

# THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 13



SPRING, 1958

Edited for the English X Group of MLA by William E. Buckler  
737 East Building, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

- Richard D. Altick (*Ohio State*)
- A. Bischoff (*New Haven, Conn.*)
- Bradford A. Booth (*UCLA*)
- Mildred G. Christian (*Tulane*)
- William C. DeVane (*Yale*)
- Robert A. Donovan (*Cornell*)
- Joseph H. Dugas (*Nebraska State Teachers*)
- George H. Ford (*Cincinnati*)
- William T. Going (*Alabama*)
- Hans J. Gottlieb (*NYU*)
- Gordon S. Haight (*Yale*)
- Robert Langbaum (*Cornell*)
  - Oscar Maurer (*Texas*)
  - Hill Shine (*Kentucky*)
- Lionel Stevenson (*Duke*)
- Gardner B. Taplin (*Longwood*)
- William White (*Wayne State*)
- Elizabeth Cox Wright (*Swarthmore*)

## I. ARTICLES

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE IMAGE PATTERNS IN MEREDITH'S *MODERN LOVE*

*Editor's note:* This essay was prepared before the appearance of Norman Friedman's article in the March, 1957, issue of the *Modern Language Quarterly* ("The Jangled Harp: Symbolic Structure in *Modern Love*"). The editor did not judge it necessary to ask the author to revise the present essay to bring the two into focus, though something very interesting might be done on the controversial topic of image study by a comparison of the two essays.

The achievement of *Modern Love* lies in the poetic expression and interpretation of the complex emotions which spring from the tragic unfulfillment of man's passionate, searching life. The theme is, of course, partly carried by the narrative, and even by such statements as "We are betrayed by what is false within" (xliii, 16). As in any poem, some of the communication arises from the tonal elements and the prosody. But these means are not sufficiently well-used to account for the degree of success the poem undoubtedly attains. Its high though not complete achievement is assured through the images, which flow, accumulate, repeat, and proliferate. Their patterns are rich in themselves, and in their ordered intricacy suggest to the imagination man's potential control over those emotional situations where the polar powers of destruction and creation are inherent.

The aesthetic links in this poem are the images. The oppositions, the contrasts, the ironies are carried by them. The insight which dispassionately reaches to the heart of the problem is expressed in the oppositions set up by their shifting relationships. The final lifting of the minor, bourgeois episode of a broken marriage to universal status, and the final resolution of the cruelties, hypocrisies, and childishness to the pity that comes from understanding are both accomplished by the richness and magnitude of the image patterns. These brave words rhetorically exclude many minor techniques to the same end, as well as the weaknesses of the poem, which are serious. Its versification, one must admit, is frequently stiff, and the other elements of sound frequently unrealized. Even its metaphors, which it is in the air to admire extravagantly just now,<sup>1</sup> sometimes lack authentic imaginative selectivity. However, by shifting the focus from considering *Modern Love* as an account of marital misery, to considering it in terms of the establishment and development of its image patterns for the expression of deeper significances, the critic may come to a clearer view of both its weakness and its strength.

There is a danger of course in such scrutiny of imagery, that of mistaking complexity, which may be only curious and interesting, for genuine poetic power. In this poem the complexity of the image-convolutions is almost unbelievable, and the ironies are struck off like sparks from the constant juxtaposition of opposites. The contemplation of these fire-works, even with the occasional fizzle which is found in every display, is such a delight that the possible limitations of their significance must be constantly considered. Every effort must be made to remember that understanding and evaluation, not description of a condition, is the critic's goal.



An explanation of another aspect of the critical position of this essay is probably necessary. We are constantly warned, very recently by Mr. Empson, that "our present pet word 'image' is grossly confusing."<sup>2</sup> I do not find it clarifying, however, to set a definition too rigidly even within one essay. The "image," to begin with, may be and usually is "a picture in the mind" if the word "picture" is recognized to mean the mental reproduction by the stimulus of words of any one of the sensory responses. This reproduction will be sometimes clear and sometimes vague; the craft of the writer and also the psychological equipment of the reader cause a high degree of divergence in this respect. Further, of course, many such images, that is, reproductions of sensations in the mind, are fully metaphorical as well as sensory. Next, the poet may give us metaphors that are either non-sensory or so lightly or vaguely sensory as to be unclassifiable. I suspect that there are many readers to whom "that fell arrest" which is death in Shakespeare's sonnet is completely non-sensory, although memories of Falstaff or of detective novels may create kinaesthetic or visual images for some. It is scarcely valid to call these non-sensory metaphors "images," but it is the fashion now to do so. To push further along the scale from "the picture in the mind," the lost paradise idea in *Modern Love* is included here under my title of "image patterns." Some writers today would call the use of this idea the use of myth; one must take one's choice of unsatisfactory nomenclature. Finally, the whole situation of a poem, for instance, the effect of the West Wind in autumn in the Mediterranean region, or the trenchant speech of the lover to his one-time love now in bed with a successor, or, as in *Modern Love*, the events, internal and external, of the progress of the broken marriage, has been called in recent years an image. I avoid this extension of the word when I can; Eliot's phrase "the objective correlative" with its defining terms, chain of events, set of objects, is no doubt more satisfactory because less limiting and ambiguous than "image."

Even when aware of these problems, one is ill-advised, I believe, to pin down the butterfly lest something alive and moving lose its vibrant quality and progressive meaning. In the following discussion of *Modern Love* the point which I have attempted to make is precisely that sensory images in the limited meaning and the explicit chain of events are (1) realistic on the surface, (2) metaphorical almost always even in individual stanzas, (3) cumulatively metaphorical without exception, and finally (4) symbolical, as arranged in interlocking and shifting aggregations around several important nuclei. These nuclei which become symbolic within the limits of the poem by repetition are, as it turns out, considered symbols in the fields both of mythology and of certain branches of psychology, but it is unnecessary to hold that the fact is especially significant in this poem if one does not wish to do so. Among those discussed below are eyes, water, and the lost paradise, and I have called them images for want of a better inclusive term. It is the change from eyes to pearls that is more important than a label given to the evidences of it, and we shall see that the process of that change relates the world of realistic fact to an inner world of mind where actions and objects become symbols of fundamental and general if not universal human experience.

