright, behavior. "If there was any sincerity (an indispensable qualification) in the person with whom she came into contact," he recalls of her, "she strove to elicit his best, and generally disclosed to him something in himself of which he was not aware. I have never seen anybody whose search for the meaning and worth of persons and things was so unrelaxing as hers. The travelling American was not very interesting, but even from him she managed to extract whatever gave him a title to existence."<sup>8</sup> The sympathy of interests that lay between these two, the personal relationship between whom it was "a lasting sorrow" to Hale White that he had allowed to languish, was to emerge in their common concern with Spinoza (both translated his *Ethic* at about the same time, in the 1850's), and in the closeness of subject matter and theme of the novels they were later to write. George Eliot's first work of fiction, *Scenes of Clerical Life*, as well as *Adam Bede* and *Mill on the Floss*, all are concerned with a milieu and type of character not unlike Hale White's own. Both start with religion as personal and central; both are concerned with its growth and transformation; both celebrate the heroism of ordinary people. Both also recreate the scenes of their early lives, George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life* doing for the provincial Anglicanism of her native Warwickshire what Hale White's novels do for the provincial Dissent of his Bedfordshire. In words that he could with equal appropriateness have applied to himself, Hale White, in a summation of George Eliot's contribution to fiction, emphasizes this distinctive relation of hers to her background:

George Eliot was born early enough in the last century to see an England which has almost completely passed away, and yet her education was modern. Her youthful impressions were cherished with affection and were the root of a sweet and healthy conservatism. In later life she did not cast herself loose, but applied herself with all her natural strength and with all her stores of the newest thought to display and interpret the Warwickshire of her childhood, its fields, its villages, their inhabitants and their beliefs.

2. William Hale White, *Last Pages from a Journal* (London, 1915), p. 132.
3. William Hale White, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford* (New York, n.d.), p. 127.
4. William Hale White, *Autobiography*, p. 131.
5. Dorothy V. White, *The Groombridge Diary* (London, Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 72.

6. William Hale White, *The Early Life of Mark Rutherford* (London, 1913), p. 83.
7. William Hale White, Letter on George Eliot, *The Athenaeum*, No. 3031 (November 28, 1885), p. 702; *Letters to Three Friends* (London, 1924), p. 87.
8. William Hale White, *Last Pages*, p. 32.

It was not a mere outside London literary study, as those who remember the Midlands of her day can testify, and yet she was sufficiently aloof to depict them. She owed to them the foundation of what she was,

but they, through her, became vocal. She was exactly the right person, and came at exactly the right moment. She is an original word which could not have been uttered before, and cannot be repeated or imitated.<sup>9</sup>

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## The Two Isabels: A Study in Distortion

Blair Gates Kenney

IN OCTOBER, 1880, three months after the final chapter of Trollope's novel, *The Duke's Children*, was published in *All The Year Round*, *Macmillan's Magazine* printed the first chapter of *The Portrait of a Lady*.<sup>1</sup> James, say Matthiessen and Murdock, "began this most ambitious of his early novels in Florence in the spring of 1880, or rather he returned then to 'an old beginning, made long before.' He did not finish it until the summer of 1881, considerably after it had started to appear serially."<sup>2</sup> We know little about this "old beginning," or about the original inspiration of the book, but we do know that such a beginning may be very different from the finished product, and that more than one inspiration may go into the making of a novel. I believe that the publication of *The Duke's Children* had a considerable effect on James' final version of *The Portrait of a Lady*.

It is overwhelmingly likely that James read *The Duke's Children* as it came out in serial form. He was an admirer, albeit a critic, of Trollope's work, and in *The Art of Fiction* showed his knowledge of this particular novel.<sup>3</sup> He could hardly have missed a book so close to his own interests, with its international theme and portrait of a charming American girl. It is easy to conjecture that James read each chapter as it appeared, that hints, ideas, and personalities which he perhaps unconsciously absorbed from his reading worked their way into his conception of his own novel, so that in April or May of 1880, when three-fourths of Trollope's novel had appeared, James was ready to begin to write what he may not even have known would be an answer to it.

The structures and central characters of the two books are very different. While James' novel centers around the young American lady of the title, and has a single plot concerned essentially with her moral education, Trollope's work is not so much about the Duke's children who provide the dual plot, but about the Duke himself. Plantagenet Palliser, after the death of his gay and reckless wife,

finds himself a man so lonely that "There was no one of whom he could ask a question."<sup>4</sup> Yet he is plunged into the problems created by his children: his daughter's wish to marry a penniless commoner; his son's decision to go into politics as a Conservative (highly embarrassing to a former Liberal prime minister); and worst of all, this same son's precipitate love affair with an American girl. The plot revolves around these two love affairs and their effect on the Duke, who is torn between love of his children and respect for the traditions and ideals which they are violating. There would seem to be little resemblance between this story and James' tale of Isabel Archer's tragically manipulated choice of a husband and betrayal by him, and yet the correspondences are many.

First and foremost, Trollope's Isabel Boncassen, the American girl who "by her own gifts" (I, 316) becomes a hit in London society and receives offers of marriage from two aristocratic Englishmen, seems to be a forerunner of James' Isabel Archer, to whom Lord Warburton proposes, and whom Ralph Touchett loves with all the energy his illness permits him. The parallel between the situations of the two girls is obvious, as is their similarity in character; both are vivacious, charming, dark-haired beauties whose candor and freshness contrasts to the more studied quality of the society around them. Both are naive, and both suffer from a fault the authors suggest is a particularly American one, a kind of romanticized snobbishness, a tendency to confuse the titles and estates of their suitors with the suitors' more personal qualities. Trollope shows us the extent of Isabel Boncassen's confusion by contrasting her attitude toward Palliser's son with that of Lady Mabel Grex, another aspirant to the role of Duchess. Mabel sees the material advantages of marrying Lord Silverbridge even more clearly than Isabel does, but thinks of Silverbridge himself as "a rather foolish, but very, very sweet-tempered young man" (I, 195); while Isabel "had never seen anything like him before;—so

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

1. *The Duke's Children* appeared from October, 1879 to July, 1880. *The Portrait of a Lady* ran in *Macmillan's Magazine* from October, 1880 to November, 1881 and in *The Atlantic Monthly* from November, 1880 to December, 1881.

2. *The Notebooks of Henry James*, eds. F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock (New York, 1947), p. 18.

3. *The Art of Fiction: Critical Prefaces by Henry James*, ed. R. P. Blackmur (New York and Oxford, 1948), p. 61.

4. *The Duke's Children* (Oxford World's Classics, 1957), I, 3. All citations refer to this edition.



glorious in his beauty, so gentle in his manhood, so powerful and yet so little imperious, so great in condition, and yet so little confident in his own greatness, so bolstered up with external advantages, and so little apt to trust to anything but his own heart and his own voice. . . . She counted at their full value all his natural advantages. To be an English Duchess!" (II, 74). Her impetuous ability to idealize what she looks upon is very much like Isabel Archer's "fixed determination to regard the world as a place of brightness, of free expansion, of irresistible action."<sup>5</sup> Silverbridge's dukedom casts a halo about him in Isabel Boncassen's eyes, and the same sort of haze surrounds Isabel Archer's view of Osmond. "She's capable of marrying Mr. Osmond for the beauty of his opinions or for his autograph of Michael Angelo," says Mrs. Touchett with some truth. Isabel Archer goes much further in her idealism and self-deception than Isabel Boncassen, however, and in her case the flaw in perception leads to disaster. While Silverbridge is in actuality merely not a god, Osmond turns out to be almost a devil.

As James heightens the flaw in his heroine, so does he heighten the vice in his villainess. Trollope's Lady Mabel Grex is not really a villainess at all, though she threatens the happiness of both the Duke's children.<sup>6</sup> She is a charming and sympathetic character, forced into a tragic position: at once Isabel's rival for Silverbridge, and Mary Palliser's rival for the love of Frank Tregear. She as well as Palliser himself welds the two separate plots of the book together. Although her ambition to marry Silverbridge is reprehensible, she wins the reader's sympathy by her hopeless and genuine love of Lady Mary's suitor and by her irrepressible bursts of honesty. Trollope comes closest to condemning her when he speaks of her as "a creature of efforts, or, as it might be called, a manufactured article" (II, 271). Madame Merle in James' novel is a sort of nightmare exaggeration of this side of Mabel's personality, lacking any of Mabel's pride, rank, and charm. Madame Merle is a "public performer" (II, 39), a self-made artistic creation, and she is not only Isabel Archer's rival for the affections of Osmond, but a malicious schemer who is responsible for Isabel's misery, so thorough an actress that she is able to conceal her relationship to her own child. In her, Mabel's touch of hypocrisy and artifice becomes a consuming and totally destructive vice.

James' portrayals of his two leading women, heightened as they are, are much more vivid and much more studied than Trollope's. Trollope's characters wander on and off the stage, meet and disappear in scenes which are often dramatic and infallibly realistic; but James' drama is much more distinct and pictorial. One does not remember Isabel Boncassen's first entrance at Mrs. Jones' party. The author's long description of her hardly registers on the reader's mind. However, James' tableau of Isabel Archer, a "tall girl in a black dress" (I, 16) framed in the wide doorway at Gardencourt, impulsively scooping up

the little dog, is vivid, suggestive of character, and even symbolic. Isabel Boncassen had no such aura of Diana about her. In the same way, James echoes Trollope's remark that Mabel Grex was a "manufactured article," but gives a much more pictorial and even grotesque impression when Isabel sees Madame Merle's freshness as "carried about in its case like the fiddle of the virtuoso" (II, 39). Trollope makes Mabel a genuine member of the English aristocracy, but James completes his distortion of Madame Merle's personality by showing her to be a pseudo-European. She speaks French whenever she can, but admits that she was born in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Madame Merle is so twisted as to be almost unreal. So pervasive is her peculiar falseness that she becomes a symbol of the hollowness and the emptiness of evil. One feels how boring it must be to be a villainess.

In many instances the resemblance between the novels is a generic one. The international scene, the physical surroundings are similar. The same kind of parties and walks, the same comparisons between English and American manners, the same soft English summers appear in both. Trollope's young Englishman, Silverbridge, is certainly akin to Lord Warburton with his dabbling in politics, his peculiarly "English" manner. Henrietta Stackpole may well owe something to Trollope's comic American feminists.<sup>7</sup> More particularly, in technique, both novels use certain characters as passive centers for the action. These figures receive the reader's full sympathy, and through them the action is reflected for the reader. Palliser himself has this position in Trollope's book, and it is as if James had split Palliser in two for his novel. Mr. Touchett, like Palliser, is both patriarch and fairy godfather; like him he is owner of the estate on which much of the action takes place, and bestower of fortunes. As Isabel Archer's legacy is a central feature of the plot of James' novel, so much of the plot of *The Duke's Children* depends upon whether Palliser will give Mary a dowry. However, while Mr. Touchett's situation most closely parallels Palliser's, James captures the Duke's psychology most closely in his picture of Ralph Touchett. Touchett father and son are so close to one another that they seem to be parts of the same whole, but Ralph has more of the Duke's melancholy, his tendency toward self-pity, his powerlessness to interfere in affairs which concern him most deeply, and his inability to communicate his love.

