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Nonfiction as Art

George Levine

SERIOUS STUDY of any of the major works of the great Victorian writers of social and literary criticism inevitably raises questions whether their essays are legitimate objects of literary study—as, say, Dickens' novels or Tennyson's poems unquestionably are—or only a kind of secondary literature to be used as background but not themselves to be considered as art. In practice, of course, works like *Culture and Anarchy* or Mill's *Autobiography* or Ruskin's *Modern Painters* are regarded with the same sort of seriousness accorded to novels and poems, but except in particular cases—as with Newman's *Apologia*—very little has been done in the way of serious literary analysis to which, for example, *Bleak House*, or *Middlemarch*, or *In Memoriam* has been subjected.

This practice, of regarding works by prose writers like Arnold or Ruskin as art without in fact talking of them as art, corresponds to a sound instinct for which there has yet been developed only slight intellectual justification. Such works are clearly rhetorical and thus, to borrow a term from R. G. Collingwood, "magical": not art, but "art falsely so called."[1] They have not the status of works of the imagination, expressive of emotion and of the quality of experience, but rather of constructions of craft, directed at ends external to themselves. Obviously, however, works like *Culture and Anarchy* or sections of *Modern Painters*, or even such an essay as Carlyle's "Characteristics," live beyond the occasions to which they respond because for all the importance of "magic" in them they are genuinely expressive of self and experience. They created a vision as surely as Dickens' novels; and they were central in shaping the ways in which Victorians felt and saw. Just as a work of art may serve other than aesthetic ends, so rhetorical works may also be works of imagination. As Richard Ohmann points out, "Emotion enters prose not only as disguises for slipping into the reader's confidence, but as sheer expression of self."[2]

Thus, it seems to me that one of the most important activities in which critics of Victorian literature might engage would be an attempt to work out methods by which nonliterary literature can be studied and evaluated as imaginative vision—studied, that is, as art. And the problems remaining before we arrive at a workable method of analysis of prose nonfiction are enormous. It might be useful here to rehearse the arguments of Dwight Culler and Martin Svaglic,[3] who opened many of the problems but in a clearly preliminary way. The book that served as the center of their discussions—John Holloway's *The Victorian Sage*[4]—indispensable as it already is, has had no successors. All of these writers were engaged, as anyone who tackles the problem must be, with the difficulty of at once taking seriously the meaning of the works of the great Victorian prose writers (and, after all, the meaning was their central concern, not their art) and at the same time seeing the works as art. For Mr. Holloway, who is certainly willing to take seriously what the great Victorian sages mean, the problem is to explore the ways in which the sage operates, by manipulation of imagery, tone, rhetoric, and logic, in giving his view of the world imaginative reality. For Mr. Culler, this is inadequate because it pays insufficient attention to the question of the "truth" of the sage's ideas—"a metaphysical rather than a verbal" problem, as he says. And he concludes by suggesting that the study of the great Victorian works of nonfiction ought to be concerned primarily with what the writers believed. Concentration on the formal qualities of their writing largely distracts us from our central interest in reading them—their "ability to place us in a wise and meaningful relation with a real world." Mr. Svaglic's approach is more pragmatic and empirical. He suggests that although belief is certainly crucial, it is necessary to study these writers by attention to as many aspects of their prose as possible: to its rational structure, the order and the ends of its argument, the mode of reasoning employed in it, and the purpose and the problem of each particular work. The method for him then is to ask, "Into how many parts does the essay fall—and why?" And, Mr. Svaglic goes on, "the rest should gradually follow if the *why* is fully explored."

It is certainly true, as Mr. Culler says, that we go to writers like Arnold and Newman to help find for ourselves a wise and meaningful relation with a real world; but I hope it is not displaying rather too much naïveté to suggest that we go to novelists and poets for the same reason —among others. The difference lies not so much in what

1. R. G. Collingwood, *Principles of Art* (New York, 1938), Pt. I, Ch. IV.
2. See Richard Ohmann, "Prolegomena to the Analysis of Prose Style," in *English Institute Essays: 1958, Style in Prose Fiction* (New York, 1959), p. 21. Mr. Ohmann's essay is among the best introductions to the problem of analysis of prose.
3. A. Dwight Culler, "Method in the Study of Victorian Prose," *Victorian Newsletter*, No. 9 (Spring 1956), pp. 1-4; "Method in the Study of Victorian Prose: Another View," *Victorian Newsletter*, No. 11 (Spring 1957), pp. 1-5.
4. *The Victorian Sage: Studies in Argument* (London, 1958).

we read them for as in how they go about educating us. Writers of prose nonfiction set down certain views that they believe we should hold, and their relation to these views is or ought to be clear; writers of fiction and poetry tend to explore—usually without express commitment to a single solution—certain modes of experience that widen our sympathies, as George Eliot would say, and enrich our sense of the possibilities of our relation to the world. But, curiously, in certain works—for instance, Newman's *Essay on Development*—time has worked a strange alteration. Although we are engaged by the ideas or challenged by them or repelled by them, we can no longer establish a relation to the work so as to feel it as (though we recognize it as having been) part of a contemporary controversy; and this is attested to by the frequent pleasurable shocks we feel when we find Arnold or Newman saying something about their world that applies to ours.

It is useful, in this connection, to be reminded, as Northrop Frye reminds us, that "Nearly every work of art in the past had a social function in its own time, a function that was often not primarily an aesthetic function at all. The whole conception of 'works of art' as a classification for all pictures, statues, poems, and musical compositions is a relatively modern one. . . . Thus the question of whether a thing 'is' a work of art or not is one that cannot be settled by appealing to something in the nature of the thing itself."[5] Indeed, certain nineteenth-century works have become for us works of art even while they retain more than a vestige of their original controversial nature. And critics of Victorian literature need to be able to talk about them as art without ever losing the excitement that comes from belief or disbelief in some of their particular meanings.

I feel, perhaps even more strongly than Mr. Culler, that it is both impossible and unrewarding to isolate from meaning the literary qualities of a serious piece of prose nonfiction; this may be because, despite even Northrop Frye's powerful and convincing arguments,[6] the heretical view that content is not irrelevant to the quality of poetry or fiction is a sound one.[7] What one needs to do in the study of prose nonfiction that has slid gradually into the area of art is to find a way both to distinguish the art from and establish its relation to the "beliefs" embodied in it. For this reason, Holloway's approach seems particularly useful. He concentrated, in the work of the "sages," on the way they give "expression to [their] outlook imaginatively" (p. 10), on the way, that is, these writers not only expound their views but create in the very texture of their writing the kind of world that makes their views inevitable.

Such creation, it seems to me, might become the defining and limiting criterion by which to identify that class of prose works which need to be treated as art.[8] The point is that, for example, Newman's *Essay on Development* lives today for people who are not particularly interested in theology or, for that matter, in Catholicism, because Newman creates a world in that essay and establishes his own relation to it—as a character in a novel might have his relation to the fictional world established for him—so that one can be both impressed and moved by the world and the character and so that one's own sense of human possibility is extended. One can believe in that world in the same way that one believes in the world, say, of *Middlemarch*, without being obliged to follow in one's own actions what Newman felt was the inevitable practical consequence of discovering that world—*i.e.*, conversion to Catholicism. It may, indeed, seem mere sentimentality and a terrible debasement of Newman's work so to regard it. Didn't he, with particular incisiveness and moral energy, insist in the "Conclusion" of his book on the application: "And now," he says, "dear Reader, time is short, eternity is long. Put not from you what you have here found; regard it not as mere matter of present controversy; set not out resolved to refute it, and looking about for the best way of doing so; seduce not yourself with the imagination that it comes of disappointment, or disgust, or restlessness, or wounded feeling, or undue sensibility, or other weakness. Wrap not yourself round in the association of years past, nor determine that to be truth which you wish to be so, nor make an idol of cherished anticipations.

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5. Northrop Frye, *The Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 344-45.
6. Northrop Frye, *The Well-Tempered Critic* (Bloomington, 1963). See esp. pp. 111-35.
7. Wayne Booth's discussion of this problem as relevant to fiction seems equally applicable to prose nonfiction as I am discussing it here: "the implied author of each novel is someone with whose beliefs on all subjects I must largely agree if I am to enjoy his work. Of course, the same distinction must be made between myself as reader and the often very different self who goes about paying bills. . . . It is only as I read that I become the self whose beliefs must coincide with the author's. Regardless of my real beliefs and practices, I must subordinate my mind and heart to the book if I am to enjoy it to the full. The author creates, in short, an image of himself and another image of his reader; he makes his reader, as he makes his second self, and the most successful reading is the one in which the created selves, author and reader, can find complete agreement." (*The Rhetoric of Fiction* [Chicago, 1961], pp. 136-317).
8. The problem of defining the genre is essential to the entire enterprise, and it has not, by and large, been done or attempted anywhere. In the account that follows, almost any work of prose nonfiction, down to the lowliest newspaper article, would in theory at least be eligible for membership. The limiting factors, in all likelihood, would be related to the now nebulous formulation—"imaginative creation of self and world." But that is another essay.

Time is short, eternity is long."[9] But a passage such as this, for the citizen of today's living busy world, reinforces rather than weakens the tendency to treat the book as art. It is the final realization of the character, John Henry Newman, who is, after all, in however disguised a way, a central subject of the book. Newman wrote it to work out for himself the major difficulties that kept him from conversion. We watch as with total seriousness and energy he examines the problem and rises, at certain crucial moments, to marvelously convincing passages such as the one in which he establishes with Ciceronian opulence the relation between the primitive church and modern Catholicism. We watch as Newman increasingly convinces himself and begins, curiously, to apologize for the great length to which his arguments have been running. The later chapters get shorter and shorter as conviction grows on him; indeed, we watch the book becoming for him a hindrance to the action that its writing has convinced him is inevitable. And then the conclusion comes in which the full conviction emerges, and this time with none of the surface dispassionateness which marked his earlier investigations. It is impossible not to believe at this point that Newman believed; and, if one has read carefully, it is impossible not to understand the grounds on which he believed or not to have learned something about the nature of belief. The world has taken shape before our eyes. For Newman, of course, this response would be unsatisfactory; but if the work is to live outside of religious controversy and history, this, it seems to me, is the way it must live.

Mr. Culler has said, in a point relevant to my argument so far, that analyzing imagery in a work of prose exposition written with the clarity and precision of which Newman was a master is rather like carrying coals to Newcastle. "Thus," he says, "when Holloway analyzes the nature images in the *Idea of a University* and concludes from his examination that there is a naturalistic vein in Newman's thought, I am tempted to reply, 'But, of course! This is what Newman has been saying all along!' One does not need by indirections to find directions out." But this, it seems to me, is to mistake the whole purpose of Holloway's analysis, and, I'm afraid, to misrepresent it. Holloway is not trying to infer Newman's ideas from the imagery, but to show how the imagery enforces the ideas. In this instance, he is suggesting that Newman's ideas gain force beyond the merely logical and expository by being so frequently dressed in natural imagery. Holloway, then, is talking about the "Art" of Newman's *Idea of a University;* he is showing Newman at work building an imaginative world that will make his ideas more convincing.

Perhaps it will suggest how unsatisfactory current discussions of prose nonfiction at present are that, having attacked Mr. Culler's arguments in general and in detail, I have here moved back to one of his main points—that criticism of prose nonfiction should be largely engaged with what the writer believes. It is not necessary, to use Mr. Culler's example, to be an expert on political economy to talk about Ruskin's "Traffic"; nor is it necessary to be an expert on the church fathers and Catholic dogma to talk usefully about *The Essay on Development.* What one does need to know is what is *in* the essay in order to know what Ruskin or Newman believed, that is, in my terms, to understand fully the created world of the prose work. My quarrel then is not with Mr. Culler's general point, but with his notions of how it is best to arrive at an understanding of the writer's belief.

And it seems to me that we are forced to return to the equipment with which modern criticism has already supplied us in understanding the arts, and to seek out certain new and special techniques which are only now beginning to be worked out. The quality of the *Essay on Development* or the *Apologia* will depend ultimately, I would argue, on the thoroughness with which the very texture of these works demonstrates the reality of Newman's belief. And only through a study of the texture—the style, the imagery, the structure, the rhetoric, the logic—can one work out what Newman's relation to his subject really was. To put the problem more concretely and specially: what is there about the *Apologia* that made it so successful in upsetting the antecedent probability that the hostile Protestant public would come down against Newman. Why is it that, in fact, Newman's rhetoric, which is so brilliantly calculated, did not put people off, by and large, and did not reinforce the English distrust of "Popery," "casuistry," and "Priestcraft." Mr. Culler's argument that analysis of rhetoric always assumes "piercing" intelligence in the critic and an inability to see through rhetorical devices in the general audience is misleading. It may be true that a large proportion of people are untrained to deal with rhetoric and mistake for sincerity what is only a trick of language; it is also true that much technically brilliant rhetoric intensifies rather than diminishes distrust of the speaker. But the fact is, as Mr. Culler concedes, that rhetoric can be employed as well by sincerity in the service of truth as by insincerity in the service of falsehood; one might go further. It can be used

9. *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* Originally written in 1845, the year of Newman's conversion, it was revised and republished in 1878. For convenience of reference, I use here the Image Books edition (Garden City, N.Y., 1960), p. 418. This uses the 1878 text. I draw my examples from Newman throughout this essay simply as he serves as an excellent example of a writer whose prose is clearly art and whose subject is likely to be inimical to many readers.

by insincerity in the service of truth and sincerity in the service of falsehood. And as we look back on Newman's work we are at once capable of recognizing all his rhetorical tricks and of being convinced by them. The problem is how he convinces us. Ultimately we have nothing to rest our faith in (as in the case of other kinds of literature) but the text itself. What is it about Newman's prose that convinces almost every reader not initially predisposed against it of, for example, the total confidence and honesty of Newman's faith. It is possible, of course, to point to external evidence—his letters, his actions, the witness of his friends and enemies; but how can we be any more sure that Newman was not simply disguising the innermost truth of his own doubt from the world?

That is an ultimately unanswerable question; but it is also, in fact, an unreal one. The language of his public writings makes the answer as clear as any we can get about any man at any time—the faith of the man who appears in Newman's works as their creator was genuine and total. We can no more disbelieve it than we can disbelieve that Pip, in *Great Expectations*, is ridden by guilt. And if, on the one hand, we can feel it a rhetorical device that Newman writes "more frankly of the existence of doubt" than any other Victorian and that he moves as far as possible toward the position of his sceptical opponents, we also feel that he does so because his faith is so firm that he hasn't the slightest fear. And yet Newman was a calculating and psychologically perceptive writer who certainly knew this was precisely the effect his concessions were likely to have.

Rhetoric, then, is a device that can be identified fairly easily by a critic, but the discovery of it does not take one as far as one wants to go in the direction of understanding the effectiveness of a writer's art.[10] His rhetoric is effective for many reasons which need analysis—because of the context in which it appears, the peculiar and variable language in which it is expressed, its relation both to the ideas and the feelings that form the substance of his world. And thus pursuing rhetoric back beyond its real effects, to a full consideration of the way the language operates, we become involved in the construction of a "poetics" of prose nonfiction.

It would be both pretentious and absurd here even to begin to do more than hint at a tentative outline of such a poetics; but I would argue that it must begin with the assumption that any work to be studied has, in at least one of its aspects, the kind of existence we attribute to a novel or a poem. It should follow, therefore, that at least some of the kinds of analysis to which we subject poetry or fiction ought to be fruitfully applicable to such prose works. And for this reason, I am altogether convinced that, for example, the study of imagery and metaphor is here a legitimate enterprise, and that it would not be inappropriate to write an essay, in imitation of Mark Schorer's famous study, to be called "Nonfiction and the Analogical Matrix."[11] Just as the new critics had to work out a way to talk about the detailed texture of a poem and as critics of fiction have discovered the need to do the same thing for the novel (an enterprise that has proved considerably more difficult), so critics of prose nonfiction need to find a way to talk about the texture of an essay. This does not, of course, mean that studies of rhetoric and logic are irrelevant: these are two of the special operations necessary for prose nonfiction. But above all we need a way to talk about prose style: it is the style as it operates from word to word, sentence to sentence, and paragraph to paragraph that establishes a work's texture and creates its world. This, to a large extent, was what Holloway was trying to do in his book, at least for one kind of writing. In his admirable study of Newman's *Apologia* Walter Houghton tries a similar thing, and from a point of view not ultimately much different from Holloway's. "What makes the usual approach to Newman's style so sterile," he says, "(and this may be said of prose criticism in general) is the tendency to treat style as a separate entity. . . . Prose criticism needs to ask a new question: not 'What *are* the characteristics of this man's style?' but 'What do they *do*? How do they function?' or, specifically in the case of the *Apologia*, we want to know how closely the technique is the medium of felt experience."[12]

It is not, however, easy to dismiss the problem of what the characteristics are. Indeed, this seems to me the first step to discovering what they do. In practice, of course, Houghton classifies as well as concerns himself with function. In theory, then, the most useful approach to prose style would combine a fairly rigorous system of classification with fine critical perception of the function of the objects classified. It is something like this that Mr. Ohmann attempts, following his own notions of the inadequacy of merely rhetorical analysis, in his study of Shaw.[13] He tries to relate Shaw's leading ideas and attitudes to the syntactical structures Shaw most frequently employs; and to

10. See Ohmann's comments on the inadequacy of merely rhetorical analysis (p. 21).

11. See "Fiction and the 'Analogical Matrix,' " reprinted in John W. Aldridge, ed., *Critiques and Essays in Modern Criticism* (New York, 1952). He begins with R. P. Blackmur's notion, originally applied to poetry: "criticism must begin with the base of language, with the word, with figurative structure, with rhetoric as skeleton and style as body of meaning" (p. 83).

12. Walter Houghton, *The Art of Newman's Apologia* (New Haven, 1945), p. 46.

13. Richard Ohmann, *Shaw, the Style and the Man* (Wesleyan, 1962).

do this he uses a good deal of the equipment supplied by modern descriptive linguists. Even then Mr. Ohmann laments about parts of his own study that they are too intuitive.