A first reading of *Modern Love* will reveal many repeated images, but the true character of these repetitions and their relations to the narrative will elude all but the most careful study. Because it is a poem and not a novel or a play, it depends on its images more than its actions to express the underflow of significance, or to put it in another way, upon this aspect of its style, rather than its plot. The matrix of this poem is a state of being, complex and developing, expressed in metaphors. Yet the reader never forgets the situation. Its shadow skeleton is the narrative of a suburban broken marriage; its nerves and blood are the fine shades and delicate feelings caused by the wreck of the union of this ever-diverse pair. This is the story:

Two young married people, without children, find themselves at a point of misery where they lie bound within themselves, as well as to each other, by the marriage tie. They have had intellectual and affectionate, and above all, passionate pleasure in each other; they have thought themselves and have been thought by others to have a perfect marriage. The man is frenetic in his knowledge that his wife is having an affair (the degree of which is not determined) with another man; his frenzy is aggravated by the hypocrisy of their usually friendly and conversational, if sometimes silent, daily intercourse, and by the recurring physical fascination of his wife's beauty, now that he thinks he has lost possession of it. The common sense panacea, suggested by his doctor, is for him to philander also. There are indecisions in his new affair to match the ambivalences in his married relationship. The woman is beautiful, intelligent, more serene than his wife. She never really catches him as his wife still does. His old love is ever seizing his new love by the throat. The resultant conflict finally emerges honestly on his part; he understands his own responsibility and can realize that his wife's suffering is just as important as his. The husband and wife attempt a reconciliation, by physical union once more, through pity, and then by honest speech. This last is the fatal draught, and the wife kills herself.

Given the situation behind this poem, we would naturally find repetition of weeping and silence, of death as release from hated life, or as the dreaded end of love, and of marriage as bondage and as a tomb or living death. We expect bedroom scenes, and kisses, sleep and wakefulness, dark night, blank hours. These materials are indeed prominent in the poem. The story's setting likewise provides material for the poem: these two people have a social life of dinner parties, after-dinner games, and intellectual conversation, with friends of their own generation and with their elders. All this is conspicuously like the Merediths' life at Lower Halliford and Weybridge, in or near the house of Mary's father, Thomas Love Peacock. They also have an outdoor life of walks in fields and woods, of river trips and visits to the sea-side. This too suggests the Surrey country and the coast of Sussex, where for six or eight years the young couple alternately lived. Rarely does the reader of *Modern Love* lose sight of the realism of these details, but as he becomes aware of the intricate relationships that turn imagery into symbol, he will see far below the surface of that realism and catch a glimpse of timeless themes.<sup>3</sup>

The main fact concerning the introduction and repeated use of images in *Modern Love* is the concentration of the major ones in the first stanza and their continuous influence throughout the poem. Although these images are not the only ones used repetitively, they are nevertheless used in a way peculiar to themselves. They all appear again and again through to the very end, in various relationships with each other and with those later introduced. And with their repetitions they account for over a third of the image material of the total fifty stanzas. This technique (if one can speak thus of what was certainly a creative and not a mechanical process) proceeds *diminuendo*: the next four stanzas each introduce a decreasing number of new images. Beginning with stanza vi, more and more of the newly introduced images either appear only once, or make a little constellation of their own in several adjacent stanzas, their pattern closed before the end of the poem. Several of these, the rose and the shadow, for instance, are of great beauty and give an important shift to the poem; they change its emotional balance and bring it nearer to its solution. The solution finally rests in the last stanza. By the previous associations of the images which create the realistic surface with the changing and shifting images which carry more or less metaphorical significance, stanza L springs almost entirely clear of what has been called a sordidly realistic little tale of a broken marriage. However, as in the first stanza, each image has connotations in both worlds.

Returning to the first stanza after studying the imagery throughout, one recognizes the vibrant suggestion of every line. But until one has learned something of the packed character of this stanza, he can hardly realize the relationships existing within the other forty-nine. One must start with the beginning, and then return to it, to comprehend the power and meaning of the dominant chord. This is the opening stanza of the poem:<sup>4</sup>

By this he knew she wept with waking eyes:  
That, at his hand's light quiver by her head,  
The strange low sobs that shook their common bed  
Were called into her with a sharp surprise,  
And strangled mute, like little gaping snakes,  
Dreadfully venomous to him. She lay  
Stone-still, and the long darkness flowed away  
With muffled pulses. Then, as midnight makes  
Her giant heart of Memory and Tears  
Drink the pale drug of silence, and so beat  
Sleep's heavy measure, they from head to feet  
Were moveless, looking through their dead black years,  
By vain regret scrawled over the blank wall.  
Like sculptured effigies they might be seen  
Upon their marriage-tomb, the sword between;  
Each wishing for the sword that severs all.

In the light of the whole poem, we find that almost every word of this stanza is significant in later stanzas as a repeated image or part of a repeated image. We find also that all the significant words arrange themselves around certain nuclei, some moving readily into relationship with more than one nucleus. These shifting formations, as well as the individual images, also move through the poem, where they illuminate complex states of mind and suggest progressions of idea. The nuclei with their surrounding words are complexly interwoven, but may be briefly indicated. The first fact of the poem, that she wept, is the center of related details, eyes, tears, sobs, awake, pulses, flow. The sobs and pulses belong also with the quiver of the man's hand, relating the married pair immediately. With quiver are associated shook, gaping, and (through muffled pulses) beat and measure. That this is an association readily felt by a poet, we may see in King's *The Exequy*:

But hark! my pulse like a soft drum  
Beats my approach...

From the contiguity of the two, we move to the *common bed*, which makes the silent, nervous shaking of their bodies seem like gaping snakes and "venomous to him." By the rational associations of *venomous*, and by the interweaving of *s* and *d* sounds, the climax of the idea of the middle lines of the stanza, "drink the pale drug of silence," followed by *dead*, becomes a part of the same complex. Allied with these, but forming a group by themselves, are *mute*, *stone-still*, *strangled*, *muffled* and *moveless*. From here, the *common-bed* and the *stone-still* join and gather to them *darkness*, *Memory*, *midnight*, *silence*, *sleep*, *dead*, and *blank*. This develops to the sculptured outlines of the effigies, moveless upon the marriage tomb, with "the sword between" a completion of the visual image, and at the same time an extension of *Memory* into *sleep* and thence to *death*. And *death*, of course, runs back through the "dead black years."

The preceding account of various relationships among the images is indeed very brief, and in the condensation, inevitably, not only may some of the connections appear strained which are certainly present, but also some interesting ideas must have been omitted. The most interesting of these omissions is the water image. From the point of view of the first stanza, it hardly exists, perhaps, nor could it, without some awkwardness, be emphasized. But through various submerged connections, one may detect it. It is latent in *wept*, *Tears*, and "the long darkness flowed away," but its later associations of rain, river, sea, and birth are signally important in the development of meaning in the poem, especially through *quiver* (st. xxxix) and *drink* (st. xlix) when the drug which passed her lips becomes the river Lethe.

In this first stanza lies the poem in embryo. As a narrative, it gives a glimpse of the past, the marriage regretted; of the present, balanced between sobs and silence; of the future, longed for as a severance of the bonds holding them moveless, a death by poison foreshadowed in the pale drug of silence. As a tightly composed image scheme, it establishes the oppositions by which the ideas of the poem are developed. First, there is the opposition of wakefulness and sleep. This grows in the stanza to an opposition of the realistic wakefulness (she was awake and he knew it by touching her) with the elaborate metaphor suggesting sleep:

midnight makes  
Her giant heart of Memory and Tears  
Drink the pale drug of silence, and so beat  
Sleep's heavy measure...

i, 8-11

Then we may remark the oppositions of movement and stillness, bed and tomb, darkness and the faint light of the "pale" drug. One of the most subtle is the contrast of the cold of the stone-still effigies and the warmth of the arterial stream behind the "muffled pulses" and the "giant heart." Related to this is the suggestion of a contrast of softness and hardness. And it hardly need be said that behind all of these is the fundamental opposition of Death and Life, an opposition that ranges through the poem to the final death, the dusty answer.

