

biography. According to William Rossetti, it was written as early as 1847 to someone "purely imaginary" (*CW*, I, 519). It is interesting to notice, first of all, that the Mary who was painted is now dead; that is, like the Blessed Damozel, she exists outside of time, for the unconscious that she personifies lives a timeless existence.⁴ But though separated from the painter, just as the Blessed Damozel is from her lover, because she dwells in an eternal realm while he remains in the time-bound, conscious world, she is nonetheless a constant presence to him, nearly attained, attained in promise but not in fact. Sitting before her portrait, the artist muses:

It is not often I can read
When I sit here; for then her cheek
Seems to lean on me, and her breath
To make my stooping forehead weak
Again; and I can feel again
Her hand on my hand quickly lain
Whenever I would turn the leaf,
Bidding me wait for her; and brief
And light, her laugh comes to me then.⁵

The main body of the poem is a description of the moment that the portrait has immortalized: a meeting with his beloved which the artist wished to make permanent. He was reading Keats—"or Hunt mayhap"—in a spot amusingly apt for any psychosexual interpretation of the poem:

Half down a yellow dell, warm, soft
And hollowed like a lady's lap,
(A golden cup of summer-heat
She called it once) I lay; my feet
Covered in the high grass.

(*Unpublished Verse*, p. 68)

He is, then, in a place much resembling—though symbolically—a man's first source of sensations and attitudes related to the anima: in the deep peace and comfort of the maternal womb. The physical well-being he experiences brings him into such total harmony that he seems almost to attain that perfect communion of the conscious self with the unconscious which he desires:

... Sometimes the mind receives
At such a moment that deep lore
Which wise men have toiled vainly for;
There comes a sudden hand that saith
Only one word, taking the breath;

And a hand pusheth ope the door.
But my soul tottered, being drunk
Within the sunshine in which its thoughts
Floated like atoms; and my feet
Stumbled along the mystic courts.
So I waxed weary, but did bend
My spirit but to apprehend
The beauty of the heard and seen—
The water-noise and the strong green;
And wondered if those things would end.

(*Unpublished Verse*, p. 67)

He has not, in Jungian terms, been able to reach the depths of the self unaided but has returned to an area between the conscious and the unconscious. At that moment the anima, his bridge to the unconscious, appears from a dark wood.⁶ The description of that wood pays very little attention to natural detail; it much resembles the wood which D. H. Lawrence describes when he states his creed:

That I am I.
That my soul is a dark forest.
That my known self will never be more than a
little clearing in the forest.
That Gods, strange Gods, come forth from
the forest of my known self, and then go
back.⁷

In its details Rossetti's description of the wood looks back to Keats more than it foreshadows Lawrence; but the point is that all three have similar symbolic associations in their descriptions of the forest. This is Rossetti's description:

Fronting me was a shade of trees
Through whose thick tops the light fell in
Hardly at all; a covert place,
Where you might think to find a din
Of doubtful talk, and a live flame
Wandering, and many a shape whose name
Not itself knoweth, and wet dew,
And red-mouthed damsels meeting you.
It was through those trees that she came.
Her hands were lifted to put back
The branches from her path; her head,
With its long tresses gathered up,
Looked cool and nymphlike in the shade
That reached her waist. . . .

(*Unpublished Verse*, pp. 69-70)

Her first appearance associates the Mary of the portrait with a dryad deep in the wood of the unconscious. As she moves out into the sunlight, the poet compares her to Mary, the Blessed Virgin, praising "her" artist Raphael in heaven and greeting him. Rossetti, in other words, is bringing together symbols from both the Greek and Christian traditions to express a psychological state of well-being and harmony, a sense of worlds that are usually separate coming into momentary union:

How long we sat there, who shall say?
There was no Time while we sat there.
But I remember that we found
Very few words, and that our hair
Had to be untangled when we rose.

(*Unpublished Verse*, p. 70)

The rest of the poem describes briefly his painting of Mary as she had appeared to him when she looked out from the wood. His painting becomes the "moment's monument" of that communion with the anima, a proof that it did, in fact, occur. But the poem concludes, as do so many Rossetti poems, with a man alone, living in time, looking back to a previous state of fulfillment, a sense of wholeness and looking forward to regaining it—but always with the sense that only death can restore that wholeness:

... Yea, Time weigheth like lead
Upon my soul. Do you not think
That where the world shelves to the brink
Of that long stream whose waters flow
Hence some strange whither, I may now
Kneel, and stoop in my mouth, and drink?

(*Unpublished Verse*, p. 71)

Rossetti will use a similar image many times in his poetry—in "The Stream's Secret," in "Willowwood," and in the concluding sonnet of *The House of Life*, "The One Hope"—to describe the eternal realm he hopes to enter at the moment of death. But whenever we meet these images of eternity in Rossetti's poetry it is wise to keep in mind an idea that Joseph Campbell has expressed succinctly:

Heaven, hell, the mythological age, Olympus and all the other habitations of the gods, are interpreted by psychoanalysis as symbols of the unconscious. The key to the modern systems of psychological interpretation therefore is this: the metaphysical realm = the unconscious. Correspondingly, the key to open

the door the other way is the same equation in reverse: the unconscious = the metaphysical realm. "For," as Jesus states it, "behold the kingdom of God is within you."⁸

This concept of "eternity" and the concept of the anima taken together may help to illuminate "The Blessed Damozel," a poem that Rossetti probably wrote in the same year as "On Mary's Portrait." In his discussion of the poem and the painting Wendell Stacy Johnson gives an excellent summary of what has been the traditional criticism of the poem, that it juxtaposes but does not fuse fleshly and spiritual, eternal and temporal:

Rossetti's damozel is chaste, with her white rose and three lilies, but she is also quite physical, with her yellow hair and her warm bosom. As for the possible sexual contrast between man and woman, Rossetti's tendency, accentuated in later pictures . . . is to picture heroic women who have remarkably masculine jaws and shoulders, and delicate men who have remarkably feminine lips and eyes, so that the sexes seem virtually interchangeable and in that sense virtually sexless. This clear tendency in the painting of the damozel, where it is impossible, for instance, to tell if the angels are male or female, may reflect an element in the verse. Most of the men in Rossetti's poetry are awed or otherwise dominated by their women, and in the poem of the damozel the role of speaker, wooer and teacher is hers. If body and soul, and male and female, are not strikingly distinguished, the distinct ideas of time and eternity are both clearly implied in the picture and given in the poem, ideas that seemingly cannot be so easily merged.⁹

But if one thinks of the "Heaven" on whose golden bar the blessed damozel leans not as the traditional state of blessedness but as the timeless state of the unconscious, then many of the paradoxes that Johnson describes are clarified. For instance, the damozel's unhappiness in Heaven, traditionally a state of perfect bliss, becomes understandable. It is the dreamy state of the woman portrayed in so many of Rossetti's late paintings: in "The Day Dream," "La Pia," "Persephone"—the anima waiting for that union with the conscious, masculine aspect of the self by which she will fulfill her true psychic role.

Again, if the blessed damozel is seen as the anima, her dominance as "speaker, wooer and teacher" is explicable: she is the psychopomp leading the conscious self into the depths of the self, a depth symbolized in terms of light and water:

4. "Whenever she [the anima] emerges with some degree of clarity, she always has a peculiar relationship to time: as a rule she is more or less immortal, because outside time." C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, Bollingen Series, XX (New York, 1959), 199. Hereafter cited as *Archetypes*.

5. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *An Analytical List of Manuscripts in the Duke University Library, with Hitherto Unpublished Verse and Prose*, ed. Paul Franklin Baum (Durham, N.C., 1931), p.

67. Further references will be cited in the text as *Unpublished Verse*.

6. "... the anima can appear also as an angel of light, a psychopomp who points the way to the highest meaning, as we know from Faust" (Jung, *Archetypes*, p. 29).

7. D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York, 1953), p. 26.

8. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York, 1956), p. 259. Or, as Jung states it: "The quality of personal immortality so fondly attributed to the soul by religion is, for science, no more than a psychological *inducium* which is already included in the idea of autotomy . . . the immediate meaning of immortality is simply a psychic activity that transcends consciousness. 'Beyond the

grave' or 'on the other side of death' means, psychologically, 'beyond consciousness'" (*Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, Bollingen Series, XX [New York, 1966], 191; hereafter cited as *Two Essays*).

9. Wendell Stacy Johnson, "D. G. Rossetti as Painter and Poet," *Victorian Poetry*, III (Winter, 1965), 15-16.

I'll take his hand and go with him
To the deep wells of light;
As unto a stream we will step down,
And bathe there in God's sight.

(CW, I, 234)

At this moment of total union within the self, when male and female elements are united, there is indeed a fusion of sexual characteristics that Johnson notices in the aspect of the angels. His observation of the general tendency in the women figures of Rossetti's later paintings to show masculine traits and the men effeminate ones is, nevertheless, a shrewd warning of what is indeed a problem. Jung writes: "A woman possessed by her animus is always in danger of losing her femininity, her adapted feminine persona, just as a man in like circumstances runs the risk of effeminacy."¹⁰ In other words, if the anima—or, for a woman, the animus—does indeed act as a bridge between the conscious and the unconscious worlds, then she is beneficent, but if she becomes an end in herself, the imaginative symbol of all that the conscious self desires, then she is dangerous. Like "On Mary's Portrait," "The Blessed Damozel" ends not with a union of self achieved but with such a union still hoped for, and in that obsessive, unfulfilled wish for union lies the danger.

Both poems discussed so far have shown the anima in her gracious—and grace-giving—aspect, but as Johnson again points out, Rossetti's women figures are "extraordinary" and opposite:

In one group of extraordinary women are the dying sister, the blessed damozel, and Dante's Beatrice, all pure and all directly related to Heaven. In the other group are Sister Helen, Helen of Troy, Lilith and the less sinister Jenny, all involved in sensuality if not in morbid passions. The archetypal virgin stands at one extreme, the prostitute or siren at the other.¹¹

And both—the virgin and the prostitute—are aspects of the anima.¹² In most of Rossetti's poems and paintings she has either one aspect or the other, but in "A Last Confession" the anima figure changes from saint to whore within the poem, and *The House of Life* presents the anima in all her complexity.

A problem, however, in so considering *The House of Life* is that the anima is there not an idealized and ideal but totally imaginary woman—as in "On Mary's Portrait" and "The Blessed Damozel"—but has been projected upon at least two real women, Elizabeth Siddal and Jane

Morris. Much criticism of the work has concerned itself with biographical problems: when and in what circumstances was this or that sonnet written, and which woman was it written to? Such work is undoubtedly useful for a clearer understanding of what are often obscure poems, but it tends itself to obscure any sense of the poem as a sequence. It tends also to make the reader lose sight of a fact that Walter Pater noticed when the sequence first appeared: "the house of life" is the house of Rossetti's own psyche, and all events and actions and persons appearing there appear only as parts of that psychic reality. It is not, then, finally significant what name the beloved may bear in the world "outside"; there is, so far as the poem is concerned, no world outside, and the first section particularly, "Youth and Change," is much more coherent and meaningful as a meditation upon and a dialogue with the anima than as recollection of moments spent with particular women.

The first thirty-five sonnets of *The House of Life* are a rapturous celebration of the anima in her life-giving and life-fulfilling aspects. She is mother and maiden—Juno, Persephone, Venus, Diana. Her "shadowing hair" (VIII) offers the shelter and refuge of a mother's embrace and is at the same time an important aspect of her erotic power. And her eyes, though mysterious and shadowy (VIII, X), are at the same time filled with the light of all life's meaning. The culminating description of the beloved in this aspect is "Heart's Compass" (XXVII):

Sometimes thou seem'st not as thyself alone,
But as the meaning of all things that are;
A breathless wonder, shadowing forth afar
Some heavenly solstice hushed and halcyon;
Whose unstirred lips are music's visible tone;
Whose eyes the sun-gate of the soul unbar,
Being of its furthest fires oracular;—
The evident heart of all life sown and mown.

Paul Baum paraphrases the line "whose eyes the sun-gate of the soul unbar" as "her open eyes reveal the burning deeps of her soul,"¹³ but surely this is only half the truth. The line looks back to the previous sonnet, "Mid-Rapture," which says:

What word can answer to thy word,—what gaze
To thine, which now absorbs within its sphere
My worshiping face, till I am mirrored there
Light-circled in a heaven of deep-drawn rays?

and to the lines of "Heart's Hope" (V):

fairly, now a witch; now a saint, now a whore" (Jung, *Archetypes*, p. 199).

13. Paul F. Baum, ed., *The House of Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), p. 104.

Thy soul I know not from thy body, nor
Thee from myself, neither our love from God.

The soul, then, whose blazing deeps are at once guarded and opened by her eyes is not only the beloved's; it is also the poet's. It is their common soul.

"Life-in-Love" (XXXVI) marks a change in this dialogue with the anima. Its octave summarizes yet again all her life-giving qualities:

Not in thy body is thy life at all,
But in this lady's lips and hands and eyes;
Through these she yields thee life and vivifies
What else were sorrow's servant and death's thrall.

But although the poem begins with a statement of death overcome and life restored through the anima figure, its final image is of the anima in another aspect: one which leads to separation from all life, to thoughts of and desire for death, and finally to death itself.

Look on thyself without her, and recall
The waste remembrance and forlorn surmise
That lived but in a dead-drawn breath of sighs
O'er vanished hours and hours eventual.

Even so much life hath the poor tress of hair
Which, stored apart, is all love hath to show
For heart-beats and for fire-heats long ago;
Even so much life endures unknown, even where,
'Mid change the changeless night environeth,
Lies all that golden hair undimmed in death.

Suddenly into the sonnet sequence there has come the note of the macabre. The sestet alludes to the circumstances of Elizabeth Siddal Rossetti's death, to Rossetti's placing of his poems beside her red-gold hair in her coffin, and to the fact that when those poems were retrieved, a thick strand of hair clung to them and had to be cut off and brought back to Rossetti with the notebook itself.¹⁴

"Life-in-Love," then, brings together two projections of the anima: the woman he now loves, through whom all life is meaningful and rich, and the dead woman he once loved, who seems at first pitiful, her "poor tress of hair" neglected and half-forgotten, as are the memories of her life. But by the last line of the sonnet that "poor tress" has become the poem's dominating image, and it shines out gold from the tomb in strange contrast to the "eyes grey-lit in shadowing hair above" of the other beloved. That "poor tress" brings to mind other golden tresses that appear in Rossetti's poems: those of Lilith, who ensnares youth and leaves "his straight neck bent/ And round his heart one strangling golden hair" (CW, I, 216); and the "long bright tress of golden hair" which is

Jocelind's gift to Rose Mary's faithless lover. Its appearance here bodes ill.

