

THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER

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Victorian Poetics: An Approach Through Genre*

W. David Shaw

TWO MAJOR QUESTIONS confront a generic critic of Victorian poetry: what different genres or generic combinations should we postulate of any given poem; and what principles are compatible or incompatible with the hypothesis of our choice? If, for example, we read Arnold's "Sohrab and Rustum" as Homeric epic or Sophoclean tragedy, then we cannot at the same time read it as an elegiac expansion of the coda of "Dover Beach": a confused struggle on "the darkling plain" in which a father kills his son. Despite Arnold's meditative use of epic similes, the sheer velocity of epic would ruin the reflective rallentando of an elegiac poem. If, on the other hand, we value the confused struggle for its elegiac pathos, then we cannot at the same time read "Sohrab and Rustum" as a classical tragedy, even though its anagnorisis may coincide with its peripeteia in the best Aristotelian fashion. An elegiac narrative cannot disclose a truly tragic event but, at most, a distressing and pathetic accident. The point is that the one generic theory precludes the other: the more tragic irony the less elegiac pathos and the more pathos the less irony.

Let me take another example. If we read Browning's "Saul" as a dramatic monologue, we may legitimately object to the way the poet has tricked us into going to church by announcing: "See the Christ stand!" Instead of witnessing a dramatic exchange between David and his auditor, we find that Saul is dropped from the poem altogether and that we have become the captive audience of a doctrinal exhortation. But if we entertain a different hypothesis and assume that "Saul" is a visionary poem in the tradition of Smart's "Hymn to David," then we shall expect Browning and his speaker to soar magnificently to the "pure white light" and to speak together in unison. Instead of being unpleasantly surprised by the religious climax, we shall be prepared to accept the generic law that the disparate pleasures afforded by a dramatic monologue and a visionary poem (or by a tragedy and an elegiac narrative) cannot both be realized in the same work. If we are to rejoice in Arnold's elegiac pathos or Browning's flight into visionary truth, then we cannot at the same time delight in Arnold's tragic conception of Sohrab and Rustum or in Browning's subtle characterization of David. The gen-

eric hypothesis we choose will have to give the most complete and coherent explanation, and it will have to account most economically for the power of the poem. More important than rigid definitions of the epic, the tragedy, the dramatic monologue, and so on is a knowledge of alternative principles and devices. For only such knowledge will prevent the critic from judging an elegiac narrative or a visionary poem in terms of something it is not.

What, then, are the generic combinations that the critic is most likely to encounter in Victorian poetry? And what are their potential advantages and dangers? To unify the argument I shall limit myself to Tennyson and Browning; and to plot the affinities of the different genres I shall treat them as subjective and objective versions of four theories of literature. These are the expressive, mimetic, symbolist, and rhetorical theories, a division that I borrow from the first chapter of M. H. Abrams' book, *The Mirror and the Lamp*.¹ The first of these is the expressive theory, which affirms that the poem is the utterance of the thoughts and feelings of the poet. This is the dominant theory of the Romantic period, and its typical subjective form is the lyric. Despite their many successes in this genre, the Victorian poets are often close to their own emotions when they are writing directly about personal experience. The coda of "De Profundis" is ineffective as poetry, not because Tennyson is insincere but because he is, on the contrary, too sincere. Though we know that he was moved to tears by the coda of "De Profundis," his hymn of praise to "Infinite Ideality!/Immeasurable Reality!/ Infinite Personality!" communicates almost nothing to the reader. As an example of what T. S. Eliot calls "sincere" as opposed to "significant" emotion, the prayer is the mere babble of a soul in rapture; Tennyson has not subdued his ecstasy or brought it into manageable form. Even in a lyric like "Go not, happy day" from *Maud*, in which the poet is not directly personal, the ecstatic, almost incoherent, language does not so much articulate his meaning as allow the whole range of meanings involved in self-forgetful joy to be implied. No genuine metaphors cross the bridge of tautology between the Indian dance and the cedar tree or between the glowing

* This paper and the two that follow by Professors Sundell and Tobias were read originally in December 1970 to Group Ten of the Modern Language Association.

1. Abrams, "Orientation of Critical Theories," *The Mirror and the Lamp* (New York, 1953), pp. 8-29.

ships and Maud; the one word "rose" is made to take on all the work of lyric vision.

An objective version of the expressive theory of poetry is that most popular of Victorian genres, the dramatic monologue. In the "Preface" to his *Poems of 1853* Arnold calls for more "disinterested objectivity" in literature. Though the major Victorian poets require a genre that is more subjective than the drama, Arnold believes it should be less introspective than a work like *Faust*. One of the problems with *In Memoriam* is that it contains few generic safeguards against Tennyson's egoism. It may even invest his grief with what Ivor Winters calls a "pseudo-reference."² In a lyric of loss there is always a danger of illegitimately assuming an objective authority for what remains a purely subjective experience or a mere *cri de coeur*. By contrast, a dramatic monologue like "Tithonus," which originates in the same personal experience as *In Memoriam*, forces Tennyson to introduce more dramatic detail to represent what Hallam's death means to him. "Tithonus" attains in seventy-six lines that lucid and complete acceptance of death that Tennyson can reach in *In Memoriam* only after one hundred and thirty sections of protracted anguish.

Thou seest all things, thou wilt see my grave;
Thou wilt renew thy beauty morn by morn;
I earth in earth forget these empty courts,
And thee returning on thy silver wheels.

These concluding lines from the monologue convey the sense of tremendous rallentando, the great pause, the slowing down of Aurora's triumphal progress. To the majestic auroral cycle Tennyson adds the poignant human cycle of "earth in earth," for which the autumnal richness and slowing down of the opening lines have subtly but beautifully prepared us. Unlike parts of *In Memoriam*, this concentrated monologue is not simply personal. Instead, we hear the voices of Tithonus and the poet in unison. The very principles of the genre, which allow Tennyson to be personal at the same time that they force him to be public, release his emotion even as they control it.

The two major genres, the epic and the drama, are subjective and objective versions, respectively, of a second theory of literature, the ancient mimetic theory, which views literature as the imitation of an action. The drama and epic are un congenial to the Victorians, who displace these genres in a variety of ways that critics of Victorian poetry are just beginning to understand. Though Tennyson's moral comprehension usually in-

volves dramatic awareness—a sympathetic and intelligent knowledge of the way people act—it has a way of resisting social definition. Tennyson fails in historical plays like *Becket* and *Queen Mary* for the same reason that he fails in the English idylls: he chooses a social scene and discovers no convincing way of placing his wider visions inside it. Almost all Browning's failures as a playwright come from the same problem of defining aspiration, or the sense of human possibility, in social terms. As the realization of his announced intention in the preface to *Stratford*, where he declares his aim is to represent "Action in Character, rather than Character in Action," Browning's plays illustrate the dangers that attend any reversal in the priority attributed by Aristotle to action over thought or character. Such a reversal may be possible in certain kinds of plays: in one of Shaw's operatic comedies of ideas, for example. But complicated psychological or intellectual studies, which fail on the stage, where the spectator has too little opportunity to analyze them, are more readily accommodated in a dramatic monologue, where Browning can develop the kinds of complexity in which he excels.

The other major genre, the epic, continues to seduce and confound the Victorians. I have already suggested that in "Sohrab and Rustum" the conventions of epic are hostile to Arnold's genius, which is essentially elegiac. As for Browning's *Sordello*, which abounds like Arnold's poem in epic devices, it is a confessional displacement of the epic, in which the subject is less the nominal hero than the speaker's consciousness, which is at once theatre and producer. It is as if Homer, in displaying his genius for contriving the *Iliad*, were to boast that as the contents of his own consciousness Achilles' story is more "real" than a story that does not allow us to see into the creative life of the epic poet. The effect of Tennyson's narrative experiments in *The Princess* is less that of an epic than a dream vision: logical connections of the surface narrative carry less of the meaning than the logic hidden in the transformation of Ida from a royal eagle into a vicious tiger cat or mare. The children in the lyrics serve as proxies for other elements that cluster round them: the parents, marriage, love, and so on. Such clusters of details, for which any one image may do synecdochic duty, tend to occur in close proximity to each other, like fragments of a dream.

A third theory of literature, which may be called the symbolist theory, affirms the autonomy of art and insists that the only subject of poetry is the poetry itself. A symbolic lyric like "The Hesperides" or "Childe Ro-

land" is difficult in the modern manner. Though it invites a universal meaning, it presents that meaning entirely through images. When the sequence of images becomes a sequence of symbolic lyrics or idylls, then we simply have the symbolist principle on a larger scale, as in *Idylls of the King*. Generally, the individual dramatic monologue is an expressive form, an objective version of the lyric, in which the poet can speak more immediately than in a play. But when we read a group of Browning's monologues together, or a work like *The Ring and the Book*, we find that the combination is generically distinct. Then we are invited to perceive and help create a drama of evolving consciousness, a progression of sensual, moral, and religious attitudes. Similarly, the reader who is invited to discern a pattern among the disparate books of *Idylls of the King* is confronted with a form of symbolist literature, a poem that implies its meaning without affirming it. Its closest modern analogues are poems like *The Waste Land* or *Four Quartets*. A more objective expression of the symbolist theory is a dramatic hybrid like *Maud* or *Pippa Passes*. *Maud* presents a series of apparently disconnected episodes, and it leaves the reader to construct the intervening action for himself. Tennyson occasionally introduces a flashback, a picture of the hero's father or Maud as a child; at other times he gives us a "close-up" on an object like the shell or a "fade-out," as the hero waits for Maud in the garden, then appears in the next "frame" as an exile in Brittany. The poem is closer in form to a "movie," made up of separate "shots," than it is to any of the traditional genres.

A fourth theory of literature, the rhetorical theory that poetry is an art of persuasion, is particularly influential in a polemical age like the Victorian. Objective expressions of the rhetorical theory appear in Tennyson's ceremonial poems and in poems of debate like "The Two Voices" and "The Ancient Sage." In its subjective version the rhetorical poem may turn into a kind of prayer, like "De Profundis" or "The Higher Pantheism," that demonstrates a sincere competence in both the psalmic and Coleridgean modes of prayerful poetry. At its most obtrusive, Victorian rhetoric is, in Yeats's dictum, merely the will trying to do the work of the imagination. But the didacticism of the best Victorian poems is essentially a matter of showing how the mind is moved to make moral and intellectual distinctions; and a poet can do this in very different ways. He can use his moral intelligence

to see all around a complex issue, as Tennyson does in "Ulysses" and "The Holy Grail"; he does not have to combine his different perspectives into a single structure of judgment, as if for a decision by the reader, the way Browning does in most of his religious monologues.

A related, though more intellectual, form of subjective rhetoric is the confession. A poem like *In Memoriam* presents the personal, and often private, experience of its author. But by admitting us to his private world, Tennyson hopes to convince us of the truth of his discoveries. In Northrop Frye's terms,³ the confession is "introverted" but "thematic"; though private and inward, it explores ideas it wants us to share; it is therefore, in the end, pragmatic or rhetorical in aim. When Shelley and Arnold make self-concern central to elegies like "Adonais" and "Thyrsis," we are likely to complain that there is too much Shelley or Arnold in these poems and too little Keats or Clough. If we do not object in the same way to Tennyson's preoccupation with himself in *In Memoriam*, it is because we recognize and grant the confessional basis of his form.

An important feature of the confession is its use of a second person, or a "mediator," who helps make accessible to the speaker the truths or values he is trying to reach. Hallam, as mediator, enables Tennyson to accept a spiritual principle of revelation through withdrawal. In Geoffrey Hartman's phrase, Hallam teaches Tennyson that "consciousness is always of death"; only "a confrontation of the self with a buried self" can raise the energies of consciousness to their highest pitch.⁴ We find a similar pattern in confessional forms like Mill's *Autobiography*, Sartor Resartus, and *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. Wordsworth as mediator enables Mill to discover the value of "states of feeling, and of thought colored by feeling"⁵ that were previously inaccessible to him; mediators like Goethe and Fichte help Carlyle affirm the value of ethical and spiritual truths, just as Keble and Whatley render intelligible philosophic and religious truths for Newman. Another feature of the confession is its pattern of conversion. When the author becomes fully conscious, for the first time, of the truth that the mediator makes available, he undergoes a kind of conversion, a discovery or revelation that introduces a break with his past life. The conversion may be explicitly religious, as is Newman's conversion to Catholicism, or only implicitly so, as is the use of religious analogies to present Carlyle's experience of the "Ever-

2. Winters, "The Experimental School in American Poetry," in *Defense of Reason* (Denver, 1937).

3. Frye, "Rhetorical Criticism: Theory of Genres," *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 307-8.

4. Hartman, *Wordsworth's Poetry 1787-1814* (New Haven, 1964), p. 22.

5. J. S. Mill, *Autobiography*, ch. V.

lasting Yea" or the appearance of the breeze as a secular equivalent of the Holy Spirit when Tennyson attains his most convincing intuition of immortality in Section XCV of *In Memoriam*.

One of the most reliable guarantees of the reader's isolation from a work is its genre. If we know that a poem is a pastoral elegy, then we immediately enjoy the intellectual comfort of a limited and highly artificial frame of reference; the values and expectations of a different frame of reference—the autobiographical, for example—will not apply. Much of Tennyson and Browning, by contrast, is "poetry of experience." The uncertainties are part of our own activity as readers, if only

because we are not quite sure what the frames of reference are. The search of the Victorian age for new frames of reference and the intellectual action of searching for them in the poems are often very similar. Though this search complicates the task of the generic critic, it makes it all the more necessary. For if poetry in an age of spiritual confusion is to avoid "the fallacy of imitative form," it will have to imply some frames of reference; and the critic of successful poetry will succeed himself only to the extent that he can make the particulars of the literature and the frames of reference implied by the literature fit together.⁶

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Spiritual Confusion and Artistic Form in Victorian Poetry

Michael G. Sundell

THE VICTORIAN INTELLECTUAL WORLD resists codification. More than most periods, the forty years from 1835 to 1875 were characterized by the "multitudinousness" that Matthew Arnold deplored and most of his sophisticated contemporaries also recognized. For such men and women, literal truth no longer seemed clearly discernible or general truth surely fixed. Innumerable theories, most of them fragmentary or whimsical, competed as dogmas. Intelligent men, like Browning, flirted with relativism without fully perceiving the consequences of their flirtation. G. M. Young describes this world as one "of accumulating and accelerating change."¹ It was beginning to subscribe tentatively to the values of what Harold Rosenberg calls "the tradition of the new"²—values unavoidably insubstantial, unstable, and confusing since they reside in qualities extrinsic and accidental to the matter judged. Even the nature of selfhood appeared uncertain, sometimes formless. Consequently, one could not organize one's sense of the world as such earlier writers as Wordsworth and Byron had done, achieving through strong self-awareness a personal vision worthy of trust. Those who formulated such visions now often seemed idiosyncratic or wilfully self-deluding—not participants in an intensive study of the particular that might yield a significant general understanding of man but agents of their own isolation and blindness.

This sense of a chaotic universe, resistant to sure intellectual and moral evaluation, necessarily affected literary forms. Recent studies in the Victorian novel have emphasized such technical developments as: the ambiguous and sometimes inconsistent attitudes of authors to the characters and events they describe; the complex manipulation of point of view; and the omission of crucial literal information as a means of insisting on the subjectivity of fact.³ Kindred and often more complex innovations appeared in Victorian poetry. Most celebrated, of course, is the dramatic monologue. But as a Victorian attempt to give truthful literary coherence to a multitudinous world by experimentation in point of view, the dramatic monologue is relatively simple and straightforward. Anchored in the clear dramatic identities of their narrators, even such difficult poems as "Ulysses" and "Fra Lippo Lippi" make no explicit claim to universal authority. More complicated in technique and more obscure in their relation to truth are dramatic meditations like *In Memoriam*, "By the Fire-Side," "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse," and *Modern Love*, whose speakers bear no names and faces but those of their creators, yet address us through ironic filters that make their assertions in part suspect.

Victorian poets were also often more experimental than Victorian novelists in multiplying point of view to indi-

cate distrust of authoritative statement. The sophisticated use of a narrative frame to render assertions unreliable, a device admired in *Wuthering Heights*, appears commonly in the poetry of Tennyson and occasionally in that of Browning and Arnold. The bifurcation of *Bleak House*, which nearly reduces fact to opinion by causing us to view the same world through lenses of opposed value, seems simple compared to the medley of *The Ring and the Book*. The internal commentaries and dramatic dialogues in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* remain controlled by an impressive authorial voice; those in Arnold's *Tristram and Iseult* break free of such control, competing for authority with the remarks of the narrator himself. The narrative structure of each of these poems shows its author's sense that, because of the heterogeneity of the universe, accurate knowledge comes at best rarely and unpredictably. The form of each embodies the same intellectual and moral wariness that also accounts for the frequent omission of important information most readers would have sought. Browning, for example, closes his Roman murder tale without making clear the final spiritual state of Guido and without divulging the nature and fate of Gaetano, Pompilia, and Guido's son, the "child born of love and hate" (st. XII, l. 813). Similarly, Tennyson, in *Idylls of the King*, apparently uncertain about the relation between verifiable fact and moral significance, leaves Arthur's origins obscure, even bringing into question his literal humanity.