James' perceptions are not always the more subtle of the two. While his portrait of Isabel Archer is more brilliant than any Trollope attempts, Trollope's study of the old Duke is a singularly deep and moving one. While James' characters are painted in more intense colors, they are frequently less complex than Trollope's. James' major figures tend to be all black—Osmond, Madame Merle, Lydia Touchett—or all white—Isabel, Henrietta, Casper Goodwood, Ralph, and Mr. Touchett. They are either totally selfish, or totally committed to moral principles.

5. *The Portrait of a Lady* (Modern Library, 1957), I, 3. All citations refer to this edition.

6. There are actually three children, but Gerald, the youngest, is a minor figure whose misdeeds only echo those of his older brother, and whom the Duke himself often overlooks.

7. Though none actually appears in *The Duke's Children*, James would have had many to choose from in Trollope's earlier novels, notably Wallachia Petrie in *He Knew He Was Right* (1869), and Dr. Olivia Q. Fleabody of *Is He Popenjoy* (1878).

Few of Trollope's can be categorized in this way. The Duke is neither all good nor all bad. Even more noticeable is the greater complexity which Trollope shows in the relationships *between* characters. James gives us a sinister relationship between Osmond and Madame Merle, a parasitic relationship between Osmond and Isabel, a "pure" relationship between Ralph and Isabel. The most complex connection is that between Isabel and Casper Goodwood, and even that depends upon a simple if violent fluctuation between Isabel's attraction toward and revulsion against Goodwood as a male. In Trollope's book there are delicate and realistic nuances; for instance, in the relationship between Frank Tregear and Mabel Grex, where all sorts of conflicting emotions go into Frank's confusion between his new love for Mary and his old affection, pity, and even worship for Mabel. James' novel is less complex partly because his main aim was to plumb the depths of good and evil, while Trollope's was simply to show life in all its bewildering and often undramatic variety. By the mere act of showing something to be good or evil, James forces himself to simplify it.

Another reason why *The Portrait of a Lady* seems more vivid, more distorted, and in a sense more simple, lies in James' greater interest in the abnormal. While most of Trollope's characters give the impression of normality, almost all of James' major figures are eccentrics or psychological cases, alienated from reality. Mabel Grex has been given the creator's twist which makes her into Madame Merle. "Crazy Aunt Lydia," Isabel with her tortured conscience and morbid broodings, the narcissistic Osmond, even Casper Goodwood with his obsessive pursuit of Isabel—they are all figures from a Freudian casebook. Only Ralph and his father are, one feels, permitted some measure of mental health *because* of their physical illness.

James' characters are all victims of their author's overwhelming sense of the isolation in human life. *The Portrait of a Lady* is a brilliant and tragic work, the treatment of Isabel moving and profound, but what they lack so strikingly in comparison to Trollope's novel is affection. Trollope's people are confused and tormented by an overabundance of feeling for one another, and that feeling is invariably active and useful. The Duke could be a more peaceful man were it not for his love of his family, but that love enables him to work out solutions for his children's happiness. The one virtue of the feckless Silverbridge

is his warm, despairing, and ever-present consideration of his father's wishes, and he shows this consideration by giving up his political party as well as his bad habits. Frank and Mabel are confused by their own ability to love two members of the opposite sex at once, by their capacity for emotion. James' figures, however, are all locked in worlds of their own. Even minor characters, the Countess Gemini and Aunt Lydia, are selfish. The paternal figure, in contrast to Trollope's loving Duke, is Osmond. Less obvious than his and Madame Merle's inhuman coldness but equally significant is the fact that Isabel herself truly warms to no human being, except, once, to Ralph. The passage between Ralph and Isabel at the end of the novel, perhaps the only real and moving love scene James ever wrote, lights up the whole book; and such was James' artistry that because of this scene, and because of James' own evident affection for Isabel, the reader thinks of this book as full of warmth. One must remember, however, that love is always a powerless force in James. The deepest affection he portrays exists between an unhappily married girl and a man at the brink of death. It is necessary for Ralph and his father to be ill, or their capacity for love might destroy the balance of the plot, which revolves around selfishness, rather than around exuberant affections, as Trollope's does.

James' tragic view of life is shown in the way in which he *reverses* the theme of Trollope's novel. Trollope tells of how the old may be hurt by the young, how age is sacrificed to youth. Isabel Boncassen, his image of the new and youthful, triumphs over the old English aristocracy; the father sacrifices his ideals and hopes for his children's happiness. However, as Joseph Warren Beach says, "In *The Portrait of a Lady*, the new seems to become the living victim of the old."<sup>8</sup> Isabel as an image of the new, the American, is destroyed by the Europeanized Osmond and Madame Merle, and as an image of youth she is victimized by her elders. Ralph dies before his mother, Pansy is sacrificed by her father, even the vitally youthful Casper Goodwood is helpless before the ancient machinations of evil. While the sacrifice of the old upon the altar of new ideas, as Trollope handles it, is a pathetic but natural occurrence, James' sacrifice of the young by the old is tragic and not at all normal. James' tragedy requires more than a fatal flaw for its occurrence; it requires a distorted world in which isolation and impotence are the normal conditions of life.<sup>9</sup>

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8. Even Mr. Touchett's spouse, "crazy Aunt Lydia" (I, 32), may owe something to the equally ill-matched and scatter-brained Lady Glencora, Palliser's dead wife, whose presence

is felt throughout Trollope's novel.  
9. *The Method of Henry James* (New Haven, 1918), p. 14.

## Carlyle as Poet: The Phoenix Image in "Organic Filaments"

Richard A. Levine

RARELY HAS THOMAS CARLYLE been viewed as a conscious literary artist. In the common view, he is considered to be a rhapsodic preacher whose mystical bombast usually precludes any artistic and stylistic considerations. I will not dispute the facts that much of Carlyle is rhapsodic, preaching prose, and that his content often bars the possibility of "conventional" artistic style. Yet as we twist through his jerky, disjointed, and discursive prose, we often meet passages which are poetic in rhythm, tone, and execution. *Sartor Resartus*, perhaps Carlyle's greatest work—certainly his most central work—offers an ideal example. In order to view Carlyle as an artist, let us examine Chapter VII of Book III.

This chapter, "Organic Filaments," is the most poetically executed section of *Sartor Resartus*. The entire chapter turns on the image of the phoenix. As I shall attempt to point out, the chapter can be considered one sustained image. Carlyle, as a conscious craftsman, subtly embroiders the phoenix image throughout this mystical tapestry. Thus the phoenix becomes the key for an understanding of "Organic Filaments." The structure of the chapter is compact, but it points toward both the past and the future history of civilization. It is, of course, a polemical organization. It begins with the statement of the problem and gradually builds argument upon argument, proof upon proof, until the final, and according to the logic of the work, ultimate conclusions.

There are four major structural units in the chapter. First, Carlyle introduces the phoenix image and states the problem to be discussed. Second, the general situation of mankind is presented, the sociocultural world. Mankind is inextricably held together by love, brotherhood, and continuity. As proofs of this view, Carlyle offers the examples of individual men woven together, and of generations bound one to the other. The third structural division of the chapter discusses the realm of political life, while the last unit views the religious dimension of mankind. As we can see, the major components of life are discussed, the past history of man is alluded to, and the future is outlined.

The phoenix is a miraculous bird which lives far away near the gates of paradise. When it grows old, it builds its own funeral pyre, is burned, dies, and is resurrected. In setting up the problem to be discussed, Carlyle introduces the phoenix image at the beginning of the chapter.

For us who happen to live while the World-Phoenix is burning herself, and burning so

slowly that, as Teufelsdröckh calculates, it were a handsome bargain would she engage to have done "within two centuries," there seems to lie but an ashy prospect.<sup>1</sup>

Mankind is in a transitional phase in which new clothes (organic filaments) must be found to replace the present ones. Thus the phoenix-mankind whose clothes have grown old has built its own funeral pyre of dry, old clothes and is in the process of burning to death. But the Professor points out that the future is not ashy since a resurrection will emerge from this death, a rebirth in the midst of mysteriously spinning organic filaments. Here, then, the problem is stated in terms of the myth. The questions to be answered are what will these new clothes be, and why must they be so?

The first principle of mankind is brotherhood, says Carlyle.

Wondrous truly are the bonds that unite us one and all; whether by the soft binding of Love, or the iron chaining of Necessity, as we like to choose it. (p. 184)

All mankind is tied together just as all phoenix-birds are tied together—whether men admit it or realize it. The glass bell image which follows heightens this view. When man is cut off from all contact with his fellow man, he fully realizes his bonds with his brothers. For Carlyle, there is no human action so minute that it does not have an effect on others. Thus having stated this principle of universal brotherhood, Carlyle undertakes the proof of it.

If now an existing generation of men stand so woven together, not less indissolubly does generation with generation. Hast thou ever meditated on that word, Tradition: how we inherit not Life only, but all the garniture and form of Life; and work, and speak, and even think and feel, as our Fathers, and primeval grandfathers, from the beginning, have given it us? (p. 185)

Carlyle goes on to point out that this very book could not have been printed without Cadmus of Thebes or Faust of Mentz. "Had there been no Moesogothic Ulfila, there had been no English Shakespeare, or a different one" (p. 185). The point is that there is a continuity to civilization. Each generation adds something of its own to the foundation created by generations past. This is clearly in the phoenix tradition—a direct chain of "life" from one generation to the next. And because of this

1. All references to *Sartor Resartus* are to the Everyman's Library Edition edited by W. H. Hudson and published in

1940 by J. M. Dent, London.

living chain, Nature is one. Moving from the general to the specific, Carlyle illustrates the phoenix principle on the individual level.

Beautiful it is to understand and know that a thought did never yet die; that as thou, the originator thereof, hast gathered it and created it from the whole Past, so thou wilt transmit it to the whole Future. (p. 185)

There is a living communion throughout the history of the world, a communion through the eternal process of the phoenix cycle. ". . . There is a living, literal *Communion of Saints*, wide as the World itself, and as the *History of the World*" (p. 185).

Noteworthy also, and serviceable for the progress of the same Individual, wilt thou find his subdivision into Generations. Generations are as the Days of toilsome Mankind: Death and Birth are the vesper and matin bells, that summon Mankind to sleep, and to rise refreshed for new advancement . . . Thus all things wax, and roll onwards. (pp. 185-186)

This passage is a fine poetic reinterpretation of the phoenix myth. Kepler burned and as the matin bells chimed, Newton came from the ashes with the sight of Kepler and with a "whole day" in which to see further. From the ashes of Moses, arose Paul. The very language of the myth is employed by Carlyle: ". . . for Luther it was as yet hot enough to stand by that burning of the Pope's Bull; Voltaire could not warm himself at the glimmering ashes, but required quite other fuel" (p. 186). (The Voltaire image is a scathing one which I shall discuss presently.) Thus we can see the phoenix cycle of mankind. Each generation sees what past generations have seen, and adds its own new sight—it builds its nest in a higher tree and thus sees more. For Carlyle, the present time is one of the funeral pyre out of which will come a new resurrection.

Find Mankind where thou wilt, thou findest in it living movement, in progress faster or slower: the Phoenix soars aloft, hovers with outstretched wings, filling Earth with her music; or, as now, she sinks, and with spherical swan-song immolates herself in flame, that she may soar the higher and sing the clearer. (p. 186)

Since this is the sociocultural order of mankind and since the phoenix-mankind is now burning, what will the future hold? To answer this question, Carlyle enters the realm of political life.