The poet turns his thoughts again and again to the beloved as a projection of the anima in her beneficent aspect, but never again in the sequence is that beneficence totally enjoyed. The nature of the beloved is mixed: now comforting, now menacing, as the two projections become strangely mingled and confused. As a result, the relationship with the beloved undergoes so great a transformation that the earlier state of total communion seems at times irreparably lost. "Hope Overtaken" and "Love and Hope" (XLII, XLIII) show the ambivalence that follows from this haunting possibility. In the sestet of "Hope Overtaken" the poet writes again of the eyes of the beloved; earlier ("Heart's Compass," XXVII) they were associated with dawn, but now with evening:

O Hope of mine whose eyes are living lone,
No eyes but hers,—O Love and Hope the same!—
Lean close to me, for now the sinking sun
That warmed our feet scarce gilds our hair above.
O hers thy voice and very hers thy name!
Alas, cling round me, for the day is done!

The beloved is identified with the hope in which the poet shelters himself; she is still, even in his melancholy, the loving, sheltering beloved of the first thirty-five poems—at once maternal and sexual. But in the sestet of the following sonnet, "Love and Hope," the expression in those "eyes of Hope" undergoes a violent change:

Cling heart to heart; nor of this hour demand
Whether in very truth, when we are dead,
Our hearts shall wake to know Love's golden head,
Sole sunshine of the imperishable land;
Or but discern, through night's unfeaturing scope,
Scorn-fired at length the illusive eyes of Hope.

Over and over again in the concluding sonnets of "Youth and Change," the poems describe a separation from the beloved, a separation that may be wistful or violent but that also separates the poet from all the rest of human life. Obsessed by his desire for union with an unattainable object, the poet becomes more and more self-enclosed. In Jungian terms the anima, working in a negative way, is acting, as she well can, "like a jealous mistress," separating the man possessed by her from all around him, leaving him lonely and afraid but ever more dependent on her.¹⁵

This combination of emotions—sadness, loneliness, frustration mixed with obsessive love and longing—finds its most complete expression in the four poems called "Willowood" (XLIX-LII). The symbols Rossetti uses

10. *Two Essays*, p. 209.

11. Johnson, "Rossetti as Painter and Poet," p. 11.

12. "Like the supraordinate personality, the anima is bipolar and can therefore appear positive one moment and negative the next, now young, now old; now mother, now maiden; now a good

14. W. D. Paden, "'La Pia de' Tolomei' by Dante Gabriel Rossetti," *The Register of the Museum of Art*, The University of Kansas, II (November, 1958), 14.

15. *Two Essays*, p. 200.

have obviously a Dantescan quality, but when reading the poem it might be wise to put Dante (with all his theological implications) to one side in order to consider Rossetti's use of the symbols entirely as a means to convey a psychological state.

"Whoever," Jung writes, "has elected for the state of spiritual poverty, the true heritage of Protestantism carried to its logical conclusion"—and this is precisely the agnostic Rossetti's case—"goes the way of the soul that leads to water. This water is no figure of speech, but a living symbol of the dark psyche."¹⁶ In Rossetti's image:

I sat with Love upon a wood-side well,
Leaning across the water, I and he;
Nor ever did he speak nor looked at me,
But touched his lute wherein was audible
The certain secret thing he had to tell:
Only our mirrored eyes met silently
In the low waves; and that sound came to be
The passionate voice I knew; and my tears fell.

We know, then, where we are at the beginning of the Willowood sequence: the poet has made his descent into the underworld of his unconscious self. Jung, continuing his description of such a descent, writes:

Whoever looks into the water of his own unconscious sees his own image, but behind it living creatures soon loom up; fishes, presumably, harmless dwellers of the deep—harmless, if only the lake were not haunted. They are water-beings of a peculiar sort. Sometimes a nixie gets into the fisherman's net, a female, half-human fish. Nixies are entrancing creatures:

Half drew she him,
Half sank he down
And nevermore was seen.

The nixie is an even more instinctual version of a magical feminine being whom I call the *anima*. She can also be a siren, *melusina* (mermaid), wood-nymph, Grace, or Erlking's daughter, or a lamia or succubus, who infatuates young men and sucks the life out of them.¹⁷

I have quoted Jung's own symbolization of a psychic state at length because its images so much resemble the set of Willowood I:

And at their fall, his [Love's] eyes beneath grew hers;
And with his foot and with his wing-feathers
He swept the spring that watered my heart's drouth.
Then the dark ripples spread to waving hair,
And as I stooped her own lips rising there
Bubbled with brimming kisses at my mouth.

True, in the next sonnet the kiss is described as some-

thing totally desired, as a single moment of solace after years of living in "death's sterility," which might suggest that this "nixie" is not of the dangerous variety that Jung describes. But there is more than a suggestion of menace at the same time in the description of the kiss as "the soul-wrung, implacable close kiss." And when at the conclusion of the kiss, "her face fell back drowned and was as grey/As its grey eyes," the poet stoops and drinks

A long draught from the water where she sank,
Her breath and all her tears and all her soul.

With that draught he is himself drowned in the water of his own unconscious.

Although Jung never underestimates the potentially malevolent power of the *anima*,¹⁸ his concern is primarily to show how the *anima* may be made a force for good. While she remains in the unconscious, her image is projected upon the women one loves, and she may work all manner of harm, but if she is objectified, brought into consciousness and recognized, she may bring one to self-understanding and to an integration of self—a harmony within the self of masculine and feminine elements—that creates a coherent life.¹⁹

In Rossetti's poems, however, this ideal pattern of growth in self-knowledge as Jung has worked it out is virtually reversed. From an initial state of harmony and peace—in which, however, as Jung would point out, the *anima* is projected and therefore not understood for what she is, a force within the self—the poet moves into a state of insecurity. He is filled with a foreboding sense of loss and deprivation that becomes torment and ends at last in despair; his only rescue is oblivion. I am, of course, oversimplifying the pattern; still I think the outline may be applied to a number of "key" poems: "A Last Confession," "The Stream's Secret," and *The House of Life*. Its most complete and at the same time most schematic statement is in the scenario that Rossetti drew up for an uncompleted poem, "The Orchard Pit."

Keats said that each poet's life is an allegory; one might turn that around and say that the allegory of "The Orchard Pit" is the story of Rossetti's life. It is narrated by a man who begins: "Men tell me that sleep has many dreams; but all my life I have dreamt one dream alone" (CW, I, 427). His dream is of a golden-haired woman who stands in the fork of an apple tree and sings, holding in her hand a bright red apple. Beneath the tree yawns a deep pit filled with the bodies of men. The narrator has passed that glen in the day-time; it seems then

innocent enough, but he knows it as the place where he will die. And then he tells his dream—giving it in the past tense, as if its prophecy were already fulfilled. He was walking with his love near the glen when he heard the Siren's song. His earthly bride tried to hold him, but he shook her off:

And now the Siren's song rose clearer as I went.
At first she sang, "Come to Love" and of the sweetness of Love she said many things. And next she sang, "Come to Life"; and Life was sweet in her song. But long before I reached her, she knew that all her will was mine: and then her voice rose softer than ever, and her words were, "Come to Death"; and Death's name in her mouth was the very swoon of all the sweetest things that be.

He had one kiss from her mouth, one bite from the apple before he crashed through the boughs to "the dead white faces that welcomed me in the pit" (CW, I, 430).

If the hero in Jungian terms is the one who descends to the underworld of the unconscious, faces the figures—beautiful, strange, or terrifying—that he meets there, and then returns to the conscious realm with new understanding, then Rossetti is not a hero, for he was overpowered. But as an artist, he was a seer, and if he never achieved a saving balance between the claims of the conscious and unconscious worlds, he was able to give a record—in both poetry and painting—of his descent to the unconscious. Moreover, since the *anima* is an archetype of the *collective* unconscious, Rossetti's vision of her was "true" not only for himself but for others. Rossetti's vision also haunts Swinburne's imagination, and Pater's, and Morris'—and through them it becomes part of the very soul-stuff of Victorian society.²⁰ Jung's description of the artist's task gives this fact peculiar significance:

The creative process, so far as we are able to follow it at all, consists in the unconscious activation of an archetypal image, and in elaborating or shaping this image into the finished work. By giving it shape,

the artist translates it into the language of the present, and so makes it possible for us to find our way back to the deepest springs of our life. Therein lies the social significance of art; it is constantly at work educating the spirit of the age, conjuring up the forms in which the age is most lacking.²¹

The Victorian world was a man's world—given over to concerns of war, commerce, scientific speculation, political forms. In that world the feminine principle became so separated from the masculine that men's emotional lives were a crude mixture of sentimentality and sensualism. Rossetti, totally cut off from the masculine concerns of the society around him, was—perhaps unconsciously—redressing the balance as he lost himself in contemplation of the feminine principle.

She rises on canvas after canvas—with many names: Proserpine or La Pia de' Tolomei, Pandora or la Donna della Fiamma, or la Donna della Finestra. Sometimes she gazes at us from a window or from the branches of a sycamore tree; or she is lost in her thoughts beside the wall of an enclosed garden or in a narrow tower room. Her garments are heavy and rich in texture, but of no assignable period in history; her expression is always totally calm and strangely expectant, without being hopeful. In a space too small for her powerful presence, she simply waits, with overwhelming passivity, wrapt in her own thoughts. The enormous force, for which her hair, her strong neck, and her masculine hands are images, lies unused. But it is there, and it is most obvious in her abstracted gaze that warns and invites at once.

In attempting to paint the picture of his own soul, Rossetti had come upon the archetypal figure of the *anima*. His emotions were overwhelmed by her, but his imagination succeeded in embodying her for others so that her fascination, which is not explicable, might yet again be made visible.

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16. *Archetypes*, p. 17.
17. *Archetypes*, pp. 24-25.

18. *Cf. Two Essays*, p. 204.
19. *Two Essays*, pp. 200-201.

20. Oscar Wilde took note of this fact: "We have all seen in our own day in England how a certain curious and fascinating type of beauty, invented and emphasized by two imaginative painters, has so influenced Life that whenever one goes to a private view or to an artistic salon one sees, here the mystic eyes of Rossetti's dream, the long ivory throat, the strange square-cut jaw,

the loosened shadowy hair that he so loved, there the sweet maidenhood of "The Golden Stair" (*Intentions* [Boston, 1910], p. 83).

21. *The Spirit in Man, Art, and Literature*, Bollingen Series, XX (New York, 1966), 82.

possibly and destructively.⁹

Another political novel that centers on an election is Meredith's *Beauchamp's Career* (1875). Again the hero is a radical, this time an idealistic aristocrat. But the book has a less obvious political message than *Felix Holt* as Meredith does not fully identify himself with any of his characters. He presents within the novel a kind of political symposium, with different figures in the story representing different shades of opinion. Although he clearly approves of his hero's aspirations, he portrays him as rather quixotic and unpractical, and at times appears to be speaking through other characters—especially Seymour Austin, the enlightened Tory who was one of the successful candidates at the election. However, it is against the "right" that most of the satire is directed—against the Tories and vestigial Whigs of the old governing class. Meredith had a good ear for the clichés that were exchanged over the port and around the billiard table, and no one has depicted more convincingly the mentality of that class when its power was on the wane.

The third outstanding election in mid-Victorian fiction is that described by Trollope in *Ralph the Heir* (1871). This is the fullest and most realistic account of an election that any English novelist has written, and being closely based on Trollope's own experience at Beverley it gives a very vivid impression of what it was like to be a parliamentary candidate at this time. A thoroughly corrupt borough, Beverley was disfranchised shortly after the election in which Trollope took part.¹⁰ It is therefore not surprising that corruption is the aspect of the electoral system about which he is most illuminating. Earlier, in *Doctor Thorne* (1858), he had attacked the equivocal attitude of politicians and the public toward bribery and the lax enforcement of legislation against it. He claimed that the chief effect of the Corrupt Practices Prevention Act of 1854 had been to ensure valuable employment to expert electoral agents, such as Nearthewinde and Closerstil in this novel, whose job it was "to make it worth the voters' while to give their votes, but to do so without bribery." By the time Trollope himself stood for parliament ten years later little improvement had taken place, despite the passing of a further Corrupt Practices Act shortly before the 1868 dissolution. The Percycross election in *Ralph the Heir* is seen chiefly through the eyes of one of the candidates, a fastidious Conservative lawyer named Sir Thomas Underwood. The other Conservative candidate, Mr. Grif-

fenbottom—a brash, bonhomous man who was very much at home in the venal atmosphere of Percycross—is clearly based on Sir Henry Edwards, the Tory industrialist whose wealth enabled him to hold one of the Beverley seats from 1857 to 1868. During the election Sir Thomas "was always protesting against beer which he did see, and bribery which he did not see but did suspect," but such protests were quite ineffective and merely made him odious to the Conservative committee. As one of its members complained: "There ain't to be nothing warm, nor friendly, nor comfortable any more. . . . Why isn't a poor man, as can't hardly live, to have his three half-crowns or fifteen shillings, as things may go, for voting for a stranger such as him?" At the polls the Conservative candidates were successful, but the Liberals brought a petition that resulted (as in the case of Beverley) in the annulment of the election and the disfranchisement of the borough.

In a subsequent novel, *Phineas Redux* (1874), Trollope incorporated a further stage of the Beverley story. In 1870, after the revelations made by the commission appointed to investigate the electoral history of Beverley, Sir Henry Edwards was prosecuted at York Assizes for corruption, but despite the notoriety of his electioneering methods the case against him was eventually withdrawn. In *Phineas Redux*, Browborough, the Conservative candidate for Tankerville, was prosecuted in the same way; and Trollope's account of the trial throws further light on the attitudes to bribery that were current in this transitional period. Few members of parliament were anxious for Browborough to be convicted.

The House was bound to let the outside world know that corrupt practices at elections were held to be abominable to the House; but Members of the House, as individuals, knew very well what had taken place at their own elections, and were aware of the cheques which they had drawn. . . . The idea of putting old Browborough into prison for conduct which habit had made second nature to a large proportion of the House was distressing to Members of Parliament generally.

The sympathies of the public also were with Browborough. He had, it was said, spent his money like a gentleman, and at Tankerville he came to be regarded as something of a martyr. But even the Attorney-General, who led for the prosecution, shared the general unwillingness to press the case against him. Nothing could have been more eloquent than his denunciations of bribery

in general, nothing more mild than his accusations against Browborough personally. The trial was carried on in an atmosphere of good-humored raillery, and as in the case of Sir Henry Edwards it ended in a triumph for the accused, who was complimented by the judge. Mr. Gresham, the Liberal leader, commented:

No member of Parliament will ever be punished for bribery as for a crime till members of Parliament generally look upon bribery as a crime. We are very far from that as yet. . . . The thing will be done; but it must, I fear, be done slowly,—as is the case with all reforms from within.