In this stanza also is almost the whole image scheme of the poem's fifty stanzas. The seminal images constantly recur, and those that are added in later stanzas are usually significant to the extent that they are related to the original ones. For instance, there are three very interesting groups of images, ghost-bell-clock-footsteps, fire-gold-price-earth, and playacting-dream-shadow-dust, which add color and meaning to the poem; they are interwoven in many different ways with the original images. There is, further, a separate group of images so conspicuous that it would seem to have an independent life of its own. This comprises the details which make up scenes of natural beauty, and the metaphors drawn from them. These are so strikingly successful that the stanzas where they accumulate have appeared in many anthologies and have become among the best known of the sequence. This group is a large one, next numerically to the group established in the first stanza, although far behind it. Its importance is even greater than this fact would suggest, aside from the lyric effect no one can miss. Taking the group as a whole, the details of the Surrey scenes and the metaphors taken from smiling Nature create the dominant opposition to the death, darkness, and burial implication of the first group. They represent life, spring, flowers, and bird song and flight.

Although the opposition is clear, its strength can best be seen against the image patterns of the first stanza as they expand through the poem. To trace and analyze all these image patterns is too great a task for this essay; the character of their shifting relationships can only be suggested here by means of two examples. These have been chosen because they show two different kinds of development from the original image: one is "wept with waking eyes" and the other "their common bed."

"By this he knew she wept with waking eyes" is a simple, realistic, narrative introductory statement. But the strangled low sobs quickly become like little gaping snakes, dreadfully venomous to him. The *s's* accumulate, the sharp hysterical element in crying is emphasized. There is something secret in it, too, which suggests the meretricious morbidity of hysteria. But further down in the stanza, the theme becomes idealized in the capitalization of *Tears* and *Memory*; then by association with the flowing darkness the tears become a part of the eternal



flux. As this image and its variously associated images move through the poem, contrasted meanings appear, meet, and become assimilated into each other. In the final seal of Death by the shores of the sea, values are righted, and blame, because shared, is melted away: "no villain need be." Almost stanza by stanza, the two evaluations of the woman's tears proceed, now one, now the other uppermost. The shifting evaluations are suggested and defined by the associations of other images, now condemnation, then pity emerging.

To make clear the negative suggestion of this weeping with waking eyes, as early as stanza iii the eye itself becomes an image, detached from the tears and associated chiefly in the portrayal of the wife: the screened eyes (ix, 12), the slanting eyes (vi, 2), the glazed inaccessible eye (xxxvi, 12-13), the eyes like a poison cup (ix, 11), the eyes of pride (xxiv, 15), Madam "eyes the clock" (xii, 13), the surface eyes (xvii, 5), "our eyes grow white, encountering" (xxi, 7), "By stealth/Our eyes dart scrutinizing snakes" (xxxiv, 8-9): these are sinister and sharp. The last three of the above series include the husband's eyes as well as the wife's; by transferring the weeping to him in stanza viii, a movement is achieved from the negative pole of blame to the positive pole of pity:

Yet it was plain she struggled, and that salt  
Of righteous feeling made her pitiful.  
Poor twisting worm, so queenly beautiful!  
Where came the cleft between us, whose the fault?  
My tears are on thee, that have rarely dropped  
As balm for any bitter wound of mine...

viii, 1-6

The positive suggestion arising from the "wept with waking eyes," introduced in the first stanza in association with the ambivalence of the flowing darkness, is created in two other ways, one by association with the beautiful natural world of golden May,

And showers of sweet notes from the larks on wing,  
Are dropping like a noon-dew...

xi, 3-4

the other by changing the sobs to silence, and the flowing tears to the waters of the ocean. This change is forecast in stanza xvi, 16: the stare of bold concealment here becomes "While with a widening soul on me she stared." The merging of the frantic, weeping, deceitful eyes into a glance from the deep spirit within is in keeping with the evaluation in the conclusion of the poem. When the action takes the man and woman to the sea-side, the sobs like little gaping snakes are repeated in the *s*'s and the connotations of "The ponderous breakers /... dart their hissing tongues high up the sand" (xliii, 4-5). The wife he seeks is now "shadow-like and dry" (xlix, 6), and her silence contrasts with the moaning of the ocean; the tragic conclusion is accepted, as being a part of a greater and less personal whole.

A reader already familiar with *Modern Love* will realize how incomplete the above discussion is, and how arbitrary was the choice of "wept with waking eyes." Any of the other seed-pod images would have yielded results similar and additionally suggestive for a richer realization of the meanings of the poem. For instance, the snakes theme is very conspicuous throughout. I believe that Meredith himself was conscious of its repetitive effectiveness and its connotations of quivering and other muscular responses, and of poison, which through "kisses" also links with the outer surface of the narrative. Such a statement of authorial intention is of course dangerous these days, but the set-piece character of stanza xxvi in which the eagle Love turns into the serpent Love, as it is hit by the arrow, its blood dripping like the links of a chain, is a give-away, I think, of a deliberate and not deeply imaginative arrangement of material. The result is structurally sound, but far-fetched and showy. Other repetitions of "snake" are forceful and carry reverberations. The lines in stanza xliii:

Here where the ponderous breakers plunge and strike,  
And dart their hissing tongues high up the sand...

xliii, 4-5

are admirably descriptive of the actual setting of the story, and relate the earlier part of the action to the suicide by poison. Out of this relationship of "snakes" and "ocean" grows the final metaphor that establishes the idea of the poem as finally developed, that the thundering of these ramping emotions finally throws only a faint thin line upon the shore.

If we cannot follow up such images in detail, we can choose another kind of repetition used in this poem, to see another device for its unification and the deepening of its surface events into greater significance and power. Such another device we see in the use of the image of "the common bed." Although no less realistic than "she slept with waking eyes," the symbolism of the bed for the secret rite of marriage, and its relation to "tomb" through the phrase "like sculptured effigies," is more apparent. Its successive appearances are handled quite differently, too. Instead of the many and apparently scattered references to weeping,



tears, and eyes, we find the bed used in four stanzas only. In these stanzas it is not incidental, but dominant, and marks specific turns in the story. However, their importance does not stop with the factual element; the stanzas are all finely controlled and clear and deep in feeling, and in them the major themes are fused in protean patterns composed with other seminal images.