Distrust of moral and intellectual conviction—even the suspicion that conviction must be illusory—does not, of course, prevent men from seeking truth, and Victorian poets often sought in their art to gain and render the certainty some of them also believed unattainable. Characteristic assumptions of the age—ones often held only half-consciously—usually guided these attempts to comprehend and portray life without falsification. Even a cursory study of this subject, one centering on a few major works, may suggest the integrity and technical grace with which the best of these poets tried to make honest artistic sense of an apparently meaningless world. Three such assumptions, together with some formal traits they encouraged, seem to me especially useful for discussion: (1) the supposition that a quasi-scientific accretion and arrangement of data, if practiced long enough, might finally disclose the true or at least peel away much of the false; (2) the hope—often tenuous—that a dialectical identification of polar qualities might show the essence of a person or situation; and (3) the hesitant be-

lief—a legacy from an earlier generation—that intuition or mystical insight might reveal the meaningful kernel of life.

In Memoriam, *Idylls of the King*, and *The Ring and the Book*, for example, are all accretive. As T. S. Eliot has implied, the success of *In Memoriam*—that is, its formal integrity—depends on our sense at the end of the elegy that Tennyson has presented comprehensively his progressive responses to Hallam's death and the speculations those responses excite.⁴ The poem would fail if we were unconvinced that the speaker has recorded each of his pulse-beats with candor, and it would be incomplete if we found less than full the list of agonies and doubts he has mastered on his way to the restoration of faith. Both the seemingly endless proliferation and the seemingly haphazard order of the various lyrics in the elegy are essential to its structure as a whole, for that structure embodies the emergence of intellectual, moral, and emotional order from the chaos of experience.

The Ring and the Book and *Idylls of the King* are even more obviously accretive in organization. Each consists of multiple versions of essentially the same material. In reiterating information from shifting points of view, Browning and Tennyson absorb variety in totality while evoking and then discarding all potential perversions of truth. In *The Ring and the Book*, Browning strives to create the impression that he omits no possible interpretation of the central incidents of his murder story. Since reality comprises the seeming infinity of plausible appearances as well as the simple integrity of spiritual truth, we must experience the sentimentality of Other Half-Rome and the sensuality of Bottini to avoid falsification through incompleteness. Moreover, to gain the power of looking accurately through the veils of falsehood and partial truth, we must adopt and then reject the various distorted perspectives of such men.

Though *Idylls of the King* shows this simultaneous gathering and winnowing less strikingly, it follows a similar process, presenting variations on a few essential situations. Through disparate renderings of such recurrent motifs as feudal responsibility, chivalrous romance, and the knightly quest, Tennyson evokes shifting judgments of the Arthurian world and its values of fidelity, purity, and aspiration. As the versions accumulate, the view of human possibilities suggested by the opening idylls impresses us more and more as childish optimism. The accretion of evidence peels away illusion, making the vision of life offered by the beginning of the

6. Cf. R. S. Crane, "Toward a More Adequate Criticism of Poetic Structure," *The Languages of Criticism and the Structure of Poetry* (Toronto, 1953), especially p. 181.

1. *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age*, 2d ed. (New York, 1953), p. 102.

2. *The Tradition of the New* (New York, 1959).

3. I have found especially helpful Lionel Stevenson's essay "The Relativity of Truth in Victorian Fiction," *Victorian Essays: A Symposium*, eds. Warren D. Anderson and Thomas D. Claresson (Kent, Ohio, 1967), pp. 71-86.

4. "In Memoriam," *Essays Ancient and Modern* (New York, 1936), p. 195. I have especially profited in my reading of *In Memoriam*

from J. C. C. Mays's "In Memoriam: An Aspect of Form," *UTQ*, 35 (1965), 22-46.

cycle seem naïve in its perception of the threats to the Arthurian ideal of a virtuous order imposed on flesh by spirit. By the time of *The Passing of Arthur*, only grotesque parodies remain of the great motifs of feudal servitude and knight-errantry that throughout have symbolized the attempt to realize this ideal. First Arthur, despoiled of all his knights save Sir Bedivere, must threaten Bedivere's death to enforce his obedience. Then the King rides Bedivere's shoulders through a wasteland to his own end. These distorted remnants of chivalrous action embody Tennyson's conclusion that Arthur's aspirations were impractical but inexplicably worthwhile.

The forms of both *The Ring and the Book* and *Idylls of the King* also reflect their authors' dialectical concerns. As many scholars have noted, books two to eleven of Browning's masterpiece form a trio of dialectical triads itself dialectical in nature. This process leads to the just conclusion enunciated and dramatized jointly in the Pope's soliloquy and Guido's second monologue. In a similar but less tidy fashion, Tennyson prepares us for his paradoxical judgment that spiritual aspiration is foolish yet valuable through a series of contrary renderings of potentially similar situations. Gareth and Pelleas, for example, both seek to impose their will upon the world, to gain knighthood and manhood by making reality conform to their imagination. Whereas Gareth succeeds, Pelleas fails, changing in consequence into the antithesis of his original vision of himself. The stories of Geraint and Merlin provide a complementary contrast. Despite relinquishing his will in favor of chance, Geraint acquires new knowledge that permits informed and vigorous action. Merlin suffers destruction by the same mistake. Through such opposed narratives, Tennyson works toward the breakdown of the dialectical process represented in "The Passing of Arthur," in which he portrays a state of antithesis when no synthesis can be discerned.

Because of their amplitude, *Idylls of the King* and *The Ring and the Book* show particularly well the Victorian use of dialectic, but works based on comparable practices and reflecting similar concerns run through the literature of the age. Many of them, like the *Idylls*, imply finally the limited value of the dialectical process. Two examples must suffice. Clough constructs his dialogue-poem *Dipsychus* by a series of opposed judgments. The bafflement this form of argument produces automatically makes suspect the method of reasoning on which the work appears based. Arnold's *Empedocles on Etna* depends largely on a related pair of dialectical progressions, one informing the philosopher's great meditation in Act II and the other embodied in the implicit dialogue between the excessively rational Empedocles and the young Callicles, a man of sensuous and unquestioning perception. The value of

neither of these dialectical movements appears unqualified. Empedocles' triumphant acquisition of the power to feel—the result of his rigorous self-examination—occasions his suicide. Callicles' final song shows a new spirit of intellectual curiosity that complements his sentence but also suggests that he may someday undergo Empedocles' suffering.

These instances of the failure of dialectical process reflect general Victorian dissatisfaction with reason as an agency of truth. Such wariness, supported by mistrust of perceived reality and by an inherited visionary tradition, encouraged reliance on intuition, dreams, and sometimes occult or hieratic rituals as means of gaining significant information about the self and its relation to the world at large. Dependence on this sort of experience, however, entails intrinsic problems, most acutely to men in an atmosphere of moral and intellectual confusion. Consequently, the lessons of mysticism or intuition often receive ambivalent treatment by the Victorians. Valued as heavenly secrets, they are nonetheless presented skeptically or equivocally.

Such polarity marks *In Memoriam*, the major poem of the age most strongly insistent on the worth of visionary perception. As late in the sequence as Lyric 92, Tennyson says of Hallam:

If any vision should reveal
Thy likeness, I might count it vain
As but the canker of the brain.

Even when he overcomes such doubt, Tennyson cannot use his intuition of a purposeful moral order to solve the puzzles of the waking world. Derived from a source opposed to the reason and senses, this faith cannot answer the questions they pose. It can inspire trust that geological change and premature death must somehow realize divine will, but it cannot show how they may do so. Essentially wholesome, the visionary faculty nevertheless causes in Tennyson a self-division he can accept but not reconcile.

Visions of spiritual truth, though unimpeachable in their sources, appear even more equivocal in both *The Ring and the Book* and *Idylls of the King*. Browning takes as a central theme the difficulty of reconciling spiritual revelation with the morally mixed quality of the everyday world. In a long introductory book, he explores the effect of this problem on the artist. Within the body of the poem, he then goes on to show that the two orders of reality can at best coincide only at brief and lucky moments. Pompilia's purity necessitates her death, since it makes her unfit for our world, and confrontation with her moral perfection catalyzes the evil in most of those who meet or discuss her. Even Caponsacchi, save for the few

days of their hallucinatory journey together, is disabled by his encounter with her virtue. In "The Holy Grail," the ascetic nun and Sir Galahad have a similar debilitating effect on those they inspire to voyage after heavenly truth. Both poets thus create worlds in which divine visions, although illuminating truth normally masked to men, may maim those blessed by such revelation and render them social or moral dangers to others.

In each of these works, the author's mixed attitude toward mystical insight appears partly in his manner of rendering traditional literary embodiments of such experience, the dream vision and the fantastic or imaginary voyage. Most good Victorian poems incorporating these motifs display a similar artistic complexity. Tennyson's *Maud* and *The Princess*, Arnold's "The Scholar-Gipsy" and Meredith's "Melampus," for example, all center on their protagonists' visionary enlightenment; yet none demands our literal belief in such revelation. By treating their protagonists ironically, locating them in the never-never land of myth or making them explicitly fictional creations, all three poets disclaim authority for the illuminating events they relate. They become able thus to raise the possibility that mystical insight conveys a higher truth useful to man, but they can also avoid explaining plausibly the process of revelation or committing themselves fully to the truth it reveals.

Fantastic voyages usually receive similar treatment. The overwrought emotions of Caponsacchi and Tennyson's Sir Percivale, for example, so strongly color their accounts that the factual details of their journeys become uncertain—nearly as much so as the worth of the lessons the journeys teach. Of all such Victorian renderings of the voyage to mystic illumination, the most pow-

erful is "Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came." Roland appears to gain progressively during his travels a recognition of his own guilt and a willingness to accept himself; but the cause, nature, and consequence of that guilt remain obscure, as do indeed the cause, nature, and consequence of his journey itself. Browning places his speaker in a universe in which standard antitheses have collapsed: success is failure; a lie is the truth. Even the distinction between reality and unreality seems meaningless, for past events—historic fact—exist only as present speech.

"Childe Roland" is unusual for its era. In it, Browning radically transforms a traditional literary genre to invert its traditional significance. He evokes the values implicit in the quest for spiritual enlightenment through maturation in order to portray the world as meaningless save for the undefined and apparently irremediable guilt one must acknowledge to form one's identity. Such unqualified bleakness is rare in the poems of the major Victorians. More often, these writers exist in the borderland between belief and disbelief. The methods of equivocation by which they convey their uncertainty are apt to grate on us nowadays, striking us as perfunctory or even dishonest. We are likely to find more congenial the absolutism of "Childe Roland," valuing it as a harbinger of the world of Godot. But the mixture of faith and doubt—the yearning for certainty despite the awareness of complexity—is most characteristic of the Victorians. To read their poetry properly, we must accept this human inconsistency and examine its artistic embodiment in the kinds of devices I have mentioned.

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Tennyson's Painted Shell

Richard C. Tobias

WHEN ARNOLD CONDEMNED Tennyson for "dawdling with . . . [the] painted shell" of the universe, he said more than he knew about the development of nineteenth-century verse toward symbolism. Symbolist poets learned to play with shells and thus to discover new complexity. Tennyson, when he is not dawdling with shells, often fails symbolist-trained readers when he penetrates the

shell to "solve the universe."¹ In "The Lady of Shalott" Tennyson's character in fact dawdles with a painted shell when she writes her name on the prow of her shallow boat and floats down the river to Camelot. As Lancelot looks on the prow and on her face and muses on their significance, so readers of the poem look to its signs and muse. The poem has clear signs: lights, plumes, and ru-

1. Howard Foster Lowry, ed., *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough* (New York, 1968), p. 63. Arnold, it should be said, accuses Clough of going to Camelot.

sic. The poem develops from these signs on three landscapes—the wold, the island, and Camelot. Adding these signs and landscapes to his Italian source, Tennyson makes a poem that plays with ideas of poetic creation in a nonpoetic world.² Our task is to read these signs, just as it was Lancelot's task to read the words on the shell floating into Camelot and to hear their music.

That Tennyson wrote a protosymbolist poem has been obscured by his own inadvertent judgment on it. Canon Ainger prepared an anthology of Tennysonian poems entitled *Tennyson for the Younger*; he selected poems suitable for children, and in brief notes at the back of the volume he printed a sentence describing the poem. The Hallam Tennyson *Memoir* of the poet repeats the same words and says that Tennyson spoke them.³ Many anthologies reprint the words; almost all criticism is based on them.⁴ Tennyson's words are appropriate for Victorian children:

The new-born love for something, for someone in the wide world from which she has been so long secluded, takes her out of the region of shadows into that of realities.⁵

These words, however, distract us in the twentieth century so that we miss seeing that Tennyson's poem is about the possibility of creation in an abstract world, a world that according to Thomas Macaulay in an 1825 essay on "Milton," could no longer sustain a concrete, moving art. Tennyson's fable repeats Macaulay: just as poetry dies in the modern world, so does the Lady. To read the poem, however, so simplistically is to read it once again as Canon Ainger's children. Tennyson's poem confutes Macaulay's confident pronouncement of the death of art, not by any counterstatement but by setting, actors, and song.

The poem is so tightly woven that I do not know whether we best enter it by the thread of the lights-plumes-music, the thread of the wold-island-Camelot pattern, or the thread of Tennyson's additions to his Italian sources. Since Lancelot seems to be the agent of the action and since the landscape, signs, and additions refer to him, I

will use him. Tennyson's first audience would have understood him simply as a knight from an ancient story. Although the Italian source mentions Arthur and the Queen, Tennyson ignores all actors except the Lady and Lancelot. In Tennyson alone, Lancelot is marked by plumes, by the fire of his armor, and by his song. When he first appears, the sunlight reflects from his brass leg armor ("and flamed upon the brazen greaves," l. 76). Lancelot bears a shield with a pictured knight kneeling to a lady, but we are never told whether it is the Virgin or the Queen. Christopher Ricks cites lines from the *Faerie Queene* as analogues to Tennyson's lines, but comparing the two visions shows distinct contrasts.⁶ Arthur's armor glitters, but the cold steel is "deadly." Lancelot has "gemmy" decoration and seems deadly not at all. Arthur does battle; his helmet is "horrid all with gold" that "great terror bredd." Arthur's shield is covered, and when he does show it, it is brighter than the sun and turns "men into stones" and nothingness. Lancelot has a "silver bugle" (where sounding brass would be appropriate). Lancelot's plume flames like a meteor, a portent of disaster. Because his "helmet and plume" lure the lady, she looks down to Camelot and, thus, the sight of Camelot invokes the curse. Helmet and plume burning like one flame, Lancelot flashes into the Lady's mirror, singing his foolish "tirra lirra." He is marked by reflected light, by his plumes, and by his gay chanson. He is the very example of appearance, show, and, therefore, shadow.

Although Lancelot moves across the three landscapes, he is identified with Camelot. Since he goes by the island, we presume he has been on the wold. The refrain of the poem varies only twice: first, his name substitutes for Camelot and second, immediately after we hear the words of his song, his name takes the place of Shalott. He is going down to Camelot on the sea. Since medieval cities were rarely on the coast (raiders arrived by sea), this displacement judges Camelot. The river to Camelot is Tennyson's addition (in the Italian story, the Lady floats along the shore). The river, I believe, is the same river of life that Tennyson uses for *In Memoriam* (l. 103), where he glosses sea as "eternity" and the river as "The Progress

of the Age."⁷ Auden teaches us that the sea often represents the "barbaric vagueness and disorder out of which civilisation has emerged . . . and is always liable to relapse."⁸ Tennyson could never "solve the universe" with such an idea, but he could suggest it in his scene. The Lady is cursed if she "look down to Camelot." Nearly all in the moving pageant outside her tower move to Camelot, and the direction is down. Some, however, come from the city. At the end of Part Two, two young lovers come from Camelot:

Or when the moon was overhead,
Came two young lovers lately wed;
"I am half sick of shadows," said
The Lady of Shalott. (ll. 69-72)

These lovers occupy the other half of a stanza about a funeral going to Camelot:

For often through the silent nights
A funeral, with plumes and lights
And music, went to Camelot. (ll. 66-68)

The funeral has the same distinguishing features—plumes, lights, and music—that Lancelot has. This funeral moves toward Camelot in the climactic moment when Tennyson has fully set his landscape. The contrast between lovers coming from Camelot and the funeral going to Camelot (a strange direction for a funeral) appears just before Lancelot enters the mirror and the poem. Lancelot is linked to city and funeral.

With Camelot the three signs are either modified or almost inverted. The city is towered. For defense, one tower suffices; the mark of decadence in medieval Italian cities was the proliferation of towers (San Gimignano, south of Florence, had seventy-two towers, all useless). Such towers mark the power of a city just as a plume marks a knight, and both plume and tower may become nonfunctional and merely display. The light in the city dies. When the Lady travels toward it, the world is "pale," "gray," "dim," autumnal, and twilight. When the Lady comes, the sounds in the "lighted palace" and the "royal cheer" end; her own song stops before she enters. Thus the three signs of Lancelot and the funeral are also associated and inverted in the city.

Tennyson added further details about Camelot that do not appear in his source. The Italian story says nothing about barges, wharfs, high houses, or burghers; knights do not cross "themselves for fear." In the 1832 text, Tennyson says that the Lady's sudden appearance puz-

zled "the well-fed wits at Camelot." In the revised version, Lancelot's words and benediction illustrate a wit's behavior. Camelot is also a city of the alphabet, for when the Lady's song ends, printed words alone identify her. No traveler remembers her song. At the bottom of the river of progress, we find commerce, fear, and words. Since the song is not heard, I am reminded of Macaulay's words about the impossibility of song in the modern world.