If corruption was one of the most prominent features of the electoral scene (and it was satirized by other novelists besides Trollope, though no one else treated it in comparable detail), violence of course was another. It was this that foreigners found most remarkable. Hippolyte Taine wrote in his *Notes on England*: "The scene of an election is rowdy, often brutal; the people become like a penned bull which suddenly feels itself almost at large"¹¹ and a Portuguese explorer reporting on one of the tribes of inland Angola could describe it as manifesting "the unbridled coarseness of the English people at election-time."¹² Some English novelists played down this aspect, treating electoral violence in a light-hearted, euphemistic fashion—as Disraeli did in his description of the battle between the Conservative and Liberal mobs at Darford:

Bully Bluck [leader of the Conservative mob] seized Magog Wrath's colours; they wrestled, they seized each other; their supporters were engaged in mutual contest; it appeared to be a most alarming and perilous fray; several ladies from the windows screamed, one fainted; a band of special constables pushed their way through the mob; you heard their staves resounding on the skulls of all who opposed them, especially the little boys; order was at length restored; and, to tell the truth, the only hurts inflicted were those which came from the special constables. Bully Bluck and Magog Wrath, with all their fierce looks, flaunting colours, loud cheers, and desperate assaults, were, after all, only a couple of Condottieri, who were cautious never to wound each other. They were, in fact, a peaceful police, who kept the town in awe, and prevented others from being mischievous who were more inclined to do harm.

Much of the license displayed at elections was no doubt fairly harmless and even perhaps useful in that periodic occasions when the common people could get drunk

on free liquor and throw insults and dead cats¹³ at their social superiors may have provided a safety-valve for class feeling. However, it is clear that very unpleasant outbreaks did sometimes occur at popular elections. A lasting impression was made on George Eliot by an election riot she witnessed at Nuneaton as a child of thirteen in 1832. More than thirty years later she drew on this experience in describing the riot at Treby Magna in *Felix Holt*.¹⁴ Her account is not entirely convincing, but it compares favorably with most other descriptions of mob violence in Victorian fiction. The atmosphere of rising tension in the town, and the inflammatory effect of the soldiers being summoned by the magistrates, are well conveyed; and one catches an echo of the author's own memories when Esther, the heroine, admits: "I was frightened. The shouting and roaring of rude men is so hideous."

Bribery and violence were both more or less eliminated from elections by the late nineteenth century. But another aspect of electioneering, canvassing, was increasing in importance as older methods of electoral control declined, and it received considerable attention from the Victorian novelists. Their varying attitudes show both the difficulties it posed in an age of pronounced class divisions, and the hope of some of the more socially conscious writers that the interclass communications it necessitated might be of some value. There were certain constituencies, of course, especially in the early days, in which it was unnecessary for the candidate to undergo much inconvenience or indignity. The Honourable Samuel Slumkey, one of the candidates for Eatanswill, received the following report from his agent about the preparations that had been made for his progress through the town:

Nothing has been left undone, my dear sir—nothing whatever. There are twenty washed men at the street door [of the public house] for you to shake hands with; and six children in arms that you're to pat on the head, and inquire the age of. . . . And perhaps if you could—I don't mean to say it's indispensable—but if you could manage to kiss one of 'em, it would produce a very great impression on the crowd.

But in other places the candidate was brought into more genuine contact with the demos. Thackeray's Colonel Newcome, not having been accustomed to rub shoulders with "other ranks," felt "himself not a little humiliated by what he had to say and to unsay, by having to

9. *Blackwood's Magazine*, CIII (1868), 1-11.

10. On Beverley and Trollope's candidature, see L. O. Tingay, "Trollope and the Beverley Election," *Nineteenth Century*

Fiction, V (1950), 23-37; and Arthur Pollard, *Trollope's Political Novels* (Hull, 1968), pp. 5-13.

11. *Notes on England*, p. 184.

12. Basil Davidson, *Black Mother* (London, 1961), pp. 129-130.

13. This was a sufficiently common missile to give rise to jokes about poll-cats (see *The Statesman*, October 5, 1812). Sir Roger Scatcherd parried one with his stick while speaking from the

hustings at Barchester in *Doctor Thorne*.

14. *George Eliot's Life as related in her Letters and Journals*, ed. J. W. Cross (New York, 1885), I, 20. F. C. Thomson, "The Genesis of *Felix Holt*," *PMLA*, LXXIV (1959), 579-583.

answer questions, to submit to familiarities, to shake hands which, to say truth, he didn't care for grasping at all." Thackeray himself seems to have suffered in much the same way in real life¹⁵—and so did Trollope. The latter in his *Autobiography* described the period he had spent at Beverley as "the most wretched fortnight of my manhood," and he wrote in *The Duke's Children* (1880): "Parliamentary canvassing is not a pleasant occupation. Perhaps nothing more disagreeable, more squalid, more revolting to the senses, more opposed to personal dignity, can be conceived."

Bulwer Lytton also disliked canvassing, although for different reasons. *Pelham* (1828) includes scenes meant to reveal the opportunities it gives to the glib and disingenuous. "All personal canvassing," he said in a note to the 1839 edition, "is but for the convenience of cunning—the opportunity for manner to disguise principle." However, there were other novelists who viewed canvassing more favorably. George Eliot considered it useful in that it "makes a gentleman acquainted with many strange animals, together with the ways of catching and taming them; and thus the knowledge of natural history advances among the aristocracy and the wealthy commoners of our land." And from a slightly different angle Meredith, in a passage in *Beauchamp's Career* that has by no means lost its relevance, expressed approval of the system that required parliamentary candidates to go from door to door "like a cross between a postman delivering a bill and a beggar craving an alms" to solicit votes. How terrible it would be, he said, if our rulers were selected not by their ability to win favor in this way, but by sheer merit.

Conceive, for the fleeting instants permitted to such insufferable flights of fancy, our picked men ruling! So despotic an oligarchy as would be there, is not a happy subject of contemplation . . . we should be governed by the head with a vengeance: all the rest of the country being base members indeed; Spartans—helots . . . consider the freezing isolation of our quintessential elect, seeing below them none to resemble them! Do you not hear in imagination the land's regrets for that amiable nobility whose pretensions were comically built on birth, acres, tailoring, style, and an air.

Meredith regarded the preliminary canvassing as more instructive than the election itself; and he devoted more space to it, describing various types of voter from the

"four o'clock man" who waited for the final bids before the close of the poll, to the earnest nonconformist who subjected the candidate to a long exposition of the dangers of opening museums on Sundays. At this level, the novelist can throw useful light on the motives and pressures that affected voting behavior. George Eliot, for instance, reminds us of the fact that open voting could be a physical ordeal. The fatalistic Mr. Goffe, in *Felix Holt*, considered an election no worse than the sheep-rot and took it more or less in his stride. But Mr. Timothy Rose, a timid gentleman-farmer, took every possible precaution against injury. He made his way to the polling-booth as early as he could, "having swathed his more vital parts in layers of flannel, and put on two great-coats as a soft kind of armour"; and he gave one vote for the Tory candidate and one for the Radical, to avoid offending either section of the crowd. Other voters were faced with harrowing dilemmas, like Mr. Mawmsey, the retail trader in *Middlemarch*. "He was accustomed to receive large orders from Mr. Brooke of Tipton; but then, there were many of Pinkerton's committee whose opinions had a great weight of grocery on their side." However, at least in the bad old days before the ballot, the voter was an individual (even if only to the extent of having a known price).¹⁶ The Ballot Act, overdue reform though it was, took the human and dramatic interest out of polling; and this is one of the reasons why after the 1870s novelists showed less interest in elections. Another reason was the increasingly institutionalized nature of constituency politics. Ostrogorsky, in his classic work on political parties written at the end of Victoria's reign, described the bleak uniformity which the new party organizations were imposing¹⁷; and Belloc recognized a few years later that the "caucus" was not a subject from which much entertainment could be derived. He wrote in *Mr. Clutterbuck's Election* (1908): "Of the various functions filled by an Executive, a Committee, a Body of Workers, and a Deputation to Choose in the organization of our political life, I will not here treat. The vast machinery of self-government, passionately interesting as it must be to all free men, would take me too far from the purpose of my narrative."

More fundamentally, the extended franchise and the democratic party organizations were altering political conditions in a way inimical to the class from which the Victorian novelists came. In the period between the

first and second Reform Acts, when the effective political nation was still relatively small but the aristocracy had relinquished some of its power, the intelligentsia had more political scope than at any time before or since. Bagehot went so far as to write in *The English Constitution* (1867) that the educated middle classes were "the despotic power in England."¹⁸ Not surprisingly, the novelists who described the workings of the electoral system at this time showed themselves fundamentally attached to it. They directed strong attacks against various social evils, but the constitution—after 1832 at any rate—was treated with indulgence.¹⁹ They showed up its anomalies and absurdities, and criticized particular features of it; but their general assumption was that it provided the substance of liberty, and even liberals like George Eliot and Trollope were inclined to regard further democratization with misgivings. Trollope especially, for all his dislike of corruption, viewed the passing of the old order with regret. In *The American Senator* (1877) Elias Gotobed was made to get quite the wrong end of the stick when he grew indignant about a surviving pocket borough and supported a Shoreditch plasterer against the noble patron's nominee (the patron, we are told, having "always sent to Parliament some useful and distinguished man, who without such patronage

might have been unable to serve his country"). The affection that mid-Victorian novelists showed for the electoral system of their own day was not paralleled in the writings of their successors. Ostrogorsky maintained at the end of Victoria's reign that the "cultivated classes" generally were turning aside from politics²⁰; and the jaundiced view of political life taken by Henry James in *The Tragic Muse* (1890)—in which, incidentally, the election of the hero Nick Dormer for the borough of Harsh was dismissed in a few sentences—may be regarded as an illustration of this change of attitude. It is true that in the twentieth century political commitment was to be by no means rare among English creative writers, but few of them were to show much interest in the world of electoral and parliamentary politics that had been part of the life and experience of many Victorian men of letters. The election scenes that did appear in novels of the early twentieth century—the plutocratic charade of *Mr. Clutterbuck's Election* and the "depressed and tepid battle" in Wells's *The New Machiavelli* (1910)—were themselves expressions of disenchantment with the system.²¹

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Hopkins' Reading of Arnold

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CRITICS HAVE NOTICED the influence of a number of literary figures on the work of Hopkins. Pater, Newman, Milton, and Shakespeare, amongst others, are cited as major influences. No attempt has been made to explore thoroughly what links exist between Hopkins and Arnold. This is not surprising. The poetry of the two men contain only slight and occasional resemblances and, even though the critical discussions contained in Hopkins' letters frequently have a marked Arnoldian flavor, direct influence can only occasionally be proved. However, both Hopkins' letters and his journal show that he read Arnold with a

good deal of interest and regarded him as something of an authority in matters of criticism.

Hopkins began his contact with Arnold early. When he arrived at Oxford as a student in 1863, Arnold, already a figure of note, had been Professor of Poetry there for six years. He had been influential in the role. He was the first Professor of Poetry to lecture in English rather than Latin and many of his lectures were printed in the popular periodicals of the day, such as the *Cornhill* and the *National Review*. The quality of his teaching may be deduced from the fact that a large number of his works that are still

15. See Annie Thackeray's journal, July 21, 1857, on her father's experience at Oxford: "He says he will never go canvassing again, it's too disgustingly humiliating" (*The Letters and Private Papers of W. M. Thackeray*, ed. Gordon N. Ray (London, 1945-46), IV, 382).

16. Cf. *Beauchamp's Career*: "In Bevisham an election is an arrangement made by Providence to square the accounts of the voters, and settle arrears. . . . You have them pointed out to you in the street, with their figures attached to them like titles."

17. M. Ostrogorsky, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (London, 1902), I, 603-604.

18. W. Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, intr. R. H. S. Crossman (London, 1963), p. 247.

19. Dickens was an exception in this respect. Though the satire in *Pickwick Papers* was not particularly fierce, he later became strongly convinced of the inadequacy of representative government as it existed in England, and in 1857 he refused an offer of an uncontested seat in the House of Commons. Cf. Monroe

Engel, "The Politics of Dickens' Novels," *PMLA*, LXXI (1956) 947-951.

20. Ostrogorsky, I, 622.

21. For a more explicit statement of Belloc's criticisms, see the book he wrote in collaboration with Cecil Chesterton after his own brief career in parliament had ended: *The Party System* (London, 1911), especially Chapter V, "The Control of Elections."

read, such as *On the Study of Celtic Literature* and six of the essays in the First Series of *Essays in Criticism*, were originally Oxford lectures. There is no conclusive record of the influence of his teaching on Hopkins. The only reference to his classes is an entry in Hopkins' journal, dated May 26, 1866, which records that "Matthew Arnold lectured on the Celtic element in English poetry,"¹ with no further comment. Nonetheless, while he was a student at Oxford, Hopkins was reading Arnold's articles. The first reference to the older critic occurs in a letter to Alexander Baillie, dated September 10, 1864. He advises his friend, "You must also read, if you have not done so, Matthew Arnold on 'The Literary Influence of Academies' in the August *Cornhill*."² An entry in his journal early in 1865 reads, "Sharpe's and M. Arnold's articles in the National,"³ and Professor Abbott's note suggests that the articles by Arnold mentioned here are "Joubert: or a French Coleridge" and "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time." All three articles were original Oxford lectures, reprinted in the first edition of *Essays in Criticism: First Series* (1865). Perhaps his reading of them caused Hopkins to include "Matthew Arnold's Essays" in a list of books to be read that he entered in his journal in February-March, 1865,⁴ almost as soon as the book had become available. Since the lectures that formed the basis for the essays on "Joubert," "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time," "The Literary Influence of Academies," and "Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment" were all delivered between November, 1863, and November, 1864, while Hopkins was a student at Oxford, it is possible that Arnold's teaching may have been partly responsible for Hopkins' desire to read the book. A letter to R. W. Dixon, written in 1878, confirms that Hopkins did indeed read *Essays in Criticism* while he was at Oxford, and was sufficiently impressed to buy the journal of Maurice de Guérin, the subject of one of the essays.⁵ He "admired it: but for some reason or other never got far in it." An entry in his journal for May 2, 1866, supplies the probable reason: "Reading Maurice de Guérin's Remains, enjoying but without sufficient knowledge of French."⁶

Hopkins' reading of Arnold continued after he had left Oxford. His references to the critic are not frequent, but are scattered throughout his life, and on those occa-

sions when he refers to Arnold, he often does so at some length, suggesting that his interest remained constant. In August, 1873, some years after he had become a Jesuit, Hopkins writes to Edward Bond that he has brought Matthew Arnold's poems, the *Empedocles* volume, with him while he is spending a holiday on the Isle of Wight, and goes on to discuss an unspecified quotation from the recently published *Literature and Dogma*.⁷ In letters to Dixon of October 5, 1878, and February 27, 1879, he cites Arnold as his authority for calling Milton one of "our two greatest masters of style" and defends Arnold's judgment that Campbell is the other.⁸ The article from which he quotes is "A French Critic on Milton," first published in the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1877, and later reprinted in *Mixed Essays* of 1879. In a letter to Baillie of June 1, 1886, he mentions Arnold's "fine paper" on Home Rule for Ireland, which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century*,⁹ and in letters of October 20, 1887, and May 6, 1888, written to Coventry Patmore, he uses Arnold as his authority in questioning Patmore's views on Keats.¹⁰ His source was Arnold's preface of 1880 to a selection from Keats in Ward's *English Poets*, for which Arnold also wrote the general introduction, later reprinted in the Second Series of *Essays in Criticism* under the title, "The Study of Poetry." There is strong evidence that Hopkins read it. On June 1, 1886, he writes to Robert Bridges, "a kind of touchstone of the highest or most living art is seriousness."¹¹ This echoes too closely to be coincidental the use of touchstones to detect the "accent of high seriousness" that Arnold recommends in this essay.