Certainly, it is not indispensable that a critic of prose style be a trained linguist. Linguistics is apparently not yet in a position to contribute much to the study of style. But linguists can supply us with more precise analysis of syntactic forms and aid us in discovering whether in fact certain writers tend to use certain forms more than other writers. But it should not be forgotten that even to decide which turns of style are to be investigated is a critical act, as is the decision of what passages to investigate, and the distinction between types of passages. For of course it follows that when, for example, Newman is pursuing a tight logical argument, his prose will differ drastically from when he is narrating a series of events. And discriminations of this kind need at times to be extremely subtle. Finally, once the returns are all tabulated, they need to be used to confirm (or, of course, refute) our intuitional hypotheses about *how* a man's style works.

Two last general points. It would seem that, all protestations to the contrary, I have moved away from concern with "belief," except at a second or third remove. My argument has led, that is, to concern with whether or not the writers themselves believe what they say, not with whether or not I believe it. This is largely but not altogether true. I read Newman's *University Sermons* or his *Grammar of Assent* in the first instance because I want to know what he has to say, and I find myself, as I read, nodding my head in agreement or fighting every sentence because Newman is challenging some of my own most strongly held views. But at the same time as this is going on, Newman manages to hold me even where I find his ideas wholly inapplicable to my own life or altogether wrong (from my point of view, of course). And I become as much concerned with the quality of Newman's feeling and with the ways in which Newman believes as with whether I can accept his views. As soon as this second thing happens, I move from a study of the work as controversy to a study of the work as art. And the two operations are always going on together, just as they go on together in more complicated ways in my reading of poetry or fiction. But my sense of what the work is, of how it works, is dependent in large measure both on my understanding of what Newman says and of how it is possible to believe what he says; and part of my estimate of its value depends on how convincingly the ideas are presented. In a way, then, Newman's ability to convince me both that he believes and that I should believe too is one of the tests of the work's value. And again, what is true of Newman's essays is true in other complicated ways of poems and novels. But to explore this idea fully not only moves beyond the immediate concern of this essay but into the whole mammoth problem of poetry and belief.

Finally, there is the problem of the relevance to studies of particular prose works as art of considerations of facts external to the works themselves as they exist on the page. And here again, it seems to me, there is a precise parallel to criticism of poetry and fiction. We have been taught a good deal about the autonomy of works of art in the past years; but we have learned in reaction as well that *Paradise Lost*, for example, is more intelligible and effective in itself if we know something about Milton's theology. And the intensified study of Victorian literature in the past decades has brought home more effectively than anything else might that literature exists in a context, and the better we know the context the better we can understand and value the literature. Thus it is not irrelevant to one's study of George Eliot's novels to know about her relation with George Lewes or her attitudes toward religion or toward Feuerbach and Comte. It is not irrelevant to know what her explicit principles of art were and to try to see how they operate (or do not operate) in her novels, or to know the circumstances of the composition of her novels. In my very brief discussion of the *Essay on Development* I imported an external fact into my response to that work —the fact that Newman wrote the book to work out his own personal difficulties in relation to Catholic dogma and belief. He nowhere mentions this in the book proper, but this is the kind of fact that is indispensable to a treatment of the work as art. In the same manner, despite my insistence on close stylistic and structural analysis of particular prose works, I would argue that one needs to know as much as possible about their contexts—biographical and historical. Newman, for example, wrote with such a vividly present sense of his audience that it would be absurd if we didn't try to find out both what he thought his audience would be and what it in fact was.

With the continuing disintegration of a shared sense of genre, the enterprise I have been discussing here becomes increasingly important. R. G. Collingwood's argument that language itself is art seems indisputable; it is a notion that has been recognized in practice if largely ignored in theory, so that we can talk about Montaigne, Dr. Johnson, and Hazlitt as artists although their finest work is in their essays.[14] Unfortunately, however, we have few but the traditional rhetorical skills with which to deal

14. See Collingwood, pp. 295-99, for an interesting discussion of the way that this notion breaks down the barriers between genres.

with nonfiction, and these, as Ohmann and Culler make clear, are inadequate for the job. Language, like art, is enormously complex and operates in a number of ways at once; what we need to do—and what these remarks have been tentatively pointing toward—is to develop ways by which we can discover the art in any language, formally "imaginative" or not. We need, that is, to discover the ways in which language is expressive, the way it operates as self-revelation even while it purports to be objective rapportage or argument. One of the best ways to begin, I have suggested, might well be to attempt to regard great essays of the past as one regards fiction—as creations of imaginative worlds in which the writer himself becomes a character. The shift of perspective that this entails might open the way for the sorts of fruitful analysis we can now use so well on poetry and fiction. The enterprise would cross the boundaries of genre; it would also demonstrate how the notion of genre—however useful it still can be—has cut us off from large areas of genuinely creative writing that are off somewhere in the areas of nonfiction in the library stacks.

Gerard Manley Hopkins and the "Stanching, Quenching Ocean of a Motionable Mind"

Howard W. Fulweiler

Acknowledgment of the almost universal decay of an objective world view on the part of nineteenth-century poets has become something of a critical commonplace. This loss of faith, as Robert Langbaum has acutely noticed, caused the nineteenth century to produce a poetry based on individual experience rather than dogmatic system.

Hopkins seems to provide a contrast. In an age of religious doubt and uncertainty, when it seemed to most intellectuals that the traditional Christian world view was collapsing, Hopkins became a Jesuit, devoting his life and his art to the Roman Catholic Church. Hopkins seemed to have the clearly formulated, objective view of the world that other Victorian poets lacked. If his letters and poetry sometimes indicate unhappiness and wrenching personal tensions, they never indicate an intellectual doubt of his religious position. He seems never to have undergone a crisis in faith similar to those chronicled in *In Memoriam* or "Dover Beach." He clung instead to the chickencoop of faith in the flood not only with tenacity, but with confidence. The systematic Catholic theology that seemed to many Victorians to have collapsed, Hopkins not only accepted but made the subject of his poetry. Moreover, Hopkins was not a romantic medievalist, toying with Catholicism for its aesthetic values, like the young Morris, Rossetti, Wilde, or Pater. Instead he took his early training in the ascetic Anglo-Catholicism of Pusey and Liddon and was received into the Roman Catholic Church by the austere Newman himself.

Despite Hopkins' apparent singularity, under the surface we find interesting and sometimes astonishing connections to the other poets. Although there are many parallels and influences that need investigation, I should like here to consider only one parallel: Hopkins' compelling interest in the sea, which so firmly relates him to the authors of "Ulysses," "Dover Beach," or "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking."

Hopkins' journals, for instance, teem with careful descriptions of the sea. His journal for August 1872 contains four pages of careful observation of the sea, noted during a vacation on the Isle of Man, the scene incidentally of Wordsworth's sea poem, "Peele Castle," Arnold's "To a Gypsy Child," and very likely "The Forsaken Merman."[1] But far more revealing than this is Hopkins' youthful interest in mermaids, following the pattern of Tennyson and Arnold. In 1862, when he was eighteen, Hopkins wrote his erotic and evocative "A Vision of the Mermaids." In 1864 at Oxford he wrote his sea poem, "Rest," the first two verses of which were changed to "Heaven-Haven." Shortly thereafter Hopkins became interested enough in Garnett's "The Nix" to use it as the chief example in his essay on aesthetics, "On the Origin of Beauty," and to write a seven-stanza continuation of it, which has been published only with his early diaries and not in the Gardner edition of the poems.[2] Although the sea appears in many of Hopkins' poems, I shall limit my discussion to the three early poems I have listed and "The Wreck of the Deutschland," with which Hopkins opened his career.

I hope to be able to show that Hopkins' sea symbolism

1. *The Journals and Papers of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. Humphrey House (London, 1959), pp. 222-25, and Penelope Fitzgerald, "Matthew Arnold's Summer Holiday," *English*, VI (1946), 77-81.
2. *Journals*, pp. 111-14 and 64.

in these four poems, like that of Tennyson or Arnold, does not result from chance, but follows a recognizable pattern of development. I believe that the common Victorian crisis in faith, which on the surface is so strangely lacking in Hopkins, is implicit in the early sea poems. They present a conflict, both personal and artistic, that parallels Hopkins' process of conversion to the Roman Catholic Church and, significantly, the ten-year hiatus in his artistic career. The conflict is reconciled and transformed by the mature development of "The Wreck of the Deutschland." Through the symbol of the sea Hopkins was able to find on the one hand the artistic means to reconcile "experience" and Christian dogma in poetry and on the other, the psychological means to release the energy and direct the will to begin his poetic career.

II

"Whoever looks into the water," Jung has written, "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."[3] Whether "nixies," sirens, and mermaids are versions of the *anima*, as Jung suggests, or not, there can be no doubt that the youthful Hopkins, like Tennyson and Arnold, caught some in his net. "A Vision of the Mermaids," with its Keatsian and Tennysonian overtones, describes mermaids "Ris'n from the deeps to gaze on sun and heaven." In a striking sexual metaphor Hopkins describes their crowding around the speaker's rock like blown flowers,

> as when Summer of his sister Spring
> Crushes and tears the rare enjewelling,
> And boasting "I have fairer things than these"
> Plashes amidst the billowy apple-trees
> His lusty hands, in gusts of scented wind
> Swirling out bloom till all the air is blind
> With rosy foam and pelting blossom and mists
> Of driving vermeil-rain; and, as he lists,
> The dainty onyx-coronals deflowers,
> A glorious wanton. . . .

Although the mermaids sport, "careless" of the speaker, the erotic and aesthetic pleasure of the scene is marred, as it is in the similar pictures of Tennyson and Arnold.

> And a sweet sadness dwelt on everyone;
> I knew not why,—but know that sadness dwells
> On Mermaids—whether that they ring the knells
> Of seamen whelm'd in chasms of the mid-main,
> As poets sing; or that it is a pain
> To know the dusk depths of the ponderous sea,
> The miles profound of solid green, and be
> With loath'd cold fishes, far from man—or what;—
> I know the sadness but the cause know not.[4]

Here, as in Tennyson's "The Mermaid" or Arnold's "The Forsaken Merman," we have a picture of the mysterious, alien beauty of the depths. The mermaids are alluring, yet possessed of a painful and perhaps dangerous knowledge, "the dusk depths of the ponderous sea." The vision is drowned at sunset by the incoming tide which apparently "whelms" the mermaids as it did the seamen.

> A stealthy wind crept round seeking to blow,
> Linger'd, then raised the washing waves and drench'd
> The floating blooms and with tide flowing quench'd
> The rosy isles:

The speaker withdraws to escape the rising water and watches poignantly as the sea covers the vantage point from which he had observed the enticing mermaids.

> White loom'd my rock, the water gurgling o'er,
> Whence oft I watch but see those Mermaids now no more.

The plaintive sadness of the mermaids' song extends to the speaker, and the poem closes with a sense of yearning unfulfillment. The speaker is attracted to the beauty of the sea world, but fearful of its strangeness, its lonely immensities, and the danger sea knowledge may bring. The isolation of the speaker on his solitary rock, forever sundered from the sea, reminds one of the similarly stranded speaker of "Dover Beach."

The forbidding, yet compelling quality of the sea is even more pronounced in Hopkins' early poem, "Rest," which seems to indicate an inner tension symbolized by the poet's attitude toward the sea. First appearing in a diary of 1864, "Rest" concerns a person who is torn between two attitudes toward the sea, much as the speaker of the Old English "Sea-Farer." The opening stanzas show an affinity to Tennyson's "Lotos-Eaters" in their desire for peace, away from the dangers of the cruel sea.

> I have desired to go
> Where springs not fail;

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3. *Archetypes of the Collective Unconscious* in *The Basic Writings of C. G. Jung*, ed. Violet S. de Laszlo (New York, 1959), pp. 308-9.
4. All quotations from Hopkins' poetry are taken from *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. W. H. Gardner (3d ed.; New York, 1948), except for the continuation of "the Nix" that appears only in *Journals*, p. 64.

To fields where flies not the unbridled hail,
And a few lilies blow.
I have desired to be
Where havens are dumb;
Where the green water-heads may never come,
As in the unloved sea.

or

I have desired to be
Where gales not come;
Where the green swell is in the havens dumb
And sunder'd from the sea.

As in the earlier "Vision of the Mermaids," the ocean is alien, "unloved," and the speaker. like the speaker of "A Vision" is "sunder'd from the sea"—or at least, he hopes to be. Yet this desire for "rest," safety—a static security away from the dangerous sea knowledge is modified by a compulsion to undertake a sea quest in the second half of the poem.

I must hunt down the prize
Where my heart lists.
Must see the eagle's bulk, render'd in mists,
Hang of a treble size.

Must see the waters roll
Where the seas set
Towards wastes where round the ice-blocks tilt
and fret
Not so far from the pole.

In these lines from Hopkins' early diary we have the need to "hunt down a prize" on the farthest reaches of the ocean, a prize hidden somewhere among wastes and mists. The ambiguous dialectic of the poem reminds us of Tennyson's ambiguous night journey where Ulysses yearns "in desire / To follow knowledge like a sinking star, / Beyond the utmost bound of human thought." Hopkins' last sea poem before his conversion returned to the mermaid theme.

Richard Garnett's "The Nix" is a ballad related to the many tales of mermaids, nixies, neckans, and so on, who lure young girls or young men to the depths. In this case, the speaker of the poem is a girl whose beauty has been envied by a "Nix":

The crafty Nix, more false than fair,
Whose haunt in arrowy Iser lies,
She envied me my golden hair.
She envied me my azure eyes.

The Nix lures the girl "to her crystal grot" and there exchanges magically her physical appearance for the girl's "Her locks of jet, her eyes of flame / Were mine, and hers my semblance fair." Although the speaker pleads with the Nix to restore her looks,

She smiles in scorn, she disappears,
And here I sit and see no sun,
My eyes of fire are quench'd in tears,
And all my darksome locks undone.

With these lines Garnett's poem ends. Hopkins' continuation has the Nix (now with the blue eyes and blond hair of the girl) practicing her wiles on the speaker's lover, Fabian.

He sees her, O but he must miss
A something in her face of guile,
And relish not her loveless kiss
And wonder at her shallow smile.

The only person who can help the girl regain her yellow hair and blue eyes is a witch who lives on "the bored and bitten rocks / Not so far outward in the sea." The girl, however, is afraid of such a sea journey and is also afraid of the consequences on land if she does take the journey. Hopkins' portion of the poem ends in the unresolved tension of the following stanzas.

Alas! but I am all at fault,
Nor locks nor eyes shall win again.
I dare not taste the thickening salt,
I cannot meet the swallowing main.

Or if I go, she stays meanwhile
Who means to wed or means to kill,
And speeds uncheck'd her murderous guile
Or wholly winds him to her will.

Hopkins' addition is revealing. He has taken a poem essentially finished and resolved (though unhappily) and changed it to an unresolved mental struggle. Here we have a supernatural creature of the sea, a nix, who is capable of robbing one of one's identity through a magic transformation. In Hopkins' addition, the sea is also capable of a retransformation back to one's true identity—but at the cost of conquering one's fear of the sea by meeting "the swallowing main," to entrust oneself to the sea-witch who can make the transformation. The dilemma is similar to that of "A Vision" and "Rest": Does the speaker dare to go to sea or not?

The psychic conflict expressed in these early poems through the evocative symbol of the sea is in some ways equivalent to those mirrored in some of Tennyson's and Arnold's early sea poems, say "The Hesperides" or "The Forsaken Merman." I believe that the poignant conflict

reflected in these three early sea poems is a significant cause for the well-known hiatus in Hopkins' artistic career, following his entry into the Society of Jesus. On a personal level the question for Hopkins was how to keep his identity as a Jesuit and still venture into the beautiful, yet dangerous world of art. On an artistic level, the question was how to keep the identity of one's stable dogmatic belief and still entrust it to the ever-moving ocean of experience. It was ten years after "The Nix" before Hopkins could reconcile these dilemmas. His solution came fittingly in the gigantic ocean rhythms of "The Wreck of the Deutschland." The answer given by the sea in "The Wreck" is the answer of the Christian gospel: one must lose one's identity to gain it; one must test one's belief to keep it.

III

Most critics would agree that a theme of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" is the paradox of God's mercy and His mastery. The poem attempts to answer the classic question: how can a merciful God inflict pain and death on His creatures? In the archetypal and complexly ambivalent symbol of the sea Hopkins found a parallel to these two aspects of God: the merciful Father versus the stern and terrifying Master of the universe. But there is another and perhaps more interesting paradox in the poem, also expressed through water imagery, that relates Hopkins to the subjective, experiential attitudes of his age, while it retains the systematic theological orthodoxy so important to a Jesuit poet. This added paradox I take to be the external power of God on the one hand, buffeting and mastering man from without, as opposed to the internal, indwelling grace of God on the other that transforms him to a different person, that in fact gives him divine characteristics, makes him act

> in God's eye what in God's eye he is—
> Christ—for Christ plays in ten thousand places.
> Lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his
> To the Father through the features of men's faces.

The profound meaning of "The Wreck of the Deutschland" is found then in the tension between God acting externally through the storm of the elements and God acting internally through the fluid entry of Grace into the soul. Although man is struck with "an anvil-ding" God's will is forged with "fire in him." God may come "at once, as once at a crash Paul, / Or as Austin, a lingering-out sweet skill." Although Hopkins, unlike many of his contemporaries, held certain dogmatic statements about God to be factually and objectively true, their significance in the poem is always experienced internally. Hopkins' method in "The Wreck" is not to make statements about the attributes of God, but to explore their effects on his own heart and the heart of the drowned nun. Only in the ocean could Hopkins find a symbol large enough to join both the external and internal manifestations of God and to unite them with the inner experience of man.

The poem opens powerfully with a metaphysical identification of God and the sea. God is described in the first stanza with a series of three appositives:

> God! giver of breath and bread;
> World's strand, sway of the sea;
> Lord of living and dead.