Opposite Camelot is the high, evanescent, fugitive landscape differing from Camelot in every respect. This landscape (again, with no equivalent in the source) is the wold. Tennyson's Lincolnshire landscape gives the word its English meaning, and the *Oxford Dictionary* quotes his "Ode to Memory," for memory too dwells on the high wolds. The wold is an "upland airy" in contrast to Camelot-on-the-sea, closed in by high towers and palaces. The wold has fertile, life-giving grain; it is "clothed" with barley and rye, and the fields "meet the sky." Both barley and rye are plumed; at the end of each grain is a long tuft that permits Tennyson to call it "bearded barley." The light is clear and bright. The song, we are told twice in Part One, is heard in the wolds:

Only reapers, reaping early
In among the bearded barley,
Hear a song that echoes cheerly,
From the river winding clearly,
Down to towered Camelot.
And by the moon the reaper weary
Piling sheaves in uplands airy,
Listening, whispers, "'Tis the fairy
Lady of Shalott." (ll. 28-36)

In morning and evening, the reapers hear, understand, and identify. Unlike Lancelot, they instantly know her. Her song is heard again in Part Four:

. . . as the boat-head wound along
The willowy hills and fields among,
They heard her singing her last song,
The Lady of Shalott. (ll. 141-44)

The only possible antecedent for *they* are the hills and fields of the wold. Her song, a "carol, mournful, holy" (l. 145) contrasts to Lancelot's "tirra lirra." Her song, understood by reapers and hills, dies at the outskirts of Camelot, and the substituted written words on her shell produce only musing.

The island, poised between wold and Camelot, has its lights, plumes, and music. Instead of grain, the isle has lilies. Along the river are the plummy willows, the trees

2. Christopher Ricks, ed., *The Poems of Tennyson* (London, 1969), p. 354. The 1902 and 1903 volumes of MLN print the text and translation and discuss similarities.
3. [Hallam Tennyson], *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (New York, 1899), l. 117. Canon Ainger's book is in the British Museum. Not a word in the introduction or in his notes indicates that he had help from Tennyson.
4. Lona Mosk Packer, "Sun and Shadow: The Nature of Experience in Tennyson's 'The Lady of Shalott,'" *VNL*, 25 (1964), 4-8. Mrs. Packer claims that, except for W. D. Paden, critics "have paid too little attention to Tennyson's own explanation." James L. Hill, "Tennyson's 'The Lady of Shalott':

The Ambiguity of Commitment," *CR*, 12 (1968), 415-29, bases his reading on the words in Ainger's book. Clyde de L. Ryals in *Theme and Symbol in Tennyson's Poems to 1850* (Philadelphia, 1964), p. 76, quotes the words. Jerome Hamilton Buckley in *Tennyson: The Growth of a Poet* (Boston, 1965), p. 49, does not quote them, but I believe that he accepts them. Sir Harold Nicolson in his 1960 "Afterward" to *Tennyson* (New York, 1962), p. 314, seems to have the words in mind when he says "the lovely lyric quality of the 'Lady of Shalott' is already scarred by moral implications."

5. Hallam Tennyson, l. 117.
6. Ricks, p. 358.

7. Ricks, p. 956.

8. W. H. Auden, *The Enchaféd Flood* (New York, 1950), p. 7.

that gave Helicon its name.⁹ The air is blue and unclouded. The Lady, never seen by the phenomenal world, is twice cut off. She suffers, however, no handicap but a gift from such isolation. The framing mirror provides perspective; it is the sign for the imagination. The mirror is perfectly natural; since a tapestry-maker works from the back, he needs a mirror to see the front side of his work.¹⁰ Because of the mirror, the Lady sees steadily and whole, removed from the abbot, damsels, and knights. She is, to adopt Coleridge's picture in "Kubla Khan," viewing the sacred river of life from the pleasure dome of the imagination. Cut off from the categories of ordinary experience and the confusions of phenomena, the Lady sees more clearly into the noumena to create her magic web. Tennyson's invention of weaving as her occupation unites content and form of "the imperishable presences serene."¹¹

The comment for the Victorian children said that love lured the lady out of her tower, but the poem says she would be cursed if she looked down to Camelot. Tennyson thus plays with the need of the nineteenth-century artist to withdraw from the world of fancy and rationality, but he is also forced to reenter the world of his experience with web and song. The artist ends, isolated, like Teufelsdrückh in his high tower, or vacillating, like Empedocles. In her tower, the Lady does enter the world; she continues to make her web, and her song is heard morning and evening (but not at the rational noon). Instead of singing for the reapers, the Lady departs for the low, dark town with its wharfs and palaces. She is cursed by the abstracting world that identifies her only by a written word; she is cursed because the new world of Camelot cannot know, cannot transcend, cannot understand the song or the letters.

Certainly Tennyson and Hallam knew Thomas Macaulay's 1825 *Edinburgh Review* essay, "Milton."¹² Since Macaulay so extravagantly praised the Italian Dante,

he may have been the reason the young Cantabrigians began to study Italian and thus discovered the strange Italian version of the English story. In his praise of Milton, Macaulay upheld his "ambiguity." Milton possessed "the peculiar art . . . of communicating his meaning circuitously through a long succession of associated ideas, and of intimating more than he expressed." Macaulay's words describe Tennyson's poem and the method of the symbolists. Macaulay says that knowledge, certain definiteness, probability, distinctness will destroy "the hues and lineaments" of the poet. "As civilisation advances, poetry almost necessarily declines." Thus the Lady's curse is that, attracted by the "sense" of Lancelot's gaudy appearance, she enters a world of alphabet and commerce, loses her individuality, and becomes a word on a prow. In advanced civilization, Macaulay says, man "looks less at individuals and more at classes." In the modern world, "men will judge and compare; but they will not create." In the words of the poem, men will muse awhile and utter a conventional benediction. God, we note bitterly, is the only person who can send the Lady of Shalott grace, for the new Camelot contains none.

Not only does Canon Ainger's explanation for children almost invert Tennyson's poem, but it sets the poem in a "meaning" rather than allowing the poem to play with forces and powers too giant to grasp except by sign and symbol. The Lady is not taken "out of the region of shadows into that of realities," but her story enables us to test the possibilities of shadow and reality even in the bustling, funereal, graceless Camelot we inhabit. The poem shows that it is only by art that we or the Lady can live; when we leave art, we are cursed to the same death as she in "the fury and the mire of human veins." Nineteenth-century English poetry records efforts of poets to trust in the signs of art, the symbols, so that, by showing signs that speak as songs, they might hear a new song.

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A Note on Matthew Arnold in Love

Park Honan

MAY ONE at work on a biography of Matthew Arnold submit a tentative report? We now have evidence in an Arnold family letter that Matthew Arnold, at the age of twenty-five, entertained a "romantic passion" for a young woman with a French surname. We know that one of his sisters (Mrs. Twining) wrote his eldest brother (Tom Arnold) about her on November 25, 1848, or eight weeks after Matthew Arnold returned from Thun in German-speaking Switzerland and three months before he published his first poem about "Marguerite"—"To my Friends, who Ridiculed a Tender Leave-taking" (February 26, 1849). Arnold had written confidentially to Clough on September 29, 1848, about intending to linger one day at the Hôtel Bellevue, Thun, "for the sake of the blue eyes of one of its inmates."¹ And this young woman, a close friend of Clough's sister Anne Jemima, is known to have alluded to "the Alps, in Switzerland" in 1847 and to have had some reason for a visit to the historic town of Thun in 1848. She wrote in the early 1850's a poem entitled "The Daisy. (To Margaret.)" that seems to echo some of Matthew Arnold's poetic language. We know that Hartley Coleridge referred to her "pensiveness" and "paled" appearance; that she had wit and "humour" (according to Matthew Arnold); that two residents of Ambleside thought her physically "beautiful"; that she read and favored sentimental literature of the kind typified by Foscolo's *Letters of Ortis*; that both of her parents had been born on the continent; and finally, that Matthew Arnold remembered her as a "vision" of his youth, in November 1886, less than two years before he died.

These items do not prove conclusively that Mary Claude was Matthew Arnold's original model for Marguerite. Even that she wrote lyrics with Arnoldian titles such as "The Gipsy Child" and "The Hidden Life" may be explained—with Arnold's "romantic passion" for her in 1848 when he was close to the Cloughs—in some other way. But, as yet, we cannot conscientiously dismiss his feelings for Mary Claude as being of little consequence in his life or to his poetry; and perhaps the best I can do, at this point, is to offer some facts and comments.

1. When did Tom Arnold's sister write to him at length about "Matt's romantic passion for . . . Mary Claude"? This problem arose in 1966, when Professor James Bertram published a valuable edition of letters from the estate of Miss Ethel Arnold, Tom Arnold's youngest daughter. The holographs had been purchased in 1949 for the Alexander Turnbull Library, where they are now. Letter No. 37, written by Tom Arnold at "Nelson June 14th 1849," was sent to his mother, halfway round the globe at Fox How. It reads, in part, as follows:

My dearest Mother

I have . . . had letters within the last fortnight from you, Mary [Mrs. Twining, his sister at Fox How], Willy, Mr. Price, Clough and Stanley, all except the last, by the Sydney mail of December 1st. . . . Give dear Mary my best thanks for her letter. I am indeed glad that she has found, or thinks she has found, in the Ragged schools an employment suited to her character and powers. Her account of Matt's romantic passion for the Cruel Invisible, Mary Claude, amused me beyond everything.²

Professor Bertram supposed in 1966 that "Matthew Arnold's interest in Mary Claude must date from about January 1849."³ Kenneth Allott, in a short article with valuable references to Mary Claude, conjectures that Mrs. Twining's account of Matthew Arnold and Miss Claude "must date from the Christmas holidays of 1848."⁴

But both these guesses are wrong. We can tell when Mrs. Twining wrote "her letter." First, Alexander Turnbull Library holographs reveal that the Fox How Arnolds timed letters to New Zealand to catch scheduled packets and favored the slow, safe government emigration ships that carried the mail from Gravesend to Sydney and thence, after a four- to six-week layover, to Van Diemen's Land. To take two examples: Fan Arnold at Fox How wrote Tom on January 26, 1849, that her letter might catch "The Sydney Mail" leaving England "1st. of February"; and Tom himself had advised the Fox Hovians on August 22, 1848: "Dear K [Jane Arnold] has had the sense to twig sending letters by the Sydney mail; which is much the surest and most regular mode of conveyance."⁵ Second, Tom Ar-

9. Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (Baltimore, 1955), I, 115.

10. Ricks, p. 357.

11. "The Mystic," I. 13. The Mystic sees "varycolored circumstance" but "without form, or sense, or sound." The Mystic's world parallels what the Lady knows in her tower.

12. I use the text of Macaulay's essay printed in Charles Frederick Harrold and William D. Templeman, eds., *English Prose of the Victorian Era* (New York, 1942), pp. 261-95. I quote chiefly from pp. 261-65 or from the first sixteen paragraphs.

1. *The Letters of Matthew Arnold to Arthur Hugh Clough*, ed. Howard Forster Lowry (Oxford, 1968), p. 91.

2. *New Zealand Letters of Thomas Arnold the Younger, with Further Letters from Van Dieman's Land and Letters of Arthur Hugh Clough, 1847-1851*, ed. James Bertram (London and Wellington, 1966), pp. 118-20.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 120 n. Mary Twining, née Arnold, was born March

29, 1825, and not "1822" incidentally (p. 231 n.); other annotations in this volume are careful and helpful.

4. See his excellent brief note, "Matthew Arnold and Mary Claude," *N & Q*, CCXIV (June 1969), 209-11, to which I am indebted.

5. For the texts, see *New Zealand Letters*, p. 64 ("Aug. 22nd" and "Fox How, January 26th 1849").

nold, who wanted his mother to thank Mrs. Twining for "her letter," declares that both of their letters came "by the Sydney mail of December 1st." He could not have imagined the two letters had left England with a December 1 Sydney packet if their dates had been later. Further, Mrs. Arnold's letter survives in part. And Clough's letter, to which Tom refers, survives in entirety. Clough wrote Tom from Rugby, November 27, 1848: "I am recommended by your Mother to send this via Sydney by packet of the 1st."⁶ Mrs. Arnold's is a journal-letter, most of which Mrs. Humphry Ward printed in 1918. It is dated from "Fox How" 19, 24, 25, and 26 November and reveals exactly when Mrs. Twining wrote for the Sydney packet. On November 25 Mrs. Arnold jotted to Tom: "Mary [Mrs. Twining] is preparing a long letter, and it will therefore matter the less if mine is not so long."⁷ These letters traveled for approximately 182 days; we know that an earlier letter, from Tom to Mrs. Arnold, took exactly 184 days.

In short, Tom Arnold's letter of June 14 contains no false postal information. Mrs. Twining was "preparing a long letter" about Matthew's feelings for Mary Claude on November 25, 1848.

2. *Matthew Arnold's activities in September, October, and November 1848.* On September 29, Matthew Arnold was at the Baths of Leuk. He wrote Clough that he intended to linger "one day"⁸ at Thun and then return to England. Whether he traveled by slow stages (as he intended) or more quickly, he reached England in October. Mrs. Arnold indicates on November 19 that she had not seen Matthew at Fox How, where Mrs. Twining was staying, since the "beginning" of the month.⁹ In light of the rather extensive surviving portions of this letter to Tom, one can be fairly certain that Matthew had last spoken with the Fox Hovians about three weeks before Mrs. Twining wrote her account of what Tom calls "Matt's romantic passion for . . . Mary Claude." Mrs. Twining's account is missing; and we do not know how (or from whom) she learned of Matthew's feelings. Whether he, Anne Clough, Miss Claude herself, or someone else was the informant, it seems clear that Matthew had seen and contemplated Miss Claude considerably before November 25—when he was

absent from Fox How. We have, then, the undeniable fact that what Tom called Matthew's "romantic passion" was reported less than eight weeks after Matthew's return from the Baths of Leuk. It is highly improbable that Matthew spoke to any member of his Fox How family about it after November 2 or 3, 1848 (the month's "beginning"). This would be less than four weeks after his return from Switzerland. It is possible, but not likely, that his widowed sister, Mrs. Twining, wrote a "long letter" about feelings that had no basis in fact. Yet Mrs. Arnold clearly knew of Mrs. Twining's news. Nothing in Tom's June 14 letter to Mrs. Arnold would suggest that his mother had contradicted or qualified Mrs. Twining's report; and Tom, who avoids metaphors and playful language and writes soberly and even literally and unimaginatively to his mother, certainly has read an account of Matthew in love that has amused him.

Matthew Arnold spent "ten days" in November at Rugby with Walrond, the Burbidges, and Clough.¹⁰ Three months later he published "To my Friends, who Ridiculed a Tender Leave-taking"—his first poem to refer to a "Marguerite."¹¹

3. *Matthew Arnold's "To my Friends."* One would be more inclined to accept the experience of this poem as having had no basis in fact, if Matthew Arnold's Item No. 6 in his "Comp. 1849" note did not seem to refer to it. Arnold had jotted: "Thun & vividness of sight & memory compared: sight would be less precious if memory could equally realize for us."¹² Arnold later, in 1869, changed the title of this "Thun" poem to: "A Memory-Picture." He of course had referred to "blue eyes" at the Hôtel Bellevue, Thun; in the lyric, itself, Marguerite's eyes are "so blue, so kind" (l. 41). Hartley Coleridge had referred to Mary Claude's "paled" appearance in 1847¹³; in the lyric of February 1849, Marguerite has a "pale, sweet-rounded cheek" (l. 30). Hartley, again, had referred to Mary Claude's "pensiveness"¹⁴; in the lyric, the poet sees deeply in blue eyes "an angelic gravity" (l. 46). That both Mary Claude and Marguerite happen to be pale, pensive, or grave; young, attractive, unattached; and to have impressed Matthew Arnold with "humour" or archness does not prove they are one and the same; nor can we link

them simply because Claude, "Marie-Claude" and Marguerite are French names; or because both women are associated with the continent and have "a different past" from Arnold's own.¹⁵ Even that Arnold in "Parting" (1852) finds Marguerite's voice reminiscent of "some wet bird-haunted English lawn" (l. 19) and of "some sun-flecked mountain-brook" with "upland clearness" (ll. 21-22) does not prove that he had Mary Claude's Lake District in mind. On the other hand, there would seem to be not a single detail in eight poems about Marguerite, all figuring in the "Switzerland" series and published between 1849 and 1857, that would dissociate her from Mary Claude. "To my Friends," at all events, leads us to inquire in another direction.

4. *Mary Claude and Matthew Arnold's friends.* We have the word of Blanche Athena Clough that among the "intimate friends" of her aunt, Anne Jemima Clough, at Ambleside was Miss Mary Claude.¹⁶ Anne Clough for example "talked a good deal" with Mary Claude in June 1847; admired the "fun and wit" of a Claude sister; and was impressed by the "power of amusing children" that all the Claudes "excel in."¹⁷ Certainly both young women had some interest in the continent. Anne Clough traveled in Switzerland in 1846; Mary Claude wrote of "the Alps, in Switzerland" in 1847 and in 1848 published several fables translated from the German.¹⁸ Since Anne had an intimate, warm, and trusting relationship with her brother, Arthur Hugh Clough, Matthew Arnold's friend, we must reckon with the fact that Mary Claude, the Cloughs, and Arnold were connected by something more than casual friendships in 1848. It is to the brother of Mary Claude's "intimate" companion, Anne Clough, that Matthew Arnold writes on September 29 of "blue eyes" he expects to see at Thun. The attraction that town held for Victorians is fairly clear. Canon Rawnsley, who heard about Mary Claude in later years from Elizabeth Greenwood,

wrote sonnets called "At the Rabenfluh, Thun," "At the Schwabis, Thun," "The Golden Star of Thun," and the like, which, though banal enough in their own right, testify to Thun's fairly rich cultural and historical associations. The German-speaking Swiss town was associated with legends of the minnesingers; and if Rawnsley, that "defender of the Lake District," "knew of old Thun's hereditary power/To charm us with the life of centuries old,"¹⁹ it is not unreasonable to assume that cultivated residents of Ambleside, a few years before Rawnsley's time, "knew" of it too. Again, we come to Mary Claude, who spoke German and was reading, collecting, and translating German fables in 1848.

