

Douglas Bush's *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition* gave a rather succinct outline of the main stream of critical comment up to 1937:

The common pattern of interpretation is something like this. Tennyson began as a genuine romantic poet and ended as a Laureate, a British minister for divine affairs, who aspired to see his Pilot face to face, "as gentleman to gentleman." The real poetic fire that he possessed was gradually extinguished, it seems, by a number of causes . . . the Apostles' contagious zeal for uplift . . . the thrusting, by misguided friends and pious public, of the role of . . . preacher upon a born singer . . . the taming influence of a wife who ruled his spirit from her sofa; prosperity and familiar acquaintance with Royalty (P. 197).

But on the next page, he goes on to refute this "common pattern": "A complete survey of Tennyson's life from Somersby to Westminster Abbey does not suggest that he was notably warped, that he took or was pushed into the wrong road. . . . If one allows for the normal mellowing of maturity, Tennyson was at the end what he was at the beginning. . . ."

Paull F. Baum's *Tennyson Sixty Years After*, 1948, has been described as "scholarly but hostile" and as "a book giving the impression of having been written out of a sense of having a painful duty to perform." Professor Baum echoed the term "melancholy" after Eliot and the charge of "mediocre intellectual endowment" after Nicolson and Auden. The tendency toward partition is also present in this book when Professor Baum writes, "now . . . we are able to separate the 'true' from the 'false' and to see how, his instinct being for beauty, the necessity of finding in contemporary life subjects to write about led him to beautify inferior material" (Pp. vii-viii).

Frank Laurence Lucas, in two magnificent paragraphs from his little handbook of 1957, delineates what he called the "Double Character of Tennyson."

. . . the impressive Tennyson, tall, gypsy-dark, often as unkempt as his style was polished, strikingly handsome in youth, awesome as a Hebrew prophet in his bearded age, young Hercules who tossed iron bars over haystacks, or carried ponies 'round lawns, who seemed to FitzGerald "a sort of Hyperion," to Carlyle "a life-guardsmen spoilt by making poetry."

But with this Tennyson there was coupled a strange sort of anti-self—shy, self-conscious, hysterical, as hypersensitive to criticism as the legendary princess to the pea beneath the mat-

resses, the "school miss Alfred" of Lytton's satire and of verse like "O Darling Room."<sup>4</sup>

In *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry*, 1952, Edward Dudley Hume Johnson claimed that Tennyson was representative for the very reason that he had repudiated his society. Johnson reasoned that in the changing climate of the Victorian Age, Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold all learned to make concessions to literary fashions of which they did not personally approve, but that, along with that conformity, they developed "remarkable techniques for sublimating private insights without materially falsifying the original perceptions at the heart of the creative impulse" (P. xv).

John Killham's *Tennyson and "The Princess," Reflections of an Age*, 1952, is often defensive in tone: "it is time that the still popular belief that Tennyson was a good poet for some things, but inclined to give in to a supposed demand for poetic 'narcotics' was disposed of" (P. 2). His collection of *Critical Essays on the Poetry of Tennyson*, 1960, is memorable because of the number of writers who refuse to share the critical tendency of Tennyson partition, but who find values and make significant interpretations throughout his total work.

In this conference of Victorian scholars, the three most recent critical positions are those of the three participants in this symposium—with the additional interest that our program chairman, Robert Preyer, has recently published an article with a new and most perceptive analysis of "the Tennysonian glamour of golden mist." Dr. Jerome Hamilton Buckley published the valuable general study, *The Victorian Temper, a Study in Literary Culture*, 1951, in which he locates the chapter on Tennyson between chapters on "The Spasmodic School" and "The Pattern of Conversion." The poet's early work arises out of the Spasmodic impulse that culminates in *Maud*. But *In Memoriam* represents the struggle with doubt and retreat that issues in a socially responsible maturity. Dr. Buckley's *Tennyson: the Growth of a Poet*, 1960, is clearly haunted by the vigorous ghost of his general study. The hero of *Maud* and the narrator of "Locksley Hall" are described as kinsmen "of the 'Spasmodic' protagonists of Alexander Smith and Sydney Dobell." The phrase "conversion pattern" does not appear, but the central thesis of the book hinges on the proposition that after *In Memoriam* Tennyson had overcome his doubts. Dr. Buckley claims that "*In Memoriam* occupies a place in Tennyson's own development comparable to that of Wordsworth's *Prelude*, which appeared posthumously in the same year; it describes the loss of hope and the recovery of assent . . . it . . . illustrates 'the growth of a poet's mind,'" or, as Tennyson called it, "the way of the

4. Frank Laurence Lucas, *Tennyson* (London, 1957), p. 13.

soul" (P. 108). It is important to Dr. Buckley's theme of the "growth of a poet" that *In Memoriam* should have an affirmative issue, because he plainly states that Tennyson could not make progress with the *Idylls of the King* because of his lack of belief and thus implies that when he did actually compose with "assurance," it was because he had conquered his doubts. Dr. Buckley's book is the chief critical study in recent years to advance the thesis that Tennyson's growth required the conquest of doubt and the attainment of serene assent.

In 1964, Clyde de L. Ryals published *Theme and Symbol In Tennyson's Poems to 1850*, which represents a median position between the conversion pattern of Dr. Buckley and the tension in polarity predicament of my own study. Unfortunately the limited scope of the book, which certainly makes the thesis more manageable, tends also to vitiate any conclusions concerning the total scope of Tennyson's work. Dr. Ryals notes the divided personality of the poet, the dialogue of the mind with itself. Like Dr. Buckley, he too finds the conversion pattern of Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* in the thematic development of Tennyson—the Everlasting No of negative romanticism preceding the period of the Everlasting Yes of positive romanticism. Again with striking resemblance to Professor Buckley's position, Professor Ryals contends that *In Memoriam*, besides being the "Way of a Soul," as Tennyson subtitled his elegy, is also the Way of a Poet. He, too, considers the elegy an autobiography that traces, like Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, the growth of a poet's mind, and, like Pope's *Essay on Man*, the spiritual character of its era. It is piquant to compare this double identification by two scholars of Tennyson and Wordsworth with John Killham's flat disclaimer in his introduction to *Critical Essays*: "the remarkably clear rise-and-fall pattern of Wordsworth's work obviously does not fit . . . Tennyson" (P. 3). Six years before, G. Robert Stange had contended that "the tensions—and the richness—which mark Tennyson's early work can be found at the end as well as at the beginning of the collected poems."<sup>5</sup>

In the winter of 1833, Tennyson wrote the poem "The Two Voices," which contributes the title of my study, published in December 1964. For one hundred and thirty-three stanzas the protagonist engages in lethal debate with the voice of despair. At the close, abandoning argument, he cries that in spite of all the excellent reasons for ending his life, "more" and "fuller" life is what he wants.

The "turning point" of the poem is indicated orally by the ringing of church bells and visually by the sight of a happy family on the way to church. Although these im-

ages may perform a poetic resolution, they are in no sense a solution of the problem; the war is not ended—a mere armistice has been signed. In the brief five-stanza dialogue with the voice of hope, the arguments of despair are never answered, the poet's doubts are never laid. Instead, the poet's reasons are replaced by the poet's emotions, and the reasons of the voice of hope remain "hidden."

in that hour  
From out my sullen heart a power  
Broke, like the rainbow from the shower,

To feel, altho' no tongue can prove,  
That every cloud, that spreads above  
And veileth love, itself is love.

Thus the poem of 1833 delineates in miniature the exact pattern of the great elegy of 1850. Dark reason has all the best of the argument, weak faith rises on bright-hued but ineffectual wings, the final outcome of logic is the abandonment of logic, and faith is rooted far deeper in feeling than in vision. "To feel," in the passage from "The Two Voices," exactly equals "I have felt," from *In Memoriam*:

If e'er when faith had fallen asleep,  
I heard a voice, 'believe no more',  
. . . like a man in wrath the heart,  
Stood up and answer'd, 'I have felt'. (CXXIV)

"The Palace of Art," published in 1833 and republished in 1842 and 1853, maintains the same imbalance as "The Two Voices" and *In Memoriam*: the villain Art is allotted thirty-eight quatrains and the hero Society is allotted only one. There is a sharp difference in intensity between the joyful, exuberant building of the Palace and the thin penitence of the cottage of mourning and prayer. This is the sort of poem Tennyson wrote as a substitute for a genuine synthesis of the duties a man owes his art and his contemporaries. First he indulges in all the luxury of ivory-tower escapism, but at the end, as an edifying moral, recognizes the immorality of such an attitude. The two claims confront each other but are not unified. Art versus Society represents a painful division that remains painful, a tension that is never relaxed.

In "Locksley Hall," 1842, the huntsman turns from betrayal by individuals to humanity and the stirring events of a world in motion. In *Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*, 1886, the grandfather turns from the uncertain verdicts of history to appreciation of one he had once hated and to reconciliation with the one who had betrayed him. The young man, disappointed in love, turned to the world for solace. The old man, disappointed in the world, turns to individ-

5. G. Robert Stange, "Tennyson's Mythology—a Study of 'Demeter and Persephone,'" *English Literary History*, XXI (1954), 67.

ual loved ones for comfort and hope. Thus the movement is exactly balanced and the tension remains unrelaxed: from individual to universal, from universal to individual.

The central statement of the later Locksley Hall is another Tennyson message of hope ungrided by certainty and unsubstantiated by history:

Hope the best, but hold the Present  
Fatal daughter of the Past,  
Shape your heart to front the hour,  
But dream not that the hour will last.

"Cry your 'Forward'," not because it is necessarily going to happen but simply because "yours are hope and youth, but I—" Thus the two social poems, forty-four years apart, end in the same tension as the elegies of *In Memoriam*. Live and act as if there were social progress and personal immortality, not because you know they are so but because you need to believe in them. The tendency to retreat from the world and the corrective return to the world are both clear and ubiquitous. The artist is neither an aesthete betrayed into social conscience nor a prophet of Victorian progress who occasionally doubts his own message. He is a man in whose life and verse the affirmative and the negative poles pull, and continue to pull, and cannot find resolution.

In 1888, Alfred Tennyson arranged the twelve books of the *Idylls of the King* to follow the calendar months from spring and the coming of Guinevere, to December and that "last weird battle in the West." An *envoi* requested Queen Victoria to "accept this old imperfect tale, / New-old, and shadowing Sense at war with Soul." It seems to me that the three intentions of the poem are indicated in these few words.

First, it is an "old imperfect tale," thus exhibiting the Tennysonian tension between past and present. For his source of inspiration, the poet turned from his age back to the Arthurian legends and incurred Thomas Carlyle's epithets of retreat: "finely elaborated execution," "inward perfection of vacancy," "the lollipops were so superlative," "a refuge from life," "a mediaeval arras" behind which Tennyson fled from "the horrors of the Industrial Revolution."<sup>6</sup>

The poet was retreating from "the horrors of the Industrial Revolution," but, characteristically, he retreats in order to interpret, he steps back in order to clear a space for hurling his lance at the present. For the second thing we note from those few words in the *envoi* is that, although the cycle is based upon an old tale, the poem

Tennyson wrote was "New-old." Of course he must have it both ways: neither new, nor old, but the continuing tension of a hyphenated "New-old."

The third thing we note about those two lines from the *envoi* is that the poem is concerned with an epic struggle between "Sense" and "Soul," thus establishing the tension of Sense versus Soul, in the poet's own words. In the first seven idylls the secret love of Lancelot and Guinevere (Sense) is the disintegrating force that splits the Table Round, destroys the Kingdom, and undermines the King. In the Eighth Book the Holy Grail (Soul) is the disintegrating factor, representing religious fervor coupled with consequent social evasion. Thus both sense and soul alone are dangerous. They must be kept in the tension of an incarnation, "Ideal manhood closed in real man," and necessarily and continually caught in a war between "Sense" and "Soul."

Tennyson was constantly working with the shifting planes of physical appearance, spiritual reality, personal identity, and poetic imagination—all in the focus of the problems they present to faith and life and art. He desired to assure himself and others, but, because he could never release the tension from either one of the poles on which his thought was hooked, he could never reach the static condition of perfect assurance or denial. A key pattern emerges from his poetry: of two opposites the truth may be neither one; more likely it may be both; the one thing it cannot be is either one. The poet fills his verse with wistful longings and emotional strivings for a resolution that cannot come about in the face of the two balanced lists of contradictory data. At the moment we expect affirmation, Tennyson affirms, but in his prose comments to his friends confesses that he is not so sure as the words might sound. Thus the Tennyson poem becomes a juxtaposition of unlikes that reveal the character of each and both, not statically, but as the very tension between powerful and unresolvable opposites. And the agony with which the poet cries from the toils of opposing tendencies proclaims his magnificent honesty and his kinship with the torn and divided men of all ages.

It is from the comparison of like poems from widely different periods—like poems with interior elements that are very unlike—that I derive the basic tensions of my study: Art versus Society, Sense versus Soul, Doubt versus Faith, Past versus Present, Delicacy versus Strength, Tendency versus Correction, The Fragment versus The Whole.

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6. C. E. Norton, ed., *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1894), II, 339-40.

## *Idylls of the King*: Tennyson's New Realism

Clyde de L. Ryals

IN THE MEMOIR of his father, Hallam Tennyson testifies to the conflicting religious views that the poet often expressed. For example, Tennyson would say: "An Omnipotent Creator Who could make such a painful world is to me *sometimes* as hard to believe in as to believe in blind matter behind everything." But soon thereafter he would state: "Yet God is love, transcendent, all pervading."<sup>1</sup> In similar vein Tennyson said about *In Memoriam*, his most optimistic religious poem: "It's too hopeful, this poem, more than I am myself. I think of adding another to it, a speculative one, . . . showing that all the arguments are about as good on one side as the other, and thus throw man back more on the primitive impulses and feelings."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps—indeed I think most probably—the completed *Idylls of the King* is this other poem. In this paper I should like to suggest the extent to which the *Idylls* reflects Tennyson's divergent philosophical views. I wish to show how the poem is concerned with what Tennyson in "The Ancient Sage" referred to as "This double seeming of the single world."<sup>3</sup>

When we consider the large part that disguise plays in the *Idylls of the King*, when we reflect on the numerous instances of false vision, when we remember Tennyson's explanation of the meaning of his poem as "the dream of man coming into practical life" (*Memoir*, II, 127), we must conclude that illusion is a major theme of the work. At least three times in the poem itself, Tennyson points to the overriding importance of this theme. In the first of the *Idylls* of "The Round Table," Merlin declares that all is "Confusion, and illusion, and relation, / Elusion, and occasion, and evasion" ("Gareth and Lynette," 11. 281-82). *In propria persona* the author begins "Geraint and Enid" by describing earthly existence as "the feeble twilight" in which the "purbblind race of miserable men" grope about "taking true for false or false for true." Dagonet, the Fool, speaks of the illusory nature of existence by describing, first, the world as "flesh and shadow" and, second, Arthur's great illusion in thinking that "he can make / Figs out of thistles, silk from bristles, milk / From burning spurge, honey from hornet-combs, / And men from beasts" ("The Last Tournament," 11. 315-16, 355-58).

Almost all the actors in the *Idylls* are, in one way or another, victims of their illusions. Lynette thinks Gareth

a kitchen knave, Geraint believes Enid false, Balin accepts Lancelot and Guinevere as worthy models, Merlin blinds himself to the snares of Vivien, Elaine lives in fantasy, the Grail knights follow wandering fires, Pelleas convinces himself that Ettarre loves him, Tristram and Iseult seek salvation in erotic passion, Guinevere is blinded to the greatness of the King, Bedivere is deluded by material values. Each of them does not or cannot see reality for what it is, and so, because of their imperciency, they fail. And in their failure they help to bring about the failure of the King. For their transgressions deny the validity of the King's grand illusion—namely, that he can create a perfect society.

Arthur comes into the world a simple man; in fact, he says so himself: "For I, being simple, thought to work His will" ("The Passing of Arthur," 1. 22). He had sought to create a perfect society by creating perfect men. He bound his knights to vows of perfection. But he did this without taking into account the nature of men. Quite rightly then does Dagonet, a Fool himself, call Arthur the King of fools. For Arthur cannot see things as they are, does not perceive the resistance of reality to human desire and will. Only at the end does he comprehend the impossibility of his ideal, for only then is he made aware of the paradox of reality.

To make men perfect, he must mold them as he would have them be. But in attempting to make them perfect, he must demand the submission of their wills to his, thus denying to them their own individualities. The moral indefensibility of his position eventually becomes plain. Yet if he permits them to act in a way other than that he has enjoined, his plan for a perfect society can never be fulfilled. So in the end Arthur is brought face to face with this paradox: to be morally responsible, power must be self-limiting—that is, it must allow the freedom of the individual will; but limited power is a contradiction and, moreover, does not allow the successful accomplishment of that which power desires.

But what of the man who is able to pierce the veil of appearances and see things as they are? Tennyson anticipates the question by showing that a full vision of reality cannot be endured: even Merlin, the seer, must blind himself to what he sees. Alone of the inhabitants of Camelot, Merlin recognizes Vivien for the evil creature that she is

1. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (London, 1897), II, 127. Hereafter this work will be cited in the text as *Memoir*.

2. Quoted in James Knowles, "A Personal Reminiscence of Tennyson," *Nineteenth Century*, XXXIII (1893), 182.

3. Citations of Tennyson's poems are to *The Complete Works of Tennyson*, ed. W. J. Rolfe (Cambridge, Mass., 1898).

and for the evil which she represents. He knows that evil is soon to overcome Camelot, is soon indeed to assault even himself. Yet in spite of his knowledge, he is powerless to make defense against it; for human as he is—and thus subject to illusion—he deludes himself finally that Vivien is not what he knows her to be and so resigns his will to hers. Existence without illusion is too dreadful to endure. Tennyson knew as well as T. S. Eliot that humankind cannot bear very much reality.

In the case of Dagonet, the Fool, the knowledge of truth is likewise immobilizing. Seeing the inevitable destruction of Camelot, Dagonet tells Arthur at the close of "The Last Tournament": "And I shall never make thee smile again." Dagonet has learned that the world is not as it seems and that man can never understand it:

I have wallow'd, I have wash'd—the world  
Is flesh and shadow—I have had my day.  
The dirty nurse, Experience, in her kind  
Hath foul'd me—and I wallow'd, then I wash'd—  
I have had my day and my philosophies—  
And thank the Lord I am King Arthur's fool.  
("The Last Tournament," 11. 314-20)

Unlike every other actor in the *Idylls* except Merlin, Dagonet seems to realize that the opposites and antinomies of the world can never be reconciled, and knowing this he seems to accept the irreducible polarities of existence. Life is a set of illusions, and without these illusions man has nothing to work with. Thus Arthur with his ideals is the King of fools, but better Arthur with his illusions than a king without them: "Long live the king of fools."

In the last of the *Idylls* Arthur too learns that life is made up of illusions: "eyes of men are dense and dim, / And have not power to see it [the world] as it is." And he apprehends that his also has been an endeavor based on illusions: he had thought to work to the enrichment of the world, but "all whereon I lean'd . . . / Is traitor to my peace, and all my realm / Reels back into the beast, and is no more" (11. 19-26). Yet he penetrates to this perception only in his final moments; and, having learned, he must pass on. His confusion stemming from this discovery makes him unable to continue. "O Bedivere," he cries out, "for on my heart hath fallen / Confusion, till I know not what I am, / Nor whence I am, nor whether I be king; / Behold, I seem but king among the dead" (11. 143-46). Life without illusions is impossible; the will can be gratified only when the world of man ceases to exist.

*Idylls of the King*, then, represents a darkening of the vision of the world offered in *In Memoriam*, indeed a reversal of the ideas set forth in the elegy. Where *In Memoriam* postulates the perfect man resulting from evolutionary progress, the *Idylls* seems to deny progress of almost

every sort. For the *Idylls* shows that in this world separated from the true reality of the eternal deep by enshrouding mists, appearance is mistaken for reality. Confusion and illusion are, as Merlin states, inevitable, and the result is not moral evolution but moral failure.

The *Idylls* appears to be the expression of an extremely pessimistic view of life. Friends and wives prove untrue; suspicion supplants trust; king and knights alike fail to achieve mutual recognition of each other's freedom; lovers use each other as but means to satisfy desire; the essence of relations between conscious beings is shown to be not community and mutuality but conflict; and finally the last great battle in the west results in the destruction of all that is high and holy. In short, everything fails; civilization literally falls apart. Arthur's great desire—to found a perfect society—proves to have been not worth the effort. All action is made to seem futile, life hardly worth living.

Yet surely to read the *Idylls* only in this way is to misread the poem. For Tennyson gives us clearly to understand that, even though existence is characterized by illusions and governed by conflict, there is still something else to be said. He leaves us with no doubt that retreat from action into speculation—Percivale's way—or acting solely according to the perception that conflict is the law of life—the Red Knight's way—are both to be abhorred. What man must do, Tennyson seems to suggest, is to act in this world of near absurdity as though love really were the great cosmological principle posited in *In Memoriam*—which means that man must commit himself to an ethical existence. In other words, man must engage in a Sisyphean task: he must act as though he were adding to the sum of perfection in the world in spite of the fact that retrogression is the concomitant of progress. This is, I think, what Merlin means when he tells Gareth that the King "Will bind thee by such vows as is a shame / A man should not be bound by, yet the which / No man can keep" ("Gareth and Lynette," 11. 266-68); and it is also what Dagonet means when he praises Arthur as the king of fools.

In exemplifying the paradoxical nature of existence Tennyson was not turning his back on theism. Throughout the *Idylls* he makes clear his hero's belief in God and the validity of that belief. Above all, Tennyson affirms that the self can rest only upon God and discover itself in its eternal qualities only through God. With Kierkegaard he would agree that the only authentic existence is that which is "before God" and would insist that all science, philosophy, morals, and politics must take into consideration human destiny and all the historical conditions of that destiny—Sin and Redemption.

At the end of the poem Arthur is unsure which view of "This double seeming of a single world" to accept. For the world appears simultaneously both ordered and chaotic:

"I found Him in the shining of the stars, / I mark'd Him in the flowering of His fields, / But in His ways with men I find Him not" ("The Passing of Arthur," 11. 9-11). "O me!" the King cries out in question, "for why is all around us here / As if some lesser god had made the world, / But had not force to shape it as he would . . .?" ("The Passing of Arthur," 11. 12-14). No wonder that Arthur tells Bedivere that "all my mind is clouded with a doubt." Yet Arthur becomes a hero of faith only when he is subject to uneasiness and doubt. Now in his confusion and anxiety he transcends his old self as an ethically oriented individual and assumes a new and (Tennyson would have us believe) higher self—the self confronting the infinite. He is permitted entry into the island valley of Avilion and at the close the new sun rises bringing a new year. As Tennyson says in the Epilogue "To the Queen," though systems and governments may fail, "The goal of this great world / Lies beyond sight."

Tennyson's vision in *Idylls of the King* is, as I said, a vision far different from that reflected in *In Memoriam*. The elegy deals with the search for truth by means of speculation on and contemplation of the transcendental world, and it gives a picture of man knowing himself through transcendental experience. The *Idylls*, however, shows man realizing himself through encounter with earthly experience, and, further, portrays, especially in "The Holy Grail," the inadequacy of transcendental experience as a guide to conduct. Tennyson is here clear that there is no truth for the individual except insofar as he creates it for himself in his actions. Hence the necessity for self-committal and unswerving performance in the demands of that

commitment. In contradiction to *In Memoriam* the *Idylls* implies that reality as a thought is never more than a possibility, whereas life properly conceived is concerned only with the instant, which is reality itself. As Tennyson himself said apropos of the poem: "Birth is a mystery and death is a mystery, and in the midst lies the tableland of life, and its struggles and performances" (*Memoir*, II, 127). In other words, man should act on the known, should focus on the struggles and performances of life and not expend his energies on contemplation of abstractions. As Arthur says to the recently returned Grail knights:

And some among you held that if the King  
Had seen the sight he would have sworn the vow.  
Not easily, seeing that the King must guard  
That which he rules, and is but as the hind  
To whom a space of land is given to plow,  
Who may not wander from the allotted field  
Before his work be done. . . . ("The Holy Grail,"  
11. 899-905)

In the *Idylls* Tennyson takes into account all the contradictions of existence. The poem represents existence as blossoming in eternity but accomplished in the instant; it portrays that existence as choice and expectation, risk and gain, life and death, the past declaring itself in the present; and finally it shows life as a permanent tension between the finite and the infinite. The philosophy of the *Idylls* is thus a realism and, as such, a denial of the transcendentalism of *In Memoriam*.

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## Tennyson's Irony

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THROUGHOUT MOST OF HIS CAREER Tennyson chose to leave his private hopes and fears more or less inscrutable; he relied on his great resources of craft and language to give both personal and impersonal statement an independent aesthetic life. None of his poems, of course, could be wholly objective, since even the monologue or play revealed the sort of theme he was characteristically concerned with and the angle of vision from which he determined to see it. But we should nonetheless be wise to avoid a simply subjective reading of most of his work. For he repeatedly disengaged himself from his art. Again and again

he invoked the strategies of irony to achieve distance and self-defense.

We are now at a long remove from W. H. Auden's rather simple-minded view of Tennyson's apparent simplicities as "the great English poet of the Nursery," learned in the arts of melancholia but childishly ignorant of all else.<sup>1</sup> Yet we may still underestimate the extent to which many of Tennyson's ideas come to us with some degree of ironic obliquity. We may safely, for instance, deduce that by and large Tennyson was politically conservative or at least fearful of violent political change. But a recent—and on

1. W. H. Auden, Introduction, *A Selection from the Poems of Alfred, Lord Tennyson* (Garden City, N. Y., 1944), p. xvi; see also p. x.

the whole persuasive and discerning—critical assessment of his values assumes too readily that the chauvinistic tirade against France delivered in the conclusion of *The Princess* by “the Tory member’s elder son” expresses Tennyson’s own sentiment; whereas it seems to me clear that the label describing the speaker (Tennyson was never inclined to use the epithet “Tory” with positive connotation) undercuts the strident speech and so prepares us for the calmer judgment that immediately follows:

“Have patience,” I replied, “ourselves are full  
Of social wrong; and maybe wildest dreams  
Are but the needful preludes of the truth.”

In other words, Tennyson stands apart from the Tory member’s elder son—and perhaps even from the “I” character who counsels moderation. Elsewhere the same critical essay notes perceptively “Tennyson’s curious habit of disavowing the authority of his speakers” but then condemns the poet for “this sort of shilly-shallying.”<sup>2</sup> I should relate the habit to the practice of a calculated and often highly effective irony.

It is not at all my purpose to demonstrate that Tennyson’s more maudlin pieces are invariably ironic—though a few of them like the notorious “Darling Room” do seem to me intentionally facetious. Nor do I wish solemnly to labor the thesis that Tennyson’s comic spirit is truly comical; for the dissection of humor frequently proves a melancholy exercise, and the ironic element in any case may be as often grave as it is light. I propose instead merely to classify the kinds of irony I have found in Tennyson and to indicate briefly the effect of each.

Though Horace, whose complete Odes he was forced to memorize at the age of six, was never a favorite author, Tennyson was nonetheless all his life a master of the verse epistle in a style we must call Horatian, a middle style, urbane, polished, quietly understated. The best examples of the form—the letter to F. D. Maurice or the one to Edward Lear on his travels in Greece, “The Daisy” to Emily Tennyson, the dedication of “Tiresias” to FitzGerald—are not essentially ironic; but all evince a poised grace often close to ironic detachment, a will to view the self and the encroaching world in proper comic perspective. The lines to FitzGerald, for instance, gently underline the disparity between Fitz’s austere vegetarianism and the lush *Rubáiyát*—for “none can say / That Lenten fare makes Lenten thought”—but appraise both in the warmth of long-lasting friendship, the mood

Of one recalling gracious times,  
When, in our younger London days,  
You found some merit in my rhymes,  
And I more pleasure in your praise.

Such writing, witty in its very syntax, suggests the verbal adroitness and intellectual control of the satirist. And Tennyson of course had considerable satiric range.

Not all of the satire partakes of irony. Some of it, like the ridicule of the brother and the young lord-lover in *Maud* or the denunciation of the baronet and his lady in “Aylmer’s Field,” grows shrill and ill-tempered and lapses into direct invective; as in “The New Timon and the Poets,” the attack on Bulwer Lytton, it may sacrifice ironic edge to withering abusiveness. But a verbal irony is well sustained throughout the mock-heroic early cantos of *The Princess*, where the feminists unwittingly expose their absurdity, or in several of the satiric monologues, where by indirection we discover aspects of character the speakers themselves do not recognize. We accordingly come to regard the cantankerous Northern Farmer, Old Style, with half-indulgent sympathy, and his New-Style counterpart with half-amused contempt. But it is “Saint Simeon Stylites” that carries irony in the satiric mode furthest. To certify his spiritual elevation, Simeon on his pillar declares his depravity, but with a self-righteousness that renders him truly despicable and, in the end, with a fearful self-interest at odds with his professed martyrdom:

Ah! let me not be fool’d, sweet saints; I trust  
That I am whole, and clean, and meet for Heaven.

Simeon is indeed fooled, thoroughly self-deluded. And at this point the irony passes from the verbal to the dramatic.

As we should expect, dramatic irony figures prominently not only in Tennyson’s plays but throughout his narrative verse, wherever the action in the outcome both fulfills and belies the expectation. Thus the Lady of Shalott too late commands the attention of Lancelot, who muses over her loveliness, quite unaware that he has precipitated her death. Similarly when Enoch Arden’s Annie tells her departing husband that she shall look upon his face no more, Enoch replies, “Well, then, . . . I shall look on yours”; and years later, unseen in the garden, he sees her from the shadows, as if from beyond life. Or again, Pelleas in the *Idylls* seeks a maid as “fair . . . and pure as Guinevere” and finds the beautiful Ettarre, who proves as false to him as the Queen to Arthur. Contrived to unify a narrative design, dramatic irony of this kind is too conventional to suggest

2. Robert Preyer, “Alfred Tennyson: the Poetry and Politics of Conservative Vision,” *Victorian Studies*, IX (1966), 330.

much of the poet's peculiar attitude toward his materials. More revealing is the sudden, cruel, ironic juxtaposition, as in these stanzas from *In Memoriam* and "The Two Voices":

O father, whereso'er thou be,  
Who pledgedst now thy gallant son,  
A shot, ere half thy draught be done,  
Hath still'd the life that beat from thee.

O mother, praying God will save  
Thy sailor,—while thy head is bow'd,  
His heavy-shotted hammock-shroud  
Drops in his vast and wandering grave. . . .

His little daughter, whose sweet face  
He kiss'd, taking his last embrace,  
Becomes dishonour to her race. . . .

Each of these passages creates a positive mood and then abruptly shatters it with a negation that mocks the ideal; each suggests a mixed regard for the life of the emotions; in each the dramatic shades into a romantic irony.

In both intention and effect, however, Tennyson's romantic irony is usually far less solemn; it carries with it the implication of humor rather than tragedy, often the commonsensical assumptions of the Byron of *Don Juan*, modulating easily from sentiment to satire. The idyl "Edwin Morris," for example, within a few lines builds and destroys a tender passion. The hero dashes to a tryst with his beloved Letty, who moves "Like Prosperine in Enna, gathering flowers" (and the sophisticated echo has its own irony):

Then low and sweet I whistled thrice; and she,  
She turn'd, we closed, we kiss'd, swore faith, I  
breathed  
In some new planet. . . .

"Leave," she cried,  
"O leave me!" "Never, dearest, never: here  
I brave the worst;" and while we stood like fools  
Embracing, all at once a score of pugs  
And poodles yell'd within, and out they came,  
Trustees and aunts and uncles. "What, with him!  
Go," shrill'd the cotton-spinning chorus;  
"him!"

I choked. Again they shriek'd the burthen,  
"Him!"  
Again with hands of wild rejection, "Go!—  
Girl, get you in!" She went—and in one month  
They wedded her to sixty thousand pounds,  
To lands in Kent and messuages in York,  
And slight Sir Robert with his watery smile  
And educated whisker.

Here the injured lover laughs at himself as much as at the docile Letty; with a cynical disenchantment he turns what

was once romantic to burlesque. Earlier in the same piece the lover views Edwin Morris the poet with a like detachment; for the poetic process proves no more immune to irony than the love-making. Morris appears as the too eloquent maker of phrases, quite like the young Tennyson in his most self-consciously aesthetic moods, and his elaborate verses may be read as one of Tennyson's calculated self-parodies.

The poet-figure, presented with some amusement, indeed recurs throughout the *English Idyls*. He is the narrator of "Audley Court" who counters his friend's healthy skepticism with a tender-souled sentiment. He is Leonard in "The Golden Year," like Tennyson in the years of silence, said to be "shut up within himself, / A tongue-tied poet in the feverous days." And, again recognizably, he is Everard Hall of "The Epic," diffident about his work, fearful that his themes may seem remote, yet ready with little urging to mouth out "his hollow oes and aes, / Deep-chested music." At his most disarming, he is Will Waterproof, who declares that it is only an empty glass that makes him "maudlin-moral," and who hopes, pouring a libation to the Muse, to hear her

whisper lovely words, and use  
Her influence on the mind,  
To make me write my random rhymes,  
Ere they be half-forgotten;  
Nor add and alter, many times,  
Till all be ripe and rotten.

The teller of the fairy tale of Sleeping Beauty, "The Day Dream," describes his story as "earnest wed with sport"; and the painter in "The Gardener's Daughter" says of his flowery phrases, "My words were half in earnest, half in jest." Either one might speak for Tennyson against critics who still believe him obsessed with the importance of being wholly earnest.

The half-ironic treatment of art and the half-ironic stance of the artist should be taken as a measure of Tennyson's detachment from himself and from his craft. Tennyson was, of course, all his life the dedicated poet, but he nonetheless always valued a sense of proportion beyond the reach of his "artist pride." The refusal to yield entirely to the illusions of artifice is typified in *The Princess* by the "strange seizures" that periodically remove the Prince from what he perceives as "hollow shows" and "painted fantasy." The Prince's last trance wherein he lingers between life and death, "as in some mystic middle state," clearly—though again ironically—reflects Tennyson's own quasi-mystical experience, which led to a repeated questioning of the shadow and substance of reality.