The metaphor of God as sand and water, shore and ocean, is an important key to our understanding of the poem and is repeated several times. In the opening lines, it brings together in a kind of prologue to the poem, the paradox Hopkins will develop. God is both the finite, objective, and stationary shore (as Christ takes on the finite nature of man through the Incarnation) and the infinite, eternal, yet moving sea, a sea that so often in the nineteenth century served to symbolize not only God but the "divine" depths of man himself, created in God's image. The passengers of "The Deutschland" meet God by striking "the combs of a smother of sand" in the ocean. "The goal was a shoal, of a fourth the doom to be drowned."

The metaphor of sand and water is continued in stanza 4. Yet here it is skillfully modified to apply to the condition of man and to establish a symbolic relation between man and God.

> I am soft sift
> In an hourglass—at the way
> Fast, but mined with a motion, a drift,
> And it crowds and it combs to the fall;
> I steady as a water in a well, to a poise, to a pane,
> But roped with, always, all the way down from the tall
> Fells or flanks of the voel, a vein
> Of the gospel proffer, a pressure, a principle, Christ's gift.

Here the sand implies mutability and death. Man's impermanence is "a motion, a drift," as the sand "crowds and it combs to the fall." The word "combs," of course, anticipates another monument to man's impermanence, "the combs of a smother of sand" where the ship is drawn "Dead to the Kentish Knock." Yet stanza 4 offers an image of hope to counteract the downward running sands of the hourglass. Man can also be viewed not as impermanent, always falling, but "steady as a water in a well."

The steadiness of the water within the well is made possible only by the stream of water from the heights to which it is "roped," just as the heart within man is kept "steady" by the "vein / Of the gospel proffer . . . Christ's gift." The image of water filling a well is connected in stanza 7 to the swelling of the "high flood," to the gushing, flushing, and brimming of stanza 8, and finally in the closing prayer of the poem, addressed to the "Dame, at our door /Drowned." Even here, the water-sand imagery is continued, for the nun is "Drowned, and among our shoals."

The objective fact of the Incarnation is insisted on by Hopkins in stanzas 6, 7, and 8. Yet when Hopkins expresses this dogmatic summary of his belief through the characteristic image of water he relates it to universal human experience. God's mystery, his "stress and his stroke," comes not "out of his bliss," "Nor first from heaven," but comes from the fact of the Incarnation. Through the image of the river,[5] which ultimately joins the sea (as the stream of stanza 4 joins the well), Hopkins unites the time-bound, finite situation of man to the infinite and eternal person of God, the God Who entered man's situation in the Incarnation. It is the Incarnation "That guilt is hushed by, hearts are flushed by and melt." It "rides time like riding a river." Not only is the mystery infinite and eternal, but it is directly related to man in time.

> It dates from day
> Of his going in Galilee;
> Warm-laid grave of a womb-life grey;
> Manger, maiden's knee;
> The dense and the driven Passion, and frightful sweat;
> Thence the discharge of it, there its swelling to be,
> Though felt before, though in high flood yet—
> What none would have known of it, only the heart, being hard at bay. . . .

Although direct human experience at its deepest—"the heart, being hard at bay"—might know the truth about God, the Incarnation "Is out with it!" Although experiencing the full reality of "the hero of Calvary" is likened to biting into a juicy "lush-kept plush-capped sloe," the imagery is consonant with the river and well imagery of the preceding stanzas. The sloe will "Gush!—flush the man, the being with it, sour or sweet, / Brim, in a flash, full!" In the image of brimming full Hopkins anticipates the surrender of the nun to drowning and the filling of man with Christ's Spirit, the Holy Ghost.

Stanza 13 is a terrifying, onomatopoetic description of the storm wind rising over the ocean deeps.

> And the sea flint-flake, black-backed in the regular blow,
> Sitting Eastnortheast, in cursed quarter, the wind;
> Wiry and white-fiery and whirlwind-swivelled snow
> Spins to the widow-making unchilding unfathering deeps.

Here Hopkins pictures an unknown, mastering God through the images of the sea and whirlwind. Besides the reference to the whirlwind of the Book of Job, there is another Biblical reference in the last line of the stanza that once more identifies the sea as God and enriches the complexity of its symbolism by allusion. Not only does the phrase, "widow-making unchilding unfathering deeps" suggest the strange loneliness of the mermaids' "ponderous sea," but it relates the ocean to the words of Christ: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me: and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." (Matthew 10: 37) These words of Christ had a very special relevance for both Hopkins and the five nuns, who gave up family and friends to enter the religious life.

After the *Deutschland* strikes the "smother of sand," Hopkins makes it clear that it is God Who is Himself responsible for "washing away" the lives.

> They fought with God's cold—
> And they could not and fell to the deck
> (Crushed them) or water (and drowned them) or rolled
> With the sea-romp over the wreck.

Yet the tall nun's calling over the tumult touches the heart of the poet in its "bower of bone," and again the relation between God and man, in this case the poet, is established by the symbol of water. God's washing away of the lives in the storm arouses a response of washing, melting tears in the heart of the poet. "Why, tears! is it? tears; such a melting, a madrigal start! / Never-eldering revel and river of youth. . . ." Similarly the waves of "rash smart sloggering brine" blind the nun, yet paradoxically allow her to see one thing, to have "one fetch in her," (to use Hopkins' wave metaphor). The waves outside call forth a responding wave within: the external battering of God makes possible her internal vision of Christ. God is seen

5. John Keating interprets the river as "the indifference and irreligion that stream through history" in *The Wreck of the Deutschland: An Essay and Commentary* (Kent, Ohio, 1963), p. 64. This view seems to me impossible in the light of the images of flushing, melting, discharging, swelling, and flooding, that all refer to the mystery of the Incarnation of Christ.

as the transcendent, pursuing hunter, the "Orion of light," the "martyr-master," but He is also the wild water in which the nuns are "sisterly sealed," "To bathe in his fall-gold mercies."

In stanza 25 Hopkins ponders the meaning of the tall nun's cry for Christ.

> The majesty! what did she mean?
> Breathe, arch and original Breath
> Is it love in her of the being as her lover had been?
> Breathe, body of lovely Death.

Hopkins seems to be asking if the nun was calling for death, because Christ, her lover, had also died. Is the nun, like Whitman in "Out of the Cradle" yearning for death with a nearly erotic desire? Hopkins seems to deny this in the next lines. Even Christ's disciples themselves had no such death wish. "They were else-minded then, altogether, the men / Woke thee with a *we are perishing* in the weather of Gennesareth." The nun was not neurotically in love with death, nor was she calling for "the crown," nor "for ease." Instead she was offering herself in total surrender to Christ.

> there then! the Master
> Ipse, the only one, Christ, King, Head:
> He was to cure the extremity where he had cast her;
> Do, deal, lord it with living and dead;
> Let him ride, her pride, in his triumph, despatch and have done with his doom there.

Although the image of Christ the King riding in his triumph reminds us of the Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem, this passage also hints at the spiritual consummation of the marriage between Christ and His bride. This sexual aspect of the imagery is made clear in stanza 30, where the nun is connected to the Virgin Mary, who conceived Jesus by the Holy Ghost.

> Jesu, heart's light
> Jesu, maid's son
> What was the feast followed the night
> Thou hadst glory of this nun?—
> Feast of the one woman without stain.
> For so conceived, so to conceive thee is done;
> But here was heart-throe, birth of a brain,
> Word, that heard and kept thee and uttered thee outright.

The feast that followed the night Jesus had "glory of this nun" was of course the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. As Christ, the Word, was conceived and brought forth by the immaculately conceived Virgin Mary, so Christ, the Word, was "conceived" and brought forth by the nun in her agony.

Stanza 29 praises the nun for her perseverance and acceptance of Christ's will, continuing the intricate puns on "word."

> Ah! there was a heart right!
> There was single eye!
> Read the unshapeable shock night
> And knew the who and the why;
> Wording it how but by him that present and past,
> Heaven and earth are word of, worded by?—
> The Simon Peter of a soul! to the blast
> Tarpeian-fast, but a blown beacon of light.

"The Simon Peter of a soul," fast to the Tarpeian rock no doubt carried an allusion to Peter's faithfulness and Christ's response in Matthew 16: 18: "thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Another incident recounted in Matthew's gospel is even closer to the nun's surrender of her life to the sea. When the disciples' ship was in "the midst of the sea, tossed with waves," by a "contrary" wind, Jesus came to them, "walking on the sea." When Jesus had calmed their first fears, Peter said, "Lord, if it be thou, bid me come to thee on the water. And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water to go to Jesus. But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand and caught him. . . ." (Matthew 14: 24-31). Another parallel is Peter's plunging into the sea to meet the risen Christ in John 21: 7.

The nun, then, who is brought to her death by the external power of God, surrenders to the inner prompting of the Holy Ghost to be a bell of warning to the other poor sheep, the "Comfortless unconfessed of them" who are dying on the *Deutschland*.

> lovely-felicitous Providence
> Finger of a tender of, O of a feathery delicacy, the breast of the
> Maiden could obey so, be a bell to, ring of it, and
> Startle the poor sheep back! is the shipwrack then a harvest, does tempest carry the grain for thee?

The surrender of the nun to Christ and Hopkins' exploration of its particular significance are treated in stanzas 24-31. In the last four stanzas of the poem, 32-35, Hopkins closes with a cosmic universalizing of his theme, offered in the form of a prayer of adoration. Both the

theme of God's mastery and mercy and the related theme of His outer and inner relation to man is summed up in a series of majestic archetypal sea metaphors.

> I admire thee, master of the tides,
> Of the Yore-flood, of the year's fall;
> The recurb and the recovery of the gulf's sides,
> The girth of it and the wharf of it and the wall;
> Stanching, quenching ocean of a motionable mind;
> Ground of being, and granite of it: past all
> Grasp God, throned behind
> Death with a sovereignty that heeds but hides, bodes but abides.

As John Keating has noted, three scriptual treatments of the sea have possibly contributed to the first four lines of this stanza: God's moving over the waters in the creation, the deluge, and God's control of the deeps of the sea in the Book of Job.[6] This stanza also completes the metaphysical and psychological identification of God with both sea and shore, which was begun in the first stanza. God is not only the "stanching, quenching ocean" of the "motionable mind" of man. He is "The recurb and the recovery of the gulf's sides, / The girth of it and the wharf of it and the wall." Although the nuns must be drowned in His deeps, He is the "Ground of being, and granite of it." While man is viewed as running sand and water in a well, God is seen as the ultimate forms of these two materials, solid granite and the ocean from which all water comes.[7]

In stanza 33 God abides

> With a mercy that outrides
> The all of water, an ark
> For the listener; for the lingerer with a love glides
> Lower than death and the dark;
> A vein for the visiting of the past-prayer, pent in prison,
> The-last-breath penitent spirits—the uttermost mark
> Our passion-plunged giant risen,
> The Christ of the Father compassionate, fetched in the storm of his strides.

As the ark was a place of safety in the "Yore-flood" of the Old Testament, now Christ offers salvation "for the listener" on the stormy sea. I take the last three lines of the stanza to be an independent clause with "uttermost," which refers to "The-last-breath penitent spirits," as the subject and "mark" as the verb.[8] The one "fetch" in the nun has "fetched" "The Christ of the Father compassionate." Christ, "striding" across the water to the penitents recalls His walking on the water to Peter and His symbolic reception into the disciples' ship of John 6: 18-21. "And the sea arose by reason of a great wind that blew. So when they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs, they saw Jesus walking on the sea, and drawing nigh unto the ship: and they were afraid. But he saith unto them, It is I; be not afraid. Then they willingly received him into the ship: and immediately the ship was at the land whither they went."

Stanza 34 continues the archetypal water symbolism for God's coming into the world:

> Not a dooms-day dazzle in his coming nor dark as he came;
> Kind, but royally reclaiming his own;
> A released shower, let flash to the shire, not a lightning of fire hard-hurled.

Not only does God come as the "living water" of John's gospel, or as the Holy Ghost descending to the Virgin, but there is also a hint of the mythic pattern of Zeus descending to Danae in a golden shower, or the rains of the Sky Father impregnating the earth.

The water imagery with its filling, brimming, flushing, gushing, stanching, and quenching among the sands of human life is at last completed in the stark, powerful monosyllables of the final stanza:

> Dame, at our door
> Drowned, and among our shoals,
> Remember us in the roads, the heaven-haven of the Reward.

The nun's "heaven-haven" of the early poem is to be won only by braving the danger of the sea. The drowning of the tall nun "at our door" and "among our shoals" leads to the final prayer for the return of the King to England, for the transformation of the nun to be similarly consummated in "English souls," for the indwelling Holy Ghost to be *our* hearts' fire.

> Let him easter in us, be a dayspring to the dimness of us, be a crimson-cresseted east,
> More brightening her, rare-dear Britain, as his reign rolls,
> Pride, rose, prince, hero of us, high-priest,

6. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
7. See Keating, p. 101.
8. See Elisabeth Schneider, "Hopkins' *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, Stanza 33," *The Explicator*, XVI (1958), Item 46.

Our hearts' charity's hearth's fire, our thoughts'
chivalry's throng's Lord.

IV

Another poet-priest, John Keble, once wrote that "Poetry . . . lends Religion her wealth of symbols and similes: Religion restores these again to poetry—'Clothed with so splendid a radiance that they appear to be no longer merely symbols, but to partake . . . of the nature of sacraments."[9] The term "sacrament," an outward and visible sign of inward and spiritual grace, best describes the paradox of the transcendent and immanent God, the fearful immensities of the great Other, Who in Hopkins' poem becomes "*Our* hearts' charity's hearth's fire." It is the sacramental vision of the universe in "The Wreck of the Deutschland" that allows Hopkins to resolve the personal and artistic conflict of his early sea poems. The unfulfilled eroticism of the mermaids is transformed into the divine love of Christ for the nun, who "bathes" in his "fall-gold mercies" as the ocean in the early poem "drench'd / The floating blooms" and "quench'd / The rosy isles." Unlike the hesitant girl in "The Nix" or the isolated nun of "Heaven-Haven," the nun of "The Wreck" entrusts herself to the sea, and in her total self-giving accepts God's transformation to find her true identity. It may be presumptuous to conclude with certainty that Hopkins was solving a personal conflict in "The Wreck" by establishing the compatibility of his religious and artistic profession, and thus releasing the energy to begin a poetic career that opened with his masterpiece—although that is what I believe. We may certainly say, however, that the symbol of the sea showed him the artistic means to express his religious beliefs in a language his contemporaries—and we—could understand—a "poetry of experience."

University of Missouri

'The Primæval Fountain of Human Nature': Mill, Carlyle, and the French Revolution

Henry Ebel

ISAIAH BERLIN once referred to "philosophers with an optimistic view of human nature, and a belief in the possibility of harmonizing human interests, such as Locke or Adam Smith and, in some moods, Mill. . . ."[1] The gist of his observation is unimpeachable, but "moods," as applied to John Stuart Mill, does not strike the right note. For in reading one's way through the corpus of Mill's published work and through his letters, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that we are dealing, not with mere intellectual vagaries and self-contradictions, but with a *series of consistencies* spaced, often, over the most remarkable stretches of time and dependent, sometimes, on metaphorical rather than logical continuity. When we suddenly find Mill repeating in *On Liberty* a thought Harriet Taylor had expressed to him twenty-six years before (in a singularly incoherent letter),[2] or when we discover the astonishing

9. John Keble, *Lectures on Poetry*, trans. E. K. Francis (1912) II, Lecture XL, quoted in W. H. Gardner, *Gerard Manley Hopkins: A Study of Poetic Idiosyncrasy in Relation to Poetic Tradition* (London, 1961), II, 238.

1. Isaiah Berlin, *Two Concepts of Liberty* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 9-10.
2. The letter is dated September 6, 1833. What Mill once called his "instinct of closeness" had apparently brought her to the brink of despair—"It is but that the only being who has ever called forth all my faculties of affection is the only one in whose presence I ever felt constraint"—and she had almost become convinced that his constitution lacked what she called "energy": by which she seems to have meant not a lack of industriousness but that generation and out-flow of "feeling"—impulse and emotion—which she stresses elsewhere in her letters. A day before she wrote the letter, however, Mill had disburdened himself to her and her fears had evaporated: there was no lack of "energy" in her lover's character; there was no doubt that he *had* a character. "I am quite sure that want of energy is a defect, would be a defect if it belonged to the character, but that thank heaven I am sure it does not. It is such an opposite to the sort of character." (F. A. Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Friendship and Subsequent Marriage* [London, 1951], pp. 47-48.)

   In Chapter Three of *On Liberty* Mill defends strong impulses, desire, and feeling as necessary—indeed, from the point of view of society, desirable—parts of human character: "Strong impulses are but another name for energy. Energy may be turned to bad uses but more good may always be made of an energetic nature, than of an indolent and impassive one. . . . A person whose desires and impulses are his own—are the expression of his own nature, as it has been developed and modified by his own culture—is said to have a character. One whose desires and impulses are not his own, has no character, no more than a steam-engine has a character. If, in addition to being his own, his impulses are strong, and are under the government of a strong will, he has an energetic character. Whoever thinks that individuality of desires and impulses should not be encouraged to unfold itself, must maintain that society has no need of strong natures . . . and that a high general average of energy is not desirable." (John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* [London, 1859], pp. 108-9).

   Mill's language here seems not to be anticipated in his earlier published writings or letters. In the 1830's his own preferred para-

continuity between his earliest publication, which saw print when he was seventeen, and an essay he wrote when he was forty-eight,[3] we may begin to suspect that Mill's work manifests an unusual tenacity of theme and concern, an underlying (sometimes underground) conservation of thought.