Teufelsdröckh mentions that all high titles seem to be bestowed upon men for their success in warfare. He asks whether such titles will not become unpopular and higher titles devised since a reign of peace has been prophesied. The only acceptable title is that of King. "Ever must the Sovereign of Mankind be fitly entitled King" (p. 186). The King, Teufelsdröckh continues, rules by divine right carrying within him an authority from God. (It is at this

point that Carlyle parallels the history of the phoenix myth in literature. The pagan Lactantius' *Phoenix* is pessimistic in tone and understandably has no allusion to a mono-divinity. However, the English poet who Christianized the myth in his version of the *Phoenix* includes the features necessary to the King described by Carlyle-Teufelsdröckh.)

I can choose my own King Popinjay, and play what farce or tragedy I may with him; but he who is to be my Ruler, whose will is to be higher than my will, was chosen for me in Heaven. Neither except in such Obedience to the Heaven-chosen is Freedom so much as conceivable. (p. 187)

It is in this passage that the distinction is made between the true phoenix-hero and the popinjay-hero. The popinjay, originally a parrot, must be translated as the imitator. He is the King who apes and mimics, but who is not in tune with any heavenly emanations. Illustrating from *Past and Present*, we can view King Popinjay as the Abbot Hugo type: "Old Dominus Hugo sat inaccessible in this way, far from the interior, wrapt in his warm flannels and delusions; inaccessible to all voice of Fact; and bad grew ever worse with us."<sup>2</sup> He is the sham hero who has no ability to perceive behind the world of phenomena. Abbot Samson, however, is the true phoenix-hero. He is not the popinjay imitator, but he is truly a hero by divine right; he is in the tradition of the phoenix. Thus Carlyle points out the first and most necessary basis for the political organization—a true hero. And England at this time is searching for new clothes—the organic filaments are spinning. England is at the midpoint between death and birth, perhaps the most crucial point: ". . . How shall we domesticate ourselves in this special Necropolis, or rather City both of the Dead and of the Unborn, where the Present seems little other than an inconsiderable Film dividing the Past from the Future?" (p. 187). The phoenix has burned, and the worm will soon be transformed into the egg from which the new phoenix will arise.

The motivating and uniting force of the new political order must be the hero. Man must learn reverence for this hero. There must be a healthy and complete hero worship: ". . . only in reverently bowing down before the Higher does he [man] feel himself exalted" (p. 188). In terms of the myth, what was the phoenix if not a hero? Did he not rest on the highest tree? Was he not revered by all the other birds? He soared higher than the rest; his song was the most melodious. Follow as closely as they could, the other birds could not follow him into Heaven, for it is only the phoenix-hero who can perceive the world of noumena, who is in tune with the heavenly beam. Carlyle has shifted the image from the phoenix as symbol of societal change and continuity to the symbol of the hero. Here, Carlyle implies the allegorical reading of the myth (the fire of Doomsday; Christ rising to Heaven; the apostles who cannot follow him there, but who respect him and learn through him.) The hero is the

2. Thomas Carlyle, *Past and Present* (London, 1897), p. 58.

phoenix as it soars to Heaven followed by the others who allegorically become the apostles of the hero and who gain insight into the realm of noumena through contact with and reverence for the phoenix-hero.

Juxtaposed to this elaboration of the true hero, we find a passage in which Carlyle again warns against the sham hero, the popinjay, the imitator, the parrot, the Hugo, and in this case particularly, the Voltaire. Voltaire *seemed to be* the wisest and the best, but he was merely a skeptic and a mocker. "All Paris was one vast Temple of Hero-worship; though their Divinity, moreover, was of feature too apish" (p. 189). In reality, Voltaire's era was the time when the phoenix was gathering twigs and dried grass for his funeral pyre.

But if such things . . . were done in the dry tree, what will be done in the green? If, in the most parched season of Man's History, in the most parched spot of Europe, when Parisian life was at best a scientific *Hortus Siccus* [dried plants], bedizened with some Italian Gumflowers [artificial flowers, thus highly combustible], such virtue could come out of it; what is to be looked for when life again waves leafy and bloomy, and your Hero-Divinity shall have nothing ape-like, but be wholly human? (p. 189)

Imagine, Carlyle is saying, the ineffable greatness which man can expect to see when the true hero appears (after the fire).

The religion endorsed by Carlyle is open to all. Just as the new skin of the serpent forms before the old skin is shed, the hero-religion is present even though the hero in political life has not yet arrived. The Church of Literature comprises the true religion. The hero-artists and thinkers have left their "homilies" before their flaming departures. Goethe epitomizes the hero-phoenix-artist for Carlyle: "And knowest thou no prophet . . . of this age? None to whom the Godlike had revealed itself . . . in whose inspired melody, even in these rag-gathering and rag-burning days . . . ? I know him and name him—Goethe." (p. 190)

Thus we have seen that the phoenix image underlies the entire chapter. Stated explicitly in the opening lines, it develops into the motif which is continually reworked by Carlyle. In this chapter, Carlyle is a conscious artist, a poet. Just as poetry is compact and often implies a multitude of thoughts and ideas, so "Organic Filaments" is compact in structure but vast in ideas. In a few short pages Carlyle has not only stated much of his philosophy but he has viewed mankind from a variety of positions: historical, sociocultural, political, and religious. And underlying the entire work is the poetically developed image of the phoenix. In this chapter Carlyle takes on the guise of the composer who, after strongly stating his theme in the opening bars, builds his symphony upon an interweaving pattern of variations upon the theme. This is poetic, philosophical prose at its best.

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## "Romola" and Thomas Trollope's "Filippo Strozzi"

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THE RENEWAL OF interest in the sources of *Romola*, a study opened by Guido Biagi's edition of the novel (1906), has been evidenced in the recent researches of Maria Tosello and John A. Huzzard.<sup>1</sup> No one, of course, may assume with absolute safety that George Eliot's reading was confined to the list of references in Cross, Biagi, or even her Florentine notebook. Huzzard's analysis of the sources, the most complete to date, adheres to these listings and hence does not include one book which may well have had an influence on George Eliot's shaping of Tito: Thomas Trollope's *Filippo Strozzi: A History of the Last Days of the Old Italian Liberty* (London, 1860).

*Filippo Strozzi* is not found in the index to the Haight edition of the letters. It did, however, appear the same year that George Eliot spent two weeks in Florence formulating her plans for a novel for which, at that time, Savonarola may have been regarded as the principal character. The intersection of the careers of George Eliot and Trollope is self-evident in the correspondence. We also have in Trollope's autobiography a passing reference to the fact that *Filippo Strozzi* was quite possibly the best received of his works on Italian history.<sup>2</sup>

Trollope's biography of Strozzi (1489-1538) is designed to show how the man represents his turbulent age. It is

1. Maria Tosello, *Le Fonti Italiane della "Romola" di George Eliot*, Torino, 1956; John Amos Huzzard, "George Eliot and Italy: A Comprehensive Study of *Romola*," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1956; Huzzard, "The Treatment of Florence and Florentine Characters in George Eliot's *Romola*," *Italica*, XXXIV

(1957), 158-165; cf. Huzzard's review of Tosello, *MLQ*, XX (1959), 289-291.

2. Thomas Trollope, *What I Remember*, 3 vols. (London, 1887-89), II, 211. *Filippo Strozzi* is favorably reviewed in *The Athenaeum*, No. 1696 (April 28, 1860), 571-572, and *The New Monthly Magazine*, CXIX (1860), 163-170.

predicated on the assumption that typical representatives of an era offer "a richer subject to a biographer [than the greatest men], in consequence of the very causes which insure their earlier extinction . . . . Action is a better subject for narrative than speculation" (p. 2). The tone of these remarks suggests that Trollope's conception of biography was a strongly novelistic one, though Anthony's diligent brother was anything but a careless scholar. Insisting that he has no intention—or privilege—of passing judgment, Trollope claims to be merely the scientist studying cause and effect. "The 'subject' whose case we are studying was killed by the diseases which the examination reveals to us. This is the only fact of real value that we obtain from the consideration of his case" (p. 154). Nevertheless, a moral judgment is implicit in the biography. For Trollope, "the abnormal activity which intensified [the age's] vital action was the baneful fever which preceded dissolution" (p. 3). The corrupt game of Renaissance politics produced men more prominent for their vices than for their virtues, and Filippo emerges in Trollope's pages as a typical Renaissance timeserver.

Strozzi, according to Trollope, acted with prudence and calculation during most of his career. He knew which way the wind was blowing during the 1527-30 republican interim in Florence, but he also attempted to remain acceptable to the liberal factions of the city during the more precarious periods of Medicean rule and to "hold himself in readiness for all contingencies" (p. 118).

The entire life of this cautious statesman and financier may be characterized as a continuous walk upon a political tight-rope, with ever-present danger of falling on one side or the other. Nothing but the most cautious and masterly balancing could have enabled him to perform this feat for many successive years. Of course the most even temper, perfect self-control, an absence of all strong party-feeling, a universal scepticism, which believed only in the infallibility of the multiplication table, the indefeasible power of cash, and the possibility of juggling wrong into the place of right for good and all . . . all this was absolutely necessary to the successful performance of the feat. (pp. 148-149)

The prudence of Strozzi was a clever masking of deceitful designs. He was a man without rancor, simply because to harbor grudges was to endanger his interests. His "free-thinking was of that hopeless, sterile kind, which was so abundantly generated in his day, simply by the near view of the utter worthlessness of all that the world was told to venerate, and the utter incredibility of all that it was told to believe" (p. 182). He was, however, above the extreme corruption of an Alessandro de' Medici, for Strozzi's good gifts were turned to ill account by his cynical compliance with the age, while in Alessandro the moral deformity was basic and insistent (pp. 206-207). This, Trollope points out, did not prevent Strozzi from currying Alexander's favor (pp. 212-213). Finally, his career was cut off by an error in political tactics; even great native cleverness, Trollope implies, may fail in the end.

Trollope's personal portrait of Strozzi, based on the testimony of Filippo's contemporaries, shows a "gay, handsome, pleasure-seeking young banker" (p. 82), a man of scholarly leanings who was on intimate terms with the learned men of his day. He seems to have been a good father. He maintained cordial relations with his subordinates, knowing that liberality was to his advantage. Agile and affable, he pursued study, business, and pleasure with equal intensity. In the words of a contemporary whom Trollope quotes, "whenever he was at any public or private assembly where there were ladies, he would very lightly fall in love . . ." (p. 390). He was fond of music and a good singer. Most importantly—and this was a theme dear to George Eliot—Filippo, like his society, put great emphasis on appearances; thus we find him making right decisions based not on the fact that the alternative was morally wrong, but that it would create a bad public image of himself (p. 283).

In all the varied stages of his active, trimming, tacking, laborious, eventful life, we are unable to discover any leading motive, any pole-star which guided his devious course, save that of his own interests, understood in the most narrow sense, and pursued with the most untiring tenacity. (p. 368)

Trollope tells us in *What I Remember* that his interest in bygone Florentines was based on his "daily and hourly study of living Florentines," figures remarkably similar to their ancestors, as if they had sprung to life from the pages of the old chronicles (II, 212-213). To him, as he wrote at the end of *Filippo Strozzi*, the story of a man who saw the beginning of Italy's long "period of hybernation [sic]" under despotism offered "warning, instruction, and interest" for friends of Italy in her present struggle for unification. If George Eliot's purpose in *Romola* is less avowedly political, she retains much of Trollope's moral outlook. Tito's career does not span forty-nine years, and his political activity comes in the concluding years of the fifteenth rather than the opening decades of the sixteenth century; he is, in addition, a Greek by birth; but none of this affects his similarity in character to Filippo. Tito's grace and beauty seem to *Romola* "like a wreath of spring" upon her first meeting with him, and that this is only an apparent beauty is implied by George Eliot's comparison of "the finished fascination of his air" to "that of a fleet, soft-coated, dark-eyed animal that delights you by not bounding away in indifference from you" but rather acts "as if it loved you" (ch. vi). In a sense, Tito is certainly an "as if" figure throughout the novel.