5. *Mary Claude's writing.* Nothing is proved by the apparent fact that echoes of Matthew Arnold's own poetry occur in a few of Mary Claude's surviving poems and stories. But we may pause over one example. In 1855, Mary Claude's collection of poems for children, *Blades and Flowers*, appeared. Two poems in the volume (printed on adjacent pages and near the end) seem too complex for children. One is entitled "The Knabbe. Lines in Memory of Hartley Coleridge."²⁰ The other is called: "The Daisy. (To Margaret.)" Since, in what is patently a very simple lyric for small children, Mary Claude explains that the name "Margaret" means "pearl," it is odd that in this poem she seems to play upon *marguerite*. Again, though "The Daisy" may have nothing to do with Arnold, in the year 1855 his own "Isolation. To Marguerite"—with its references to the pagan "Heaven" of "Luna" and his own "lonely" condition—was in manuscript.

The Daisy.
(To Margaret.)

Oh, who can sing the Daisy right?
A tender soul and quick of sight,—
I dare not!

6. Turnbull ms.; see *New Zealand Letters*, p. 123.

7. Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Writer's Recollections* (London, 1918), pp. 28-32, especially p. 30.

8. See note 1, above.

9. *A Writer's Recollections*, p. 28.

10. Turnbull ms.; see *New Zealand Letters*, p. 123. A. H. Clough to Tom Arnold, "Rugby, Novr 27th [1848]: Matt has been here for ten days [I am staying with Walrond—where also are Burbidge and his Italian wife . . .] he left us three or four days ago."

11. In *The Strayed Reveller, and Other Poems*. By A., published on February 26, 1849.

12. Quoted by C. B. Tinker and H. F. Lowry, *The Poetry of Matthew Arnold: A Commentary* (New York, 1940), p. 12; there are thirteen numbered items in the Yale ms. "Comp. 1849" note.

13. *Letters of Hartley Coleridge*, eds. G. E. Griggs and E. L. Griggs (London, 1936), p. 289; H. C. to Mrs. Henry Nelson Coleridge, "Nab. April 10th, 1847."

14. *Ibid.*

15. See Matthew Arnold's "Parting," 66; the poem appeared in October 1852. Both of Mary Claude's parents were born in Berlin; her guardian, James Branker, was born in Hamburg.

16. Blanche Athena Clough, *A Memoir of Anne Jemima Clough* (London, 1897), p. 85.

17. *Ibid.*, extracts from the Journal of Anne Jemima Clough, pp. 66 (June 1847), 76 (April 1849), and 66 (July 1847).

18. See M. S. C. [Mary S. Claude], *Twilight Thoughts* (London, 1848), the epigraph to which runs: "Zeit nur vor dem Kinde jedes Leben ins Menschenreich herein: so entdeckt ihm das Grosse das Kleinere/Belebt und besetzt alles . . . —Jean Paul"; also "The Swallows" in M. S. C., *Little Poems for Little People* (London, 1847), pp. 74-77, as well as the four fables "taken from the German" in M. S. C., *Natural History in Stories for Little Children* (London, 1854). These small books were apparently issued in rather limited editions; the 1866 reissue of *Little Poems* was printed at "Windermerer" by J. Garnett. The British Museum's only copy of *Twilight Thoughts* had uncut pages, when handed to me in June 1970.

19. See the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, Honorary Canon of Carlyle, *Sonnets in Switzerland and Italy* (London, 1899), p. 123 ("Down the Lake to Thun," ll. 13-14), and the eleven other sonnets to Thun in this volume.

20. See M. S. C., *Blades and Flowers: Poems for Children* (London, 1856 [1855]), p. 79; "The Knabbe" begins:

You ask me why I turn away
From Rydal's crystal floor,
And look, with such regretful eyes,
To yon low cottage door!
The lake a field of silver slept,
The hill was clad in snow,
When I within that cottage stood—
Now six long years ago.

By coincidence, perhaps, Arnold uses the same rather common rhyme, metre, and stanza in "Meeting."

Shame be to all that scorn the flower,
That careless root it from their bower,
And spare not.

Bright daisy stars, in grassy nooks
Remind men to direct their looks
Above them.

They say, the God of heaven and earth
Gave flowers, as well as men, their birth
To love them.

Sweet daisy, with the modest grace,
Now downcast, now uplifted face,
I bless thee;

With love sincere and reverence due,
Of Margaret the image true
Confess thee.

Dear Margaret, thy tarrying here
To strengthen love and banish fear
Is only,

Remembering this, for others' sake,
Methinks a suffering life must make
Less lonely.²¹

6. Matthew Arnold's "Preface" to *Mary Claude's Twilight Thoughts*, "The Terrace at Berne," and *Marguerite*. "I have written a preface for the American edition of *Mary Claude's* stories which you will like," Matthew Arnold wrote to his eldest daughter, Lucy, then almost thirty and living in America, on November 27, 1886.²² Arnold himself was then almost sixty-four. The Preface appeared the following year, at Boston, and begins:

How can I refuse a word of preface to these stories? They carry me back to the fells and rills of Westmoreland, to long-past days when Westmoreland was the Westmoreland of Wordsworth and Hartley Coleridge, and when the authoress of these stories moved in her youth and spirit and grace through that beautiful region, herself a vision worthy of it.

She was connected with Germany; and the soul of Northern Europe, of the Germany of Jean Paul Richter, of the Denmark of Hans Christian Andersen, is in her stories, lending to them its familiar treatment of nature, its facile attribution to animals and plants and pebbles and clouds, of the life and feelings of man. Many a stroke of playful humour, many a moral and deeply humane suggestion, she owes to this genius—inextricably allied in her, however, with the English sadness.²³

Certainly there is nothing here that would suggest Arnold's reported "romantic passion" for *Mary Claude*, thirty-eight years in the past, when he was twenty-five. But two comments are in order. First, the Preface offers extravagant praise for rather indifferent children's stories; we may feel it to be directed at the remembered "vision" of *Mary Claude* in her "youth and spirit and grace" rather than at her stories. Second, Matthew Arnold, a happily married and famous man, cannot possibly be supposed to have wished to recall for readers in 1886 or 1887 all that *Miss Claude* may have meant to him.

We know from his *Note-books* that he had had to remind himself repeatedly, in 1863, "to compose," "to work at," and to "finish" a final poem for the "Switzerland" sequence—"The Terrace at Berne."²⁴ This poem was first printed in 1867. It is the only one of nine, assigned to "Switzerland" in his frequent reordering of lyrics in this series, that very definitely would lead us to dissociate *Mary Claude* from *Marguerite*. His heroine's possible decline into "riotous laughter" and a smile of "rouge, with stony glare" is imagined; and she is called at last what her name has suggested: a "Daughter of France" (ll. 18, 21-22). But Tinker and Lowry heard, from at least one member of the Arnold family in the present century, that the poet asserted to his own growing daughters "that the experience related" in his "Switzerland" lyrics was "imaginary."²⁵ Either Arnold correctly identified *Marguerite* in 1863 (in which case what he told his daughters would seem to be false or at least extremely curious) or he did, at that time, treat her portrait in what Tinker and Lowry call an "altered and freely idealized" manner.²⁶

It is, at all events, unlikely that Matthew Arnold's feeling for *Marguerite* had sprung into being on an autumn holiday in 1848, when he had a tight travel schedule. The *Claude* family had moved from Berlin to Liverpool. In Dr. Arnold's time Mrs. Claude removed her son and daughters to Rothay Bank, where Mary inspired fervency in Coleridge's aging son, warm friendship in Clough's sister, and—apparently—something deeper and richer in a young introspective poet. Hopefully more information about "the Cruel Invisible, *Mary Claude*," in 1848, may come to light. Meanwhile, Elizabeth Greenwood, "nearer ninety than eighty" when Canon Rawnsley recorded her words, leaves us this little Victorian vignette of January 1849: "I remember that when Derwent Coleridge was sitting in the room

where the dead body of his brother [Hartley] was lying at the Nab, he saw a tall and beautiful woman come quietly into the room and, without noticing him, kneel down by the bedside in prayer, then pass like a dream

silently away. That momentary apparition was *Mary Claude*."²⁷

University of Birmingham

Robert Browning, Robert Chambers, and Mr. Home, the Medium

Milton Millhauser

ALLUSIONS BY BROWNING to contemporary scientific speculation are, if not rare, certainly infrequent—sufficiently so to make an additional one worth ferreting out. One such allusion may be identified with fair probability in "Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium,'" in which a number of lines appear to glance unflatteringly at Robert Chambers, amateur geologist, author of the early evolutionary work *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* and—about the time of "Sludge"—dabbler in spiritualistic phenomena. The line of reasoning that establishes this identification also suggests a specific reference (to *Vestiges*) for some loosely anti-evolutionary lines in the much earlier *Luria* and may contribute to clarifying the general drift of Browning's thought on evolution before the 1860's. Unhappily, the road that leads to these conclusions is dreary and circuitous; there are dates to be compared, indirect relations to be traced among acquaintances, and the like. By way of compensation, the findings may be of some interest not only in themselves but in their indication of Browning's awareness of specific works, personalities, and intellectual trends and, generally, in affording a more exact understanding of one minor facet of his thought.

There is no documentary evidence that Browning either read *Vestiges* or formulated an opinion about it. However, he was in England when it appeared, toward the end of 1844, and he must have encountered something of the critical concern and drawing-room agitation it provoked. Elizabeth Barrett, on the other hand, knew the book, and was likely to remember it, for she had met one of the oddest figures in it, "Crosse the Acarist," cited

as having manufactured an insect electrically from inorganic matter. She disliked it heartily—"one of the most melancholy books in the world"—and, as early as January 1845, stated her opinion to a contrary-minded friend, Mrs. Jameson.¹ Browning, of course, met Elizabeth in May 1845 and married her in September 1846.

The dates are important. Browning was later to claim² that he had anticipated "all that seems proved of Darwin's scheme" in a passage (V, 685-710) of *Paracelsus*. But a careful reading of this passage will show that, despite the occurrence of such phrases as "lead up higher," "life's minute beginnings," and "superior race," the idea enunciated is not evolutionary at all and certainly not Darwinian but simply a rather hazy version of the then (1835) enlightened-orthodox position: a "chain of beings," rising successively from simpler to more complex but miraculously created, not genetically linked, and culminating in the final being, man ("one stage of being complete, / One scheme wound up"), rather than pointing toward a possible future and still higher species. (The claim, with its careful phrasing, is thus not that Browning was an evolutionist in 1835, but that even in 1881 he could accept only the geological evidence, not the Darwinian interpretation of it.) The vision of creation in the *Paracelsus* passage is impressive; but it is moral and aesthetic, not biological, in its organization ("higher" means, roughly, "nobler, more human"); and it follows conservative opinion in recognizing chronological "succession" among species (the higher forms appearing later than the lower) but not biological "descent."

Then, in the early months of 1845, he composed *Luria*.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

22. *Letters of Matthew Arnold 1848-1888*, ed. George W. E. Russell (London, 1895), II, 412.

23. I am indebted to Professor R. H. Super for a copy of the text; it appears in *Mary S. Claude, Twilight Thoughts. Stories for Children and Child-Lovers*, ed. Mary L. Avery, with a Preface

by Matthew Arnold (Boston, 1887), pp. [3]-4.

24. See *The Note-Books of Matthew Arnold*, eds. H. F. Lowry, Karl Young, and W. H. Dunn (New York, 1952), pp. 569-71.

25. Tinker and Lowry, *Commentary*, pp. 155-56.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

27. H. D. Rawnsley, *Past and Present at the English Lakes* (Glasgow, 1916), p. 30. A. Dwight Culler, in his perceptive study, *Imaginative Reason: The Poetry of Matthew Arnold* (New Haven, 1966), eloquently draws attention to our lack of biographical data about the experience behind Arnold's "Switzerland"—but adds: "the strongest reason for believing that *Marguerite* existed is the simple fact that Arnold was incapable of inventing her" (pp. 119-20). The apparent fact that Clough gossiped about Arnold's affair with Fanny Lucy Wightman (before their marriage) and not about either, "blue eyes" or

Marguerite so far as we know would be explained if *Mary Claude* was, indeed, *Marguerite*. Can we show that she was not?

1. Frederick G. Kenyon, ed., *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (New York, 1897), 238. The letter (to Mrs. Martin) is dated January 1845. Mrs. Jameson is reported as admiring *Vestiges*. See also Gardner B. Taplin, *Life of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 99-100.

2. In a letter to Furnivall, 1881, cited in William C. DeVane, *Browning's Parleyings* (New Haven, 1927), p. 198.

It was completed—except possibly for the last act—by January 1846; revision continued through April.³ (By the end of 1845 there had appeared five editions of *Vestiges*, a companion volume, *Explanations*, and a considerable number of full-dress, authoritative, and generally hostile reviews.) And in Act V of *Luria*, Browning's hero delivers a rapturous speech (ll. 235-42) about God's "everlasting minute of creation":

... now it is, as it was then;
All changes at his instantaneous will,
Not by the operation of a law
Whose maker is elsewhere at other work.
His hand is still engaged upon his world. . . .
... To recast
The world, erase old things and make them new,
What costs it Him?

This speech (which is more or less extraneous to the action) amounts to a direct denial of the central thesis of *Vestiges* (more important to it even than biological evolution): that God created the world at a single instant of time and then abstained from further interference, leaving it to develop new forms—including new biological species—according to its inherent "developmental" or evolutionary laws. (Much was made in *Vestiges* of the still new "gradualist" or "uniformitarian" geology: the doctrine according to Lyell, that "old things" were "erased" and "made new" not by catastrophic sudden change, nor by miracle, but by the slow operation of natural law.) To recapitulate: in 1835 Browning speaks, more or less conventionally, of "higher" races succeeding "lower," with man the apex, and presumably the final stage, of creation. In 1844 he returns from Italy to England in time to witness the *Vestiges* excitement, with its flurry of comment, editions, and reviews. In 1845 he meets Miss Barrett, who is concerned principally with other things but is still moderately exercised over the infidelities of the notorious book. Late that year or early the next, he introduces into a new play a speech explicitly affirming God's creative activity against the idea of the uninterrupted operation of natural law. That he was reacting to *Vestiges*, or to the current of discussion and speculation it put in motion, becomes difficult to doubt.⁴

Marriage and Italy separated the Brownings from the lesser acrimonies and enthusiasms of the London drawing rooms. They visited England, however, in 1852, 1855,

and 1856 and were in time to meet the last faint reverberations of the *Vestiges* excitement; the ninth edition of that work (no longer new or very scandalous) appeared in 1851, the tenth in 1853. Elizabeth's annoyance with it may thus have been renewed; at any rate, a passage in Book V of *Aurora Leigh* (a poem she was working on during 1855-1856) points disapprovingly to

... our modern thinker who turns back
The strata . . . granite, limestone, coal, and clay,
Concluding coldly with, "Here's law! where's God?"

Elsewhere there are references to "fortuitous concourse" (Book V) and to God's creation of "strata" during the six days (Book VII); in Book IV, "the foremost of the progressists" is credited with audacity enough to shock a bishop. These are slight touches. They suggest that *Vestiges* (or something very like it) had impressed her unfavorably and occasionally occurred to her as an instance of bad modern tendencies, although it hardly occupied the forefront of her thought.

By 1856, when *Aurora Leigh* was published, it was a fairly open secret that the author of *Vestiges* was Robert Chambers. In 1861 Amelia Chambers, Robert's daughter, married the painter Rudolf Lehmann, a friend of the Brownings. Meanwhile, still another edition of *Vestiges* had appeared in 1860 to remind the world that the "Vestigitarian" had not altogether yielded the field to Darwin. In Florence, Mrs. Lehmann's friends may or may not have noticed this small event; Elizabeth's illness and death (June 29, 1861) must have left Browning little heart for gossip. But the connection was there.

During the same period (the latter 1850's) the Brownings had been attending séances. The story is too well known to need retelling, but one or two points may be briefly noted. One séance took place on July 23, 1855, at the home of friends, the Rymers, in Ealing;⁵ Daniel Dunglass Home, generally accepted as the original of "Mr. Sludge," was the medium. Robert was sceptical; Home, through whose craft or powers a wreath had been placed on Elizabeth's head, intimated that Robert would have been more credulous if it had descended on his own. (The final passage in "Sludge" shows the exposed cheat inventing a slander to muzzle his adversary with.) Home proceeded to Florence, where he performed in 1856 (though Elizabeth now preferred a new medium, a Mrs.

Sophia Eckley); as late as the end of 1863 we find him imposing on William Wetmore Story, another artist-friend of Browning, to the latter's amused annoyance.⁶ As for Mrs. Eckley, Elizabeth was presently to be disillusioned by some shabbiness of conduct on her part,⁷ although not to the point of scepticism concerning spiritualism generally.

"Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium'" appeared in 1864 in *Dramatis Personae*. There is general agreement that it was composed about 1859-1860, possibly as a reaction to Elizabeth's disenchantment with Mrs. Eckley; at any rate, the husband would not now be distressing the wife by satirizing her unshaken conviction. DeVane, while accepting this date, notes that the poem reflects a detailed knowledge of Home's life, such as might most readily be gleaned from his *Incidents in My Life* (first series, 1863)—that Browning states flatly he did not read and even deliberately avoided reading.⁸ There is room here for the speculation that Browning may have touched up the poem, shortly before publication, on the basis of material that *Incidents* had released into general gossip—or that he incorporated into it at a much earlier stage what he had picked up from Amelia Lehmann.

For Amelia's father, the Robert Chambers of *Vestiges*, was now a more-than-half-convinced follower of Home's manifestations.⁹ He had been interested in spiritualism, originally in a spirit between scepticism and scientific curiosity, for some years; by 1859, though still alert for fraud, he was very nearly convinced. In that year he published a curious pamphlet, "Testimony, its Posture in the Scientific World" (*Edinburgh Papers*, I), arguing that the evidence of numerous eyewitnesses to a phenomenon should be given more credence by scientists than it usually receives. He does not mention the supernatural, but—even discounting later developments—it is clear that he must have experimentally unverifiable phenomena of much that character in mind. Such evidence, the argument runs, is generally accepted in the important affairs of life—law, religion—particularly when it is supported by numbers of independent witnesses; in science, "antecedent improbability" serves to discredit concurring thousands. This emphasis on numbers is paralleled by Sludge, who cites (ll. 718-21) a typical believer:¹⁰

... "In so many tales
Must be some truth, truth though a pin-point big,
Yet, some; a single man's deceived, perhaps—
Hardly a thousand."

In 1863 Chambers, now a personal friend of Home, contributed a preface to the British edition of *Incidents*—stipulating, however, that it must appear unsigned. (Presumably he was embarrassed by his previous reputation as an amateur scientist, suspected of having written a shockingly materialistic book; perhaps, also, by his connection with a reputable publishing firm specializing in school texts.) Whatever his scruples, his friendship with Home and his belief in Home's powers were not likely to remain an extraordinarily close secret. There were displays in his home, experiments involving members of his household.¹¹ And Browning was on friendly terms with his daughter.

We are now, after this formidable preparation, in a position to examine certain lines of "Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium.'" Among these, two relatively short passages deal with scientific materialism and suggest Browning's opinion that persons who accept this position might also credit spiritualism, that is, are fair game for Sludge. One (ll. 1444 ff.) describes the author of a "History of the World," including "the Lizard Age./The Early Indians," and more recent times; this might possibly be a parodic version of *Vestiges*, which advances from palaeontology (its great concern) through a brief notice of primitive society; though it could also be any of a number of more or less similar books, such as Humboldt's *Cosmos*, a translation of which had been completed in 1858. What makes identification with *Vestiges* probable is an immediately following line, in which the author is praised ironically "for putting life in stones, Fire into fog." *Vestiges* not only dwelt on the fossil evidence for evolution but described the (then widely credited) nebular origin of the universe, whose first state was envisioned as a "universal fire-mist."¹² The phrase was frequently cited while the book was topical, and figured in a number of hostile reviews. Between "fire-mist" and a fog filled with fire, the connection is too direct for comment.

The other passage (ll. 1109-22) comments with a certain amusement on the modern scientific disposition to

that "millions believe it to the letter" constitutes a presumptive proof of the validity of what the German "new critic" considers, the "fable" of Christ's divinity.

3. William C. DeVane, *Browning Handbook*, 2d ed., (New York, 1955), pp. 185-87.

4. In his next publication, *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*, a passage occurs that may possibly reflect the same reaction. "Christmas-Eve," sec. XX, ll. 19-20, reads: "For I, a man, with men am linked./ And not a brute with brutes. . . ."

5. *Browning Handbook*, pp. 307 ff. See also Maisie Ward, *Robert Browning and His World: The Private Face* (New York, 1967), pp. 244, 263-64.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Ward, pp. 292-93.

8. *Browning Handbook*, pp. 244, 263-64.

9. Milton Millhauser, *Just Before Darwin* (Middletown, Conn., 1959), pp. 174 ff. Browning knew Lehmann at least as early as 1859, two years before the marriage to Amelia Chambers. See William C. DeVane and Kenneth L. Knickerbicker, eds., *New Letters of Robert Browning* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 116, 116 n.

10. But cf. "Christmas-Eve," sec. XVI, ll. 34-36, where the argument

11. Chambers' "conversion" to spiritualism occurred as early as 1853. See Milton Millhauser, "Robert Chambers and the 'Supernatural,'" *Journal of the American Society for Physical Research*, XLVII (July 1953), 107.

12. The phrase was dropped in later editions; the argument here turns on the editions of 1844-1846, not 1860.

ward minute analysis—microscopic study of the mite rather than telescopic of the mountain—that, reducing phenomena to their ultimate material elements, still leaves “God that makes the mites” as a logically necessary final term. “The Name comes close behind a stomach-cyst,/ The simplest of creations . . .”: apparently a paramecium. (“Stomach-cyst” sounds like, but is not, a medical term; it means “sac” or cell, “that is all stomach,” a reduction of life to its materially basic unit and activity.) Biological forms, then, can be reduced, or traced back chronologically, to single cells; but at the point at which life itself originates, materialistic analysis fails. By 1860, what with Darwin, such speculations were not infrequent; but *Vestiges* remains the most explicit suggestion that divine power originated life at the unicellular level, permitting the (divinely ordained) evolutionary principle to carry it on—as it were, automatically—to higher forms.

The passage in question insists on this position three times, then moves (ll. 1128-40) to “another tack”—actually the opposite one—represented by the Bridgewater Treatises: “See the Bridgewater book.” These appeared between 1833 and 1840—that is, shortly before *Vestiges*: a fact that confirms the impression that Sludge, or Browning, is thinking in terms of the currents of thought of the 1840’s, not the 1860’s. (Besides, Darwin did not create the immediate impression in Italy that he did in England; by 1860, the Brownings had not revisited “home” for several years.) Sludge approves the “Bridgewater” position, that science supports the argument from design and demonstrates God’s loving concern for man, as against the analytic evolutionary one. Browning is here indulging his taste for psychological complexity by his favorite trick of half justifying a rogue—putting good arguments into bad mouths; he is with Sludge in preferring the argument from design to scientific scepticism. (He was to take much the same position some twenty-odd years later in the “Evolutionists” Section of the “Parleying with Francis Furini.” Here he reaffirms both science’s preoccupation with the minute and its need, at the point “where the atoms somehow think,” for a miraculous or at least inexplicable first cause—derivatively identified, in materialistic terms, as an “initiator-spasm.” His principal targets now are Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer, but the line of argument remains that originally directed against Darwin and *Vestiges* impartially.)

Sludge also argues (ll. 664 ff.) that he has “served” religion: “laid the atheist sprawling on his back”: an argument frequent enough among spiritualists but spe-

cifically paralleled in Chamber’s “Testimony” as well as in his Introduction to Home’s *Incidents*. One sentence in “Testimony” reads:

There is a whole class of phenomena, of a mystically psychical character, mixing with the chronicles of false religions and of hagiology, in which it seems not unlikely that we might discover some golden grains, and . . . add to our assurance that there is an immaterial and immortal part within us, and a world of relation beyond that now pressing upon our senses.

The Introduction, less explicitly, praises Home as “a man of religious turn of mind” and his “phenomena” as “tending . . . to chasten and exalt the minds of the living.”

About this time, *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* began to publish articles by the more prominent converts to spiritualism; one or two anonymous ones (scrupulously half convinced in tone) are—and were—supposed to be the work of Robert Chambers himself.¹³ They were, in general, reportorial and objective in manner. It is to articles of this sort (there were plenty, to be sure, in other journals) that Sludge refers (ll. 747-49) when he grumbles about

. . . your literary man,
Who draws on his kid gloves to deal with Sludge,
Daintily and discreetly.

This might apply to any of a dozen contemporary journalists; among them, it might apply to Robert Chambers.

Among his followers, Sludge lists (ll. 734-42) with irritated contempt, the “opposites” of the simply credulous:

Men emasculate,
Blank of belief, who played, as eunuchs use,
With superstition safely,

and who attend séances not as believers but in the spirit of scientific inquiry—“promisers of fair play.” Of the group that clustered about Home, two had contributed conspicuously to the growth of a scientific materialism: Alfred Russell Wallace and Robert Chambers. If we take the word “emasculate” literally, and suppose it to be Browning’s word as well as Sludge’s, it would apply neither to Wallace the explorer nor Chambers the paterfamilias and genial diner-out. But this is hardly Browning’s manner even at his unfriendliest, and the passage clearly makes it synonymous with “blank of belief”: that is, sceptical. (The implication is that faith demands a kind of in-

ner heartiness, a psychic energy, that sceptical spirits lack.) Of the two evolutionists, Wallace was—publicly, at any rate—the more fully convinced by Home’s claims; Chambers maintained the posture of the scientific investigator, unpersuaded but too fair-minded to deny the phenomena objective examination. Further, Chambers had been working on a “History of Superstition” (playing with the subject safely?) during the early 1850’s and had destroyed it, as inconsistent with his new beliefs, about 1854.¹⁴ This was another carefully guarded secret, and we cannot suppose Browning privy to it—although it is true that, from perhaps 1860 on, he may have had access to a certain amount of family gossip by way of Mrs. Lehmann. The issue need not be pressed, since Sludge probably is using “superstition” ironically as the scientist’s equivalent for “the supernatural.” On either supposition, the picture of an intellectually curious sceptic fits Robert Chambers.

The sum of these considerations—no single one decisive but all tending in the same direction—permits us to argue with fair plausibility that Robert Chambers, author of *Vestiges* and quasi-disciple of Home, was in Browning’s mind as he sketched out Sludge’s arguments and portrayed certain of his adherents. There was certainly no effort at representation—not even the sort of half-suggestion to which Cardinal Wiseman was subjected in “Bishop Bloughram’s Apology.” For one thing, his traits are distributed among several characters; no single one of these is unmistakably recognizable, none of them is dwelt on at any length. More to the point, Chambers was simply not important enough to Browning for that. At most he was a peripheral figure, glimpsed casually and casually forgotten; the focus was on Home. But certain characteristics of the man—an interest in geology, a grafting of deism on evolutionary theory, a partial commitment to psychical phenomena, above all, an intimacy with Home—are scattered through some seven hundred lines of “Sludge” and suggest that the original was, faintly and occasionally, in the author’s mind.

We may suppose Browning planning the poem, or working on its early stages, and learning, with a certain

dry delight, that the sceptic who had vexed both him and Elizabeth in the mid-forties was now the victim of a transparent and ludicrously inappropriate fraud. (Whatever the facts concerning Home and Chambers, Browning would be sure to see them so.) The pattern was not uncommon, as the case of Wallace or of the mathematician Augustus DeMorgan, suggests: scientists were not immune to the appeal of spiritualism. Moreover, to Browning it would appear significant. The poet who had written “Christmas Eve” and “An Epistle of Karshish” regarded the materialist’s scepticism as a failure of insight not very far removed from gross credulity; and he saw it as leaving a spiritual and imaginative void that credulity would be prompt to fill. It would be an unpardonable oversimplification to say that for Browning bad doubt made for bad belief, that the “emasculate” men who could not credit a personal savior invariably and necessarily went in for table rapping; but he would see nothing incongruous in their doing so. We may take it that he took casual note of Chambers’ “conversion”—however that tidbit reached him—as a minor case in point, a confirmation of his own sceptical view of sceptics; and that he did in this instance what he did in so many others: used traits that interested him, odd facts that stuck in his memory to supply a few subordinate details for a work to whose substance and intention they were only incidentally germane.

But even this brief glimpse into a narrow corner of the master’s workshop is rewarding. It brings into a kind of contact two Victorian worthies who, so far as we know, never actually met. It shows Browning, for once, beginning with an individual and deriving from him a number of broadly generalized types. And, finally, it points toward a minor but continuing element in his mental life: a rather hostile interest in the idea of biological evolution, with its deistic or mechanistic overtones: an interest that leaves a faint mark on two widely separated poems and that links in his thought the rash speculation of 1844 with the received scientific doctrine of 1860.

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13. *Just Before Darwin*, pp. 176 ff. and ch. VII, notes 11, 12 (pp. 209-10).

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83.

The Dramatic Relationship Between "By the Fire-Side" and "Any Wife to Any Husband"

Richard Kelly

AS NANCY B. RICH has reiterated in a recent essay,¹ several of Browning's poems are companion pieces and when read as such provide a new dimension of understanding. Two poems Professor Rich did not mention, "By the Fire-Side" and "Any Wife to Any Husband," are especially significant in this regard. Browning carefully placed the poems next to each other in *Men and Women* and in *Dramatic Lyrics*.

William Clyde DeVane cautiously approaches an explanation when he writes that "Any Wife to Any Husband" has always followed "By the Fireside" "perhaps for contrast or to point the irony of the poem."² His other comments, however, forestall any meaningful explanation of the poems' interrelationship: "It is obvious that *By the Fire-Side* is a personal poem and not dramatic in the sense in which Browning's poems usually are." He views "Any Wife to Any Husband," on the other hand, as "entirely dramatic." His failure to see the poems as interrelated is curious, since even the biographical data that he supplies is relevant to the poems' dramatic relationship. In the first poem, DeVane says, Leonor "is of course Mrs. Browning" and in the second there is "an unconscious prophecy of Browning's state of mind during his affair with Lady Ashburton."³

Although DeVane states that "By the Fire-Side" is essentially lyric and that "Any Wife to Any Husband" is dramatic, I suggest that the two poems, when taken together, are dramatic, in that "Any Wife to Any Husband" is a rational response to the lyric emotionalism of "By the Fire-Side." The critical assumption that "By the Fire-Side" illustrates one of Browning's favorite themes, that of the infinite moment, perhaps accounts for the failure of some critics to read the poem in the light of its companion.

The speaker of "By the Fire-Side" is not necessarily Browning's spokesman for the infinite moment, though to be sure he is a spokesman for the idea. Rather, he is a sentimental idealist who delights in reminiscing about the glorious moment of unspoiled, untested romantic

love. The fireside setting of the poem conveys the atmosphere of idyllic domestic bliss conducive to a romantic recollection in tranquility. The husband spends most of his reverie on a description of the pastoral, edenic landscape into which he eventually introduces his infinite moment of love. He asks his wife to return with him and to relive their moment in the pristine past: "Come back with me to the first of all, / Let us lean and love it over again" (ll. 146-47). In his rustic idyll he recalls in a Shelleyan outburst, "Oh moment, one and infinite!" (l. 181) and before long the two lovers are united, under the aegis of the "one star": "we were mixed at last! In spite of the mortal screen" (ll. 234-35). As a further indication of his romanticism, he explains their union in terms of nature's urging, the two visitors to the woods being subject to an impulse of the vernal surroundings:

The forests had done it; there they stood;
We caught for a moment the powers at play;
They had mingled us so, for once and good,
Their work was done—we might go or stay,
They relapsed to their ancient mood. (ll. 236-40)

The husband's belief in the permanence of their union ("for once and good"), along with his Shelleyan and Wordsworthian romanticism, eventually evoke the wife's reply in "Any Wife to Any Husband."

The husband's tone and diction throughout his reverie corroborate his sentimentality. No less than twenty-nine of his utterances are exclamations, approximately one for every two of the fifty-three stanzas that comprise the poem. A number of his sentences begin with the emotional intensity of an "Oh": "Oh woman-country, wooed not wed" (l. 28); "Oh the sense of the yellow mountain flowers" (l. 51); "Oh heart, my own, oh eyes, mine too" (l. 102); "Oh I must feel your brain prompt mine" (l. 136); "Oh moment, one and infinite!" (l. 181); "Oh, the little more, and how much it is" (l. 191). Frequently his diction is poetic and stylized: thy pleasant hue" (l. 3); "O'er a shield else gold from rim to boss"

(l. 58); "toadstools peep" (l. 65); "new depths of the divine" (l. 140); "'Tis better" (l. 157); "Hither we walked" (l. 161); "filled my empty heart" (l. 227); "that great brow/And the spirit-small hand propping it" (ll. 259-60).

Perhaps his edenic vision of the past and its suffusion of the present is best summarized in the twenty-first stanza:

My perfect wife, my Leonor,
Oh heart, my own, oh eyes, mine too,
Whom else could I dare look backward for,
With whom beside should I dare pursue
The path gray heads abhor? (ll. 101-5)

This, along with seven other sentences, are questions, usually rhetorical. But answers are forthcoming in "Any Wife to Any Husband" that provide a more rational and practical commentary upon the husband's effusive sentimentality.