In other pieces, however, the disengagement is scarcely so extreme; often it represents merely the desire to set the

self and its problems in perspective. When the emotional commitment threatens to become too serious, a romantic irony may intervene to restore a saner balance. Thus even the ranting young man of "Locksley Hall" grows suspicious that his comrades may scorn his "foolish passion"; and the hero of *Maud* achieves a moment of self-awareness, beyond his self-conscious violence, when he can ask,

Ah, what shall I be at fifty  
Should Nature keep me alive,  
If I find the world so bitter  
When I am but twenty-five?

Ultimately Tennyson himself can view even his long-standing petulant quarrel with the reviewers dispassionately enough to beg the critics not to believe him "too presumptuous" for imitating a metre of Catullus:

O blatant Magazines, regard me rather—  
Since I blush to belaud myself a moment—  
As some rare little rose, a piece of inmost  
Horticultural art, or half coquette-like  
Maiden, not to be greeted unbenignly.

But, by the time of this experiment in quantitative verse, Tennyson had little need of romantic irony as a mode of self-defense. His status as artist was too secure to demand apology or explanation; and his interest in larger issues superseded his concern with self-conscious private emotion. In his later work, another irony, a cosmic irony, more and more dominated, chastened, and at last almost subdued his imagination.

From the beginning Tennyson had been sensitive to this great intimidating final irony, the sense of radical disproportion in the scheme of things, the disparity between man's littleness in space and time and the magnitude and longevity of the natural world. The Devil in the play he wrote at the age of twelve or fourteen comments on the absurd delusion by which the human being, "this petty clod," conceits himself the center of the universe; and the tempter in "The Two Voices" a dozen years later dismisses even the highest human aspiration:

Thou hast not gain'd a real height,  
Nor art thou nearer to the light,  
Because the scale is infinite.

In several moving lyrics of *In Memoriam* the vast reach of geological time makes man's brief span seem pathetically inconsequential. And in "The Vision of Sin" the romantic irony of the drinking song that seeks to undermine all idealism is itself destroyed by a far larger force, enigmatic and inexorable—

And on the glimmering limit far withdrawn  
God made Himself an awful rose of dawn.

From his bitter exchange with Bulwer Lytton in 1846 Tennyson quickly recoiled, admonished, as he saw both himself and his enemy, by "the stony face of Time / And look'd at by the silent stars." By his last decade, forty years later, the cosmic perspective pervaded his thought and feeling. "Vastness" enumerates with shocking clarity the imponderables that love must counterbalance if life is not to be "Swallow'd in Vastness, lost in Silence, drown'd in the deeps of a meaningless past." The second "Locksley Hall" speculates on the eons that will elapse when our civilization has perished and "earth is manless and forlorn." And "Parnassus" declares that the terrible modern muses Astronomy and Geology have effectively demolished the ancient dream that the artist could leave behind a perdurable monument. Yet "The Ancient Sage" indicates how the man of mature insight may live with his perception of inhuman immensities; now the very power to postulate an infinite space and time is seen to have enlarged the reach of the finite mind, and the quality of vision counts for more than the amplitude of the darkness.

"The Ancient Sage" thus absorbs and transcends even the cosmic irony, and no other ironies hover about the presentation of all that is not explicitly "unshadowable in words." The speaker of the monologue is ostensibly Laotse or some other seer of remote antiquity; but there is little effort at creation of character or dramatic scene. Tennyson for once felt no need to disavow the authority of his protagonist; the poem, he confessed, was "very personal" and in the personal on such a level, starker and more direct than in any of the earlier pieces, there was no longer a place for irony.

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# George Eliot's Anti-Romantic Romance: "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story"

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THOMAS A. NOBLE's recent *George Eliot's Scenes of Clerical Life* (New Haven, 1965) should be welcomed by all serious students of Victorian fiction. Prior to this study, George Eliot's first three novellas had been sorely neglected in the critical revival accorded to her work.<sup>1</sup> This lack of attention seems inexplicable, for, as Mr. Noble recognizes, these early tales provide a much-needed introduction to George Eliot's theory and practice. Still, it is precisely the full relation between "theory" and "practice" that is insufficiently explored in Mr. Noble's book. Throughout her career, George Eliot's fiction reacted on her theoretic standards. By uncritically regarding the new novelist's notions about "realism" as a uniform aesthetic creed, Mr. Noble fails to recognize the implications of the deliberate differences that characterize her first three tales. He dismisses the middle one, "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story," as an inexplicable incursion into a melodramatic realm unbecoming a realistic author, not only underestimating thereby the story's intentions and considerable artistic merits but also ignoring the author's deliberate attempt to resolve some of the difficulties she had encountered in "Amos Barton." As a sequel to that story, "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" complements its plot and theme and also provides a significant departure from the domestic "realism" George Eliot had initially adopted.

The first part of "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" was published by *Blackwood's Magazine* on March 1 of 1857 in the issue following that which had concluded "Amos Barton." At first glance, the two stories seem primarily designed to complement each other. "Amos Barton" depicts the growth of a dull man who realizes his own potential for love only after the loss of his wife; "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" portrays the history of a "man so wrapt up in a woman" that he becomes dulled by her premature death.<sup>2</sup> While "Amos Barton" concludes with the sketch of a patriarch sanctified by the memory of Milly Barton, "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" begins with a picture of old age, only to retrace the youthful self who had once been the "opened" and "loving" husband of Caterina Sarti. Each story

therefore moves in an opposite direction. "Amos Barton" progresses forward in time, from a not too distant past to the near present; "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story," on the other hand, projects backwards, from an era just prior to the Rev. Amos Barton's time to the latter decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> A few of the characters introduced in "Amos Barton" appear again but only to act as guideposts in time: Mrs. Patten, a full octogenarian during Barton's curacy, turns out to be too young to be acquainted with the details of Mr. Gilfil's remote love story.

As a clergyman, the Rev. Maynard Gilfil is all that Amos Barton is not. While Barton tries to intimidate the aged Mrs. Brick for her unspiritual foibles, Mr. Gilfil tolerantly laughs at the ways of Dame Fripp, a "grimy old lady" who prefers the company of her pig to that of her fellow Christians. Whereas Barton alienates his congregation by requesting funds for his building program, Gilfil's claim on the veneration of his flock is never "counteracted by an exasperating claim on their pockets" (chap. I, p. 131). Unlike Barton, whose deference to his superiors is ruinous to his career, Mr. Gilfil has no compunction in denouncing the abuses of a former patron, the rich landlord Mr. Oldenport. His sermons, short and uniform, are cherished all the more for having been heard many times before. Unlike Barton's pseudo-erudite disquisitions on doctrinal matters, they amount to little more "than an expansion of the concise thesis, that those who do wrong will find it the worse for them, and those who do well will find it the better for them" (chap. I, p. 138). While Amos Barton is fearful of his blunt-speaking rivals in the Dissenting Church, Mr. Gilfil is far more influential than the Rev. Mr. Pickard of the Independent Meeting. He sets his parishioners at ease by addressing them in their own dialect; yet his familiarity does not at all lessen their respect for him as a gentleman and minister. Amos Barton's suffering as a man eventually allows the Sheppertonians to forgive his ineffectuality as a clergyman; in Mr. Gilfil's case, however, man and office are bound up with his personality, the distinction between the two being, "as yet,

1. Of the eight book-length studies of George Eliot's fiction published since Joan Bennett's *George Eliot* (1948), only two, W. J. Harvey's *The Art of George Eliot* (1961) and Bernard J. Paris' *Experiments in Life: George Eliot's Quest for Values* (1965), contain more than passing references to her first work.

2. "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story," *Scenes of Clerical Life*, 2 vols., Cabinet Edition (Edinburgh, n.d.), chap. I, p. 147; all subsequent references are given in the text.

3. Amos Barton assumes his duties "rather more than twenty years

ago," i.e., around 1834 or 1835. The opening chapter of Mr. Gilfil's story begins with his death, "thirty years ago," in 1826 or 1827. The second chapter moves back to the summer of 1788, just prior to the French Revolution, while the third chapter recedes even further to 1773 to fill in the details of Caterina's adoption. Allusions to the youth of Sir Christopher and Lady Cheverel (who married in 1753) remove the story a full century from the narrator's own present. For an evaluation of some of these time shifts, see Harvey, pp. 109-12.

quite foreign to the mind of a good Shepperton Churchman" (chap. I, p. 137).

But despite this careful counterpointing, Mr. Gilfil does not merely act as a foil to Amos Barton. For George Eliot's description of the Vicar's ecclesiastical performances is limited to the opening chapter of her story. Her attention to his worldly benevolence, his "slipshod chat and homely manners," serves a more important purpose. Resorting to a device she had already used in "Amos Barton," the author pretends to confront the accusations of imaginary lady readers. The refined ladies have been offended by the story's prosaic details. They have expected a story with romantic interest; instead, the author has only described a slightly eccentric, gin-drinking old clergyman: "you may as well ask us to interest ourselves in the romance of a tallow-chandler," they protest haughtily (chap. I, p. 141).

Eagerly, George Eliot jumps up at the challenge. Romance, she asserts with Wordsworthian zeal, can easily be hewn out of the reality of everyday life. To her lady readers, the portrait she has sketched may seem too placid and commonplace; but, to her, it carries a universal drama of its own: "I, at least, hardly ever look at a bent old man, or a wizened old woman, but I see also, with my mind's eye, that Past of which they are the shrunken remnant, and the unfinished romance of rosy cheeks and bright eyes seems sometimes of feeble interest and significance, compared to that drama of hope and love which has long ago reached its catastrophe" (chap. I, pp. 141-42). George Eliot's implications are clear. Her lady readers have been deceived by their own unimaginativeness. For the gnarled features of Mr. Gilfil do not at all exclude "a vast amount of antecedent romance." This romance, invisible to all those who are insensitive to the drama of time, must now be extracted for their illumination from the annals of the past.

"Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" thus confronts a problem created by "Amos Barton." In her first story, the four walls of Milly Barton's Shepperton home—"a loving woman's world"—made up too narrow a stage for George Eliot's insistence on the necessity for universal love in the face of mortality and suffering. In "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story," however, the locked-up chamber in the old clergyman's house acts as but a "visible symbol" of a drama enacted entirely outside the confines of Shepperton life. The intended loftiness of this drama is no longer constrained by George Eliot's medium. Whereas Barton's domestic tragedy was limited by the realities of a quasicontemporary, middle-class life, the romantic story of Gilfil's love can be exalted by being projected into the hazy and aristocratic "days of cocked-hats and pigtails." Cheverel Manor, the palatial residence of Sir Christopher and Lady Cheverel, furnishes a setting that Shepperton cannot provide. In it, "the pas-

sion and the poetry" of Maynard Gilfil's early life can flicker undisturbed.

Gilfil's love for Caterina Sarti and the girl's own passionate attachment to Captain Anthony Wybrow, Sir Christopher's nephew and heir, take place amidst an atmosphere totally different from that which dominates the opening of the story. The dingy vicarage of Shepperton gives way to a sumptuous backdrop made up of corridors studded with statuary and coats of armor, of lofty halls ornamented with Italian paintings and with portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, of cultivated landscapes worthy of "some English Watteau." Even the quarters of Sir Christopher's housekeeper partake of the refinements of aristocratic life. Although the good Mrs. Sharp and her fellow servants resemble the Sheppertonians in speech and manner, they conduct their conversations in a room casually adorned with the blackened visage of a Renaissance madonna and with a likeness of Sir Francis Bacon. For Cheverel Manor is a monument to Sir Christopher's exquisite taste. Anticipating by a decade the Romantic reaction against "the insipid imitation of the Palladian style" still current at the time, the baronet restores his mansion to its full Gothic splendor. Disregarding mere utility, he displays "some of that sublime spirit which distinguishes art from luxury, and worships beauty apart from self-indulgence" (chap. IV, p. 193).

Caterina, the daughter of an Italian musician, thus grows up in a setting seemingly suited to her character. Just as the Manor, restored by Italian craftsmen, grows from ugliness into beauty, so does Tina grow from a little "yellow bantling" into an accomplished creature whose spirited ways and melodious voice delight her benefactors. Tina's lofty surroundings appear to be at odds with the reality epitomized in "Amos Barton" and in the opening chapter of the story. Her world is eminently suited for romance; it is a world of refined actions and intense emotions, not unlike that of the classic French stage. Betrayed by Wybrow, Tina paces up and down with histrionic exaggeration—"her hands clenched, her eyes gleaming fiercely and wandering uneasily as if in search of something on which she might throw herself like a tigress" (chap. XII, pp. 268-69). Pointedly, George Eliot relates the "terrible struggles" in Tina's breast to those occurring simultaneously, but on a far grander scale, across the Channel in the dawn of the French Revolution. The parallel becomes palpable when Tina resolves to revenge herself on the aristocrat who has betrayed her. Compared to a "pale meteor," a "dragon-fly" wheeling in its flight, she rushes to meet Captain Wybrow. The fiery Latin temperament, which has already distinguished her from the unsentimental Lady Cheverel as much as from the phlegmatic English servants, boils over at last. Transformed into a Medea

breathing revenge, the child who had been incapable of harming the smallest animals now clutches an unsheathed dagger and boldly dreams, "in the madness of her passion, that she can kill the man whose very voice unnerves her" (chap. XIII, p. 280).

But the dreaming Tina does not attain the eminence of a tragic heroine. The dagger intended for Anthony Wybrow's chest will be carefully restored to its former place, unused and bloodless, by the prudent Maynard Gilfil. Wybrow does die; yet he perishes without bombast or violence, not as the prey of an enraged avenger, but as a cardiac—the literal victim of his enfeebled heart. Suddenly, we come to realize that we have been deliberately deluded. The romance which George Eliot has pretended to build up to this climax is nonexistent, itself but an empty dream. Like the lady readers who were warned by the author, we have been misled into falsifying experience. The ladies' genteel bias prevented them from seeing that romance could exist amidst the aspects of ordinary life; our own expectations have blinded us to the ordinary life existing beneath the veneer of romance.

For despite its refinements, Sir Christopher's pleasure dome is affected by the same universal laws that shatter the abode of that other master builder, Amos Barton. Like Tennyson's "Palace of Art," the temple of taste which the baronet has erected cannot act as a refuge from mutability and suffering. Earlier, Sir Christopher had relished the thought that "Cheverel Manor would be inherited by a grand-nephew, whom he might even yet live to see a fine young fellow with at least the down on his chin. Why not? one is still young at sixty" (chap. V, pp. 205-6). Insensible to Caterina's secret anguish, he had jovially tried to coax her into marrying Gilfil through still another projection into the future: "I shall get old and tiresome, and there will be Anthony's children putting your nose out of joint" (chap. XIII, p. 273). Now, in the face of his nephew's death and Tina's disappearance, it is Sir Christopher's own carefully built world that has forever been put out of joint. The well-meaning nobleman finds himself curiously altered by the reality he has shut out in the past: "a single day and night of grief had aged the fine old man. The lines in his brow and about his mouth were deepened; his complexion looked dull and withered; there was a swollen ridge under his eyes; and the eyes themselves, which used to cast so keen a glance on the present, had the vacant expression which tells that vision is no longer a sense, but a memory" (chap. XVIII, p. 3).

Even the lush landscape which has enhanced all of Tina's previous movements suddenly adopts a different character: "The pool was now laughing with sparkles among the water-lilies. It looked black and cruel under the sombre sky, as if its cold depths held all the murdered

hope and joy of Maynard Gilfil's life" (chap. XVII, p. 299). No longer an isolated and decorative backdrop, the surroundings of Cheverel Manor have become part of a larger scheme. George Eliot's earlier hints about the deceptive loveliness of the seasons now gain an added meaning:

The inexorable ticking of the clock is like the throb of pain to sensations made keen by a sickening fear. And so it is with the great clockwork of nature. Daisies and buttercups give way to the brown waving grasses, tinged with the warm red sorrel; the waving grasses are swept away, and the meadows lie like emeralds set in the bushy hedgerows; the tawny-tipped corn begins to bow with the weight of the full ear; the reapers are bending amongst it, and it soon stands in sheaves; then, presently, the patches of yellow stubble lie side by side with streaks of dark-red earth, which the plough is turning up in preparation for the new-thrashed seed. And this passage from beauty to beauty, which to the happy is like the flow of a melody, measures for many a human heart the approach of foreseen anguish—seems hurrying on the moment when the shadow of dread will be followed up by the reality of despair (chap. V, p. 203).

No earthly gardens are immune to the cycles of time. To Blake and Wordsworth, daisies and buttercups could yield a soothing vision of eternity; even Keats could freeze the transient seasons into momentary permanence. But Tina, very much like the romantic Fausta of Arnold's poem "Resignation," can find little solace from the "unmoved and terrible beauty" of the fluid natural world. At best, she can learn her own insignificance: her troubles seem petty when dwarfed by the "mighty torrent" of change which affects the stars, the tides, and the destinies of entire nations (chap. V, p. 222).

And yet it is this transitory world, the "hard, familiar realities" of which Tina has ignored, that also permeates her recovery and regeneration: Cheverel Manor is first replaced by the cottage of Daniel Knott, the garrulous coachman who has married Tina's former nursemaid, Dorcas, and then by the modest parsonage of the Rev. Arthur Heron, Mr. Gilfil's brother-in-law. Surrounded by Dorcas' children, ministered by Gilfil himself, Tina responds to his tenderness. But the clergyman knows that a further change in environment is needed to restore the girl's spiritual sanity. Aware that Sir Christopher's residence would be the most undesirable home for her at present, he prescribes Foxholm Parsonage, "a nest of comfort, without any of the stateliness that would carry a suggestion of

Cheverel Manor (chap. XX, p. 28). Tina's new surroundings are no longer picturesque. But their very ordinariness provides stability and comfort: "Contented speckled hens, industriously scratching for the rarely-found corn, may sometimes do more for a sick heart than a grove of nightingales; there is something irresistibly calming in the un-sentimental cheeriness of topknotted pullets, unperturbed sheep-dogs, and patient cart-horses enjoying a drink of muddy water" (chap. XX, pp. 27-28).

Under the care of Mr. Gilfil and "his mild gentle sister," Tina is provided with a new set of values. She comes to learn what the clergyman has already known, that human relations must rest "on the deep emotional sympathy of affection: every new day and night of joy or sorrow is a new ground, a new consecration, for the love that is nourished by memories as well as hopes" (chap. XIV, p. 23). Gradually, her romantic infatuation for Captain Wy-brow fades away and a new and genuine bond is formed in its stead. One day, singing a passage from Gluck's *Orfeo* that had delighted Sir Christopher and his nephew only a few months before, Tina penetrates its full meaning for the first time. Experience has made her wise: "*Ho perduto il bel semblante.*" She has forever lost the paradise of Cheverel Manor; her innocence has yielded to the knowledge of good and evil. The "untroubled home" she had cherished exists no more. Still, like Maggie Tulliver, Tina can also find strength in her memories of the past she has lost. For Cheverel Manor, like Dorlcote Mill in the later novel, harbors the ties of childhood.<sup>4</sup> The tune from *Orfeo* therefore brings back a surge of feeling, a rebirth of love: "The long happy days of childhood and girlhood recovered all their rightful predominance over the short interval of sin and sorrow" (chap. XX, p. 30). Weeping with joy, Tina nestles against Maynard Gilfil. Sir Christopher's decorative song-bird has become a woman at last.

Tina's wedding journey takes her on "a circuitous route to Shepperton, where Mr. Gilfil had been for several months inducted as vicar" (chap. XXI, p. 34). But her marriage is short-lived. After a few months of "perfect happiness," she dies in childbirth (as will Milly Barton, in the same Vicarage, a full generation later). George Eliot's own tale has been "circuitous." We have moved from Shepperton to the deceptively romantic environment of Cheverel Manor only to return once again to the opening picture of a gnarled old

gentleman, "the Mr. Gilfil of those late Shepperton days." We have tasted romance, but the romance has been expended only to exalt the harsh realities of a time-bound world:

Rich brown locks, passionate love, and deep early sorrow, strangely different as they seem from the scanty white hairs, the apathetic content, and the unexpected quiescence of old age, are but part of the same life's journey; as the bright Italian plains, with the sweet *Addio* of their beckoning maidens, are part of the same day's travel that brings us to the other side of the mountain, between the sombre rocky walls and among the guttural voices of the Valais (Epilogue, p. 36).

The analogy is appropriate. For Mr. Gilfil must spend his days on the other side of the mountain, banished to an austere world of suffering and toil. Writing to George Henry Lewes, John Blackwood mildly protested that he "should have liked a larger gleam of sunshine before poor Tina passed away."<sup>5</sup> The story's ending, he felt, "strikes rather too drearily upon the heart."<sup>6</sup> George Eliot promised Blackwood an epilogue but insisted that the very nature of a conclusion could at best be "a negation."<sup>7</sup> Her epilogue only ratifies this conviction. If "Amos Barton" relies on an epilogue in order to soften the calamities visited on the clergyman's head, that of "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" merely reaffirms the nature of a world in which happiness is short-lived and romance lies hidden.

For all its skillful interpenetration of two separate orders of reality, a pattern that George Eliot was to employ again in some of her later works, "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story" hinges on a single negation of the "other-worldliness" that George Eliot had rejected. If Tina is identified with the fragile Euridyce of *Orfeo*, Maynard Gilfil cannot aspire to become an Orpheus able to follow his beloved into the realm of shadows. Although a Christian minister, he remains as bound to the material world as Mr. Farebrother in *Middlemarch*. Tina's death increases Mr. Gilfil's tolerance for human frailty, but it does not strengthen his faith in a hereafter. The painfulness of his loss stunts his further growth. Though sketched out by nature as a strong and noble tree, the blighted clergyman must assume the

4. "Among all the many kinds of first love, that which begins in childish companionship is the strongest and most enduring" (chap. IV, p. 197). The few paragraphs devoted to Tina's and Maynard's childhood romps read almost like a thumbnail sketch for the relation George Eliot was to expand into the first third of *The Mill on the Floss*. Like Tom Tulliver, Maynard is much given to fishing and carpentry; he is fond of his pet rabbits and entertains Tina not to "let Guinea die." Like Maggie, the willful little

Tina toddles after the boy like a "Blenheim spaniel after a large setter." But unlike Tom, Maynard is pliant and forgiving, willing to be tormented by Tina.

5. April 30, 1857, *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven, 1954-1955), II, 323.

6. John Blackwood to G. H. Lewes, April 28, 1857, *ibid.*, II, 322.

7. George Eliot to John Blackwood, May 1, 1857, *ibid.*, II, 324.

character of a "poor lopped oak." What might have been "a grand tree expanding into liberal shade is but a whimsical misshapen trunk." George Eliot's very diction betrays her reservations about the world she wanted to ennoble. The same ambivalence which she was able to exploit on a far more magnificent scale in *Middlemarch*, fifteen years later, informs her second work of fiction.

Like Dorothea Brooke, Mr. Gilfil is a cygnet prevented from becoming a swan. If, on the one hand, he is an exemplary figure who illustrates attainable ideals, he also succumbs, on the other hand, to the very "worldliness" that George Eliot tried to ennoble. In the sheltered parks of Cheverel Manor, Sir Christopher's ward could have

grown into a noble tree or an elegant swan. Yet George Eliot creates Sir Christopher's extraordinary world only to affirm the power of the ordinary. In their *Lyrical Ballads*, Coleridge and Wordsworth had hoped to balance two separate worlds of the imagination. The one's interest in "characters supernatural, or at least romantic," would compensate the other's attention to characters such "as will be found in every village and its vicinity."<sup>8</sup> In "Mr. Gilfil's Love-Story," the realm of "Christabel" yields to that of "Michael," yet a "Michael" devoid of Wordsworth's optimistic belief in a beneficent cosmic order.

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## Metaphysical and Social Evolution in *Wuthering Heights*

Irving H. Buchen

THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL HARMONY between Emily Brontë's poetry and her fiction that masks an equally fundamental disparity. The poetry and those aspects of the novel that deal with the love between Heathcliff and Catherine reflect each other. Both speak the same intense and uncompromising language, yearn for the same personal and cosmic fulfillment, and employ nature as the only dimension of sufficient magnitude to accommodate their defiant and otherworldly aspirations. In the poems, for example, Brontë's assault on heaven never takes place through the medium of society but is direct and unencumbered by any intervening middle isthmus. As a correlation, Christ is noticeably absent from her religious verse. The only regular and acceptable mediator between Brontë's stubborn questions and God's oblique answers is nature.<sup>1</sup> That, to be sure, is understandable, for nature is God's creation; but what role does man's creation, society, play? Indeed, what is the point of society at all if it bears no apparent relation to Brontë's dialogue with God? Significantly, the same questions can be raised about the love between Heathcliff and Catherine. Their narcissistic passion results in typically romantic, nonsocial, if not anti-

social, behavior.<sup>2</sup> In fact, these star-crossed lovers seek to achieve nothing less than an autonomous state of self-sufficiency that enables them to exist apart not only from the society of others but also from God and His Heaven.<sup>3</sup> And once again the only realm that mirrors the attributes of their love is nature.

If this harmony between the poetry and the fiction spanned the full arc of Brontë's vision, there would be no inherent critical problem, although one might still lament the sin of social omission, especially for a Victorian. But curiously the perception of such accord accents the presence of discord, for although *Wuthering Heights* does feature the love of Heathcliff and Catherine, it also contains a great deal else. Moreover, that additional material is essentially social in character.

The multiplicity of characters, narrators, and generations; the presence of institutionalized taboos; the civilized values the Lintons put upon dress, manners, books, and education; the amiability and accessibility of the second love story between Hareton and Cathy—all these elements impart a social density and variety to the novel that find no echoes in the poetry. Nor can we explain the dif-

8. S. T. Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, chap. XIV.

1. Nature is qualified to play the role of go-between because to Brontë nature is the tangible image of the Divine in this world. Thus, in the poems, Brontë speaks of "nature's heaven" (143) and of "Nature's face divine" (178). All references to Brontë's poetry are to C. W. Hatfield's *The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë* (London, 1941), and for convenience will be indicated within parentheses in the body and notes of this study.
2. David Cecil was the first commentator to examine this aspect of

their relationship; indeed, his treatment of the entire novel in cosmic terms still remains perhaps the most comprehensive examination of *Wuthering Heights* ("Emily Brontë and *Wuthering Heights*" in *Early Victorian Novels* [Indianapolis, 1935; 1961], pp. 147-59).

3. Joseph's ominous threats of damnation are not as convincing as Catherine's dream, which pictures her banishment from heaven because she already has heaven on earth with Heathcliff (72). All references to the novel are to William M. Sale, Jr.'s, authoritatively reconstructed text, *Wuthering Heights* (New York, 1963).

ference away solely by claiming that the generalized nature of poetry and the particularity of the novel compel divergent approaches and yields. In fact, the novel alone through its characterization provides evidence of the discord between the poetry and fiction. Specifically, the love of Heathcliff and Catherine reads and concludes like a typical romantic novel that celebrates the heroics of the outcast and the timeless; the love of Hareton and Cathy reads and concludes like a respectable Victorian novel that extols the virtues of the social organism and of earthly implementation. In short, the sense of metaphysical and social discrepancy is such that one might claim there is not one Emily Brontë but two: Brontë the poet and Brontë the novelist; or Brontë, the schizophrenic novelist.

Clearly, something is amiss; and clearly, it is not Brontë's vision that is at fault but our critical formulations of it. The central critical problem is establishing connections—between her poetry and fiction, her metaphysics and sociology, the two love stories in the novel.<sup>4</sup> In this study, I have restricted myself to the task of suggesting possible relationships between her metaphysics and sociology. In the process, I hope to demonstrate that what accommodates these apparently disparate elements is Brontë's unexpected treatment of evolution in terms that adjust the religious and social as well as the romantic and Victorian impulses of her work.

I

One of the recurrent problems Brontë wrestles with in her poems is that of suffering and its justification. Characteristically, she presents the soul of man as not just housed but buried in the body. That vessel in turn is merely the soul's personal and intimate version of the containing body of the world itself. The captive soul yearns for freedom from imprisonment and when it comes, it is made possible or hastened by pain: "That burst from out their dreary dwelling / As if each gasp were life expelling, / But life is nourished by despair. . . ." Suffering is frequently rendered as a scalding explosive that breaks open the human container and releases the "shout of triumph" which "drowns the sign of woe" (59). Or pain is presented as an

irritant to brighten the tarnish off the soul: "If I have sinned, long, long ago / That sin was purified with woe" (138).<sup>5</sup> Above all, the affirmation of woe is contingent on the recognition that the suffering is never greater than the soul can bear or beyond the reach of faith:

And I who had the heart to sin  
Will find a heart to bear.

Till far beyond earth's frenzied strife  
That makes destruction joy,  
Thy perished faith shall spring to life  
And my remorse shall die. (198)

To be sure, Brontë's notion of joyous destruction displays the traditional approaches and consolations. But what seems unusual, if not unique, is her urgent seeking after pain and her presentation of suffering with evolutionary dimensions.

The former impulse appears in one poem in a curious way: "When every storm that hides the ray / Prepares a more divine return" (126). Why "more divine"? One possibility is that earthly existence makes the heaven lost, more desired. In the same vein, such an attitude leads to the notion that all suffering is but a harbinger of the final pain, death, that is to be not only accepted but sought after:

Let Grief distract the sufferer's breast,  
And Night obscure his way;  
They hasten him to endless rest,  
And everlasting day.

.....  
And could we lift the veil and give  
One brief glimpse to thine eye  
Thou would'st rejoice for those that live,  
Because they live to die. (200)

Brontë's attempt to make the affirmation of life an affirmation of death invests the poems with a masochistic search for martyrdom or self-immolation. Nevertheless, existence is clearly not merely a vale of tears but a Keatsian vale of soul-making. The purpose of life is to concentrate a pure strain, curiously stoical, as a means of getting to heaven;

4. The recognition of these gaps, as well as a sophisticated and comprehensive attempt to bridge them, are prominent aspects of a recent study of Emily Brontë by J. Hillis Miller in his *The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth Century Writers* (Boston, 1964), especially pp. 157-63 and 198-205.

5. The basic condition of the soul at its entrance to and departure from life is that of purity:

I know our souls are all divine:  
I know that when we die  
What seems the vilest, even like thine

A part of God himself shall shine  
In perfect purity. (143)

And in an earlier poem, Brontë says,  
If thou hast sinned in this world of care,  
'Twas the dust of thy drear abode—  
Thy soul was pure when it entered here,  
And pure again it will go again to God. (71)

Evidently, the earthly obligation is to return the soul to God as pure as when it was given. Indeed, the preservation of purity may be the condition for reentry into heaven as well as Brontë's definition of virtue.

and those who suffer, hasten God's threshing: "Yet I would lose no sting, would wish no torture less; / The more the anguish racks the earlier it will bless. . . ." (239)<sup>6</sup>

As far as the evolutionary context is concerned, the evidence of the poems is not sufficient to be convincing. To be sure, the notion of violence or struggle acting as the midwife of progression or rebirth is there, but it could be interpreted solely in religious rather than in evolutionary terms. But in a prose essay, which Emily wrote while attending the boarding school of Madame Héger in Brussels, the subject of evolution is presented explicitly and in a form that perhaps provides a transition to the novel.

The essay, which is entitled "The Butterfly,"<sup>7</sup> begins with Emily sitting at the foot of an old oak. Suddenly, the sound of a nightingale breaks her meditation; the bird is promptly admonished: "Is it to guide a bullet to your breast or a boy to your little ones that you are singing so loud and clear?" (17). This curiously cynical reaction perhaps echoes a more stoical "truth" in the poems: "Joy is the shortest path to pain." In any case, Emily quickly broadens the range of her complaint and in the process provides an explicit evolutionary context:

But why address myself to you alone? All creation is equally insane. There are those flies playing above the stream, swallows and fish diminishing their number each minute: these will become in their turn, the prey of some tyrant of air or water; and man for his amusement or needs will kill their murderers. Nature is an inexplicable puzzle, life exists on a principle of destruction; every creature must be the relentless instrument of death to the others, or himself cease to live. Nevertheless, we celebrate the day of our birth, and we praise God that we entered such a world. (17)

In the essay as in the poems the same focus on the principle of destruction is apparent. And again as in the poetry the fate of faith hangs in the balance. But what is strikingly different is that the essay initially presents the problem of destruction in totally natural or evolutionary terms and thus makes the entire issue less manageable or obviously affirmative in human or religious terms. Indeed, Emily's own portrait of the universe as a "vast machine constructed only for evil" nearly brings her to the uncharacteristic poetic stand of doubting the goodness of God (18). However, what soon becomes clear is that Brontë

has conveniently handled her subject so as to exclude its application to man, as if man is divorced from the cycle of destruction and creation or is merely a passive observer of the process. But then Brontë finds an ugly caterpillar devouring a lovely flower; in disgust she crushes the worm under her foot.