Focussing now on this image, we read the first stanza as follows: the man and woman lie side by side in their common bed, not communicating, the woman's sobs muffled and finally stopped, the man physically sensitive to the motion, and then rigid. Both are remembering, both are frantic in their restraint, both cry out in silence for death by sudden sword stroke. The death of their marriage is with them continuously, through the venom in their negative emotions. The second of these bed stanzas (xv) shows even more clearly the factual situation. The detailed surface life is uppermost. There is, first, a shift in the sleep image: she sleeps, her arm, not his, outstretched away from him, instead of feeling for him. Then he locks the door deliberately—the imprisonment thus calculated, intentional. The man, as husband, ironically disclaiming enmity born of wronged love, is terrifying. He pours the light suddenly and cruelly upon the sculptured curves of eyelid and breast before him, and he wakes her with a jeer about her pretended innocence. He shows her the handwriting of a clandestine letter: "She trembles through; / A woman's tremble - the whole instrument" (13-14). Here, of course, is the prone figure, the shaking and quivering, with other minor reminders of the first stanza. The cold and the warmth, the darkness and light, the stillness and the moving, are all shifted to another key. The change is conspicuously toward greater factuality, and toward irony.

The third of the bed stanzas (xxiii) shows the two now sleeping alone, but, by the accident of a crowded house, in the same room. The severance has come and with it the bitter sense of loss. The shift in use of the old images is so significant, and their interweaving with nature details, and with one of the most delicately handled of the new ones, is so interesting, that the whole stanza must be quoted:

'Tis Christmas weather, and a country house  
Receives us: rooms are full: we can but get  
An attic-crib. Such lovers will not fret  
At that, it is half-said. The great carouse  
Knocks hard upon the midnight's hollow door,  
But when I knock at hers, I see the pit.  
Why did I come here in that dullard fit?  
I enter, and lie couched upon the floor.  
Passing, I caught the coverlet's quick beat:—  
Come, Shame, burn to my soul! and Pride, and Pain—  
Foul demons that have tortured me, enchain!  
Out in the freezing darkness the lambs bleat.  
The small bird stiffens in the low starlight.  
I know not how, but shuddering as I slept,  
I dreamed a banished angel to me crept:  
My feet were nourished on her breasts all night.

xxiii

The cold, the hardness, the two stretched out in separation, the quick pulse beat, the midnight strongly recall the opening stanza, but are freshly touched by the realistic details of Christmas houseparty, heavy social drinking, sleeping on the floor, and bleating of lambs without. Part of this realism exists for the story, but the greater suggestion lies in the two new oppositions, that of Christmas to the golden foot of May upon the flowers (xi, 7), and that of the small birds stiffening in the starlight to the showers of sweet notes from the lark on wing, dropping like a noon-dew (xi, 3-4).

The new image of the banished angel is part of a very complex metaphor which is in process of being built up by scattered references that only close study will reveal. It finally becomes one of the most moving of them all and makes vitally strong the relations of this poem with other works of imaginative literature. Through it the strongly individual and the realistic become submerged in "the timeless categories," to use D. A. Dike's excellent phrase.<sup>6</sup> Peculiarly treated and not fully developed, the theme behind these new images is that of the lost paradise. The idea of guilt was introduced in stanza ii: "Her eyes were guilty gates" (2); and it is picked up in other scattered references. The creation of Eve is suggested by the reference to "the weak rib," the vulnerable spot for "the fatal shaft" (xxi, 3) of love. Satan appears as Lucifer, the fallen angel, as one might expect, remembering Meredith's later sonnet, "Lucifer in Starlight"; he is the subject of a painting in the Louvre (xxiii) where, prone, he is pierced by a sumptuously feathered Raphael in a fight that is not a fair one. The banished angel upon whose warm breasts the man's freezing feet were nourished is obviously neither Raphael nor Lucifer. However, the several ideas of this fine stanza are, I think,

combined into one emotional effect by the ancient reverberations of different aspects of the ritual myth of a paradise lost through sin by man who wins his happiness again in the everyday world, even though that world contains death. We thus begin to think of a paradise within, happier far, after the false hopes and ugly recriminations of conflicting passions have been spent; in *Modern Love*, however, paradise is not to be regained.

In the light of this stanza thus interpreted, several other parts of the poem gain richness. The attempt to recover the primal joy of passion through the doctor's panacea of distraction by the golden-haired Lady is expressed thus ironically by echoes of Miranda's words: "O sweet new world, in which I rise new made!" (xviii, 13). It is followed, however, by the disappointment of "A kiss is but a kiss now!... / ...we'll sit contentedly, / And eat our pot of honey on the grave" (xxix, 13-16). This man is not an Adam created in the garden, fallen, purified and newly risen, attaining finally a happier paradise. The idea of Eden, remembered with the Miranda contrast, gives brilliant poignancy also to those lines toward the end of the poem which are usually thought to be either scornful of women or an evidence of Meredith's sympathy with the contemporary struggle of women to fit themselves for a position of equality with men. They have tenderer meaning in the Eden context:

Their sense is with their senses all mixed in,  
Destroyed by subtleties these women are!  
More brain, O Lord, more brain, or we shall mar  
Utterly this fair garden we might win.

xlvi, 1-4

This is not the final word on "the union of this ever-diverse pair" (L, 2); that final word concerns the dusty answer and the faint thin line, but it is a strain of longing, of beauty, of sweetness, that tempers the violence to love, the condemnation to pity. The early reviewers missed this honest and morally sturdy appraisal, as some modern readers miss the sweetness. This sweetness stems from the connotations of the paradise metaphor as traced backwards and forwards from the Christmas weather stanza. The further connotations of atonement by the birth of Christ are reinforced by the starlight, the birds and the lambs, and increase the irony of the cleft marriage bed.

The fourth and last of the bed stanzas (xlix) withdraws from the ancient myth reverberations, but moves forward with the more ancient connotations of the water metaphor. The many images which have carried it through the poem have often been apparently incidental, although nearly always used with interesting implications. Perhaps the most delicate of these is the likening of the woman's hair seen in the mirror to "dark rain" (v, 7). It begins to take its most forceful and significant form after the attempted reconciliation of the pair at the sea-side (xliii). And as ocean, it closes the poem in the final quatrain:

In tragic hints here see what ever more  
Moves dark as yonder midnight ocean's force,  
Thundering like ramping hosts of warrior horse,  
To throw that faint thin line upon the shore!

L, 13-16

Perhaps the final assessment of this modern love had to be written, not in the Christmas frame of a paradise lost and regained, but in harmony with the modern psychological terms of the last lines of that previous stanza:

I see no sin:  
The wrong is mixed. In tragic life, God wot,  
No villain need be! Passions spin the plot:  
We are betrayed by what is false within.

xliii, 13-16

The symbolism of the ocean expresses well the force and the sterile but clean conclusion of the plot spun by passions. In any case, playing around each part of the narrative of this final bed stanza is the metaphorical significance which has been built up from the beginning. The flowing dark current has become "the ocean's moaning verge." The opposition of Life's blood stream with the pale drug of silence has been repeated in stanza xlviii:

We drank the pure daylight of honest speech.  
Alas! that was the fatal draught, I fear.