The wife's first remark is to remind her husband that despite his love he cannot have his utmost will because she is mortal: "Would death that leads me from thee brook delay" (l. 6). She introduces the idea of death into the husband's pastoral, deathless garden of romantic bliss. The wife possesses not only common sense but considerable wit, after the manner of John Donne:

And is it not the bitterer to think
That, disengage our hands and thou wilt sink
Although thy love was love in very deed?(ll. 31-33)

Like a dull, sublunary lover, whose soul she realizes is partly sense, she reminds her husband of his humanness—in a passage that deliberately echoes his idealistic remarks in Stanza XLVII and brings home the theme of mutability:

But now, because the hour through years was fixed,
Because our inmost beings met and mixed,
Because thou once hast loved me—wilt thou dare
Say to thy soul and Who may list beside,
"Therefore she is immortally my bride;
Chance cannot change my love, nor time impair."
(ll. 49-54)

In Stanzas XV and XVI she again employs some Donnean conceits to argue that he may love as many women as he pleases after she dies, for they will all be mere images of her, and therefore he will be, faithful or faithless, hers still. This expression of her love is credible since she does not expect him to relinquish living and loving after her death. She realizes that their love will best be served if she die first, for either his love or his pride will sustain it: "Though love fail, I can trust on thy pride" (l. 120). One recalls the husband's "With whom beside should I dare pursue/ The path gray heads abhor?" (ll. 104-5) His absolute confidence in their love is finally balanced by her exclamatory skepticism:

Thy love shall hold me fast
Until the little minute's sleep is past
And I wake saved.—And yet it will not be! (ll. 124-26)

That the wife requires only 126 lines to reply to her husband's 265 further stresses the contrast between emotion and reason: his lyricism is expansive, her wit concise. The fact that she employs poetic conceits and balances her husband's gentle questions with hard ones testifies both to her mental agility and disturbing skepticism. Unlike him, she fails as a true believer and recognizes the disparity between her hopes and expectations: "Now that I want thy help most, all of thee" irrevocably rhymes with "—And yet it will not be." With the imminence of death, she must finally doubt the efficacy of her husband's lyric testimonial to love, sparked years ago and reflected upon now by the glow of the fireside, to overwhelm the mutable, imperfect world of sense, the stuff dreams are made of.

The theme of the two poems is recapitulated in (and suggested by?) the exchange between Romeo and Juliet:

Rom. Lady, by yonder blessed moon I swear,
That tips with silver all these fruit-tree tops—
Jul. O, swear not by the moon, th'inconstant moon,
That monthly changes in her circled orb,
Lest that thy Jove prove likewise variable.
(II, ii, 107-11)

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1. "New Perspective on the Companion Poems of Robert Browning," *VNL* (Fall 1969), pp. 5-9.

2. *A Browning Handbook* (New York, 1955), p. 223.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 221-23.

On the Naming of Hardy's Egdon Heath

Allan C. Christensen

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to overlook the efforts of Hardy in *The Return of the Native* to endow Egdon Heath with an apparently endless variety of symbolic values. He often seems to do all he can to discredit the innocent point of view of Thomasin, who sees the heath as just "a nice wild place to walk in." Her husband's impression of their setting is probably meant to strike us as more just, when she reproaches him for "go[ing] about so gloomily, and look[ing] at the heath as if it were somebody's gaol" (V, vi). There can be no question that Hardy intends Egdon to symbolize among other things the imprisoning environment, within which nineteenth-century man is forced to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling. We are made to feel the inescapable "shades of the prison-house begin to close" upon us in the first chapter as we walk figuratively into the darkening world of the novel along with the old naval officer. And overhead, as in the equally symbolic Reading Gaol of Wilde, the heavens suggest not spaciousness, but the impenetrability of "a tent which had the whole heath for its floor" (I, i). The setting imprisons not only common man but also the fallen gods, for it comes to suggest a Tartarean underworld.¹

Although the heroic and mythical implications may be only too obvious, it should nevertheless be noticed that the name Egdon may have been designed to emphasize certain symbolic values more than others. There is no evidence, so far as I know, to indicate exactly how Hardy came to conceive the name for his version of the Victorian wasteland. From the so-called Ur-novel and on, Egdon knew no other name.² It seems probable, however, that Hardy consciously or unconsciously created the name by fusing three geographical terms that are particularly significant for their mythical meanings. These are geographical locations that are also specifically referred to in the novel—Egypt, Aegean, and Eden.

Egypt is the land of bondage, and the association of Egdon with the kingdom of the Pharaohs is especially characteristic of Eustacia's mentality. The heath is a "gaol" to her more than to others, and the sight of Clym cutting furze makes her think of "slaves, and the Israelites in Egypt, and such people!" (I, x; IV, ii). The night she is to flee with Wildeve is "a night which led the traveller's thoughts instinctively to dwell on nocturnal scenes of disaster in the chronicles of the world, on all that is terrible and dark in history and legend—the last plague of Egypt, the destruction of Sennacherib's host, the agony in Gethsemane" (V, vii).

The Aegean suggests more hopeful, but ultimately heartbreaking associations. Through the imagination one may escape the scenes of bondage to wander in a more fertile environment. Early in the day, "when all the little hills in the lower levels were like an archipelago in a fog-formed Aegean," the heath dweller may be led to think of more heroic and supernatural regions:

A traveller who should walk and observe any of these visitants as Venn observed them now could feel himself to be in direct communication with regions unknown to man. Here in front of him was a wild mallard—just arrived from the home of the north wind. . . . But the bird, like many other philosophers, seemed as he looked at the reddleman to think that a present moment of comfortable reality was worth a decade of memories. (I, x)

Unfortunately, the modern counterpart to the ancient Aegean does not offer the possibility of genuine escape, heroic adventures, and intimate communication with Homeric gods. When it is most attractive, the heath is probably most deceptive as well. The apparent islands of an archipelago may actually resemble the islands of Arnold's "To Marguerite—Continued," which give rise to the "longing like despair" at the moment of their greatest seeming prom-

ise. Nostalgic daydreams and recollected intimations of immortality must be exorcised if one is going to live comfortably in Egdon. But such exorcism is not always possible. Eustacia has been particularly unlucky in her inheritance of impossibly great expectations. She is, as Thomasin remarks, the daughter of "a romantic wanderer—a sort of Greek Ulysses" (III, vi). She cannot help but dream of the fabulous life that ought to be in store for her. We understand, however, the ominous import of her wildest dream, which "had as many ramifications as the Cretan labyrinth" (II, ii). She is doomed to wander until her death in that labyrinth on the edges of the Aegean world. The many classical allusions in the novel do not finally inspire us with any great hopefulness for the future of man.

Eden, to return to the strain of Biblical imagery, is one form of the long-lost homeland or the promised land which every bondsman and wanderer hopes to regain. Egdon Heath, "where any man could imagine himself to be Adam without the least difficulty," may, however, resemble the solitude and tranquility of Eden only ironically (II, i). Like the waste country called Eden in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, which was really Cairo, Illinois, it may always remain a place of bondage, where the settlers work "as hopelessly and sadly as a gang of convicts in a penal settlement."³ The case of Damon Wildeve is especially instructive in this regard. His inheritance, "Wildeve's Patch," is compared to a small America, which is another form of the mythical land flowing with milk and honey. But one wonders if it were worth all the trouble of several generations to create this paltry version of a promised land:

Wildeve's Patch . . . was . . . a plot of land redeemed from the heath, and after long and laborious years brought into cultivation. The man who had discovered that it could be tilled died of the labour: the man who succeeded him in

possession ruined himself in fertilizing it. Wildeve came like Amerigo Vespucci, and received the honours due to those who had gone before. (I, iv)

Not to be satisfied with this kind of America, Wildeve keeps urging Eustacia to fly with him to Wisconsin. Yet he is obviously wrong to do so. When he enters the home of Eustacia and Yeobright, he becomes, in fact, reminiscent of Milton's Satan at the gates of Eden.⁴ Far from leading the way to a new country of innocence and hope, his plans would destroy whatever Edenic possibilities may remain in his world. Hardy seems to suggest that the only new America lies paradoxically in an acceptance of the Egyptian bondage. One cannot discover the land of promise by escaping across literal seas any more than by wandering through the "strange seas of thought" of the Romantic imagination. The would-be heroic wanderer must return like a prodigal son to his native Egdon, accept his inheritance there, and so reaffirm his solidarity with imprisoned mankind. As the Wildeve's Patches are then extended and multiplied, a new Eden and one more appropriate for fallen man may gradually and painfully be reclaimed from the trackless wilds of Egypt and the Aegean.⁵

The hope that Egdon Heath can ever be anything but a wasteland is, to be sure, very slight. Hardy may not even wish to see Egdon become fertile and Edenic; his love for the untamed, "Ishmaelish" aspects of the heath may be too strong. The Aegean component may remain, in other words, one of the most attractive aspects of Egdon. However that may be, *The Return of the Native* is notable for the degree to which its action is represented in terms of a dramatic conflict among the various symbolic implications of the setting.

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1. For a discussion of this aspect of the heath, see Leonard W. Deen, "Heroism and Pathos in Hardy's *Return of the Native*," *NCF*, XV (1960), 210; and John Paterson, "The 'Poetics' of *The Return of the Native*," *MFS*, VI (1960), 216, 221.
2. John Paterson discusses the "Ur-Novel" in *The Making of "The Return of the Native"* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), *passim*. Many critics have, of course, been interested in the relationship of fictional Wessex to actual places in the west of England. See, for example, Hermann Lea, *Thomas Hardy's Wessex* (London,

1913); Donald Maxwell, *The Landscape of Thomas Hardy* (London, 1928); F. O. Saxeby, *A Thomas Hardy Dictionary* (London, 1911); and Carl J. Weber, *Hardy of Wessex* (New York, 1940). Although no one has speculated, apparently, on the name Egdon, that heath has often been identified with the Great Heath, Wareham Heath, Puddletown Heath, etc. Hardy claimed in his preface of 1895 that he had "under the general name of 'Egdon Heath,' . . . united or typified heaths of various real names, to the number of at least a dozen."

3. *Martin Chuzzlewit* (London, 1892), p. 505.

4. Paterson, *The Making of "The Return of the Native"*, p. 80, points out that this passage did not appear in the serial publication of the novel, but was added at the time of the first edition.

5. Hardy's idea of remaking the wilderness into something like America suggests an interesting parallel to the pattern Carlyle

emphasized in the heroic life. The Carlylean hero too must return home to "discover, with amazement enough, like the Lothario in *Wilhelm Meister*, that your 'America is here or nowhere.'" Then he would perceive that "instead of a dark wasteful Chaos, we have a blooming, fertile, heaven-encompassed World." *Sartor Resartus* (New York, 1899), pp. 156-57.

Another Possible Source for Dicken's Miss Havisham

Stanley Friedman

IN "THE GENESIS OF A NOVEL: *Great Expectations*," Harry Stone includes an illuminating study of the evolution of Dickens' Miss Havisham.¹ Speculating about this character's origins, Stone suggests that two actual human beings apparently served as prototypes: (1) the "White Woman" of Berners Street, a London eccentric whom Dickens saw during his boyhood and later described in an essay he wrote for *Household Words* ("Where We Stopped Growing," in No. 145, January 1, 1853, pages 361-63), and (2) Martha Joachim, a recluse who was the subject of an article on page 10 in the January 1850 issue of *The Household Narrative of Current Events*, a periodical edited by Dickens and distributed as a monthly supplement to his weekly, *Household Words*. Stone also proposes three other possible influences: the account, on pages 12-13, in the same issue of *The Household Narrative*, of a Christmas tree accident that seems linked by several details to the burning of Miss Havisham; a performance, perhaps seen by Dickens in 1831, of a dramatic sketch including Charles Mathews the elder in the role of Miss Mildew, "an eccentric old lady in white who had been jilted by her first love forty years earlier"; and Wilkie Collins' novel *The Woman in White*.²

In considering Miss Havisham, other scholars have called attention to various possible sources not mentioned in Stone's essay. Frederic G. Kitton reports, "Mr. J. F. Dexter fancies that the original of Miss Havisham

lived near Hyde Park, and that she was burned to death in her house," and later adds, "It is conjectured that . . . the novelist partly availed himself of the wedding-breakfast incident related in *Household Words* . . ." the story of Nathaniel Bentley (or "Dirty Dick"), "whose bride died suddenly on the morning of the projected wedding, whereupon the room containing the banquet was ordered by the disconsolate bridegroom to be closed and sealed, never to be reopened during his lifetime. . . ."³

In addition, Jack Lindsay, noting "the magical nature of name associations for Dickens," asserts that "there must be some connection with Mrs. Navisham, who had lived at 5 Ordnance Terrace, Chatham, and who was the Old Lady of Our Parish in *Boz's Sketches*," a woman with many pensioners who "seems the outstanding example in Dickens' childhood memories of a person liable to distribute valuable patronage. . . ."⁴

At least four other explanations of Miss Havisham's origin have also been offered. Referring to John Forster's account of a story Dickens told about the murder of an eccentric French duchess, a recluse who lived in darkness, Earle Davis writes, "This strange suggestion grew into Miss Havisham."⁵ The three remaining theories see Miss Havisham's prototype in (1) an Australian lady recluse who lived in a suburb of Sydney, (2) "certain incidents" described to Dickens by the novelist James Payn, and (3) a recluse who lived on the Isle of Wight.⁶

Although Dickens may have been influenced by a

number of these sources, one other possibility has not, I believe, been discussed. *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, For the Year 1778* contains the following report of an event in June 1778:

Died, at her apartments in Oxford-street, Miss Mary Lydia Lucrine, a maiden lady of genteel fortune, and who some years since meeting with a disappointment as to matrimony, made a vow "never to see the light of the sun again:" accordingly the windows of her apartment were closely shut up, and she strictly kept her resolution.—A few years ago, another lady, who had resolved "never to see the light of day again," from a matrimonial disappointment, lived shut up in darkness (at least she had only a lamp or candle burning) in Charter-house street; and this lady, like the above, rigidly kept her maiden vow.⁷

This account emphasizes the important features of abandonment by a suitor and seclusion in darkness. Furthermore, the latter detail, life in darkness, is clearly evident in only one of the other suggested possibilities, the story of the French duchess, who was not a victim of jilting. Moreover, in no proposed source except this *Annual Register* account is there an expression like "never to see the light of the sun again" or "never to see the light of day again." Phrases like these, however, appear in *Great Expectations*. Pip, describing his first visit to Miss Havisham, reports her asking, "You are not afraid of a woman who has never seen the sun since you were born?" (ch. 8). Later, Herbert Pocket explains that Miss

Havisham, after receiving her bridegroom's letter canceling the marriage, "'stopped all the clocks,'" and "'When she recovered from a bad illness that she had, she laid the whole place waste, as you have seen it, and she has never since looked upon the light of day'" (ch. 22). And, of course, other remarks stressing the exclusion of daylight can also be found in the novel (e.g., elsewhere in ch. 8 and also in chs. 9, 11, and 17).

Humphry House, in examining possible models for Miss Havisham, refers to Kitton's remarks, mentions the interesting story of Martha Joachim in *The Household Narrative*, and concludes, "It seems clear that Miss Havisham is another example of Dickens' regular habit of fusing together items from a number of different sources, remembered over a considerable time."⁸ The *Annual Register* account seems another of the many possible sources, for Dickens owned a set of these volumes,⁹ and also includes a reference to them in the novel written after *Great Expectations*, *Our Mutual Friend*. In that work, Boffin, who is feigning bibliomania for books about misers, purchases volumes of the *Annual Register* because these contain sections describing "Characters" (*Our Mutual Friend*, bk. III, ch. 5). Since Dickens, therefore, was evidently interested in the *Annual Register*, the report of Miss Mary Lydia Lucrine's death may have come to his attention and may perhaps have contributed to the birth of Miss Havisham.

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The Devil in the Flesh: Samuel Butler's "Confessional" Novel

Joseph T. Bennett

ON THE FIRST DAY of April 1873, Charles Darwin wrote to Samuel Butler thanking him for his present of *The Fair Haven*. "What has struck me much in your book," Darwin wrote, "is your dramatic power—that is to [say] the way in which you earnestly and thoroughly assume the character and think the thoughts of the man you pretend to be. Hence I conclude that you could write a really good novel."¹ Darwin's letter was forwarded to Butler at Menton in the south of France where he had gone to attend his dying mother, and his reply to Darwin's suggestion that he write

a novel was delayed until the tenth of April, the day after his mother's death, and the very day his father informed him that it was the publication of *Erewhon* that had killed her. Butler told Darwin: "I shall try a novel pure and simple with little 'purpose' next; but it remains to be seen whether I can do it. I would say that I would have no 'purpose' in my novel at all; but I am still in the flesh, and, however much the spirit may be willing, I fear that the cloven hoof will shew itself ever and anon."²

Darwin's letter followed by less than a month another

1. This essay, which appears in *Charles Dickens, 1812-1870: A Centennial Volume*, ed. E. W. F. Tomlin (New York, 1969) pp. 109-31, incorporates material found in Stone's "Dickens' Woman in White," *VNL*, 33 (Spring 1968), 5-8.
2. See pp. 110, 113-17, and 120-21 in "The Genesis of a Novel: *Great Expectations*," Martin Meisel, in "Miss Havisham Brought to Book," *PMLA*, LXXXI (1966), 278-85, also calls attention to the Berners Street lady, the dramatic sketch, and Collins' novel as possible influences.
3. *The Novels of Charles Dickens: A Bibliography and Sketch* (London, 1897), p. 193. The tale of "Dirty Dick" is presented in William Allingham's "The Dirty Old Man. A Lay of Leadenhall," a 60-line poem that appeared in *Household Words*, No. 146, January 8, 1853, pp. 396-97. See Russell Fraser, "A Charles Dickens Original," *NCF*, IX (1954-1955), 301-7, and Harry Stone, "An Added Note on Dickens and Miss Havisham," *NCF*, X (1955-1956), 85-86. An account of Nathaniel Bentley (or "Dirty Dick") can also be found in at least one of the books owned by Dickens, Henry Wilson's *Wonderful Characters* (London, 1821), I, 166-80. See J. H. Stonehouse, ed., *Catalogue of*

the Libraries of Charles Dickens and W. M. Thackeray (London, 1935), p. 118. (Wilson's book is one of the texts mentioned by Boffin in *Our Mutual Friend*, bk. III, ch. 6.)
4. *Charles Dickens: A Biographical and Critical Study* (New York, 1950), pp. 373-74.
5. *The Flint and the Flame: The Artistry of Charles Dickens* (Columbia, Mo., 1963), p. 256. The story of the duchess may be found in Forster's *The Life of Charles Dickens*, ed. A. J. Hoppé (London, 1966), II, 174-75. Meisel, p. 281, n. 11, also refers to the duchess.
6. See John Plummer, "The Original Miss Havisham," *Dickensian*, II (1906), 298; James Payn, *Some Literary Recollections* (New York, 1884), pp. 156-57; and Richard J. Hutchings, "Dickens at Bonchurch," *Dickensian*, LXI (1965), 79-100 (see pp. 97-100). T. W. Hill, "Notes on *Great Expectations*," *Dickensian*, LIII (1957), 119-26, 184-86, LIV (1958), 53-60, 123-25, 185, LV (1959), 57-59, LVI (1960), 121-26, refers, in considering Miss Havisham, LIII, 125, to the remarks by Plummer and Payn, as well as to Dickens' essay "Where We Stopped Growing" and Kitton's report of a comment by J. H. Dexter.