Suddenly, Brontë's self-righteous indignation is swept away as she becomes an integral part of the destructive process. Her violent act, which renders her previous attitude of detachment rather precious, recalls the dream in the novel when the apparently mild and overly civilized Lockwood takes the arm of the ghostly child and grinds it back and forth across the cut window glass. That dream serves to open the reader's eyes to the world that is to be pictured at Wuthering Heights as well as to the fact that it is not an alien world, even to one so refined as Lockwood. In the essay that dream finds its counterpoint in a more peaceful and affirmative prefiguration: the crushed caterpillar releases a butterfly. The sight of the butterfly ascending to heaven in turn begets a corrective inner voice that speaks to Brontë in clear and unequivocal terms of the goodness of God:

Let not the creature judge his creator, here is a symbol of the world to come—just as the ugly caterpillar is the beginning of the splendid butterfly, this globe is the embryo of a new heaven and of a new earth whose meagerest beauty infinitely surpasses mortal imagination. When you see the glorious outcome of what now seems to you so mean, how you will despise your blind presumption in blaming Omniscience for not having destroyed nature in its infancy. (18)

To Brontë the best that life has to offer exists in fullest form outside of life. Existence is never invested with any ultimate or permanent relevance of its own but is regarded as only a shadowing forth of what was and what is to come. As such, life is essentially a visible and temporary intermediary between two eternal realms, a prenatal and a postmortal heaven; and destruction is the painful good ensuring and conditioning the passage of the soul. But if this metaphysical sanction to the earthly evolutionary process provides the *consolatio* of the afterlife, what reassurance does it offer for this life? In other words, what role does society play in this system of cosmic evolution? Moreover, what form or structure does the artist, who is committed to tangible implementation, employ to present

6. One of the central ironies, if not blasphemies, of the novel appears in the fact that Heathcliff's physical strength only exposes him to greater agony. His capacity for life becomes an obstacle to his desire for death.

7. *Five Essays Written in French*, trans. Lorine White Nagel (Austin,

1948), pp. 17-19. As far as I know, Miller is the first to make extensive and critical use of this essay as well as to suggest Brontë's possible indebtedness to Wesleyan and other Methodist tracts for the treatment and symbol of the butterfly (see especially fms. 10, 11, and 20).

the world as an "embryo of a new heaven and a new earth"? For answers to these questions, which signify the extent and nature of the gap between the poetry and the fiction, it is necessary to turn to the novel.

### III

Perhaps one key to the relationship between Brontë's metaphysics and her notion of society is suggested by her own initially separative attitude in "The Butterfly." What she finds ugly or savage or perilous in nature is in fact so.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, man has tended to remove himself from such barbarisms, and society represents his institutionalized instrument for effecting that disassociation. But just as Brontë ultimately rejects her safe and self-protective detachment from destruction, so society must be urged to renew its contact with the destructive element. But why? Perhaps society can get along without the sanction of cosmic evolution. Moreover, are not the impulses and directions of nature and society opposed to each other? Nature is eternally the same; society is eternally different. Nature always returns to its starting point or really has none; society seeks to go far beyond and even obscure its primitive origins. If the motto of society is the best is yet to be, the motto of nature is the best already and always is. In short, if society is to heed Brontë's call back to nature and its principles, it must be given reasons that are more objective and convincing than Brontë's personal metaphysics. Indeed, it seems the special task of the characterization and the structure of the novel to provide just such convincing arguments.

To Emily Brontë what is wrong with the present state of society appears on the very first page in the person of Lockwood. This over-refined dilettante on the way to becoming a misanthrope, is significantly a Londoner. And he provides a rapid glimpse into the modern malaise when he recalls his mild flirtation with "a real goddess" while at the seacoast.<sup>9</sup> She responded, whereupon Lockwood "shrank icily into myself, like a snail" until the young girl was so confused that she "persuaded her mamma to decamp" (15). Such is the state of the contemporary civilized male. To be sure, it would be a mistake to employ Lockwood as a whipping boy externally introduced for just that purpose, for the fact is that imagistically and

temperamentally he shares the emotional deprivation of a regular native of the wilds, Edgar Linton. Moreover, Brontë's artistry can be further appreciated by noting that she does not make Heathcliff into an obvious alternative, a noble Ossian. Had she done so, few Victorians would hearken to her call to return to elemental passions. On the contrary, Heathcliff displays the barbarisms of nature as clearly and intensely as Edgar reveals the impotency of society. In short, as David Cecil noted long ago, the geography of the novel supports opposing forces: the savagery and storm of Wuthering Heights and the passivity and calm of Thruscross Grange.

Both poles are rendered in excesses. If Wuthering Heights is too wild, Thruscross Grange is too mild. And when exchanges between the two camps occur, they go too far or fail to suggest a golden mean. Catherine goes to Thruscross Grange and her rebelliousness is not disciplined but dulled. Isabella journeys to Wuthering Heights and there her civilized attitude is not revitalized but brutalized. In Heathcliff's hands the stormy vigor of nature becomes a revengeful scourge; the creativeness of destruction is turned to the destruction of creation. In Edgar's hands, the calm reasonableness of society becomes cold unfeelingness; the close communication between persons in society is reduced to the less social and more indirect communication between a reader and his books.

To complicate the matter further, both poles imperil the present or future existence of society itself. Thruscross Grange is so civilized and removed from natural vital forces that it produces a race of paralyzed, emasculated men who live more solitary than interpersonal lives. Wuthering Heights is not much better. Cecil rightly notes that the description of the relations between Heathcliff and Catherine as bestial or heathen should be liberally interpreted in an amoral or premarital context. True, but they also represent the presocial. If Edgar and Lockwood represent what it is to have a minimum society, Heathcliff and Catherine signify what it is to have no society at all. The blasphemous exclusion of God by their self-sufficient, absolutist love and their quest for immortality in this world is not limited to metaphysical consequences. Because their relationship also precludes sexuality and thereby procreation, it terminates society as well as the record of man's temporality, history. Thus, Brontë is pro-

8. As a number of commentators have noted, Brontë makes the reader's entry into just such a crude and primitive world gradual and protective by employing Lockwood as a surrogate. His movement in stages from London to the wild moors also reenacts a return to fundamental history. On this entire matter, see Edgar F. Shannon, "Lockwood's Dreams and the Exegesis of *Wuthering Heights*," *NCF*, XIV (1959), 95-109.
9. Lockwood's excessively romantic and frigid reactions to the "god-

dess" at the seashore are reenacted in the novel in his similar attitude and reactions to Cathy. He calls her a "beneficent fairy" (21) and although he later feels drawn to her, he again never speaks his heart. Moreover, as a further indication that Lockwood does not introduce but merely reflects existing attitudes at the moors, one should note that Isabella Linton, employing the same rose-colored romanticism, makes the mistake of glorifying Heathcliff as a Byronian figure.

foundly correct when she describes Heathcliff and Catherine as uncivilized creatures.

In Brontë's metaphysical treatment of evolution, the soul like nature is revitalized and even purified by the creativeness of destruction. But if this God-sanctioned force renews the world and the soul, what force renews man's world, society? To be sure, man straddles both the natural and social worlds. But in place of what should co-exist, the novel presents a warring duality. Each extreme needs what the other has if a marriage of nature and society is to be accomplished. However, Heathcliff and Catherine, representing the one extreme, and Edgar and Catherine, representing the other, fail to effect this coexistence because they operate as opposing rather than cooperating contraries. Significantly, the one person they have in common is Catherine who indeed by giving birth to Cathy prepares the way for the labor pains that accompany the creation of society as a harmonious accommodation of opposites. Later, Hareton and Cathy moving from the same opposite poles meet not to diverge but to converge the symbolic burden each bears and the other needs. And yet that description of what ultimately takes place is too rapid to mirror fully the nature of that convergence as well as the special way it occurs.

There is no question that the relationship between Hareton and Cathy is meant to represent a real progressive movement in the novel. On the other hand, lest their achievement of resolution be interpreted apart from the turbulence that preceded and indeed made it possible, and lest the opportunity for a full and total affirmation of the entire evolutionary process thus be lost, the butterfly must be presented as emanating from the crushed worm. In other words, Brontë structurally must harmonize the opposing impulses and directions of nature and society, death and birth, the past and the present.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps the most explicit clue in the novel of how this is done is presented by Edgar when he decides to name the child Cathy because "it formed to him a distinction with the mother, and yet, a connection with her" (152).

A distinction and yet a connection—is not that perhaps the most economical description of the structure of the entire novel? The duplication of names, the blurring of generations, the gyrations of chronology, the multiplicity of narrators—all these devices are too intricate and confusing not to be purposeful. One may be partial toward the love of Heathcliff and Catherine or to that of Hareton and

Cathy, but the fact remains that Brontë has structured her epic in such interlocking fashion that it is impossible to tug one free without pulling the other along. In short, Brontë's structural techniques create a meaningful confusion or admixture that ensures the inseparability of the generations and of the evolutionary bonds that hold them thematically together.

The inextricable entanglement of the two love stories enables Brontë to present a forward movement that is temporal and a cyclical movement that is eternal. Thus, the novel does move from the primitive to the social, and in the process nature does provide man with a model by showing the coexistence of storm and calm. But man must adapt this model to his own needs, for the relationships between God's and man's worlds are not exact. Nature is eternally the same, but society progresses. Nature eternally renews itself but society tends to move away from such renewal. Indeed, using Brontë's own evolutionary logic, one may question the happy ending of the novel. Would not a projection of the story beyond Hareton and Cathy show the reemergence of Lockwoods and Edgars? Admittedly, but the apparent contradiction is erased or eased if man learns to progress cyclically.

The ending of the novel brings about an ideal coincidence of the metaphysical and social elements in Brontë's evolutionary vision. Religiously, the beatific love between Hareton and Cathy represents a prefiguration of heaven.<sup>11</sup> Socially, their communicative and amiable love represents the birth of a vital society. In short, the ending is a concrete realization of the vision of life as the "embryo of a new heaven and a new earth." To be sure, subsequent generations may pry apart this marriage of heaven and earth and reproduce the divorce between nature and society. However, the metaphysical promise and discipline will always be available. Indeed, because Brontë believes that that promise is built into the very texture of existence, the movement toward cyclical renewal will appear again and the hope of another ideal coincidence may be fulfilled. In other words, what Brontë presents in *Wuthering Heights* is nothing less than the history of mankind in two generations.

For all its progressive tendencies, society if it is to remain vital must partake of and mirror nature's diurnal round. Metaphysically, this means a society responsive to the cosmos and affirmative of destruction and change. Humanistically, this means a society in which the rela-

10. The ghost of Lawrence Sterne seems to haunt the structure of *Wuthering Heights*. To be sure, the anarchistic hobbyhorses are now in the surer hands of five narrators, but Emily Brontë seems equally determined to reject the linear or progressive story as a proper mirror of reality. Indeed, because the novel so entangles

time and the generations that span it, it might not be farfetched to assume that Emily's form is at the same time her meaning.

11. Significantly, that love is accompanied by a visionary reunion of Heathcliff and Catherine on the moors (265).

tions between individuals are not insulated, unfeeling, or oblique, but direct, passionate, and intimate. Artistically, this means a society that can recognize and comprehend an author who writes a romantic Victorian novel and

whose vision insists on an integration of metaphysics and sociology.

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## The Gothic Flame of Charles Dickens

Larry Kirkpatrick

THE ERA OF Gothic fiction was a thing of the past when Charles Dickens wrote his novels, but the effects of that genre were pervasive and of long duration and contributed greatly to the Romantic temperament of literature in nineteenth-century England. It is often thought that Gothic fiction proper began with *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) and ended roughly with *Northanger Abbey* (1818). Such, however, is not the case, for Walpole's romance was no utter novelty on the English literary scene, and Jane Austen's satire was in fact written fifteen years prior to its publication, when the popularity of Gothic fiction was at its height. Romantic and Victorian novels, to be sure, differ from their Gothic ancestors in telling ways, but the history of literature is one of gradual evolution rather than sudden and violent revolution. That Dickens was so much a man of his times means that his fiction shared the effects of such an evolution. While it is immediately obvious that *Bleak House* and *Great Expectations* owe a sizable debt to the Gothic tradition, it has not been generally remarked that other novels in the Dickens canon owe a debt equally as large. The novels selected here for particular comment—*The Old Curiosity Shop*, *Little Dorrit*, and *Our Mutual Friend*—all relate in varying degree to Gothic fiction, but the bent of Dickens' genius means that the end effect of those novels might be something quite other than Gothic.

Perhaps the closest link between Dickens and the Gothic novelists is surrealism. Quoting Arnold Hauser to that effect, Davendra P. Darma calls attention in *The Gothic Flame* to the surrealistic substructure of Gothic fiction: "The dream becomes the paradigm of the whole picture-world, in which reality and unreality, logic and fantasy, banality and sublimation of existence, form an indissoluble and inexplicable unity." Such a statement bears directly upon three widely representative Gothic novels: *The Castle of Otranto* is defined by a macabre juxtaposition of exaggeration and unreason and by a contrast of light and shade; *The Romance of the Forest* contrasts sound and silence to evoke the alternate responses of terror and romantic sentimentalism; and *Vathek* elicits physical and spiritual terror by means of exaggerated violence and by fire symbolism that defines eternal punishment. Dickens'

own technique of contrasting the city and the countryside relates to surrealism in that nightmare and tranquility, vice and virtue are thereby placed in juxtaposition.

What the surrealistic substructure means is that the romantic spirit was blended with the spirit of realism. Dickens' concern with balancing these rival claims is seen in the preface to *The Old Curiosity Shop*, where he says of Little Nell that he wanted to surround the lonely child with grotesque but nonetheless human companions. Twelve years later he insists in the preface to *Bleak House* that all the events pertaining to Chancery are based upon fact and that the spontaneous combustion of Krook is capable of scientific explanation. He then counterbalances this insistence on verisimilitude with the remark that he had dwelt upon the romantic side of familiar things. And in the preface to *Our Mutual Friend*, a novel in which subjective truth is valued more than predefined external reality, Dickens still contends for realism. From Walpole to Dickens, Gothic fiction is predisposed toward establishing a realistic psychological basis for fantasy and the exotic.

### I

The world of *The Old Curiosity Shop*, like that of *Oliver Twist*, is chaos and ceaseless motion without order or direction. In both novels the frantic aspects of the external world are matched by the frenzied mental state of the characters, who are defined by their isolation from society. In both novels, again, the city and the country are symbolically opposite, but in the latter novel Dickens at least recognized the fact that the rural paradise no longer exists and that man must somehow accept city life and its conditions. Because the escape from the city by Nell and Grandfather is identified with death, the novel acts as a judgment on the easy solution of *Oliver Twist*. In one sense, however, Dickens continues to be the Romantic in that death, like the countryside, offers final escape. Thus we must be prepared to see in advance the dichotomous construction of Dickens' creative mind that precludes aesthetic unity in his diverse materials.

There is nonetheless at work in the novel a Gothic struc-

ture that almost fuses the city-country polarity. I have in mind the old curiosity shop with its melange of grotesqueries, which symbolizes the Gothic nature of Dickens' England:

The place through which he made his way at leisure was one of those receptacles for old and curious things which seem to crouch in odd corners of this town and to hide their musty treasures from the public eye in jealousy and distrust. There were suits of mail standing like ghosts in armor here and there, fantastic carvings brought from monkish cloisters, rusty weapons of various kinds, distorted figures in china and wood and iron and ivory; tapestry and strange furniture that might have been designed in dreams. The haggard aspect of the little old man was wonderfully suited to the place; he might have groped among old churches and tombs and deserted houses and gathered all the spoils with his own hands. (chap. I)

The curiosity shop thus provides a controlling structural image for the novel from which all its experience can be said to issue forth. The adventures of Grandfather and Little Nell, Quilp and Sampson Brass, Richard Swiveller and the Marchioness—all the characters, in short—assume a special Gothic overtone peculiar to the novel because of the curiosity shop.

Much of Dickens' England is portrayed as a chamber of horrors, in particular the industrial complex which is likened to a mechanized haunted house, but two grotesque scenes in particular were aesthetically prepared for by the curiosity shop. Cut off from the smiling aspects of nature, Quilp's rat-infested countinghouse burrows in the dust and is all but ploughed into the ground. It is singularly fitting that the countinghouse is cut off from nature, that it seemingly sprang up from decay itself rather than from grandeur gone awry, as Gothic fiction would have it, for the precise reason that Quilp himself is beyond the pale of humanity. What Quilp amounts to is a caricature of villainy, a satire upon the concept of undiluted evil in the world. Another creature shut off from nature is the Marchioness. Living in a subterranean prison quite like the dungeons of Gothic fiction, she is made to endure the dampness, the dark, and the faulty plumbing of Sampson Brass's cellar apartment. Dissociated from the four elements to an unnatural degree, the Marchioness is nonetheless identified with humanity as Quilp is not. By means of her own good nature, and by the benevolence she inspired in Richard Swiveller, she was able to effect her deliverance to physical and spiritual normality. But Grandfather and

Nell, accepting defeat, embraced the romance of death by their flight from responsibility.

Offsetting the horrors of London is the river. When Humphrey the Hunchback wanders about the city observing the variety of human types that issue forth in the night-time, he contemplates the crowds who stand on the bridges peering down into the river "with some vague idea that by-and-by it runs between green banks which grow wider and wider until at last it joins the broad vast sea" and where some have "heard or read in some old time that drowning was not a hard death, but of all means of suicide the easiest and the best" (chap. I). Like the river in *Our Mutual Friend*, this particular river refers symbolically to life proceeding toward the sea of death. But in neither book is death a thing of terror, for it falls within the tradition of the Graveyard poets who envisioned the rewards and escape which death provided as a spiritual catharsis.

An even sharper etching of romantic escape is the terrestrial grave which brings the final reward to the poor. Consider the churchyard in which, sweet melancholy reigning, Nell takes an extravagant pleasure:

The church was old and grey, with ivy clinging to the walls, and round the porch. [Here, it should be noted, the Gothic analogue ends.] Shunning the tombs, it crept about the mounds, beneath which slept poor humble men, twining for them the first wreaths they had ever won, but wreaths less liable to wither and far more lasting in their kind, than some which were graven deep in stone and marble, and told in pompous terms of virtues meekly hidden for many a year, and only revealed at last to executors and mourning legatees. (chap. XVI)

It is obvious that Dickens is using basic Gothic materials for a purpose quite other than Gothic. Like Gray, in his "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard," and Wordsworth, in the graveyard scene of "The Excursion," Dickens is concerned with the virtuous who meet their final Christian reward through death rather than with the wicked who drive the innocent to a terrifyingly premature grave.

## II

The theme of imprisonment and the central setting of the torture chamber provided a ludicrous sense of terror to *The Castle of Otranto*. Monk Lewis used identical aesthetic means to evoke a more genuine sense of physical anguish in the sufferings of Ambrosio. But Dickens greatly extended the psychic horrors of *The Monk* in *Little Dorrit* to portray an entire society imprisoned physically and spiritually by the social evils inherent therein.

Dickens' novel is introduced with a chain of paragraphs that deal with the dazzling and devastating sunlight which permeates the streets of Marseilles. Such an overture, of course, is exactly opposite to the midnight gloom of Gothic fiction, but therein lies the point, for, like the alternating light and dark imagery of *The Castle of Otranto*, it is remarkably successful in calling attention to the pervasive gloom of the novel and to the prison complex in particular. Darkness is brought immediately to bear with the first mention of prisons, that of Marseilles, in which is introduced Blandois the villain: "A prison taint was on everything there. The imprisoned air, the imprisoned light, the imprisoned men, were all deteriorated by confinement. As the captive men were faded and haggard, so the iron was rusty, the stone was slimy, the wood was rotten, the air was faint, the light was dim. Like a well, like a vault, like a tomb, the prison held no knowledge of the brightness outside; and would have kept its polluted atmosphere intact, in one of the spice islands of the Indian Ocean" (Book I, chap. I). The sentence just quoted has particular relevance, for the dominant mood of *Little Dorrit* is so bleak, so naturalistic, that the world of nature will bring with it few redemptive forces to offset the horror of imprisonment in its various literal and metaphorical cases. The early Dickens tended to isolate the ill effects of the city from the pastoral blessings of the country to such a degree that the dichotomy between the two major thematic patterns threatened aesthetic unity. In *Bleak House* the same Gothic elements appeared in London and Chesney Wold, thus bringing city and country thematically together. In *Little Dorrit* certain contrasting chords are struck which finally allow the countryside to symbolize an innocence opposite to the imprisonment of the city, but in all cases the one theme is closely related to the other.

Like the curio shop of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and the mud and fog of *Bleak House*, the prison at Marseilles provides the controlling motif of *Little Dorrit*, for the major settings all pertain to one kind of imprisonment or other, and the major characters suffer literal and psychological confinement. While Mr. Dorrit is legally imprisoned for debt in the Marshalsea, Mrs. Clennam and Miss Wade subject themselves to emotional exile because of religious perversity and homosexuality. Thematic complexity is also introduced by the country estate of Twickenham and by *Little Dorrit*, for both act as agents of freedom and innocence in evaluating the novel's moral and social issues. The world of *Little Dorrit*, in the end, goes on just the same as always, but the sun pierces through the gloom for Arthur and the eponymous heroine, for they both faced the evil that crossed their path and came to moral grips with it.

All of London assumes the aspects of a prison in *Little*

*Dorrit*, but the Gothic nature of the Clennam house is recorded with the greatest particularity in terms that look ahead to Satis House of *Great Expectations*. Arthur Clennam observes his old home after an absence of many years: "An old brick house, so dingy as to be all but black, standing by itself within a gateway. Before it, a square courtyard where a shrub or two and a patch of grass were as rank . . . as the iron railings enclosing them were rusty; behind it a jumble of roots" (Book I, chap. III). The house is linked to the black depravity of the Marseilles prison, one that the fecundity of nature is powerless to enhance. The dearth of vegetation is also closely linked to the emotionally and psychosomatically crippled figure of Mrs. Clennam, a recluse in her solitary closet, whose religious perversity has shut her off from the forces of natural life. Arthur continues to muse on the exterior of the house: "Many years ago, it had had it in its mind to slide down sideways; it had been propped up, however, and was leaning on some half-dozen gigantic crutches: which gymnasium for the neighboring cats, weather-stained, smoke-blackened, and overgrown with weeds, appeared in these latter days to be no very sure reliance" (Book I, chap. III). The image of a falling house figured as well in *Oliver Twist*, and will appear again in *Our Mutual Friend*, but in the present novel it pertains particularly to the starved emotions of the inmates of the house who are sustained by the most meager vestiges of humanity possible.

The interior of the house is surveyed by Arthur with the same sense of horrible distaste: "the Plagues of Egypt, much the dimmer for the fly and smoke plagues of London, were framed and glazed upon the walls. There was the old cellaret . . . like a sort of coffin in compartments . . . the staircase . . . was panelled off into spaces like so many mourning tablets . . . There was a little mound of damped ashes on the top of the fire . . . as there had been night and day for fifteen years" (Book I, chap. III). Presiding tyrannically over something like a charnel house in which the restorative breath of life has had no chance to enter, Mrs. Clennam will fail to save it in the end from destruction. Like the timeless vacuum in which Miss Havisham of *Great Expectations* sexually torments herself in her withered bridal clothes, the Clennam house is the scene where its mistress performs her terrifying ritual of hate, pride, unforgiveness, and religious intolerance.

The imprisonment theme is used in three main cases of social criticism. First of all, in the Circumlocution Office Dickens finds his major metaphorical correlative for the imprisonment of the creative instinct. Like Chancery of *Bleak House*, but on a more pessimistic level, the Circumlocution Office ties up the whole of English society in a labyrinth of senseless complexity and inefficiency that touches in one way or another every event and character

in the novel. Second, as Tom-all-Alone's was a derivative of Chancery so is Bleeding Heart Yard of the Circumlocution Office. Geographically below modern London, the slum harbors untold masses of the poor and degraded. The government bureaucracy being indifferent to such centers of destitution, the only intruders from the outside are money collectors. Bleeding Heart Yard, in short, is a colony of the oppressed which is sociologically allowed small play of the finer emotions that arise from the heart. Dickens' capacity for detached realism nonetheless means that he can see the basic obnoxiousness of the Bleeding Hearts at the same time that he laments the social conditions that rendered them so. And finally, the Marshalsea prison for debtors, an ugly pile of buildings enclosed by high walls with spikes, bears resemblances to Chancery in that it is a spider web of stupidity and mismanagement which symbolizes the hopeless financial entanglements of England. In all three cases Gothic properties have lent themselves well to social criticism.

It will be remembered that Book One opened with an ironic display of dazzling sunlight which furnished an impression opposite to the Gothic blackness that permeated the general scene. The initial pages of Book Two go beyond irony in the mood they establish and they reveal Dickens' technique of dealing with generalizations and abstractions. No proper names are used, only broad generic terms such as the husband, the lady, the painter, and so forth. The inhumanization brought on by the abstraction of human types, by the frozen bodies in the snow, and by the general aura of death and sterility of the cold weather comes immediately in the novel after Mr. Dorrit's acquisition of fortune and serves to demonstrate Dickens' belief that riches alone are without value. Like the heroes of Gothic fiction who rise from poverty to riches, Mr. Dorrit is made suddenly wealthy, but the important point is, as with Pip of *Great Expectations*, that he did nothing to deserve such a change in financial status. Book Two deals with the ironic situation in which riches bring more poverty to the spirit than financial destitution. Such a state of affairs is rendered metaphorical by the convent of St. Bernard, the frozen features of which receive the typical Gothic portrayal—barrenness and ruin, lack of vegetation, ghostly travelers among a labyrinth of ice and snow. Thus a prison of the spirit joins the melange of other prisons in the novel, one in which the innocence of Little Dorrit alone can effect spiritual and social rejuvenation.

### III

With the possible exception of *Edwin Drood*, Dickens wrote no Gothic fiction as such in the final stage of his career, but familiar Gothic trappings enabled him to pen-

trate the nature of death as it relates to the human consciousness and to relate the question of decay and mutability to society in its many ramifications. In *Our Mutual Friend* the focal points of aesthetic concentration which bind the novel together and give it meaning are death and decay.

Not content in his intellectual and artistic maturity to falsify the ambiguity of moral situations, Dickens refuses finally to view the world in black and white categories. Bearing witness to this growth of artistic and philosophic powers, *Our Mutual Friend* is introduced with a grotesque scene of human vultures rowing upon the Thames in search of dead bodies that can be looted. Covered with slime and ooze, the river inspires not abstract virtue, as it might have in the early novels, but an awareness of the complexity of man and the multifarious ways in which he must live and work and die. The novel's geographical poles are the London slums and waterfront and the exclusive West End of the new rich, the alternation of which provides Dickens with his major structural pattern. But the real point is that London, of whatever variety, is morally homogeneous, for the decadent work of the river people is paralleled by the social charlatanism of the rich and their vulturine companions. The river also provides the novel with its major death symbolism, the meanings of which define the essence of what it is to be alive.

A more typical symbolic manifestation of the river than the Gothic body snatchers can provide is the larger issue of the river as a vehicle of redemptive death. "In those pleasant little towns on Thames," says Dickens,

you may hear the fall of the water over the weirs . . . and from the bridge you may see the young river, dimpled like a young child, playfully gliding away among the trees, unpolluted by the defilements that lie in wait for it on its course, and as yet out of hearing of the deep summons of the sea. . . . Betty Higden . . . heard the tender river whispering to many like herself, "Come to me, come to me! When the cruel shame and terror you have so long fled from, most beset you, come to me!" (Book III, chap. VIII)

Thus Betty Higden journeys up the little towns beside the Thames in search of a decent burial free of the workhouse stigma. In three more cases the river restores life to its victims. John Harmon's assumed identity, after his reputed death by drowning, allows him to have a happy marriage which otherwise would have been ill-founded upon money. Rogue Riderhood's new life amounts to the old, unaccompanied as it is by love and humanity. And Eugene Wrayburn is enabled by his rescue to reject social hypocrisy and thereby marry a good woman. As in *The*

*Old Curiosity Shop*, death is the only source of comfort and restitution, the only means by which moral shoddiness and physical shabbiness can be evaluated. The novel as a whole bears out the assumption that the consciousness of death must be entertained if an understanding of life is to be gained. Such a concern with death, however, is not Gothic in any sense, for the element of terror is singularly missing.

What does define the link between life and death in Gothic terms is the experience of John Harmon. Many critics believe that the matter of his assumed identities constitutes an aesthetic flaw in that it strains credulity, but it would seem rather that those very nominal reincarnations allow Dickens to develop his concern with death more fully. A young man returned to an England that he cannot accept and to a marital situation in which love has no part, John Harmon elects to die to all public appearances so that he can discern through the opportunity provided by death the real state of his real existence. "It is a sensation not experienced by many mortals," he says, "to be looking into a churchyard on a wild windy night, and to feel that I no more hold a place among the living than these dead do, and even to know that I lie buried somewhere else, as they lie buried here. Nothing uses me to it. A spirit that was once a man could hardly feel stranger or lonelier, going unrecognized among mankind than I feel" (Book II, chap. XIII). This sense of loneliness is at last dispelled when he finds genuine love with Bella and when he is in possession of his estate without the financial perversions that would have accompanied it had he not feigned death for so long. In a literal sense, death enabled him to create new life from old that in itself was spiritual death.

The familiar Gothic theme of mutability plays an integral role in *Our Mutual Friend*. Referring to the limits of mortality in a special way, the river, the wind, and the sea define the process of death, but architecture figures more immediately as a sign of human futility and impermanence. The Bower, for instance, has passed through several hands and has excited its due share of human envy and ambition, but in the end mutability alone reigns. That Dickens can envision mutability without complete depression is apparent in his portrayal of Boffin the dustman, who ekes out a living by salvaging valuables from gigantic garbage dumps. Such refuse symbolizes the corrupt state of

English society, but Boffin is perhaps the most humane character in the novel. Thus the point is made that the world can be assessed order and value only by the realms of art and the creative consciousness. Death and decay, in the end, still exist, but they are dwarfed in importance by the human values put into practice by the individual man.

I have suggested that the materials of Gothic fiction point to a substructure within selected Dickens novels that gives them a particular flavor and coherence oftentimes overlooked. What I have not suggested is that Dickens is somehow a more significant novelist because of his Gothic inheritance or that he solved the problems of his craft by reliance upon a Gothic surrealistic aesthetic. While Dickens the craftsman and moralist became more sophisticated through time, he nonetheless perpetuated in his fiction a sentimentalism and an expansiveness that were injurious to his novels as individual works of art. In his portrayal of death, for instance, Dickens fails to sustain his theme on a high level of aesthetic discipline. Obvious instances are the overlong and cloying death of Little Nell and the scene in *Our Mutual Friend* in which Eugene Wrayburn, supposedly on his deathbed, proposes marriage to Lizzie. Whether Gothic or not, the novels are hardly consistently brilliant, but the Gothic substructure nonetheless defines their distinctive shape and tone.

As regards Dickens and the problem of tradition and the individual talent, he inherited from Gothic fiction the impetus to deal directly with the macabre and the supernatural, but he in turn tempered the genre by greater pathos and psychological depth. Dickens the artist is seen in the way he utilizes the Gothic atmosphere to define symbolically the moral stature of his Victorian world. Dickens the social critic is seen in the way he converts the Gothic lesson of horror into telling criticism of social abuses. Dickens the humanitarian is revealed in character creations that transcend the narrow Gothic formula to embrace a larger view of man in his boundless variety. That Dickens can be identified with promulgators of horror and sensationalism but that he descends not to their bathos and eccentricity means that he has created a fictional world of enduring value that appeals for its wide comprehension of the business of life. Such is the Gothic flame of Charles Dickens.

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Coventry Patmore in *Household Words*

Anne Lohrli

"ONE OF THE MOST original and at the same time interesting contributors [to Dickens' journals] was the brilliant, highly-strung, exaggerated and slightly-eccentric Coventry Patmore," wrote Percy Fitzgerald in 1913,<sup>1</sup> in his typical patronizing manner. Fitzgerald gave no indication of the extent or nature of Patmore's contributions, nor did he make clear whether they appeared in the first of Dickens' weekly journals—*Household Words* (1850-1859), or in its successor—*All the Year Round*. Later commentators have left Patmore's connection with Dickens' periodicals only slightly less vague. Mr. Arthur A. Adrian and Mr. P. A. W. Collins mention Patmore as an infrequent contributor of verse to Dickens' journals.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Edgar Johnson mentions him as a contributor to *Household Words* specifically, including him in the list of such writers (among others) as Mrs. Lynn Linton, Adelaide Anne Procter, and William Moy Thomas.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Johnson's grouping of the names together, without qualification, tends to give the impression that all these writers wrote regularly for *Household Words*. The two ladies, of course, did. Miss Procter contributed to it some seventy poems; Mrs. Linton, more than sixty articles and stories. Thomas, though he wrote less frequently for the journal, published in it at least thirty items. Patmore contributed only three.