7-8

The two deaths, by poison and by sword, are to be linked in the final stanza by the transfer of the adjective "fatal" from "draught" to "knife":

Then each applied to each that fatal knife,  
Deep questioning, which probes to endless dole.

L, 9-10



The hysterical sobbing turns into the eternal moaning of the sea.

But however symbolic these associations may be, the fourth bed stanza, like the second and the third, has a firm outer form. Some previous images used as metaphors are now in this stanza used as actions. Here, quite simply, we read:

She took his hand, and walked with him, and seemed  
The wife he sought, though shadow-like and dry.  
xlix, 5-6

The midnight with its giant heart becomes merely "about the middle of the night" (13), and the muffled, strangled sound of snakes and pulses resolves to "her call / Was heard, and he came wondering to the bed" (13-14). The most sinister of all the image threads, that starting with *snakes* and *poison*, and developing with *thirsting*, *sucking*, through *poisonous breath* to *kisses*, is now the pathetic "Now kiss me, dear! It may be, now! she said" (15). With the final line, "Lethe had passed those lips, and he knew all," the word Lethe gathers up the poison into the flow of darkness where temporal and eternal seem the same.

After this consenting close, the final stanza is a coda to the poem. Although it has been greatly praised, it shows in its first half, I think, two of the defects noted in the beginning of this essay: the iambic pentameter is correct but stiff, and the lines strain forward in crowded metaphor invented to fit the image patterns of the whole. This judgment will not follow inevitably after such study of the poem as these pages indicate; indeed the temptation is to value too highly the kind of complexity that exists here, without sensing the difference between the ingenuity of the packing of connotations and repetitions in the first half, and the imaginative fusing of them in the second. In spite of this downgrading of stanza L from the position of perfect anthology piece, its quality is high. Its interest and value as a conclusion is promised by the first two lines:

Thus piteously Love closed what he begat:  
The union of this ever-diverse pair!  
L, 1-2

and vindicated by the last eight.

This stanza is so dense in its vital image material that either a word-by-word treatment or quotation in full is needed. At this stage of study the quotation will be the better:

Thus piteously Love closed what he begat:  
The Union of this ever-diverse pair!  
These two were rapid falcons in a snare,  
Condemned to do the flitting of the bat.  
Lovers beneath the singing sky of May,  
They wandered once; clear as the dew on flowers:  
But they fed not on the advancing hours:  
Their hearts held cravings for the buried day.  
Then each applied to each that fatal knife,  
Deep questioning, which probes to endless dole.  
Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul  
When hot for certainties in this our life!  
In tragic hints here see what evermore  
Moves dark as yonder midnight ocean's force,  
Thundering like ramping hosts of warrior horse,  
To throw that faint thin line upon the shore!  
L

We have here not only the themes sounded by the first stanza images, but their variations caused by later introductions and by regroupings. The falcons grow from the eagle in high skies (xxvi), the snare repeats the bondage and chains theme, the bat is the creature of night. The singing sky of May and the dew on flowers gather in association all the poem's details of natural beauty. The buried day represents the past and present, the darkness and the light, the death and life. Packed as they are, these lines remain a formula, I think, and are not released by their internal life to make the rocket display. But beginning with the phrase "the fatal knife / Deep questioning," the images flow unclotted and the sound runs free.

"Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul" has become a part of our idiom almost to the degree of Hamlet's "the bourne from which no traveller returns." Even out of context, it fills the mind and heart, not with hope, but with strength to meet its terrible denial. In context, and with its following line, "when hot for certainties in this our life," it shows up in irony the cold clear certainty of the tomb in the first stanza. It shows the death that comes with the sword that severs all, no solution but only the end. It takes down the agony of the theatrical moment and idea to the realistic. But this is not an ugly thing, nor a petty thing. The

fatal knife was that of honesty as well as desperate severance; the midnight ocean's force has permanent life. We have "learned how silence best can speak" (xliv, 11) for love and pity.

Swarthmore College

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Elizabeth Cox Wright

NOTES:

<sup>1</sup>As for example by C. Day Lewis, ed., *Modern Love*, by George Meredith (London 1948), xxv, f.

<sup>2</sup>William Empson, "Yes and No," *Essays in Criticism*, V (January, 1955), 88. The next quoted phrase comes from the same page.

<sup>3</sup>Colin Still, *The Timeless Theme* (London, 1936).

<sup>4</sup>*Modern Love* as edited by C. Day Lewis is used throughout, but the punctuation is occasionally emended according to the first edition (George Meredith, *Modern Love and Poems of the English Roadside*, etc., [London, 1862]).

<sup>5</sup>The only ones not significant throughout the poem are *hand*, *head*, *giant* and *scrawled*. However, *scrawled* is picked up once again in *handwriting* (st. xv), and used with other reverberations from the first stanza.

<sup>6</sup>D. A. Dike, "A Modern Oedipus," *Essays in Criticism*, VII (April 1952), 169.

## II. REVIEWS

### THE VISION BEHIND THE METAPHOR

Leon Edel, *Literary Biography*, University of Toronto Press, 1957.

Although Professor Edel's Alexander Lectures seldom refer to biographies by or about Victorians, they say things that everyone concerned with the progress of Victorian studies must ponder. And, indeed, this is a book for all students of literature to heed. For the first time, the problems of *literary biography*, as distinct from biography in general, are discussed in a book devoted to the subject by an expert practitioner of the art. The previous standard studies of biography as a genre, Nicolson's and Maurois', are outclassed by this penetrating, beautifully written, and all-too-short book. Another that came out almost simultaneously with it last autumn, Professor Garraty's, does not, I think, offer serious competition. (The 1942 *English Institute Annual* was composed of several papers on the topic, valuable in themselves but lacking the unified purpose of Mr. Edel's volume.)

Probably the greatest usefulness of Mr. Edel's book is that it reminds us, in an era when to many critical consciences the so-called "biographical fallacy" is equivalent to the unforgivable sin, that biographical evidence, shrewdly weighed and judiciously applied, is an invaluable adjunct to criticism. Opinion may differ on whether or not Mr. Edel overstates his case for the biographer's adoption of psychoanalytic techniques. Sir Leslie Stephen and many of his contemporaries, of course, would have been horrified by even the most timid gesture in that direction. In 1893, speaking as the high priest of late Victorian biography, Stephen laid it down as a principle of the art that "The biographer should sternly confine himself to his functions as introducer; and should give no more discussion than is clearly necessary for making the book an independent whole. A little analysis of motive may be necessary here and there: when, for example, your hero has put his hand in somebody's pocket and you have to demonstrate that his conduct was due to sheer absence of mind. But you must always remember that a single concrete fact, or a saying into which a man has put his whole soul, is worth pages of psychological analysis." In Mr. Edel's view, however, "The psychoanalyst, reading the pattern of the work, can attempt to tell us what was wrong with the artist's mental or psychic health. The biographer, reading the same pattern in the larger picture of the human condition, seeks to show how the negatives were converted into positives... the triumphs of art over neurosis, and of literature over life..." The effective use Mr. Edel makes of such techniques in the cases of Henry James and (in the present book) Willa Cather would be enough, I should think, to disarm most skeptics.