Remarkable as these continuities are, they may seem to do no more, in themselves, than drive another nail into the already studded coffin of Mill's reputation as a systematic thinker.[4] They bring us to an intellectual dead end, however, only if we ascribe to Mill the wrong kind of relevance: if we treat him (and he has occasionally been so treated) as one of our journalist contemporaries who poses for us only the problem of acceptance or refutation. The recognition that there is an underlying pattern in Mill's inconsistencies, that they represent a deep-rooted schism rather than superficial flightiness, can have, on the contrary, a liberating effect. It makes it possible for us to see Mill, like Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold, as a study in significant conflict, a man who embodies the peculiar dilemmas and disjunctions of modernity. When we have amalgamated him to the central course of Victorian prose, moreover, Mill's sporadic shifts into highly charged image and metaphor can be seen, not as excrescences on the otherwise "logical" movement of his thought, but—like the figurative language of Newman, Ruskin, Arnold, and Carlyle—as attempts to convey tonalities and convictions which it has become increasingly difficult for discursive prose to sustain. It is probably a truism to say that long before the time of his classic paired essays on Bentham and Coleridge, the quality of Mill's prose shows him already struggling between rationalist and romantic possibilities, between mechanistic and organic conceptions of human nature, between the heritage of James Mill and the liberation he was forced to achieve for himself. It is perhaps less true to assert that the pattern of his life was not one of catastrophe and salvation, of "a crisis in my mental history" followed by a healing synthesis of contrary traditions, but of *continuous* crisis; crisis, moreover, in which we cannot dissociate the intellectual elements from the personal. Long after he had passed the nadir described in Chapter Five of the *Autobiography*, Mill was portrayed by Carlyle in language whose vividness does full justice to the tension and disjunction it describes:

> There was little sorrow visible in their house [the Mill-Taylor ménage]; or rather none, nor any human feeling at all; but the strangest *unheimlich* kind of composure and acquiescence,—as if under a deadly pressure of Fear, all human spontaneity had taken refuge in invisible corners. Mill himself talked much, and not stupidly, far from that, but without emotion of any discernible kind: he seemed to me to be withering or withered into the miserablest metaphysical *scrae*, body and mind, that I had almost ever met with in the world. His eyes go twinkling and jerking with wild lights and twitches, his head is bald, his face brown and dry: poor fellow, after all. . . .[5]
>
> One thing only, is painfully clear to me, that poor Mill is in a bad way. Alas, tho' he speaks not, perhaps his tragedy is more tragical than that of any of us: this very item that he does not speak, that he never could speak, but was to sit imprisoned as in thick ribbed ice, voiceless, uncommunicating, is it not the most tragical circumstance of all?[6]

And even when Mill was in his fifties his own self was so far from settled that the death of his wife recalled in him and made him the mouthpiece for not only her thoughts but her very vocabulary.

Mill, then, is a study in conflict. And nowhere do we see a more sustained refraction of this inner clash than in his successive dealings with the French Revolution. For Mill, as for Carlyle, the Revolution was an intellectual pivot, a point that he crossed and recrossed in the development of his thought.

In 1825 a steely nineteen-year-old utilitarian wrote in the pages of the *Westminster Review* that "no people which had ever enjoyed a free press, could have been guilty of the excesses of the French Revolution."[7] In 1828 the same young man, only recently emerged from the dark

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phrase for Harriet Taylor's "energy" was "passion." See his letter to W. J. Fox, written on either November 5 or November 6, 1833: *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, Vols. XII and XIII: *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill 1812-1848*, ed. Francis E. Mineka (Toronto, 1963), pp. 185-89.

3. Mill's essay, "Nature," is of course an expansion of the letter printed in *The Republican*, VII (January 3, 1823), 25-26.
4. "In reading Mill it is surely more profitable to look for the wood than the trees. This, certainly, is Sir Isaiah Berlin's method, and the result is a fascinating lecture ['John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life'] in which Mill emerges as he was—confused, lacking in logical rigour, incapable of adapting examples to the principles they were intended to illustrate, and obsessed with one infinitely valuable conviction, that personal idiosyncrasy is immensely precious" ("The Wood and the Trees," *TLS*, March 10, 1961, p. 153.)
5. *Thomas Carlyle: Letters to His Wife*, ed. Trudy Bliss (London, 1953), p. 112. Froude's transcription of the same letter (*Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London 1834-1881*, I [New York, 1898], 64) omits the words "as if under a deadly pressure of Fear" and differs at a number of points in punctuation. Froude's version was quoted by Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor*, pp. 84-85.
6. *Letters of Thomas Carlyle to John Stuart Mill, John Sterling and Robert Browning*, ed. Alexander Carlyle (London, 1923), pp. 197-98.
7. [John Stuart Mill], "Law of Libel and Liberty of the Press," *Westminster Review*, III (April 1825), 295.

wood of a nearly suicidal depression, reviewed Scott's *Life of Napoleon* in the pages of the same periodical and declared:

> The French Revolution will never be more than superficially understood, by the man who is but superficially acquainted with the nature and movements of popular enthusiasm. That mighty power, of which, but for the French Revolution, mankind perhaps would never have known the surpassing strength—that force which converts a whole people into heroes, which binds an entire nation together as one man, was able, not merely to overpower all other forces, but to draw them into its own line, and convert them into auxiliaries to itself. . . . The rules by which such a period is to be judged of, must not be common rules: generalizations drawn from the events of ordinary times, fail here of affording even that specious appearance of explanation, which is the utmost that such empirical philosophy can ever accomplish. The man who is yet to come, the philosophical historian of the French Revolution . . . will draw his philosophy from the primæval fountain of human nature itself.[8]

As a shift of opinion, this central passage of an essay to which Mill attached particular importance[9] parallels, with uncanny precision, the rethinking of human psychology undertaken independently by Thomas Carlyle, whom Mill was not to meet for another three years. Carlyle at twenty-six, like Mill at nineteen, had taken a remote and mechanical view of the French Revolution. In his encyclopedia article on Necker, written in 1821, Carlyle described the revolutionaries as "an excited and ignorant mob . . . drunk with its new-found power, and indulging the most chimerical expectations from the actual posture of affairs." The mob's irrational behavior he attributed to their being "perpetually misled by wicked agitators," chief among them the wicked and hypocritical Mirabeau—subsequently one of Carlyle's "great men" and the central hero of *The French Revolution*.[10] By 1828, when Mill wrote of "the primæval fountain of human nature," Carlyle had already extrapolated his own psychology of depth, with its characteristically subterranean imagery, in his essay on Richter (1827). The theme was a recurrent one in his prose, culminating in the greatest of his essays, "Characteristics," where Carlyle applied the term "the Unconscious" to the mysterious depths of the human mind; and this prescient vertical geography points to the dominating volcano-metaphor of *The French Revolution*.

For four years Mill and Carlyle ran in nearly parallel grooves without touching, a phenomenon that struck Mill anew when he came to write the *Autobiography*:

> What truths [Carlyle's earlier writings] contained, though of the very kind which I was already receiving from other quarters, were presented in a form and vesture less suited than any other to give them access to a mind trained as mine had been. . . . Instead of my having been taught anything, in the first instance, by Carlyle, it was only in proportion as I came to see the same truths through media more suited to my mental constitution, that I recognized them in his writings.[11]

Mill notes in the same context that when Carlyle showed him the manuscript of *Sartor Resartus*, "I made little of it; though when it came out about two years afterwards in Fraser's Magazine I read it with enthusiastic admiration and the keenest delight."[12] And it is precisely in *Sartor Resartus*, where Carlyle gives a yet wider ramification to his psychology of the Unconscious, that the two grooves seem on the verge of contact. "Witchcraft," Teufelsdröckh declares,

> and all manner of Spectre-work, and Demonology [sic], we have now named Madness, and Diseases of the Nerves. Seldom reflecting that still the new question comes upon us: What is Madness, what are Nerves? Ever, as before, does Madness remain a mysterious-terrific, altogether *infernal* boiling up of the Nether Chaotic Deep, through this fair-painted Vision of Creation, which swims thereon, which we name the Real. . . . In every the wisest Soul, lies a whole world of internal Madness, an authentic Demon-Empire; out of which, indeed, his world of Wisdom has been creatively built together, and now rests there, as on its dark foundations does a habitable flowery Earth-rind.[13]

But Carlyle seems to have made the transition from in-

8. [John Stuart Mill], "Scott's *Life of Napoleon*," *Westminster Review*, IX (April 1828), 255-56.
9. On January 25, 1828, Mill wrote to Charles Comte: "Je m'occupe depuis quelque temps d'une critique de la Vie de Bonaparte par Sir Walter Scott. . . . Je ne me dissimule pas combien la tâche que je me suis imposée est au dessus de mes forces; mais on est ici dans une si crasse ignorance sur la révolution, et tous, jusqu'aux individus les plus instruits, ont des idées tellement ridicules sur la nature de cette crise politique, qu'avec mon peu de lumières et de connaissance des faits j'ai crû pouvoir faire quelque chose pour dessiler les yeux de mes compatriotes." (*The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill*, p. 21.) See also *Autobiography of John Stuart Mill* (New York, 1944), p. 92.
10. *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia* (Edinburgh, 1830), XV, 318.
11. *Autobiography*, pp. 122-23.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
13. "Sartor Resartus. In Three Books," *Fraser's Magazine*, X (July 1834), 85.

dividual to communal psychology only under Mill's direct influence and after the period of *Sartor Resartus*.[14]

The movement of Mill and Carlyle toward closely comparable metaphors of psychic force suggests both the essential rightness of M. H. Abrams' argument in *The Mirror and the Lamp* and its limitations. In a crucial passage Abrams notes that the metaphor of uninhibited flow "in such critics as Keble, Carlyle, and John Stuart Mill" constituted a post-Wordsworthian "elimination, for all practical purposes, of the conditions of the given world, the requirements of the audience, and the control by conscious purpose and art as important determinants of a poem. . . ."[15] But Mill, some years before he began to write on poetry, forged his flow-metaphor in a *political* context. Carlyle, in effect, underwent the same process in reverse, crystallizing his psychic geography (and, it may be added, his imagery of Titanism) in the early essay on Richter; extending it thereafter to comprehend the irrational and violent potentialities of the individual; and finally, under the catalytic influence of Mill, moving it into the realm of politics. One of the major pieces of unfinished business in the study of the nineteenth century is to explore precisely this relationship between poetic, personal, and political force as it was conceived by the Romantics and their followers.

II

Mill in his review of Scott, like Carlyle in his history, recovered the *felt experience* of the French Revolution as a charismatic upheaval of humanity. His own mental crisis, his concomitant discovery of the power of human emotions, and his native courage made it possible for him to explore a realm of political awareness that had been steadily repressed in England after the September Massacres and the rise of Napoleon. For Mill in 1828 as for Carlyle in 1837 the Revolution did not break into two simple halves, into a dawn when it was bliss to be alive and a time when

> a terrific reservoir of guilt
> And ignorance filled up from age to age,
> That could no longer hold its loathsome charge,
> . . . burst and spread in deluge through the land.

Rather, it appeared as one continuous and therefore deeply problematic acceleration in which the soul-stirring blended imperceptibly into the monstrous. To appreciate such an upheaval, to feel its power, its inevitability, its irresistible force, its essential *justification* in the order of things, was to understand human nature itself: to grasp the depth and extent of that primæval fountain that Carlyle was to call the Unconscious and that had found no place in any Hartleian or Benthamite view of the world. Mill and Carlyle declared that this psychic power was as factual a phenomenon as the steam engine even if customary discursive prose had no adequate means of describing it: even if, borrowing a leaf from the poets or from pre-Augustan prose, one had to use metaphor in order to do it justice. Having achieved this act of imaginative sympathy, however, they found it incumbent upon them to deal with a corollary question: In the face of human nature as it had irresistibly and understandably exploded in the French Revolution, and might explode again even in England, where, when, and how could one justify political repression?

Carlyle's struggle with this problem was to account for the underlying theoretical disjunctions of *The French Revolution*. Carlyle's commitment to the *inevitability* of the Revolution, to the idea that so overwhelming an upheaval of unconscious force can only be understood historically, in a perspective of many centuries of antecedent, cumulative repression, leads him to a systematic rejection of the rationalist view of government as a present, and essentially alterable, convenience, a problem in social engineering. Instead, Carlyle embraces an organic conception of government and a relentlessly cyclical view of history. He writes of the French monarchy, its zenith of power under Louis XIV, and subsequent decline:

> How such Ideals do realize themselves; and grow, wondrously, from amid the incongruous ever-fluctuating chaos of the Actual: this is what World-History, if it teach any thing, has to teach us. How they grow; and, after long, stormy growth, bloom out mature, supreme; then quickly (for the blossom is brief) fall into decay; sorrowfully dwindle; and crumble down, or rush down, noisily or noiselessly disappearing. The blossom is so brief; as of some centennial Cactus-flower, which after a century of waiting shines out for hours! . . . The blossom of French Royalty, cactus-like, has accordingly made an astonishing progress . . . [until] now, in 1774, we behold it bald, and the virtue nigh gone out of it.[16]

As we might expect, "from amid the wracks and dust of this universal Decay new powers are fashioning themselves, adapted to the new time, and its destinies."[17] Chief

14. Michael St. John Packe, *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (London, 1954), p. 174. See also Mill, *Autobiography*, p. 92.
15. M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York, 1953), pp. 47-48.
16. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History*, I (London, 1837), 15-16.
17. *The French Revolution*, I, 20.

among these are the *philosophes*, whose labor or destruction is clearing the way for the eruption of what they themselves are incapable of understanding: "the whole *dæmonic* nature of man . . . hurled forth to rage blindly without rule or rein. . . ."[18] And this view harmonizes neatly with Carlyle's most thorough exposition of the dominant metaphor of his book: "French Revolution means here the open violent Rebellion, and Victory, of disimprisoned Anarchy against corrupt worn-out Authority: how Anarchy breaks prison; bursts up from the infinite Deep, and rages uncontrollable . . . 'till the frenzy burning itself out . . . the Uncontrollable be got, if not reimprisoned, yet harnessed. . . .' "[19] Elsewhere Carlyle comments that "in all human movements, were they but a day old, there is order, or the beginning of order. . . ."[20]

Yet, in the face of the ferocious turn which the Revolution took after the death of Mirabeau, Carlyle's cyclical, organic, and determinist view of history fails him. In the face of rampant and murderous Anarchy as perpetrated by the followers of Robespierre and Marat, revolution changes from an inevitable consequence of an order that transcends individual men, generations, and centuries, to a phenomenon that is apparently preventable if only the men of a particular time take proper steps in the way of social engineering. There is a hint of this change in Carlyle's comment, midway through the second volume of *The French Revolution*, on the death of Mirabeau: "Had Mirabeau lived one other year!"[21] Later he becomes more explicit: "That there be no second Sansculottism in our Earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was; and let Rich and Poor of us go and do *otherwise*."[22] Carlyle's subsequent career can be summed up as the gradual evaporation of this reliance on voluntary wisdom, and the growth of a concomitant emphasis on naked coercion as the only effective reply to actual or potential Anarchy: until we arrive at the Drillmaster of the Prussian Nation.

Mill's dealings with the French Revolution were more tortuous, more in the nature of what I have called a series of consistencies, and in this they were more honest. Carlyle's allegiance to coercion was achieved at the price of sympathy, that sympathy with and outrage over human suffering that is one of the peculiar glories of *Sartor Resartus*, *The French Revolution*, *Chartism*, and *Past and Present*. The exaltation of Frederick was possible only when Carlyle had built impregnable dikes around his conclusion that the overwhelming majority of human beings are "human creatures of the *Swine* genus."[23] Mill, temperamentally incapable—to his credit—of so apocalyptic a gesture of rejection, condemned himself to wrestle with dilemmas that haunt us to this day. Like Carlyle, he came to fear the unleashed dynamisms of human personality. When, in 1831, he considered the prospect of "our 10 août, our 20 juin, and perhaps our 18 Brumaire," he added: "and which of us will be left standing when the hurricane has blown over, Heaven only knows."[24] In 1840, he characterized "the great problem in government" as being "to prevent the strongest from becoming the only power; and repress the natural tendency of the instincts and passions of the ruling body to sweep away all barriers which are capable of resisting, even for a moment, their own tendencies."[25] Here the primæval flow of human nature has become something innately dangerous. Yet he could not reconcile himself to what he felt to be the stratified lethargy of English society, and seven years later we find him writing to John Austin: "In England . . . I often think that a violent revolution is very much needed, in order to give that general shake-up to the torpid mind of the nation which the French Revolution gave to Continental Europe."[26] Whatever his vacillations, he could not surrender his faith in the ultimately beneficial effects of the French Revolution, beneficial despite the murderous Anarchy that so horrified Carlyle, beneficial despite Napoleon. Out of his wrestlings between the poles of fear and faith sprang the triumphant vigor of *On Liberty;* and in 1848, at the very moment when he definitely rejected Carlyle's antianarchical fulminations, the spirit of *On Liberty*, a germinal articulation of its message, came into being. Carlyle had written to *The Examiner* on the subject of "England and Ireland," and Mill replied:

> Most remarkable is it, that so far from being an anarchical spirit, the spirit which is now abroad [in Europe] is one which demands *too much* government; it is wholly a spirit of association, of organization; even the most extreme anti-property doctrines take the form of Communism, of Fourierism, of some scheme not for emancipating human life from external restraint, but for subjecting it to much more restraint than

18. *TFR*, I, 21.
19. *TFR*, I, 295-300.
20. *TFR*, I, 228.
21. *TFR*, II, 191.
22. *TFR*, III, 435.
23. *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Alexander Carlyle, II (London, 1904), 196. The phrase comes from a letter dealing with, or rather puzzling over, Mill's *On Liberty*.
24. *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill*, p. 89.
25. [John Stuart Mill], *"De la Democratie en Amérique," Edinburgh Review*, LXII (October 1840), 47.
26. *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill*, p. 713.

> it has heretofore been subject to, or ever ought to be. . . .[27]

The parting of the ways was complete. That which had joined Carlyle and Mill when they scarcely knew of each other's existence now drove them irrevocably apart.