That he contributed even three is surprising. With his aristocratic attitude, his un-Dickensian tastes, his dislike of popular causes, Patmore was an unlikely man to write for Dickens. *Household Words'* abusive ridicule of the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites,<sup>4</sup> among whom Patmore

numbered many of his friends, would also, one thinks, have made him reluctant to write for the periodical. So too, presumably, would his indignation at the treatment accorded by the *Household Words* office to a poem of his friend William Allingham. Patmore expressed himself as "heartily disgusted" at the editorial mutilation of Allingham's lines.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, *Household Words* had the reputation of paying well for contributions, and Patmore, in his early years, with a wife and children to support, did much periodical writing for money, though on several occasions he expressed his dislike for such writing.<sup>6</sup>

Patmore's first *Household Words* contribution (14 September 1850),<sup>7</sup> printed anonymously, as were all contributions,<sup>8</sup> was a story titled by a line from Thomas Hood, "Evil is Wrought by Want of Thought." It illustrated the moral of the title by the actions of two sisters, one acting impulsively, the other on reasoned principle. Miss Isabel gives a servant girl a silken wedding gown and lofty promises of future gifts, but provides her no help at the time of the inevitable sickly infant; Miss Laura gives a similar girl the sensible wedding gift of a cellar of coal—and help when help is needed.<sup>9</sup>

It is difficult to believe that a grown man—even a Victorian—would have thought the story appropriate to adult readers. In naïveté and obviousness it exceeded even Harriet Martineau's "Sanitary Tales" (as Henry Crabb Robinson called them<sup>10</sup>) published in the same periodical. The only charitable assumption is that Patmore needed the five

1. Percy Fitzgerald, *Memories of Charles Dickens* (London, 1913), p. 307.
2. Arthur A. Adrian, "Charles Dickens as Verse Editor," *Modern Philology*, LVIII (November 1960), 100; P. A. W. Collins, "The Significance of Dickens's Periodicals," *A Review of English Literature*, II (July 1961), 60.
3. Edgar Johnson, *Charles Dickens, His Tragedy and Triumph* (New York, 1952), II, 713. In the same listing, Mr. Johnson includes Charles Mackay and Sheridan Le Fanu, neither of whom wrote for *Household Words*. Contributors and their works are identified in the *Household Words* "Office Book," here referred to by permission of the Princeton University Library.
4. "Old Lamps for New Ones," *Household Words*, I (15 June 1850), 265-67. The article is by Dickens.
5. Patmore to Allingham, 20 May 1850, in Basil Champneys', *Memoirs and Correspondence of Coventry Patmore* (London, 1900), II, 174-75.
6. Patmore to Allingham, 25 July 1854: "I have resolved—and may I have heart to preserve!—utterly to cut 'our periodical literature' as being altogether a base and unsatisfactory way of expending one's energies and earning one's tin. This vow cuts off half my income. . . ." With particular reference to the writing

- of reviews, Patmore later (28 May 1857, letter to Allingham) expressed his hope that he would "be able to live without the degradation of review-writing for money—a degradation only not so great as that of not paying one's debts" (Champneys, II, 178, 185-86). Patmore of course continued to write for periodicals, among them the *Pall Mall Gazette* (which he regarded as the only paper "fit for a gentleman") and *St. James's Gazette*.
7. *Household Words*, I, 580-87. The "Office Book" records payment of £5.
8. Except Mrs. Gaskell's "North and South," Wilkie Collins' "The Dead Secret," and certain of Dickens' writings.
9. Dickens slightly revised the ending of the story to give it a kinder atmosphere. "It left off," he thought, "with a disagreeable impression as to the feelings between the sisters" (Dickens to W. H. Wills, 14 August 1850, in R. C. Lehmann, ed., *Charles Dickens as Editor* [New York, 1912], p. 33). F. Page, in his listing of Patmore's prose contributions to periodicals (appendix to *Courage in Politics and Other Essays*, London, 1921), did not include Patmore's *Household Words* story.
10. Diary entry, 25 August 1850. *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, ed. Edith J. Morley (London, 1938), II, 703.

pounds and spent an evening writing what he thought suited to Dickens' magazine, while he would have preferred to be writing for *The Germ*. The editors of the Pre-Raphaelite paper, he informed Allingham, "will be very grateful . . . for anything you may send up, but they won't pay you anything for it."<sup>11</sup>

Patmore's two other contributions to *Household Words* were poems, the first contributed in 1850, the second in 1855. For the productions of Patmore's "domestic muse," dedicated to the portrayal of chaste love, a periodical with so domestic a title as *Household Words* would seem to have been the obvious place of publication. But this was not so. *Household Words* printed few love poems and none that dealt with love as a deep experience. Dickens' curious reason for rejecting a poem by George Hodder has perhaps some relevancy in this connection: Hodder's lines on the death of his wife were unsuited to the periodical, explained Dickens to Hodder, because they expressed "a private sorrow" and thus lacked "that public scope of address which is necessary to the purposes of 'Household Words.'"<sup>12</sup>

The matter, however, does not come into consideration here, since Patmore's *Household Words* poems hinted no approach to the central theme of *The Angel in the House*. In their content and form, they might have been the writing of any of the *Household Words* poets who dwelt on recollected childhood, nature, and noble ideals and made use of the octosyllabic line. As poetry, they were superior to much of the *Household Words* verse—a superiority, to be sure, not difficult of attainment. They deserve mention because Patmore thought well enough of them to salvage parts for later use in the complete edition of the *Angel*, a work that he subjected to so many years of revision—addition, deletion, and rearrangement—that the task of compiling a variorum edition, as Edmund Gosse has said, would defy the courage of the "boldest bibliographer."<sup>13</sup>

In his biography of Patmore, Basil Champneys mentioned Patmore's inclusion in *Tamerton Church Tower* (1853) of poems previously published in periodicals and, also, his reuse in *The Angel in the House* of selections from *Tamerton Church Tower*. Champneys did not, however, mention the two poems published in *Household Words* and Patmore's later use of them.

The first of these was "The Golden Age" (2 November 1850),<sup>14</sup> a poem of fifty-six lines, in which a father, as he

watches his child running through a field of clover, reflects with "rapture, grief, and awe" on the golden age of his own youth. His recollections include the sights of a country day:

The heavy-loaded harvest wain,  
Hanging tokens of its pride  
In the trees on either side;  
.....

The three black windmills on the hill,  
Whose magic arms fling wildly by,  
With magic shadows on the rye.  
In the leafy coppice, lo,  
More wealth than miser's dreams can show,  
The blackbird's warm and woolly brood,  
With golden beaks agape for food!  
.....

Winter, with its frosts and thaws,  
And opulence of hips and haws;  
The mighty marvel of the snow;  
The happy, happy ships that go,  
Sailing up and sailing down,  
Through the fields and by the town;—  
All the thousand dear events  
That fell when days were incidents.

Thereafter, his thoughts turn to tearful remembrance of his mother:

And, then, his meek and loving mother—  
Oh, what speechless feelings smother  
In his heart at thought of her!  
.....

He hears the songs she used to sing;  
His tears in scalding torrents spring;  
Oh, might he hope that 'twould be given,  
Either in this world, or in heaven,  
To hear such songs as those again!

The poem had some of the characteristic virtues and failings of Patmore's writing: the virtue—its vignette of vivid description; the failing—its sentimentality and its over-easy phraseology.

Approximately half the lines of "The Golden Age" Patmore later incorporated into his *Faithful for Ever* (1860), where the episode forms the subject of a letter written by Frederick Graham to his mother.<sup>15</sup> Five of the lines appear

11. 8 February 1850. Champneys, II, 171.

12. George Hodder, *Memories of My Time* (London, 1870), p. 10.

13. "The History of a Poem," *North American Review*, CLXIV (March, 1897), 286.

14. *Household Words*, II, 132-33. The "Office Book" indicates no editorial revision either of this poem or of the second poem contributed by Patmore. Payment for the first poem, one column in length, is recorded as £1.1s.0d; for the second, half a column

in length, as £1.11s.6d. *Household Words* payments for verse varied widely.

15. In the first edition of *Faithful for Ever* (London, 1860) the letter is number vii of Book III. In later editions, in which *Faithful for Ever* became Book I of *The Victories of Love* (which, in turn, became the second section of *The Angel in the House*), the letter appears as number xviii, as it does in the Oxford edition (1949) of Patmore's poems.

intact; others appear with but minor changes in capitalization, punctuation, or wording (as in the change from third to first person); others are more drastically changed. Certain changes are in the interest of more specific reference, as in the substitution of "elms" for the original "trees," and "five golden beaks" for "with golden beaks." The change, however, of the "mighty marvel of the snow" to the "lovely marvel of the snow" weakens the line—perhaps an intentional weakening to make the words in character with the soft, sentimental Frederick who writes them. The pleasant phrase "when days were incidents" Patmore found no place for in *Faithful for Ever*. He did, happily, omit the flow of tears, limiting Frederick's thoughts of his mother to the wish that, returned to childhood but still possessed of his manhood experiences, he might again hear her songs. That is, Patmore salvaged most of the good lines from "The Golden Age" and discarded the remainder.<sup>16</sup>

Better than "The Golden Age" was Patmore's second *Household Words* poem (31 March 1855),<sup>17</sup> thirty-two lines in length, entitled "Honour." The poem is a Christian gentleman's definition of the title word, dwelling particularly on the aloofness of the man of honor from mean suspicion. The poem begins with a definition of honor as an abstraction:

Honour is tender human love,  
Late seen and touched by each of us,  
Again descended from above,  
And changed to be ubiquitous.

Thereafter it awkwardly shifts, without signal, to the depiction of the man of honor, who

... nobly, when he cannot know  
Whether a 'scutcheon's dubious field  
Carries a falcon, or a crow,  
Blazons a falcon on the shield:  
Yet careful ever not to hurt  
God's honour who creates success,  
His praise of even the best desert  
Is but to have presumed no less;  
And, should his own deed plaudits bring,  
He's simply vex'd at heart that such  
An easy, yea, delightful thing  
Should move the minds of men so much.  
His home is home; his chosen lot

A private place and private name;  
But, if the world's want calls, he'll not  
Refuse the indignities of fame.

Again, Patmore made later use of the poem, twelve lines of which appear in the Oxford edition of his *Poems* as part of *The Betrothal*, dated 1854. The lines did not, however, as the date would imply, appear in book form before their publication in *Household Words*. They are part of an added Prelude which appeared first in the 1858 edition of *The Angel in the House*,<sup>18</sup> of which *The Betrothal* was then designated as Book I.

Woven into "The Joyful Wisdom" (Prelude 1 of Canto X of *The Betrothal*), the lines from "Honour" (the first twelve of those cited immediately above) appear with but minor revision in phraseology in answer to the poet's question

What's that which Heav'n to man endears,  
And that which eyes no sooner see  
Than the heart says, with floods of tears,  
"Ah, that's the thing which I would be!"

The "thing which I would be" is the man of honor, of high principle, as defined in the lines from the *Household Words* poem.

But for the omission of the fine aristocratic phrase "the indignities of fame," Patmore here again made use of the best lines of his *Household Words* poem. He obviously thought well of the lines and of the Prelude in which he had embedded them, for in a letter suggesting to his little daughter Emily a selection that she might like to commit to memory, he added: "You might also learn a piece from the 'Angel,' called 'The Joyful Wisdom.'" <sup>19</sup>

On the basis of one story and two poems, Patmore was, to be sure, a *Household Words* contributor. He did not labor to make the fact known. At least, his friend and biographer Champneys seems to have been unaware of Patmore's connection with Dickens' journal. Patmore's reuse of lines from his *Household Words* poems shows that he regarded the poems as of some consequence (not as "trash," as he termed certain of his earlier verses<sup>20</sup>), even though it may well have been for the sake of payment that he sent them—as well as his story—to a periodical with which he can hardly have been much in sympathy.

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16. At the time the poem was published in *Household Words*, *Harper's Monthly Magazine* selected it for reprinting (December, 1850). Later, in her selection from Patmore's poems (*The Poetry of Pathos & Delight, from the Works of Coventry Patmore*, London, 1896) intended to illustrate the poet's handling of "delight and sorrow," Alice Meynell included the passage of which the *Household Words* poem forms a part, giving it the title "In the

Woods."

17. *Household Words*, XI, 204.  
18. *The Angel in the House*, Book I: "The Betrothal," Book II: "The Espousals" (2d ed.; London, 1858). There are some textual variations between the 1858 version and that in the Oxford edition.  
19. 18 January 1864. Champneys, II, 123.  
20. Champneys, I, 57.

# The American in England: An Examination of a Hitherto Neglected Satire by Douglas Jerrold

Richard Kelly

THE MOST TALKED-ABOUT AMERICAN in London in the year 1844 was a dwarf named Charles Stratton, better known as General Tom Thumb. When his manager, the notorious P. T. Barnum, arrived in Liverpool, he had premonitions of failure in this commercial adventure across the ocean. He determined that the only way to establish Tom Thumb financially was to make him the darling of fashion, trusting the common people to follow in the tracks of their betters; consequently, he directed all his efforts toward seeking the approval of Queen Victoria. Barnum's cunning led to Thumb's appearance at Buckingham Palace, where he so charmed the Royal Family that they received him three times. Victoria presented Thumb with several expensive souvenirs, among which was a gold pencil case with the initials "T. T." and his coat of arms engraved on it. His subsequent appearances at the Egyptian Hall brought thousands of people to watch the little man strut about in his famous imitation of Napoleon and to see his representation of Grecian statues. Even the Duke of Wellington frequently called at the Hall and was particularly amused by Thumb's Napoleonic pose. Sir Robert and Lady Peel, the Dukes and Duchesses of Buckingham, Bedford, and Devonshire, Daniel O'Connell, and Lord Chesterfield were especial friends of Thumb.

But the historian's or biographer's account of Barnum's invasion of England little resembles that of Douglas Jerrold, the outspoken political radical and satirist whose writings in *Punch* were bringing fame and financial success to that magazine. He wrote a series of satirical papers under the title "The English in Little,"<sup>1</sup> which appeared simultaneously alongside Thackeray's "The Snobs of England." It is unfortunate that Jerrold's serial has never been reprinted, because it offers an interesting example of the high quality of comic journalism in the Victorian period. Furthermore, Jerrold has the ability to make his characters come to life and to entertain us even when the events of his day, which first called them forth, have passed.

The first paper explains that because "the English have idolised a dwarf," the pigmy, "duly returning the compliment, paints 'The English in Little'" (XI, 195). Drawing upon current topics, Jerrold satirizes the societies of both

England and America. The dual satire is effectively achieved by having the papers written in dialect under the persona of Tom Thumb. Jerrold specifically pokes fun at the gullibility of the English and their preference for foreigners. Like the rash of imported French plays and foreign spectaculars, Tom Thumb overshadowed the productions of the English dramatists. As one of England's most popular playwrights, Jerrold crusaded vehemently against the pernicious effects of mere spectacle upon the legitimate stage.

By dangling Thumb like a rash puppet in the midst of Buckingham Palace and making him raise the regal roof, Jerrold mocks royalty for lavishly favoring the foreign performer over many of England's gifted writers and artists. The aristocracy, upon whom Jerrold heaped the blame for most of England's ills, are also attacked for neglecting their country's poor and applauding the American visitor. Because of his hatred for war and Toryism, Jerrold singles out the Duke of Wellington for special ridicule. The characteristic frankness of Thumb also allowed Jerrold to expose the deplorable state of the drama, the inhuman conditions found in the workhouses, and the general hypocrisy of English society.

Interwoven and contrasting with the local satire is a critical and satiric portrayal of American society—its vulgarity and egotistical patriotism, its pragmatic ethical standards, and its hypocrisy in proclaiming itself a Free Republic while practicing slavery. On the other hand, one may discern beneath the satire Jerrold's respect for the forthrightness and stamina inherent in the American's brash independence.

The first chapter by Thumb is devoted to developing the General's character as a fantastic egotist, and to his and Barnum's reaction upon not receiving an invitation to the Palace. By a process of egotistical logic, Barnum tells Thumb that the Queen has insulted *The Star-Spangled Banner* by not extending him an invitation. He reasons that Thumb is "the greatest, brightest star of that banner," and with that pun accuses the Queen of an insult (XI, 199). Barnum's six-shooter patriotism is revealed when he plans to challenge Prince Albert to a gun duel in the name of *The*

1. "The English in Little," *Punch*, XI (1846), 195, 199, 211, 219, 235, 239, 257, 264; and *Punch*, XII (1847), 1, 19, 39, 63, 95, 162. The installments appeared on a regular weekly basis from November 7, 1846, through January 9, 1847. The last four installments ap-

peared on January 3, February 13, March 6, and April 17. All future references to the serial will be indicated by volume and page number in the text.

*Star-Spangled Banner*. But English royalty is spared its blue blood when a note inviting Barnum and his protégé to Buckingham Palace arrives just in time.

The two Americans are again insulted because the note says they must come to the Palace by the backstairs. Jerrold contrives this situation in order to satirize America as a Free Republic. Thumb comments:

At Washington there is no back-stairs. When we want Mr. Polk, we don't stand knocking at the door; but just turn the handle and walk into the drawingroom; and if he's not there, into any other place in the house; and we should just like to catch him putting a bolt to any door on the premises. (XI, 211)

But they suffer the indignity and take the backstairs, where they meet a "Lord-in-waitin," and Thumb, who tells us that he is writing for Americans, defines the gentleman as "a lord waiting for whatever he can get to better himself." The satire quickly reverts upon the Americans, however, as the Queen offers Tom a cup of tea and asks if he wants brown or white sugar. This incident is clearly arranged for Jerrold's continued attack upon American slavery. Tom will take either sugar, "but if it isn't slave-grown, I'm a true republican, and won't touch a tarnation morsel" (XI, 219).

In the next chapter we learn how much at ease the General is in Victoria's presence. Jerrold caricatures him as the brash American who cannot respect royalty because he cannot understand it, and who expects the whole non-American world to attend to him because he is an American:

I'll take the best they can give me, as if I was born for it, like an American citizen. I'm determined nothin shall surprise me. If Gracious Majesty gives me the crown of England to hold my marbles in, why, I'll keep a stiff upper lip; praps I'll say 'thankee,' praps I won't. (XI, 235)

Thumb extends an invitation to the Queen to visit America, and it becomes increasingly clear that Jerrold is enjoying his confrontation. He allows Thumb to progress from the backstairs to a friendly chat with Victoria about how she must eat the real Hominy Cake at Uncle Sam's fireside. With the gusto of a Nebraska farmer, Thumb tells her that in America all her "critters won't be cramped up," but may "grow and expand like corn cobs."

The satire gradually turns away from America as Thumb is used more as a device to satirize the English. For instance, when he first meets Prince Albert he naively asks: "anything doin at the Playhouses?" At this Barnum's eyebrows rise like "the arches of Waterloo Bridge,"

and a Maid-of-Honor whispers in Thumb's ear: "Not a word about them low places." Thumb is here simply a mouthpiece for Jerrold's satire of royalty for its failure to support the English drama and its preference for respectable foreign operas and musicals. As a popular dramatist himself, Jerrold had a vested interest in the theatre and realized, as did Barnum, that royal approval often elicits popular demand. He also ridicules royalty's attitude toward the other arts by portraying a crowd of philosophers, artists, and musicians arriving at the Palace by the backstairs, thus indirectly equating them with Barnum and Thumb. One of the imagined guests is Carlyle, who is described as the man who "teaches the Prince German and English from his own books, and both together" (XI, 239).

The next chapter turns the satire back upon the Americans, as Thumb and Barnum take a catalog of presents bestowed at the Palace. In the course of their conversation Thumb uses the term "game-cock" for "rooster." Barnum grows solemn and reminds Thumb that he is pure American and must always say "rooster": "I should never forgive myself if I'd brought you from the most enlightened nation of the airth to be contaminated by the vulgarity of Europe." After their presents are cataloged and ridiculed, Barnum discloses his motives for getting Thumb into the Palace, and from this it is evident that Jerrold saw through the cunning plans devised in Liverpool: "If Gracious Majesty gives a watch, in the course the housemaid will give a thimble. It's example in high places that makes the true vally of monarchy" (XI, 257).

After an absurd comparison of the Egyptian Hall with Exeter Hall that allows Jerrold to vent some of his notorious sarcasm upon the English clergy, he has Thumb digress upon Christmas in England for the New Year's number of *Punch*. It contains a mild satire of the annual cattle fair and the workhouses that make purchases there. Thumb explains "they are called Unions out of joke, acause they break the weddin-ring in 'em, and part man and wife" (XII, 1). Here again, Thumb sounds much more like Mr. Punch or Jerrold.

The success of this installment, with its humorous and familiar references to English Christmases, dictated the following one, which took up the same device and had Thumb comment upon New Year's Day and Twelfth-Cake art. But of wider significance is Barnum's definition of modesty, which arose in response to the question, "Why does John Bull like foreigners afore his own Britishers?" Barnum's answer to this loaded question is that it all comes from the Englishman's modesty. There follows Jerrold's analysis of the essential difference in personality between the American and the Englishman, an innate commercial vulgarity separating the two. Barnum declares:

... there is nothing—no moral pinte on the airth that money will not illustrate, if only you know how to set about it. Well, modesty is just as stupid a thing as this; it is for all the world as if a full weight goolden sov'reign was to insist upon going for only nineteen shillins, and not a farden more. That is modesty; by which you will understand that modesty is always a thing that a man loses by. . . . Why it's as if a whole hog should beelete himself down to a suckin pig.

(XII, 19)

Here is a savage caricature of the vulgar American who glibly uses money even to illustrate moral problems. And when one applies this pragmatic philosophy to Thumb, the implication is that he is "a full weight goolden sov'reign" who is simply receiving his just evaluation from the English. This naturally makes the philosophy that much more pernicious. Jerrold makes it clear how he feels about Barnum not only by what he says but by his style of phrasing delicate moral points: "Why it's as if a whole hog should beelete himself down to a suckin pig."

Having ridiculed Barnum's commercial mentality, Jerrold continues the theme in the next paper, which is devoted to illustrating Thumb's vulgarity. The General says that when the Mayor and Alderman come to dine with him "jist to ryle 'em a bit, and to show 'em the glory, and wealth, and independence of the freest nation of all creation—let them cook my chop in a twenty-pound Bank o' England note." As Barnum saw modesty in terms of money, Thumb sees glory and independence in terms of a twenty-pound note. But this is more than simply a caricature of a vulgar American, because as the essay goes on, it is made plain that Thumb is very well aware of what he is doing. All the time he is eating, he is relishing the fascinated stares of the Mayor and Alderman: "Well, I ses nothin; but with the end of my knife, I takes the bank note off the chop, and throws it into the silver dish" (XII, 39). Thumb is portrayed as a commercial success and a money-seeking American whose self-awareness enables him to exploit his immodesty for financial gain. In short, Jerrold gives Barnum and Thumb credit for being the great showmen they are and pictures them as one up on the wide-eyed English.

In the next paper we are treated to Thumb's report of the great public manifestation that greeted him as he departed for his performance at the Egyptian Hall. By presenting this picture of the hullabaloo through the eyes of the feature attraction, Jerrold's satiric account "scooped" the ablest newsmen:

Well, the door was opened, and the Mayor and the Aldermen got into their carriages and

wheeled off, and the men in armour began to trot, and the brass band to play "See, the Conquerin Hero comes!"—it's always played to me and Wellington—and the people hoored as if they'd tear a hole in the sky above 'em. Then they began to screech for Tom Thumb. "Where's the Gen'ral?" they cried, "The Gen'ral—the Gen'ral!" for they never seed me get in the chariot. "The Gen'ral!" cried the men—and the women, the dear critters, I could hear their voices like the ringin of so many dollars, crying out, "Where's the Darlin?" "the Duck?" "the Cherub?" "the Angel?" "the airthly Bird of Paradise?" and I don't know what beside. For this is clear, I'd turned all the critters' heads afore they'd seen me; and after they'd seen me agin and agin, and kissed and kissed me, till my cheeks was wastin away like a cake of Windsor soap, their heads had another twist, and are goin on turmin and turmin at this present moment. How Barnum did larf!—I felt the critter grinnin in his very pockets as he heard the mob—and didn't I punch him with both my fists, and larf too! (XII, 63)

This extremely vivid scene derives much of its effectiveness from the satiric contrast between the wild jubilation and excitement of the mob and the mercenary interpretation, equally jubilant, placed upon that excitement by Thumb: "I could hear their voices like the ringin of so many dollars. . . ." And his empathy with Barnum is almost sinister: "I felt the critter grinnin in his very pockets as he heard the mob. . . ." But of course all the crowd sees is his punching Barnum with both fists, an innocent act of joyous affection. In one clamorous scene Jerrold has satirized the gullibility of the English people, the peculiar taste of its women, the heroic stature of the Duke of Wellington, and the greed of Barnum and Thumb. Yet the scene is not farfetched. Thumb's presence in public did cause uproarious crowds, and the women did enjoy kissing the little creature whenever they could get close enough.

The final installment of Thumb's account of the English simply relates how he recalled the days of Waterloo and caused him to burst into tears. Then Thumb leaves England and writes to *Punch* that his next adventure will be to run for President of the United States.

It is a curious fact that "The English in Little" was not as popular with readers of *Punch* as was "The Snobs of England." As Trollope has pointed out, Thackeray's serial was entirely too long, although this fault probably was not as apparent when the portraits came out at weekly intervals, and Thackeray's "zeal was at last greater than his

discrimination."<sup>2</sup> And J. Y. T. Greig finds the "Snob Papers" "too full of repetitions," its humor "often forced, and its wit flat."<sup>3</sup> One might add that Thackeray failed to unify the portraits. "The English in Little," on the other hand, progresses from Barnum's arrival in England, through his rise to popular acceptance, to his departure for America. Unity is also obtained by having the serial

told from the point of view of Tom Thumb, a device, furthermore, that creates verisimilitude. Viewed apart from the reputations of their creators, it seems that "The English in Little" has been unjustly ignored in favor of a work whose merit derives chiefly from the later fame of its author.

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## Becky Sharp and the Virtues of Sin

Leslie M. Thompson

BECKY SHARP has long been one of the most fascinating and inscrutable characters in *Vanity Fair*. Her enigmatic personality has intrigued scholars and laymen alike, but, for the most part, they have tended to overlook her virtues. This oversight arises from the popular belief that virtue and chastity are synonymous, whereas chastity constitutes only one of the many possible virtues. Chastity plays no part in the development of Becky's character, for her virtues are of a nature that transcends the mores normally acknowledged by society. Early in the novel, in fact, both Thackeray and Becky attest the fact that her character is not unimpeachable. "I'm no angel," she says, and Thackeray hastily adds: "And, to say the truth, she certainly was not."<sup>1</sup>

Thackeray fully realizes that happiness is temporal, and he describes *Vanity Fair* as a place of infinite longing and unfulfilled desires, hopes, and ambitions. In the last paragraph of the novel he queries: "Which of us is happy in this world? Which of us has his desire? or, having it, is satisfied?" (P. 668) In such a world, Becky's capacity for granting even momentary happiness has infinite merit.

A few comments from *Vanity Fair* disclose that Thackeray meticulously differentiates between "chastity" and "virtue."<sup>2</sup> He quite clearly distinguishes between chastity as meaning sexual purity and chastity as a general term for virtue, and he harshly criticizes the typical concept of chastity. In one instance he remarks that "a woman may possess the wisdom and chastity of Minerva, and we give no heed to her, if she has a plain face" (P. 372). In another more trenchant example, Thackeray satirizes the typical Victorian concept of chastity by declaring:

Lady Bareacres and the chiefs of English society, stupid and irreproachable females, writhed with

anguish at the success of the little upstart Becky, whose poisoned jokes quivered and rankled in their chaste breasts. (P. 331)

In numerous other examples, Thackeray levels his satire against the "chaste" women of society who consider themselves virtuous. Lord Steyne, while railing at his family's reticence to receive Becky as a guest, mocks: "This Temple of Virtue belongs to me" (P. 466). Lady Gaunt's preeminent social position is noted by the observation: "Severe, spotless, and beautiful, Lady Gaunt held the very highest rank in *Vanity Fair*" (P. 466). Thackeray constantly inveighs against this neutral "social" virtue. While describing some of the people whom Becky entertained, he says:

I don't mean the most virtuous, or indeed the least virtuous, or the cleverest, or the stupidest, or the richest, or the best born, but 'the best,'—in a word, people about whom there is no question. . . . (P. 482)

As used by Thackeray, virtue has several connotations. Occasionally he uses the word ironically; usually he employs it for satiric effect. Mrs. Bute Crawley in particular receives many of his satiric barbs. Mrs. Bute and her family suffered intense mortification and consternation at their rebuff in Miss Crawley's will; but they continued to put on a good front for society, for there is

no sort of lying which is more frequent in *Vanity Fair* than this; and it may be remarked how people who practise it take credit to themselves for their hypocrisy, and fancy that they are exceedingly virtuous. (P. 378)

The undaunted Mrs. Bute Crawley "put a good face against

2. Anthony Trollope, *Thackeray* (London, 1925), p. 82.

3. J. Y. T. Greig, *Thackeray, A Reconsideration* (London, 1950), p. 90.

1. W. M. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (New York, 1958), p. 8.

2. This fact is also observable in *Henry Esmond* (New York, 1962) where Lord Castlewood, in a moment of vexation, says of his wife: "I'm killed by the very virtue of that proud woman. Virtue! give me the virtue that thinks not of preserving itself, but of making other folks happy" (p. 128).

Fortune, and kept up appearances in the most virtuous manner" (P. 379).

In regard to Becky herself, Thackeray implies several meanings to "virtue," ranging from ironic to serious. It should first be noted, however, that Becky often employs the standard concepts of virtue as a facade for enhancing her position in society. Thackeray says of her that "if she did not wish to lead a virtuous life, at least she desired to enjoy a character for virtue" (P. 454). Thackeray likewise avers that "whenever Mrs. Rawdon wanted to be particularly humble and virtuous, this little shirt used to come out of her work box" (P. 422). Becky, when the situation demands, often makes herself the epitome of humble virtue.

One can note with interest the uses of virtue as they pertain to Becky and her advancing role in the social structure. Perhaps the zenith of Becky's early social success comes with her interview with the King. Shortly after this incident, Thackeray shrewdly observes that "the finest sport of all after her presentation was to hear her talk virtuously" (P. 459). He later adds that "a few days after the famous presentation, another great and exceeding honour was vouchsafed to the virtuous Becky" (P. 460). Next, Thackeray comments that "although Colonel Crawley was now five-and-forty years of age, it had not been his lot in life to meet with a half-dozen good women, besides his paragon of a wife" (P. 468). As a member of the highest echelons of society, then, Becky has to observe all the amenities. This necessity forces her to include Rawdon in her social activities:

Indeed, Becky would have left him at home, but that virtue ordained that her husband should be by her side to protect the timid and fluttering little creature on her first appearance in polite society. (Pp. 468-69)

Interestingly, Becky becomes increasingly more virtuous, and she eventually resolves that, "being secure of her own virtue," she will turn the great Peer's attachment to the advantage of herself and her family (P. 526). In his last meeting with Dobbin, Jos Sedley tries in vain to convince the Major "that Mrs. Becky was in all respects a most injured and virtuous female" (P. 635). These diverse comments point out what Thackeray and others say about Becky's virtue. Perhaps the unusual nature of her "virtue" can best be seen from Thackeray's remark that "Becky was very respectable and orderly at first, but the life of humdrum virtue grew utterly tedious to her before long" (Pp. 621-22). These excerpts, however, not only reflect Becky's abuse of virtuous qualities but likewise criticize those who profess virtues that they do not possess. In addition, they lay the groundwork for a study of Becky's specific virtuous qualities and actions.

Becky's greatest successes come about because she is "eminent and successful as a practitioner in the art of giving pleasure" (P. 652). Without doubt, she exploits this ability for her own personal gain; but her hypocrisy affords at least temporary happiness, and for these respites she can be praised regardless of her motives. Like Mrs. Briggs, who remembered Becky's "invariable good words and good-humour," one can appreciate such qualities in the tragedy filled booths of Vanity Fair or of life (P. 230).

On several occasions Becky demonstrates her capacity for making others happy. Old Pitt Crawley affords one prominent example. Becky subjects herself to long, dreary hours of study and drudgery in order to ingratiate herself with Sir Pitt, and she so completely enmeshes herself in his affairs that Sir Pitt begins to look upon her as indispensable. In fact, her stratagems culminate in a marriage proposal from him. Despite the ultimate repercussions of her actions, Becky succeeds in giving Sir Pitt momentary happiness, and after the rejection of his proposal he assures her: "Whether you marry me or not, you're a good little girl, Becky, and I'm your vriend [sic]" (P. 134).

Becky also ingratiates herself with Miss Crawley, but Becky's virtues come to the fore during the illness of the old lady. Becky maintains a constant vigil beside Miss Crawley's bed, and "during the illness she was never out of temper; always alert; she slept light, having a perfectly clear conscience . . . whenever she came out from the sick-room she was always smiling, fresh, and neat" (P. 120). Becky admittedly bestows these attentions with the hope of personal gain, but their merit as virtues can be seen by comparing Becky's "sacrifices" with those of Mrs. Bute Crawley who ministers to Miss Crawley during another illness. Thackeray points out that "undoubtedly she made Miss Crawley more ill than was necessary; and though the old invalid succumbed to her authority, it was so harassing and severe, that the victim would be inclined to escape at the very first chance which fell in her way" (P. 172). In place of Becky's kind works, "the whole of Miss Crawley's household, secretly groaned under the tyranny of the triumphant Mrs. Bute" (P. 230).

Becky also makes great sacrifices to please Pitt Crawley. She captivates Pitt by professing an interest in his dull, abstruse pamphlets and by asking his opinion on matters already known to her.

Rawdon Crawley presents a more serious study of this concept, for his case clearly manifests Thackeray's awareness of Becky's true virtues. In her attempts to scale the social ladder of Vanity Fair, Becky finds Rawdon a useful tool for her own self-aggrandizement. Despite her motives, the means by which she makes herself attractive to Rawdon would be the envy of men in any age.

[She] listened with indefatigable complacency to his stories of the stable and the mess; laughed at all his jokes; felt the greatest interest in Jack Spatterdash, whose cabhorse had come down, and Bob Martingale, who had been taken up in a gamblinghouse, and Tom Cinqbars, who was going to ride the Steeplechase. When he came home, she was alert and happy; when he went out, she pressed him to go: when he stayed home, she played and sang for him, made him good drinks, superintended his dinner, warmed his slippers, and steeped his soul in comfort. (Pp. 152-53)

After describing all of these attentions, Thackeray hastens to add that "the best of woman [sic] (I have heard my grandmother say) are hypocrits" (P. 153).

Despite the fact that her attentions toward Rawdon derive almost exclusively from self-interest, Becky manages to effect in him a radical change for the better. At the time of his marriage, Rawdon is nothing more than an idle, shiftless soldier whose greatest pleasures are gambling and drinking. Under Becky's influence, he gradually relin-

quishes his vices until he ultimately becomes a loving and devoted father and husband. Sir Pitt notes that "the marriage, ill-advised as it was, had improved Rawdon very much—that was clear from the Colonel's altered habits and demeanour" (P. 399). The fact that Becky's role in this regeneration stems almost entirely from ulterior motives does not obviate the reality of the change.

Thackeray quite consciously emphasizes Becky's "virtues," for he recognizes the many kinds of virtue, and he attempts to shatter the narrow viewpoint from which this subject is usually regarded. Vanity Fair, as Thackeray remarks, "is a very vain, wicked, foolish place, full of all sorts of humbugs and falseness and pretension" (P. 70). He employs this shallow world, however, as a point of comparison by which he satirizes the equally narrow Victorian concept of "virtue." Prudishness, insincerity, and insularity—whether in high or low places—should be struck down; and in the person of Becky Sharp, Thackeray attempts to break the smug "Victorians" from their shell of complacency and to reveal to them the "virtues of sin."