Since it was Lytton Strachey's demolition job on certain Victorian eminences that marked the great modern crisis of English biography, Victorian scholars have a peculiar, one might almost say proprietary, interest in the progress of the genre. It must be admitted that, on the whole, the Victorians have been better served by their biography-writing posterity than they served their own literary forebears; whatever other values it may have, the average nineteenth-century literary biography does not excite admiration either for its artistic skill or for its psychological perceptivity. Nevertheless, the list of Victorian authors whose lives have been adequately written—adequately, that is, according to our present high ideals of factual accuracy, discrimination between the relevant and the irrelevant, and ability to relate the man to the artist, the producer to the product—is startlingly short.

Eight years ago, in an essay contributed to *The Reinterpretation of Victorian*



*Literature*, John W. Dodds enumerated twenty-seven Victorian authors, major and minor, of whom no thoroughly satisfactory biography existed. Only three of those desiderata have since been filled. Even among the first-rank men of letters, amazing lacks remain. There is no good large-scale life of Carlyle, none of Arnold, none to supersede Trevelyan's ample but old-fashioned life of Macaulay. Betty Miller's book on Browning was a much-needed step in the right direction, and I think it scored far more hits than misses; but it does not fill the gap left by the obsolescence of Griffin and Minchin.

Since Dodds wrote, certain Victorian men of letters who happened not to be on his list of the deserving needy have been well taken care of by biographers. One thinks, for example, of Noel Annan's *Leslie Stephen*, J. C. Furnas' *Voyage to Windward* (on Stevenson), James Pope-Hennessy's *Monckton Milnes*, Lionel Stevenson's *Ordeal of George Meredith*, E. C. Mack and W. H. G. Armytage's *Thomas Hughes*, and—a remarkable example of lifelong labor spent on a rather unexciting subject—Waldo H. Dunn's loving monument to R. D. Blackmore. Meanwhile there has been the usual dependable stream of amiable but insignificant biographies, mainly from amateur English pens, of everybody from Samuel Smiles to Sabine Baring-Gould. But why, at a moment when the English advertisements proclaim still another book about "Ouida," from whose life of absurd and tawdry grandeur the last piquant drop has long since been extracted for the circulating-library trade, are so many other figures still awaiting their definitive biographers?

... Figures, some of them, who offer fascinating challenges to the ambitious student who can combine the various sorts of evidence and approaches now available into a deeply meaningful interpretation of a man's character and art. No one has yet ventured to assimilate into a single portrait of Carlyle the diversified special points of view represented by, for instance, Dr. James L. Halliday's "psychosomatic biography" (*Mr. Carlyle—My Patient*) and John Holloway's rhetorical analysis, so full of psychological implications, in *The Victorian Sage*. The goal of a definitive biography of Tennyson has been brought nearer, but certainly not achieved, by Sir Charles Tennyson's excellent book, which, while it candidly laid before the world the bitter realities of a childhood at Somersby Rectory, in some other respects maintained the tradition of reticence so effectively inaugurated by Sir Charles' father. The future large-scale biographer of the poet will be obligated not only to take into account the data now accessible in the Tennyson papers at Harvard but, more important, to follow up the provocative examples of psychological inquiry found in (to cite but four instances) Lionel Stevenson's article on the "high-born maiden" symbol in Tennyson (*PMLA*, 1948), E. D. H. Johnson's chapter on the poet in *The Alien Vision of Victorian Poetry*, Betty Miller's article on his attitude toward women (*Twentieth Century*, 1955), and G. Robert Stange's sensitive interpretation of "The Hesperides" (*PMLA*, 1952).

All these critics have derived from a close reading of certain portions of Tennyson's text new insights into the poet's mind. With other poets, it is the reverse process which would operate most fruitfully. Enough is now known about psychosexual abnormalities to make a new life of Swinburne a rewarding enterprise, especially if attention were centered on the way in which his psychic peculiarities affected the diction and rhythms of his poetry and (quite possibly) supplied still unsuspected deeper meanings. Here the expert application of biographical data, guided by sound principles of psychoanalysis, might well stimulate a revival of critical interest in the poet. And—as a not wholly illogical afterthought—why has there never been a modern study of John Addington Symonds? The abundance of raw autobiographical material, a great deal of it piercingly introspective, in Horatio Brown's biography alone would seem to justify a thorough study of that tortured but courageous character.

A multitude of other Victorian biographical lacunae suggest themselves—Henry Morley, the brothers Mayhew, Augustine Birrell, Mark Lemon, Henry Fothergill Chorley, Douglas Jerrold, Churton Collins, to choose a few promising subjects at random—but since these men were journalists and academic men rather than creative artists, the highly refined biographical-critical techniques Mr. Edel discusses would not often be called into play; a workmanlike life, in the older, relatively nonpsychological mode would do very well. But no matter who his subject may be, every future biographer of a Victorian author should have Mr. Edel's book nearby, to be inspired by its sanity and reassured in moments of despair. The biographer's calling is a high one, and his work, if skillfully performed, enlarges and illuminates our understanding of an artist and his art. "To read between the lines of the best literature," says Mr. Edel, "can indeed be one of the most absorbing pursuits in the world: to catch the flickering vision behind the metaphor, to touch the very pulse of the hand that holds the pen—this is what the biographer attempts, though he knows that at best he will capture only certain moments, and largely echoes."

## THE RISE TO LITERACY

Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900*, University of Chicago Press, 1957.

The author of *The Scholar Adventurers* here reports upon his own ten years of travel among the dusty areas of nineteenth-century yellow backs, statistics of sales, cheap periodicals, library records and speeches in Parliament. These may not be realms of gold, but they have been relatively unexplored, and Mr. Altick opens them up for us with a keen excitement that may remind us of Keats' discoverers of sea and sky and land. Moreover, his explorations are so thorough that *The English Common Reader* becomes one of those books which make us say with admiration after reading them: Well, that subject has at last been covered, and with authority.

Mr. Altick shows that to change England from a country of only a few thousand readers into one in which there was a mass reading public of millions there were "three great requisites—literacy, leisure, and a little pocket-money." To the first of these requisites he devotes several fact-packed chapters on the history of schools and mechanics' institutes. To the second he devotes less attention, but he does show that until the fourteen-hour working day for operatives and shopkeepers was reduced, there was obviously little chance for the spread of reading among such classes. As for "a little pocket-money," Mr. Altick is less concerned with showing how wages increased than with showing how reading-matter was gradually reduced in price to the point where it could be easily purchased for small sums, or how it became available, free of charge, in public libraries. Four chapters are accordingly devoted to the history of publishing, especially to the revolution after 1850 when publishers began competing with each other (according to the principles of *laissez-faire*) to capture a mass market by drastically lowering their prices, and by exploiting new facilities, such as the railway book-stalls, for selling their books and magazines and newspapers.