7. Vol. XXI in the original series (London, 1779), p. 189 in the "Chronicle" section.
8. *All in Due Time* (London, 1955), pp. 212-13.
9. See Stonehouse, p. 7. Dickens owned 104 volumes of the *Annual Register*, evidently the complete set of the original series, running from 1758 through 1862, with vol. XXVII covering two

years (1784-1785); the dates in the catalog Stonehouse reprints, 1748-1860, are inaccurate.

1. Henry Festing Jones, *Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon* (1835-1902)—*A Memoir* (2 vols., London, 1919), I, 187.
2. Jones, I, 189.

more urgent suggestion that Butler turn to novel writing. Miss Eliza Mary Ann Savage, a former governess whom Butler had met at Heatherley's Art School in 1870, wrote him on March 8, 1873, to compliment him on his subtle portrayal of character in *The Fair Haven*. "I am so sure you could write such a beautiful novel," her letter reads. "George Eliot and Mrs. Oliphant are so dreadfully afraid that the reader will not see what they mean that they keep on explaining at you till you get offended and bored. . . . The moral is this:—that I want a novel—ever so many novels—and I have come to look on you as an admirable novel-making machine."³ Perhaps because Butler was so anxious to please the older Darwin, it was his suggestion rather than that of Miss Savage that elicited an immediate response. To Miss Savage, Butler never apologized for his "cloven hoof"; instead, on the following June 25, he wrote her: "I am getting much interested in my novel," and on August 16 he sent her the first fifteen pages of his manuscript, explaining he had given up his music "and write an hour in the evening instead."⁴

The novel that Butler began in 1873 and upon which he worked so intently the summer of that year was eventually titled *Ernest Pontifex or, The Way of All Flesh*. It was subsequently revised and rewritten, additions and subtractions were made over a period of twelve years until in 1885, after the death of Miss Savage, the manuscript was put aside by Butler and no further revisions were made, although Butler always planned to do so.⁵ His literary executor, R. A. Streatfeild, published the manuscript in 1903, the year after Butler's death, under the subtitle alone, *The Way of All Flesh*.

On more than one occasion Butler expressed his intentions to "reconsider and rewrite" his novel.⁶ As late as August 1901, while he was going through some old letters from Miss Savage, Butler made a note that "Ernest Pontifex [is] shortly to be rewritten."⁷ Although he never made his revisions, Butler apparently felt that the manuscript as it read in 1885 was worthy of publication. He requested Streatfeild to withhold publication until after the death of his sisters, and he took the precaution of supplying his

friend Henry Festing Jones with a copy of the manuscript in case anything should happen to the original. Butler was certainly aware that his novel was not entirely satisfactory, but the exact nature of the author's dissatisfaction with his manuscript has not been thoroughly explored.⁸

The supposition that Butler withheld publishing his novel during his lifetime because he wished to spare his family pain, particularly his sisters, is a doubtful one. His relatives had told him over and over again that they did not read what he wrote, and, despite the fact that he evidenced an affection of sorts for his sister May in later years, it hardly seems likely that he wished to spare them. The composite portrait of his sisters in Charlotte Pontifex is mild in comparison with his view of them in a letter to his sister-in-law Etta Butler:

As for May, I can hardly say how much I distrust her and dislike her. I cannot go down to Wilderhope much. For years past they have never once asked me to come, or said when I went away that they were glad to see me, and hoped that I would come again as soon as I could. I have always had to write and say I should be glad to come; then I am allowed to do so—in the coldest terms that can be used with decency. . . . May, in fact, does her best to keep me and my father apart, and succeeds so well that if I was not most anxious to avoid giving my father any reasonable ground for complaint, I should not go near him.⁹

Neither did he withhold publication because he was afraid of offending Victorian sensibilities; this had become Butler's stock-in-trade. Certainly he was wounded by the hostile reception of his books, both by the public and by his family, but it had never before prevented him from publishing. The reason Butler so jealously guarded his manuscript had little to do with his fear of offending others, nor was it simply a result of dissatisfaction with his literary effort. Perhaps, then, the reason lies with the special meaning the manuscript held for the author himself.

It is well known that *The Way of All Flesh* is a thinly disguised autobiography containing many events, characters, and situations from Butler's own life as well as that of

his parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents.¹⁰ The novel was written in the conventional tripartite form: the first volume was actually begun in July or August 1873, the second in April or May 1878, and the third in April or May 1882.¹¹ The manuscript was completed in the autumn of 1883. During those periods while Butler worked on new manuscript all the preceding work was revised and rewritten. In a letter to Miss Savage of December 3, 1883, Butler gives his own view on the three volumes:

My own idea is that the first volume is the best of the three, the second the next best and the third the worst, but then they have been rewritten just in this order; the first having been ten years in hand, the second five and the third only one, but I don't suppose I shall be able to do very much more to it—at any rate not till I have put it by and forgotten it for some time and then I must begin again with the third volume.¹²

Butler's method appears to have been to finish a volume and then to prepare a chronological outline and addenda containing particular insertions he wished to make in that volume. Once the insertions were made, he set the manuscript aside until it was time to revise it again. This method of composition may be deduced from Butler's letter to Miss Savage of July 25, 1883: "All the hard part of Vol III is now done, what remains is the sticking of notes here and there and a little rewriting. A very little more will do it, and then let it be put by and finally revised when the good time comes at which it may be published."¹³ With the employment of such a method and from the extensive intervals between revisions, it is not surprising that over the years Butler's concept of his novel changed. Miss Savage testifies to the considerable alterations made in the first volume in a letter of December 2, 1883: "There is a good bit that I have seen before, and all the first part is very much cut down and altered since I saw it long ago."¹⁴

That first part that Miss Savage had seen "long ago" was written as Butler recovered from his father's vicious accusation that the death of his mother had been directly caused by the publication of *Erewhon*. Miss Savage received the first fifteen pages of the novel on August 16, 1873, and, as Butler finished subsequent pages, he rushed them off to her.¹⁵ Others read the manuscript in later years, usually in volume sections, and they were asked to comment, but it was first to Miss Savage that Butler eagerly offered his pages almost one by one. Butler him-

self records that after Miss Savage returned the manuscript to him shortly before her death he never again looked at it,¹⁶ and Henry Festing Jones says of the manuscript: ". . . so intimately was it connected with her that, after her death, Butler could not bring himself to work on it anymore; nevertheless until the end of his life he always intended to do so."¹⁷

From her letters it is obvious that Miss Savage did not once realize the intense need Butler had come to feel for her approval, nor did she have any indication of the tremendous personal involvement of the author in his manuscript. She thought he was sending her a work of fiction and she dutifully criticized the plot, "corrected the composition and made suggestions as to style."¹⁸ Her letters do not indicate that she ever suspected that the man she had met at Heatherley's School of Art seven years before offered to her in the pages of manuscript his most personal outpouring, a compendium of injury, ache, and sorrow coupled with guilt, a veritable *apologia pro vita sua*. Initially, Butler wished nothing more than her wholehearted approval: his mother had just died and his father's accusation had let loose a torrent of hatred and guilt within him that he felt must be set down on paper. The suggestion to write a novel, coming as it did at that precise moment from Charles Darwin, a man whom Butler admired over his own father and a man whose respect he so deeply craved,¹⁹ undoubtedly influenced Butler toward the fictional representation of his own painful experiences. But it was the strong feeling of sympathy he felt from Miss Savage that impelled Butler to reveal his account to her. She had confided in him her difficulty with her mother, a situation Butler saw as similar to that of himself and his father. That alone suggested a bond of understanding between them, but she had further displayed an unusual sympathy in her response to *The Fair Haven*. She had perceived his intentions in that work and had encouraged him to give fictional embodiment to his thoughts and feelings. This he had done in the pages of the manuscript that he sent her.

Miss Savage thought the novel quite good, but she did offer criticism, and Butler was never convinced she thoroughly approved the manner in which he presented his biographical material. Some years after her death, while going over the correspondence between them, he noted:

3. Jones I, 173-74.
4. *Letters Between Samuel Butler and Miss E. M. A. Savage: 1871-1895*, eds. Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill (London, 1935), pp. 57, 62.
5. Butler's note (dated January 15, 1902) on a letter from Miss Savage written January 14, 1884. The letter is now in the British Museum.
6. Jones, I, 21.
7. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 57. This note was made by Butler on a letter written to Miss Savage on June 25, 1873. "I am getting very much interested in my novel (i.e. Ernest Pontifex—shortly to be rewritten—S.B. Aug. 10, 1901)."
8. The most recent discussion is by Daniel F. Howard in his introduction to the Riverside Edition of *Ernest Pontifex or, The Way*

of All Flesh (Boston, 1964). Howard firmly asserts that Butler was dissatisfied with his manuscript on artistic grounds. In an earlier view, Howard had maintained that "though there is little direct evidence," Butler did not publish his novel "because he did not consider it finished." See "The Critical Significance of Autobiography in *The Way of All Flesh*," VNL, No. 17 (Spring 1960), p. 3. Furthermore, the "little direct evidence" Howard mentions is due chiefly to a misreading of a misdated note in the *Butler-Savage Letters*: see note 21, below.

9. *The Family Letters of Samuel Butler*, ed. Arnold Silver (London, 1962), pp. 211-12.

10. Jones, II, 1-17.
11. *Butler-Savage Letters*, pp. 62, 182, 276.
12. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 306.
13. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 295. See also Jones, II, 468-71.
14. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 304.
15. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 62 ff.

16. The letter is in the British Museum.
17. Jones, II, 1.
18. *Butler-Savage Letters*, p. 67.
19. See especially Phyllis Greenacre, *The Quest for the Father* (New York, 1963).
20. Jones, I, 173-75.

I am sure that she was doing her utmost to like it, but knew that it wanted a great deal not only of rewriting but of reconstruction. I hope to take it to it again [sic] very shortly and do the best I can with it. No doubt Miss Savage liked parts of it well enough, & that I dare say I shall do myself, but for "parts of a novel" to be good is like "parts" of the poor curate's egg being good when he was breakfasting with the bishop.²¹

Nevertheless, during her lifetime the manuscript provided a strong bond between Miss Savage and Samuel Butler. It was a way for him to vent his feelings about his family to someone he felt to be sympathetic and understanding. He always returned to his manuscript after a particularly frustrating run-in with his father, after some great argument that questioned his worth.²² At these times he would revise and add to what was already written and send it off to Miss Savage whom he trusted to accept and approve his personal confession. When Miss Savage died suddenly, Butler was left without his "confessor," his "sympathetic friend." There was not one person who could take her place for him, so he put aside his manuscript and, although he always meant to return to it, he never did.

Contrary to the usual belief, it was not what had occurred in Butler's childhood that provided the impetus for *The Way of All Flesh* but, rather, the frustrations and hurts of his adult years. As Arnold Silver points out in his introduction to *The Family Letters of Samuel Butler*:

Butler neither forgot the pains of his boyhood nor forgave his parents for mismanaging his early years. Yet it would be wrong to assume that the remembrance of his early sufferings was the sole cause of the strained relations that continued to exist within the family. Nor did such remembrance in itself supply the fund of creative energy that led him to spend more than a decade composing *The Way of All Flesh*. The writer of any autobiography be it straightforward or semi-fictional, inevitably views the events of his early years through the prism of the present, and the attitudes and feelings ascendent at the moment when the writer contemplates his past determine the way in which that past shall be seen and interpreted. Butler's

memories might have dimmed, the mutual antagonisms created by his rebellion might have softened with time had he not had experiences as an adult which reinforced the emotional pattern of his early years and allowed it to preserve its hold over him.

For the central and too often neglected fact about Butler's biography, lies not in his youth but in his maturity, not in his failure to have a happy childhood but in his failure to find an audience. (p. 18)

However, Butler did find an audience in Miss Savage, and it was to her that he communicated his views of his past "through the prism of the present" at those periods of his life when his desire for sympathetic understanding was at its most intense. Miss Savage's reaction to the manuscript was always in terms of the fictional objectification of Butler's own emotions; never was she permitted to respond directly to Butler himself. Her response to the story of Ernest Pontifex performed a double function: it gave to Butler the immediate understanding he desired, and, perhaps more important, it provided the encouraging and sustaining force to Butler's fashioning fiction from his autobiographical data.

Butler makes his autobiographical intent obvious in the title he chose for his novel, *Ernest Pontifex or, The Way of All Flesh*.²³ Those who were aware of Butler's fondness for the pun, the cryptogram, the play upon words, recognized in Ernest Pontifex the "Earnest Clergyman," the name Butler chose to sign to his correspondence in *The Examiner*.²⁴ *The Way of All Flesh* is an echo of his reply to Darwin's suggestion that he write a novel: "... I am still in the flesh, and, however much the spirit may be willing, I fear that the cloven hoof will shew itself ever and anon." Butler's title is a summary of his life, and it defines his novel as a personal document. He wrote it directly to the only person he felt would understand and accept. Eliza Savage was Butler's audience for his novel; he neither cared nor felt the need for another.

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21. Butler's note (January 15, 1902) on a letter from Miss Savage written on January 14, 1884. The original of this letter is in the British Museum. The letter is quoted in the *Butler-Savage Letters* (p. 318) where it reads: "I am sure that she was doing her utmost to like it, but know that it wanted a great deal, etc." This in turn is used as supporting evidence by Daniel F. Howard for the view that Butler did not publish his novel because he was artistically dissatisfied with it. See note 8, above. Howard quotes

Butler's note thus: "I have never looked at my novel since I got it back from Miss Savage [in January 1884] I know that it wanted a great deal not only of rewriting but of reconstruction."

22. *Family Letters*, passim; *Butler-Savage Letters*, passim.

23. Butler himself always refers to the manuscript as *Ernest Pontifex*.

24. Jones, I, 58-59.

Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

AUGUST-DECEMBER 1970

I

General

- BIBLIOGRAPHY. Bloom, Harold. "Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 817-29.
- Carter, John. "Sadleir Rides Again." *TLS*, 30 October, p. 1280. Details concerning a recent auction of Victorian fiction.
- Madden, Lionel. "Reprinting Victorian Texts." *Victorian Studies*, June 1970, pp. 381-84. On the series of reprints being undertaken by Leicester University.
- McCord, Norman. "Picture Books and Jackdaws." *Victorian Studies*, June 1970, pp. 397-402. The increasing use of pictures and other facsimiles of source material in historical publications.
- CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Barr, Pat. *A Curious Life for a Lady*. Macmillan. Biography of Isabella Bird, writer of travel books. Rev. *TLS*, 31 July, p. 844.
- Bogusch, George E. "Clarkson Stanfield, R. A.: Scene Painter, Artist, Gentleman, and Friend." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, October, pp. 245-55. As scene painter and dioramist, Stanfield is an important figure to the student of theatre history.
- DeLaura, David J. *Hebrew and Helene in Victorian England*. Texas. Affinities among Newman, Arnold and Pater. Rev. *TLS*, 18 September, p. 1018.
- Downs, B. W. "Anglo-Swedish Literary Relations 1867-1900: The Fortunes of English Literature in Sweden." *Modern Language Review*, October, pp. 829-52. Survey.
- Harvey, J. R. *Victorian Novelists and Their Illustrations*. Sidgwick and Jackson. Rev. *TLS*, 25 December, p. 1522.
- Herring, Paul D. "Nineteenth-Century Drama." *Modern Philology*, August, pp. 83-90. Review article.
- Hilton, Timothy. *The Pre-Raphaelites*. Thames and Hudson. Rev. *TLS*, 13 November, p. 1324.
- Miyoshi, Masao. *The Divided Self*. London. Rev. *TLS*, 14 August, p. 897.
- Monsman, Gerald C. "Old Mortality at Oxford." *Studies in Philology*, July, pp. 359-89. History of the Old Mortality Society, whose members included Swinburne, Pater, and Symonds.
- Nicoll, John. *The Pre-Raphaelites*. Studio Vista. Rev. *TLS*, 13 November, p. 1324.
- Pattern, Robert L. "The Fight at the Top of the Tree: *Vanity Fair* Versus *Dombey and Son*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 759-73. The strained relationship of the two novelists was less likely due to jealousy than to differing modes of life and philosophies of literature.
- Southern, Richard. *The Victorian Theatre*. Pictorial survey. David and Charles. Rev. *TLS*, 4 December, p. 1430.