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## The "Haunting Shade" That Accompanies the Virtuous Elizabeth-Jane in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*

Raymond O'Dea

THOMAS HARDY'S heroines, especially Tess Durbeyfield and Eustacia Vye, have been the subject of many critical analyses.<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth-Jane of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* has not received the same attention, because most critics have been concerned with the fate of Henchard. But Elizabeth-Jane's role is far from minor.<sup>2</sup> In a recent edition, she appears on 161 of the 332 pages, certainly too many appearances for a minor figure. Because she plays a

major role in the moral struggle she has imposed to some extent upon others, it would not be amiss, therefore, to take a close look at Hardy's presentation of this character, especially the force for life and the force for death<sup>3</sup> that seem inherent in the "haunting shade" that accompanies her.

The presentation of Henchard's foil may be one of the reasons why she has been neglected, a neglect that is a

1. Lascelles Abercrombie, *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Study* (London, 1912), pp. 117-19, 144-54; Edmund Blunden, *Thomas Hardy* (London, 1942), pp. 42-45, 67-81, 210-12; William R. Rutland, *Thomas Hardy: A Study of His Writings and Their Background* (New York, 1962), pp. 184-86, 235-38; Carl J. Weber, *Hardy of Wessex* (New York, 1940), pp. 74-76, 115-33; Harvey Curtis Webster, *On a Darkling Plain* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 120-22, 173-80. Douglas Brown, *Thomas Hardy* (New York, 1954), dismisses Eustacia (p. 63), but Herbert B. Grimsditch, *Character and Environment in the Novels of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1925), writes that on none of his women characters "except Tess has the author spent so much energy and skill as on the portrait of Eustacia" (p. 55).
2. Brown does not even mention Elizabeth-Jane in his analysis of

the novel; Webster records that Elizabeth-Jane was "almost faultless" (P. 147); Abercrombie writes that she is on Thomasin Yeobright's side; Arthur McDowell, *Thomas Hardy: A Critical Study* (London, 1931), though aware that she is the "most thoughtful among the quieter heroines" (P. 74), does not attempt to analyze her character.

3. For a similar but shorter treatment of Sue, see Frederick P. W. McDowell, "Hardy's 'Seemings or Personal Impression': The Symbolical Use of Image and Contrast in *Jude the Obscure*," *Modern Fiction Studies* (Autumn 1960), pp. 248-49. Webster notes that "Tess is both the victim and the cause of most of the evils that result from love in the book" (p. 176); Abercrombie observes that the women "are, on the whole, disturbing and even sinister agents in the stories" (p. 31).

tribute to the achievement of Thomas Hardy: "Elizabeth-Jane's self-effacement is partly Hardy's artistic effacement of her."<sup>4</sup> In the self-effacement, Hardy has included his presentation of the dual force working in the character. Ironically Elizabeth-Jane, a force not only for life and death but also for natural and social order, is not the result of a socially or morally acceptable union. One night Henchard gazes upon her as she sleeps and is astounded to think that "out of all this tampering with social law came that flower of nature, Elizabeth" (P. 316).<sup>5</sup> Although Hardy admires Henchard's tragic struggle with fate more than he does her passive acceptance of life, the author preserves her life and allows her the kinder treatment at the hands of "Providence."

It is really only Henchard, the one who suffers most at her hands, who is aware of something unusual that has come to Casterbridge with this virtuous maiden. The references by Henchard are explicit, and he does connect his misfortunes with the appearance of the mother and the daughter: "Ever since the evening of his wife's arrival with her daughter there had been something in the air which changed his luck" (P. 133). When taking Elizabeth-Jane to Ten Hatches to look at the dummy in the pond, Henchard walked as "if some haunting shade, unseen of her, hovered round him and troubled his glance" (P. 295). It seems to me that the *of* is significant. If Hardy had written *by*, then one could assume that the "haunting shade" was detached from her, but the *of* indicates, at least to me, that it comes from her like the "something in the air which changed his luck."

This shade, seen as "dead-alive" (P. 148) by Lucetta, emanates from a daughter of nature, nursed in its bosom of darkness, "one of the 'meaner beauties of the night'" (P. 177), and clothed predominantly in black. This color is justified not only by her necessity for mourning but also by her philosophic state of mind: black is the color of wisdom. Later when she could have decked herself like the "water-flower," she refuses to because of her mouse-like fear "of the coulter of destiny" (P. 85) and her fear of tempting "Providence." The one time that she does tempt Providence convinces her that adornments can inspire only a "fleeting love" (P. 110). Donald Farfrae is far too intelligent in her view to fall for only outward adornments when he can see "how plain and homely was the informing spirit of that pretty outside" (P. 110). The irony of this knowledge becomes apparent when Donald falls in love with Lucetta.

Of her physical features, her gray, thoughtful eyes are perhaps her most arresting feature and her most important

endowment from nature. She is an observer of life. From her room she observes the street scenes below; from the crowd she observes Henchard's encounter with the royal visitor; from the man in the crowd she learns of Henchard's position and of his bankruptcy; from her window she observes the rooting of the seed that is to crack the structure of Henchard's and Donald's friendship; from the shadows she notes the struggle between Henchard and Donald for Lucetta's love.

It is through her observations that she comes to realize that Donald is her intellectual and physical mate. The fruition of this divining is to take the long route to maturation through marriage and death. Her mother's death leads her to visit the churchyard frequently, and it is here that she first meets Lucetta Le Sueur. Among the dead, Elizabeth-Jane believes she has found the "lady" who will influence her internal development so that it is proper for her position. The encounter with Lucetta eventually leads the mayor's daughter to the hidden alley behind High-Place Hill. This alley is entered from the back of the house through a door over which are the remnants of a mask with its lips and chin gone as if eaten "away by disease" (P. 139). This alley leads to the most morally corrupt places in the town: "the old play house, the old bull-stake, the old cock-pit, the pool wherein nameless infants had been used to disappear" (P. 139). The association of death, disease, and torture becomes significant in the dual nature of Elizabeth-Jane. The street or alley is innocent, but it is the entrance into scenes of violence, just as the girl's innocence is never doubted though her passage tends to leave death and misfortune behind. The associations with death and misfortune are not intended to be completely destructive, for in the nature of the girl they must be ambivalent. From the darkness, she gathers much truth in her observation of the drama of life.

Ironically, it is not her contemplative nature that brings the blight, but her ignorance. Though Susan returns to Casterbridge because of her daughter, she never enlightens her since it would be "folly to think of making Elizabeth-Jane wise" (P. 23). From this ignorance begin the events that lead to Susan's, Lucetta's, and Henchard's deaths. These deaths are obviously from many causes, and it would be wrong to lay all the blame on the ignorant maiden, but they are certainly, at least in part, caused for or by her.

Susan just fades away, feeling that she has committed a great moral wrong. Its weight is too much for her, and she dies. How she justifies passing off her daughter as Henchard's is never broached, though it derives probably

4. Weber, p. 101; McDowall writes that she is the "suppressed heroine" (P. 124).

5. Thomas Hardy, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (New York, 1962), p. 295.

from the same innocence by which she accepted the moral and social legality of her sale. To relieve the weight of this burden, she sees that her daughter is economically and socially situated before she abandons her will to live.

If the promptings to care for this maiden had not been felt so deeply by Henchard, he would probably have married Lucetta before she had met Donald. But in Henchard's desire to get rid of Elizabeth, he grants Donald permission to resume his courtship. This leads Donald to the house on the hill where he meets Lucetta, and so begins a new series of causes and effects that culminate in Lucetta's death. Elizabeth-Jane represents the moral code that Lucetta has violated. It is significant that on the night of the skimmington ride, the person who comes to defend and protect Lucetta is Elizabeth. Her very presence, probably, helps to hasten Lucetta's seizure, because Elizabeth's "craving for correctness of procedure, indeed, was almost vicious" (P. 213).

Elizabeth-Jane's effect on Henchard is more pervading and decisive. It is for her that Henchard insists on the marriage ceremony again with Susan. The daughter must not be told the truth, because "she would despise us both" (P. 72). He now becomes a partner with Susan in perpetuating the girl's ignorance of her paternity. The irony, of course, is that Susan has also kept Henchard ignorant. The situation reaches its climax when, after the death of Susan, he reveals to Elizabeth that he is her father, and then reads Susan's last request in which he learns that Newson is the true father. In the morning Elizabeth takes his arm, calls him father, but his plan has become like "dust and ashes" (P. 126).

How anyone as intelligent as Elizabeth-Jane is pictured in the novel can be so ignorant at times is difficult to accept. Hardy tries to justify her failure to see into the intrigue surrounding her by stating that she is very innocent. She does not question Henchard's courtship of Susan, although the wedding is rather hasty. She never examines very fully Henchard's violent anger toward her; her rationalization that it stems from her lack of respectability is hardly very deep or penetrating. That she does not see Henchard entering High-Place Hill by the back door certainly is not in keeping with her observant nature. Her failure to examine these most obvious clues seems inexcusable, particularly since Hardy has endowed her with almost superhuman sensibility and insight on other occasions.

Her perception of minutiae as compared with Henchard's is "as the notes of an insect that lie above the compass of

the human ear" (P. 180). So keenly perceptive, she nonetheless concludes that Susan and Henchard were once lovers who had quarreled and separated. She notes that her mother had not wanted her to change her name, but she never questions either her mother or her own intelligence for the reason of the reluctance. One might infer that she is unable to observe and conclude successfully about things immediately affecting herself. But this is not the case. She has seen her mother's death coming for some time as "the box passenger forsores the approaching jerk from some channel across the highway" (P. 114). She sees through Lucetta's story almost immediately. However, there is one thing of note in her failure to see into things: these concern her paternity.

Never suspecting that Henchard is not her real father, she continues trying to be helpful to him after his financial disaster. He holds her away until the night of Lucetta's death when Elizabeth-Jane appears "in the midst of his gloom . . . as a pinpoint of light" (P. 284). Though he now turns to her again, he again attempts to keep her ignorant since her moral condemnation and withdrawal would be more than he could stand. His dependence on her has "denaturalized" (P. 302) him. He sheds his natural domineering character for a meek and subjective one, and rather than face her when he finds that the truth is inevitable, he leaves. When he returns with his wedding present in the hope that she will forgive him, he once again through haste is precipitated into a world beyond her ken, and like the goldfinch he dies.

The malignancy that accompanies this maiden is never really understood by her, for "she lived on, a dumb, deep-feeling, great-eyed creature" (P. 131). She is never directly responsible for the misfortunes that accompany her. She is pictured as very passive, and she is. Only the stirrings of sex cause her to come forth at all. However, these stirrings lead to the other half of Elizabeth's character, the creative or life force.

The creative force is present in the book much as the presence of Elizabeth-Jane is, always in the background waiting to make its appearance. Lionel Stevenson writes that the theory of "natural selection" was generally held to be synonymous with accident and that pure chance determined who would or would not survive.<sup>6</sup> The life force assumes primarily two symbolic forms: femininity and nature.<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth-Jane, a daughter of nature, is feminine. According to Lascelles Abercrombie, to Hardy "feminine nature must be the maintenance of personal integrity (this desire typifying itself in purity, chastity, virginity)."<sup>8</sup>

6. Lionel Stevenson, *Darwin Among the Poets* (Chicago, 1932), p. 267.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 237-97.

8. Abercrombie, p. 108.

The only truly feminine nature in the novel who reflects the combining of Hardy's own views with those of Darwin is Elizabeth-Jane.

Her sexual attractiveness arrives, like her point of light, slowly until it becomes the center of Donald's universe. Nearly one third of the book is gone before there is any indication that she is attractive: "she had perhaps been too impersonally human to be distinctively feminine" (P. 94). The persistence of Elizabeth as a truly feminine woman brings her a triumphant union at last. Within a month of her marriage to Donald, her complexion has grown richer and more matronly in appearance. And so, according to Hardy, this feminine daughter of Nature is at the point to begin a new evolutionary pattern.

Whether this force for death in Hardy's morally good characters comes from his reading of Schopenhauer's philosophy will probably never be completely and satisfactorily settled. That Schopenhauer had some influence on Hardy has been clearly demonstrated; I believe that Rutland is perhaps closest in describing its nature when he maintains that since Hardy did not read German easily, the influence probably dates from 1883 (three years before the publication of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*) when the philosopher's work was translated into English.<sup>9</sup> By this time Hardy was a man of forty-three. It would seem that a man of this age would not be deeply influenced by a new philosophy. Hardy was nineteen when Darwin published *The Origin of Species*; its evolution theory would undoubtedly be a more potent force in Hardy's writing than would the death-wish theory of Schopenhauer.

One does not have to look to Schopenhauer to detect this dual nature that seems to be in conflict in man. The force for death is not necessarily an annihilating force in the

survival theory of the strong, for it is the creature who adapts and adjusts to changing situations that emerges triumphant, thereby further assuring the continuation of the species. This continuation is assured not by those who would show their strength in opposition but by those who show strength of mind in properly interpreting the force that demands submission, not defiance.<sup>10</sup> Elizabeth-Jane cooperates with nature, but Henchard and Lucetta try to fulfill personal wishes and desires. When their wishes cannot be carried out, their will to live is vitiated. Though Elizabeth-Jane becomes the symbol of the wish to live for both Susan and Henchard, the fulfillment of Susan's desire causes her death, and the failure to fulfill his desire causes Henchard's death. Elizabeth-Jane, though a force for life and death, is unaware of the gloom that emanates from her; she keeps stoically on her submissive path and lives.

Though no one has noted the significance of the role played by Elizabeth-Jane, this failure attests to Hardy's artistic handling of the subtle ambivalence of her character. The nature of her role becomes apparent only after a careful examination of her character and particularly her adherence to a philosophy that, if followed by others, would lead to a successful but rather dull sojourn through this sorry world. In the world of Hardy's fiction, personal desires and wishes destroy the individual who attempts to violate the code—whether of nature or society—that governs life. Hardy implies that he who champions the moral order of necessity destroys those who violate it. Thus Elizabeth-Jane destroys the violators, inadvertently and innocently, but guarantees the succession of her own kind and, while damning, brings life.

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9. Rutland, pp. 92-93.

10. Joseph Warren Beach, *The Technique of Thomas Hardy* (Chicago, 1922): "The order of nature is one that does not regard the wishes of men . . . what we are after and what nature is after make two distinct systems, which often enough interfere and collide to our distress and bewilderment" (p. 230); Abercrombie:

"The general, measureless process of existence . . . cares nothing, in working itself out, for the needs and desires of individual existence; the only relation between the two (but it is an utterly unavoidable relation) is that in the long run the individual must obey the general" (p. 26).

## Mill and Middlemarch: The Progress of Public Opinion

Larry M. Robbins

IN PORTRAYING the subtle power that society exercises over the individual, George Eliot in *Middlemarch* applies some of the social theories of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, transmuted into art what Mill postulates theoretically. Mill believes that public opinion is an effective instrument of judgment, sometimes succeeding in making the will of society prevail where law is not operable. "Some rules of conduct," he says, "must be imposed, by law in the first place, and by opinion on many things which are not fit subjects for the operation of the law."<sup>1</sup> Like Mill, George Eliot understands the force of public opinion in establishing rules of conduct, and in Chapter Seventy-one of *Middlemarch* she depicts a society whose "rules of conduct," although not in statute books, are responsible for the accusation, judgment, and condemnation of transgressors. Although George Eliot does not refer specifically to *On Liberty*, she worked on the *Westminster Review* which Mill had founded and was familiar with Mill's writings when she wrote *Middlemarch*.<sup>2</sup>

In *On Liberty*, Mill establishes the existence and necessity of public opinion and then examines its nature. Public opinion is partly dictated by external influences: "People are accustomed to believe, and have been encouraged in the belief by some who aspire to the character of philosophers, that their feelings, on subjects of this nature [custom], are better than reasons, and render reasons unnecessary" (P. 5). Moreover, public opinion is dictated by personal feelings:

Men's opinions, accordingly, on what is laudable or blameable, are affected by all the multifarious causes which influence their wishes in regard to the conduct of others, and which are as numerous as those which determine their wishes on any other subject. Sometimes their reason—at other times their prejudices or superstitions: often their social affections, not seldom their antisocial ones, their envy or jealousy, their arrogance or contemptuousness: but most commonly, their desires or fears for themselves—their legitimate or illegitimate self-interest. (P. 6)

The ultimate danger of public opinion is a tyranny that

is as restrictive as the tyranny of the magistrate. Mill believes that public opinion is based on self-interest, and he acknowledges that the individual is at the mercy of society, requiring protection against the destructive force of a self-righteous public.

The force of public opinion in the town of Middlemarch is as powerful, tyrannous, and selfish as Mill could have predicted for any society. The shapers of public opinion in Middlemarch represent all classes, and each opinion-maker has his own specific self-interest. The more diligent never neglect their duty to reaffirm morality, even to the point of "setting the virtuous mind to make a neighbor unhappy for her good."<sup>3</sup> The principal spokesmen for public opinion are Mrs. Cadwallader, who watches over the flock of her clergyman husband; Mr. Bulstrode, who is influential because of his money; and the various merchants of the town, including Bambridge, Hawley, and Hopkins. These characters embody the "will of the people" which, in Mill's words, "practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active part of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority" (p. 4). In *Middlemarch*, a small but vociferous group forms public opinion and transmits it to the rest of the citizenry—the men and women who frequent Dollop's and the Green Dragon, the servants, and finally the tenants and laborers who comprise the remainder of the mob.

A tally of the major issues which the citizens judge in the novel shows a negative attitude. Through its concerted voice, the public decides against Lydgate and his new ways, against Bulstrode because of his nefarious past, against Mr. Brooke because of his obvious intellectual incapacity, and against the railroad because it will disrupt the *status quo* of Middlemarch. It is against "Orlando" Ladislav, but does not damn him because he is an offspring cheated of his inheritance. It is not against Dorothea, but it is not wholeheartedly for her either because of her almost unnatural marriage to the aged Casaubon and her injudicious marriage to Ladislav. The only person generally supported by public opinion is Mrs. Bulstrode, an "injured" woman whose misfortune is an example of what might happen to any wife.

1. John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, ed. Alburey Castell (New York, 1947), p. 5.

2. "In 1865 John Stuart Mill published popular editions of his *Political Economy, Liberty, and Representative Government*. GE was reading the first 28 May-12 July 1865, and also mentions in her

Journal his 'second article on Comte, to appear in the *Westminster*,' which Herbert Spencer had lent her." *The George Eliot Letters*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (New Haven, 1954), IV, 196n.

3. George Eliot, *Middlemarch*, ed. Gordon S. Haight (Boston, 1956), p. 543.

The judgment of the public is harsh and negative, but it is by no means always wrong. Mill says:

On questions of social morality, of duty to others, the opinion of the public, that is, of an overruling majority, though often wrong, is likely to be still oftener right; because on such questions they are only required to judge of their own interests. (P. 84)

Eliot's position is similar. Although the public of Middlemarch bases its judgment on self-interest instead of fact, it chooses what would be best for it. In other words, the public operates on its own theory of utility, and utility, as Mill says, is "the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions" (P. 10). The public believes it is justified, therefore, when it excommunicates Bulstrode, for he is a hypocrite and resembles many citizens too closely for their own comfort and best interests. The public is also right in its judgment of Mr. Brooke's stupidity, although it fails to take into account his good nature, not totally wrong in its judgment of Dorothea, and instinctively right in suspecting some flaw in Lydgate's character.

George Eliot has her own opinions about the residents of Middlemarch, but she does not break into the narrative to make specific judgments. As an objective narrator of "history," she does not express her judgments as overtly as Mrs. Cadwallader or even the judicious Mr. Garth, but relies instead on the irony of being able to see, as an omniscient narrator living in the future, what the narrower scope of the Middlemarchers will not allow them to see. As creator of Middlemarch, George Eliot judges her characters by decreeing for them the fate she believes they deserve. She also determines the tools that will best implement her decrees, and one of the tools she uses most successfully is public opinion.

The most convincing and humorous examination of the force and impersonality of public opinion in *Middlemarch* is contained in Chapter Seventy-one, which might be entitled "The Progress of Public Opinion." George Eliot has already established the actual facts of Bulstrode's background, the circumstances of Raffles' death, and the nature of Lydgate's participation in Bulstrode's affairs. These facts are not generally known by the citizens of Middlemarch and must be supplied, in pieces, from various sources.

Chapter Seventy-one begins with an ironic illustration of the general nature of gossip, demonstrating that, as Mill says, "People are accustomed to believe, and have been encouraged in the belief by some who aspire to the character of philosophers, that their feelings, on subjects of this nature, are better than reasons, and render reasons unnecessary" (P. 5). The scene begins with Mr. Bambridge

standing in a doorway, feeling "as certain to attract companionship as a pigeon which has found something worth pecking at. In this case there was no material object to feed upon, but the eye of reason saw a probability of mental sustenance in the shape of gossip" (P. 524). Bambridge gathers his companions, and they resume their never ending discussion of horses. As the group is surveying all horses in sight, Mr. Bulstrode rides by and sets off a chain reaction of dialogue. "By jingo! that reminds me. . . I picked up a fine story about Bulstrode" (P. 525), Bambridge begins. After Bambridge's story, Mr. Hawley reports a conversation he had with Raffles at a horse auction. The undertaker, Mr. Hopkins, contributes the information that he buried Raffles the day before. Bambridge then adds what he has found out, which is "mainly what we know . . . with some local color and circumstance added" (P. 526). Caleb Garth is mentioned because he had recently ended his business association with Bulstrode, and the inference is drawn that Garth had learned something about Bulstrode that he judges to be wrong enough to sever their relationship. This inference is stated by Hawley, and "the statement was passed on until it had quite lost the stamp of an inference, and was taken as information coming straight from Garth, so that even a diligent historian might have concluded Caleb to be the chief publisher of Bulstrode's misdemeanours" (P. 527). Thus far in the chapter, George Eliot has shown how a few fragments of fact, more or less accurate, can turn into rumor, developing from assertion to inference to "information." As the gossip spreads, the public, like that described by Mill, becomes a social entity that "in its interferences with personal conduct . . . is seldom thinking of anything but the enormity of acting or feeling differently from itself" (P. 85).

Rumor speeds through Middlemarch, and its citizens begin the "putting of two and two together" (P. 527). Along with the rumors, old grievances are brought up: about Lydgate, for example, "who had long been sneered at as making himself subservient to the banker for the sake of working himself into predominance, and discrediting the elder members of his profession" (P. 528). The Middlemarchers' opinions are based not only on a "reasonable" evaluation of what facts they have, but also, in Mill's words, on "their prejudices or superstitions; often their social affections, not seldom their anti-social ones, their envy or jealousy, their arrogance or contemptuousness" (P. 6). The Middlemarchers were not able to substantiate their "vague conviction of indeterminable guilt" (P. 528), but they never thought it necessary to establish any absolute proof. "Conjecture soon became more confident than knowledge, and had a more liberal allowance for the incompatible" (P. 529). They believed, like Mill's philoso-

phers, "that their feelings, on subjects of this nature, are better than reasons, and render reasons unnecessary." On the basis of feeling rather than reason, then, Bulstrode and Lydgate are indicted for their transgressions of the public morality.

After the leaders of Middlemarch gather the "facts" about Bulstrode's associations, the whole issue is generally disseminated, and its chief participants become "the common theme among all classes in the town" (P. 531). For a time the issue lies dormant, but the dissatisfaction of the "principal townsmen" grows into a "strong determination" against Bulstrode. The townsmen propose a meeting on a "sanitary issue" as a pretext for publicly submitting Bulstrode to the cleansing action of their judgment. Bulstrode is accused, makes a feeble attempt to defend himself by accusing his own Christian colleagues of similar misdemeanors, but is defeated by the righteous indignation of the assembly. He finally leaves the society he sinned against, supported by the "compassionate" Lydgate. The assembly then makes more inferences about the relationship of Bulstrode and Lydgate and adds to the list of sins that must not be tolerated.

By allowing their intolerance to control them, the Middlemarchers become guilty of the cardinal sin of both Mill's and George Eliot's systems, the belief in infallibility. Even though public opinion must impose rules of conduct "on many things which are not fit subjects for the operation of law," Mill and George Eliot are aware that infallibility can lead to tyranny. In Mill's words:

Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough: there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the

development, and, if possible, prevent the formation, of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compel all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. (P. 4)

George Eliot uses the full force of her satire to describe the pompous infallibility of the townsmen who have damned a man on something beyond factual evidence. When Mr. Hawley rises, he suddenly becomes the spokesman for the whole society, changing quickly from singular to plural: "I say, sir, we decline to co-operate with a man whose character is not cleared from infamous lights cast upon it, not only by reports but by recent actions" (P. 535). No one disagrees with Hawley, and the silence becomes the sentencing of Bulstrode. With solemn agreement the public has unified its opinion into a single voice and ejected one of its kind from society.

The public has discovered the fallibility of Bulstrode and Lydgate, but it has failed to recognize its own narrowness. In its opinions and judgments, rumor-led Middlemarch has become ironically guilty of the same sin of infallibility it uncovered in Bulstrode and Lydgate. When it forms opinions and makes judgments, the public operates not by steady rationality but by what Mill calls "legitimate or illegitimate self-interest."

According to Mill and George Eliot, public opinion based on self-interest is not necessarily good or evil. Mill says that it can be both, and George Eliot demonstrates that public opinion is a powerful but neutral force, capable of being tyrannical as well as beneficial. While neither writer judges the justice of public opinion itself, each recognizes its devastating force. Both examine the important social phenomenon of public opinion objectively, but the theory that Mill postulates abstractly George Eliot animates.

University of California, Berkeley

## Tennyson and Hegel on War

Richard W. Noland

IT IS GENERALLY WELL KNOWN that Tennyson studied the works of the important German idealist philosophers of whom Hegel was one.<sup>1</sup> In view of this familiarity with Hegel, an interesting parallel emerges between Tennyson's

views on war in *Maud* (1855) and Hegel's views on the same subject in his *Philosophy of Right and Law* (1820).

Hegel presents his concept of war as a part of his discussion of the state in general. War, he thinks, is one of the

1. Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (New York, 1949), p. 279; Jerome Hamilton Buckley, *Tennyson: The Growth of a Poet* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 132, 165-69. Both writers agree that it was at Jowett's recommendation that Tennyson first looked into Hegel. Jowett evidently thought that Tennyson already had an

affinity for Hegel's way of thinking. See Buckley: "Benjamin Jowett recommended that he look at Hegel's categorical exposition of a theory of history similar to that shadowed forth in *In Memoriam*" (p. 132).

ways in which a state may maintain its ethical health:

War is not to be looked upon as an absolute evil and a purely external accident which has its accidental cause in whatever it may be. . . . War has the higher meaning that through it, as I have said elsewhere, "the ethical health of nations is maintained, since such health does not require the stabilizing of finite arrangements; just as the motion of the winds keeps the sea from the foulness which a constant calm would produce—so war prevents a corruption of nations which a perpetual, let alone an eternal peace would produce."<sup>2</sup>

Tennyson, of course, presents several perspectives on war in *Maud*. And in the concluding stanzas of the poem, he sees war precisely as Hegel does—that is, as a type of ethical therapy. Tennyson's unnamed narrator, attempting to recover from his frustrated love affair and his episode of psychosis, turns to the recently begun Crimean War as an outlet for his thwarted energies. The war, he thinks, will not only cure him of his private sickness, but it will also cure the entire nation of its economic and moral ills.

Hegel and Tennyson agree, then, that war may on occasion be the instrument of moral improvement, and they convey this agreement in terms of the same image—the relative health or illness of the nation. And there are other similarities in imagery. Hegel's wind that "keeps the sea from the foulness which a constant calm would produce" corresponds to Tennyson's war that rolls "down like a wind. . . ." And Hegel's sea that is saved from foulness

by this wind corresponds to Tennyson's sea that is stirred by the passage of ships carrying troops to the war. Most important, however, is the sense conveyed in both passages that the stirring of the waters by wind or ship represents a necessary awakening from a peace that has become foul, from a peace that is "no peace" because it reflects a social and moral stasis. Hence Hegel's assertion that "war prevents a corruption of nations which a perpetual, let alone an eternal peace would produce." And hence the narrator's relief in *Maud* when he says

. . . so I wake to the higher aims  
Of a land that has lost for a little her lust  
of gold,  
And love of a peace that was full of wrongs  
and shames,  
Horrible, hateful, monstrous, not to be told;  
And hail once more to the banner of battle  
unroll'd!

The correspondence of imagery is not exact, but it is similar enough to suggest that Tennyson may at some time have read the passage, the images of which he later echoed in the closing stanzas of *Maud*. And in any case, it would seem very likely that one of the strands that makes up the ambiguous view of war in *Maud* may have come from Tennyson's reading of Hegel in the years prior to 1853, and that this view is, therefore, an instance of the deliberate borrowing of a philosophical idea.

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## Matthew Arnold's Letters to George Stacey Gibson

Eugene Williamson

Writing to his mother, May 1869, Matthew Arnold comments on his busy social schedule and on the number of wealthy friends whose homes he had recently visited. Among others he mentions "the Gibsons at Saffron Walden, the quietest of rich Quakers. . . ."<sup>1</sup> Despite this and other references to Saffron Walden and to the Gibsons in

Arnold's published correspondence and in his notebooks, however,<sup>2</sup> no letters to the Gibsons have hitherto been brought to light. It is the purpose of this note to point out a small collection of letters in the Saffron Walden Museum from Arnold to George Stacey Gibson (1818-1883), the British botanist and philanthropist.<sup>3</sup> They are published

1. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of Hegel*, ed. Carl J. Friedrich (New York, 1954), pp. 321-22.
2. *Works of Matthew Arnold* (London, 1903-1904), XIV, 193. The letter is dated May 12, 1869, from Knebworth, the home of Lord Lytton.
3. *Works*, XIV, 132, 227, 259; William Bell Guthrie, "Matthew Arnold's Diaries; the Unpublished Items: A Transcription and

- Commentary," microfilmed dissertation (University of Virginia, 1959), I, 19, 232, 258; II, 63, 74, 105, 143, 182-83, 209, 298, 343, 391, 440, 571, 603, 622, 671, 724.
3. Gibson, nephew of one of the founders of the Saffron Walden Museum, left the letters, along with a herbarium and other collections, to the Museum. He was Fellow of the Linnean Society, 1847, author of *The Flora of Essex*, 1862. Other biographical details are given in G. S. Boulger, *Journal of Botany*, XXI (June

here by the kind permission of the Museum authorities and of Mr. Arnold Whitridge.<sup>4</sup>

During most of the period of the correspondence, Arnold's school inspections brought him to Saffron Walden, usually in the spring of the year. Evidence from the notebooks, from his published letters, and from these letters indicates that several times he visited the Gibsons while he was inspecting in the immediate area. From the substance of the letters, it is clear that it was Arnold's strong interest in botany that gave him something in common with Gibson, whose opinion Arnold evidently respected. If Gibson was, as a contemporary said, an "unusually 'well-read' man of wide culture and of sound judgment,"<sup>5</sup> it is possible that there were other bases for the friendship, too. Of these, however, we have only the extremely slight evidence that the two men exchanged publications, Arnold receiving *The Flora of Essex* and Gibson probably *Schools and Universities on the Continent* and *A Bible Reading for Schools*.<sup>6</sup>

With one exception, the letters require no annotation and may now be given in full.<sup>7</sup>

Education Department,  
Council Office, Downing Street, London:  
July 15th 1866

My dear Mr. Gibson

Will you kindly tell me what the enclosed is; it grows very abundantly on the banks in Norbury Park, near Dorking, where we have been passing the last month or two. I had a notion it was either henbane or herb Paris—but I find after looking at a botany book it is neither.

We have been in a country extremely rich in wild flowers: the bee-orchis, for instance, grows as the common orchis grows in other parts of the country; I have often thought of you and wished I had you at hand to ask you a question.

Next year, if all goes well, I fully hope to see you again; this year my foreign Report hangs like a mill-stone round my neck, and prevents my doing anything else, though I cannot get done with the Report itself, either.

My very kind remembrances, in which my wife joins, to Mrs. Gibson. I hope she and you

and your little girl have been well since I last saw you.

Ever very truly yours,  
Matthew Arnold

Chester Square  
London

Byron House  
Harrow

[This pencilled in]

May 1st 1868

My dear Mr. Gibson

I was sorry to hear you had been unwell, and I do hope you are not returning a minute earlier from the seaside on my account. I would sooner put off my visit than that you should do this. If you were really going to return on Monday, I will come on Tuesday by the train reaching Walden at a ¼ to 1. My assistant, Mr. Healing, will be examining the girls in the morning, before I come; but those in the three higher standards had better be kept to send to me. In the afternoon I will take the boys. On Wednesday I go to Bardfield, returning to London in the evening, as before. It will be a great pleasure to me to see you and your wife again, and if you are strong enough, and the pupil teachers allow of it, we will take a stroll in the evening through the woods we went to last year. What a delicious opening of this delicious month! With our united regards to you both.

Sincerely yours  
Matthew Arnold

Harrow  
May 5th 1870

My dear Mr. Gibson

On the 9th I inspect at Hatfield Heath in the morning and at Stanstead in the afternoon; my time will be so taken up that I have no chance of dining, so I hope you will give me some dinner when I reach Walden about 6. I had better take the pupil teachers afterwards as usual. On Tuesday morning I will take the girls' school, and then go to Bardfield—where you kindly offer to send me as before; on Wednesday morning I will take your boys' school at Walden. On the

1883), 161-65 and in Boulger, *Transactions of the Essex Field Club*, IV (January 1884), 1-8.

4. Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Saffron Walden Museum Society, Mr. G. Hunter, Curator and Secretary. Also to be thanked for assistance and information are Miss Susan Nicholson of the Museum, Mr. Jerry Boone, and Professor Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr. I have also been assisted by a grant from the Research Committee of the University of Alabama.