In addition to providing such helpful factual information, this study also investigates the dramatic conflict of attitudes towards increasing the size of the English reading public. The proponents of mass education, free libraries, and inexpensive books and magazines argued that the habit of reading would make the lower orders more sober, conservative, and economically productive. A smaller group of proponents such as Dickens (whose views are shared by Mr. Altick) believed that reading should be encouraged because it can be enjoyable. Opponents of the movement, early in the century, included political conservatives, especially the farmers, who argued that mass reading would lead to revolution. A second objection, more prevalent in the high Victorian period, was that mass reading would lead to immorality. And here Mr. Altick offers a fascinating account of the dilemma confronting the kind of Evangelical who advocated literacy in order that the Bible might be read but who dreaded what would happen if other kinds of reading matter were to fall into the hands of common men and women, especially women. The third objection, which came to the fore in the last third of the century and which is still with us, is based on taste rather than morality. Assuming that the common reader will prefer the tasteless and sensational (Mickey Spillane for example), the easy-to-read snippet, the obvious, one can argue that the end-result of the literary revolution traced for us by Mr. Altick has been a less than desirable one. Gresham's Law can operate in art as well as in economics; a flood of cheap and nasty publications drowns out the possibility of significant publications.

Some earlier studies of the reading public, such as that by Mrs. Q. D. Leavis, were committed to proving this third objection. They presented evidence of the phenomenal pressures on today's literary artists to provide the obvious trash that the mass reading public is assumed to want and of the consequent decline of twentieth-century culture—a problem that has been given a more recent airing by Dwight Macdonald in *Encounter* (June, 1957). Mr. Altick has the distinction of taking a different viewpoint. He wants his book to be read as social history, not as literary criticism or even as social criticism. He asks us to bear in mind that "this volume is not intended to be an examination of nineteenth-century literary taste, or of the effect the new mass public had upon the practice of contemporary writers." One may object that such a premise shirks the main issues raised by this excellent history, for the problem of taste haunts us in every chapter. It sometimes haunts Mr. Altick as well. Summing up the kind of fare offered by cheap publications in the 1890's, "nothing which required attention on the part of their readers," he notes sadly that "more and more, as the years passed, people would be buying reading matter whose chief function was to keep their eyes busy while their brains took a rest."

As the author of a useful text, *Preface to Critical Reading*, Mr. Altick seems dedicated to the idea that the mass public is, in effect, educatable. He seems to share the point of view of the contemporary publisher, Alfred Knopf, and this more cheerful faith is often apparent in the present study. What the basis is for this faith, however, we do not learn, and



the crucial issue, for literary criticism, of levels of quality in writing is deliberately subordinated for purposes of a largely objective narrative.

Mr. Altick has contributed so much fresh and valuable information in this book that it is captious to wish for more information, or perhaps speculation, on several topics. Why was it that reading flourished so much more extensively in Scotland than in England? Is it that minority groups, such as Scots and Jews, are driven to the printed word by their religion, or by an urge to succeed in the world of wealth and power? Do groups that are richer or more secure neglect reading and sink back to the picture magazines because of the complacent absence of such an aggressive drive towards success? Among the self-made readers (discussed in chapter XI), what were the motives of Forster's Leonard Bast or of Hardy's Jude? Leonard Bast, student of Ruskin's tortuous prose, belongs just outside the Victorian period, as does Mr. Polly, but he has interested sociologists as a kind of case history of the underprivileged man's desire to rise to a new level of prestige, not of economic prestige, by reading. One of the many virtues of Mr. Altick's historical method is that although the author tries to refrain from speculations such as these, his book itself provokes the reader into confronting some of the major problems of literary and social criticism that are specially posed by a democratic society.

Another virtue of *The English Common Reader* is its style. A vast field of learning has been reduced to admirable order not only by the over-all organization but by sentences that are clear, lively, and quotable. Here is certainly a major addition to important studies of nineteenth-century England.

University of Cincinnati

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George H. Ford

### ROBERT BROWNING: ÂME ÉLASTIQUE

Roma J. King, Jr., *The Bow and the Lyre: The Art of Robert Browning*, University of Michigan Press, 1957.

Roma King's purpose in *The Bow and the Lyre* is to provide Browning with the credentials necessary for modern approval. He reminds us that Browning has been admired by Pound, Gide, and Ford Madox Ford, that Gide even linked Browning with Nietzsche, Dostoevsky and Blake. And he devotes his book to a close reading—with much attention in the New Critical manner to verbal analysis—of five Browning poems: *Andrea del Sarto*, *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *The Bishop Orders His Tomb*, *Bishop Blougram's Apology* and *Saul*. The aim is to clear Browning of any damaging association with romanticism, to show that his poetry is instead, like Donne's, a poetry of "violently yoked" opposites, of ironies, ambiguities and paradoxes, and that it is therefore a forerunner of twentieth-century poetry.

Certainly Browning's reputation needs at this point all the help it can get, and Professor King's book is therefore to be welcomed. His readings show that Browning knew a great deal more about life than is imagined by those who think about him at a distance. The readings also reveal in such poems as *Andrea del Sarto* and *The Bishop Orders His Tomb* the richness of texture which modern taste demands. It is, however, difficult at best to make a substantial book out of five readings, and these are by no means flawless. The verbal analyses are often pointless and merely academic (when the author counts verbs, for example); and Mr. King sometimes shows a lack of precision in describing the poems and a lack of tact in manipulating fashionable concepts like *dissociation of sensibility* and fashionable words like *irony* and *symbol*. He is usually best when he talks about the poems as dramatic monologues, treating words and ideas not as gambits in a metaphysical conceit but as functions of character and situation.

He is very good, for example, when he shows *Andrea del Sarto* as a self-destroyer who blames Lucrezia for his failure yet uses her "as a bulwark against complete self-realization." Is it necessary, however, to see a *symbol* in what is after all a dramatically appropriate correspondence between the autumnal twilight setting and *Andrea's* character and art? The author is right in finding that a pattern of "silver-grey," denoting the present state of *Andrea's* life and art, contrasts with a pattern of "gold," denoting the remembered glory of the period at King Francis' court. But is he not pushing too hard when he tells us that in the lines, "All is silver-grey / Placid and perfect with my art," the "silver" shows that *Andrea's* painting "takes on the color of commercialism"; or that the famous "A man's reach . . ." is ironical? In trying to establish a pattern of irony by which Lucrezia figures both as *Andrea's* Eve and his Virgin, King points only to the phrase "serpentine beauty" and the lines "the low voice my soul hears, as a bird / The fowler's pipe, and follows to the snare," to carry us back to Eden. The latter lines, however, do not necessarily suggest Eden; "serpentine" may, but its first meaning in the line "My serpentine beauty rounds on rounds!" is surely that *Andrea*, with his painter's eye, sees Lucrezia's beauty as composed of circles, circles which are both beautiful

and sinister. In both passages we see Andrea at his characteristic trick of blaming Lucrezia even as he praises her. It is ironical all right that a woman like Lucrezia should serve as model for Andrea's Virgins. But the irony is dramatic not verbal.