Hopkins generally pronounces favorably on those of Arnold's critical writings that he discusses. We have seen that he respects the critic sufficiently to quote him as an authority on two occasions and to recommend Baillie to read one of his articles. In 1883, he rebukes Bridges for referring to Arnold as "Mr. Kidglove Cocksure": "I have more reason than you for disagreeing with him and thinking him very wrong, but nevertheless I am sure he is a rare genius and a great critic."¹² This is an accurate summary of his general attitude to the older critic, an attitude of respect and admiration tinged with occasional disagreement. The source of disagreement on this occasion was probably, as Abbott's note suggests, his earlier conjecture that Arnold had advised Hall Caine not to in-

clude some of his work in a volume of sonnets that Caine was editing, but it could equally well have been, as Gardner surmises,¹³ his disapproval of Arnold's religious position. In his letter to Bond, mentioned above, he describes a passage he has seen from *Literature and Dogma* as "profane." However, he is careful to add that it is not blasphemous and concedes that "we are obliged to think of God by human thoughts and his account of them is substantially true." This concession is proof of his high regard for Arnold, for Hopkins rarely showed any tolerance when his religious sensibilities were bruised, however much he might otherwise admire the offender. Milton's defense of divorce, for example, earns him the title of "a very bad man."¹⁴ Two Hopkins letters that Anthony Bischoff published in the *Times Literary Supplement*, December 8, 1972, confirm that Hopkins never did read all of *Literature and Dogma* and that, as late as 1885, he still felt respect for Arnold mixed with regret that Arnold held what he felt to be misguided views on the subject of religion. In these letters of November 5, 1885, and December 23, 1885, to his brother Everard, Hopkins confesses that he has not found time to finish reading his brother's copy of *Literature and Dogma* and decides to return it unread. He also describes Arnold as one of "the men that in better days one might build on for England's good" but expresses regret that all these men at present "drift or ride or scud upon the tide of atheism, where all true guiding principle is lost." Another aspect of Arnold's work that Hopkins disliked was his poetry, which the younger poet read "with more interest than rapture." His only reference to it, again in the letter to Bond, informs Bond that it has "all the ingredients of poetry without quite being it." His only reference to Arnold's political views, the comment on Home Rule for Ireland contained in the letter to Baillie of June 1, 1886, is favorable. Hopkins' approach to the Irish question in this letter could well be described in terms of the techniques that Arnold recommended to the social and literary critic in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" and in the preface to *Essays in Criticism: First Series*. He demonstrates "disinterestedness" and an ability to "approach truth on one side after another."¹⁵ The belief in the British Empire and the patriotism that he also shows elsewhere lead him to say, "Not but what I wish Home Rule to be: it is a blow at England and may be followed by more"; but since he is on the spot, he can see that the alternative would be worse for Ireland: "it is

better that Home Rule shd. be by peaceful and honourable means with at least the possibility of a successful working which otherwise may come by rebellion, bloodshed and dishonour and be a greater and irretrievable blow—or have to be refused at a cost it is not worth." He does not allow his prejudices to blind him to the reality of the situation.

However, it is Arnold's literary criticism that seems to interest Hopkins most, and the majority of his comments on the older critic are devoted to this aspect of his work. They usually show approval, even though it is sometimes qualified, and they show an appreciation of the belief in seriousness of matter and manner that lies at the heart of Arnold's criticism. We have already noted the Arnoldian echo in Hopkins' comment to Bridges, "This leads me to say that a kind of touchstone of the highest or most living art is seriousness; not gravity but the being in earnest with your subject—reality." It is interesting that he did not find it necessary to explain the origin of this comment to his friend. Presumably, either he believed that Arnold's introduction to Ward's *English Poets*, published six years earlier, was something that any cultivated person would know, thus dispensing with the need for explanations; or Arnold's views on "touchstones" and "high seriousness" had become so much a part of Hopkins' own thinking that he was no longer aware that he was borrowing them. Either explanation implies that he regarded the introduction as a most important work of criticism. In his stimulating discussion of "Hopkins the Critic,"¹⁶ Myron Ockshorn suggests that Hopkins' comment contains an implicit criticism of Arnold's use of quotations as touchstones to aid in the detection of "the accent of high seriousness." Ockshorn believes that Hopkins is equating this accent with "gravity," mere solemnity of tone, and is suggesting that an earnest approach to "your subject—reality" should be substituted for it. To interpret Arnold's essay in this way is to misread it, for he states quite clearly that the "superior character of truth and seriousness, in the manner and substance of the best poetry, is inseparable from the superiority of diction and movement marking its style and manner. The two superiorities are closely related, and are in steadfast proportion one to the other." He also comments that the "accent of high beauty, worth and power" is to be found in the matter no less than the manner, and is therefore using the word, "accent," to mean something more than mere tone.¹⁷ Though it is possible that Hopkins may

1. G. M. Hopkins, *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. H. House (Oxford, 1959), p. 137.
2. G. M. Hopkins, *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. C. C. Abbott, 2nd ed. rev. (Oxford, 1956), p. 221.
3. *Journals and Papers*, p. 54.
4. *Journals and Papers*, p. 56.
5. G. M. Hopkins, *The Correspondence of Gerard Manley Hopkins and Richard Watson Dixon*, ed. C. C. Abbott (Oxford, 1935), p. 16.

6. *Journals and Papers*, p. 153.
7. *Further Letters*, p. 58.
8. *Correspondence of Hopkins and Dixon*, pp. 13, 25.
9. *Further Letters*, p. 274.
10. *Further Letters*, pp. 381-382, 386-387.
11. G. M. Hopkins, *The Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins to Robert Bridges*, ed. C. C. Abbott (Oxford, 1935), p. 225.
12. *Letters of Hopkins to Bridges*, p. 172.

13. W. H. Gardner, *Gerard Manley Hopkins* (London, 1949), II, 24.
14. *Letters of Hopkins to Bridges*, p. 39.
15. Arnold, *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, ed. R. H. Super (Ann Arbor, 1962), p. 286.

16. M. Ockshorn, "Hopkins the Critic," *Yale Review*, LII (March, 1965).
17. *Essays in Criticism: Second Series*, ed. S. R. Littlewood (London, 1947), pp. 12, 13.

have misread Arnold in the way Ockshorn suggests, it is not necessary to interpret his comment to Bridges in this way. It is quite as likely that he was consciously confirming Arnold's opinions in stating that more than mere gravity was involved in earnestness.

Some critics have taken a view of Hopkins that bears some resemblance to Ockshorn's implied opinion of Arnold's "accent of high seriousness." They have seen Hopkins' interest in "inscape" and "pattern" in poetry as precluding serious concern with its content or purpose. This would seem to be a very extreme view, since interest in form and interest in content do not have to be mutually exclusive, and in Hopkins' case they are not. His concern that the subject should be "taken in earnest" is expressed very forcefully in the letter containing the comment on touchstones. *Faust* and *The Divine Comedy* are criticized as "farce" because the premises upon which they are based—presumably the idea that a man could sell his soul to the devil or reach heaven through the love of a woman—"ask the spectator to grant you something not only conventional but monstrous." This concern, combined with his interest in "pattern," leads to the conclusion that, for Hopkins, a poem's "inscape," its total form, comprises a balance between subject and style—a view that is very similar to Arnold's.

In his letter to Bond of August 4, 1873, Hopkins praises Arnold. "He seems a very earnest man," having deduced this fact from Arnold's work; and it is praise indeed, for Hopkins, like Carlyle and like Arnold himself, believes that the artist's character is revealed in his work and that a faulty character will result in a blemished work of art. In his letters to Patmore of October 20, 1887, and May 6, 1888, Hopkins uses Arnold as his authority for making this link. Disagreeing with a recent article in which Patmore has been uncomplimentary about Keats, he recommends that his friend read Arnold's essay on the subject. His own argument is the one which Arnold advances, that Keats's life and work were marred by his self-indulgence but that discernment and strength of character were already making themselves felt in both the personality and the poetry of the artist, and would have ultimately prevailed. The fact that Hopkins borrowed Arnold's thoughts on the subject indicates that he held him in high esteem, and his citing of Arnold as an authority to Patmore would seem to suggest that he felt this esteem to be general. Interestingly, two of Hopkins' comments on Keats remind us, not of Arnold's essay on Keats, but of "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time." The comment that Keats was made to be a critic and the reason, "his mind played over life as a whole," are reminiscent of

the "free play of the mind upon all subjects" that Arnold recommends as a necessary activity for the critic. Similarly, Hopkins' opinion that Shakespeare "had the school of his age" whereas Keats did not reminds us of Arnold's view that the Elizabethan age had an intellectual climate favorable to artistic production that was lacking during the nineteenth century. These lines, like the comment on touchstones, may indicate that Hopkins had so incorporated certain of Arnold's works into his own thought that he used them almost unconsciously.

Hopkins' opinions on the influence of the artist's character make it easy to see why he should have shown such an intense and early interest in *Essays in Criticism: First Series*. The majority of these essays are verbal portraits of poets and philosophers that link their characters and their work. The special attraction that Arnold's study of Maurice de Guérin, a very earnest artist, seemed to hold for the young Hopkins is particularly understandable. Even when in his early twenties, Hopkins must have felt a similarity between himself and the devout and sensitive young Catholic poet who was anxious to see if he had a vocation for the priesthood and was afraid that his intense, poetic love of nature would conflict with his duty to God. Perhaps by 1878, when he told Dixon that he would be glad to read Guérin's journal, if he had time, Hopkins had already become aware that the end of the French poet's life was to be a prophecy of his own last years. Like Hopkins, Guérin suffered from fits of crippling depression that limited his literary production, and died at an early age without seeing any of his work published in his lifetime. A number of the other essays discuss authors in whom Hopkins must have been able to trace similarities to himself. Eugénie de Guérin experienced a conflict between her literary and religious aspirations that was very like his own. Arnold comments on Joubert's fragments: "I doubt whether, in an elaborate work on the philosophy of religion, he would have got his ideas about religion to shine, to use his own expression, as they shine when he utters them in perfect freedom."¹⁸ This finds a curious echo in a modern critic's words on Hopkins: "There is good reason to suspect that under the exigency of 'formal development,' the many remarkable letters would have lost their bloom, might not have become particularly remarkable essays at all."¹⁹ Arnold chose his authors for these studies because he felt that their limited reputations did not do justice to their merits, literary or personal—a subject that Hopkins, as he grew older, was to understand very well.

Hopkins also demonstrates his approval of some of Arnold's opinions on the "manner" of poetry. Very ear-

ly in his career as a poet, he recommends Baillie to read "The Literary Influence of Academies." Arnold's essay on the need for generally accepted standards of style and taste, and adds, "I am coming to think much of taste myself, good taste and moderation, I who have sinned against them so much. But there is a prestige about them which is indescribable." That Hopkins, who was to develop such a concern with style, should have acknowledged that Arnold's essay on the subject contributed to his growing interest in it is praise indeed. In this same letter of September 10, 1864, and in an entry to his journal also made a considerable way through 1864,²⁰ Hopkins classifies poetry according to the degree of inspiration present. The highest level of poetry, "poetry proper," is "the language of inspiration." The next, Parnassian, is the great poet's own particular style, his "dialect" of the poetic language, written when he is not inspired: "that language which genius speaks as fitted to its exaltation and place among other genius, but does not sing . . . in its flights." True Parnassian can be written only by real poets but "it is the effect of a fine age to enable ordinary people to write something very near it." Castalian is "a high sort of Parnassian" or "the lowest kind of inspiration," and Delphic, the lowest level, "is merely the language of verse as distinct from that of prose." There is also Olympian, "the language of strange masculine genius which suddenly, as it were, forces its way into the domain of poetry, without naturally having a right there."

In "The Literary Influence of Academies,"²¹ Arnold classifies levels of prose in a similar manner, and also uses Greek terms with which to label them. Since the essay appeared in the *Cornhill* in August, 1864, Hopkins was presumably reading it at the time when he was making his own classifications. It may well have given him the idea. Like Hopkins, Arnold recognizes that the genius' flights of inspiration are the highest level of artistic creation and are governed by their own laws. His other levels are Asiatic, an unnecessarily purple prose style of "overheavy richness and encumbered gait"; Attic, the "classical" ideal prose, which has "warm glow, blithe movement and swift pliancy of life"; and Corinthian, a debased, utilitarian prose possessing "effectiveness without charm." Attic and Parnassian would seem to hold similar positions in their respective genres. Like Parnassian, Attic is the ideal style but can be used without inspiration. Addison, we are told, expresses commonplace thoughts in it. As with Parnassian, a good age will produce many competent writers of Attic prose who do not

have genius. Similarly, Delphic and Corinthian are equivalents. Corinthian, "the language of editorials," seems to be merely prose as opposed to verse, just as Delphic is simply poetry rather than prose. At first sight, neither Asiatic nor Olympian seems to have any relation to the other critic's scheme. However, in his essay "Hopkins as a Decadent Critic,"²² Donald Davie points to a letter written to Patmore on October 20, 1887,²³ which he regards as a "considered rejoinder" to Arnold's essay and as an explanation of the "two blatant breaches of good taste" of which Hopkins accuses Arnold's essay in the earlier letter to Baillie. In discussing prose style, Hopkins considers Newman and Burke, whom Arnold also examines, and comes to conclusions that are exactly the reverse of those reached in "The Literary Influence of Academies." Whereas Arnold praises Newman's urbanity and regards Burke's lapses into extravagant prose as "at too great a distance from the centre of good taste," Hopkins considers that Newman does not know what writing prose is and has no "belonging rhetoric." He believes that Burke, an "orator in form," has this "strain of address," but adds the criticism: "The beauty, the eloquence, of good prose cannot come wholly from the thought. With Burke it does and varies with the thought; when therefore the thought is sublime so does the style appear to be." Davie concludes from this that Hopkins disapproves of the fact that "when his thoughts were not sublime, neither was his style," and argues that Hopkins, unlike Arnold, is demanding a consistently elevated style in prose as well as in verse. Dr. Davie's chain of reasoning is so far incontrovertible. However, he goes on to use this argument to support his theory that Hopkins is a decadent critic, interested in the autonomy of the work of art and the expression of the artist's individuality, rather than in the content or moral purpose of the work. This is to take the argument too far. The main difference between Hopkins' and Arnold's views on prose style is not that Hopkins is not seriously concerned with content but that, for the moments when "sublime" genius is not in command, he prefers a more purple variety of prose than does Arnold. Hopkins' prose equivalent of Parnassian, his Attic, has some of the qualities of Arnold's Asiatic, and would no doubt earn the disapproval both of Arnold and of most present day critics because of it. However, that he is concerned with the content and purpose of prose can be seen in his criticisms of Carlyle, that he is "never in earnest" and "morally an impostor, worst of all impostors a false prophet."²⁴ In Hopkins' eyes, this also [af-

18. *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, p. 197.