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Imagery as Structure in *Jane Eyre*

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IT IS EASILY DEMONSTRATED that *Jane Eyre* contains a number of implausible circumstances that in the hands of a lesser author would be fatal to the credibility of the narrative. We tend, however, to overlook or forgive these weaknesses for we are moved in this novel by a substructure of imagery that intensifies our involvement with the main character, an involvement that one critic[1] considers a characteristic unique in its time. Because Jane Eyre stands in the place of the author, it is through Jane's consciousness that we see the other characters. She is intensely aware of everything that surrounds her and colors, or is colored by, her moods. Thus, the imagery of the novel, imagery primarily involving the moon and arboreal nature, reflects her own emotional state and that of the other characters and underlies the melodramatic surface of the novel, giving it a poetic depth and intensity that few critics have recognized.[2] This imagery, in addition to reflecting the loneliness and isolation of the protagonist, possesses a pronounced romantic and, at times, even erotic character that parallels the main narrative movement of the novel. Although this amatory element has been identified, never, to my knowledge, has its function in the nature imagery been examined at any length.[3] This nature imagery, along with its intense amatory elements, as it parallels the main events of the story of Jane Eyre clearly serves as the main source of the novel's power.

The story of Jane Eyre is the search of a neglected and lonely young girl for love and kindness. Even the earliest pages of the book show the wintry nature of Jane's youth, for they are filled with somber references to rain, sleet, and penetrating winter winds that howl sorrowfully about the eaves of Gateshead. It is always January in the heart of little Jane Eyre, especially under the unfriendly care of Mrs. Reed at Gateshead, as the following typical passage shows:

> . . . the shrubbery was quite still: the black frost reigned, unbroken by sun or breeze, through the grounds. I covered my head and arms with the skirt of my frock, and went out to walk in a part of the plantation which was quite sequestered: but I found no pleasure in the silent trees, the falling fir-cones, the congealed relics of autumn, russet leaves, swept by past winds in heaps, and now stiffened together. I leaned against a gate, and looked into an empty field where no sheep were feeding, where the short grass was nipped and blanched. It was a very gray day; a most opaque sky, "onding on snaw," canopied all; thence flakes fell at intervals, which settled on the hard path and on the hoary lea without melting. I stood, a wretched child enough, whispering to myself over and over again, "What shall I do?—what shall I do?"[4]

The barrenness, coldness, and essential hostility of this world, and Jane's subjective response to it, is shown repeatedly by such nature imagery early in the narrative. It is one of the unique characteristics of this novel that most of the significant imagery involves trees, forests, shrubbery, and like objects. The palette used to describe this wintry world is appropriately limited to whites, greys, and blacks as befits the emotional barrenness of Jane's early life and her subsequent perceptions of it. Only at Thornfield, later, is there a shift to the vivid and intense colors of summer and of love.

Jane is eventually sent away to Lowood, but there the drizzly January in her soul is still unrelieved:

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27. *The Examiner*, May 13, 1848, p. 308. In the same letter (p. 307) Mill refers to himself pointedly as one of Carlyle's "earliest admirers."

1. Bruce McCulloch, *Representative English Novelists: Defoe to Conrad* (New York, 1946), p. 170.
2. Mark Schorer, ed., *Jane Eyre* (Boston, 1959), pp. v-xvii. Schorer identifies and traces some of the principal nature imagery but with no attention to its amatory content.
3. Cf. Wayne Burns, "Critical Relevance of Freudianism," *Western Review*, XX (1956); Joseph Prescott, "Jane Eyre: A Romantic Exemplum with a Difference," *Twelve Original Essays on Great English Novels*, ed. Charles Shapiro (Detroit, 1960).
4. Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, ed. T. J. Wise and J. A. Symington, I (London, 1931), 43-44. All citations will be from this, the Shakespeare Head edition, with page and volume numbers placed in parentheses following the quotations.

> . . . at the latter end of January, all was wintry blight and brown decay. I shuddered as I stood and looked round me: it was an inclement day for outdoor exercise; not positively rainy, but darkened by drizzling yellow fog; all underfoot was still soaking wet with the floods of yesterday. (I, 57)

And even after May comes with days of "blue sky" and "placid sunshine" and Lowood becomes "all green, all flowery," the area where Lowood lies becomes "the cradle of fog and fogbred pestilence; which, quickening with the quickening spring . . . breathed typhus . . ." (I, 94, *et passim*). These descriptions of a nature so sterile and lonely occur repeatedly in the early chapters of the book and clearly parallel the emotional state of Jane Eyre, thus becoming, in fact, impressionistic images.

While at Lowood, however, Jane's description of her drawings reveals the first glimmerings of a new kind of imagery that is to be associated with Thornfield in general and Mr. Rochester in particular:

> . . . I feasted instead on the spectacle of ideal drawings, which I saw in the dark; all the work of my own hands: freely pencilled houses and trees, picturesque rocks and ruins, Cuyp-like groups of cattle, sweet paintings of butterflies hovering over unblown roses, of birds picking at ripe cherries, of wrens' nests enclosing pearl-like eggs, wreathed about with young ivy sprays. (I, 92)

Here is a conceptualization of nature, quite romantic and idealized but filled with references to lushness and fruition, representing a pale but significant anticipation of the erotic nature imagery that will surround Thornfield.

After surviving eight years at Lowood, Jane journeys to Thornfield and her new position as governess. Her first impression of Thornfield mansion is that it is surrounded by an array of mighty old thorn trees ". . . strong, knotty, and broad as oaks . . ." (I, 125). This imagery is often applied to Mr. Rochester whose corresponding strength and will comprise his foremost characteristics. But the moon, in this instance particularly, becomes the dominant image. When it arises in association with Rochester, as it does with other romantic characters in *Villette*,[5] it functions as a dual symbol of sexual fulfillment and chastity. For example, as Jane nears Thornfield, just before her first encounter with Rochester, and looks down at its woods and dark rookery rising against the west, she sees the moon and feels its strange effect on her:

> On the hill-top above me sat the rising moon; pale yet as a cloud, but brightening momently: she looked over Hay, which half lost in trees, sent up a blue smoke from its few chimneys; it was yet a mile distant, but in the absolute hush I could hear plainly its thin murmurs of life. My ear too felt the flow of currents; in what dales and depths I could not tell. . . . (I, 141)

On the appearance of the moon she hears the sound of hoofbeats, and her first meeting with her master takes place. Afterward, as she lingers on the lawn, the moon becomes as mystically compelling as her future love for the mysterious, dark Mr. Rochester:

> . . . both my eyes and spirit seemed drawn from the gloomy house—from the gray hollow filled with rayless cells, as it appeared to me—to that sky expanded before me,—a blue sea absolved from taint of cloud; the moon ascending it in solemn march; her orb seeming to look up as she left the hill tops, from behind which she had come, far and farther below her, and aspired to the zenith, midnight-dark in its fathomless depth and measureless distance: and for those trembling stars that followed her course, they made my heart tremble, my veins glow when I viewed them. (I, 148)

After the fortune-telling incident and the arrival of Mr. Mason from the West Indies, the moon appears not only as a romantic symbol of Jane's aspiring love but as a premonitory image:

> I had forgotten to draw my curtain . . . the moon, which was full and bright (for the night was fine), came in her course to that space in the sky opposite my casement, and looked in at me through the unveiled panes, her glorious gaze roused me. Awaking in the dead of night, I opened my eyes on her disk—silver-white and crystal-clear. It was beautiful, but too solemn: I half rose, and stretched my arm to draw the curtain.
>
> Good God! What a cry! (I, 266)

Later, after her return to Thornfield from attending the dying Mrs. Reed at Gateshead, the moon once again func-

5. Charles Burckhardt, "Brontë's *Villette*," *Explicator*, XXI (1962), Item 8.

tions as an image of love, here described in terms suggestive of the mysterious and romantic East:

> It was now the sweetest hour of the twenty-four. . . . Where the sun had gone down . . . with the light of red jewel and furnace flame. . . . The east had its own charm . . . its own modest gem, a rising and solitary star: soon it would boast the moon; but she was yet beneath the horizon. (II, 10)

But the most striking employment of this imagery takes place after she discovers that Rochester is married and realizes that Rochester wishes her to overcome this barrier by entering into an illicit relationship. On this occasion the moon serves as an image of chastity:

> . . . the gleam was such as the moon imparts to vapours, she is about to sever. I watched her come —watched with the strangest anticipation; as though some word of doom were to be written on her disk. She broke forth as never moon yet burst from cloud: a hand first penetrated the sable folds and waved them away; then, not a moon, but a white human form shone in the azure, inclining a glorious brow earthward. It gazed and gazed on me. It spoke to my spirit: immeasurably distant was the tone, yet so near, it whispered in my heart—
>
> "My daughter, flee temptation!" (II, 105)

When Jane accepts Rochester's proposal of marriage before she learns of his insane wife, the moon, she notes, is strangely absent. When Jane receives Rochester's telepathic call for help, she is in a room flooded with moonlight.[6] Thus, the moon serves as one powerful strand of the nature imagery that forms such an important part of the substructure of this novel.

But a more important part of the substructure seems to be the arboreal imagery, particularly in its erotic aspects when associated with the love scenes involving Rochester. For example, Jane's most important meetings with Rochester seem to take place almost always in the outdoors or in a garden. As in the following passage, Rochester is typically seen in a garden setting among roses:

> He strayed down a walk edged with box; with apple trees, pear trees, and cherry trees on one side, and a border on the other, full of all sorts of old-fashioned flowers, stocks, sweet-williams, primroses, pansies, mingled with southern wood, sweet-briar, and various fragrant herbs. They were fresh now as a succession of April showers and gleams, followed by a lovely spring morning, could make them: the sun was just entering the dappled east, and his light illumined the wreathed and dewey orchard trees and shone down the quiet walks under them.
>
> "Jane, will you have a flower?"
>
> He gathered a half-blown rose, the first on the bush, and offered it to me. (I, 279)

Similarly, any imagery preceding Jane's view of Rochester usually contains references to roses, trees, foliage, and so forth. For example, when Jane returns from Gateshead she crosses various fields and remarks how full the hedges are of roses and regrets she cannot gather any. She passes a tall briar, a sure sign of Rochester, which is shooting "leafy and flowery branches across the path," and then she sees Mr. Rochester.

Perhaps the most striking example of this kind of erotic nature imagery is associated with the ensuing meeting that just precedes the climax of the book. The midsummer evenings are described as "a band of Italian days," trees are "in their dark prime," even hedges are "full-leaved." The moon, as described earlier, is about to rise opposite a western sky where a sun "had gone down . . . with the light of red jewel and furnace flame" (II, 10). And as Jane enters the garden, she notes as follows:

> . . . a subtle, well-known scent—that of a cigar —stole from some window . . . I went into the orchard. No nook in the grounds more sheltered and more Eden-like; it was full of trees, it bloomed with flowers . . . a winding walk, bordered with laurels and terminating in a giant horse-chestnut, circled at the base by a seat, led down to the fence. Here one could wander unseen. While such honey-dew fell, such silence reigned, such gloaming gathered, I felt as if I could haunt such shade for ever: but in threading the flower and fruit-parterres . . . my step is stayed— . . . once more by a warning fragrance. (II, 10-11)

It is important to note the shift from past to present tense —a common device used by the author to convey a sense of emotional intensity and produce correspondingly greater reader involvement. Not only does the description of the garden become increasingly erotic in its reference to

6. In Burns's "The Critical Relevance of Freudianism," this scene is revealed, more or less convincingly, as the most erotic in the novel. ". . . it becomes clear that Jane is experiencing a form of orgasm." Burns suggests that "this passage, far from being an excrescence, is of a piece with the sexuality, or if one wishes, the passionate physicality, that permeates every aspect of the novel" (p. 312).

fruit-bearing branches, ripeness, and manifold other signs of a procreant nature, but the actions of the two main characters in this little Eden resemble a romantic game of hide-and-seek.

> Sweet briar and southernwood, jasmine, pink, and rose have long been yielding their evening sacrifice of incense: this new scent is neither of shrub nor flower; it is—I know it well—it is Mr. Rochester's cigar. I look round and I listen. I see trees laden with ripening fruit. I hear a nightingale warbling in a wood half a mile off; no moving form is visible, no coming step audible; but that perfume increases: I must flee. . . . I step into the ivy recess. . . .

From the ivy recess the quarry watches the hunter:

> . . . he strolls on, now lifting the gooseberry-tree branches to look at the fruit, large as plums, with which they are laden; now taking a ripe cherry from the wall; now stooping towards a knot of flowers, either to inhale their fragrance or to admire the dew-beads on their petals. A great moth goes humming by me; it alights on a plant at Mr. Rochester's foot. . . . (II, 11)

These substantial quotations are given because they precede the grand climax of the novel, Jane's near-wedding to Rochester when she learns the awful truth of the secret of Thornfield Hall. We would expect any elements of imagery that contribute to the structure of the novel to intensify at this point and they do. The passages are the most romantically charged of the book, possessing the most intense erotic suggestiveness, producing the concentration,[7] in spite of the improbabilities of the plot, that we find in the novel. On the occasion of Jane's acceptance of Rochester's proposal, when Rochester states in a kind of tormented soliloquy that he defies man's opinion, the face of this burgeoning nature ominously changes and the moon, that symbol of love, disappears:

> But what had befallen the night? The moon was not yet set, and we were all in shadow: I could scarcely see my master's face, near as I was. And what ailed the chestnut tree? it writhed and groaned; while wind roared in the laurel walk, and came sweeping over us. (II, 21)

The same night after this omen, a storm breaks over Thornfield. The next morning, the day of the wedding, Jane surveys the chestnut tree, arboreal symbol of Rochester and her love:

> . . . I faced the wreck of the chestnut-tree [sic]; it stood up, black and riven: the trunk, split down the centre, gasped ghastly. The cloven halves were not broken from each other, for the firm base and strong roots kept them unsundered below; though community of vitality was destroyed—the sap could flow no more: their great boughs on each side were dead, and next winter's tempests would be sure to fell one or both to earth: as yet, however, they might be said to form one tree—a ruin; but an entire ruin. (II, 47-48)

It was mentioned in the opening paragraph that Jane's intense personal involvement colors her awareness of things. The above passage and the one quoted earlier in which the moon, accompanied by a strange form in the sky, warns her to flee temptation—in fact, most of the emotionally charged passages involving the moon and arboreal imagery—contain strong elements of impressionism, that is, the shaping of the environment by the mental states of the characters. One critic calls this "a flair for the surreal," and notes that in this involvement in feeling Charlotte Brontë discovers a new dimension of Gothic.[8] Thus, after the revelation of Rochester's secret and the subsequent dashing of all Jane's hopes, the intense imagery, with its erotic suggestions remains, but it is strangely modified by her mental state: "A Christmas frost had come to midsummer; a white December storm had whirled over June; ice glazed the ripe apples, drifts crushed the blowing roses; on hay-field and cornfield lay a frozen shroud. . . ." (II, 74)

Jane, of course, leaves Thornfield, and as she travels across England the nature of the descriptive imagery changes. Not only is there much less description of landscape, it is now relatively devoid of the heavy sensuality of the descriptions of Thornfield; nor is it possessed of the dreary barrenness of the nature imagery of Gateshead or Lowood. It is, on the other hand, primarily pictorial or descriptive. Even when Jane is trudging through the rain, hungry and exhausted, the impressionistic element is much reduced. Of course, Jane has changed as a person, she has been emotionally tempered by her experience and although only nineteen, is a creature of judgment and maturity now, or so she seems when at Moor House.

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7. Melvin R. Watson, "Form and Substance in the Brontë Novels," *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*, ed. Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 112.

8. Robert B. Heilman, "Charlotte Brontë's New Gothic," in *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*, p. 121.

Nature, though pressed into the background, is still an essential part of the structure, for in Charlotte Brontë's characterization of St. John Rivers, she defines his character by showing his reactions to it:

> . . . Nature was not to him that treasury of delight it was to his sisters. He expressed once, and but once in my hearing, a strong sense of the rugged charm of the hills, and an inborn affection for the dark roof and hoary walls he called his home: but there was more of gloom than pleasure in the tone and words in which the sentiment was manifested; and never did he seem to roam the moors for the sake of their soothing silence—never seek out or dwell upon the thousand peaceful delights they could yield. (II, 149)

The mental attitude of St. John Rivers—"Reason, and not feeling, is my guide" (II, 180)—represents, therefore, the polar opposite of the feelings associated with Mr. Rochester, and the imagery linked with each character varies accordingly. Although she feels "the consecration of its loneliness" (II, 146), Jane's descriptions of Moor House, typically quaint and romantic, are still not possessed with the emotional coloration characteristic of those of Thornfield.

When Jane receives the telepathic cry for help from Rochester while sitting in the moonlight flooded room, she hurries to Thornfield only to see the mansion as she had once seen it in a dream: "a shell-like wall . . . perforated by paneless windows: no roof, no battlements, no chimneys—all had crashed in" (II, 247). But although winter had sent its snows and rain "amidst the drenched piles of rubbish, spring had cherished vegetation: grass and weed grew here and there between the stones and fallen rafters" (II, 248). The sensuality of description is gone, but when she approaches Ferndean the arboreal imagery of before recurs, reminding the reader of Jane's lament while at Gateshead, where she regrets her inability to find the elves among foxglove leaves, mushrooms, and ground ivy: ". . . they were all gone out of England to some savage country, where the woods were wilder and thicker. . . ." (I, 20) Thus, as she approaches Ferndean, she notes that:

> Even when within a very short distance of the manor-house, you could see nothing of it; so thick and dark grew the timber of the gloomy wood about it. Iron gates between granite pillars showed me where to enter, and passing through them, I found myself at once in the twilight of close-ranked trees. There was a grass-grown track descending the forest aisle, between hoar and knotty shafts and under branched arches. (II, 254)

She sees Rochester outside the house: "His form was of the same strong and stalwart contour as ever: his port was still erect, his hair was still raven-black . . . nor . . . his vigorous prime blighted" (II, 255-56). Significantly enough, he is blindly reaching for the trees around him. Later, when they are reunited, he is reluctant to burden her with himself now; and he returns to the image of the blasted chestnut tree to express his condition: "I am no better than the old lightning-struck chestnut tree in Thornfield orchard. . . . And what right would that ruin have to bid a budding woodbine cover its decay with freshness?" Jane replies, continuing the nature metaphor:

> You are no ruin, sir—no lightning-struck tree: you are green and vigorous. Plants will grow about your roots, whether you ask them or not, because they take delight in your bountiful shadow; and as they grow they will lean towards you, and wind round you, because your strength offers them so safe a prop. (II, 273)

Then she leads him home through the woods for "that will be the shadiest way" (II, 275).