5. *Transactions of the Essex Field Club*, IV, 7.

6. *Works*, XIV, 227; Guthrie, II, 603. For the "little book" mentioned

in the letter of 5 June, compare the phrasing of letters dated 30 May and June 10, 1872 (*Works*, XIV, 294-95).

7. In dating one letter Arnold failed to supply a year. On the basis of changes in Arnold's inspectorial responsibilities, however, a date of 1872 is suggested (see W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* [London, 1950], p. 229). The date is supported by the implied reference to residence at Harrow ("we have," etc.) and by the mention of the "little book" (see note 6). Also some negative evidence for 1871 and other years may be found (see, e.g., *Works*, XIV, 259).

afternoon of that day I must return to London. It will be a great disappointment missing Mrs. Gibson, for I really am not likely to take [Essex(?)] another year; however, it would have been worse still if you had been absent too. What vile harsh weather! I have found a field here full of the ophioglossum, and that made me think of you who first showed it me.

Ever most truly yours  
Mathew Arnold

Harrow

Sunday, June 12th 1870

My dear Mr. Gibson

I have been away for a few days and on my return I find your book for which I so coolly asked. I am very glad to possess it again, and thank you for it most cordially. Macmillan has just sent me Dr. Hooker's new book, so I am acquiring quite a botanical library. It had crossed my mind to [purpose(?)] coming to you the day I inspect Dunmow, but I am pressed for time and must return to London that same night. My very kind regards to Mrs. Gibson and tell her how sorry I am to miss seeing her this year. Believe me, with renewed thanks,

sincerely yours,  
Mathew Arnold

The drought is absolutely infuriating.

Fox How,  
Ambleside                      Sept<sup>r</sup> 1/70

My dear Mr. Gibson

Will you tell me whether the enclosed is *Salix herbacea*? I found it on the very top of Skid-

daw the other day. My kindest regards to Mrs. Gibson, and believe me,

yours ever sincerely  
Mathew Arnold

I put in another thing with a look of *ling*, which I should like also to know about.

ATHENAEUM CLUB  
Pall Mall  
[embossed seal]

June 5th

My dear Mr. Gibson

I sent you my little book because I did not want to pass away out of your recollection and Mrs. Gibson's. In the summer holidays we shall probably go abroad first, and then to [Fox How(?)] for all the time we have left; but some day or other, perhaps next spring if all goes well, I should very much like to come down to you for a long day—arriving at night, staying one whole day, and going away the next morning. We would drive out to some woods and you should continue my botanical education. We have a good botanist at Pinner near Harrow, a Dr. Hind. I was talking to him about you the other day and I think he said he knew you—at any rate he knew your Flora of Essex.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Gibson—I hope the schools prosper; I assure you I miss the many friends with whom my annual rounds used to bring me in contact, and none more than my friends at Saffron Walden.

Ever sincerely yours  
Mathew Arnold

University of Alabama

## Benjamin Disraeli and R. Shelton Mackenzie: Unpublished Letters

David W. Tutein

Benjamin Disraeli's letters to R. Shelton Mackenzie,<sup>1</sup> the biographer and reporter with whom he shared an enthusiasm for politics, literature, and journalism and a reverence for Isaac D'Israeli,<sup>2</sup> are of interest because of the light they

shed on several aspects of his life during the 1840's. During this period Disraeli was establishing himself as a statesman, despite the slander that Daniel O'Connell and others were casting on him because of his Jewish ancestry

1. See Albert C. Baugh's description of Mackenzie (1809-1880) in the *DAB*; see also *DNB*. Mackenzie's relationship with Disraeli seems to have been neither eventful nor lasting, for Disraeli's biographers do not mention him, and these letters of the 1840's do not suggest that the two men had known each other for a long while, were on intimate terms, or even wished to continue

their relationship after Disraeli had informed Mackenzie about Isaac D'Israeli.

2. For a consideration of the reputation of Disraeli's father (1766-1848), see *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, III (New York, 1941), 574.

and eccentric attire, and, on July 29, 1841, he revealed to Mackenzie his philosophical disdain for the slanderers:<sup>3</sup>

Dear Sir,

Life is too short to notice such idiotic slander. I have not been at Paris for these two years; I have about as much chance of being arrested there, as at Shrewsbury.

Very truly  
Your faithfulest  
B. Disraeli

Grosvenor Gate  
Park Lane  
July 29/41

To Dr. McKenzie  
Shrewsbury

From early May to mid-July Disraeli had been active in Shrewsbury, waging his campaign for a seat in Parliament and, undoubtedly, enjoying the companionship of Mackenzie who was living in Shrewsbury and probably was reporting on the campaign for a journal.<sup>4</sup> After he had triumphed at Shrewsbury, he devoted himself to fulfilling the responsibilities that his triumph entailed and did not visit Paris until the winter of 1842-1843.

In 1844, when he was apprehensive about the success of his latest novel, *Coningsby*, and about his father's health, he graciously replied to Mackenzie's request for a letter written by his father:

Dear Sir,

I am honored & gratified by your letter, & your opinion of "Coningsby."

There [is] no letter of my father wh: I can part with; my correspondence with him having been very rare; & now stricken with the greatest calamity wh: an author can endure, he no longer touches the pen wh: he can no longer see. It is not therefore in my power to comply with the wishes of your American friend, wh: I much regret, as I have received from his countrymen great literary sympathy.<sup>5</sup>

I congratulate you on your present residence. It must have been a delightful change from the

pettiness of a country town. I shall read with interest your notice of "Coningsby."

I have the honor to be,  
dear Sir  
Your very faithfulest,  
B. Disraeli

Grosvenor Gate  
May 25 1844  
Dr. Mackenzie

By 1844 Disraeli and his sister Sarah had become aware of the gravity and permanence of their father's eye disorder,<sup>6</sup> which Disraeli explains in his introduction to *Curiosities of Literature*: "Towards the end of the year 1839, still in the full vigour of his health and intellect, he suffered a paralysis of the optic nerve; and that eye, which for so long a term had kindled with critical interest over the volumes of so many literatures and so many languages, was doomed to pursue its animated course no more."<sup>7</sup> It is unfortunate that the paralysis came in 1839, when Disraeli's father was set to embark on writing a history of English literature.<sup>8</sup>

In 1845, when Mackenzie was in the midst of compiling a biographical dictionary<sup>9</sup> and relied upon Disraeli to provide him with information about his father and his other ancestors, Disraeli wrote to Mackenzie a letter that elucidates the pride he took in his conception of his genealogy:

Dear Sir,

The signature to the document of the Lara Receipt of 1780 is that of my grandfather, who came over to England, I think in 1745. He laid out a good deal of money in Government annuities, Tontines &c. & the Rachel Lara in question was his father's sister. My grandfather's father was a Lara; the descendant of one who emigrated from Spain to Italy at a remote period. He (as well as his son) vacillated for a length of time between Judaism and Catholicism; but late in life he was touched with remorse, & invented & assumed the name of D'Israeli, wh: no other family of the Hebrew race have ever born, & wh: he believed would serve as the indelible evidence of their origin.

3. These letters are reproduced by the kind permission of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty, 42, Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W. 1, the owners of the copyright. The letters are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and I am grateful to the Society for allowing publication.

4. Disraeli may not have been acquainted with Mackenzie before the campaign; see the description of Mackenzie in the DAB.

5. Americans bought approximately fifty-thousand copies of *Con-*

*ingsby* when it was first published in the United States; see Hesketh Pearson, *Dizzy—The Life and Personality of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield* (New York, 1951), p. 96.

6. *Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence With His Sister, 1830-1852*, ed. Ralph Disraeli (London, 1886), p. 144.

7. Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature* (New York, 1881), p. 42.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

9. See David Bonnell Green, "Elizabeth Barrett and R. Shelton Mackenzie," *Studies in Bibliography*, XIV (1961), 246.

My father was his only child. It wd. really gratify me, after all yr. trouble to obtain for you his autograph, but it is extremely difficult. Nothing will now induce him to touch a pen; the few letters I have ever received from him do not bear his name; & at this moment, I could not, for any consideration, put my hand on his signature. But you may rest upon it, I will bear your wish in mind.

I write in great haste, but I hope I have answered all your enquiries, & I have the honor to be,

dear Sir,  
Yours very faithfully,  
B. Disraeli

Grosvenor Gate  
Feb. 26, 1845  
Dr. Mackenzie

Sealing this letter about a subject about wh: I have not spoken to five persons in my life, but wh: yr. researches have so curiously revived, I remember my arms being noticed when I travelled as a youth in Spain. I was not then aware that I bore the quarterings, as you will observe, of Castille & Leon—i.e. The shield of the House of Lara.<sup>10</sup>

In Disraeli's introduction to *Curiosities of Literature* he also contends that he is a kinsman of the Spanish Laras and that his family name is unparalleled by the name of any other family.<sup>11</sup> Lucien Wolf's investigation into the accuracy of the statements that Disraeli makes in the introduction brings him to conclude that Disraeli was not a relative of the Spanish Laras and that the source of his statements about them was an incidental remark of someone in his family.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Wolf concludes that Disraeli labored under a misconception whenever he wrote about the rarity of his family name, for "Israeli" was the

name customarily used in many nations to differentiate the Jews who were often engaged in trade and political affairs with non-Jews from the Jews who were not, and many European families possessed names very similar to "Disraeli," e.g., "Disrael." <sup>13</sup>

Disraeli had the additional misconception that his grandfather and his father had wavered between Judaism and Catholicism, but their religious background testified to their allegiance to their faith.<sup>14</sup> Although Disraeli's grandfather was not an ardent supporter of Judaism, he discharged the duties of a synagogical position, inspector of a charity school, and was not tempted to become a Catholic.

His son, however, rejected the wardenship that his synagogue assigned him, and when it decreed that he either accept the position or pay a fine, he withdrew his name from its membership list; but he always maintained a very cordial relationship with the entire Jewish community. The dilemma with which he was confronted throughout his life was not whether or not he should become a Catholic, but whether or not he should comply with all the ceremonial laws and obligations that Judaism desired to impose on its adherents. Perhaps his father's lack of ardor toward Judaism was due to a corresponding dilemma.

It is remarkable that Disraeli was so painstaking in his exploration of the causes and effects of political measures and yet so lax in his exploration of his own genealogy and the religious convictions of his grandfather and his father. However, the laxity probably resulted from Disraeli's wish to preserve a past that he had romanticized, not from his wish to attend to matters that to him were more important than his reply to Mackenzie's request for information about his family, or his introduction to *Curiosities of Literature*. Disraeli's assertions about his family were not intended to deceive Mackenzie or anyone else.

Boston, Massachusetts

10. For a description of the arms, see *Anglo-Jewish Notabilities—Their Arms and Testamentary Dispositions*, ed. the Jewish Historical Society of England (London, 1949), p. 91 and bookplates 42 and 43.

11. D'Israeli, pp. 5-6.

12. Lucien Wolf, "The Disraeli Family," *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, V (London, 1908), 202-8. Wolf

does not identify Rachel Lara, but Cecil Roth identifies her as Disraeli's grandfather's daughter and Aaron Lara's wife. See Cecil Roth, *Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield* (New York, 1952), p. 7.

13. Wolf, pp. 204-5.

14. James Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History* (London, 1875), pp. 295-99.

## Carlyle on Editing Letters

Arthur A. Adrian

THAT THE ORGANIZATION of material gave Carlyle considerable trouble is all too apparent in much of his writing. Even so carefully revised a work as *Past and Present* "suffers from a certain disjointedness," according to one critic, who complains that the plan "is not easy to discern," that the first, third, and fourth books overlap at certain points, and that the scheme is blurred with iteration.<sup>1</sup> From the scribbled comments in the margin of his manuscript, it appears that Carlyle was not unaware of his difficulties. "There is much to doctor up here!" he told himself at one point. Another time he exclaimed, "Alas, where is the beginning?"<sup>2</sup>

Yet however marred by such lapses his own prose, Carlyle did not minimize the importance of orderly arrangement. Indeed, he insisted that a book have a systematic scheme for the inclusion of explanatory matter and a useful index for ready reference. How much he had the reader in mind can be seen from the detailed and well-thought-out suggestions which he offered on one occasion to the publisher Richard Bentley. Recorded by Geraldine E. Jewsbury, his editorial advice constitutes the chief item of interest in a letter preserved among the Bentley Papers at the British Museum.<sup>3</sup>

For many years a Chelsea neighbor and close friend of the Carlyles, Miss Jewsbury was a frequent visitor in their home. This association provided ample opportunity for an exchange of ideas on writing. Herself a minor novelist, she had a profound respect for Carlyle's opinions and regarded him as a peer among authors. As a reader for Bentley, moreover, she would occasionally talk about some of his publications.

One of these, a projected edition of letters by the Hon. Emily Eden, captured Carlyle's interest. Originally addressed to a sister, the Eden correspondence details the experiences of a large party that left Government House for the upper provinces of India in 1838. The leisurely travel by steamship, the sumptuous accommodations and dinners, the colorful native customs—all are dwelt on at length in this absorbing record of a Governor General's Progress. Its value as a picture of a departed way of life was quite obvious by 1860, when Bentley first considered publication. Because of the many references to strange places and unknown persons, however, there would be much to ex-

plain and footnote. Recognizing the importance of such documentation, Carlyle asked Miss Jewsbury to relay some sound advice to the publisher. Her letter, devoted almost entirely to his detailed instructions, is dated 11 June 1860.

. . . I want to bring to yr knowledge an observation of Mr. Carlyle's as it may be of use in other works you are publishing. I told him yesterday you were publishing the *Eden-Lodge Letters*<sup>4</sup> & he bid me tell you from him that he hoped you wd take care that the *foot notes* elucidating the personages mentioned shd be gathered together at the end of the work with an index to the pages & volumes where they are to be found—for the want of such an arrangement he says most of the collection of MS Letters wh you have published and wh are highly valuable in themselves are rendered useless or all but useless as works of reference—because the information about the personages in question lies scattered throughout the volume & it is next to impossible & always very tiresome to search back for people & incidents wh have been elucidated by notes. He said that if they were either reprinted in full in small type at the end of the work with the number of the page they illustrated—or even if only the names of persons mentioned were put in alphabetical order with the pages where they were named it wd immensely add to the value of the works, and if done as the proofs went along wd not be any great trouble or additional expense—and wd take up very little room.—He said it wd be almost worth yr while to do this to the Letters & Memoirs you had already published & sell the index for a trifle so that purchasers might if they pleased bind it up with their copies.—He begs me to tell you this & entreat yr attention to it on behalf of those to whom such works are most useful as books of reference. I considered the suggestion too practically important to be delayed.—

I am dear Sir

Very truly yrs

Geraldine E. Jewsbury

1. See A. M. D. Hughes' introduction to his edition of *Past and Present* (Oxford, 1921), pp. lxix-lxx.  
2. Grace J. Calder, *The Writing of Past and Present* (New Haven, 1949), p. 34.  
3. This letter, numbered AD 46,653, is quoted by permission.

4. Miss Jewsbury's name for these letters doubtless derives from their being dated in the dedication from Eden Lodge, Kensington Gore. For this information I am indebted to Professor Royal A. Gettmann.

I think from what he said that he wd greatly prefer having the *biographical notes reprinted* bodily in alphabetical order with the page where they might be found—but if that wd take up too much room then the *names & index to the notes*.

Not until 1866 were the Eden letters finally published. Divided into twenty-seven chapters and printed in two volumes, they bear the title *Up the Country: Letters written to her Sister from the Upper Provinces of India*. To what extent had the publisher availed himself of Carlyle's editorial advice? It would appear, from an examination of the pages, that Bentley had not heeded in the slightest Miss Jewsbury's letter. No biographical information, no index, not even one footnote had he seen fit to supply. It is interesting to speculate about the reasons for this utter

disregard of Carlyle's helpful suggestions. Might the addition of notes and index have involved onerous research, especially when obscure references would be difficult to identify some twenty-odd years after the event? Or would such documentation have increased publication costs appreciably, more than Carlyle had anticipated? Or did Bentley simply dismiss as inconsequential the urgings of one whose jeremiads and dire forebodings had irritated certain readers? Whatever the reason, it is regrettable that Carlyle did not have the satisfaction of seeing his plan executed. Aware of his own shortcomings in achieving clarity, he would have been gratified by the increased usefulness of a work that had utilized his practical scheme.<sup>5</sup>

Western Reserve University

## A Note on the Fluctuation of Fortune in Trollope's *Barsetshire*

Mary D. Smith

ONE OF TROLLOPE'S many charming characteristics is the generosity with which he endows deserving heroes and heroines with vast fortunes; untold thousands a year are showered down with lavish and often absent-minded munificence. Were the thousands a year consistently untold, no accusation of forgetfulness could be leveled at the author, but unfortunately he is often, and inaccurately, specific.

No fewer than three women in *Barsetshire* are described as the richest heiresses in England—Mary Gresham, nee Thorne, heiress to the Scatcherd fortune; Miss Dunstable, later Mrs. Thorne, owner of the great Oil of Lebanon property; and Lady Glencora MacCluskie, later Lady Glencora Palliser, later Duchess of Omnium. Let us attempt to estimate the fortune of each lady.

Miss Dunstable, whose unfashionable curls are accepted because they are done up with banknotes, has a fortune the amount of which can be guessed only by implication. Frank Gresham, nerving himself to a flirtation, goes out "to do battle with two hundred thousand pounds" (*Doctor Thorne*, Chapter XVI). Miss Dunstable herself refers to her fortune, in the same novel, as "I don't know how many millions of money," but her estimate cannot be taken as serious, nor can Lily Dale's later estimate of "millions upon millions" (*The Last Chronicle of Barset*, Chapter

XLV). But Doctor Thorne, when his proposal is accepted, says that he is to marry "the richest woman in England" (*Framley Parsonage*, Chapter XXXIX) and her fortune is, at any rate, sufficiently large so that Miss Dunstable is able to pay out over a hundred thousand pounds to purchase the mortgages on Chaldicotes Chase, thus frustrating the ambitions of the Duke of Omnium.

Mary Thorne's fortune, on the other hand, can be estimated with some degree of accuracy from the details given the reader. She inherits the Scatcherd money, which Trollope says "greatly exceeded the Dunstable wealth" (*Doctor Thorne*, Chapter XLVII), thus making Miss Thorne an even richer woman in England than Miss Dunstable. However, one hundred thousand pounds of this wealth has been lent to the Greshamsbury estate, and when Mary Thorne marries Frank Gresham, she insists that all the money lent to the estate remain in the estate. The lawyers drawing up the marriage settlements object, on the grounds that the one hundred thousand pounds involved is two-thirds of the entire property. Lady Scatcherd has been left an income of two thousand pounds a year, the interest on forty thousand. The whole fortune, then, cannot have exceeded one hundred and ninety thousand pounds; the reader must remember that the lowest estimate given of the Dunstable money is two hundred thousand.

5. This note is one product of research completed with the help of grants-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies and

the American Philosophical Society.

In the Lady Glencora we have another richest woman. She is the great heiress of the day and her fortune includes most of four Scotch counties and a large property in Glasgow. Again it can be estimated only by implication; from Chapter VI of *The Prime Minister* we learn that Lady Glencora's fortune "as available for immediate purposes" had been greater than the fabulous wealth of the Duke of Omnium. Her wealth, at any rate, is large enough to provide her daughter with a portion of two hundred thousand pounds and also to endow her second son with an elder son's portion—and Lord Silverbridge, the elder son, is so rich that he can lose seventy thousand pounds in bets on a single horse race without feeling it! From all indications, then, we must award the Duchess of Omnium the honor of being the richest richest woman in England.

One other note on the fluctuations of fortune, this one not in the series of Barseshire novels, but involving a family resident in Barseshire, may be adduced to indicate

Trollope's prodigal generosity to his heroes. Of the wicked Marquis of Brotherton he says, "the wealth of the family of the Germaines was not equal to their rank . . ." and the Marquis lives in Italy rather than in England where he would have been "comparatively a poor man." (*Is He Popenjoy*, Chapter I). And yet when the bad Marquis dies, and his wealth descends to his amiable brother, Lord George Germain, the income of the entailed property amounts to forty thousand pounds a year, and the Marquis wills to that charming scapegrace Jack de Baron the unentailed portion of the estate, which, after inheritance taxes and the widow's third have been deducted, amounts to more than eight-and-twenty thousand pounds!

Trollope would have driven any Internal Revenue Bureau to drink, but what a delightful rich uncle he would have made!

Nebraska Wesleyan University

## The Three Pictures in *Jane Eyre*

Thomas Langford

ONE OF THE ENIGMAS in Charlotte Brontë's first published novel has been the description of the three pictures in Chapter Thirteen. The three are isolated from a larger number of sketches that Jane presents and are scrutinized closely by Rochester. "While he is so occupied," Jane describes the pictures for the reader. She points out that their conception surpassed their execution, that each was "but a pale portrait of the thing I had conceived." There are sufficient hints to cause the perceptive reader to believe that the pictures she attempted to produce were parts of a kind of prophetic vision. She says that she "saw them with the spiritual eye," and Rochester says, after viewing them, "you have secured the shadow of your thought; but no more." He suggests further that parts of the pictures are strange, such that she "must have seen in a dream."

With these clues, it is not illogical to assume that the pictures may represent the three major sections of Jane's life. It is generally conceded, I think, that the novel falls rather naturally into three parts—the Lowood, Thornfield, and Marsh End sections—each of which represents a major stage in the life and character development of Jane Eyre. If the three pictures are prophetic visions (and surely this is as acceptable and appropriate as the telepathic call Jane receives from Rochester toward the end of the novel), then it may be expected that they will rather effectively sym-

bolize the dominant themes of each major part of the book (and of Jane's life).

Following this thesis, we can observe that the first picture presents an accurate symbolical portrayal of Jane's childhood and adolescence. The image is one of spiritual isolation and disappointment. The "swollen sea" with its turbulent billows and "clouds low and livid" accurately characterize Jane's traumatic existence in the Reed household and most of the aspects of her Lowood life. The "one gleam of light" seems to suggest the friendship of Helen Burns, but even this light reveals also the short-lived nature of this friendship, for visible in it are the mast-perched cormorant and the submerged corpse, symbols of the forces of evil and the end of friendship at Helen's death. The bracelet, set with gems painted in tints as "brilliant" and "glittering" as "palette could yield," represents the brightness of the single happiness Jane had known in this friendship. The cormorant holds the bracelet in its beak, suggesting the evil force that consumed the life of Helen Burns.

The second picture is clearly a vision of the goddess of love and is connected in various ways with Thornfield. It is in this section of the novel that Jane feels most strongly her womanly instincts and is awakened to the exalting powers of a transcendent love. Of the three pictures, only

this one is specifically discussed by Rochester; this is the prophecy that concerns him. The visionary quality of the picture is enhanced by his recognition and identification of Latmos, a hill he is familiar with but which Jane cannot have seen except in a dream. The twilight sky, suffused moonlight, and tints "dusk and soft" increase the effective suggestiveness of this Venus vision. The eyes shining "dark and wild," the hair streaming "shadowy, like a beamless cloud torn by storm or by electric travail," all suggest the stormy nature of the Rochester relationship and the violent separation at the end of the section.

The final picture is the opposite of everything in the second. Where the other reveals the warmth and passion of love, this last is the embodiment of ascetic austerly. This picture foretells Jane's experience with the cold crusader, St. John Rivers. He is not the "iceberg," or even the "colossal head" resting on it; these things represent rather the bloodless, barren, living death of the experience he tempts Jane toward. The words of this picture's description are carefully chosen; "pinnacle," "iceberg," "polar winter sky," and "northern lights" all evoke just that degree of heightened frigid saintliness that St. John stands for in the novel. The "colossal head" is death itself. Its "sable veil," "brow quite bloodless, white as bone," and "eye hollow and fixed, blank of meaning but for the glassiness of despair," coldly and accurately portray the spiritual (if not the physical) death toward which Jane is tempted by St. John's proposal of a marriage without love and a missionary service without dedication.

If there is yet any doubt as to the meaning of this picture, it should be settled by a positive identification of the head and of the "ring of white flame" that encircles it as a double-duty halo and crown, both emblems of the saint and martyr. They are not such emblems for Jane, however; to her they spell death. The lines she quotes, "The likeness of a Kingly Crown," and "the shape which shape had none," are from Milton's description of Death in *Paradise Lost*, Book II.

This fact brings us back to an earlier figure, attention to which will allow a meaningful conclusion to this interpretation of the three pictures. It seems likely that the cormorant in the first picture was suggested by the cormorant in Book IV of *Paradise Lost*. The quotation of the two lines in the description of the last picture shows that the author was making a quite conscious association be-

tween certain images in Milton's work and her own. With this evidence of what influences were at work in the author's mind, it would seem that the cormorant perched on the mast must certainly have been suggested by Milton's description of Satan as a cormorant evilly leering from out the branches of the Tree of Life. That earlier bird looked enviously upon the happiness of Adam and Eve in paradise and plotted their downfall through temptation. *Jane Eyre's* cormorant seems equally envious of Jane's happiness, as symbolized by the bracelet he has snatched in his beak. It is likely that the function of the cormorant in this first picture is to suggest the forces that will seek the downfall of Jane through temptation. And the nature of that temptation is foreshadowed in the second and third pictures.

The second picture, as noted earlier, is the Thornfield period. The moods and figures are those of love and reflect the intense attraction between Jane and Rochester. But the temptation of this section is for Jane to accept the calling of that love against the barriers of convention that are reared at last to oppose it. She successfully withstands this temptation and leaves Thornfield to maintain her standards of right behavior.

In the last picture, there is reflected Jane's temptation to accept a relationship with St. John Rivers that would have met the test of outward convention, but would have destroyed her spirit for lack of love. The cold asceticism of St. John would have meant death for Jane, both spiritually and physically. In the Rochester episode, Jane is tempted to satisfy her love in violation of convention. In this last part she is tempted to enter into a relationship which would satisfy convention but in which there is no love. Both temptations are met and resisted, and Jane retains her integrity, if in loneliness. The last three chapters bring a hasty resolution by revealing conditions that will allow Rochester and Jane to be reunited in a morally and artistically satisfactory situation.

The pictures are prophecy, with overtones of both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. They embrace in their scope the three major sections of Jane Eyre's life and focus on the three most crucial situations of the novel. This interpretation manifests the intricate nature of the novel's unity, in contrast with the view of some that the work has a rather broken, merely episodic structure.

Texas Technological College

## Elizabeth Barrett Browning on Spiritualism:

## A New Letter

Fred C. Thomson

ON 30 AUGUST 1853, Elizabeth Barrett Browning wrote to Fanny Haworth, "I had a letter the other day from Mr. Chorley,<sup>1</sup> and he was chivalrous enough (call it real chivalry in his state of opinion) to deliver me a message from Mr. Westland Marston,<sup>2</sup> whom he met at Folkestone, and who kindly proposes to write a full account to me of his own spiritual experiences, having heard from you that they were likely to interest me; I mean that I was interested in the whole subject. Will you tell him from me that I shall be most thankful for anything he will vouchsafe to write to me, and will you give him my address? I don't know where to find him, and Mr. Chorley is on the Continent wandering. I have seen nothing for myself, but I am a believer upon testimony; and a stream of Americans running through Florence, and generally making way to us, the testimony has been various and strong."<sup>3</sup>

Over a month later, Mrs. Browning still had not received this letter from Westland Marston about his spiritualistic experiences. From Bagni di Lucca, on 7 October 1853, she wrote to her brother George Barrett: "I have not had my letter yet from Mr. Westland Marston. I do hope it's not lost on the road, for of course I attach a great deal of interest to such personal experiences as he has it in his power to give me."<sup>4</sup> Sometime between this date and 15 November, when the Brownings left Florence for Rome, Marston's letter at last arrived. Exactly what it said remains unknown, but fortunately Mrs. Browning's reply to him is available.<sup>5</sup> This letter, postmarked from Rome on what appears to be 14 December, reads as follows.<sup>6</sup>

Rome—43, Bocca di Leone

My dear Mr. Marston,

You will have thought me more unworthy of your kindness perhaps than my gratitude makes me, for I have been long in thanking you for your deeply interesting letter. At the time of its reaching me we were in a state of transition at Florence, preparing for our journey to Rome, and liable to be carried off our feet from every half hour's standing-room by floods of people and things.<sup>7</sup> So I waited to write till we should arrive in Rome, and our arrival here, after an eight days delightful journey, plunged us into such an abyss of misery . . . I mean sympathetical misery . . . the friends who welcomed us having lost a child a few hours afterwards . . . that I have scarcely recovered the use of my own hands and heart ever since.<sup>8</sup> As to Rome . . . our first day was spent at a death-bed, our first drive was to a cemetery . . . (and not to see Shelley's grave). I doubt still whether really it is Rome. The new ruins shut out the old ruins, and the Caesars come to mean nothing by the side of poor little Joe. Then our friends' remaining child, a girl, has been in danger from the same fever . . . also the children's English nurse,—and I who am not always reasonable . . . no, indeed . . . "lost my head a little" said my husband, about my own darling, even though the physicians assured me that the malady was not contagious. Now at last we begin to breathe again. After all, it must be

1. Henry Fothergill Chorley (1808-1872) was critic of music and literature for the *Athenaeum* and also one of the trustees of the Brownings' marriage settlement. He admired the poetry of Mrs. Browning, even proposing her for the laureateship in 1850; but he had scant patience with her belief in spiritualism. Of this he said, "her indulgent friendship never failed me to the last, in spite of serious differences of opinion concerning a matter which she took terribly to heart—the strange, wierd [*sic*] question of mesmerism, including *clairvoyance*. To the marvels of these two phenomena (admitting both as incomplete discoveries) she lent an ear as credulous as her trust was sincere and her heart high-minded." *Henry Fothergill Chorley: Autobiography, Memoir, and Letters*, compiled by Henry G. Hewlett (2 vols.; London, 1873), II, 34-35.

2. John Westland Marston (1819-1890), dramatist and father of Philip Bourke Marston (1850-1887), the blind poet who won the affection and praise of such men as Rossetti and Swinburne.

3. *The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, ed. Frederick G. Kenyon (2 vols.; New York, 1910), II, 137.

4. *Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett*, ed. Paul Landis (Urbana, 1958), pp. 202-3.

5. I am indebted to Professor C. Carroll Hollis of the University of North Carolina for telling me about the existence of this letter among the correspondence of Louise Chandler Moulton in the Library of Congress.

6. No date is discernible on the letter itself, and the postmark is badly smudged; but the number 14 seems legible and is not inconsistent with other evidence.

7. The Brownings were in Florence from 10 October to 15 November 1853. They arrived in Rome on 23 November.

8. The child, who died 24 November, was the son of William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), an American sculptor living in Rome since 1850 and a close friend of the Brownings. For a fuller account of this distressing episode, see (e.g.) *Letters of EBB*, II, 152-54.

Rome, by the sunshine—and life is not more gloomy and uncertain than a thousand years ago. What a compliment by the way, to our wonderful nineteenth century, which pants and reels under the great lights of the Future, recoiling from them sometimes because they are strange and new.

So we come naturally to the late manifestations. I am deeply obliged to you, dear Mr. Marston, I who have no claim to such a confidence, for this valuable and in many respects most moving history of your personal experiences, . . . not peculiar (with certain exceptions perhaps) in themselves, not differing much from others which have reached me, but carrying peculiar weight as being yours, and from the manner in which you give the facts as facts, without using them as the confirmatory hemstitch of a preconceived theory.

For theories . . . we get over no difficulty, it seems to me, by escaping from the obvious inference of an external spiritual agency. When the phenomena are attributed, for instance, to a "second personality projected unconsciously, and attended by an unconscious exercise of volition and clairvoyance"<sup>9</sup> I see nothing clearly but a convulsive struggle on the part of the theorist to get out of a position he does not like, at whatever expense of kicks against the analogies of God's universe. When all is said "solve the solution" we have a right to cry. And although, of course, sensible men in general would rather assert that two and three make four than that spirits have access to them, we women and poets cannot be expected to admit that two and three make four, without certain difficulties and hesitations on our side.

Even with respect to the theory which occurs to yourself, you say, sometimes, you cannot cleave to it, I think, as satisfactory . . . simply because we don't "live deeper" when we go to see Mrs. Hayden.<sup>10</sup> Some of us have sat hour after hour in solitudes and silences God has made for us, listening to the inner life . . . questioning the depths and heights—yet the table did not tremble and tilt, and we had no "involuntary answers" from the deep of the soul in

raps, or mystical sighs, or bell-like sounds against the window. It will have occurred to you too on farther consideration, that the manifestations have not come, for the most part, through *deep lovers* . . .—and again, that if they came through deeper modes of living, they would be profound in proportion to the profundity of the life . . . they would scarcely ever be frivolous and common-place. You escape from no difficulty by your theory.

In my mind the only light which has been thrown on the manifestations comes from Swedenborg's philosophy *quoad* the spiritual world as to state and relations. This philosophy explains much that is incomprehensible under other systems . . . to the apparent ignorance and infidelity, for instance, frivolity and stupidity of many of the spirits (so called) to the perplexing quantity of personation . . . and to the undeniable mixture of the pure and Heavenly with all these.—The Church of Rome has never denied the possible occurrence of the facts, but she strains them (as indeed the old churches are apt generally to do) to her own conclusions. Do you know that she has an exorcism against a rapping spirit "spiritum percutientem," and that her seven evidences of possession include nearly all the forms of mesmerism and of the present manifestations—"speaking in unknown tongues," "penetration into thoughts," "light at a distance," "undue physical force," "the lifting of the body into air," etc. etc. In fact spiritual agency is confounded with Satanic agency—which is curious—more curious than reasonable, I think.