Tito's rise in the Florentine political structure hardly needs recounting here. We need remember only that he plays the game of the Mediceans while cultivating the popular party "by showing subtle evidence that his political convictions were entirely on their side . . ." (ch. lvii). His career terminates, like Filippo's, through a mistake in tactics, almost an excess of cleverness. Unlike Filippo, he comes from relatively humble origins, which makes his rise more dramatic. His interest in scholarship is connected with his interest in advancement; he seems to have little of Filippo's relatively disinterested enthusiasm for learning. His social graces are likewise marked;

"where could a handsome young scholar not be welcome when he could touch the lute and troll a gay song?" (ch. ix). Indeed, one may recall that Baldassare's ill-fated appearance in the Rucellai gardens comes during Tito's musical entertainment of the company. As a father, Tito is properly solicitous for the welfare of Tessa and her children (ch. xxxiv). He has Filippo's concern for the figure he presents. "He cared so much for the pleasures that could only come to him through the good opinion of his fellow-men, that he wished now he had never risked ignominy by shrinking from what his fellow-men called obligations" (ch. xvi).

The nautical metaphor which Trollope employed in summarizing Filippo's career is present in *Romola*. Though George Eliot's use of the river image had certainly not been derived from Trollope when she wrote *The Mill on the Floss*, there is in any case an analogy between Filippo's "devious course" and Tito's. At the beginning of the novel, confident of his future success, Tito is "sailing under the fairest breeze." For "had not he, Tito, suffered shipwreck, and narrowly escaped drowning?" (ch. ix).

One may recall also Tito's early reference to his garments, "as weather-stained as an old sail," when he is speaking to Bratti (ch. i), and his request, directed to Piero di Cosimo, for a device from Ovid showing the young Bacchus "seated in a ship" (ch. xviii). The "strong currents" of Baldassare's desire for revenge (ch. xxx) gain force during the novel, and ultimately Tito, all sense of direction gone, is to be swept by the river to Baldassare's feet. His own loss of direction is contrasted with Romola's new purpose, "which had been growing through the afternoon hours like a side-stream, rising higher and higher along with the main current" (ch. liv).

To Thomas Trollope, the presentation of Tito lacked nothing in the way of verisimilitude. He "gives us with truly wonderful accuracy and vigour 'the very form and pressure of the time,'" Trollope wrote in his autobiography. "The pages which describe him read like a quintessential distillation of the Florentine story of the time and of the human results which it had availed to produce" (II, 284-285). Presumably, the biographer of Strozzi was taking his stand on familiar ground.

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## The Landscapes of "Rugby Chapel"

William S. Peterson

IT IS EASY TO ADMIRE the opening lines of Matthew Arnold's "Rugby Chapel," with their evocative imagery and biographical overtones, but the latter half of the poem is more puzzling. One of Arnold's most recent critics, W. Stacy Johnson, has found, for example, in the allegory and diction of "Rugby Chapel" "a thinness and uncertainty."<sup>1</sup> Yet however one chooses to regard the "un-Arnoldian fervor" of the poem's closing line—"On, to the City of God"—it is clear that any serious criticism of the work must depend upon our understanding of the life-as-a-journey metaphor that begins at line 73 and is sustained to the very end of the poem.

About the sources and significance of this allegory there has been little agreement. Paull F. Baum, acting on a hint from Tinker and Lowry,<sup>2</sup> finds the journey "o'er mountains in snow" strongly reminiscent of the climb over the Cumberland fells recorded in "Resignation."<sup>3</sup> Kathleen Tillotson, on the other hand, has suggested that the picture of the elder Arnold heroically leading "the

host of mankind" may be traced to the figure of Miss Temple in *Jane Eyre*.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most provocative observation has been made by Curtis Dahl, who finds in "Rugby Chapel" "two kinds of wasteland." "One," he writes, "is the land of eddying dust, comparable to that of *The Hollow Men*, where most men aimlessly mill." The other "is a path of active, almost military struggle," where great human leaders like Dr. Arnold guide men to the City beyond the bound of the waste.<sup>5</sup>

In order to determine the function of the allegory, it may be useful to summarize the poem and thus see it in context. As he views the exterior of the school chapel, from whose pulpit Dr. Thomas Arnold preached so many memorable sermons and within which his body now rests, Arnold's thoughts turn inevitably to his schoolmaster father. The "gloom of the autumn evening" reminds him, by way of contrast, of the great headmaster's "radiant vigor" which illumined the lives of those who knew him. Fifteen years have passed since his father died suddenly

1. W. Stacy Johnson, *The Voices of Matthew Arnold* (New Haven, 1961), p. 67.
2. C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary* (London, 1940), p. 239.
3. Paull F. Baum, *Ten Studies in the Poetry of Matthew Arnold* (Durham, N.C., 1958), p. 30.

4. Kathleen Tillotson, "'Rugby Chapel' and *Jane Eyre*," *Notes and Queries*, n.s. (October 16, 1948), pp. 453-454.
5. Curtis Dahl, "The Victorian Wasteland," in *Victorian Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism*, ed. Austin Wright (New York, 1961), p. 36.

and unexpectedly, leaving his family and friends "Bare, unshaded, alone,/ Lacking the shelter of thee." Nevertheless, he is confident that "in some far-shining sphere" Dr. Arnold is still performing the work he did on earth: rousing "Those who with half-open eyes/ Tread the borderland dim/ Twixt vice and virtue." Arnold reflects that there are three kinds of men: those whose lives are as meaningless and transitory as a single wave in "midmost Ocean"; those, like the poet himself, who achieve only personal salvation in the journey of life; and those, like his father, who cannot "alone/ Be saved" but must bring others with them. As divinely appointed messengers, Dr. Arnold and other heroic figures of the past have led the "feeble, wavering line" of mankind through the wilderness of this world.

Probably because they are not his chief interest, Arnold devotes only a short verse paragraph (lines 58-72) to the first category of men. Those in the second group, however, get a more extended treatment (lines 73-123), as Arnold identifies himself (note the use of the first person throughout) with the disorderly group straggling up the mountainside, some to lose their way in the storm, and others to find themselves at last before the lonely inn of "the gaunt and taciturn host." The immediate source of this mountain imagery may be, as Baum has suggested, Arnold's walks in his youth with his father. However, it is significant that Dr. Arnold nowhere appears in this passage; and besides, there is evidence that Arnold was enjoying a renewal of interest in mountain climbing on the Continent at about the time he composed "Rugby Chapel." In September, 1858, he wrote to his wife this description of climbing a Swiss mountain:

It is a walk . . . over not very steeply inclined plains of snow; you go in Indian file, in a track of steps made by your predecessor in the snow. Very occasionally you come to a small crevasse . . . There is a hut on the top of the pass (11,185 feet above the sea—the greatest height I have ever been), where two women live in the summer, and sell wine, bread, *kirschwasser*, etc., to all the passers. [We] tried to see what we could through the driving mist.<sup>6</sup>

It is surely a temptation to find in this little hut a model for "the lonely inn 'mid the rocks."

Nevertheless, as soon as we come to the third class of men (lines 124-208), which is typified by Dr. Arnold, a second and completely distinct landscape appears. No longer do travelers journey past streams whose "spray/ Boils over its borders" and "unseen snow-beds [that] dislodge/ Their hanging ruin." Now we find ourselves in an arid, stony desert where "Sore thirst plagues them." Although temporarily there is the danger that these travelers, like most of those on the mountain, will "Die

one by one in the waste," men of Dr. Arnold's stature appear to lead confused mankind out of the wasteland in military, precise fashion. Arnold has subtly changed the scenery, for mountains are never again mentioned in the final section of the poem; we are now witnessing a wilderness journey that has such unmistakable echoes of the Exodus story as towering rocks, rebellions, and a military leader whose face shines with spiritual fervor.<sup>7</sup>

Arnold's transition between the two landscapes (lines 124-170), of course, is superbly smooth, and this may account for the failure of critics to see the significant differences. Yet I think it is important that we make this distinction, for it shows us that Arnold found it necessary to employ two landscapes in order to describe two very different kinds of people.

For Matthew Arnold, spiritual achievement in life is distinctly a solitary affair. While most men eddy about aimlessly in this world, a few strong souls find "a clear-purposed goal" and begin the lonely ascent up the treacherous mountain trail. But at best "you go in Indian file" (as Arnold wrote from Switzerland), and soon one is grimly struggling alone against the elements. And the region of spiritual success is misty and austere indeed. As Johnson remarks, Arnold "always imagines the mountains of truth (or, as in 'Shakespeare,' of vision) as distant and cloudy."<sup>8</sup> When Arnold at last arrives at some kind of destination—the wind-swept inn—he must confess to the host:

We bring

Only ourselves! We lost  
Sight of the rest in the storm.  
Hardly ourselves we fought through,  
Stripped, without friends, as we are.  
Friends, companions, and train,  
The avalanche swept from our side.

Quite obviously these surroundings would allow no one—not even Thomas Arnold—to transform a group of stragglers into an orderly band of pilgrims marching to the City of God. Hence the shift in scenery. We find the elder Arnold back down on the plain with the majority of "mortal men on the earth"; but he does not, like Matthew, abandon them in favor of the mountains. Instead he sees beyond the horizon a specifically religious goal, the City, and marshals the host of mankind for a triumphant march toward that City.

It may be true, after all, as Johnson has suggested, that the allegory is thin and uncertain, because Arnold apparently rearranges the scenery to favor the activities of his father. But this break in the governing metaphor of "Rugby Chapel" is profoundly significant: the two landscapes reveal the difference not only between two categories of men, as Arnold himself tells us, but also between a father and a son who have become striking symbols of the changing temper of their age.

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6. *Letters*, ed. G. W. E. Russell (New York, 1895), I, 84. Although "Rugby Chapel" is subtitled "November 1857," Arnold later told his mother (*Letters to Clough* [London, 1932], Appendix, p. 164) that a review by Fitzjames Stephen of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* led him to write "Rugby Chapel," and this review appeared in the January, 1858,

*Edinburgh Review*. Since the poem was not published until 1867, all we can safely conclude is that it probably was written some time during 1858.

7. Lillian Hornstein, "'Rugby Chapel' and Exodus," *Modern Language Review*, XVII (1952), pp. 208-209.

8. Johnson, p. 67.



## Newman's "Apologia": A Classic Reconsidered

The Editor

THE PAPERS READ at the symposium held last October by the Center for Newman Studies at Fordham will be published in book form this year by Harcourt, Brace. Moreover, one of the papers—William E. Buckler, "The *Apologia* as Human Experience"—was printed as an article in the April, 1964, issue of *Thought*. The following summaries of six of the eight papers read at the symposium, prepared by the authors themselves, give some idea of the quality and compass of the forthcoming volume.

### "Theological Implications in the *Apologia*"

Hugo M. de Achaval, S.J.