19. Ockshorn, pp. 346-347.

20. *Journals and Papers*, p. 38.

21. *Lectures and Essays in Criticism*, pp. 232-257.

22. Davie, *Purity of Diction in English Verse* (New York, 1967).

23. *Further Letters*, p. 380.

24. *Correspondence of Hopkins and Dixon*, pp. 59, 75.

fects Carlyle's style and he follows his accusation that Carlyle is an impostor by adding, "his style has imposture or pretence in it." This brings us back to our earlier discussion of "seriousness" in the criticism of Arnold and Hopkins. Here, again, Hopkins, like Arnold, sees style and content as inseparable.

Olympian is perhaps a verse form of the elevated style that Hopkins set as the standard for good prose. His own poetry might be seen as "the language of strange masculine genius which suddenly, as it were, forces its way into the domain of poetry without naturally having a right there." He was certainly aware of its strangeness and was at great pains to justify it. He often does so by referring to that other master of the elevated poetic style, Milton. Interestingly, when he first explains his use of sprung rhythm to Dixon, in the letter of October 5, 1878, referred to earlier, he approvingly describes Arnold's essay, "A French Critic on Milton," as saying that "Milton and Campbell are our two greatest masters of style," and then goes on to cite Milton's verse, "the great standard in the use of counterpoint," as one of the precedents for his own poetic practice. The fact that he is impressed by Arnold's "interesting review" on a subject that touches his own technique so closely would seem to indicate a great respect for Arnold's views on style as well as on content. Arnold's essay discusses Milton's "grand style." Like Milton, Hopkins evolved his own elevated poetic language, one which the more austere Arnold would perhaps have found "too far from the centre of good taste." However, since Hopkins often cites Milton as one of his models, possibly Arnold's views on Milton, like Milton's poetry itself, were among the many elements that Hopkins' "strange masculine genius" transmuted into his highly individual poetic style.

Hopkins' interest in Arnold's criticism remained constant throughout his life. His first reference to it, in the letter to Baillie of September 10, 1864, was made when he was only twenty. The last reference, in the letter to Patmore of May 6, 1888, was made only a year before his death. It is reasonable to assume that Hopkins had a wider knowledge of Arnold's work than I have been able to prove, for he seems to have been a fairly regular reader of periodicals such as the *Cornhill* and the *National Review* to which Arnold frequently contributed articles. At first sight, his interest in Arnold is surprising. As poets, the two have little in common and, if Arnold would have disapproved of Hopkins' poetical eccentricity, Hopkins would have been likely to object to the more severely classical poet's lack of a distinctive "pattern" or "design." Perhaps he is referring to the absence of this when he de-

scribes Arnold's poetry to Bond as having "all the ingredients of poetry without quite being it." Hopkins' criticism also shows an interest in the form and texture of poetry, and this concern is much less manifest in Arnold's writings. Hopkins' famous dictum, "But as air, melody, is what strikes me most of all in music and design in painting, so design, pattern or what I am in the habit of calling 'inscape' is what I above all aim at in poetry,"²⁵ has been used to relate him to Pater and the Aesthetic Movement. The close criticism to which he submits individual images in the unpublished manuscripts of his friends, Bridges, Dixon, and Patmore, could be used to relate him to the close critics of this century, such as Empson and Richards. However, he also shows a concern with "earnestness," "character," and related virtues that links him with Arnold and the other Victorian critics. Examples of this interest abound throughout his writings, but the list of qualities that he attributes to Bridges' poems will serve as an example. They are praised for "character," "sincerity," "earnestness," "manliness," "tenderness," and "human feeling."²⁶ To marry these three diverse critical interests, it is perhaps necessary to remember another comment Hopkins makes to Bridges in the letter just quoted. He tells Bridges that his poems exhibit his character, which is "more rare and precious" than mere beauty. This brings us to the conclusion that, for Hopkins, the sincere artist's earnestness so infuses the poem that it is present in the style as well as the content. This is close to Arnold's position in "The Study of Poetry," and the interest in "diction" and "movement" which Arnold exhibits in this essay may indicate the beginnings of a concern with form and texture that he is ill equipped to express more precisely, because he lacks Hopkins' ability to draw terms from music, painting, and Scotist philosophy and because he has not had Hopkins' early contact with Pater. The experience that Hopkins gained in helping his friends polish up work for publication may also have given him a greater interest in detail than Arnold shows. However, such close criticism as Hopkins employs occurs mainly in his comments on work in progress, whether his own or his friends', and is fragmentary and inconclusive. He never gives a full exposition of the pattern, as opposed to the meaning, of any of his poems and his criticism of details in his friends' manuscripts is aimed at improving individual points before publication; it is not an attempt to extract the essence of the whole. His comments on authors of the day are more Arnoldian in approach. They tend to be general and unproven and to deal vaguely with content and style, as Arnold's do. A comment such as this on Tennyson, "his gift

of utterance is truly golden, but go further home and you come to thoughts commonplace and wanting in nobility," is very reminiscent of Arnold.

Because of Hopkins' startling originality, he was long regarded as a modern poet born before his time. His roots in the Victorian period have only recently begun to attract attention. However, Hopkins' criticism contains a

John Tyndall and Tennyson's "Lucretius"

Sharon Mayer Libera

TENNYSON'S "LUCRETIVUS" has remained one of his most admired poems. Read as a dramatization of the lurid legend of the Roman philosopher's insanity and suicide, results of a love-potion administered by his wife, the poem is remarkable for the fidelity with which it reproduces the thought and imagery of *De verum natura*. But in spite of Tennyson's affinity for this most melancholy and sensuous of classical authors, he makes Lucretius incriminate himself: Lucretius' proto-scientific empiricism leaves him unable to cope with the degrading erotic visions he experiences under the influence of the potion. Jerome H. Buckley has called attention to the "oblique yet cogent commentary on the values of the new science" inherent in the poem.¹ That this commentary may be more direct, that the focus on Lucretius was hardly fortuitous, and that, in fact, Tennyson's subtly blended attitude of sympathy and censure toward his subject may have originated in his response to an actual person—these are the inferences to be made from a study of his relationship with the physicist John Tyndall, a leading exponent of contemporary Lucretianism.

Tennyson's letter-diary from London for December 14, 1865, records: "I called on Tyndall yesterday and had a long chat with him about mind and matter, etc."² The visit occurred some two months after Mrs. Tennyson reported that Alfred was "at work at his new poem of 'Lucretius,'" ³ leading one to suppose that Tennyson was actively consulting Tyndall with a view toward his "new poem." When "Lucretius" was published in 1868, the anonymous reviewer of the *Spectator* may have been more

good deal that is Victorian in tone, and, since he read Arnold, one of the most eminent critics of the day, with some enthusiasm, it is reasonable to suggest that his interest in Arnold constitutes one of his Victorian roots.

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discerning than he realized in pointing out the timeliness of the choice of subject: "The poetry of Lucretius reads as if it might almost have been published by some imaginative devotee of modern science, say, some poetic Tyndall of our own days in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*."⁴

From 1853 Tyndall had been Professor of Natural Philosophy under Faraday at the Royal Institution, conducting his early studies on the effects of crystalline structure and mechanical pressure on magnetic force. But it was as a result of his work on radiant heat in relation to gases and vapors that he made his most noteworthy contribution. It has been said of his *Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion*, which appeared in the first of many editions in 1863, that "probably no publication did more to establish a general kinetic view of matter and natural phenomena."⁵ Tyndall's account of chemical bonds and molecular collisions—for example, his presentation of "a gaseous body as one whose particles are flying in straight lines through space, impinging like little projectiles upon each other, and striking against the boundaries of the space which they occupy"⁶—seemed to vindicate ancient materialism and prepared the way for Tennyson's poetic adaptation of the Lucretian conception of a universe of atoms in motion. Thus, during a stormy night, Lucretius experiences a stormier nightmare:

Terrible; for it seem'd
A void was made in Nature; all her bonds
Crack'd; and I saw the flaring atom-streams
And torrents of her myriad universe,
Ruining along the illimitable inane,

25. *Letters of Hopkins to Bridges*, p. 166.

26. *Letters of Hopkins to Bridges*, p. 96.

1. Tennyson: *The Growth of a Poet* (Boston, 1960), p. 166.

2. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (New York, 1897), II, 82.

3. *Memoir*, II, 28.

4. "Mr. Tennyson's Death of Lucretius," *Spectator*, XLI (May 2, 1868), 523.

5. John Theodore Merz, *A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1908), II, 57; cited by Alan Wil-lard Brown, *The Metaphysical Society: Victorian Minds in Crisis, 1869-1880* (New York, 1947), p. 145.

6. *Heat Considered as a Mode of Motion*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1869), p. 78.

Fly on to clash together again, and make
Another and another frame of things
For ever. That was mine, my dream, I knew it.

(36-43)

Tennyson carefully places this "dream," based on *De rerum natura* I ("Matter and Space"), first among Lucretius' visions so as to suggest an unacknowledged causal relationship between his philosophy and his subsequent erotic fantasies—concubines rained down in blood shed by the dictator Sylla and the breasts of Helen shooting forth the flames that destroyed Troy. In this design there surely was intended no personal reflection on the character of Tyndall; the bone of contention was intellectual.

Tennyson had known Tyndall since the latter's first visit to Farringford in 1858. The scientist must have confessed then as in the *Memoir* that he had long enjoyed the "sanative influence" of the Laureate's verse, and that he had been accustomed on a ramble "to refresh myself by reciting passages aloud, sometimes from one poem, sometimes from another, most frequently perhaps from 'Oenone.'" The two men got on well from the start, it seems, but frequently found themselves on opposite sides of the raging debate over science, God, and the soul. According to Sir Charles Tennyson, Charles Pritchard the astronomer "never forgot the deep impression made on him one day at Farringford when John Tyndall expressed in Tennyson's presence his disbelief in the existence of a Supreme Being. Down came Tennyson's fist upon the table, and he exclaimed with the solemn earnestness of one who knew the truth of what he was asserting: 'Tyndall, there is a God.'" Tyndall, for his part, when asked to furnish recollections for the *Memoir*, wrote to Hallam: "Your father's interest in science was profound, but not, I believe, unmingled with fear of its 'materialistic' tendencies."⁹

Into "Lucretius" is projected the possible result of those "materialistic tendencies." The central section of the poem, lines 67-163, shows Lucretius occupied exclusively with the question of the nature of the gods. Having aimed in *De rerum natura* at the overthrow of *religio* by unmasking the natural causes of phenomena hitherto believed to be the workings of arbitrary gods, a Lucretian now weakened by lust pleads:

Is this thy vengeance, holy Venus, thine,
Because I would not one of thine own doves,
Not even a rose, were offer'd to thee?

(67-69)

Soon correcting himself, however—"Ay, but I meant not

thee"—he turns from the anthropomorphic Venus of the myths to the cosmic Venus invoked in the opening of *De rerum natura*, that is, the personification of the "all-generating powers and genial heat / Of Nature" (97-98). Even the lofty, indifferent gods recognized by his master Epicurus are hardly consistent, he realizes, with thoroughgoing materialism:

The Gods, the Gods!
If all be atoms, how then should the Gods
Being atomic not be dissoluble,
Not follow the great law?

(103-106)

He repeats this tortured line of thought with reference to Apollo: the myths are mere "tales," and the sun has no feeling for the human suffering over which it passes. Suicide is justified at precisely this point in the soliloquy:

But he that holds
The Gods are careless, wherefore need he care
Greatly for them, nor rather plunge at once,
Being troubled, wholly out of sight, and sink
Past earthquake—ay, and gout and stone, that break
Body toward death, and palsy, death-in-life,
And wretched age—and worst disease of all,
These prodigies of myriad nakednesses,
And twisted shapes of lust.

(149-157)

A second justification occurs after Lucretius finds himself egging on the ravisher—"Catch her, goatfoot!"—in his climactic vision of the chase of an oread by a satyr:

Why should I, beastlike as I find myself,
Not manlike end myself?—our privilege—
What beast has heart to do it?

(231-233)

Lucretius' extreme rationalism, which posits gods either ineffectual or nonexistent, has left him unequipped to deal with the irrational urges he shares with brutes. It is this irony on which Tennyson's whole poem is constructed.

The Victorian poet is using eroticism here as an emblem of the loss of human dignity threatened by the collapse of belief in man's specific difference, which consists not in his ability to take his own life but in his divinely given soul. It was in the mid-sixties, one recalls, that scientists first attempted to apply Darwin's theory of natural selection to the development of man's intellectual and moral being, that is, to explain morality as adaptation.¹⁰ Given this background, the general prevalence of religious

doubt, and Tennyson's own very real experience of depression, his preparation for writing a Lucretian poem may seem complete even without Tyndall. F. T. Palgrave records that after a reading of *De rerum natura* at the Tennysons' fireside, "so carried away and overwhelmed were the readers by the poignant force of the great poet, that, next morning, when dawn and daylight had brought their blessed natural healing to morbid thoughts, it was laughingly agreed that Lucretius had left us last night all but converts to his heart-crushing atheism."¹¹ There does seem to have been something of a Lucretian "revival" among Victorians, as reflected in Matthew Arnold's lifelong ambition to write a tragedy on Lucretius, and in H. A. J. Monro's new edition of *De rerum natura*, which appeared in 1864, just in time for Tennyson's use. The nature of John Tyndall's role in this revival is suggested in the preface to the third edition of that standard text; there Monro credits Tyndall "for more precise conceptions on some parts of the poet's philosophy, especially the motion of atoms."¹² That Tennyson was privy to Tyndall's "more precise conceptions" no doubt accounts for the sharpness of focus in "Lucretius."

What Tyndall might have said to Tennyson when in 1865 they discussed "mind and matter, etc." is not difficult to reconstruct. In his presidential address to the British Association in Belfast in 1874, which represented ideas he had long held and with which Tennyson can be expected to have been familiar, Tyndall made the great leap between matter and mind. Having traced the line of life backward, seeing it approach ever closer to the purely physical, he climaxed his argument: "By a necessity engendered and justified by science I cross the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in that Matter which we . . . have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of all terrestrial Life."¹³ He fully embraced Herbert Spencer's evolutionary psychology, postulating the development of the individual senses from a "kind of [ultimately chemical] tactual sense diffused over the entire body"¹⁴ and speculating that man's intelligence is accumulated sense knowledge registered and transmitted in the evolving brain structure of the race.

A remarkable feature of the Belfast Address is its overt Lucretianism. Tyndall opens this once controversial and still very readable essay by quoting with approval the propositions of Democritus and then launches into a review of the whole history of atomic philosophy, including a lengthy summary of Lucretius. Moreover, he embellishes his account with lines on the Epicurean gods from

that "noble poem" "Lucretius"! The gods, he acknowledges, were beautifully pictured by Tennyson in

The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud, or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm!