I, myself, have had scarcely any experiences. The little I had was conclusive to myself, but, as my husband doubted and denied through it all, I do not venture to dwell upon it to you. Some persons here, not remarkable except for pure intentions and a reverent spirit, had what they considered very satisfactory manifestations during six weeks of steady association last winter. I have seen a few of the papers—good, consistent, here and there beautiful, but *apocalyptic* in no respect. (It is doubtful to me on what principle we should look for apocalypses, by the

9. On 20 and 21 August 1853, Mrs. Browning wrote to Mary Russell Mitford, "By the way, I heard read the other day a very interesting letter from Paris, from Mr. [Thomas Gold] Appleton, Longfellow's brother-in-law, who is said to be a man of considerable ability, and who is giving himself wholly just now to the investigation of this spirit-subject, termed by him the 'sublimest conundrum ever given to the world for guessing.' He appears still in doubt whether the intelligence is external, or whether the phenomena are not produced by an *unconscious*

projection in the medium of a second personality, accompanied with clairvoyance, and attended by physical manifestations. This seems to me to double the difficulty; yet the idea is entertained as a doubtful sort of hypothesis by such men as Sir Edward Lytton and others." *Letters of EBB*, II, 133. See also II, 125-26; *Letters to George Barrett*, p. 202.

10. Mrs. W. R. Hayden, the American medium who in October 1852 brought to England the vogue of spiritualism.

way.) These persons had communications both by tilting tables and by the involuntary writing . . . which last mode seems to me less satisfactory on the whole, because of the difficulty of discerning between the external suggestions and the echoes in the mind itself. I must tell you that after they had parted at the end of their six weeks association, two of the mediums had lying communications. They both concluded that their mediumship was too weak to be exercised apart from association, without danger from false spirits.

Do you not think that if an association of earnest thinkers were to meet regularly, with unity of purpose and reverence of mood, they might attain to higher communications? Do you not think they might get at a test to secure them against *personation* which is the great evil. The apostle John gives a test when he has said "try the spirits" in the general epistle.<sup>11</sup> Should we not bear in mind (speaking of difficulties) that there is difficulty on both sides the Veil—and that if this is intercourse, it is not intercourse by *miracle*, in the proper meaning of *miracle*, but by development of Law, and that all development must be gradual. We must have patience then, and remember it is only the beginning. Pray do not throw up the subject by any possible movement of impatience. It is through men like you that it is to be kept from the desecration of charlatans and fanatics, and there must be much to be attained, I hope.

Will you write to me, dear Mr. Marston, if you have farther experiences, and will trust them to me? Make me a little more grateful still. My husband calls himself sceptical. Your letter impressed him more than any testimony he has received. He bids me say that he hopes to undo next year the wrong we suffered on our last visit to England, of seeing you so little. It is very pleasant to both of us to read the kind things you say. Believe how we feel them back—will you? Give my regards to Mrs. Marston, and accept for her and your children the warmest of wishing-well! Our child is radiant with health and joy just now—but you will imagine how awful a thing it is to have all one's riches in a

single coin. Thackeray and his daughters spent an evening with us two days ago.<sup>12</sup> They are to remain three months in Rome. Tell Miss Mulock that we remember her affectionately.<sup>13</sup> Dear Mr. Marston believe me most truly yours—

Elizabeth Barrett Browning

[P.S.] Somebody told me the other day that his wife who is a delicate person, had been *benefitted* instead of injured in health by the exercise of her mediumship. There seem to be many instances of *knowledge* conveyed, as testimonies reach me—but we want a wide basis of facts of all kinds perhaps before any satisfactory theory can be thrown up. The archbishop of Pisa has forbidden scientific lectures on the subject, even to the lecturers [who] attempted a physical solution.

Although this letter may not add significantly to what is known about Mrs. Browning's spiritualistic views at this period, it does confirm other evidence and provides as full and concentrated a statement of those views as can be found in any single source.<sup>14</sup> Above all, it shows her striving to temper unshakeable conviction with reasonableness. The absolute validity of spiritual "manifestations" is to her incontestable; but beyond the basic acceptance of these "facts" she is reluctant to go in the way of interpretation or theory. Such a "logical" approach might be good strategy in trying to win over a sceptic like her husband. Marston, however, did not need to be converted; he was already a believer, and it is interesting to see Mrs. Browning, who has sometimes been accused of excessive credulity, moderating his conjectures.

As for Mrs. Browning's correspondent, there is no evidence that she was personally acquainted with Marston before her first return visit to England, from July to September 1851. Their mutual belief in spiritualism of course forms the basis for this exchange of letters, but it seems questionable that, as Professor Landis suggests, "Mrs. Browning's interest in [Marston] was doubtless due to his membership in the mystical society of John [sic] Pierrepont Greaves and to his editing of *Psyche*, a mystical periodical."<sup>15</sup> *The Psyche* was indeed founded and ed-

11. "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world." 1 John, 4.

12. Thackeray and his daughters reached Rome on 3 December 1853.

13. Dinah Maria Mulock (1826-1887), author of *John Halifax, Gentleman* and godmother of Philip Bourke Marston.

14. In addition to material in the letters and discussions in the standard biographies, the subject is carefully studied in Katherine

H. Porter's *Through a Glass Darkly: Spiritualism in the Browning Circle* (Lawrence, Kan., 1958).

15. *Letters to George Barrett*, p. 205n. Mrs. Browning's statement to Fanny Haworth that Marston had volunteered to write her about his spiritualistic experiences, "having heard from you that they were likely to interest me; I mean that I was interested in the whole subject," indicates that though she and Marston had presumably met, neither had been aware of this common interest.

ited by Marston; but it was launched back in 1839 and, according to Newton Crosland, "lived only a few weeks."<sup>18</sup> As for the "mystical society of James Pierrepont Greaves (the Syncretics, as they called themselves), Mrs. Browning's opinion of this remarkable group was not exactly favorable. Aiming at the rather murky transcendental idealism of the Syncretics, she referred to them in 1841 as "the great genius establishment, where the moth will be sworn never to corrupt, and the thief never to steal."<sup>17</sup>

Actually, Mrs. Browning's connection with Marston

came about through Robert Browning, who had known him since about 1842.<sup>18</sup> In December of that year, Marston's first play, *The Patrician's Daughter*, was produced by Macready at Drury Lane. The production meant a postponement of Browning's *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon*, a delay which contributed to Browning's bitter quarrel with Macready.<sup>19</sup> There is, however, no indication that Browning felt Marston was in any way to blame.

University of North Carolina

## Some Biographical Light on Rossetti's Translations of Villon

Glen A. Omans

THERE IS GOOD REASON to believe that Dante Gabriel Rossetti made his well-known translations of François Villon's "Ballade des Dames du temps jadis," "Ballade pour prier Notre Dame," and rondeau "Mort, j'appelle de ta rigueur" to provide filler for his own *Poems*. Throughout 1868 and 1869, when Rossetti was planning seriously to publish his own poetry, he was acutely aware of the need for more material to make a sizable volume. In 1869 he proposed to fill out his projected book with his early prose tale *Hand and Soul*, but his friend William Scott vetoed the plan as an "exhibition of poverty not to be thought of."<sup>1</sup> Denied this remedy, he ordered the exhumation of his wife's body in October 1869 in order to obtain the original manuscript of his poems. However, even the recovery of the buried poems did not fill out the volume to Rossetti's satisfaction so that toward the end of 1869 he worked intensely at creating new poetry. As late as January 26, 1870, he wrote to F. S. Ellis, his publisher, about his forthcoming book: "I should like to bring it to about 300 pages, & even freer printing w<sup>d</sup> only make some 250 or 260 as yet." And in another letter to Ellis, written on March 17, 1870, he said: "I have got to work & am reaching the end of a poem which will take some ten pages, & have done something to another (probably longer) be-

sides some sonnets."<sup>2</sup> Obviously, the need for more material oppressed Rossetti until the actual publication of *Poems* in April 1870. It is quite possible, then, that in 1869 he turned to the translation of poems by Villon in an effort to fill out his volume.

This assumption is partially substantiated by two letters from Rossetti to Ellis, written less than a month before the publication of *Poems*. On March 30, 1870, Rossetti sent a number of proof sheets to Ellis and remarked in the accompanying letter:

I omit sending only one sheet—sheet N. which I shall have to retain for a day or two. The first page of this sheet—*Aspecta Medusa*—can be transferred to the last page of sheet M. instead of the cancelled scrap. I shall then insert at the beginning of sheet N. a translation of Dante's *Francesca da Rimini* which I write for to-day to London.

On April 4, Rossetti sent more proofs and another letter which read:

All my part in the book is now done. I have been up for a day in town, & with this return the last proof to the printers (sheet N.) You will

Otherwise they would probably have talked about it in London in 1851 or 1852 when Mrs. Browning's fascination with spiritualism was again taking hold of her. Mesmerism had attracted her since the early forties, but clairvoyance and the kinds of spiritualistic "manifestations" referred to in the letter do not seem to have been familiar to her until about 1851. By then *The Psyche*, if indeed she ever heard of it, was long defunct.

16. *Rambles Round My Life* (London, 1898), p. 73.

17. *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Addressed to Richard Henry Horne*, ed. S. R. Townshend Mayer (2 vols.; London, 1877), I, 35. Marston was associated with the Syncretics, but by 1842, after the death of Greaves, the group was rapidly dissolving.

For a fuller account, see my article, "The Syncretics, Martinuzzi, and *The Patrician's Daughter*: An Episode in Early Victorian Drama," forthcoming in *Victorian Studies*.

18. See W. H. Griffin and H. C. Minchin, *The Life of Robert Browning* (London, 1910), p. 115.  
19. See Griffin and Minchin, pp. 111-19.

1. Oswald Doughty, *A Victorian Romantic, Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (London, 1960), p. 416.

2. Oswald Doughty, ed., *The Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti to his Publisher F. S. Ellis* (London, 1928), pp. 4 and 11.

see I have not adopted the *Francesca* after all to fill the gap, but have done another bit from Villon.<sup>3</sup>

Rossetti had thus translated a poem from Villon between March 30 and April 4, a period of only five days.

One would expect the poem to be the rondeau, "To Death, of his Lady," as this is the only Villon translation that could rightly be referred to as a "bit" and could be quickly done. But William Michael Rossetti's table of contents to the 1911 edition of *The Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* gives reliable information to the contrary. William lists the date of composition and publication for "The Ballad of Dead Ladies" and "To Death, of his Lady" as 1869 while that for "His Mother's Service to our Lady" is 1870. There need be little doubt as to William's accuracy here, for the 1869 publication date is necessarily based on the contents of two privately printed volumes which Dante Gabriel brought out shortly before the close of the year, presumably to test the reaction of friends in preparation for the publication of *Poems* the following April. William undoubtedly had seen these volumes and noted that the first two translations appeared in them, while the third appeared only in *Poems*. The "bit," then, is "His Mother's Service to our Lady."

The word "another" in Dante Gabriel's letter to Ellis on April 4 seems to support William's 1869 date for the translation as well as publication of "The Ballad of Dead Ladies" and "To Death, of his Lady," for "another" suggests current business. Also, if Rossetti preferred to make a new translation of Villon rather than use an existing translation of Dante, it would seem to be because he had recently translated other Villon poems. The translation "His Mother's Service to our Lady," then, was accomplished within a five-day period, less than a month before the actual publication of *Poems*. "The Ballad of Dead Ladies" and "To Death, of his Lady" were translated in less of a hurry, perhaps, but most likely as a result of the same urgent need for poetry to fatten Rossetti's 1870 volume. Given this haste and these pressing circumstances, the general excellence of the three poems is a genuine tribute to Rossetti's skill as a translator.

Fixing the dates of composition of Rossetti's Villon translations and realizing the circumstances under which they were made enables one to resolve a point of confusion concerning the influences of Rossetti's translations on

those of Swinburne. Because none of Swinburne's translations of Villon appeared in print before 1876 and most of them first appeared in *Poems and Ballads, Second Series* in 1878, it has often been assumed that Swinburne was merely following Rossetti's lead in translating Villon. George Lafourcade states specifically that Rossetti introduced Swinburne to Villon around 1860 and seems to suggest that Rossetti's Villon translations were made at the same time as those of Swinburne.<sup>4</sup> Samuel Chew follows Lafourcade in saying that Rossetti began the interest in Villon in England and encouraged Swinburne to make his translations.<sup>5</sup> But neither gives adequate proof of his claim. James K. Robinson and Paul F. Baum feel that the introduction may very well have been the other way around.<sup>6</sup> But conjecture on the matter seems almost unnecessary when one realizes that Swinburne first began to translate Villon in 1861, eight years before Rossetti hurriedly undertook his own translations.

The evidence for dating the first of Swinburne's Villon translations is contained in a letter which Swinburne wrote to Mallarmé on February 5, 1876:

Je prends pour vous répondre le revers d'une feuille qui vient de me servir pour y griffonner une traduction de la fameuse ballade—épitaphe de Villon "pour luy et ses compagnons" que j'ai essayé de mettre en vers anglais je ne sais combien de fois depuis le jour où je suis sorti de collège, c'est à dire depuis bientôt seize ans; enfin je crois y avoir réussi tout d'un trait en conservant l'ordre et les rimes.<sup>7</sup>

Swinburne suggests here that he began to translate Villon at least by 1861, since he left Oxford for good in June of 1860. The date 1861 is further substantiated by Lafourcade's discovery that two of the manuscript copies of Swinburne's translations, those of "The Complaint of the fair Armouress" and the "Ballad of Villon and Fat Madge," are written on sheets of paper that bear an 1861 watermark. To these two translations, Lafourcade adds that of the "Dispute of the Heart and Body," which he claims was at least sketched out sometime between 1861 and 1863 and assumes that Swinburne also attempted to translate other poems during these three years.<sup>8</sup> This assumption is based on Swinburne's reference in the letter to Mallarmé to several attempts at translating Villon's ballade epitaph, of which no early translation

3. Doughty, *Letters*, pp. 19 and 24.

4. *La Jeunesse de Swinburne (1837-1867)* (2 vols.; Paris, 1928), II, 99 and 102. Professor Lafourcade says that while making his translations, Swinburne was "appuyant ses pas chancelants aux pas chancelants de Rossetti."

5. *Swinburne* (Boston, 1929), p. 39 and p. 153n.

6. "A Neglected Phase of the Aesthetic Movement: English Parnassianism," *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), 736, 9n.

7. Cecil Y. Lang, ed., *The Swinburne Letters* (6 vols.; New Haven, 1959-1962), II, 132.

8. *La Jeunesse de Swinburne*, II, 100 and 104.

has been found. Also, in 1876 and 1877, when Swinburne was preparing his later Villon translations for the press, he made references to his early translations as if there were several of them. In a letter to Watts-Dunton, February 8, 1876, he noted that he had recently translated five ballads from Villon that were "at least as well done as [his] old versions"; and in another letter to Watts-Dunton, March 24, 1877, he spoke of "all [his] yet unpublished translations—new and old."<sup>9</sup> Thus it seems reasonably certain that between 1861 and 1863, Swinburne translated Villon's "Les regrets de la belle Heaumière" and the "Ballade de la grosse Margot," and quite possible that he also attempted translations of "Le débat du coeur et du corps," "L'épithape de Villon en forme de ballade," and other poems by Villon. Swinburne's interest in translating poetry may have been provoked by Rossetti, who published his volume of translations, *The Early Italian Poets*, in 1861. But the 1869-1870 composition dates of Rossetti's Villon translations, together with Swinburne's superior knowledge of French literature and his greater interest in medieval France, suggest that it was Swinburne who prompted Rossetti's translations and even, perhaps, first introduced Villon's poetry to Rossetti.

During the preparation of Rossetti's *Poems* for the press, Swinburne served as Rossetti's chief literary adviser, es-

pecially during the winter and spring of 1869-1870. Rossetti constantly solicited Swinburne's opinion of the new poems he was writing. "I never can feel clear on uncertain points till I get your opinion," he told Swinburne.<sup>10</sup> And Swinburne's letters to Rossetti written during December 1869 and February 1870 show that Swinburne had a great deal of valuable advice to give Rossetti and actually recommended changes in his poetry.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Swinburne, seeking a solution to Rossetti's need for more poetry for *Poems*, suggested the possibility of translating Villon. Or perhaps Rossetti simply made the translations on his own after Swinburne's precedent. For a time, the two poets seem to have planned a joint translation of the complete works of Villon. In his letter to Mallarmé of February 5, 1876, Swinburne remarked: "Rossetti et moi nous avions autrefois l'idée de traduire en entier l'oeuvre de ce grand poète."<sup>12</sup> The idea never progressed beyond the planning stage, for Rossetti translated no more Villon after 1870. But the translations he had already made were clearly instigated by Swinburne and executed under pressing conditions. Surprisingly, Rossetti's three translations of Villon, the first published in England, have remained better known than the more numerous and carefully polished ones by Swinburne.

## Piero di Cosimo:

### An Alternate Analogy for George Eliot's Realism

Edward T. Hurley

MOST DISCUSSIONS of George Eliot's theory of fiction pivot on the analogy of the writer and the Dutch realist painters in Chapter XVII of *Adam Bede*. Such artists show the "exact truth" of "a monotonous homely existence." They refuse to paint an ideal that falsifies the everyday reality of mixed existence. However, the analogy as an analytic device soon collapses, even as applied to *Adam Bede*. To accommodate the last chapters with the ideal Dinah and her ideal marriage to Adam, the critics must abandon the analogy or qualify it to show George Eliot's peculiar combination of idealistic realism.<sup>1</sup> Within those ordinary mortals are Feuerbachian essences, capable of flights that gradually progress within the novels toward *Daniel Deronda's*

messianic Zionism and transcendent nationalism.<sup>2</sup> George Eliot the artist needs an alternate analogy to describe her realistic art that embodies idealism. Another artist, Piero di Cosimo, the Renaissance classicist of *Romola*, fills the role perfectly.

If the Dutch realists get their subjects from close observation of the commonplace actual, Piero di Cosimo gets his from insight into the actual. He paints what is there, but it is present primarily to the artist's eye; the mob, the generality of men, miss it. He looks at a mouldy wall and sees there the three masks of a satyr, a Magdalen, and a stoic. He looks at Tito Melema and without introduction, history, or analysis, says, "Young man, I am painting a

9. *Swinburne Letters*, III, 136 and 305.

10. Doughty, *Victorian Romantic*, p. 425.

11. See *Swinburne Letters*, III, 64, 66-68, 87-88, 96-97, 99-100 and 102-6.

12. *Swinburne Letters*, III, 132.

1. Cf. William J. Hyde, "George Eliot and the Climate of Realism," *PMLA*, LXXVII (1957), 147-64, for an example of this treatment.

2. For George Eliot's ideological reconciliation of realism with idealism see U. C. Knoepfelmacher, *Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 27-62.

picture of Sinon deceiving old Priam, and I should be glad of your face for my Sinon, if you'd give me a sitting" (chap. 4). Tito at this point has only just made the first few decisions on the way toward disowning his foster-father; but the artist sees the essence, the potential that is real but not yet actual.

Piero makes clear that this is not magical insight but just the human perception of the artist's eye. He sees Tito has a beautiful face that could conceal infamy, depending on the heart. "I say not this young man is a traitor: I mean, he has a face that would make him the more perfect traitor if he had the heart of one" (chap. 4). He sees the potentiality and it is up to the character to fill it in. He paints Tito transfixed with fear in the middle of a revel, an idea that flashed on him when he first saw Tito. The background is incomplete; the ghost that frightens Tito is still vague and misty. Then Piero sees Baldassarre accost Tito and Tito disown him. Piero now knows Baldassarre is the ghost he wants for his portrait. Art presages the possibilities of reality, below the surface, waiting for the artist's eye to depict them. In this the artist can remain human, as George Eliot wanted to do, yet become the seer, the role she gradually assumed in later life.

This power is distinctively artistic and emphatically neither philosophical nor theological. Comments Nello, the barber, of one picture, "Ah! everybody has his own interpretation for that picture . . . and if you ask Piero himself what he meant by it, he says . . . if any man is in doubt what they mean, he had better inquire of Holy Church" (chap. 3). Like George Eliot, Piero scorns abstract theory and doctrine. Art is concrete and particular, vision in the singular. Tito wryly comments, "I begin to think you are a Cynic philosopher in the pleasant disguise of a cunning painter." Piero replies, "Not I, Messer Greco; a philosopher is the last sort of animal I should choose to resemble. I find it enough to live, without spinning lies to account for life. Fowls cackle, asses bray, women chatter, and philosophers spin false reasons,—that's the effect the sight of the world brings out of them. Well, I am an animal that paints instead of cackling, or braying, or spinning lies" (chap. 18). The insight of art interprets, penetrates, transforms the shadowy and insubstantial into a medium that can never be transposed back into univocal speech of philosophy or interpretation. It speaks for itself in its individual complexity, as George Eliot always insisted her kind of moral lessons should.

If Piero is the natural artist, obedient to his inspiration and honestly painting what he "sees," Tito is the anti-

artist, the manipulator of art. But art cannot be manipulated like philosophy; the truth will out. When Fra Luca, Romola's estranged brother, predicts Tito's treachery in a deathbed vision, Tito tries to counteract the vision by having Piero paint Tito's own version of his relationship to Romola. He orders a triptych depicting himself as Bacchus and Romola as the triumphant Ariadne. The peaceful Bacchus is on a ship, entirely in control, wild animals crouching before him and "the fairhaired Ariadne with him, made immortal with her golden crown. . . ." (chap. 18) Tito has combined two scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, carefully selecting the material for his myth, omitting what does not suit his purposes. The first scene, with the peaceful Bacchus on the ship, is taken out of context. The unwilling sailors, trying to disobey Bacchus's command to take him to Naxos, are gently stopped in the middle of the sea, helpless to escape. His power is benevolent enough here, but when the ship reaches Naxos and the Bacchic rites begin, Pentheus, who has ridiculed Bacchus, is torn limb from limb by his own mother and her sisters (cf. Book III, 11. 614-880). Not only, then, can Bacchus be benevolent, but his feasts can also be cruelly violent. Tito ignores this part of the tale in Book III and instead combines the idyll with Ariadne's triumph in Book VIII. Theseus has just abandoned her on Naxos, "But Bacchus soon arrived to bring relief: / He took her in his arms, and hushed her grief."<sup>8</sup> He flings her crown into the heavens and she becomes immortal in the stars. Again, Tito is selective; he casts himself as the kind rescuer, Bacchus, rather than Theseus, whose love had waned until he deserted Ariadne.

Within the case on which Piero paints this portrait Tito locks the crucifix that Fra Luca gave Romola with his warning. Tito's vision in art is meant to obliterate Fra Luca's vision in metaphor. But art cannot be manipulated in that way. Only if, like Piero, you paint what you know and see, will the myth become actual. Tito becomes more and more the cruel, instead of the peaceful, Bacchus. Romola, his Ariadne, finds him more and more like Theseus. When he deceives her and sells her father's library, his sacramental memorial, she sees his treachery and betrayal. The triptych can no longer conceal Fra Luca's crucifix, which she takes out and wears in her first flight from Florence.

The analogy is complete and succinct. It accommodates both the realism of the peasants in the Rainbow Inn and the ideal essence of Felix Holt. It makes the artist a meticulous observer with penetrating insight, but not a mystic, an empty theorizer, or a dreamy romantic. George Eliot's

3. *The Metamorphoses of Ovid. An English Version by A. E. Watts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1954), p. 170.

counterpose as the Dutch realist always appears in a polemical context, arguing in *Adam Bede* with sentimentalists, earlier with "lady novelists," or with Ruskin's detractors.<sup>4</sup> When she is free of the debater's bias and the need to make an emphatic point, she roams abroad. In a notebook entry published only recently for the first time she wrote, "Poetry begins when passion weds thought by finding expres-

sion in an image; but poetic form begins with a choice of elements, however meagre, as the accordant expression of emotional states."<sup>5</sup> The imaginative adventurousness of Piero di Cosimo makes a much better analogy for such artistry than the Dutch realists.

Wayne State University

## Ruskin and His "Master"

DONALD R. SWANSON

AS EARLY AS 1854 Ruskin publicly acknowledged that he owed more to Carlyle than to any other writer.<sup>1</sup> The two probably met for the first time in 1850,<sup>2</sup> but they knew and admired each other's work long before that. Mutual admiration grew into strong personal friendship, and on Ruskin's part into a hero-worship that was pleasing and flattering to Carlyle. In conversation, Ruskin referred to Carlyle as his "master," and he signed many of his letters "Ever your most loving disciple." In a letter written in 1855, Ruskin said to Carlyle: "How much your general influence has told upon me, I know not, but I always confess it, or rather boast of it, in conversation about you."<sup>3</sup> And, in the year before Carlyle's death, Ruskin wrote to Miss Susan Beever: "We feel so much alike that you may often mistake one for the other now."<sup>4</sup>

There was no little condescension, on Carlyle's part, in this relationship. Ruskin, he thought, was too "sensitive," "flighty," and "headlong" for his more sober tastes. Often he treated his "dear and ethereal Ruskin," as he called him in the dedication to *The Early Kings of Norway*, as a waif who needed to be protected from the hard buffets of this world. When Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* was severely criticized by a professed admirer of Mrs. Carlyle, her husband urged her to have nothing to do with Ruskin's traducer.<sup>5</sup> Their personal friendship lasted until the end of Carlyle's life, and although they had many disagreements, the master-disciple relationship was never appreciably weakened. William Allingham, the poet, re-

corded in his diary a meeting between Ruskin and Carlyle that he had witnessed in the early part of 1879. Ruskin, according to his account, "knelt on the floor by the old man's chair, after an affectionate greeting, and on leaving kissed the philosopher's hand."<sup>6</sup>

The friendship of Ruskin and Carlyle was based upon a common body of ideas and feelings which were strong enough to overcome the great differences between the two. Quite likely a bond of national feeling helped to draw and hold them together, for, although Ruskin was born in London, his parentage was Scotch. Carlyle's Annandale accent was pleasant to Ruskin, who often sat for hours listening to his "master's" eloquent monologues on "demon" fowls, spluttering pens, pianos, night-watchmen, barrel-organs, or whatever the latest grievance might be.<sup>7</sup> Primarily, however, Ruskin viewed Carlyle as his moral preceptor, the master who alone in England was able to guide him towards truth and goodness. Carlyle, Ruskin told the workmen in *Fors Clavigera*, is "the only living writer who has spoken the absolute and perpetual truth about yourselves and your business . . ." and he exhorted them to "Read your Carlyle, then, with all your heart."<sup>8</sup>

Ruskin's early interests were primarily aesthetic. His father was a merchant and "a man of cultivated tastes, who read the best literature, could put his son through two books of Livy, knew how to paint a little, . . . delighted in architecture and landscape, and cherished a distant and romantic reverence for the nobility and for aristocratic

4. Cf. *Westminster Review*, LXVI (1856), 452; and LXV (1856), 626.

5. "Notes on Form in Art," *Essays of George Eliot*, ed. Thomas Pinney (London, 1963), p. 435. Earlier in the essay she said she meant poetry "in its wider sense as including all literary production. . . ." (p. 434).

1. *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn (London, 1903-1912), XII, 507.

2. Ada Earland, *Ruskin and His Circle* (New York, 1910), p. 90.

3. *Works*, XXXVI, 184.

4. *Works*, XXXVII, 302.

5. Earland, p. 91.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

8. Frederick William Roe, *The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin* (New York, 1921), pp. 144-45.

environments.<sup>9</sup> He never allowed his son "for an instant to look at a bad picture,"<sup>10</sup> and instilled in him above all things a love of "the beautiful."

Ruskin's early moral training must have come primarily from his mother, to whom he was strongly attached. She has been described as "a severe and narrow-minded Puritan, proud, reserved, and domestically devoted—a woman, evidently, of great strength of mind, but very rigid, very formal, and very precise."<sup>11</sup> She seems often to have amazed Ruskin's wife, during his brief marriage, by the strong hold she kept on her son. According to the Rev. A. G. L'Estrange, who received the story at second hand, a gentleman at a London party once asked the younger Mrs. Ruskin where her husband was. "Oh, Mr. Ruskin?" she replied. "He is with his mother—he ought to have married his mother!"<sup>12</sup>

If the early influence of his father helped to prepare Ruskin for his career as art critic and searcher after beauty, his mother's moral training helped to prepare him for his discipleship to Carlyle, and his espousal of "righteous" causes. His easy acceptance of Carlyle's concepts of reverence, of superior men, of hero-worship, and of the virtue of work is not so surprising when viewed against the background of his early training, nor are his differences with Carlyle. Ruskin was "a lover of beauty and evangelist of art," while his "master" "seldom spoke of art but with contempt and . . . rarely regarded nature but as the somber and solemn theater of man's struggles or as the mystical manifestation of a transcendental God."<sup>13</sup> Neither wholly accepted these peculiarities of the other, but they were mutually tolerant. Yet Ruskin was constantly troubled by his "master's" insensitivity to art and to the beauties of nature. Two years after Carlyle's death, Ruskin, in a letter to C. E. Norton, still showed his vexation on this point: "What in my own personal way I chiefly regret and wonder at in him is, the perception in all nature of nothing between the stars and his stomach,—his going, for instance, into North Wales for two months, and noting absolutely no Cambrian thing or event, but only increase of Carlylian bile."<sup>14</sup> On several occasions Ruskin attempted to interest Carlyle in the beauty of his geological specimens, but Carlyle could see nothing of beauty in them.

Although Carlyle was not able to see the same beauty in art and nature that Ruskin did, he could admire Ruskin's literary productions. In the art of writing, Carlyle could

see the noble conceptions and moral precepts that he could never find in stones or trees or paintings. Ruskin's works usually delighted him, with their sharp turns of phrase, elevated ideals, and sometimes unexpected logic. He especially admired Ruskin's peculiar facility for finding connections between apparently dissimilar subjects, as when, in *Ethics of the Dust*, he "twists symbolically in the strangest way all its geology into morality, theology, Egyptian mythology, with fiery cuts at political economy."<sup>15</sup> Carlyle was always delighted when Ruskin fiercely denounced current political, economic, and social practices, as is shown, for example, in one of Carlyle's letters to Emerson: "There is nothing going on among us as notable to me as those fierce lightning bolts Ruskin is copiously and deliberately pouring into the black world of Anarchy all around him. No other man in England that I meet has in him the divine rage against iniquity, falsity, and baseness that Ruskin has."<sup>16</sup>

Ruskin, the "true disciple," meekly set aside much of the praise that he received from Carlyle and others. In a letter to Froude in 1873, Ruskin said: "I am not the institutor, still less the guide—but I am the Exponent of the Reaction for Veracity in Art which corresponds partly to Carlyle's and your work in History, and partly in Linnaeus's in natural science."<sup>17</sup> Whether he wrote of art or nature or economics, Ruskin felt that the precepts upon which his arguments were based were the same. Both he and Carlyle rested their teaching upon what they liked to call "fact." They sought "to pierce through the shows and shams to the solid ground of eternal veracity beneath,"<sup>18</sup> and by doing so to guide humanity toward the "good life" that it had been seeking for so many centuries.

In discovering and pointing the way to reform, Carlyle was the leader, Ruskin the follower—at least, according to Ruskin. In the active business of reform, however, Ruskin far overstepped his "master," to the latter's frequent discomfort. Carlyle was satisfied to point out the disease he found in the world around him; Ruskin, on the other hand, felt compelled to provide a cure. Carlyle approved of much of the teaching of *Fors*, but when Ruskin attempted to put his ideas into practice by forming St. George's Guild, Carlyle flatly refused to contribute to the funds, denouncing the whole scheme as absurd. When he first heard of the plan, he did not believe that Ruskin was in earnest; when he was convinced of Ruskin's serious-

9. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. Earland, p. 64.

13. Roe, p. 129.

14. *Letters of John Ruskin to Charles Eliot Norton* (Boston and New York, 1904), II, 190.

15. Earland, p. 91.

16. *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. C. E. Norton (Boston and New York, 1883-1884), II, 388.

17. *Works*, XXXVII, 83.

18. Roe, p. 146.

ness, he deplored that so great a man could commit such folly.<sup>19</sup>

Carlyle was bold enough to defy public opinion in his writing, but he was far more timorous than Ruskin when it came to advocating and instituting specific schemes of reform. Of course there were many dangers inherent in radically new social organizations, but Ruskin did not for that reason feel they should not be tried.

Carlyle, indeed, would have been glad to see the establishment of a new social and economic order, but only if instituted from the top, by a leader capable of controlling and molding the masses of people to his will according to his superior knowledge and ability. Such a leader must necessarily be a hero of high moral fibre, but unfortunately such heroes are hard to find. Carlyle certainly had compassion for the impoverished working classes, but he was afraid of their gaining a power that they would not have reason enough to use wisely. Only an enlightened aristocracy, under an enlightened leader, would suffice to bring proper order to the state.

With most of this Ruskin agreed. He saw around him a world in which the masses were almost wholly uneducated; under such conditions democracy appeared to be nearly synonymous with anarchy. Ruskin, like Carlyle, believed in an aristocratic system, but one in which each man should have dignity according to his station, and be free of the oppressive poverty that both Carlyle and Ruskin believed to be a direct result of *laissez-faire*.<sup>20</sup> Both attacked the extravagance, the indifference, the cupidity of the rich, and the idea that human labor was a commodity to be exploited. In his writing, Ruskin violently attacked machinery and unsightly and unhealthy factories, but he never preached anything approaching equalitarianism. He exhorted workers "to work as far as circumstances admit of your doing so, with your own hands in the production of substantial means of life—food, clothes, house, or fire. . . . And the main message St. George brings to you is that you will not be degraded by this work nor saddened by it."<sup>21</sup> Ruskin believed that "all useful change must be slow and by progressive and visibly secure stages. The evils of centuries cannot be defied and conquered in a day."<sup>22</sup> St. George's Guild, then, was not a revolutionary organization that would overthrow the existing order, as many of Ruskin's contemporaries thought, but rather the first step in the direction of a well-ordered and happy state. In the light both of Ruskin's social ideals expressed in his

writing and of his actions towards social goals, comments such as Bernard Shaw's, that "It goes without saying, of course, that [Ruskin] was a communist,"<sup>23</sup> are manifestly absurd. He was, rather, an advocate of an aristocracy of virtue and ability, patterned after an idealized medieval society.