Thus from that first dreary November at Gateshead to the last mile of Jane's walk through the shade of Ferndean Woods, the passionate intensity of Jane's quest is defined and illuminated by the poetic substructure. But the secret of the book's power over us is perhaps best expressed by Virginia Woolf: "It is the red and fitful glow of the heart's fire which illumines her page. . . . We read Charlotte Brontë not for exquisite observation of character—her characters are vigorous and elementary; not for comedy—hers is grim and crude; not for a philosophic view of life—hers is that of a parson's daughter, but for her poetry."[9]

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9. Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader* (New York, 1925), p. 223.

A Brief Inquiry into the Morality of Amelia in *Vanity Fair*

Neal B. Houston

IN THEIR INTRODUCTION to the Riverside Edition of *Vanity Fair*, Geoffrey and Kathleen Tillotson stress the importance of the authorial intrusions of Thackeray: "The principles on which he admitted material into the most purely narrative parts of *Vanity Fair* make for a homogeneous density that calls for close attention from the reader. Because the diction is simple and the sense lucid, we sometimes fail to see Thackeray as a concise writer, and so as a weighty writer. Let the reader test the text for himself."[1] There are many significant allusions by the author connoting the morality of his cast of characters, but one of the most revealing and salient occurs in Chapter LIX; its implications invite the reader to a reassessment of the morality of Amelia. Polly, the protégée of Amelia, has just urged Amelia to consider more seriously the affections of the timorous Major Dobbin. At this juncture Thackeray writes: "Not that Emmy, being made aware of the honest Major's passion, rebuffed him in any way, or felt displeased with him. Such an attachment from so true and loyal a gentleman could make no woman angry. Desdemona was not angry with Cassio, though there is very little doubt she saw the Lieutenant's partiality for her (and I for my part believe that many more things took place in that sad affair than the worthy Moorish officer ever knew of) . . ." (LIX, 572). Here, concisely, almost subliminally, Thackeray is analogizing Desdemona and Amelia, Cassio and Dobbin, and Othello and George Osborne. In Shakespeare's play, Cassio seems to be innocent of an intimate physical relationship with the wife of the Moor, and Desdemona retains her innocence, though shadowed by the moral obliquity attributed to her by the persuasive and malicious Iago. Yet Thackeray, the preeminent master of his own puppet-drama, suggests that "many more things took place in that sad affair than the worthy Moorish officer ever knew of." Thus the "Manager of the Performance" implies, by analogy, that many more things occurred between Dobbin and Amelia in *Vanity Fair* than have been explicitly enumerated in preceding chapters of the novel. The reader may turn to Chapter XXXV and "test the text for himself"; for here are strong indications that a physical, secret affair existed between Amelia and her loyal Dobbin.

"About three weeks after the 18th of June [1815]," Sir William Dobbin, father of Major Dobbin, calls on George Osborne's father and gives him a letter written by the younger Osborne on the eve of his death at Waterloo (XXXV, 341). The son's letter, written June 16, 1815, requests the father's good offices for Amelia, and "it might be for the child" (XXXV, 342). The irony of the statement, alluding to the possible motherhood of Amelia, later becomes apparent. The reading of this letter, occurring three weeks after the 18th of June, fixes the time as approximately July 9, 1815. "About two months afterwards" old Mr. Osborne, accompanied by his daughters, attends church, where he views a memorial dedicated to George Osborne, now three months dead after the Battle of Waterloo (XXXV, 342). It is now approximately September 9, 1815. Subsequently, Mr. Osborne informs his daughter that as a debt to the memory of his son, he will make a journey abroad "towards the end of autumn" (XXXV, 343), probably in November, or to make an arbitrary but conservative estimate, November 15, 1815. "On the day after his arrival," allowing five days for travel from England to the Continent, November 20, 1815, Mr. Osborne falls into conversation with a surviving soldier of Captain Osborne's company, who relates that Amelia, after the death of her husband, was "out of her mind like for six weeks or more" (XXXV, 343-44). Later in the day Mr. Osborne tours the battlefield, accompanied by a sergeant who was a member of George's company (XXXV, 344). When Mr. Osborne returns from the battlefield, his carriage chances to come near the carriage of Amelia, who is accompanied by Dobbin (XXXV, 345). Dobbin and Osborne arrange a meeting in the latter's rooms, and during the ensuing conversation Mr. Osborne, lamenting the death of his son, significantly tells Dobbin that "better men than you are dead, and you step into their *shoes*" (XXXV, 346). Major Dobbin, seeking to draw sympathy for Amelia, reveals to the elder Osborne that Amelia "will be a mother soon" (XXXV, 346). The major achieves no satisfaction from George's father, and he is now undecided whether or not he should tell Amelia of the father-in-law's scornful rejection of her: for "the poor girl's thoughts were not here at all since her catastrophe, and, stupified under the pressure of her sorrow, good and evil were alike indifferent to her" (XXXV, 347).

Thackeray continues his chronology: "Suppose some twelve months after the above conversation took place to have passed in the life of our poor Amelia" (XXXV, 347). After the elapse of one year, such time would be approxi-

1. William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (Boston, 1963), p. viii. Subsequent references by chapter and page number are to this edition.

mately November 20, 1816. Amelia has returned to England with little Georgy, having recovered after "the long months of doubt and dread which the persons who had constantly been with her had passed. . . ." (XXXV, 347) "Our friend Dobbin" is one of these persons who have been with her through these dismal months. Although he has constantly attended her, he is isolated from her and gently bears "his fate, knowing it, and content to bear it" (XXXV, 348). Thackeray, as a matter-of-course, reveals that little Georgy is "scarcely six months old" at this time, the time Major Dobbin is preparing to take leave of Amelia and return to duty; that is, the birthdate of Amelia's son can be estimated as falling on or about May 20, 1816.

Here Thackeray's chronology, planned and presented to the reader throughout several pages, attains its real significance: little Georgy, in order to be six months old at the time of the leave-taking of Dobbin, must have been conceived in the month of August, 1815; or, most likely, some time around August 20, 1815; and, impossibly, two months after the death of George Osborne at Waterloo on June 18, 1815. The date of conception, viewed in regard to a more moderate estimate, would still indicate that it occurred well after the date of death of Amelia's husband. Ergo, little Georgy was conceived shortly after the time that Amelia, after George Osborne's death, was "out of her mind like for six weeks or more," when "good and evil alike were indifferent to her," when Dobbin attended her faithfully and concernedly. Dobbin, though, does not always adhere to the strict truth, and his statement to the elder Osborne that Amelia will be a mother soon now becomes less of a verity to the reader.

Recent scholarship generally recognizes that the character of Amelia is somewhat less virtuous than it was imagined to be by Victorian readers. Certain derogations of Amelia pass almost unnoticed to all but careful readers; for example, prior to her marriage, strong disparagements against Amelia appear early in *Vanity Fair* and indicate her fatuousness and poor judgment.[2] But largely, Thackeray ostensibly portrays Amelia, before and after her marriage, as the moral superior to other feminine characters of the novel. At the same time, he appears to obfuscate her excesses, particularly her unfortunate ones, to his contemporary reading audience.

Thackeray as "Master of the Performance" also implies that the wanton Becky was capable of the murder of Joseph Sedley; for Becky's case with the Insurance Company was the "blackest" ever to have come before its solicitor (LXVII, 664). As a corollary to the evil nature of Becky, Thackeray, through his chronology of the death of Osborne and the birth of Georgy, suggests that Amelia is indeed guilty of fornication after the death of her husband and guilty, in the manner of a grand deception, of passing off her child as George Osborne's son and heir. If Thackeray has not been mistaken in his chronology, and if his lucidity does not contain a gross error, then the case of Amelia is a black one; her morality is in need of reassessment, and her relationship with Mr. Osborne, her parents, and William Dobbin demands a stricter examination and interpretation. This possible hoax impugns the sympathetic character of Dobbin and imperils her position as a moral superior to Becky. The affair also strengthens the reputation of Thackeray as a concise and weighty writer. The final words between Jos Sedley, who vehemently defends the character of Becky, and Colonel Dobbin, who acquiesces to Jos' defense, provide the coda illustrating the egalitarian morality of Becky and Amelia:

> "I swear to you—I swear to you on the Bible," gasped out Joseph, wanting to kiss the book, "that she [Becky] is as innocent as a child, as spotless as your own wife."
>
> "It may be so," said the Colonel, gloomily . . . (LXVII, 664).

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2. See the comments of George Osborne to William Dobbin concerning the former's engagement to Amelia (XIII, 117-19), and the elder Osborne's remarks to his son about Amelia (XIII, 123-24).

Hetty Sorrel, the Forlorn Maiden

Thomas G. Burton

Hetty Sorrel's plight in *Adam Bede*, which she confesses to Dinah Morris, is in many respects the plight of the Forlorn Maiden, common to English and Scottish ballads. In general, Hetty's story is the same as the folk tale of Mary Hamilton.[1] Each is a maid whose beauty is the cause of her undoing by one above her class, and each disposes of her child because of the circumstances under which it is born. Hetty like Mary Hamilton is prosecuted and sentenced to hang.

1. "173. Mary Hamilton," *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. Francis J. Child (Boston, 1889), Pt. VI, 379. Subsequent references to popular ballads will be identified by Professor Child's classification.

Hetty's and Mary's situations are essentially the same; however, there is more than general similarity between Hetty's story and the ballad of "The Cruel Mother." There are at least five significant points of parallel. In the first place, each woman kills her baby. Hetty does not use the conventional means of the ballad to slay her child, the little pen-knife; her plea even is "I did n't kill it—I did n't kill it myself."[2] But she explains that she had originally intended to kill the child herself: "I felt I must do it . . . I did n't know how . . . I thought I'd find a pool, if I could, like that other, in the corner of the field, in the dark" (p. 237). Even after she decides she can not take the child's life directly, her original intent is made clear in her statement: "I could n't kill it any other way" (p. 238). Secondly, each mother is incapable of looking at the babe and remaining resolute. The Cruel Mother says to her baby:

> "O look not sae sweet, my bonnie babe,
> Gin ye smyle sae, ye'll smyle me dead."
> (20.A.4)

Concerning her own baby, Hetty says, "and yet its crying went through me, and I dared n't look at its little hands and face" (p. 238). Thirdly, each mother buries her baby and at the same location, by a tree. The ballad version is:

> And there she's leand her back to a thorn . . .
> And there she has her baby born . . .
> She has houked a grave ayont the sun,
> And there she has buried the sweet babe in.
> (20.A.1, 2)

Hetty says: "I sat down on the trunk of a tree to think what I should do. And all of a sudden I saw a hole under the nut-tree, like a little grave. And it darted into me like lightning—I'd lay the baby there, and cover it with the grass and the chips" (p. 238). A fourth point of parallel is that each mother reaches a state of complete despair. And finally, each tale includes a reference to the supernatural. In the ballad the supernatural reference is clear; the dead child, resuscitated, speaks to its mother. In Hetty's case the supernatural is suggested, but the reference is treated to admit a psychological interpretation—in the rationalized manner of the late ballads: "I heard the baby crying, and thought the other folks heard it too,—and I went on. . . . I was so tired and weak, I went to sleep. . . . But oh, the baby's crying kept waking me . . . I turned back the way I'd come . . . it was the baby's crying made me go" (p. 239).

Even though these similarities are present, one might say that they are coincidental rather than deliberate, that the similarities are somewhat similar effects of identical causes—a desperate but not completely hardened, unwed mother wishes to retain her position in society, kills her baby, disposes of the body in the most natural way, by burying it, and suffers pangs of guilt afterward. Or one might say that the similarities are the product of the author's subconscious, that Hetty's experience simply reflects the experience, the reading, and the culture of the author. But there is reason to think that the similarity between Hetty and the conventional Forlorn Maiden is not simply coincidental or subconscious.

In describing her attitude toward the baby, Hetty says: "it was like a heavy weight hanging around my neck" (p. 238). This statement does not seem significant because of its inherent imagery; it is an unnatural simile to describe her physical situation. Neither is it satisfactory to say that Hetty, in deference to Dinah, is alluding to the Biblical image of a millstone tied around the neck. However, the phrase is significant as an allusion to the description of the albatross hung around the neck of the Ancient Mariner, and it it is especially noticeable since earlier in the novel there is more than a casual reference to the poem and the volume in which it appeared:[3] "I've got a book I meant to bring . . . It's a volume of poems, 'Lyrical Ballads'; most of them seem to be twaddling stuff; but the first is in a different style—'The Ancient Mariner' is the title" (III, 90). There is no substantiation in mentioning "The Ancient Mariner" for associating Hetty with the conventional theme—in "The Ancient Mariner" there is no Forlorn Maiden or situation similar to Hetty's. But in the "twaddling stuff," which obviously was striking to George Eliot, there is conclusive reason for the association. The *Lyrical Ballads* includes three poems concerning forsaken mothers. The least significant for comparison is "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman." More significant is "The Mad Mother"; the mother and her child in this poem, as is true of Hetty and her baby, are forsaken by the father, wander around, and take shelter in a haystack. "The Thorn," however, is most significant: it is Wordsworth's version of "The Cruel Mother" ballad itself. Much is added to the folk tale in Wordsworth's poem, but the following traditional elements are retained. A maid (Martha Ray) is beguiled. The baby is buried near a tree:

> . . . some will say
> She hanged her baby on the tree,

2. George Eliot, *The Writings of George Eliot: Adam Bede*, IV (Boston, 1908), 235. Subsequent references to *Adam Bede* will be indicated in the text.

3. Jerome Thale fails to see the significance of the references to the *Lyrical Ballads* in regard to Hetty's plight: "George Eliot uses books to indicate interests, social status, or date (as the mention of the *Lyrical Ballads* helps set the time of *Adam Bede*), but the reference to *Zeluco* is symbolic" ("*Adam Bede:* Arthur Donnithorne and Zeluco," *MLN*, LXX [1955], 263).

Some say she drowned it in the pond,
Which is a little step beyond.
But all and each agree,
The little babe was buried there,
Beneath that hill of moss so fair.

The mother laments under the moon, and the supernatural is included:

And some had sworn an oath that she
Should be to public justice brought;
And for the little infant's bones
With spades they would have sought.
But then the beauteous hill of moss
Before their eyes began to stir.[4]

The reference to the *Lyrical Ballads*, considering the poems included, is sufficient reason that the similarity between Hetty and the traditional Forlorn Maiden is much more than coincidence. Whether or not George Eliot knew the tale in its traditional-ballad form is not conclusive from the text of *Adam Bede*, but it is probable that she knew it from Percy's *Reliques* or Scott's *Ministrelsy*[5]—if not from oral tradition. Nevertheless, the parallels in general and specific narrative detail between Hetty Sorrel and the conventional Forlorn Maiden, especially the Cruel Mother and Martha Ray, indicate that the similarity is not a coincidental or a subconscious one, but the result of a deliberate appropriation by a creative artist.

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A Note on the Ruskin-*Blackwood's* Controversy

Kenneth W. Davis

VIRTUALLY EVERY BIOGRAPHER of John Ruskin has discussed the Ruskin-*Blackwood's* controversy which began in 1836 with *Blackwood's* attack on Turner's paintings, was renewed in *Blackwood's* 1843 review of *Modern Painters*, and was augmented by another review, "Mr. Ruskin's Works," in *Blackwood's* for September 1851. The 1836 attack on Turner prompted the first volume of *Modern Painters;* the 1843 review of *Modern Painters* occasioned Ruskin's stinging attack on *Blackwood's* in the preface to the second edition of *Modern Painters;* and the 1851 review of Ruskin's works[1] caused him to include several biting remarks about *Blackwood's Magazine* in letters to his father.[2] Derrick Leon has suggested that Ruskin's attack on *Blackwood's* in the preface to the second edition of *Modern Painters* was justified and noted that *Blackwood's* long antipathy toward Ruskin survived even to Ruskin's death.[3]

Ruskin's views on *Blackwood's* expressed in works published during his lifetime and in his posthumously published letters have been given wide circulation, but not so full a presentation of the details of the *Blackwood's* side of the controversy has been hitherto available. Extracts from previously unpublished letters from William Henry Smith (1808-1872)[4] to John Blackwood provide additional details about the most thorough of the attacks on Ruskin which appeared in *Maga*. Smith had been asked by John Blackwood to write a review of several of Ruskin's works and was at first reluctant. In a letter dated June 30, 1851, he wrote:

> . . . & for Mr. Ruskin's works I am afraid I have seen too little of architecture to be a competent critic. I have read only extracts from his works —and they do not give me a very favorable impression of his *esthetic* views. I mean his philosophy of the beautiful.[5]

Evidently Smith's unfavorable attitude was more important to John Blackwood than Smith's reluctance. The following letter reveals that Smith agreed to write the review.[6]

Windermere
July 7, 1851

My dear Blackwood,

I think I ought to see Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. From the brief notices appended

4. "The Thorn," *Lyrical Ballads*, Facsimile Text Society, No. 25 (London, 1926), pp. 130-31.
5. "Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament," *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, II (London, 1890), 209; "Lady Anne," *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, III (Edinburgh, 1807), 18.