(105-110)

Tyndall even sets up an imaginary debate on the existence of the soul between a "disciple of Lucretius" and, as a representative theologian, Bishop Butler (1692-1752), author of the *Analogy of Religion*. The Bishop identifies the soul with the mind and rests his argument on the duration of mental powers through sleep, amputation of limbs, and like suspension or disabling of bodily powers. Replies the Lucretian to the man of religion: "It seems very singular that, from the beginning to the end of your admirable book . . . you never once mention the brain or nervous system. You begin at one end of the body, and show that its parts may be removed without prejudice to the perceiving power. What if you begin at the other end, and remove, instead of the leg, the brain?"¹⁵

To Tennyson's literary critique of scientific materialism in "Lucretius," Tyndall seems to have responded with nothing less than a Lucretian interpretation of the poem. This is the drift of one argument used by the Lucretian against Bishop Butler: "My very noble and approved good master had, as you know, threatenings of lewdness introduced into his brain by his jealous wife's philter; and sooner than permit himself to run even the risk of yielding to these base promptings he slew himself. How could the hand of Lucretius have been thus turned against himself if the real Lucretius remained as before?"¹⁶ In other words, Lucretius before and after his "brain" is affected by the philter is not the same person, which helps disprove the existence of an enduring spiritual identity in man independent of matter. Lucretius is responsible for neither his dreams nor his suicide. The phrasing leaves no doubt that Tyndall had in mind Tennyson's opening portrait of Lucilia, who "found / Her master cold" and,

Dreaming some rival, sought and found a witch
Who brew'd the philtre which had power, they said,
To lead an errant passion home again. (15-17)

If this interpretation is allowed to stand, if, as the *Nation* objected, "it is conceivable that the reader and not the

7. *Memoir*, II, 471.8. *Alfred Tennyson* (New York, 1949), p. 346.9. *Memoir*, II, 469.10. See Kenneth Franklin Gantz, "The Beginnings of Darwinian Ethics, 1859-1871," *University of Texas Publication: Studies in English*, No. 326 (July 8, 1959), pp. 180-209.11. *Memoir*, II, 50. Unfortunately this anecdote is undated.12. H. A. J. Monro, ed. and trans., *De Rerum Natura*, 4th ed. (Cambridge, 1893), I, ix.13. "The Belfast Address," in *Fragments of Science*, 6th ed. (New

York, 1892), II, 191.

14. *Fragments of Science*, II, 183.15. *Fragments of Science*, II, 163-164.16. *Fragments of Science*, II, 165.

writer imports into the poem the tragic interest that belongs, as one may say personally, to Lucretius, victim really of a foolish woman and a vile drug, who conceives himself the sport of cruel chance,¹⁷ then "Lucretius" falls apart. Rather, Tennyson has created a Lucretius who, because he is consistently noble, refuses to countenance "threatenings of lewdness," but, because he is a philosophical materialist, is unable to void the workings of chance in any other way but suicide—surely a tragic situation.

Another instance of Tyndall's defensive attitude is his perverse reading of "The Ancient Sage." Thus, in his contribution to the *Memoir*, Tyndall recalled that on his first visit to Farringford Tennyson had described to him that mystical experience induced by the repetition of his own name "which, in the mouth of the Ancient Sage, was made the ground of an important argument against materialism and in favour of personal immortality eight-and-twenty years afterwards." Tyndall took it upon himself to defend the young hedonist and skeptic who debates with the Sage in the poem:

The allusions to "wasteful living" and "some death-song for the Ghouls" indicate clearly the light in which Tennyson viewed the younger man. His moral and religious fibre are gone, and in particular he has lost all belief in a life after death. He is, briefly, what we should call a materialist, and the object of the nineteenth-century poet is to combat, through the mouth of the Sage, the errors of this view.

I would here remark, once for all, that the pass-

ages read from the young man's scroll, so far from being the language of a libertine—so far from being a "death-song for the Ghouls"—are of a quality which no libertine or associate of Ghouls could possibly have produced. Supreme beauty and delicacy of language are not consistent with foul companionship. . . .¹⁸

As naively literal as Tyndall's readings appear to us, Tennyson was not much fairer in his estimate of the scientist's position. Although Tyndall propagandized the new science under the cover of Lucretianism, he was not after all a classical materialist. It should be noted that in the Belfast Address he allowed the Bishop, not the Lucretian, to have a final word on the logical discrepancy between "molecular processes and the phenomena of consciousness"; he saw that Lucretian materialism is an inadequate explanation of life. "Their [the classical materialists'] science was mechanical science, not the science of life. With matter in its wholeness they never dealt." It was nothing short of a new theory of matter, one in which "the vision of the mind authoritatively supplements the vision of the eye,"²⁰ that Tyndall looked forward to. The vantage point of one hundred years enables us to view his differences with Tennyson as part of a mutually oversimplified conflict between "Science" and "Poetry," but it also leaves us grateful for a friendship which, weathering such differences, gave us the complex and fully imagined "Lucretius."

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The Aesthetic Function of the "Weird Seizures" in *The Princess*

Catherine Barnes Stevenson

BECAUSE OF ITS FORMAL ECCENTRICITIES, *The Princess* has always presented a considerable interpretive problem to Tennyson critics. The poem has been faulted for its medley of styles, its anachronisms, its blending of lyrical and narrative poetry, and, especially, for its introduction of the "spells" or "weird seizures" of the Prince. Added by Tennyson to the fourth edition (1851) of the poem, the

seizures have been deemed by many to be "unnecessary and uncalled for,"¹ or a "truly grotesque and disconcerting feature [added] to an already overburdened structure,"² or "an artistic blunder—strange in an artist of such tact as Tennyson."³ Rather than being encumbrances to the story, however, the seizures are actually important components of the narrative structure that clarify

the artistic purpose of the poem by focusing attention upon the sophistication, the artifice, and the process of the narrative.

Critics have attempted to explain Tennyson's reason for introducing these seizures in three major ways. First, there is the "biographical approach" exemplified by Sir Charles Tennyson's comment: "the date of the addition and the way in which the final dispersal of the trance is described suggest that . . . [the seizures] symbolized the effect upon his own mind of his separation from Emily and of his long deferred union with her."⁴ Another school of thought views these "fits" as indices of the Prince's "too emotional temperament" and "comparative want of power,"⁵ of his desire to "retreat from an unpleasant reality,"⁶ and of his "sexual dislocation."⁷ Finally, there are those critics who expand upon the poet's assertion that the words "dream shadow" and "were and were not" "doubtless refer to the anachronisms and improbabilities of the story"⁸ and contend that "Tennyson had continued to brood over the improbabilities of his story and had cast about for a further means of appeasing his censors, until he hit upon the idea of the 'weird seizures.'"⁹ It should be noted, however, that Tennyson claims only that the words describing the seizures "refer to" the improbabilities of the tale, not that they "explain away" or "compensate for" the faults of the narrative. Thus, it would seem that the seizures are devices that highlight the fictive nature of the tale, encouraging the recognition of the particular artistic experiment undertaken by the poem.

The failure of these critical approaches results from an inability to account for the crucial parallel drawn in the very beginning of the poem between the "fits" of the Prince and the narrative method of the tale as it is evolved in the "Prologue." The connection between the way in which the Prince's story is being told and the visionary experiences that plague him in the story is first intimated at the conclusion of the "Prologue." The narrator outlines the method of procedure for the tale told "from mouth to mouth":

"Then follow me, the Prince,"
I answered, "each be hero in his turn!
Seven and yet one, like shadows in a dream."

(p. 10 [l. 220]; italics mine)¹⁰

The phrase "shadows in a dream" suggests not only the

multiple points of view that will be united into one narrative strand but also the kind of logical coherence that the tale will have—a logic arising from the free play of the unconscious rather than from the rational ordering of the conscious. Only twenty-eight lines later in the tale itself, the Prince describes the curse on his house that dooms him to "fight with shadows," that is, to withdraw from what others call "reality" and to probe the hidden dimensions of the external world. The Prince's psyche in one of these seizures is allied to the method of narration thus:

And while I walked and talked as heretofore,
I seemed to move among a world of ghosts,
And feel myself the shadow of a dream.

(p. 11 [ll. 16-18]; italics mine)

Here the Prince confesses doubts about the solidity of both the outside world and his own identity. The Prince's "shadow of a dream" is so similar to and is in such close proximity to the "Prologue" 's "shadows in a dream" that it is probable they were intended to echo each other.

But what purpose would be served by associating the Prince's seizures with the "game" of the narrative from mouth to mouth? On one level, these visions of the "shadowy" nature of reality remind the reader that the action of the tale is itself "shadowy," dream-like, "unreal." The Prince's questioning of outward appearances is, these seizures slyly suggest, entirely appropriate: these appearances and the Prince, himself, are but the shadowy creations of the imaginations of seven narrators. Furthermore, the seizures characteristically occur during elaborate and improbable scenes in the narrative. For example, the Prince's first spell results from his vision of Ida in exotic, regal splendor:

She stood
Among her maidens, higher by the head,
Her back against a pillar, her foot on one
Of those tame leopards. Kittenlike he rolled
And pawed about her sandal. I drew near;
I gazed. On a sudden my strange seizure came
Upon me, the weird vision of our house:
The Princess Ida seemed a hollow show,
Her gay-furred cats a painted fantasy,
Her college and her maidens, empty masks,
And I myself the shadow of a dream.
For all things were and were not.

(p. 49 [ll. 162-173])

binding together the diverse points of view in the poem. He does not observe, however, that the seizures in themselves are meant to call attention to the narrative process.

1. Ibid.
2. Edgar F. Shannon, *Tennyson and the Reviewers: A Study of His Reputation and of the Influence of the Critics on His Poetry, 1827-51* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 131.
3. Sir Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (New York, 1949), p. 262.
4. Ibid.
5. Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred, Lord Tennyson: A Memoir* (London, 1897), I, 251.
6. Clyde de L. Ryals, "The 'Weird Seizures' in *The Princess*," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*, IV (1962), 275.
7. Gerhard Joseph, *Tennysonian Love: The Strange Diagonal* (Minneapolis, 1969), pp. 94-101. Joseph has made a valuable contribution to understanding the nature of the seizures by pointing to their function as correlatives of the narrator's difficulty in
8. *Memoir*, I, 251.
9. Shannon, p. 130.
10. All textual quotations are from *Works*, ed. Hallam, Lord Tennyson, 6 vols. (New York, 1908). For convenience, line numbers from *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London, 1969) are included in square brackets.

17. "Tennyson's New Poem," *The Nation*, VI (April 30, 1868), 353.
18. *Memoir*, II, 478.
19. *Memoir*, II, 476-477.
20. *Fragments of Science*, II, 190, 191.

1. Samuel E. Dawson, *A Study . . . of Alfred Tennyson's Poem*

Later, the fits recur after the Prince's violent eviction from Ida's court by the "monstrous woman guard" (p. 80 [l. 540]) and during the fantastic medieval joust. The seizures do not make these scenes any more believable but rather point to the illusion of art. Ida, the animals, the college, the violent jousts, the Prince himself are, as he apprehends in his seizures, "hollow shows" (p. 49 [l. 169]). The recurring "spells" represent, then, a kind of sophisticated joke about the narrative (consistent, it might be added, with numerous puns, mock heroic devices, and farcical action that provide *The Princess* with its unique brand of humor).

On two occasions, these "jokes" explicitly point to the fact that the tale of the Prince is a work of art in the process of being created. As the Prince watches the joust, he is overcome by a sense of the dreamlike character of the combat in which he seems to do battle "with forgotten ghosts" (p. 102 [l. 496]). Then, when he is most fully engaged in the fighting, he interrupts himself with an aside:

... With that I drave
Among the thickest and bore down a Prince,
And Cyril, onc. Yea let me make my dream
All that I would. (p. 103 [ll. 506-509])

The Prince's expressed determination to make the most of his "unreal" experience by adopting a heroic pose also contains a veiled reference to the narrative structure. This aside betrays the mind behind the princely mask—the mind formulating a fantastic tale and expanding upon the details of the fantasy to suit certain moments of extravagant action. Thus, while they may be deviations from the rational ordering of the conscious mind, the improbabilities of the plot of *The Princess* are appropriate reflections of the process of the dreaming mind.

The Prince-narrator also alludes to the fictive, processive nature of the tale in his description of his pursuit through Ida's gardens by the "daughters of the plough":

Flect I was of foot:
Before me showered the rose in flakes; behind
I heard the puffed pursuer; at mine ear
Bubbled the nightingale and heeded not,
And secret laughter tickled all my soul.
At last I hooked my ankle in a vine,
That claspt the feet of Mnemosyne,
And falling on my face was caught and known.
(p. 68 [ll. 244-251])

The Prince's inexplicable "secret laughter" at his position reveals to the reader the absurdity of the whole situation and the inconsequentiality of the outcome of the action. Moreover, the termination of his narrative through the agency of Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses, is a clue to both the artifice and the comedy of this night chase. The Prince's fall is an ingenious and

tongue-in-cheek metaphor for the exhaustion of the imaginative powers of the narrator: he is betrayed by (tripped by the tendrils of) the source of poetic inspiration.

Through the "weird seizures," the sequence of events in the poem is often rendered less important than the psychological and artistic dynamics of those events. The seizures "subvert" the plot by directing attention to the poetic structure, and by minimizing the suspense component through the prediction of the eventual outcome of the action. For example, the Prince's first extrasensory perception, although not a full-fledged seizure, takes the form of a voice that prophesies the resolution of the plot: "Follow, follow, thou shalt win" (p. 15 [l. 99]). In his next "fit," the Prince realizes that Ida's splendid, regal tableau may be only a "hollow show" (p. 49 [l. 169]). By suggesting that there may be a hidden dimension to Ida not expressed by her queenly posturing, this seizure previews the eventual triumph of the human Ida over the cold, royal personage. After his eviction from Ida's kingdom, the Prince is again gripped by a sense of the insubstantiality of the action; indeed, this plot development proves to be neither climactic nor crucial. In fact, the Prince's final image of the "Norway sun / Set[ting] into sunrise" (p. 80 [ll. 55-61]) provides a more accurate image of the "progress" of the tale than does the unhappy turn of events. Finally, the Prince's seizure during the battle initiates the extended coma by means of which the "hollow shows" of Ida's court are replaced by honest dealings between the sexes and Ida's latent self is brought to the surface. While immersed in the "unreality" of his fit, the Prince calls upon his dream of Ida to "fulfill itself" (p. 130 [l. 131]). By believing in the illusion glimpsed during his vision, he helps to actualize his perception of Ida's hidden self. In the long run, the Prince's illusory insights, which had prepared the reader for Ida's change of heart, prove to be more veracious than the "objective" truth of her appearance and behavior. As his unlikely dreams are, in their own way, truer than what seems to be real, so the remote, improbable tale offers more probing insights than any rigidly realistic counterpart.