SINCE THE *Apologia* is a history of Newman's religious opinions, it is not surprising that a theology is to be found in it, since "religion cannot maintain its ground at all without a theology," and, on the other hand, "every religious man is to a certain extent a theologian." Although Newman was a Christian from the beginning, he only became fully aware of the fact at the age of fifteen, when he underwent a conversion. Thereafter he gave a "real" instead of a "notional" assent to Biblical truths, and sought the living God through the voice of his conscience. In Newman's view adherence to the dictates of conscience gradually introduces one to the truths of natural religion, and since the God of conscience is the same as the God of the Bible, natural religion leads to faith and ultimately to revealed religion.

The *Apologia* does not speak explicitly of Christ, but almost every line of it is connected and, in a certain sense, correlated with the central idea of Newman's life: the Incarnation. In the *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, Newman explores the implications of the doctrine of the Incarnation. When the principles which follow from the doctrine of the Incarnation are correlated with the theological enunciations of the *Apologia*, it becomes evident that Christ and the Incarnation permeated Newman's theology.

The *Apologia* presents a series of changes in Newman's theological beliefs, but such changes left him the same. He added to his beliefs, he relinquished nothing. Why? Because he always maintained the principle of dogma: "From the age of fifteen, dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion; I know of no other religion." If he left the Anglican Church, it was because he felt that the Anglican Church was in the position of the Arian Churches of the fourth century, and the Monophysite Churches of the fifth. Such a belief led Newman to write Tract 90, and the opposition to that tract confirmed him

in the interpretation which he had placed upon the Fathers.

There is an inner dynamism in Newman's theology as revealed in the *Apologia*. Beginning with a "real" knowledge of God in conscience, Newman's theology progresses to the recognition of original sin, the Incarnation, and the latter's prolongation in the Catholic Church.

### "Initial Reactions to the *Apologia* in Periodical Literature, 1864-1865"

Vincent Ferrer Blehl, S.J.

THE COMMON IMPRESSION concerning press reaction to the *Apologia* is well represented by Wilfrid Ward's account in his *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (II, p. 34); he maintains that the note struck by the *Saturday Review* "was echoed almost universally." But, in giving the impression that the tone of the *Saturday Review* reaction represented the type of response shown by most periodicals of the day, Ward is quite misleading. A careful scrutiny of the fifty or sixty reviews of the *Apologia* reveals that the reaction was not at all uniform but exceedingly complex, subtle, and nuanced. Those who conceded that Newman's sincerity had been vindicated generally did not agree with his doctrinal views. Others were hesitant or qualified in their admission of his sincerity. Some who paid a polite tribute to his honesty as a thinker and a theologian proceeded to qualify that judgment, in some instances, to the extent that one finds it difficult to understand how the reviewer could have been fully honest in asserting his belief in Newman's sincerity. There were those who straightforwardly affirmed that Newman was sincere, but with confident self-assurance declared that he was deluded, deranged, a skeptic, emotionally unbalanced, overimaginative, or in need of the external support and security which only the Catholic Church could give. His conversion to Catholicism, however irrational, was said to be perfectly understandable in psychological terms. Others, though a minority, thought that Newman had not vindicated himself against Kingsley's charge. Still others thought that however sincere Newman might be as an individual, he had nonetheless joined a Church which by common agreement was not such. This viewpoint summarized the problems which confronted nearly every reviewer in greater or less degree. If Newman were sincere and if he had a commanding intellect, how was one to "explain" his conversion to Catholicism? Some ignored the *Apologia* almost entirely, using it simply as a springboard to discuss controversial

religious questions brought to the fore by the contents of the book. It is surprising how relatively little space, in all these reviews, is given to the style and literary quality of the work. Again the reviewers who recognized its literary values represented every shade of confessional commitment. Relatively few reviewers, however, were sufficiently detached to combine unqualified acknowledgment of Newman's sincerity, sympathetic understanding of his successive religious commitments, and a recognition of the outstanding literary quality of his work.

"Newman's *Apologia* and the Ultramontanes"

Edward E. Kelly, S.J.

THIS PAPER MAINTAINS that Newman wrote the *Apologia*, especially the final chapter, not only as an answer to Kingsley, but also with an eye on his opponents within the Catholic Church in the English Ultramontanes. Various passages from the *Apologia* clearly mark his differences with them on such questions as Papal infallibility, authority and freedom, and the Church of England. The second part of the paper recounts Manning's reactions to the *Apologia* and concludes that his work was an important moment in the determination of Ultramontane opposition to Newman.

"The Rhetoric of Newman's *Apologia*:  
The Ethical Argument"

Sister Mary Baylon Lenz, O.S.F.

IN 1864 WHEN John Henry Newman published his *Apologia pro vita sua*, a great segment of the English public distrusted his integrity. This suspicion had been heightened by Charles Kingsley's accusation challenging Newman's sense of honesty. To effectively answer Kingsley's charge, Newman realized that he must first win the English readers to a sympathetic understanding of his position. Consequently, he organized his work according to the basic principles of Aristotelian rhetoric. Since the major suspicion had focused on his loyalty to the Anglican Church during the time that Newman was a member of that body, he emphasized the ethical argument in his presentation. He showed the English that he was a good, trustworthy person by convincing them that at no time was he a hypocrite professing to belong to one Church (the Anglican) and supporting another (the Roman Catholic).

Each of the four chapters delineating his Anglican career contribute to this aspect of the ethical argument. In the first chapter Newman shows the foundation and development of his belief. As he points out the sources, he simultaneously identifies each source and shows the relationship to the English Church, not the Roman. The second chapter emphasizes the activities of the Oxford Movement. By showing that the Movement was dedicated to the defense of the English Church against liberal attacks and by showing his personal association with the Movement, Newman establishes his loyalty and dedication to the Anglican Church during those years.

Chapter III begins the narration of the period during which doubts began to arise, and Newman faces the difficult task of convincing his readers of his integrity despite

these challenges. He does this through an emphasis on four points: (1) disavowal of any Roman influence or inclination; (2) constant reassessment of his Anglican position in an effort to maintain a defensible stand; (3) exemplification of his fidelity to duty despite growing alienation from many fellow Anglicans; and (4) appeals to the parallels between his own thinking and many reputable Anglican authorities.

In Chapter IV, which concludes the history of his Anglican career, Newman brings together many of the techniques which he employed in earlier chapters. However, he adds several new arguments: (1) he emphasizes his efforts to keep others from going to Rome; (2) he directly refutes the charge of concealed Romanism; and (3) he uses letters to verify and substantiate his statements.

Having shown his English readers the honest growth and development of his religious opinions, Newman is then able in Chapter V to answer Kingsley's charges directly, knowing that the readers have gained a sympathetic insight into his position.

"Why Newman Wrote the *Apologia*"

Martin J. Svaglic

THE FIRST PART of the essay traces in familiar outline but fresh detail the attack by Kingsley in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1864, on Newman and the Roman Catholic clergy as holding that truth for its own sake was no virtue. The second and longer part of the essay tries to answer at a deeper level the question of why Newman wrote his spiritual autobiography. It shows that his early reaction was not so much irritation as regret that Kingsley's charges against him personally had not gone still further and given him an excuse to write the defense of "various passages in my life and writings" which he had for some time been arranging his papers with a view to writing, though he had not yet got beyond the year 1836. Newman's publication of their correspondence forced Kingsley to spell out his meaning, and this gave Newman the opportunity he had long hoped for to defend himself, not merely for his own sake, which he could not bring himself to do, but for the larger issues involved.

Keble had urged Newman to forget "such trash as Mr. Kingsley's" and for the sake of "all Christendom" take his stand "against the infidelity . . . fast enveloping us all." This was above all the task to which Newman yearned to devote himself; but he knew well that unless he first cleared his own name, so long under a cloud of distrust, any such work he could do in the future would have little impact. He knew the measure of continuing truth in Kingsley's remark that Tract 90 had "made all the rest of England" believe the author "a dishonest man," for since 1841 that tract had been an object of periodic sniping, even by fair-minded men like F. D. Maurice. He knew that, by his conversion and subsequent controversial activity in the cause of Rome, he had puzzled and pained friends and family, as they had him by their long silence. And he knew that for his position in the Catholic world, dominated by Ultramontanes fearful of any *rap-prochement* with the modern temper, was at so low an ebb as to threaten the future of his Oratory and the

school he had opened there. The crudeness of Kingsley's latest attack ("thoroughly vicious writing," George Eliot called it, deserving to be "thoroughly castigated"), as well as his own acknowledged victory in the earlier exchange, had given him an audience predisposed at last to listen to his story with a measure of sympathy. As he wrote to a friend, "It was now or never."

"*Apologia: History, Rhetoric, and Literature*"

Francis X. Connolly

PROFESSOR CONNOLLY ADDRESSES the problem of genre that has long vexed literary historians. He shows how the history of the text of the *Apologia* has led to an understandable but sometimes misleading emphasis on his-

torical and polemical elements of Newman's classic. He points out that, while the *Apologia* is rightly regarded as an important document in the nineteenth-century intellectual history and as a classical defense of Newman's veracity against the charges of Kingsley, it appeals to students of literature chiefly as a spiritual autobiography. Its specifically literary value, therefore, resides not only in its use of historical evidence and in its persuasive techniques but principally in Newman's ability to describe the actions of his own soul. This ability, Connolly suggests, is discernible in the dramatic arrangement of the autobiographical materials, the use of thematic metaphors, the extraordinary control of tone and perspective. Professor Connolly calls for a revised estimate of Newman's *Apologia* by literary historians.

## A Matter of Unacknowledged Borrowing

The Editor

March 31, 1964

Dear Professor Buckler:

After we corresponded in December and early January about Mr. Edward Jost's article in the Fall, 1963, issue of *VNL*—and talked about it at the MLA meeting—you said you would wait for a recommendation from me.

Frankly, I have not known what to do. I find Mr. Jost's letter to you, of which you sent me a copy, entirely unsatisfactory as an explanation of what happened. He writes: "I want to assure you again that I was not aware that I was doing any illegitimate borrowing." Yet, as I will point out in what follows, he has 14 carefully documented footnotes that occur *within* passages that are from my essays. Does this mean that he had taken down all of this material from my essays, including my footnote references, without being aware that this is "illegitimate borrowing"?

I raised this issue in the first place because I thought I owed it to the profession. It is not a personal matter, even though it so happens that I was the one to discover the unacknowledged quotations. Perhaps you, as a scholar and as editor of *VNL*, think that no public acknowledgment of the erroneous documentation in the article should be made in *VNL*. I will now leave the matter between you and Mr. Jost. I personally think that Mr. Jost has the obligation to ask you to publish in *VNL* a correction of his documentation, so that his heavily-documented essay will be accurately documented. And since the extent and the nature of the borrowings do not yet seem to be recognized, I have taken the trouble to review the whole situation as I see it, and to quote verbatim the passages from my essays that occur in his article either word-for-word or in slightly changed form.

In the first of the three leading articles published in the Fall, 1963, number of *VNL*, "Newman and Liberalism: The Later Phase," by Mr. Edward Jost, there are several passages that are quoted verbatim, and with no acknowledgment whatsoever, from my essay, "The Development of Newman's Political Thought" (*Review of Politics*, VII [April, 1945], 210-240). There is also one unacknowledged passage, running to twenty-three lines (about 300 words), that is from a paper on "Newman and the Catholic University Today" which I read at Notre Dame and at St. Mary's College in November, 1945. While this lecture, given in the centennial year of Newman's conversion, has never been published, I have circulated (perhaps fifty) mimeographed copies of it here at Notre Dame, where Mr. Jost was a graduate student in 1954-55. Finally, there is a long sentence, also unacknowledged, which is from my doctoral thesis, "Newman's Conception of Literature" (In *Critical Studies in Arnold, Emerson, and Newman* by John Hicks, Ernest E. Sandeen, Alvan S. Ryan, with an Introduction by Joseph E. Baker, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1942).