On the question of the dignity of labor, Ruskin and Carlyle agreed in the main, but differed in their interpretation of its meaning and the attitude a worker should have towards it. Both believed in work as the highest means of self-expression, but for Carlyle it was an expression of duty, of "grim fidelity to a task, a task generally unpleasant but needing to be done, and done without whimpering." Toil kept man from sin, and "toil, manfully accomplished, added immensely to the nobility of man's nature."<sup>24</sup> Ruskin thought that work should give happiness—the joy of creative effort. Unlike Carlyle, he did not condemn happiness; rather, he made it one of the main goals of man's striving on earth. And enlightened man, he felt, would find it in whatever he was most fitted to do, whether in performing the most elevated, or the most menial tasks.

In an address delivered before the Ruskin Society in 1879, William A. E. Axon, one of Ruskin's admirers, summarized his social ideas: "When Man ceases to work Righteousness, there follow disorders and social perils of every kind. Ruskin beholds in our modern society an aristocracy which has abdicated its functions, a middle class largely given up to greed, a working class struggling in the dark, but dimly conscious of injustice. . . . He says we want Reverence, Obedience, and Organization to grapple with these evils."<sup>25</sup> This summary would describe the social ideals of Carlyle equally well, and indeed they were largely adopted from him by Ruskin. But Ruskin went further. "He not only denounces wrong," Axon continues, "but has a method for its redress. Even if it prove impracticable, we still owe him a debt of gratitude."

After Carlyle's death, Ruskin found more and more reason to be vexed with him. Carlyle's ideals and works he continued to praise, but Carlyle as a person fell in his esteem. Self-pity is not a quality of a hero, to Ruskin as to Carlyle, and Carlyle's correspondence, made public after his death, was full of self-pity. In 1883 Ruskin wrote to Norton: "[Carlyle's letters], like all the words of him since his death, have vexed me, and partly angered, with their perpetual 'me miserum'—never seeming to feel the ex-

19. Earland, pp. 100-1.

20. Roe, Ch. VII.

21. *Works*, XXIX, 472.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 548.

23. George Bernard Shaw, *Ruskin's Politics* (London, 1921), p. 22.

24. Roe, p. 299.

25. William A. E. Axon, "John Ruskin: A Bibliographical Biography," Reprinted from Vol. V of *The Papers of the Manchester Literary Club* (1879), pp. 21-22.

treme ill manners of this perpetual whine. . . .<sup>26</sup> In 1885 he wrote again to Norton: "Carlyle is entire himself when he stops talking about himself. . . ."<sup>27</sup> Ruskin appears here to be excusing his "master's" foible, but he is still made uncomfortable by it. Commenting on his own recent attack of "mania" in 1886, Ruskin again shows his annoyance at the pettiness of Carlyle's complaints, when he remembers that Carlyle would often go mad "because of the poultry next door."<sup>28</sup> His latest published letter to Norton in which he continued on the same subject was written in October 1889, more than six years after the publication of the Carlyle-Emerson letters:

. . . the world's made up of morts and disses, and it's no use always saying "Ay de mi!" like Car-

lyle. I'm really ashamed of him in those letters to Emerson. My own diaries are indeed full of mewing and moaning, all to myself, but I think my letters to friends have more a tendency to crowing, or, at least, on the whole, try to be pleasant.<sup>29</sup>

Not Carlyle's public, but his private feelings as shown in his letters to Emerson, eventually destroyed his disciple's faith in him. Ruskin continued to admire Carlyle's literary productions until the darkness of madness and finally death closed in on him, but long before this Carlyle ceased to be his personal hero and master.

Upsala College

## Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

September 1966—February 1967

### I

#### GENERAL

- ARTS. Jordan, Robert Furneaux. *Victorian Architecture*. Penguin. Rev. *TLS*, 5 January, p. 4.
- Lister, Raymond. *Victorian Narrative Paintings*. Museum Press. Sixty reproductions. Rev. *TLS*, 1 December, p. 1112.
- Reynolds, Graham. *Victorian Painting*. Studio Vista. A representative collection of 137 paintings. Rev. *TLS*, 1 December, p. 1112.
- Rosenthal, Harold, ed. *The Mapleson Memoirs*. Putnam. Reissue of the memoirs of the famous impresario, originally published in 1888. Rev. *TLS*, 1 December, p. 1112.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY. Collins, Thomas J. "The Toronto Conference on Editing Nineteenth-Century Materials." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 209-10. Summarizes some of the main papers delivered at the conference.
- Hartman, Geoffrey. "Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 753-82. Review of scholarship from April 1965 to April 1966.
- Houghton, Walter E., ed. *The Wellesey Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*. Vol. I. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Rev. *TLS*, 12 January, p. 36.
- Igo, John. "A Calendar of Fausts." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, January, pp. 5-26. Catalogs the Fausts created in the last 450 years.
- Ricks, Christopher. "Victorian Studies." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 322-23. Review-article assessing work in Victorian criticism from September 1964 to March 1966.

Schneider, Duane B. "Sydney Smith in America to 1900: Two Check Lists." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, October, pp. 538-43. Lists material by and about Smith during the period.

Tobias, R. C. "The Year's Work in Victorian Poetry: 1965." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1965, pp. 175-98. Annotated review of important scholarship.

CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Adlard, John. "Poetry and the Stage Doors of the 'Nineties.'" *Review of English Literature*, October, pp. 50-60. The influence of the music halls on English poetry, including that of Symons.

Buckley, Jerome Hamilton. *The Triumph of Time: A Study of the Victorian Concepts of Time, History, Progress, and Decadence*. Harvard.

Collins, Philip. "Victorian Studies at Leicester." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 87-88. An account of the activities of the Staff Victorian Studies Group at the University of Leicester.

Craig, David. "Fiction and the Rising Industrial Classes." *Essays in Criticism*, January, pp. 64-74. The difficulties literature has found facing up to problems and changes of a mass kind since the Industrial Revolution, with particular reference to *Bleak House* and *Felix Holt*.

Glover, Dorothy and Graham Greene. *Victorian Detective Fiction*. Bodley Head. Catalog of their collection of detective stories. Rev. *TLS*, 8 December, p. 1145.

Gray, Donald J. "The Uses of Victorian Laughter." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 145-76. The most prevalent kinds of Victorian laughter offered a holiday from judgment.

Harris, Harold J. "The Failure to Use Context." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 82-85. Criticism of Michael Wolff's "The Uses of Context: Aspects of the 1860's,"

26. *Ruskin-Norton Letters*, II, 189.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

- Supplement to IX, 1965, pp. 47-63. Concerns Eliot, Carlyle, and Arnold.
- Marcus, Steven. *The Other Victorians*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. A study of sexuality and pornography in mid-nineteenth-century England. Rev. *TLS*, 19 January, p. 45.
- Morgan, Peter F. "Francis Place's Copy of the 'Westminster Review.'" *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 330-32. Place's major autograph materials connected with a set of the *Review* belonging to him.
- Ollé, James G. "The Lost Libraries." *Library Review*, Autumn 1966, pp. 452-56. Rise and fall of circulating libraries.
- Peterson, William S. "Outram vs. Furnivall: Dissension within the Browning Society." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, February, pp. 93-104. The dispute between an obscure actor and the founder of the Browning Society.
- Sutton, Max Keith. "'Inverse Sublimity' in Victorian Humor." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 177-92. The use of this term in understanding three elements in Victorian humor: the grotesque analogy, the pun, and the whimsical animation of the physical world.
- Wolff, Michael. "The Uses of Context: A Reply." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 85-86. Response to Harold Harris (see above).
- ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Abels, Jules. *The Parnell Tragedy*. Bodley Head. Rev. *TLS*, 22 December, p. 1186.
- Chambers, J. D. and G. E. Mingay. *The Agricultural Revolution, 1750-1880*. Batsford. Rev. *TLS*, 16 February, pp. 117-18.
- Edwards, Michael S. "Methodism and the Chartist Movement." *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October, pp. 301-10. Methodism had little to offer the Chartists.
- Fernandez, T. L. "Sir Robert Peel: Nineteenth-Century Parliamentary Orator." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, October, pp. 249-54. Peel was an effective speaker, adapting his style to the taste and temper of the House.
- Finlayson, G. B. A. M. "The Politics of Municipal Reform, 1835." *English Historical Review*, October, pp. 673-92. The Municipal Corporation Act had widespread political and party implications.
- Knight, Ruth. *Illiberal Liberal*. Melbourne University. Covers the years 1842-1850 in New South Wales of Robert Lowe, later a member of Gladstone's first ministry. Rev. *TLS*, 8 December, p. 1151.
- Salt, John. "English Radicalism: A Neglected Document." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 332-33. The document, an "Address to the People of France," shows the intellectual ferment of the 1840's.
- Tribe, David. "Secular Centenary." *Contemporary Review*, October, pp. 200-5. An examination of the work of the National Secular Society, particularly in the nineteenth century.
- HISTORY. Bentley, Nicolas, ed. *Russell's Dispatches from the Crimea, 1854-1856*. Deutch. Abbreviated version of the book William Howard Russell published in 1858. Rev. *TLS*, 22 December, p. 1186.
- Cannon, Michael. *The Land Boomers*. Cambridge. Boom and subsequent crash of land value in Australia in the 1880's. Rev. *TLS*, 16 February, p. 133.
- Gooneratne, Yasmine. "The Two Societies: A Study of Town Life in Nineteenth-Century Ceylon." *Historical Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 338-59. Examines the European and Native societies.
- Hatheway, G. G. "The Great North Atlantic Steamship Race." *History Today*, February, pp. 89-97. Mid-nineteenth-century contests between British-Canadian and American companies.
- Taylor, Nancy M., ed. *The Journal of Ensign Best, 1837-1843*. Owen. Portrait of a young officer. Rev. *TLS*, 29 September, p. 905.
- Ward, John M. *Empire in the Antipodes*. Arnold. British history in Australia and New Zealand, 1840-1860. Rev. *TLS*, 2 February, p. 92.
- RELIGION. Newsome, David. *The Parting of Friends*. Murray. A study of the Wilberfores and Henry Manning. Rev. *TLS*, 29 December, p. 1201.
- Reardon, B. M. G., ed. *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge. Anthology of writings on religion including material by Arnold and Maurice.
- Roe, W. G. *Lamennais and England*. Oxford. The reception of his ideas in England. Rev. *TLS*, 1 December, p. 1131.
- Rose, Elliot. "The Stone Table in the Round Church and the Crisis of the Cambridge Camden Society." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 119-44. The early success of the Society, whose interests lay in architecture and liturgy, and its sudden burning-out.
- SCIENCE. Darwin, Charles. *On the Origin of Species*. Intro. Ernst Mayr. Facsimile of the first edition. Harvard. Rev. *TLS*, 3 November, p. 1006.
- Huxley, Julian. "Charles Darwin." *Contemporary Review*, September, pp. 145-49. An appreciative essay.
- Williams-Ellis, Amabel. *Darwin's Moon*. Blackie. Biography of the scientist Alfred Russel Wallace. Rev. *TLS*, 8 September, p. 824.
- SOCIAL. Gordon, Winter. *A Country Camera, 1844-1914*. Country Life. Collection of photographs depicting life during these years.
- Leslie, Anita. *Mr. Frewen of England: A Victorian Adventurer*. Hutchinson.
- Miliband, Marion, ed. *The Observer of the Nineteenth Century, 1791-1901*. Longmans. Extracts from the *Observer*. Rev. *TLS*, 2 February, p. 84.
- Reader, W. J. *Professional Men*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. The rise of the professional classes in nineteenth-century England. Rev. *TLS*, 22 December, pp. 1181-82.
- Short, Audrey. "Workers under Glass in 1851." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 193-202. The social maturity of the working classes during the Great Exhibition justified their admittance to the Crystal Palace.
- Simon, Brian. *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920*. Lawrence and Wishart. Rev. *TLS*, 26 January, p. 64.
- Tarn, John Nelson. "The Peabody Donation Fund: The Role of a Housing Society in the Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 7-38. The part played by this independent, noncommercial housing agency.
- Troubridge, Laura. *Life Amongst the Troubridges*. Ed. Jacqueline Hope-Nicholson. Murray. Journal of a Victorian teen-aged girl. Rev. *TLS*, 26 January, p. 62.

## II

## INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- ARNOLD, Brooks, Roger L. "Matthew Arnold's 'Joseph de Maistre on Russia.'" *Huntington Library Quarterly*, February, pp. 185-88. Five unpublished letters in the Huntington Library establish Arnold's authorship of the 1879 anonymous article.
- Culler, A. Dwight. *Imaginative Reason*. Yale. Study of Arnold's poetry. Rev. *TLS*, 1 September, p. 779.
- Feshbach, Sidney. "Empedocles at Dover Beach." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 271-75. "Dover Beach" may reflect significant Empedoclean thought.
- Harris, Wendell V. "Freud, Form and Fights by Night." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 70-76. Criticism of Norman N. Holland's "Psychological Depths and 'Dover Beach.'" September 1965, pp. 5-28.
- Holland, Norman N. "Freud and Form: Fact about Fiction." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 76-82. Response to Wendell Harris.
- Narita, Shigehisa. "Melville on Arnold." *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo), English Number, 1966, pp. 41-53. Melville read Arnold thoroughly; examines books by Arnold owned and annotated by Melville.
- Super, R. H. "Seeing How the World Is Going." *Modern Language Quarterly*, December, pp. 458-71. A review-article assessing recent books concerning Arnold.
- . "Vivacity and the Philistines." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 629-37. Arnold's intellectual alertness and brilliant wit are evident in his response to topical events.
- BROWNING. Altick, Richard D. "Lovers' Finiteness: Browning's 'Two in the Campagna.'" *Papers on Language and Literature*, Winter, pp. 75-80. A poem of despair, frustration, and melancholy.
- Drew, Philip, ed. *Robert Browning: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Methuen. Rev. *TLS*, 13 October, p. 931.
- Friedman, Barton R. "To Tell the Sun from the Druid Fire: Imagery of Good and Evil in *The Ring and the Book*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 693-708. The poem depicts the struggle between good and evil and prefigures the ultimate triumph of good over evil.
- Govil, O. P. "An Echo of Tennyson in Browning." *Notes and Queries*, September, p. 341. The similarity between a line in "Lotos Eaters" and one in "Hervé Riel."
- . "A Note on Mill and Browning's *Pauline*." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 287-91. Browning's repugnance to the early poems dates from the disclosure of authorship and not from Mill's criticism.
- Hellstrom, Ward. "Time and Type in Browning's *Saul*." *ELH*, September, pp. 370-89. The images of the poem are unified through Christian theory of history and its attendant tradition of typology.
- Kintgen, Eugene R. "Childe Roland and the Perversity of the Mind." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 253-58. Although tempted and frightened by his imagination, Roland still triumphs.
- Kvapil, Charline R. "How It Strikes a Contemporary": A Dramatic Monologue." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 279-83. The poem should be read as a dramatic monologue, with the speaker as the central focus.
- Langbaum, Robert. "Browning and the Question of Myth." *PMLA*, December, pp. 575-84. Browning was feeling his way to a modern recovery of symbol and myth through realism and psychology.
- Malbone, Raymond G. "Browning's 'Fra Lippo Lippi.'" *Explicator*, November, No. 20. Lippi's monologue is basically an honest self-appraisal, delivered to a sympathetic listener.
- . "That Blasted Rose-Acacia: A Note on Browning's 'Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 218-21. A literal interpretation of the last stanza is in keeping with the character of the speaker and a suitable climax to the poem.
- McAlear, Edward C., ed. *Learned Lady: Letters from Robert Browning to Mrs. Thomas FitzGerald, 1876-1899*. Harvard. Rev. *TLS*, 6 October, p. 926.
- Melchiori, Barbara. "Browning's Don Juan." *Essays in Criticism*, October, pp. 416-40. In "Fifine at the Fair," Browning attempted the creation of a Victorian Don Juan.
- Monteiro, George. "A 'Very Original Poem' by Robert Browning." *Notes and Queries*, September, p. 340. The poet's advice to Pen to economize, hitherto only published in the son's account book.
- Pitts, Gordon. "Browning's 'Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister': 'Hy, Zy, Hine.'" *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 339-40. Suggests a new source and meaning for the phrase.
- Plunkett, P. M. "Browning's *Abt Vogler*, Stanza IV." *Explicator*, October, No. 14. Interprets the phrase "man's birth."
- Radner, Susan G. "Love and the Lover in Browning's 'Evelyn Hope.'" *Literature and Psychology*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 115-16. The poem should be appreciated for its insight into abnormal psychology.
- Sandstrom, Glenn. "'James Lee's Wife'—and Browning's." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 259-70. The direct correlation between James Lee and Browning, and between Elizabeth Browning and the wife of the poem.
- Thompson, Leslie M. "Regular and Irregular Deeds in *The Ring and the Book*." *Papers on Language and Literature*, Winter, pp. 80-85. Browning uses the terms *regular* and *irregular* together with their synonyms and derivatives to demonstrate his feeling that the Church, law, and society in general could no longer discern true spiritual values.
- Timko, Michael. "Ah, Did You Once See Browning Plain?" *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 731-42. Browning's poetry must be read in light of his own moral and intellectual ideas as well as the background of his age.
- ELIZABETH BROWNING. Bishop, Morchad. "Towards a Biography of Flush." *TLS*, 15 December, p. 1180. Corrects Virginia Woolf's biography of the spaniel, using more recent evidence.
- DeLaura, David J. "A Robert Browning Letter: The Occasion of Mrs. Browning's 'A Curse for a Nation.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 210-12. The appropri-

- atness of the poem's inclusion in the 1860 volume, *Poems before Congress*.
- Glandish, Robert W. "Mrs. Browning's Contributions to the New York Independent." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, January, pp. 47-54. The circumstances concerning several of Mrs. Browning's contributions to this periodical.
- CARROLL. Rackin, Donald. "Alice's Journey to the End of Night." *PMLA*, October, pp. 313-26. The book is an organic whole, "a comic myth of man's insoluble problem of meaning in a meaningless world."
- CLARE. Xenophontas, Costas, ed. *Life and Works of John Clare*. Philips Park. Rev. *TLS*, 22 September, p. 883.
- CLOUGH. Bowers, Frederick. "Arthur Hugh Clough: The Modern Mind." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 709-16. The modernity of much of Clough's poetry.
- Gollin, Richard M., Walter E. Houghton and Michael Timko. "Arthur Hugh Clough: A Descriptive Catalogue." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, November, pp. 554-85; January, pp. 55-60; February, pp. 71-92.
- E. S. DALLAS. Hudson, Derek. "What Happened to E. S. Dallas?" *Review of English Literature*, January, pp. 95-106. Biographical sketch and appreciation of the journalist and literary critic.
- DICKENS. Allen, M. L. "The Black Veil: Three Versions of a Symbol." *English Studies*, August, pp. 286-89. The use of the symbol in *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, "The Minister's Black Veil," and Dickens' "The Black Veil."
- Blount, Trevor. "Sir Leicester Dedlock and 'Deportment' Turveydrop: Some Aspects of Dickens' Use of Parallelism." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 149-65. Dedlock is modified by his comic parallel, Turveydrop, who is a travesty of what Sir Leicester embodies.
- Brook, G. L. "Dickens as a Literary Craftsman." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Autumn, pp. 47-68. Points out the virtues as well as the defects of Dickens' style.
- Rodriguez, Eusebio L. "The Dickens of *Great Expectations*." *Literary Criterion*, Summer 1966, pp. 41-53. *Great Expectations* is Dickens' most artistically satisfying work.
- Wentersdorf, Karl P. "Mirror-Images in *Great Expectations*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 203-24. Examines three sets of mirror-image characters that illuminate both sides of Pip's character.
- Winters, Warrington. "The Death Hug in Charles Dickens." *Literature and Psychology*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 109-16. Dickens' novels are linked by a chain of little devils, each of whom eventually engages in a death embrace with a big devil.
- DISRAELI. Blake, Robert. *Disraeli*. Eyre and Spottiswoode. Biography. Rev. *TLS*, 20 October, pp. 949-50.
- Hirsch, David H. "Another Source for Poe's 'The Duc de L'Omelette.'" *American Literature*, January, pp. 533-36. Poe's tale, a parody of Disraeli's *The Young Duke*, may have been prompted not only by the novel itself but by a review of it appearing in the *Westminster Review*.
- DOYLE. Nordon, Pierre. *Conan Doyle*. Trans. Frances Partridge. Murray. Translation and abridgment of 1965 French original. Rev. *TLS*, 8 December, p. 1156.
- ELIOT. DeLaura, David J. "Romola and the Origin of the Paterian View of Life." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 225-33. Suggests the influence of the novel on Pater's development.
- Hester, Erwin. "George Eliot's Use of Historical Events in *Daniel Deronda*." *English Language Notes*, December 1966, pp. 115-18. Eliot uses historical events to intensify her fiction.
- Hornback, Bert G. "The Organization of *Middlemarch*." *Papers on Language and Literature*, Spring 1966, pp. 169-75. The novel is structured on the reorientation of the romantic Dorothea into the reality of life represented by Middlemarch.
- Milner, Ian. "Structure and Quality in *Silas Marner*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 717-29. The novel is more than a charming tale and deserves a higher critical estimate.
- Pinney, Thomas. "The Authority of the Past in George Eliot's Novels." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 131-47. The chief values of Eliot's novels are, on the whole, conservative.
- FROUDE. Baylen, Joseph O. and Gerald Walton. "The Froude-Stead Correspondence, 1877-1891." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, February, pp. 167-83. Disraeli's pro-Turk policy provided a point of common interest for such opposites as Froude and Stead.
- GISSING. Coustillas, Pierre. "Some Unpublished Letters from Gissing to Hardy." *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 197-209. Prints six letters; examines the relationship of the two men.
- Koike, Shigeru. "The Education of George Gissing." *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo), English Number, 1966, pp. 15-39. Gissing's zeal for education was responsible for his obvious failure.
- GOSSE. Matheisen, Paul F. and Michael Millgate, eds. *Transatlantic Dialogue*. University of Texas. Collection of letters between Gosse and his American friends. Rev. *TLS*, 13 October, p. 936.
- HARDY. Bailey, J. O. "Hardy's 'Poems of Pilgrimage.'" *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 190-96. Chapter XV of *The Early Life*, Emma Hardy's diary, and Baedeker's *Handbook for Travellers* shed light on these poems.
- Boll, T. E. M. "Tess as an Animal in Nature." *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 210-11. Hardy compares Tess to an animal, an inexperienced one with Alec but an experienced one with Angel.
- Orel, Harold, ed. *Thomas Hardy's Personal Writings: Prefaces, Literary Opinions, Reminiscences*. University of Kansas. *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 290-92.
- Schweik, Robert C. "Character and Fate in Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 249-62. Hardy's inconsistency in showing the relationship between Henchard's acts and his fate.
- HOPKINS. Gardner, W. H. "Hopkins and Newman." *TLS*, 15 September, p. 868. Lines 1-3 of "Carrion Comfort" and lines 108-11 of "The Dream of Gerontius."
- O'Dea, Richard J. "The Loss of the Eurydice: A Possible Key to the Reading of Hopkins." *Victorian Poetry*, Au-

- tumn, pp. 291-93. The metaphorical structure of the poem is common to much of Hopkins' work.
- Sharples, Sister Marian, I.H.M. "Conjecturing a Date for Hopkins' 'St. Thecla.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 204-9. Suggests 1865-1866, while Hopkins was a student at Balliol.
- White, Gertrude M. "Hopkins' 'God's Grandeur': A Poetic Statement of Christian Doctrine." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 284-87. The sonnet yields its fullest meaning when viewed as a poetic and dramatic treatment of the main doctrines of the Catholic faith.
- Winter, J. L. "Notes on 'The Windhover.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 212-13. Interprets several words and phrases.
- HOUSEMAN. Kowalczyk, R. L. "Horatian Tradition and Pastoral Mode in Houseman's *A Shropshire Lad*." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 223-35. The importance of the pastoral setting, which indirectly expresses the universal fear of man.
- KIPLING. Cornell, Louis L. *Kipling In India*. Macmillan. Rev. TLS, 19 January, p. 42.
- Peterson, William S. "The Light That Failed: Kipling's Version of Decadence." *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 153-55. The novel is a study in decadence.
- Stewart, J. I. M. *Rudyard Kipling*. Gollancz. Rev. TLS, 19 January, p. 42.
- LEAR. Lear, Edward. *Edward Lear in Corsica*. Kimber. Reissue with modifications of the 1870 volume *Journal of a Landscape Painter* containing Lear's notes and a selection of his art work. Rev. TLS, 22 December, p. 1184.
- MEREDITH Ketcham, Carl H. "Meredith at Work: 'The Tale of Chloë.'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 235-47. Examines Meredith's use of his source materials.
- Poston, Lawrence, III. "Dramatic Reference and Structure in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 743-52. Meredith's use of dramatic devices and allusions gives rise to a five-act structure that emphasizes the novel's tragic pattern.
- Williams, I. M. "The Organic Structure of *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*." *Review of English Studies*, February, pp. 16-29. The structure is sound, but the novel is unsatisfactory in the attitude of the narrator to his main characters.
- MILL. Winch, Donald, ed. *Selected Economic Writings*. Oliver and Boyd. Rev. TLS, 13 October, p. 944.
- MORRIS. Raymond, Meredith B. "The Arthurian Group in *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 213-18. The four poems are a spiritual drama.
- PATER. DeLaura, David J. "Pater and Newman: The Road to the 'Nineties.'" *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 39-69. The importance of Newman's ideas to the development of Pater's later thought.
- . "The 'Wordsworth' of Pater and Arnold: The Supreme, Artistic View of Life." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 651-67. Pater's view of life as it borrowed and modified the humanism in Arnold's *Essays in Criticism and Culture and Anarchy*; Arnold's response to Pater's essay.
- PATMORE. Cadbury, William. "The Structure of Feeling in a Poem by Patmore: Meter, Phonology, Form." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 237-51. The importance of poetic technique in Patmore; illustrates by examination of "Love at Large."
- PEACOCK. Kennedy, William F. "Peacock's Economists: Some Mistaken Identities." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 185-91. The correct identification of the economists in three of Peacock's novels, including *Gryll Grange*, clarifies his satire.
- ROBINSON. Brown, Eluned, ed. *The London Theatre, 1811-1866*. The Society for Theatre Research. References Crabb Robinson made to his London theatre-going. Rev. TLS, 23 February, p. 146.
- Hudson, Derek, ed. *The Diary of Henry Crabb Robinson*. Oxford. An abridgment. Rev. TLS, 23 February, p. 146.
- ROSSETTI. Doughty, Oswald and John Robert Wahl, eds. *Letters of Gabriel Rossetti*. Vols. I and II. Oxford. Rev. TLS, 27 October, p. 980.
- Fleming, G. H. *Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*. Vol. I. Hart-Davis. Rev. TLS, 19 January, p. 45.
- SHAW. Adams, Elsie B. "Bernard Shaw's Pre-Raphaelite Drama." *PMLA*, October, pp. 428-38. Shaw's theory of art contains virtually all facets of the art theory of the Pre-Raphaelites; *Candida* itself is "a modern analogue to medieval religious art."
- STEVENSON. Hart, James D., ed. *From Scotland to Silverado*. Harvard. Collection of all Stevenson wrote about emigrating to and settling in America. Rev. TLS, 20 October, p. 957.
- Sapossnik, Irving S. "Stevenson's 'Markheim': A Fictional 'Christmas Sermon.'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 277-82. The visitant is Markheim's conscience, which leads to self-recognition and subsequent moral action.
- SWINBURNE. Dahl, Curtis. "Macaulay, Henry Taylor, and Swinburne's Trilogy." *Papers on Language and Literature*, Spring 1966, pp. 166-69. Macaulay may have been indirectly responsible for Swinburne's trilogy.
- Cassidy, John. "Reply to a Reviewer." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 203-5. Questions Robert Greenberg's criticism of his book on Swinburne, Vol. IX, 1966, pp. 285-87.
- Greenberg, Robert A. "Answers to an Inquiry." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 205-8. Replies to John Cassidy's remarks.
- Hyder, Clyde Kenneth, ed. *Swinburne Replies: "Notes on Poems and Reviews"; "Under the Microscope"; "Dedicatorial Epistle"*. Syracuse.
- TENNYSON. Battaglia, Francis Joseph. "The Use of Contradiction in 'In Memoriam.'" *English Language Notes*, September, pp. 41-46. Tennyson used structured inconsistency as an effective dramatic device.
- Brian, John. "Tennyson's 'Recollections of the Arabian Nights' and the Individuation Process." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 275-79. The poem joins the process of self-fulfillment to the imagination and makes a relevant statement of the aesthetic to which Tennyson was attracted, but later rejected.

- Gray, J. M. "Tennyson and Nennius." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 341-42. Tennyson's modifications of Nennius' account of Arthur's battles enhance both Arthur and Lancelot, and stress their ancient bond.
- Poston, Lawrence, III. "'Pelleas and Ettarre': Tennyson's 'Troilus.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 199-204. The similarity between Pelleas and Shakespeare's Troilus.
- Ricks, Christopher. "Tennyson and Persian." *English Language Notes*, September, pp. 46-47. Tennyson's poetry was not influenced by his reading Persian poetry.
- Sendry, Joseph. "'The Palace of Art' Revisited." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 149-62. The moral case against the palace is expressed in the very excess of the description of the palace itself.
- Solimine, Joseph. "The Burkean Idea of the State in Tennyson's Poetry: The Vision In Crisis." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, February, pp. 147-65. Tennyson never lost his fundamental conservative principles of the Burkean state.
- Weiner, S. Roland. "The Chord of Self: Tennyson's *Maud*." *Literature and Psychology*, Vol. XVI, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 175-83. The psychotic character of the hero.
- Wilkenfeld, R. B. "The Shape of Two Voices." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1966, pp. 163-73. The use of the "two voices" in five of Tennyson's poems.
- THACKERAY. Colby, Robert A. "Barry Lyndon and the Irish Hero." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 109-30. *Barry Lyndon* is Thackeray's most ingenious novel.
- White, Edward M. "Thackeray's Contributions to *Fraser's Magazine*." *Studies in Bibliography*. Virginia. Vol. XIX, pp. 67-84. *Fraser* provided the apprentice training that contributed to Thackeray's later success as a novelist. Lists items.
- THOMPSON. Thompson, Francis. *The Mistress of Vision*. Saint Albert's. Edition of the poem first published in 1897. Rev. *TLS*, 15 December, p. 1172.
- THOMSON. Schaeffer, William David. *James Thomson (B.V.): Beyond "The City"*. University of California. Critical study. Rev. *TLS*, 16 February, p. 126.
- Vachot, Charles. *James Thomson*. Didier. Rev. *TLS*, 16 February, p. 126.
- TROLLOPES. Poston, Lawrence. "Thomas Adolphus Trollope: A Victorian Anglo-Florentine." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Autumn, pp. 133-64. Examines Trollope's writings on Italy, especially his work as a historian.
- Wagner, Anthony. "Trollope." *TLS*, 29 December, p. 1210. Possible identification of the character Lawrence Twentymann in Trollope's *The American Senator*.
- WILDE. Wilde, Oscar. *Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*. Intro. Vyvyan Holland. Collins. Rev. *TLS*, 17 November, p. 1049.

Staten Island Community College

## English X Notes

### Committee News

- Officers for 1967 are Wendell Stacy Johnson, Chairman; Martin J. Svaglic, Secretary.
- The following nominations were approved at the 1966 meeting: John D. Rosenberg and Roma A. King, Advisory and Nominating Committee Members, 1968-1969; Robert A. Greenberg, 1967 Program Chairman. Papers to be read at the December meeting will represent the three categories: poetry, fiction, prose. All inquiries should be addressed to Mr. Greenberg (Department of English, Queens College, Flushing, New York).

### Correspondence

- Robert F. Fleissner (University of New Mexico) writes: "In his rejoinder (*VNL*, Spring 1966, pp. 26-27) to my article mentioning his earlier study in passing, Mr. Hellstrom proposes, in his claim to disagreement, a confrontation; hence this sur-rejoinder. Though the bulk of my elaboration has been published elsewhere (*CEA Critic*, June 1966, pp. 7-8), a few words are still in order.

"That Hardy's novel is, in many respects, *non-Christian* I do not doubt; yet I fail to see how tragedy that results from a 'rejection of Christianity' is thereby 'anti-Christian.' Such an assumption is a nonsequitur. If there is such a thing as Christian tragedy, it undoubtedly stems from the wrong application of the will, and, as Mr. Hellstrom rightly points out, there is considerable self-assertion in *Jude the Obscure*. To claim that Christianity is built upon self-denial solely and not upon self-assertion is to ignore the fundamental Ignatian precept that we should pray as if everything depends on God and work as if everything depends on human effort. Hardy referred to the Society of Jesus in *The Return of the Native*, and the moral tenor he explicitly imputed to *Jude*—both in his Preface and in a letter of his in the New York Public Library Berg Collection to which I refer in my subsequent paper—reveal that he was not unaware of non-pagan free will.

"To reiterate my assertion above that the novel may be non-Christian, I ought to make clear, as I indeed thought I had in my original article, that my study was essentially an etymological one; that it was concerned with, as the title so well revealed, "the name Jude"; that my interest was in the Judaic-Christian overtones suggested by the nomenclature of the novelist; and that Jude's redeeming feature if he only had realized it, was his very name. Thus the novel is 'decidedly a *pro-Christian* document,' if not a Christian one, for it shows how errant man can, if he so chooses, rebuke the forces of evil surrounding him."

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THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER is edited for the English X Group of the Modern Language Association by William E. Buckler, New York University, New York, N. Y. 10003. Subscription rates in the United States and Canada are \$2.00 for one year and \$3.00 for two years. All checks should be made payable to William E. Buckler, personally, so that they may be easily negotiated.