The seizures that attune the Prince to the hidden dimensions of the external world also direct the reader's attention away from the surface of the poem—the plot—to its structure and methodology. In a real sense, *The Princess* is a poem about the artistic process. The Prince's seizures force the reader to acknowledge the illusion of the tale and yet to grant the potential for truth-telling contained within that artistic illusion. Moreover, it becomes clear that the poem's perspective on contemporary life and its speculative freedom in considering modern sexual and social problems are gained through its artifice. In the "Prologue" Tennyson provides a symbol of the

way in which an artistic construct can focus and clarify some of the confusion of the mid-nineteenth century world. The group of friends gathered at Vivian place, wearied by their immersion in the activities in the park, retire to a distant ruin to converse and speculate:

And long we gazed, but satiated at length
Came to the ruins. High-arched and ivy-claspt,
Of finest Gothic lighter than a fire,
Through one wide chasm of time and frost they gave
The park, the crowd, the house; but all within
The sward was trim as any garden lawn.

(p. 5 [ll. 91-95])

Like the tale, this ruin from another age is removed from, yet capable of encompassing and providing a coherent view of, the confusion of modern life. Furthermore, like the tale, it links the past and present, medieval romanticism and the domestic order of well-manicured lawns, and fact and fantasy. The ruin, then, images both the archaic form of the tale and its process of mediation between the realities of modern life set forth in the "Prologue"¹¹ and the exigencies of an art form that is neither a naturalistic nor a photographic treatment of these. Although, as Buckley observes, the seizures do signify Tennyson's unwillingness to "yield entirely to the illusions of artifice,"¹² their more significant aesthetic function is to highlight the process by which art transmutes yet stays in touch with reality.

The Princess provides a name for its own internal dynamics: the "strange diagonal." This geometrical representation of the sum of two intersecting vectors is created

Pipkins and Kettles in *Vanity Fair*

David Leon Higdon

"THERE IS HARDLY A PAGE of *Vanity Fair*," wrote Gordon N. Ray, "without its echo of a phrase familiar to its first readers to which Thackeray contrives to give a new pertinence through an ingenious application."¹ Ray and the Tillotsons have diligently restored many of these

by the extension of those vectors into an imaginary parallelogram and by the further imaginary bisection of that parallelogram. In artistic terms, the diagonal represents poetic truth which is achieved through the creation of an imaginary construct and which synthesizes both conflicting viewpoints and—in the case of *The Princess*—diverse narrative voices. In *The Princess*, however, the "diagonal" is also a description of the process involved in the act of reading the poem: the reader's continual mediation between "fact" ("Prologue") and "fantasy" ("Tale"), between "suspension of disbelief" and consciousness of the illusion of art, between narration and song, and between the male point of view ("the mockers") and the female ("the realists"). By laying bare the internal structure of the poem, the "weird seizures" also alert the reader to the way in which the poem must be read. For in *The Princess* meaning is not a precept to be extracted from the tale alone or the frame alone; it is rather the process of investigating the intersections between conflicting modes of perception.

T. S. Eliot was, then, partly right: *The Princess* is not "good" narrative in the sense of exciting story-telling.¹³ Instead, it is an experiment in sophisticated, highly-wrought narrative in which the "weird seizures" are not decorations or encumbrances but essential devices that focus attention on the process of the poem, on its narrative complexity, and on one of its imaginative matrices—the relationship between artistic creation and social reality.

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echoes for the twentieth-century reader²; other echoes, such as Lord Steyne's allusions to *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *The Rape of the Lock*, need little identification. One of Steyne's metaphors, however, surely awakened echoes for its author and first audience that have remained

11. See Lilia's speech, p. 6 [ll. 129-137], for the immediate issues treated in the tale. John Killham, *Tennyson and "The Princess": Reflections of an Age* (London, 1958), provides an excellent, detailed study of the specific contemporary context. For Tennyson's desire to make the tale relevant to his age, see Sir Charles Tennyson, "The Making of *The Princess*," *Cornhill Magazine*, CLIII (1936), 677.

12. Jerome H. Buckley, "Tennyson's Irony," *Victorian Newsletter*,

No. 31 (1967), 8.

13. T. S. Eliot, "In Memoriam," *Essays Ancient and Modern* (London, 1936), p. 191.

1. *Thackeray, the Uses of Adversity, 1811-1846* (New York, 1955), p. 403.

2. See *Vanity Fair*, ed. Geoffrey and Kathleen Tillotson (Boston, 1963), pp. xxv-xxxix. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.

silent for all but a few modern readers and unnoticed even though it offers one of the clearest indications of Thackeray's emblematic art.

In Chapter 48, Lord Steyne, one of the "very best of company" mentioned in the chapter title, upbraids Becky Sharp for her discontent and overreaching: "You've got no money, and you want to compete with those who have. You poor little earthenware pipkin, you want to swim down the stream along with the great copper kettles. All women are alike. Everybody is striving for what is not worth the having" (p. 465). The metaphor is strikingly appropriate and resonant—appropriate because it succinctly captures Becky's relationship to the "very best of company" and resonant because it echoes the artistic conventions of allegory and emblem as emphatically as does the novel's title. Quite obviously, the stream is life itself, perhaps narrowed to one tributary of social swirl, and the "great copper kettles" are those "worthy" individuals like Steyne who, through birth or wealth, dominate the sharply defined hierarchies of the society. The earthenware pipkin, and Becky is not the only one in the novel, symbolizes the low born, the poor, the outsiders who for lack of name and funds are unable to secure a place in this society and yet are unwilling to admit they are not equipped to navigate the stream. Occasionally, a pipkin's resiliency may astonish even so great a kettle as Lord Steyne.

The metaphor comes from the emblem tradition and has two possible sources: the *Emblematum Libellus* (1522) of Andreae Alciati or its English adaptation from Plantin's 1581 edition, *A Choice of Emblems* (1586) by Geoffrey Whitney. Whitney's volume includes an emblem, borrowed directly from Alciati, in which two pots or kettles float in a rushing stream. The emblem is accompanied by a motto, "Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum" [Something bad near a bad neighbor], and the verses,

Two pottes, within a runninge streame weare toste,
The one of earth, the other, was of brasse:
The brasen potte, who wish'd the other loste,
Did bid it staie, and neare her side to passe.

Whereby they might, together ioyned sure:
Without all doubt, the force of flood indure.

The earthen potte, then thus did answeare make,
This neighborhood doth put me much in feare;

I rather choose, my chauce farre of to take,
Then to thy side, for to be ioyned neare,
For if wee hitte, my parte shalbe the wurste,
And thou shalt scape, when I am all to burste.

The running streame, this worldlie sea dothe shewe;
The pottes, present the mightie, and the pore:
Whoe here, a time are tossed too, and froe,
But if the meane, swell nighe the mighties dore,
He maie be hurte, but cannot hurte againe,
Then like, to like: or beste alone remaine.³

The rich, the poor, and the "worldlie sea" stand in the same relationship as they do in Steyne's metaphor with one significant difference. Whitney's "earthen potte," more content with its own place in the stream, senses the danger in being near the brass pot. By its refusal to float near the other, the earthen pot affirms the closing tag, "Then like, to like." Becky Sharp, of course, repudiates this view and takes her chances near the "great copper kettles." However, when they "hitte," she has the worst of the encounter as the earthen pot had predicted.

Behind Alciati's emblem, Whitney's adaptation, and perhaps Thackeray's metaphor as well, stands Ecclesiasticus 13:2-3: "He shall take a burden upon him that hath fellowship with one more honourable than himself. And have no fellowship with one that is richer than thyself. / What agreement shall the earthen pot have with the kettle? for if they knock one against the other, it shall be broken." To this metaphor, the emblem tradition added only the running stream. The juxtaposition of metal and earthen pots in 2 Timothy 2:20-21 must be discounted as a source as it has no thematic relationship to the rich-poor contrast.

By using the emblem tradition but at the same time reversing the role of one of the emblem characters, Thackeray achieved that "new pertinence" remarked by Gordon Ray. It is not necessary to demonstrate that Thackeray had either Alciati or Whitney in hand while he wrote the scene because emblems frequently enter common parlance and thus could easily have reached him through other channels. However, the similarity of image, scenic stance, and thought demonstrates the emblematic nature of Steyne's metaphor. Allusion to the emblem tradition provided an evaluative metaphor by which Thackeray's audience was authorized to judge Becky's action.

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3. *A Choice of Emblems*, ed. Henry Green (London, 1866; rpt. New York, 1967), p. 164. A study of the influence of Protestant emblem books on the nineteenth-century novel has yet to be written.

I have explored one aspect of the influence more fully in "The Iconographic Background of *Adam Bede*, Chapter XV," *NCF*, 27 (1972), 155-170.

Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

AUGUST 1973—JANUARY 1974

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GENERAL

- ARTS. Greysmith, David. *Richard Dodd*. Studio Vista. Rev. *TLS*, 31 August, p. 998.
- Life, Allan R. "That Unfortunate Young Man Morten." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Spring 1973, pp. 369-402. Study of Thomas Morten, Victorian artist.
- Muthesius, Stefan. *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Rev. *TLS*, 17 August, p. 944.
- Physick, John, and Michael Darby. *Marble Halls*. Victoria and Albert Museum. Drawings and models for Victorian secular buildings.
- Vogt, Adolf Max. *Art of the Nineteenth Century*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Rev. *TLS*, 5 October, p. 1195.
- Wakeman, Geoffrey. *Victorian Book Illustration: The Technical Revolution*. David and Charles. Rev. *TLS*, 24 August, p. 986. Printing techniques of the Victorian period.
- ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Heesom, A. J. "Two Perennial Groups Labelled Whig and Tory; Parties and Party Leaders in Early Victorian England." *Durham University Journal*, December, pp. 81-92. Review-article.
- Hurst, Michael. "Joseph Chamberlain and Late-Victorian Liberalism." *Durham University Journal*, December, pp. 60-75. His great importance and influence.
- Lowe, J. D. "The Tory Triumph of 1868 in Blackburn and in Lancashire." *Historical Journal*, December, pp. 733-48. The triumph was due to votes created by the new franchise.
- Lyons, F. S. L. "The Political Ideas of Parnell." *Historical Journal*, December, pp. 749-75. His fixed belief in the fragility of the constitutional movement he directed.
- Olney, R. J. *Lincolnshire Politics 1832-1885*. Oxford. Rev. *TLS*, 16 November, p. 1388.
- Rorabaugh, W. J. "Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1834-1837." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 155-75. A successful compromise of architectural forms stimulated by the particular politics of the 1830's.
- HISTORY. de Vries, Leonard, and Honka Van Amstel, eds. *History as Hot News 1865-1897*. John Murray. Rev. *TLS*, 7 September, p. 1019.
- Eldridge, C. C. *England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 28 December, p. 1580.
- Harrison, Brian. "Animals and the State in Nineteenth-Century England." *English Historical Review*, October, pp. 786-820. Pragmatism in the protection of animals.
- Sandiford, Keith A. P. "The British Cabinet and the Schleswig-Holstein Crisis, 1863-1864." *History*, October, pp. 360-83. The cabinet permitted the Queen to play a vital role in shaping British policy.
- Temperley, Howard. *British Anti-Slavery 1833-1870*. Longman. Rev. *TLS*, 19 October, p. 1275.
- Zegger, Robert E. "Victorians in Arms: The French Invasion Scare of 1859-60." *History Today*, October, pp. 705-14. Anglo-French relations took a turn for the worse half way through the reign of Napoleon III.
- LITERARY CRITICISM. Antippas, A. P. "Browning's 'The Guardian Angel': A Possible Early Reference to Ruskin." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 342-44.
- Cline, C. L. "Meredith's Meeting with the Carlyles." *TLS*, 9 November, p. 1380. Details.
- Cunningham, A. R. "The 'New Woman Fiction' of the 1890's." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 177-86. Writers of this fiction paved the way for a more realistic characterization of women in fiction.
- Ellis, James, and Joseph Donohue. "London Stage 1800-1900: A Proposal for a Calendar of Performances." *Victorian Studies*, June 1973, pp. 463-65. The popularity and vitality of the theatre during this period.
- . "An Eye-Bath for the Victorians." *TLS*, 10 August, p. 924. Review-article on Pre-Raphaelitism.
- Fahnestock, Jeanne Rosenmayer. "Geraldine Jewsbury: The Power of the Publisher's Reader." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 253-72. Miss Jewsbury's advice kept Bentley on the safe side of public opinion.
- Fisher, Benjamin Franklin. "Rossetti and Swinburne in Tandem: 'The Laird of Waristoun.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 229-39. The combined efforts of the two poets.
- Grieve, A. I. *The Pre-Raphaelite Period 1848-50*. Hingham, Norfolk: Real World Publications. Rev. *TLS*, 28 September, p. 1102. Pre-Raphaelite origins and sources.
- Honan, Park. "Some Problems in Biography." *Victorian Studies*, June 1973, pp. 453-61. Modern biography often fails to give readers an appropriate sense of the subject's presence.
- James, Louis. "Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 89-99. The positive relation between late Victorian imperialist expansion and the intense nationalism of boys' periodicals.
- Millhauser, Milton. "Dr. Newton and Mr. Hyde: Scientists in Fiction from Swift to Stevenson." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 287-304. Includes references to works by Eliot, Collins, Butler, Hardy, Trollope, and Stevenson.
- Olsen, Donald J. "The Changing Image of London in *The Builder*." *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, March 1973, pp. 4-9. The periodical was catholic in its conception and commented on all aspects of its subject.
- Pfaff, Richard W. "The Library of the Fathers: The Tractarians as Patristic Translators." *Studies in Philology*, July 1973, pp. 329-44. The importance of this literary enterprise of the Oxford Movement.
- Spilka, Mark. "Henry James and Walter Besant: 'The Art