If one finds a few phrases or even a sentence or two of his own used without acknowledgment in an article that also includes properly acknowledged quotations from his work, one need not protest. We can all make an occasional lapse in documenting an essay. But while Mr. Jost annotates his article with 49 footnotes, he places exactly four words in quotations as coming from one of my essays. (His footnote No. 14.) Furthermore some 14 of his quotations from works by or on Newman occur *within* passages which I think are from my own essays, so that it seems more than likely that in these instances the research, as well as the conclusions, was mine, not his.

Because I believe that the documentation of Mr. Jost's essay is, if not deceptive, at least grossly deficient, I quote verbatim a series of passages from the three essays I mention above.

(1) The following series of quotations from "The Development of Newman's Political Thought" should be compared by the interested reader with the passage of Mr. Jost's essay beginning with his final paragraph on page 1 and continuing on page 2 up to the long quotation from the *Apologia* with which his page 2 ends. I keep my own footnote numbers, without inflicting the footnotes themselves on the reader, and place in parentheses the pages of Vol. 7, No. 2 of the *Review of Politics* in which the passages occur:

The irony inherent in the inception of the Oxford Movement as a protest against suppressing Anglican Bishoprics in Catholic Ireland has often been emphasized. What is less frequently noticed is that during the thirties Newman's suspicions of Rome were increased because, so he thought, she was allied with the very forces of liberalism which were to him anathema. Thus Newman writes in the *Apologia*, that though after 1839 he had a growing dislike "to speak against the Roman Church herself on her formal doctrines"<sup>7</sup> yet he felt he "could not be wrong in striking at her political and social line of action. The alliance of a dogmatic religion with liberals, high or low, seemed to me a providential direction against moving towards Rome . . . ." "I had," continues Newman, "an unspeakable aversion to the policy and acts of Mr. O'Connell, because as I thought, he associated himself with men of all religions and no religion against the Anglican Church, and advanced Catholicism by violence and intrigue."<sup>8</sup> (p. 213.)

Even more significant is Newman's attitude toward the dominant continental movements of this period, and especially toward such French Catholics as Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire. Their influence on the Oxford Movement is not generally recognized, and it is one of the great merits of Christopher Dawson's study<sup>9</sup> that it emphasizes this fact, and gives special attention to Richard Hurrell Froude's role as spokesman for certain ideas of these French writers. (p. 213.)

In Dawson's words, the Oxford Movement "brought the English tradition out of its spiritual isolation into contact with the main currents of western culture, with Catholicism and Liberalism."<sup>10</sup> (p. 214.)

That Newman was also following the French movement during these years is apparent in his essay "The Fall of De La Mennais," which first appeared in the *British Critic* in 1837. Newman, having actively opposed the Erastian element in the Church of England for four years, takes comfort from his conviction that

"the poor Gallican Church is in a captivity, not only doctrinal, which we all know, but ecclesiastical, far greater than ours."<sup>20</sup> (p. 215.) But when he turns to the democratic elements in Lamennais' program he concludes that Lamennais' desire that the Church "throw herself upon the onward course of democracy," and "lead a revolutionary movement, which in her first ages she had created"<sup>22</sup> is his basic error. (p. 216.)

Moreover, it is evident that the provincialism of Newman's early attitude toward the French—"the French are an awful people"<sup>29</sup>—gave way to growing admiration for the spirit of such men as Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Dupanloup, who, though of liberal mind, did not share Lamennais' political views. (p. 217.)

If we compare Newman's attitude toward the *Syllabus of Errors* with his denunciation of liberalism during the Oxford Movement, we face once again the paradoxical fact that he seems less vehement in his criticisms of liberalism after entering the Church than he was before. The well-known note on liberalism at the end of the *Apologia* makes this clear. It will be remembered that Newman commences the Note by saying that an explanation of what he meant during the Oxford Movement by the term liberalism "is the more necessary, because such good Catholics and distinguished writers as Count Montalembert and Father Lacordaire use the term in a favorable sense, and claim to be liberals themselves . . . ." (p. 230.)

Newman's first important work after he became a Catholic was, characteristically, concerned with education. The story of the seven years during which, as Rector of the newly-founded Dublin University, he attempted to establish a Catholic University in the face of insurmountable difficulties, has been told many times. The "Campaign in Ireland," as Newman referred to this period, is important, however, not only because it gave us Newman's *Idea of a University*, but also for its political and social implications. (p. 217-218.)

The years between 1858, when Newman delivered his last address as Rector of Dublin University, and 1864, when the *Apologia* appeared, were chiefly filled with the protracted controversy over two Catholic reviews, the *Rambler*, and the *Home and Foreign Review*. Since the controversy continually touched upon political questions, it has special interest for us here. (p. 225.)

Newman's difficulties with the Catholic reviews were but part of the whole struggle between liberal and conservative forces that took place with the Church during the papacy of Pius IX. It is not surprising, therefore, that soon after Newman severed connections with

the *Home and Foreign Review*, he should become involved in other equally heated controversies. (p. 229.)

From the outset differences with Bishop Cullen, who invited Newman to the Rectorship, hampered Newman's work. Even a few words concerning Dr. Cullen's outlook go far to make these differences comprehensible. (p. 218.)

One of the chief causes of friction between Newman and Dr. Cullen was the fact that while Newman insisted that laymen should have a real share in the administration and faculty of the University, Dr. Cullen was suspicious of any such lay influence. (p. 218.)

Dr. Cullen had received his early theological training, and had given his public disputation for the doctor's degree, in the Rome of Pope Leo XII.<sup>31</sup> It was, however, the Pope who came to the throne in 1830—Gregory XVI—that aroused Dr. Cullen's enthusiasm. Gregory it was who condemned the ideas of Lamennais' *L'Avenir* in the famous Encyclical *Mirari Vos*, and Lamennais' *Paroles d'un Croyant* in *Singulari Nos*. (p. 218.) (Compare Jost's footnote No. 17.)

The conflict with Cullen was to have a lasting effect upon Newman's attitude towards the laity in later years. (p. 219.)

The change that took place in Newman's attitude during this period needs to be emphasized. As Gwynn has pointed out, while Manning "was becoming more and more involved in policies which aroused opposition among the laity,"<sup>38</sup> Newman advanced to a position strangely remote from his earlier attitude in the days of the Tractarian Movement. Then liberalism had been the foe; . . . "Yet now, after his three years in Ireland, he had returned from Dublin with a real sympathy towards the Irish Catholic democracy; and his conflicts with the Irish bishops over the claims of the laity to representation in the University had made him so far an upholder of the rights of the laity that, within a few years, he was to be denounced in Rome, and even delated to the Holy See, as the most formidable agent of Catholic Liberalism in England."<sup>39</sup> (p. 219.)

(2) The following passage from my unpublished, but mimeographed, lecture, "Newman and the Catholic University Today," delivered at Notre Dame and St. Mary's College in November 1945, may be compared with the first paragraph, page 3, of Mr. Jost's essay, beginning with his third sentence.

Newman was not trying to define the idea of a Catholic University in his Dublin discourses. He spoke as a Catholic, but as a Catholic trying to trace out what a university had been and ought to be whether within or without the pale of the Church. He emphasizes in the opening

discourses on the place of theology that he is concerned with "Natural Theology," not Revelation. But in his concluding discourse he declares: "If the Catholic Faith is true, a University cannot exist externally to the Catholic pale, for it cannot teach Universal Knowledge if it does not teach Catholic theology."<sup>13</sup> Even so, "ever so many theological chairs"<sup>14</sup> would not suffice to make it a Catholic University, for theology would be included in its teaching only as a branch of knowledge; this is not enough: a direct jurisdiction of the Church is necessary, to some degree in the sciences, to a much greater degree in literature and such related subjects. Newman describes this jurisdiction with the utmost care. Yet his emphasis is on allowing the intellectual powers of the subject to develop in an atmosphere of freedom and openness to the truth rather than in one of constraint or timidity. In "Christianity and Scientific Investigation," Newman shows that he does not fear that "truth will contradict truth"; and he urges elsewhere that the study of literature, "the life and remains of the natural man," is one of the great means of "fitting men of the world for the world,"<sup>15</sup> and that narrow proscriptions in the university serve not to shield the student from damage to his faith or morals, but only "to make the world his university." Likewise, the jurisdiction of the Church must rightfully be exercised in relation to the teaching of the faculty, but Newman alludes to the medieval universities as places where truth was adjusted to truth in a free atmosphere of speculation and controversy. "Why was it," he asks in a letter to his friend Robert Ormsby, "that the Medieval Schools were so vigorous? Because they were allowed free and fair play—because the disputants were not made to feel the bit in their mouths at every other word they spoke, but could move their limbs freely and expatiate at will. Then, when they went wrong, a stronger and truer intellect set them down—and, as time went on, if the dispute got perilous, and a controversialist obstinate, then at length Rome interfered—at length, not at first. Truth is wrought out by many minds working together freely."<sup>16</sup>

(3) Except for his opening words ("But it is well known that") and his omission of my phrase "the vague but powerful solvent," Mr. Jost's sentence in the middle of his last paragraph on page 3 is identical with the following sentence in my doctoral thesis (pp. 156-157) published in 1942 in Iowa City:

Arnold wished to "save" religion at the price of emptying it of all its traditional meaning, at the price of defining God as the "power not ourselves that makes for righteousness," of throwing over entirely theology, the supernatural, the distinction between "natural" and

"revealed" and the historical definitions of such terms as "grace," partly because he saw that great controversies had been waged over all the central doctrines of Christianity, and partly because he was far too hasty in bringing traditional Christianity before the bar of nineteenth-century scientific criticism and that vague but powerful solvent, the *Zeitgeist*.<sup>112</sup>

(4) Finally, Mr. Jost's last six lines might be compared with the following two passages, one from the first, and the other from the last, paragraph of my essay on "The Development of Newman's Political Thought":

Newman's whole work as a Catholic was an attempt to complete the appeal to authority, to tradition, to the essentially conservative forces in both Church and civil society, by a fearless confronting of the manifold problems raised by modern scientific thought, modern religious developments, and modern philosophical speculations. (p. 240.)

A few years after Newman had been made a Cardinal, Lord Selborne, during an audience

with Pope Leo XIII, chanced to mention the name of Newman. The Pope's face brightened. "It was not easy; no, it was not easy. They said he was too liberal; but I was determined to honour the Church by honouring Newman." (p. 210.)

Given the fact that Mr. Jost's article is so heavily documented, I submit that the parallels to which I have called attention are especially disturbing. For if we omit his long quotation on page 2 from the *Apologia*, nearly one-third of his essay follows almost verbatim the passages I have cited from my own essays. To place only four of my words in quotation marks, when so much of what precedes and follows should also be quoted, seems an extremely unscholarly procedure. If Mr. Jost had taken as much care to acknowledge the quotations from me as he did to acknowledge the very passages from Newman, Gwynn, Ward, Dawson, and Thureau-Dangin that occur within the borrowings from me, I would not have found it necessary to write this letter.