1. The review, "Mr. Ruskin's Works," *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXX (September 1851), treated the following works, all of which were published by Smith, Elder and Company at London: *Modern Painters*, I, 2d ed. (1844); *Modern Painters*, II (1846); *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849); *The Stones of Venice* (1849); and *Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds* (1851).
2. See John Bradley, *Ruskin's Letters from Venice, 1851-1852* (New Haven, 1955), *passim*.
3. *Ruskin, The Great Victorian* (London, 1949), p. 85.
4. Smith was a frequent contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* from 1839 until his death in 1872. An article by the present writer forthcoming in *The Library* provides an annotated bibliography of Smith's 128 contributions to *Blackwood's* and of his known contributions to other periodicals.
5. This passage and subsequent ones are quoted from MS 4095 in the Blackwood Collection of the National Library of Scotland.
6. If John Blackwood's letters to Smith still exist, they are not available; therefore I can only assume from the contents of Smith's letters that some time between June 30 and July 7, 1851, Blackwood encouraged Smith to write the review.

to the advertisement he seems to have given himself out as much in this work as in any, & I wish to open my article with some general description of the man.

Not hearing from you I had begun to think you would not wish to make use of the review this next number.

It seems to me that I ought to read these *Seven Lamps*—(though for my own profit I have read quite enough of Ruskin)—& I do not know where else to get sight of them—unless you will be good enough to send them. As soon as I receive them I will go steadily on with the review, but, under these circumstances, I cannot say exactly when it will be ready for the press.

I have never read so much letter-press in my life, & extracted so little from it as in these works of Ruskin. I must not say all I think of his conceit & absurdity or my paper would be looked upon as a hostile criticism. Besides the man has talent—one should wish to show respect to that. He seems to have obtained his popularity chiefly by a great pretense of *religiousity* —all art is to be *religious*. How far he is sincere in this I cannot tell, but it is an egregious absurdity.

Yet an absurdity which it is a delicate matter to combat. However I will work my way through my task as well as I can.

Yours sincerely,
W. Smith.

Deserving particular attention in this letter is the fourth paragraph, in which Smith expressed his desire to avoid "a hostile criticism." In various letters to the Blackwoods Smith emphasized his belief in the necessity for impartial criticism, but despite this attitude the finished review prompted Ruskin to write his father:

> . . . I hope in some of them I may find one of my pamphlets, which I should rather like to see; and should consider on the whole better worth having than this sandy critique of Blackwood's—poor mean people, they shift out of the scrape as well as they can: I will have them up again some day.[7]

On July 12, 1851, Smith wrote to John Blackwood to acknowledge receipt of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* and promised to have a draft of the review in the mail by July 18, but on July 17, Smith wrote again to suggest that he might not be qualified to write the review:

> I do not wish to be, or to be thought idle. I will do the best I can with Ruskin's works if you have not put them into abler hands. I should succeed better with them than with this history of Mr. Finlay's on which I could do little without works of reference. I do not affect any professional knowledge of the fine arts but I feel that I should have something to say about them. If you send Ruskin let me have the earliest works as well for I should be more at home on painting than on architecture.

Blackwood did not assign the review to one of his other contributors. A letter from Smith dated August 20, 1851, evidently accompanied the proofs of the review:

> I send you the revise of Ruskin by return post. I put the title which seemed neatest, but if you think *Mr. Ruskin's Works* more appropriate let it be so. You will see that I have turned the sentences that alluded to Alison[8] in a more complimentary manner. I should have no wish to speak otherwise of a very pleasant writer.

The last mention of Ruskin by Smith in his letters to John Blackwood is found in one dated August 31, 1851:

> I have to acknowledge your handsome check for the *Ruskin*. My notion is that he will turn out a hot fanatic—a sort of Irvingite—he is too far gone for reasoning with.

This brief comment has a threefold significance. First, the reference to the "handsome check" suggests that Smith's review was highly satisfactory to the editor of *Maga*. Second, Smith's opinion here corresponds so closely with many statements in the review that it all but proves that Smith's attempt to be impartial or to avoid "hostile critticism" failed. A concluding sentence from the review illustrates:

> As a climax to his inconsistency and his abnormal ways of thinking, he concludes his *Seven Lamps of Architecture* with a most ominous paragraph, implying that the time is at hand when no architecture of any kind will be wanted: man and his works will be both swept away from the face of the earth.[9]

Finally, when viewed in the light of what subsequent biographical scholarship has revealed about Ruskin, phrases such as "a hot fanatic," "a sort of Irvingite," and "too far gone for reasoning with" may seem curiously if rather harshly prophetic. Whether or not *Blackwood's Magazine* dealt too severely with John Ruskin remains, of course, largely a matter of opinion.

Texas Technological College

7. Bradley, *Ruskin's Letters from Venice*, p. 3.
8. Archibald Alison (1757-1839) was the author of *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (London, 1790).
9. "Mr. Ruskin's Works," *Blackwood's Magazine*, LXX (September 1851), 348.

Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

March 1966—August 1966

I

GENERAL

ARTS. Eyles, Desmond. *Royal Doulton 1815-1965*. Hutchinson. Rev. *TLS*, 3 March, p. 156.

Wilson, Winefride. *Christian Art Since the Romantic Movement*. Burns and Oates. Rev. *TLS*, 3 March, p. 169. Much of the book is devoted to the nineteenth century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Stratman, Carl J. "Dramatic Play Lists: 1591-1963." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, March, pp. 169-88. Describes contents of important play lists.

CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Adrian, Arthur A. *Mark Lemon*. Oxford. Rev. *TLS*, 7 July, p. 591. Biography of the first editor of *Punch*.

De Laura, David J. "Echoes of Butler, Browning, Conrad and Pater in the Poetry of T. S. Eliot." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 211-21. The works of these four writers help illuminate various lines of Eliot's poetry.

Douglas, Alison. "The Scottish Contribution to Children's Literature." *Library Review*, Winter 1965, pp. 241-46. Survey covering the nineteenth century.

Duerksen, Roland A. *Shelleyan Ideas in Victorian Literature*. Mouton. Rev. *TLS*, 21 July, p. 642.

Fanger, Donald. *Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism*. Harvard. Rev. *TLS*, 3 March, p. 165. Compares Dostoevsky with Gogol, Dickens, and Balzac.

Madden, William. "The Search for Forgiveness in Some Nineteenth-Century English Novels." *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 139-53. The search ended in the discovery that "divine forgiveness was no longer available, perhaps no longer relevant." Includes discussion of Dickens, Thackeray, Emily Brontë, Eliot, and Hardy.

Miller, J. Hilles. "Some Implications of Form in Victorian Fiction." *Comparative Literature Studies*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 109-18. The implications of modern subjectivism in Victorian novelists, including Dickens, Eliot, Trollope, Meredith, and Hardy.

Omans, Glen. "The Villon Cult in England." *Comparative Literature*, Winter, pp. 16-35. Victorians were interested in Villon as personality rather than writer.

Temperley, Nicholas. "The English Romantic Opera." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 293-301. Survey and analysis, with particular reference to *Raymond and Agnes*.

Waller, John O. "A Composite Anglo-Catholic Concept of the Novel, 1841-1868." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, June, pp. 356-68. Novels were to exhibit a moral universe and a general probability.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Ausubel, Herman. *John Bright, Victorian Reformer*. John Wiley. Rev. *TLS*, 30 June, p. 580.

Bulmer-Thomas, Ivor. *The Growth of the British Party System*, Vol. I. Baker. Rev. *TLS*, 17 March, p. 218.

Carré, Meyrick H. "Stephenism." *Hibbert Journal*, Summer, pp. 106-9. James Fitzjames Stephen's political creed was that of a nineteenth-century die-hard.

Corbett, John. *The Birmingham Trades Council, 1866-1966*. Lawrence and Wishart. Rev. *TLS*, 14 July, p. 617.

Cromwell, Valerie. "Interpretations of Nineteenth-Century Administration: An Analysis." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 245-55. A review-article which suggests that in order for administrative history to be meaningful it must be related to the society from which it springs.

Gash, Norman. *Reaction and Reconstruction in English Politics, 1832-1852*. Clarendon. Rev. *TLS*, 14 April, p. 331.

Gopal, S. *British Policy in India, 1858-1905*. Cambridge. Rev. *TLS*, 7 April, p. 302.

Moore, D. C. "Concession or Cure: The Sociological Premises of the First Reform Act." *Historical Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 39-59. The Act was a means by which the aristocracy and gentry could retain their power as English society became more complex.

Southgate, Donald. *"The Most English Minister. . . ."* Macmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 17 March, p. 213. Policies and politics of Palmerston.

Stephen, M. D. "Gladstone and the Composition of the Final Court in Ecclesiastical Causes, 1850-73." *Historical Journal*, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 191-200. The make-up of the Court was a consistent problem.

Vincent, John. *The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857-1868*. Constable. Rev. *TLS*, 4 August, pp. 697-98.

Ward, T. J. "West Riding Landowners and the Corn Laws." *English Historical Review*, April, pp. 256-72. Both industrial and landed interests were divided over the Corn Laws.

Winter, James. "English Democracy and the Example of Australia." *Pacific Historical Review*, February, pp. 67-81. Proponents and opponents of the Reform Bill of 1867 used the example of Australia to further their arguments.

HISTORY. Barnes, E. G. *The Rise of the Midland Railway 1844-1874*. Allen and Unwin. Rev. *TLS*, 18 August, p. 749.

Bell, H. E. *Maitland*. Black. Rev. *TLS*, 3 March, p. 163. Critical examination and assessment of the historian.

Burton, Sir Richard. *First Footsteps in East Africa*, ed. Gordon Waterfield. Routledge. Rev. *TLS*, 30 June, p. 572.

Cairns, H. Alan C. *Prelude to Imperialism*. Routledge. Rev. *TLS*, 25 August, p. 760. British reactions to Central African society, 1840-1880.

Curtis, L. P., Jr. "The Queen's Two Bonnets." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 258-73. A review-article dealing with books that treat Victoria and the royal family.

Faber, Richard. *The Vision and the Need*. Faber and Faber. Rev. *TLS*, 28 July, p. 690. Late-Victorian imperialist aims.

Huttenback, Robert A. "Indians in South Africa, 1860-1914: The British Imperial Philosophy on Trial." *English Historical Review*, April, pp. 273-91. The principle of equality for all British subjects was never fully implemented.

Macrory, Patrick. *Signal Catastrophe*. Hodder and Stoughton. Rev. *TLS*, 7 April, p. 303. The disastrous retreat from Kabul, 1842.

Nutting, Anthony. *Gordon: Martyr and Misfit*. Constable.

Rev. *TLS*, 14 July, p. 607. Study of the Victorian hero Charles Gordon.

Randall, John Herman, Jr. "T. H. Green: The Development of English Intellectual Thought from J. S. Mill to F. H. Bradley." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April-June, pp. 217-44. Green was the intellectual link between Mill and Bradley.

Shepperson, George, ed. *David Livingstone and the Rovuma*. Edinburgh. Rev. *TLS*, 21 July, p. 633. The explorer's notebook covering his second attempt to ascend the Rovuma.

RELIGION. Chadwick, Owen. *The Victorian Church*. Part I. Black. Rev. *TLS*, 21 July, pp. 625-26. Covers 1830-1860.

Cockshut, A. O. J., ed. *Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century*. Methuen. Rev. *TLS*, 21 July, pp. 625-26. Selected documents.

Court, Glyn. "The Bible Christians, 1815- ?" *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October 1965, pp. 295-303. A study of the group's development.

Leetham, Claude R. *Luigi Gentilli*. Burns and Oates. Rev. *TLS*, 3 March, p. 164. Study of an important Catholic clergyman.

McCormack, Arthur. *Cardinal Vaughn*. Burns and Oates. Rev. *TLS*, 26 May, p. 478.

Reardon, Bernard M. G. *Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge. Rev. *TLS*, 21 July, pp. 625-26.

Walker, R. B. "Religious Changes in Cheshire, 1750-1850." *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, April, pp. 77-94. The non-Anglicans of 1851 in contrast to those of 1750 played as important a part in the religious life of the county as members of the Established Church.

SCIENCE. Williams, L. Pearce. "The Historiography of Victorian Science." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 197-204. A review-article calling for an alliance between history and history of science.

SOCIAL. Blyth, Henry. *The Pocket Venus*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. Rev. *TLS*, 2 June, p. 486. The Victorian scandal concerning the elopement of Lady Florence Paget and the Marquess of Hastings.

Burnett, John. *Plenty and Want*. Nelson. Rev. *TLS*, 7 April, p. 278. A social history of diet from 1815 to the present.

Church, Roy A. *Economic and Social Change in a Midland Town*. Cass. Rev. *TLS*, 14 July, p. 617. Nottingham, 1815-1900.

Dyos, H. J. "The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Review of Some Recent Writing." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 225-37. A review-article concerning urban historians.

Evans, Joan. *The Victorians*. Cambridge. Rev. *TLS*, 25 August, p. 760.

Goodwyn, E. A. *A Suffolk Town in Mid-Victorian England*. Suffolk. Rev. *TLS*, 10 March, p. 209.

Rapson, Richard L. "British Tourists in the United States, 1840-1900." *History Today*, August, pp. 519-27. The visitors were astonished by the hustle of American life and awed by the immensity of the country.

Reece, Winstone. *Bristol As It Was, 1866-1874*. The Author, 23 Hyland Grove, Bristol. Rev. *TLS*, 23 June, p. 561. Pictorial tour.

Sherrard, O. A. *Two Victorian Girls*, ed. A. R. Mills. Muller. Rev. *TLS*, 24 March, p. 241. Extracts from the diaries of two sisters.

Ward, W. R. *Victorian Oxford*. Cass. Rev. *TLS*, 10 March, p. 195.

II

Individual Authors

ARNOLD. Anderson, Warren D. *Matthew Arnold and the Classical Tradition*. Michigan. Rev. *TLS*, 12 May, p. 409.

Cadbury, William. "Coming to Terms with 'Dover Beach.' " *Criticism*, Spring, pp. 126-38. The stresses of introspection are resolved in action.

De Laura, David. "Matthew Arnold and the American 'Literary Class': Unpublished Correspondence and Some Further Reasons." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, April, pp. 229-50. The reasons why Arnold and American intellectuals misunderstood one another.

Monteiro, George. "Matthew Arnold in America, 1884." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 66-67. John Hay bought and distributed quantities of unsold tickets for both of Arnold's Cleveland lectures.

Peterson, William S. " 'Rugby Chapel' and *Tom Brown's School-Days*." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 204-6. The novel influenced aspects of the poem.

Ryals, Clyde de L. "Arnold's *Balder Dead*." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 67-81. Arnold regarded the poem highly because it embodied his conception of what modern poetry should be.

Standley, Fred L. "Mrs. Thomas Arnold. An Unpublished Letter." *Notes and Queries*, February, p. 66. Prints the letter to a friend Robert Rolleston.

Super, R. H. "American Piracies of Matthew Arnold." *American Literature*, March, pp. 123-25. Gives details.

Super, R. H., ed. *Culture and Anarchy with Friendship's Garland and Some Literary Essays*. Michigan. Rev. *TLS*, 12 May, p. 409. The fifth volume of the Prose Works.

BEERBOHM. Langbaum, Robert. "Max and Dandyism." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 121-26. A review-article which indicates that Beerbohm's life and work symbolize the idea of dandyism.

BLUNT. Going, William T. "Blunt's Sonnets and Skittles: A Further Word." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 136-41. Blunt's sonnets and *Skittles* differ as works and in their use of Catherine Walters as inspiration.

BRONTËS. Bell, A. Craig. "Anne Brontë: A Re-Appraisal." *Quarterly Review*, July, pp. 315-21. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* is a great novel.

Diskin, Patrick. "Joyce and Charlotte Brontë." *Notes and Queries*, March, pp. 94-95. An episode in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was suggested by an incident in *Jane Eyre*.

Ewbank, Inga-Stina. *Their Proper Sphere*. Arnold. Rev. *TLS*, 5 May, p. 388. The Brontë sisters as early Victorian novelists.

Gose, Elliott B., Jr. "*Wuthering Heights:* The Heath and the Hearth." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 1-19. The integration of good and evil in Cathy II leads to the process of reconciliation that shapes the novel.

Johnson, E. D. H. " 'Daring the Dread Glance': Charlotte Brontë's Treatment of the Supernatural in *Villette*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 325-36. The subplot of the ghostly nun serves a thematic function.

Knies, Earl A. "The 'I' of *Jane Eyre*." *College English*, April, pp. 546-56. Defends the use of the novel's first-person narration.

Martin, Robert Bernard. *The Accents of Persuasion*. Faber. Study of Charlotte Brontë's novels.

BROWNING. Ball, Patricia M. "Browning's Godot." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 245-53. The importance of the Godot awareness to Browning as a poet.

Chandler, Alice. " 'The Eve of St. Agnes' and 'Porphyria's Lover.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 273-74. The two poems are similar in plot, phrasing, and theme.

Gabbard, G. N. "Browning's Metamorphoses." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 29-31. The three scenes depicted in the tapestry which hung in her foster-parents' home resemble situations that surround Pompilia in the course of her story.

Goldfarb, Russell M. "Sexual Meaning in 'The Last Ride Together.' "*Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 255-61. The title is a metaphor that relates to the act of sex.

Guskin, Phyllis J. "Ambiguities in the Structure and Meaning of Browning's *Christmas Eve*." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 21-28. The poem is ambiguous both as an expression of the poet's own religious attitude and as a work of art.

Hitner, John M. "Browning's Grotesque Period." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 1-13. The period dates 1872-1875.

Huebenthal, John. "The Dating of Browning's 'Love Among the Ruins,' 'Women and Roses,' and 'Childe Roland.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 51-54. The dating of these poems still needs further investigation.

Litzinger, Boyd and K. L. Knickerbocker, eds. *The Browning Critics*. Kentucky. Rev. *TLS*, 14 April, p. 324. Selection of essays written between 1891-1964.

Marshall, George O., Jr. "Evelyn Hope's Lover." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 32-34. "Evelyn Hope" examines some of Browning's characteristic ideas about love.