Starzyk, Lawrence J. "Arnold and Carlyle." *Criticism*, Fall, pp. 281-300. Carlyle influenced the development of Arnold's aesthetic theory.

Watkinson, Raymond. *Pre-Raphaelite Art and Design*. Studio Vista. Work and influence of the Pre-Raphaelites. Rev. *TLS*, 14 August, p. 897.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Hardie, Frank. *The Political Influence of the British Monarchy 1868-1952*. Rev. *TLS*, 14 August, p. 894.

Ridley, Jasper. *Lord Palmerston*. Constable. Rev. *TLS*, 20 November, p. 1353.

Schreuder, D. M. *Gladstone and Kruger*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. British relations with South Africa. Rev. *TLS*, 28 August, p. 956.

—. "Gladstone and Italian Unification, 1848-70: The Making of a Liberal?" *English Historical Review*, July, pp. 475-501. The triumph of Italian nationalism meant the triumph of Gladstone's social beliefs, notably in utilitarian reform.

Sutherland, Gillian. "Recent Trends in Administrative History." *Victorian Studies*, June 1970, pp. 408-11. Increased interest in work on the growth of nineteenth-century government.

Ward, J. T., ed. *Popular Movements 1830-1850*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 28 August, p. 956.

West, E. G. "Resource Allocation and Growth in Early Nineteenth-Century British Education." *Economic History Review*, April 1970, pp. 68-95. Qualitatively, education was considerably less deficient than has been assumed.

HISTORY. Barker, A. J. *The Vainglorious War 1854-56*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Rev. *TLS*, 4 December, p. 1416.

Judd, Denis. *The Victorian Empire 1837-1901*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Rev. *TLS*, 13 November, p. 1323.

Martelli, George. *Livingstone's River: A History of the Zambesi Expedition, 1858-1864*. Chatto and Windus. Rev. *TLS*, 4 December, p. 1427.

Selby, John. *The Thin Red Line of Balacava*. Hamish Hamilton. Rev. *TLS*, 4 December, p. 1416.

Shaw, A. G. L., ed. *Great Britain and the Colonies 1815-1865*. Methuen. 10 essays. Rev. *TLS*, 25 September, p. 1070.

RELIGION. Baker, William J. "Hurrell Froude and the Reformers." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, July 1970, pp. 243-59. Froude's perverse indictments and inadequate historical method underscored the need for more disinterested interpretations of the English Reformation.

—. "Julius Charles Hare: A Victorian Interpreter of Luther." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Winter 1970, pp. 88-101. Hare's serious appraisal of Luther is a milestone in nineteenth-century English thought.

Bill, E. G. W., and J. F. A. Mason. *Christ Church and Reform 1850-1867*. Oxford. Rev. *TLS*, 11 December, p. 1471.

- Chadwick, Owen. *The Victorian Church*. Part I. A. and C. Black. Reissue. Rev. TLS, 28 August, p. 958.
- Isichei, Elizabeth. *Victorian Quakers*. Oxford. Rev. TLS, 4 September, p. 970.
- Pugh, R. K., ed. *The Letter-Books of Samuel Wilberforce 1843-68*. Buckinghamshire Record Society and the Oxfordshire Record Society. Collection of over 700 letters. Rev. TLS, 11 September, p. 1006.
- Symondson, Anthony, ed. *The Victorian Crisis of Faith*, S.P.C.K. Lectures. Rev. TLS, 2 October, p. 1143.
- SOCIAL. Alexander, Sally. *St. Giles's Fair, 1830-1914*. Ruskin College History Workshop. Working class pleasures. Rev. TLS, 13 November, p. 1334.
- D'Arch Smith, Timothy. *Love in Earnest*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Homosexuality in Victorian poetry. Rev. TLS, 30 October, p. 1279.
- DeQueiroz, Eca. *Letters from England*. Trans. Ann Stevens. Bodley Head. Rev. TLS, 14 August, p. 897.
- Johnson, Marion. *Derbyshire Village Schools in the Nineteenth Century*. David and Charles. Rev. TLS, 21 August, p. 934.
- Reade, Brian, ed. *Sexual Heretics*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Selection of Victorian writings of homosexual tinge or temper. Rev. TLS, 30 October, p. 1279.
- Simon, Brian. "Education: Owen, Mill, Arnold, and the Woodard Schools." *Victorian Studies*, June 1970, pp. 403-7. Review-article.
- II
INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS
- ARNOLD. Going, William T. "Matthew Arnold's Sonnets." *Papers on Language and Literature*, Fall, pp. 387-406. Arnold's sonnets anticipate and summarize most of his major ideas.
- Sharples, Edward. "The Holistic Principle in Arnold." *English*, Summer, pp. 49-53. Arnold's organizing thesis for life is based on the complete man and his society, unified art, and a Christian religion that embraces fact.
- Super, R. H. *The Time-Spirit of Matthew Arnold*. Michigan. Three lectures. Rev. TLS, 23 July, p. 790.
- Walcott, Fred G. *The Origins of "Culture and Anarchy"*. Heineman. Rev. TLS, 11 December, p. 1440.
- Walker, Warren S. "Burnes's Influence on *Sohrab and Rustum*: A Closer Look." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1970, pp. 151-56. The influence of Burnes's *Travels into Bokhara* on the poem's style and content.
- BRONTËS. Bentley, Phyllis. "Love Among the Brontës." *Contemporary Review*, November, pp. 225-30. Attitudes of the children toward their father, each other, and outsiders they were attracted to.
- Hargreaves, G. D. "The Publishing of Poems by Currier, Ellis and Acton Bell." *Library Review*, Autumn, pp. 353-56. History leading to publication of the poems in 1846.
- Winnifrieth, T. J. "Charlotte Brontë's Letters to Ellen Nussey." *Durham University Journal*, December, pp. 16-18. The Needham copies of Charlotte Brontë's letters to Ellen Nussey lessen faith in the *Shakespeare Head* edition.
- BROWNING. Bieman, Elizabeth. "An Eros Manqué: Browning's 'Andrea del Sarto.'" *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 651-68. The poem is better understood if interpreted in light of neoplatonic discussions of love and art.
- Isaacs, Neil D., and Richard M. Kelly. "Dramatic Tension and Irony in Browning's 'The Glove.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1970, pp. 157-59. The importance of contrasting rhyme patterns to the thematic conflict.
- Shmiesky, Marvel. "Yeats and Browning: The Shock of Recognition." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 701-21. Browning anticipated Yeats thematically and stylistically in the search of unity of being.
- Thompson, Gordon W. "Authorial Detachment and Imagery in *The Ring and The Book*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 669-86. The poem is a study of perspective presented through these two techniques.
- BULWER-LYTTON. Eigner, Edwin M. "Bulwer-Lytton and the Changed Ending of *Great Expectations*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1970, pp. 104-8. Bulwer's advice was based on aesthetic principles.
- CARLYLE. Coulling, Sidney M. B. "Carlyle and Swift." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 741-58. Carlyle was too distrustful of satire to be Swift's disciple in any profound sense.
- Dunn, Richard J. "Inverse Sublimity: Carlyle's Theory of Humour." *University of Toronto Quarterly*, Fall, pp. 41-57. Carlyle never sustained the true humor he had regarded so highly in his early theory.
- CARROLL. Harrod, Roy. "Dodgson of Christ Church." *TLS*, 11 December, pp. 1471-72. Reminiscences.
- Matthews, Charles. "Satire in *The Alice Books*." *Criticism*, Spring 1970, pp. 105-19. Satiric implications.
- Sutherland, Robert D. *Language and Lewis Carroll*. Mouton. Rev. TLS, 4 December, p. 1415.
- CLARE. Adlard, John. "John Clare: The Long Walk Home." *English*, Autumn, pp. 85-89. Clare's stature must be sought in the total impression of the man and his work.
- CLOUGH. Greenberger, Evelyn Barish. "Clough's 'The Judgement of Brutus': A Newly Found Poem." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1970, pp. 129-50. Background and text of the poem Clough wrote in 1840 for the Newdigate prize.
- DICKENS. Churchill, R. C. "Dickensian Criticism." *TLS*, 23 July, p. 814. The continuity between the best of the past and present Dickensian criticism. (Also see Slater, below.)
- Curran, Stuart. "The Lost Paradises of *Martin Chuzzlewit*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1970, pp. 51-67. The novel has design and purpose, built on the *Paradise Lost* myth.
- Daleski, H. M. *Dickens and the Art of Analogy*. Faber and Faber. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Fleissner, Robert F. "Something out of Dickens' in Sinclair Lewis." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, November, pp. 607-16. Lewis' indebtedness.
- Fitzsimons, Raymond. *The Charles Dickens Show: An Account of his Public Readings 1858-1870*. Bles. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Hamer, Douglas. "Dickens: The Old Court of Chancery." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 341-47. Details of the Court with reference to *Bleak House*.
- Hardy, Barbara. *The Moral Art of Dickens*. Athlone. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Herring, Paul D. "The Number Plans for *Dombey and Son*: Some Further Observations." *Modern Philology*, November, pp. 151-87. The number plans reveal Dickens' conscious control over character and event.
- Leavis, F. R., and Q. E. Leavis. *Dickens the Novelist*. Chatto and Windus. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Lougy, Robert E. "Pickwick and 'The Parish Clerk.'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1970, pp. 100-4. Through his telling of this tale, Pickwick moves toward an integration of himself with humanity.
- Lucas, John. *The Melancholy Man: A Study of Dickens's Novels*. Methuen. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Olshin, Toby A. "'The Yellow Dwarf' and *The Old Curiosity Shop*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1970, pp. 96-99. Parallels between the fairy tale and the novel.
- Page, Norman. "Convention and Consistency in Dickens's Cockney Dialect." *English Studies*, August, pp. 339-44. Dickens' art is one of convention rather than of realism.
- Ryan, Sister M. Rosario. "Dickens and Shakespeare: Probable Source of 'Barnaby Rudge.'" *English*, Summer, pp. 43-48. The Shakespearean inspiration with emphasis on *Macbeth* and *King Lear*.
- Slater, Michael. "Dickensian Criticism." *TLS*, 7 August, p. 878. Reply to R. C. Churchill (see entry, above).
- Sucksmith, Harvey Peter. *The Narrative Art of Charles Dickens: The Rhetoric of Sympathy and Irony in his Novels*. Oxford. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Szladits, Lola L. *Charles Dickens, 1812-1870*. New York Public Library and Arno Press. Selection of materials in the Berg Collection. Rev. TLS, 14 August, p. 906.
- Tillotson, Kathleen, Sylvere Monod and Angus Wilson. *Dickens Memorial Lectures 1970*. Dickens Fellowship. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Wall, Stephen, ed. *Charles Dickens: A Critical Anthology*. Penguin. Rev. TLS, 25 December, pp. 1521-22.
- Warnecke, Wayne. "George Orwell's Dickens." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Summer 1970, pp. 373-81. The critical value of Orwell's essay.
- ELIOT. McCarthy, Patrick J. "Lydgate, 'The New, Young Surgeon' of *Middlemarch*." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 805-16. Lydgate's researches, conducted in a realistic world, suggest a connection between him and Lewes.
- Sudrann, Jean. "*Daniel Deronda* and the Landscape of Exile." *ELH*, September, pp. 433-55. The double plot creates for the novel its central definition of isolation.
- Wiesenfarth, Joseph. "Demythologizing *Silas Marner*." *ELH*, June 1970, pp. 226-44. The novel uses its legend to enhance its realism.
- GISSING. Keating, P. J. "The State of Gissing Studies." *Victorian Studies*, June 1970, pp. 393-96. Review article.
- HARDY. Benvenuto, Richard. "Modes of Perception: The Will to Live in *Jude the Obscure*." *Studies in the Novel*, Spring 1970, pp. 31-41. Through Jude's mode of perception, Hardy affirms the dignity of individual life.
- Cox, J. Stevens, ed. *The Thomas Hardy Year Book 1970*. Toucan. Essays. Rev. TLS, 18 December, p. 1479.
- Cox, R. G. *Thomas Hardy: The Critical Heritage*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Periodical criticism from 1871 until the First World War. Rev. TLS, 23 July, p. 826.
- Irvine, Peter L. "Faulkner and Hardy." *Arizona Quarterly*, Winter, pp. 357-65. Similarities.
- Miller, J. Hillis. *Thomas Hardy: Distance and Desire*. Harvard. Critical study. Rev. TLS, 18 December, p. 1479.
- Pinion, F. B. "The Composition of 'The Return of the Native.'" *TLS*, 21 August, p. 931. The design of the original story had been completed by the Christmas of 1876 and composition began soon thereafter.
- Schwartz, Barry N. "Jude the Obscure in the Age of Anxiety." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 793-804. With *Jude*, Hardy was writing a modern epic, a story of destiny in a world without God.
- HOPKINS. Gafford, Charlotte K. "Hopkins' *God's Grandeur*, 3-4." *Explicator*, November, No. 21. "Ooze of oil" refers to the oil content of silt from coal piles.
- MacKenzie, Norman H. "Gerard Manley Hopkins: The Dragon's Treasure Horde Unlocked." *Modern Language Quarterly*, June 1970, pp. 236-44. Review-article.
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- Bogner, Delmar. "The Sexual Side of Meredith's Poetry." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1970, pp. 107-25. Meredith made sex a striking and appropriate part of his poetry.
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- Pritchett, V. S. *George Meredith and English Comedy*. Chatto and Windus. Rev. TLS, 18 December, pp. 1477-79.
- MILL. Ryan, Allan. *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill*. Macmillan. Rev. TLS, 7 August, p. 874.
- Steele, E. D. "J. S. Mill and the Irish Question: Reform, and the Integrity of the Empire, 1865-1870." *Historical Journal*, September, pp. 419-50. Mill was less

- libertarian and less radical on the Irish Question than is commonly supposed.
- MORRIS, Lemire, Eugene D., ed. *The Unpublished Lectures of William Morris*. Wayne State. Rev. TLS, 4 September, p. 970.
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- Ellis, John Tracy. "John Henry Newman, A Bridge for Men of Good Will." *Catholic Historical Review*, April 1970, pp. 1-24. Newman as a forerunner to modern ecumenism.
- CAROLINE ELIZABETH NORTON. Rauchbauer, Otto Hans. "Some Unrecorded Letters by Caroline Norton." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 335-39. Text of three letters by the poetess and novelist.
- ROSSETTI, Sonstroem, David. *Rossetti and the Fair Lady*. Wesleyan. The ideal woman Rossetti sought in his life and in his work. Rev. TLS, 23 July, p. 836.
- Stein, Richard L. "Dante Gabriel Rossetti: Painting and the Problem of Poetic Form." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 775-92. Like his own painting and the medieval art he admired, Rossetti's poetry involves sharp juxtapositions of narrative and decorative material.
- SAMUEL SMILES. Tyrrell, Alexander. "The Origins of a Victorian Best-Seller—An Unacknowledged Debt." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 347-49. Smiles's indebtedness to American transcendentalism in his best seller, *Self-Help*.
- SYMONS, Beckson, Karl, and John M. Munroe. "Symons, Browning, and the Development of the Modern Aesthetic." *Studies in English Literature*, Autumn, pp. 687-99. Browning, as well as Pater, prepared Symons for his understanding of what the French symbolists intended.
- TENNYSON. Hirsch, Gordon D. "Tennyson's *Commedia*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1970, pp. 93-106. The Dantean influence on *In Memoriam*.
- Scott, P. G. *Tennyson's Enoch Arden*. Tennyson Society. Explication. Rev. TLS, 20 November, p. 1346.
- THACKERAY. Stevens, Joan. "Thackeray at the Derby, 1845." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 333-34. New details.
- Sutherland, John. "Thackeray as Victorian Racialist." *Essays in Criticism*, October, pp. 441-45. Thackeray's racial views hardened as he grew older.
- TROLLOPE. Kincaid, James R. "Barchester Towers and the Nature of Conservative Comedy." *ELH*, December, pp. 595-612. This comic novel quietly subverts many of the major tenets of traditional comedy.
- WARD. Peterson, William S. "Gladstone's Review of *Robert Elsmere*: Some Unpublished Correspondence." *Review of English Studies*, November, pp. 442-61. Nine letters between Mrs. Ward and Gladstone written in the spring of 1888 showing the latter's great interest in the novel.
- . "Mrs. Humphrey Ward on *Robert Elsmere*: Six New Letters." *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, November, pp. 587-97. Text of the hitherto unpublished letters.
- WILDE. Brooks, Michael. "Oscar Wilde, Charles Ricketts, and the Art of the Book." *Criticism*, Fall, pp. 301-15. The artistic partnership between Wilde and Ricketts, artist and book designer.
- C. M. YONGE. Foster, Shirley. "Unpublished Letters of C. M. Yonge." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 339-41. Details about the forty-nine letters, mainly to the novelist's cousins.

States: Island Community College,
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English X News

Officers for 1971 are David DeLaura, Chairman; John F. Stasny, Secretary.

The following nominations were made and approved at the 1970 meeting:

Flavia Alaya to membership on the Executive Committee (formerly the Advisory and Nominating Committee);
Norman Kelvin to the chairmanship of the 1971 Program Committee.

It was also agreed that the topic for the December meeting would remain open.

All manuscripts and inquiries relating to the program should be addressed to Professor Kelvin (Department of English, City College of the City University of New York, Convent Avenue and 138th Street, New York, N.Y. 10031).