Sincerely yours,  
Alvan S. Ryan

## Recent Publications: A Selected List

Robert A. Greenberg

September, 1963—February, 1964

### I

#### GENERAL

- ARTS. Davis, Frank. *Victorian Patrons of the Arts*. Country Life. A study, with illustrations, of twelve collections. Rev. *TLS*, 5 December, p. 1004.
- Ferriday, Peter, ed. *Victorian Architecture*. Cape. Essays on Victorian architects and their work. Rev. *TLS*, 5 December, p. 1004.
- Fishman, Solomon. *The Interpretation of Art*. University of California. Includes discussion of Ruskin and Pater.
- Leslie, Shane. "The Agony of Pugin." *Quarterly Review*, January, pp. 61-71. Comments on Pugin's life and work.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY. Houghton, Walter E. "Reflections on Indexing Victorian Periodicals." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 192-196. Achievements and difficulties relating to the *Wellesley Index*, volume I of which is to appear in 1965.
- Peckham, Morse. "Recent Studies in Nineteenth-Century English Literature." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 595-611. Notable evaluations of books published in 1962.
- CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Brown, Calvin S. "Monosyllables in English Verse." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 473-491. On the prevalence and positive effects of the monosyllabic line; many nineteenth-century illustrations.
- Forsyth, R. A. "The Victorian Self-Image and the Emergent City Sensibility." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, October, pp. 61-71. The Victorian self-image, essentially rural in its allegiances, was undermined by the new industrial reality.
- Hollingsworth, Keith. *The Newgate Novel, 1830-1847*. Wayne State. Rev. *TLS*, 28 November, p. 964.
- James, Louis. *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850*. Oxford. A study of literature written primarily for the working classes. Rev. *TLS*, 28 November, p. 964.
- Lester, John A. "The Consolations of Ecstasy." *English Literature in Transition* (1963), vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 200-211. Varieties of the ecstatic experience in the literature of the late nineteenth, early twentieth centuries.
- Madden, William A. "The Victorian Sensibility." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 67-97. A notable attempt, continually suggestive, to place the Victorian sensibility by focusing on the tensions between public and private commitment.
- Miller, J. Hillis. *The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth-Century Writers*. Harvard. Studies of DeQuincey, Hopkins, Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, and Emily Brontë.
- Moers, Ellen. "Literary Economics in the 1890's: Golden Boys for Sale." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 185-191. A review-article, considering primarily Le Gallienne, Wilde, and the Garnett family.
- Raleigh, John Henry. "What Scott Meant to the Victorians." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 7-34. The reasons—conscious and not—for Scott's appeal to the Victorians.
- Stewart, J. I. M. *Eight Modern Writers*. Vol. XII, *Oxford History of English Literature*. Oxford. Includes sections on Hardy, Kipling, and Shaw.

- ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Cornford, James. "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 35-66. A resurgence of class-affiliation in the electorate was the primary force determining Conservative success.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. and R. M. Hartwell. "The Standard of Living during the Industrial Revolution: A Discussion." *Economic History Review*, August, pp. 119-146. Opposing arguments on whether the standard of living rose or deteriorated.
- James, Robert Rhodes. *Rosebery*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Pollard, Sidney. "Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution." *Economic History Review*, December, pp. 254-271. Methods of controlling the new and untrained industrial labor force.
- HISTORY. Edwardes, Michael. *Battles of the Indian Mutiny*. Batsford.
- Lockhart, J. G. and C. M. Woodhouse. *Rhodes*. Hodder and Stoughton. Rev. *TLS*, 20 September, p. 699.
- Pelling, Henry. *A History of Trade Unionism*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 7 November, p. 905.
- RELIGION. Machin, G. I. T. "The Duke of Wellington and Catholic Emancipation." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, October, pp. 190-208. Wellington's views, prior to 1829, on the Catholic issue indicates that he had been long meditating emancipation.
- Mullins, Terrence Y. "Sidgwick's Concept of Ethical Science." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, October-December, pp. 584-588. An analysis and evaluation.
- Osborne, John W. "William Cobbett's Role in the Catholic Emancipation." *Catholic Historical Review*, October, pp. 382-389. Cobbett's early and continuing support for Emancipation drew its major strength from his hatred of both boroughmongering and the established church.
- Rogers, Philip George. *The Sixth Trumpeter: The Story of Jezreel and His Tower*. Oxford. A study of a very minor dissenting sect.
- SCIENCE. Burrow, J. W. "Evolution and Anthropology in the 1860's: The Anthropological Society of London, 1863-71." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 137-154. Background to the dominance of evolutionary methods in anthropology.
- SOCIAL. Briggs, Asa. *Victorian Cities*. Odhams. Rev. *TLS*, 14 November, p. 925.
- Harrison, Michael. *London by Gaslight, 1861-1911*. Peter Davies.
- Lambert, Royston. *Sir John Simon, 1816-1904, and English Social Administration*. MacGibbon and Kee. Rev. *TLS*, 7 November, p. 902.
- Spring, David. *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century*. Johns Hopkins.
- Thompson, F. M. L. *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*. University of Toronto.
- Arnold had basic affinities with Marcus Aurelius, as is seen in his essay on him.
- Greenberg, Robert A. "Matthew Arnold's Mournful Rhymes: A Study of 'The World and the Quietist.'" *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 284-290. Arnold's poem is a justification of the kind of poetry he had been writing but was formally to disavow in 1853.
- Kerpneck, Harvey. "'Kings of Modern Thought.'" *Modern Language Quarterly*, December, pp. 392-395. The Achilles reference in "Grande Chartreuse" (11. 109-120) is to the Newman-Achilli trial.
- Mazzaro, James L. "Corydon in Matthew Arnold's 'Thyrsis.'" *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 304-306. Corydon is to be identified not with Arnold, but with the generic poet.
- Sundell, M.G. "The Intellectual Background and Structure of Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult*." *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 272-283. Arnold insists in the poem on the inadequacy of any single idea to interpret experience.
- Williamson, Eugene L. "Matthew Arnold and the Archbishops." *Modern Language Quarterly*, September, pp. 245-252. Arnold had satisfying personal and intellectual relationships with archbishops Whately, Tait, Benson, and Temple.
- BESANT. Nethercot, Arthur H. *The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant*. University of Chicago. Rev. *TLS*, 7 November, p. 912.
- BRONTËS. Bell, Vereen. "Wuthering Heights as Epos." *College English*, December, pp. 199-200, 205-208. Relates the novel to the oral literary tradition.
- Solomon, Eric. "Jane Eyre: Fire and Water." *College English*, December, pp. 215-217. The coherence of the novel is in its thematic and symbolic pattern—best illustrated by two pervasive images, fire and water.
- BROWNING. Altick, Richard. "'A Grammarian's Funeral': Browning's Praise of Folly?" *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 449-460. The Grammarian is less a hero than a pathetic waster of life.
- Howard, John. "Caliban's Mind." *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 249-257. Rather than being a satire, "Caliban" is a study of the primitive mind caught in the act of religious speculation.
- Ridenour, George M. "Browning's Music Poems: Fancy and Fact." *PMLA*, September, pp. 369-377. Through the contexts of music, as of myth, Browning was able to apprehend the multiplicities of experience.
- Willoughby, John W. "Browning's 'Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came.'" *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 291-299. The poem, proceeding on both a fairy-tale and psychological level, reiterates Browning's faith in intuitive wisdom.
- CARLYLE. Cobban, Alfred. "Carlyle's French Revolution." *History*, October, pp. 306-316. A general consideration of Carlyle's view of the Revolution.
- Tennyson, G.B. "Unnoted Encyclopaedia Articles by Carlyle." *English Language Notes*, December, pp. 108-111. Adds two more articles—"Persia" and "Quakers"—to the accepted canon of eighteen.
- CLARE. Robinson, Eric and Geoffrey Summerfield. "John Taylor's Editing of Clare's *The Shepherd's Calendar*." *Review of English Studies*, November, pp. 359-369. Taylor's hand was heavy and omnipresent.
- DICKENS. Axton, William. "Tonal Unity in *Dombey and Son*." *PMLA*, September, pp. 341-348. Thematic and metaphoric structures, fully adumbrated in the opening serial number, provide the novel's unity.
- Blount, Trevor. "The Graveyard Satire of *Bleak House* in

## II

### INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- ARNOLD. Balliet, Conrad A. "'Growing Old' along with 'Rabbi Ben Ezra.'" *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 300-301. Argues, on the basis of structure, that Arnold's poem was intended as an answer to Browning's.
- Coulling, Sidney M. B. "The Evolution of *Culture and Anarchy*." *Studies in Philology*, October, pp. 637-668. An admirable presentation of the interplay between Arnold and his critics which determined, in turn, the texture and argument of *Culture and Anarchy*.
- Ebel, Henry. "Matthew Arnold and Marcus Aurelius." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 555-566.