Melchiori, Barbara. "Browning and the Bible: An Examination of 'Holy Cross Day.' " *Review of English Literature*, April, pp. 20-42. The poem and its introduction are rich not only in Biblical quotations and annotations, but above all in irony.

Melchiori, Barbara. "Browning's 'Andrea del Sarto': A French Source in De Musset." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 132-36. Suggests De Musset's play *André de Sarto* as an additional source.

Monteiro, George. "A Proposal for Settling the Grammarian's Estate." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 266-70. The role of the disciple is the key to correct judgment of the grammarian.

Nelson, Charles Edwin. "Role-Playing in *The Ring and the Book*." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 91-98. The poet's use of role-psychology as a means to character awareness.

Parr, Johnstone. "Browning's *Fra Lippo Lippi*, Baldinucci and the Milanesi Edition of Vasari." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 197-201. Browning's confusion about the Masaccio-Lippi relationship was the result of the editorial notes in the Milanesi edition of Vasari's *Le Vite*.

Smith, John Henry. "Robert Browning to Lady Colville: An Unpublished Letter." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 67-68. Browning may have declined Lady Colville's social invitation because he was working on *The Ring and the Book*.

Wasserman, George. "Browning's *Johannes Agricola in Meditation*." *Explicator*, March, No. 59. Agricola's question in the last five lines does not recognize the humanity he shares with those who are damned.

ELIZABETH BROWNING. Lohrli, Anne. "Greek Slave Mystery." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 58-60. The publication of "Greek Slave" in Dickens' *Household Words* was probably not Mrs. Browning's wish.

BULWER. Barnes, James J. "Edward Lytton Bulwer and the Publishing Firm of Harper and Brothers." *American Literature*, March, pp. 35-48. Bulwer and the Harpers had a fruitful relationship for some forty years.

CARLYLE. Pearsall, Ronald. "The Death of Jane Welsh Carlyle." *History Today*, April, pp. 270-75. Details concerning her last days.

CARROLL. Hudson, Derek. "Lewis Carroll's Father." *TLS*, 26 May, p. 484. The father inspired the son to write nonsense.

Levin, Harry. "Wonderland Revisited." *Kenyon Review*, Autumn 1965, pp. 591-616. A centennial evaluation of *Alice In Wonderland*.

CLARE. Green, David Bonnell. "John Clare, John Savage and 'The Scientific Receptacle.' " *Review of English Literature*, April, pp. 87-98. Examines Clare's contributions to the periodical and his relationship to its editor, John Savage.

CLOUGH. Castan, C. "Clough's 'Epi-strauss-ium' and Carlyle." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 54-56. Clough borrowed from Carlyle.

Timko, Michael. *Innocent Victorian: The Satiric Poetry of Arthur Hugh Clough*. Ohio. A study of Clough's shorter satires and the longer poems, especially in terms of the imagery, emphasizing his positive artistic and intellectual achievement.

DICKENS. Dyson, A. E. "*The Old Curiosity Shop:* Innocence and the Grotesque." *Critical Quarterly*, Summer, pp. 111-30. The grotesque is the unifying principle of the novel and it shadows Nell's innocence.

Fielding, K. J. *Charles Dickens*. Longmans. Rev. *TLS*, 4 August, p. 702. Revised edition.

Finkel, Robert J. "Another Boy Brought Up 'By Hand.' " *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 389-90. Explains the phrase as used by Dickens.

Frederick, Kenneth C. "The Cold, Cold Hearth: Domestic Strife in *Oliver Twist*." *College English*, March, pp. 465-70. The novel is the story of an orphan's search for a home, but Oliver never finds a complete, happy family.

Herring, Paul D. "Dickens' Monthly Number Plans for *Little Dorrit*." *Modern Philology*, August, pp. 22-63. A detailed analysis of Dickens' plans for each installment, showing he was in complete control of his task.

Meisel, Martin. "Miss Havisham Brought to Book." *PMLA*, June, pp. 278-85. Dickens developed the Miss Havisham type in his earlier works.

Mitchell, Charles. "*The Mystery of Edwin Drood:* The Interior and Exterior Self." *ELH*, June, pp. 228-46. The completed half, which concentrates on the psychological problem of the inner and outer man, is one of Dickens' strongest efforts.

Wagenknecht, Edward. *The Man Dickens*. Oklahoma. Rev. *TLS*, 4 August, p. 702. Revised edition.

DISRAELI. Blake, Robert. "The Dating of *Endymion*." *Review of English Studies*, May, pp. 177-84. Details concerning the composition of the novel.

Blake, Robert. "Disraeli's Political Novels." *History Today*, July, pp. 459-66. Critical survey.

Smith, Sheila M. *Mr. Disraeli's Readers*. Nottingham. Rev. *TLS*, 9 June, p. 512. Selection of letters received by Disraeli in connection with *Sybil*.

ELIOT. Bellringer, A. W. "Education in 'The Mill on the Floss.' " *Review of English Literature*, July, pp. 52-61. An examination of the novel in terms of George Eliot's ideas on education.

Harvey, W. J. "Ideas In George Eliot." *Modern Language Quarterly*, March, pp. 86-91. A review-article briefly surveying trends in Eliot criticism.

Holmstrom, John and Laurence Lerner. *George Eliot and her Readers*. Bodley Head. Rev. *TLS*, 11 August, p. 726.

Jones, W. Garet. "George Eliot's 'Adam Bede' and Tolstoy's Conception of 'Anna Karenina.' " *Modern Language Review*, July, pp. 473-81. *Adam Bede* influenced the initial conception of Tolstoy's novel.

Lyons, Richard S. "The Method of *Middlemarch*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 35-47. The ideas in the novel are its organizing principle.

Pinney, Thomas. "More Leaves From George Eliot's Notebook." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, August, pp. 353-76. Prints unpublished entries and analyzes contents.

Poston, Laurence. "Setting and Theme in *Romola*." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 355-66. The Italian Renaissance has intrinsic importance to the novel.

GASKELL. Brill, Barbara. "Getting to Know Elizabeth Gaskell." *Library Review*, Winter 1965, pp. 227-33. An appreciation of Mrs. Gaskell herself and her work.

Chapple, J. A. V. "Gaskell Letters." *TLS*, 25 August, p. 770. Details concerning some almost completely unknown letters written to the novelist before her marriage.

Johnson, C. A. "Russian Gaskelliana." *Review of English Literature*, July, pp. 39-51. Similarities between *Mary Barton* and *Crime and Punishment*.

GISSING. Coustillas, Pierre. "Gissing: Some More Biographical Details." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 68-69. Details about the novelist's relatives.

Davis, Oswald H. *George Gissing: A Study in Literary Leanings*. Johnson. Rev. *TLS*, 18 August, p. 749.

Gissing, George. " 'My First Rehearsal': An Unpublished Short Story." Intro. Pierre Coustillas. *English Literature in Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 2-10.

HARDY. Alexis, Gerhard T. "Hardy's *Channel Firing*, 33-36." *Explicator*, March, No. 61. The relevance of the place name *Stourton* to the poem's meaning.

Beatty, C. J. P., ed. *The Architectural Notebook of Thomas Hardy*. Dorset Natural History and Archeological Society. Rev. *TLS*, 23 June, p. 547.

Deacon, L. and T. Coleman. *Providence and Mr. Hardy*. Hutchinson. Rev. *TLS*, 23 June, p. 547. The Hardy-Tryphena affair.

Gregor, Ian. "What Kind of Fiction Did Hardy Write?" *Essays in Criticism*, July, pp. 290-308. The key to Hardy's fiction is the impersonal force that drives his protagonists.

Hardy, Evelyn. "An Unpublished Poem." *TLS*, 2 June 1966, p. 504. The poem, "A Victorian Rehearsal," discovered by Miss Hardy, is presented in Hardy's own handwriting.

Harper, George G., Jr. "An Unpublished Hardy Letter." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 207-8. The letter, dated 1906, recounts geneological information concerning Hardy's family.

Heilman, Robert B. "Hardy's Sue Bridehead." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 307-23. Sue gives us "an essential revelation about human well-being."

Larkin, Philip. "Wanted: Good Hardy Critic." *Critical Quarterly*, Summer, pp. 174-79. Hardy has not attracted the best modern critics.

Morrell, Roy. *Thomas Hardy: The Will and the Way*. University of Malaya. Hardy was not a pessimist or determinist.

Neumeyer, Peter F. "The Transfiguring Vision." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 263-66. The word *transfigure* is the key to the poem's meaning.

Wain, John. "The Poetry of Thomas Hardy." *Critical Quarterly*, Summer, pp. 166-73. General critical evaluation.

Weber, Carl J. *Hardy of Wessex*. Routledge. Extensively revised edition.

HOPKINS. Downes, David A. "Hopkins and Thomism." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 270-72. The base of Hopkins' poetic is the imaginative intellect of Plato, Augustine, and Scotus.

Pouncey, Lorene. "An Analysis of Hopkins' 'Terrible' Sonnet No. 65, 'No Worst.' " *Critical Survey*, Summer, pp. 242-45. A detailed explication.

Reiman, Donald H. "Hopkins' 'Ooze of Oil' Rises Again." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 39-42. An explanation of the phrase.

Thomas, A. "G. M. Hopkins: An Unpublished Triolet." *Modern Language Review*, April, pp. 183-87. Hopkins used his talent in his trio of triolets for "the greater glory of God."

Vickers, Brian. "Hopkins and Newman." *TLS*, 3 March, p. 178. In "Carrion Comfort," Hopkins repudiates Newman's presentation of the passive nature of the soul's collapse in "Gerontius."

MACAULAY. Munby, A. N. L. *Macaulay's Library*. Glasgow. Rev. *TLS*, 4 August, p. 716.

MEREDITH. Beer, Gillian. "Meredith's Contributions to 'The Pall Mall Gazette.' " *Modern Language Review*, July, pp. 394-400. Identifies six articles which appeared anonymously; concludes that these show the range of Meredith as a writer.

MILL. Robson, John M. "Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill: Artist and Scientist." *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer, pp. 167-86. Although her influence on Mill was great, Harriet Taylor was not the joint author of his works.

NEWMAN. Coupet, Armel J. *A Newman Companion to the Gospels*. Burns and Oates. Rev. *TLS*, p. 598. A selection of Newman's sermons.

Friedman, Norman. "Newman, Aristotle and the New Criticism: On the Modern Element in Newman's Poetics." *PMLA*, June, pp. 261-71. Much of Newman's essay "Poetry, with Reference to Aristotle's Poetics" greatly resembles modern ideas.

Robbins, William. *The Newman Brothers*. Heineman. Rev. *TLS*, 7 July, p. 598.

OLIPHANT. Colby, Vineta. "William Wilson, Novelist." *Notes and Queries*, February, pp. 60-66. Mrs. Oliphant was the author of two of the nine novels attributed to her brother, William Wilson.

PATER. Fleissner, Robert F. " 'Prufrock,' Pater and Richard II: Retracing a Denial of Princeship." *American Literature*, March, pp. 120-23. Suggests the influence of Pater on a key line in Eliot's poem.

CHRISTINA ROSSETTI. Lynde, Richard D. "A Note on the Imagery in Christina Rossetti's 'A Birthday.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 261-63. The sources of the poem's images.

RUSKIN. Monteiro, George. "Ruskin and Stillman: A New Letter." *English Language Notes*, March, pp. 202-4. The letter, dating probably from early 1861, shows the two men had no enmity for each other at that time.

SHAW. Laurence, Dan H., ed. *Bernard Shaw: Collected Letters 1874-1897*. Max Reinhardt. Rev. *TLS*, 16 June, pp. 525-27.

STEVENSON. Egan, Joseph J. "The Relationship of Theme and Art in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*." *English Literature In Transition*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 28-32. The artistry of the story supports the idea that Jekyll himself is both good and evil.

Miyoshi, Masao. "Dr. Jekyll and the Emergence of Mr. Hyde." *College English*, March, pp. 470-80. The late Victorian wasteland was responsible for the emergence of Mr. Hyde.

SWINBURNE. Bass, Eben. "Swinburne, Greene and 'The Triumph of Time.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 56-61. Greene's *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time* influenced Swinburne's poem.

Reed, John R. "Swinburne's 'Tristram of Lyonnesse': The Poet-Lover's Song of Love." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 99-120. The poem is a song to love in which Swinburne hoped that he too, "by assuming the role of the hero's poet-lover, would, through him, share in his ultimate immortality. . . ."

TENNYSON. Danzig, Allan. "Tennyson's *The Princess:* A Definition of Love." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 83-89. The poem's basic thesis concerns the nature of love.

Eggers, John Philip. "The Weeding of the Garden: Tennyson's Geraint Idylls and the *Mabinogion*." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 45-51. The poet gave thematic unity to the confused meaning of the Celtic story, using the controlling image of the weeding of the garden.

Gray, J. M. "Source and Symbol in 'Geraint and Enid': Tennyson's Doorm and Limours." *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 131-32. Suggests reasons why Tennyson transposed the names of the two characters in his poem.

Kozicki, Henry. "Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* as Tragic Drama." *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 15-20. The *Idylls* is tragic drama because its characters "accept involvement with an unfathomable pattern of universal justice, which requires their dissolution as part of its mysterious cycle."

Millhauser, Milton. "Structure and Symbol in 'Crossing the Bar.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Winter, pp. 34-39. The poem gives certain insights into the poet's general procedure.

Perrine, Laurence. "When Does Hope Mean Doubt?: The Tone of 'Crossing the Bar.' " *Victorian Poetry*, Spring, pp. 127-31. The poem does realize the poet's belief in some type of immortality.

Rackin, Phyllis. "Recent Misreadings of 'Break, Break, Break' and Their Implications for Poetic Theory." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, pp. 217-28. The demand for paradox and striking metaphor obscures our vision of the poem.

Shaw, W. David and Carl W. Gartlein. "The Aurora: A Spiritual Metaphor in Tennyson." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 213-22. The poet's use of auroral imagery has both scientific and literary significance.

Steane, J. B. *Tennyson*. Evans. Rev. *TLS*, p. 516. Critical survey.

Tennyson, Sir Charles. "The Somersby Tennysons: A Postscript." *Victorian Studies*, March, pp. 303-5. Evaluation of three books published by the youngest of the poet's sisters, Cecilia Lushington.

THACKERAY. Mauskopf, Charles. "Thackeray's Attitude Towards Dickens' Writings." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, June, pp. 21-33. Thackeray differed with Dickens in his fundamental concept of the nature of fiction; nevertheless, he tried to be a fair critic in his reviews and comments on Dickens' work.

THOMPSON. Buchen, Irving H. "Francis Thompson and the Aesthetics of the Incarnation." *Victorian Poetry*, Autumn 1965, pp. 235-44. Thompson's art "hovers between clarity and shadow and thus functions as a verbal image of the Incarnation. . . ."

TROLLOPE. Aitken, David. " 'A Kind of Felicity': Some Notes About Trollope's Style." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 337-53. Trollope's best writing shows little evidence of self-conscious artfulness.

Polhemus, Robert M. "*Cousin Henry:* Trollope's Note from Underground." *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, March, pp. 385-89. The inflexible moral code of society is self-defeating.

WILDE. Brockett, O. G. "J. T. Grein and the Ghost of Oscar Wilde." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, April, pp. 131-38. The supposed perversion of *Salome* was used to denounce Grein when he revived the play in 1918.

Gregor, Ian. "Comedy and Oscar Wilde." *Sewanee Review*, Spring, pp. 501-21. *The Importance of Being Ernest* is a "completely realized idyll," not an imitation of life.

Projects—Requests for Aid

HUGH STUART BOYD. Philip Kelley wishes information concerning a collection of about 170 letters Boyd wrote to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, sold as Lot 531 at Sotheby's on December 14, 1926. *TLS*, p. 314.

FREDERIC HARRISON. Martha Vogeler asks for letters, documents, anecdotes, and other pertinent information. 168 Clinton Street, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201.

GEORGE MEREDITH. Phyllis Bartlett wants information about any of Meredith's manuscript poems for an edition of his poetry. *TLS*, 17 February, p. 128.

T. W. ROBERTSON (1829-1871). P. Rouyer requests assistance in locating letters, playbills, and information about Robertson's family as well as documents relevant to the Prince of Wales Theatre and to the Lincoln Circuit. *TLS*, 18 August, p. 750.

Staten Island Community College

English X News

A. THE NEW YORK MEETING

Chairman, J. Hillis Miller, *Johns Hopkins University*
Secretary, Robert Langbaum, *University of Virginia*

I. Business

II. Papers and Discussion

1. "Tennyson Criticism 1922-1966: From Fragmentation to Tension in Polarity," Elton E. Smith, *University of South Florida.*

2. "The Philosophical Realism of *Idylls of the King*," Clyde de L. Ryals, *University of Pennsylvania.*

3. "Tennyson's Irony," Jerome H. Buckley, *Harvard University.*

Advisory and Nominating Committee: Chairman, Robert Langbaum, *University of Virginia* (1966); Martin J. Svaglic, Robert A. Greenberg (1965-1966); Michael Wolff, Kenneth Knickerbocker (1966-1967); Park Honan, R. H. Super (1967-1968).

1966 Program Chairman: Robert Preyer, *Brandeis University.*

Bibliography Committee: Chairman, R. E. Freeman, *University of California, Los Angeles;* Robert A. Colby; Charles T. Dougherty; Dale Kramer; Edward S. Lauterbach; Oscar Maurer; Robert C. Slack; Richard C. Tobias.

Editor, *The Victorian Newsletter:* William E. Buckler, *New York University.*

1967 Officers: Chairman, Wendell Stacy Johnson, *Hunter College;*
Secretary, Martin J. Svaglic, *Loyola University.*

(Nominations to be voted on.)

B. THE VICTORIAN LUNCHEON

The Victorian Luncheon will be held in the Pennsylvania and Cornell Rooms of the Statler-Hilton Hotel on Thursday, 29 December, with cocktails at 12:00 noon, and lunch at 1:00 P.M. For reservations, send check or money order for $6.10 to Professor John D. Rosenberg, 400 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 10025, before 15 December.