- GILBERT and SULLIVAN. Baily, Leslie. *Gilbert and Sullivan and Their World*. Thames and Hudson. Rev. *TLS*, 11 January, p. 29.
- HAGGARD. Moss, John G. "Three Motifs in Haggard's *She*." *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 27-34. Life and death, love and evil, the bestial and the divine.
- HARDY. Draffan, Robert A. "Hardy's *Under the Greenwood Tree*." *English*, Summer, pp. 55-60. The novel can be seen as a sad book.
- Lupini, Barbara. "Hardy: Some New Studies." *English*, Summer, pp. 68-69. Review-article.
- May, Charles E. "Hardy's 'Darkling Thrush': The 'Night-engage' Grown Old." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 62-65. Hardy's ironic rejection of Keats's romantic view of nature.
- Rachman, Shalom. "Character and Theme in Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*." *English*, Summer, pp. 45-53. The characters are created through the themes and in a sense they are the themes.
- Salter, C. H. "Hardy's 'Pedantry.'" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 145-64. Hardy's "pedantic" language is part of the language that Wessex meets in the rest of the world.
- . "Unusual Words Beginning with *Un, En, Out, Up* and *On* in Thomas Hardy's Verse." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 257-61. Suggests reasons for these word beginnings.
- Salter, K. W. "Lawrence, Hardy, and 'The Great Tradition.'" *English*, Summer, pp. 60-65. Lawrence's reading of Hardy clarified his own beliefs at a critical time.
- Schweik, Robert C. "Some Recent Hardy Scholarship: A Review-Article." *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. XVI, No. 2, pp. 135-41.
- Taylor, E. Dennis. "The Riddle of Hardy's Poetry." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 263-76. The riddle of literary modernity is the riddle of Hardy's style.
- Zellerfrow, Ken. "The Return of the Native: Hardy's Map and Eustacia's Suicide." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 214-20. A study of the map Hardy provided in early editions of the novel strongly suggests Eustacia's death was a suicide.
- HOPKINS. Beyette, Thomas K. "Hopkins' Phenomenology of Art in 'The Shepherd's Brow.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 207-13. The difficulty of the closing tercet has concealed its subject of artistic struggle.
- Epstein, E. L. "Hopkins's 'Heaven-Haven': A Linguistic Critical Description." *Essays in Criticism*, April 1973, pp. 137-45. The importance of linguistic devices in heightening the poem's meaning.
- Kennedy, Eileen. "Lightening Lashed Rod, and Dove in 'The Wreck of the Deutschland.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 247-51. Integration of imagery in stanzas two and three through two biblical figures, St. Paul and Noe.
- Kretz, Thomas, S.J. "Advents Three for Three: A Study of 'The Wreck of the Deutschland.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 252-54. The poem read through the focus of Advent.
- Kwan-Terry, John. "Pattern in the Carpet: Hopkins' Sprung Rhythm Re-considered." *Studies in English Literature* (Tokyo), English Number 1973, pp. 19-40. Similarities between the work of Browning and Hopkins throw light on the nature of the latter's sprung rhythm.
- Mariani, Paul L. "Hopkins' 'Andromeda' and The New Aestheticism." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 39-54. The poem is an Augustan critical reaction to the new aestheticism.
- Raine, Kathleen. "Hopkins, Nature, and Human Nature." *Sewanee Review*, Spring 1973, pp. 201-24. Hopkins re-situated nature in the context of man.
- Shurr, William H. "Syvester Judd and G. M. Hopkins' Margaret." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 337-39. The influence of an 1845 novel *Margaret* on "Spring and Fall."
- MACAULAY. Millgate, Jane. *Macaulay*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Rev. *TLS*, 7 December, p. 1501.
- Otten, Terry. "Macaulay's Secondhand Theory of Poetry." *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Spring 1973, pp. 280-94. Macaulay's concept of poetry stems from a firmly established tradition in European thought.
- MEREDITH. Golden, Arline. "The Game of Sentiment: Tradition and Innovation in Meredith's *Modern Love*." *ELH*, Summer 1973, pp. 264-84. Meredith utilized ancient and contemporary sonnet conventions to better expose the "sentimental passion" of modern love.
- Rodenbeck, John Von B. "The Classicism of Meredith's 'Love in the Valley.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 27-37. The poem is thoroughly classical in inspiration.
- Shaheen, M. Y. "Forster on Meredith." *Review of English Studies*, May 1973, pp. 185-91. Forster's attitude toward Meredith was characterized by indecision.
- MILL. August, Eugene R. "Mill as Sage." *PMLA*, January, pp. 142-53. Mill uses both logic and art to awaken his reader to a new perception of reality.
- . "Mill's *Autobiography* as *Philosophic Commedia*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 143-62. The work is an imaginative construct portraying Mill's life as a *commedia*.
- . "The Human Calamity of Mill." *TLS*, 14 September, pp. 1058-60. Review-article on *The Late Letters of John Stuart Mill 1849-1873*, Vols. XIV-XVII, ed. Francis E. Mineka and Dwight N. Lindley (University of Toronto).
- Tatalovich, Anne. "John Stuart Mill—*The Subjection of Women: An Analysis*." *Southern Quarterly*, October, pp. 87-105. Mill used the dictates of justice and common sense to justify the equality of the sexes.
- MORRIS. LeBourgeois, John Y. "William Morris to George Bernard Shaw." *Durham University Journal*, March 1973, pp. 205-11. The thirteen manuscript letters, reprinted here, make it clear Morris thought highly of Shaw.
- NEWMAN. McIntosh, Lawrence D. "An Unpublished Letter of John Henry Newman." *Catholic Historical Review*, October, pp. 429-33. Dated November 20, 1845, to Frederick Charles Husenbeth.
- Mendel, Sydney. "Metaphor and Rhetoric in Newman's *Apologia*." *Essays in Criticism*, October, pp. 357-71. Newman's use of the metaphor *home* in organizing the history of his life.
- PATER. Bassett, Sharon. "Pater and Freud on Leonardo da Vinci: Two Views of the Hero of Art." *Literature and Psychology*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, pp. 21-26. Suggests that literary and psychoanalytical convictions about the nature of the artist hero have together created a recognizable cultural and intellectual type.
- Bizot, Richard. "Pater in Transition." *Philological Quarterly*, January 1973, pp. 129-41. Pater continually rethought and reshaped his ideas.
- Dahl, Curtis. "Pater's *Marius* and Historical Novels on Early Christian Times." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1973, pp. 1-24. Pater used the conventions of the tradition of English historical fiction set in the early days of Christianity and also remolded them to his own purposes.
- ROSSETTI. de Groot, H. B. "Christina Rossetti's 'A Nightmare': A Fragment Completed." *Review of English Studies*, February 1973, pp. 48-52. Reprints the entire poem, including the missing section.
- Henderson, Marina. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. Academy Editions. Reproductions of Rossetti's drawings and paintings. Rev. *TLS*, 21 September, p. 1093.
- Janowitz, K. E. "The Antipodes of Self: Three Poems by Christina Rossetti." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 195-205. "Spring," "Restive," and "Acme" lyrically dramatize three phases of the poet's theme of disillusionment and loss.
- Keane, Robert N. "Rossetti's 'Jenny': Moral Ambiguity and the 'Inner Standing Point.'" *Papers on Language and Literature*, Summer 1973, pp. 271-80. Jenny and her problem can be comprehended only through the eyes and mind of the "thoughtful man of the world" who speaks the poem.
- Leggett, Bernie. "A Picture and its Poem by Dante Gabriel Rossetti." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 241-46. The guiding principles of both artworks.
- RUSKIN. Burd, Van Akin, ed. *The Ruskin Family Letters: The Correspondence of John James Ruskin, His Wife and Their Son, John, 1801-1843*. Vols. I and II. Cornell. Rev. *TLS*, 14 December, p. 1537.
- McLean, Robert Simpson. "Altruistic Ideals versus Leisure Class Values: An Irreconcilable Conflict in John Ruskin." *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Spring 1973, pp. 347-56. Ruskin unknowingly professed leisure class ideas under the guise of altruism.
- Sherburne, James Clark. *John Ruskin or the Ambiguities of Abundance*. Harvard. Rev. *TLS*, 26 October, p. 1296.
- STEVENSON. Daiches, David. *Robert Louis Stevenson and His World*. Thames and Hudson. Rev. *TLS*, 14 December, p. 1549.
- SWINBURNE. Jordon, John O. "The Sweet Face of Mothers: Psychological Patterns in *Atalanta in Calydon*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1973, pp. 101-14. The poem is a profound study of the ambivalent relationship of mother and son.
- Landow, George P. "Swinburne to W. J. Linton and J. W. Inchbold: Two New Letters." *Modern Language Review*, April 1973, pp. 264-67. Dated 1866 and 1882, respectively.
- Wilson, F. A. C. "Swinburne and Kali: The Confessional Element in *Atalanta in Calydon*." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 215-28. Althaea is an embodiment of Kali.
- TENNYSON. Collins, Joseph J. "Tennyson and Kierkegaard." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 345-50. Questions critical attempts to demonstrate Tennyson's Kierkegaardian subjectivity, incertitude, and despair.
- Collins, Winston. "The Princess: The Education of the Prince." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 285-94. The Prince serves both a didactic and aesthetic role for Tennyson.
- Fichter, Andrew. "Ode and Elegy: Idea and Form in Tennyson's Early Poetry." *ELH*, Fall, pp. 398-427. These poems show Tennyson trying to make eighteenth-century and Romantic idioms answerable to rationalism.
- Fleissner, R. F. "The 'Cross' of 'Crossing the Bar.'" *Research Studies*, June 1973, pp. 139-40. The influence of the Pilot reference in *Lycidas*.
- Freeman, James A. "Tennyson's 'Lucretius' and the 'Breasts of Helen.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 69-75. The third dream of the breasts, sword, and fire completes the overturning of Lucretius' secure rationalism.
- Goslee, David F. "Spatial and Temporal Vision in Early Tennyson." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 323-29. Tennyson used distance to express and measure the power of the visionary experience.
- Hagen, June Steffensen. "The 'Crescent Promise' of 'Locksley Hall': A Crisis in Poetic Creativity." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1973, pp. 169-71. The poem is effective because of its psychological realism and use of a poetic crisis theme.
- Hinchliffe, Arnold P. "Tennyson: 'Ulysses.'" *Critical Survey*, Summer, pp. 64-68. The poem attempts to make sense of the two voices of the Victorian age.
- Joseph, Gerhard J. "Poe and Tennyson." *PMLA*, May 1973, pp. 418-28. Tonal and thematic convergence.
- Martin, David M. "Romantic Perspectivism in Tennyson's 'The Lady of Shalott.'" *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 255-56. The Lady cannot escape the limits of the perspective.
- McSweeney, Kerry. "The Pattern of Natural Consolation in *In Memoriam*." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer, pp. 87-99. A central feature of the poem is its pattern of natural consolation.
- Pfordresher, John. "A Bibliographic History of Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*." *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 193-218. List of manuscripts and printer's proofs in addition to the history.
- Pratt, Linda Ray. "The Holy Grail: Subversion and Revival of a Tradition in Tennyson and T. S. Eliot." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 307-21. Differing attitudes toward the legend.
- Robbins, Tony. "Tennyson's 'Ulysses': The Significance of the Homeric and Dantesque Backgrounds." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn, pp. 177-93. The poet finds the inspiration for his speaker's attitude in Odysseus and Ulysses.
- Sendry, Joseph. "Tennyson's 'Butcher's Books' as Aids to Composition." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 55-59. Tennyson found the long pages of his unusual notebooks to be a distinct help in the process of revising.
- Shaw, W. David. "Tennyson's 'Tithonus' and the Problem of Mortality." *Philological Quarterly*, April 1973, pp. 274-85. The poem gives Tennyson's most balanced and considered views on the problem of mortality.
- Slinn, E. Warwick. "Deception and Artifice in *Idylls of the King*." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring 1973, pp. 1-14. The ex-

- pendencies of deception contribute coherence and unity to the poem.
- THACKERAY, Bledsoe, Robert. "Sibi Constet: The Goddess of Castlewood and the Goddess of Walcote." *Studies in the Novel*, Summer 1973, pp. 211-19. The inevitability and simplicity of the climax in *Henry Esmond*.
- Shillingsburg, Peter L. "Miss Horrocks Again." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June 1973, pp. 92-95. Thackeray's excising the two passages on Miss Horrocks rid the novel of good material that was leading him in the wrong direction.
- Sutherland, John A. "Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*." *Explicator*, September, No. 7. Thackeray's dilemma in the last chapters.
- TROLLOPE, Hardwick, Michael. *The Osprey Guide to Anthony Trollope*. Osprey. Rev. *TLS*, 18 January, p. 43.
- Slakey, Roger L. "Trollope's Case for Moral Imperative." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, December, pp. 305-20. Trollope's sympathetic understanding of morally complex imperatives.
- Trollope, Anthony. *South Africa*. Cape Town: A. A. Balkema. Rev. *TLS*, 28 September, p. 1138. First reprint since the original edition nearly a century ago.
- WARD, Jones, Enid Huws. *Mrs. Humphrey Ward*. Heinemann.

Rev. *TLS*, 7 September, p. 1022.

- WILDE, Keefe, Robert. "Artist and Model in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*." *Studies in the Novel*, Spring 1973, pp. 63-70. Hallward's central position in the novel.
- Sussman, Herbert. "Criticism as Art: Form in Oscar Wilde's Critical Writings." *Studies in Philology*, January 1973, pp. 108-22. The importance of the form in which his critical ideas are expressed.
- YONGE, Dennis, Barbara. "The Two Voices of Charlotte Yonge." *Durham University Journal*, March 1973, pp. 181-88. Religious doubt was Yonge's blind spot.

PROJECTS—REQUESTS FOR AID

- DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI. Nell Jackson seeks letters, reviews, and manuscripts relating to *The House of Life* for a critical edition. *TLS*, 3 August, p. 912.
- WILLIAM MAKEPIECE THACKERAY. Peter L. Schillingsburg asks for any fragments of the manuscript of *Pendennis* other than those at Harvard, NYPL, and the Huntington Library. *TLS*, 21 September, p. 1092.

Staten Island Community College
City University of New York

English X News

- * Officers for 1974 are G. B. Tennyson, Chairman; Richard Tobias, Secretary. Wendell V. Harris was elected to the Executive Committee (1974-1976).
- * George Worth is serving as Program Chairman for the 1974 meeting. The topic is "Victorian Fiction," and all inquiries and manuscripts should be addressed to Professor Worth, English Department, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.
- * The topic for the 1975 meeting in San Francisco is announced as "Literature and Popular Culture." The Program Chairman is George Levine, and he writes: "We are looking for lively papers which would investigate the connections between Victorian popular culture—yellow-backs, theater, music hall, street ballads, sports, etc.—and particular works of literature or larger literary movements. We don't want the emphasis to be on straight analysis of famous works. The more we learn about popular culture itself, the better. Anything—up to and including music hall performance itself—is welcome, so long as it has, ultimately, some serious point for our understanding of Victorian literature. Send inquiries and manuscripts to George Levine, English Department, Livingston College, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. 08903 (after July 1974, English Department, SUNY at Purchase, Purchase, N.Y. 10577)."
- * John Clubbe announces that the Carlyle Seminar at the 1974 meeting will have two speakers—G. B. Tennyson, on opportunities in Carlyle research, and Michael Goldberg, on prospects for a new edition. The Dickens Society Seminar, under the supervision of Richard J. Dunn, will have as its focus the subject "Dickens and Carlyle."
- * Readers are reminded that *Victorian Poetry* in cooperation with the English 10 section of the MLA has published *A Guide to the Year's Work in Victorian Poetry and Prose*. This 130-page issue is a supplement to Frederic E. Faverty, *The Victorian Poets: A Guide to Research* (1968), and David DeLaura, *The Victorian Prose Writers: A Guide to Research* (1973), and a continuation of Richard C. Tobias' "The Year's Work in Victorian Poetry." Copies at \$4.00 each may be ordered from *Victorian Poetry*, West Virginia University Book Store, Mountainlair, Morgantown, W.Va. 26506.

Back issues of *VNL*, at a cost of \$1.50 per copy, are available in limited quantities for the following numbers: 8, 20, 23, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, and 44.