- the Context of 1850." *Review of English Studies*, November, pp. 370-378. The graveyard setting relates to contemporary burial-ground abuses.
- Collins, Philip. *Dickens and Education*. Maxmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 12 December, p. 1034.
- Davis, Earle. *The Flint and the Flame: The Artistry of Charles Dickens*. University of Missouri.
- Hardy, Barbara. "Food and Ceremony in *Great Expectations*." *Essays in Criticism*, October, pp. 351-363. The meals in the novel become a means of placement, moral and social, of the characters.
- Hirsch, David H. "Hard Times and F. R. Leavis." *Criticism*, Winter, pp. 1-16. Attacks Leavis for his reading of the novel, and deprecates the novel for its sentimentality and for not having realized its symbolism.
- Hynes, James A. "Image and Symbol in *Great Expectations*." *ELH*, September, pp. 258-292. A highly detailed, and very rewarding, analysis of the novel's imagery.
- Levine, George. "Communications in *Great Expectations*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 175-181. Communication between the characters is primitive and instinctive, based on sympathy and love, and therefore beyond social patterns.
- Stone, Harry. "Dickens and Leitmotif: Music-Staircase Imagery in *Dombey and Son*." *College English*, December, pp. 217-220. The image of the Dombey staircase, which recurs throughout the novel, is Dickens' first totally successful use of leitmotif.
- Wain, John. *Essays on Literature and Ideas*. Macmillan. Includes a study of *Little Dorrit*.
- ELIOT. Ferguson, Suzanne C. "Mme. Laure and Operative Irony in *Middlemarch*: A Structural Irony." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 509-516. The recounting of Lydgate's relations with Laure (Ch. 15) has analogical significance both within and beyond the Lydgate section of the novel.
- Levine, George. "Isabel, Gwendolen, and Dorothea." *ELH*, September, pp. 244-257. Details the relationship between *Portrait of a Lady*, and *Middlemarch* and *Deronda*.
- Pinney, Thomas, ed. *Essays of George Eliot*. Columbia University.
- Thomson, Patricia. "The Three Georges." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 137-150. George Eliot's emotional and intellectual indebtedness to George Sand, especially to the latter's novel, *Jacques*.
- GISSING. Coustillas, Pierre and Paul Goetsch. "George Gissing: An Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Him: Foreign Journals: Supplement II." *English Literature in Transition* (1964), Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 14-26.
- HARDY. Gerber, Helmut E. "Hardy's *The Well-Beloved* as a Comment on the Well-Despised." *English Language Notes*, September, pp. 48-53. Hardy's novel may be his very bitter farewell to novel writing.
- Gose, Elliott B. "Psychic Evolution: Darwinism and Initiation in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 261-272. For his presentation of Tess and her predicament, Hardy draws upon Darwinian and anthropological formulations.
- Parker, W. M. "Hardy's Letters to Sir George Douglas." *English*, Autumn, pp. 218-225. Extracts from unpublished letters, 1887-1924.
- HOOD. Reid, J. C. *Thomas Hood*. Routledge.
- HOPKINS. Montag, George E. "Hopkins' 'God's Grandeur' and 'The Ooze of Oil Crushed.'" *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 302-303. The image in II. 3-4 is of a "lamp, or candle, in which oil oozes . . . up through a wick and 'gathers' to the 'greatness of a flame.'"
- Smith, Grover. "A Source for Hopkins' 'Spring and Fall' in *The Mill on the Floss*?" *English Language Notes*, September, pp. 43-46. The hair-cropping episode, Bk. I, Ch. 7.
- KEBLE. Battiscombe, Georgina. *John Keble: A Study in Limitation*. Constable. Rev. *TLS*, 5 December, pp. 1001-1002.
- LEWES. Davis, Kenneth W. "George Henry Lewes's Introduction to the Blackwood Circle." *English Language Notes*, December, pp. 113-114. Lewes' introduction, by letter, occurred in December, 1842.
- MALLOCK. Nickerson, Charles C. "The Novels of W. H. Mallock: Notes towards a Bibliography." *English Literature in Transition* (1963), Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 182-189. Comments introductory to the bibliographical listing of the novels that follow (pp. 190-198).
- MEREDITH. Ketcham, Carl H. "Meredith and the Wilis." *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 241-248. On Meredith's use of the Giselle legend in his poem, "Phantasy."
- Morris, John W. "Inherent Principles of Order in *Richard Feverel*." *PMLA*, September, pp. 333-340. *Feverel* fails because it does not bring the esthetic principles on which it is based into a substantial reality.
- MILL. Cowling, Maurice. *Mill and Liberalism*. Cambridge. Mineka, Francis E., ed., *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1812-1848*. 2 vols. University of Toronto. Vols. XII and XIII, the first to appear, of the *Collected Works*. Weinberg, Adelaide. *Theodor Gomperz and John Stuart Mill*. Libraire Droz. The relations of Mill and Gomperz, who translated and edited Mill's work.
- NEWMAN. Dessain, Charles Stephen. "Newman and Oxford." *Wiseman Review*, Autumn, pp. 295-302. Reviews some of Newman's experiences at Oxford.
- ROSSETTIS. Packer, Lona Mosk. *Christina Rossetti*. University of California.
- Packer, Lona Mosk, ed. *The Rossetti-Macmillan Letters*. University of California. Largely unpublished letters from the Rossettis.
- Packer, Lona Mosk. "William Michael Rossetti and the Quilter Controversy: 'The Gospel of Intensity.'" *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 170-183. A review and analysis of the controversy.
- Vogel, Joseph F. "'White Rose' or 'White Robe' in 'The Blessed Damosel'?" *English Language Notes*, December, pp. 121-123. On line 3 of stanza 2.
- RUSKIN. Coulling, Sidney M. B. "Two Unpublished Letters of John Ruskin to Edward Clayton." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, November, pp. 87-92. The two letters, dating from 1839 and 1840, had been omitted from Ruskin's *Letters . . . to a College Friend*.
- Rosenberg, John D., ed. *The Genius of John Ruskin*. Braziller. A Ruskin anthology.
- SWINBURNE. Ehrenpreis, Anne Henry. "Swinburne's Edition of Popular Ballads." *PMLA*, December, pp. 559-571. Study of the text of Swinburne's unpublished edition.
- Johnson, Wendell Stacy. "Swinburne and Carlyle." *English Language Notes*, December, pp. 117-121. Suggests an unconscious indebtedness of Swinburne to Carlyle.
- Packer, Lona Mosk. "Swinburne and Christina Rossetti: Atheist and Anglican." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, October, pp. 30-42. Reviews their continuing friendship.
- SYMONS. Munro, John M. "Arthur Symons as Poet: Theory and Practice." *English Literature in Transition* (1963), Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 212-222. An outline of Symons' career, with emphasis on *Silhouettes* and *London Nights*, his best volumes of poetry.
- TENNYSON. Baum, Paull F. "Crossing the Bar." *English Language Notes*, December, pp. 115-116. Notes inconsistencies of tone and image in the lyric.



- Cadbury, William. "The Utility of the Poetic Mask in Tennyson's 'Supposed Confessions.'" *Modern Language Quarterly*, December, pp. 374-385. The speaker, who is distanced from the poet, enlarges the possibilities the poet may treat.
- Moore, Carlisle. "Faith, Doubt, and Mystical Experience in *In Memoriam*." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 155-169. Vindicates Tennyson's affirmation of "faith" by placing the poem within the tradition of conversion-literature.
- Rader, Ralph Wilson. *Tennyson's Maud: The Biographical Genesis*. University of California. *Maud* is a revelation of Tennyson's psychic life, as he adjusted to the death of Hallam, shifting his affections to Rosa Baring, Sophy Rawnsley, and Emily Sellwood.
- Rehak, Louise Rouse. "On the Use of Martyrs: Tennyson and Eliot on Thomas Becket." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, October, pp. 43-60. Contrasts Tennyson's *Becket* and Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* for their differences in ethical outlook and dramatic procedure.
- Ryals, Clyde de L. *Theme and Symbol in Tennyson's Poems to 1850*. University of Pennsylvania. Sections on each of Tennyson's volumes through *In Memoriam*.
- Solomon, Stanley J. "Tennyson's Paradoxical King." *Victorian Poetry*, November, pp. 258-271. Studies the paradoxical situations in the *Idylls*, especially as they radiate from Arthur himself.
- Tennyson, Charles. *The Somersby Tennysons*. Publications of the Tennyson Society, No. 1. Issued as a supplement to Vol. VII of *Victorian Studies*. Includes in addition to the text a catalogue of the Frederick Tennyson collection at Indiana.
- THACKERAY. Mathison, John K. "The German Sections of *Vanity Fair*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 235-246. The German scenes enable us to identify Amelia's limitations with those of middle-class culture generally.
- Summerfield, Henry, ed. "Letters from a Club Arm-Chair: William Makepeace Thackeray." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 205-233. Six uncollected articles contributed by Thackeray to the *Calcutta Star*, 1844-1845.
- Taube, Myron. "Contrast as a Principle of Structure in *Vanity Fair*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 119-135. Thackeray's contrasts work within particular monthly numbers; from number to number; and throughout the entire novel.
- Taube, Myron. "Thackeray and the Reminiscental Vision." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 247-259. Thackeray's domestic tragedy led to a sense of agedness, of disengagement from life, and to a style expressive of this condition.
- Taube, Myron. "Thackeray at Work: The Significance of Two Deletions from *Vanity Fair*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 273-279. The two passages relate to the role of Miss Horrocks in the presentation of Sir Pitt.
- Stewart, D. H. "*Vanity Fair*: Life in the Void." *College English*, December, pp. 209-214. The novel creates an empirical world of fact and being, omits the possibilities of becoming, and thus shows the absurdity of human existence.
- Von Hendy, Andrew. "Misunderstanding about Becky's Characterization in *Vanity Fair*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 279-283. Becky's characterization remains consistent throughout, even when she slaps her son, lies about her husband's embezzlement, and is perhaps guilty of murdering Jos.
- THOMSON. McGann, Jerome J. "James Thomson (B.V.): The Woven Hymns of Night and Day." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 493-507. Thomson's contrasting visions, before and after his seven-year silence, 1874-1881.
- Ridler, Anne, ed. *Poems and Some Letters of James Thomson*. Centaur. Selected poems. Rev. *TLS*, 4 October, p. 788.
- TROLLOPE. Cadbury, William. "Shape and Theme: Determinants of Trollope's Forms." *PMLA*, September, pp. 326-332. Suggests a classification of Trollope's fiction by the relationship of shape-totality in a novel—and theme.
- Cadbury, William. "The Uses of the Village: Form and Theme in Trollope's *The Vicar of Bullhampton*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 151-163. Though the Vicar does not achieve the effect of life's fullness, as Trollope hoped it would, it does succeed in narrower terms.

PROJECTS—REQUESTS FOR AID

- CHARLOTTE BRONTË. Jane H. Jack wishes the sources of three quotations given in *Jane Eyre*. *TLS*, 12 December, p. 1037.
- JOHN CLARE. D. Howard Halliday asks for the location of books originally part of Clare's library. *TLS*, 30 August, p. 661.
- ELIZABETH GASKELL. J. G. Sharpe is looking for manuscript and out-of-the-way material either by or about Mrs. Gaskell. *TLS*, 12 December, p. 1037.
- D. G. ROSSETTI. For a biography of Rossetti, R. Glynn Grylls wishes to hear of unpublished letters or other material relating to him or the Pre-Raphaelite group. *TLS*, 26 December, p. 1065.

## English X News

TO: MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY AND NOMINATING COMMITTEE,  
GROUP 10, MLA

FROM: DONALD SMALLEY, COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN FOR 1964

The 1963 Committee, under the chairmanship of Francis G. Townsend, met on Friday, Dec. 27, 1963, at 8:45 a.m. Present: Francis Townsend, G. Robert Stange, Robert C. Slack, Robert Langbaum, William Madden, W. Stacy Johnson, John Tyree Fain, Donald Smalley.

THE FOLLOWING NOMINATIONS WERE APPROVED: Secretary for 1965, Robert Langbaum. (During the meeting of Group 10 on Friday afternoon, J. Hillis Miller was elected Secretary for 1964 and John Tyree Fain [Secretary for 1963] was elected Chairman for 1964.)

Replacements for retiring members of the Committee (G. Robert Stange and Robert C. Slack) to serve for 1965-66: Martin J. Svaglic and Robert A. Greenberg. J. Hillis Miller, as Secretary for 1964, will notify these nominees by mail.

Chairman of the 1964 Program Committee: William A. Madden. Mr. Madden will appoint the other two members of his committee. It was decided that the topic for the program should be left open and papers invited on any subject for at least one place on the program. William E. Buckler, who, as editor of *Victorian Newsletter*, sat with the Committee, suggested that a paper on Newman be solicited since 1964 is the centenary year of the publication of the *Apologia pro vita sua*. It was also suggested that a paper on prose style might be especially suitable for the 1964 meeting.

Mr. Slack announced that questionnaires sent out canvassing opinion on the desirability of altering the organization of the Victorian Bibliography, published annually in *Victorian Studies*, will be evaluated and reported on next year. The new decennial volume for the Victorian Bibliography (1955-64) was discussed. Mr. Slack was asked to see the volume through the press (the University of Illinois Press has indicated active interest in publishing this volume as it has done its predecessors); and it was suggested that Mr. Slack preface the volume with an introductory essay of some length dealing with trends in scholarship in the ten years covered.

The Committee continued discussion of preceding meetings concerning the project of publishing a study of Victorian prose to serve as a companion volume to *The Victorian Poets: a Guide to Research*, edited by Frederic E. Faverty (Harvard University Press, 1956) and *Victorian Fiction: a Guide to Research*, edited by Lionel Stevenson (now accepted by the Harvard University Press and to be issued presently). William Buckler was asked to edit the new volume. He agreed to consider doing so and will make his final decision later.

WILLIAM A. MADDEN, Program Chairman for the 1964 meeting of Group 10 (Victorian) of the Modern Language Association announces that the Program Committee will be especially interested in papers on Newman, particularly on the *Apologia* (1964 being the centennial year). Papers should require no more than 20 minutes in the reading and be addressed to Mr. Madden, Dept. of English, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.