Mr. King makes a nice contrast between the style and setting of *Andrea del Sarto* and *Fra Lippo Lippi*. He shows how the latter poem increases in seriousness and how all its elements are brought together in Lippi's final description of his "Coronation of the Virgin." In trying to establish a system of tensions, however, he goes too far in suggesting that Lippi is equally attracted to the monastery and the world. In his reading of *The Bishop Orders His Tomb*, King uses some dense verbiage to make the excellent point that the Bishop's utterance moves by association and on varying levels of consciousness and sincerity. This is true of all Browning's best dramatic monologues, and suggests the way in which his work leads into the twentieth century. Why then describe the Bishop's style as rhetorical? He is rhetorical when he is playing the Bishop; when he speaks of his real passions—*lapis lazuli*, for example—he is a first-rate poet. Mr. King thinks the Bishop comes to realize in the end that life really is vanity, and he sees a final irony in the Bishop's "Well go! I bless ye," to the sons who will not give him the tomb he wants. "It is doubly ironic that this, the first genuine blessing he has ever given, brings him no spiritual comfort." Is it not more important that the Bishop returns in the end to all his old pre-occupations—ritual, Gandolf, his mistress? The reader will have to consult his own responses to decide whether the final effect is really ironic, or whether it is one of awe before the articulation of a powerful life and a powerful age.

Most successful is the reading of *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, where King has the chance to defend the poem as a poem of wit against the charge that it is not poetical. Following C. R. Tracy's suggestion that Blougram is a composite portrait of Wiseman and Newman, he shows that Blougram is not a scoundrel, that his argument is to be taken seriously, and that there is no reason to suspect the sincerity of his moments of faith or of his struggle with doubt. At the same time the Bishop's argument is, he shows, a deliberate *tour de force*. The Bishop does not intend it as the ultimate argument for Christianity; he is doing what Newman sometimes did (and what Browning incidentally does elsewhere, in *Karshish* and *Cleon*), making the case for Christianity even out of the skeptic's assumptions. King demonstrates the strength and suppleness of Blougram's intellect and the contrasting looseness of Gigadibs'. He shows us a very interesting and complex poem. Yet he misses I think the final complexity in not seeing that there remains after all something to be said against Blougram and for Gigadibs. He does not make enough of the final lines. For if Gigadibs turns his back on skeptical liberalism, he also rejects Blougram's dogmatic religion and the worldly success it brings. The implication surely is that in starting over again from the beginning, with a plough and the Gospel, Gigadibs will arrive at a purer Christianity than Blougram's.

Since the author's purpose is to rehabilitate Browning's reputation, it is odd that he should have devoted a whole chapter to *Saul*, a poem he does not much like. He considers that the poem was written under the influence of Elizabeth Barrett's poetry (not a good recommendation) and that it lacks coherence. Although *Saul* is not one of my own favorites, it is, in its dramatization of David's mounting insights, coherent enough. Saul represents not Christ, as King thinks, but more probably suffering humanity; so that it is not inconsistent that David should console him with a prophecy of the Incarnation. Nor does David's ultimate insight into God's love as at least equal to his own proceed from a rational analogy "foreign to the spirit of the Psalms"; it is inspired—through a miracle of perfect self-understanding. As in *Blougram*, *Karshish* and *Cleon*, Browning is saying that Christian doctrine is true because necessary, that it inevitably arises out of the need of man's nature.

The concluding chapter is full of interesting observations. Browning has been called an optimist, "yet few of his characters attain unflinching serenity." "There are in Browning many levels of damnation—and as many salvations." Most interesting of all is a conjecture as to what Browning's present-day influence might have been had he like Hopkins burst upon the twentieth century as a discovery. It is too bad then that the author fastens so exclusively in the end on Browning's relation to Donne and the "Baroque writers of the seventeenth century" as the thing which connects him with us. Why does he make nothing of the other connection suggested by him—the connection with Gide, Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, Blake? Although Browning loved Donne's rough music and echoes Donne (in the fifth and sixth stanzas of *Childe Roland*, for example), the content of his poetry derives more importantly from that *âme élastique* which Gide admired and considered the revolutionary element in him. It is mainly the historicizing and psychologizing quality of Browning's mind, the thing in him which is in other words most nineteenth century, that makes him a forerunner of the twentieth.

## SOME AMERICAN ARNOLDIANS

John Henry Raleigh, *Matthew Arnold and American Culture*, University of California Press, 1957.

In 1941, commenting on Matthew Arnold's reputation in America, Allen Tate declared that "Arnold is still the great critical influence in the universities, and it is perhaps not an exaggeration of this influence to say that debased Arnold is the main stream of popular appreciation of poetry." ("Literature as Knowledge: Comment and Comparison," *Southern Review*, VI [1941], 632.) Certainly no one could claim such enduring influence for Arnold's political and religious ideas, though *Culture and Anarchy* probably remains Arnold's best known and most widely read book. Arnold's diffident, self-critical liberalism is as unpopular today as it was in the nineteenth century, and the twentieth century makes the same objection as the nineteenth to his religious ideas. Religious people complain that he deprived religion of theology, and non-religious people protest that he cluttered up rationalism with the useless husks of Christian tradition. Still, the acknowledgment of such an unsympathetic critic as Tate that Arnold remains a potent force in literature affirms the need for charting and measuring his influence in America. Professor Raleigh's book is the first serious attempt to meet this need.

The story of Arnold's influence in America begins in 1865 with the publication of the first series of *Essays in Criticism*. Arnold's attack on vulgarity and philistinism found an immediate acceptance among Americans who, like Henry James, were troubled by America's provinciality and by the lack of a vigorous native intellectual tradition. But to found an Arnoldian succession in America with Henry James, as Raleigh does, is to deprive James of a good deal of credit for the independence of his values and ideals, and to suggest a closer correspondence than in fact there is between the critical assumptions and methods of Arnold and James. Though they shared a conviction that literature is essentially serious and moral, James retained throughout his life a concern with the subtleties of artistic technique which was foreign to Arnold in his dealings with literature (except, perhaps, in the letters to Clough and in the 1853 Preface). Raleigh finds Arnold's most significant influence on James in the latter's turning from a criticism based on carefully articulated principles to a criticism based on individual perception, but there is little evidence that this shift is to be attributed to Arnold rather than to the natural maturing of James's critical judgment. I do not wish to imply that Arnold's effect on James was slight or negligible, only that James was too complex and varied a figure to be accurately comprehended under the label of an American Arnoldian.

Such a term may be more accurately used to describe the two American men of letters who helped to keep Arnold's fame alive during the forty years immediately following his death. William C. Brownell and Stuart Sherman were avowed disciples of Arnold, and much of their energies was directed toward propagating the faith in culture. Raleigh paints an amusing—in some ways a frightening—picture of Sherman striving to turn his students at the University of Illinois into little replicas of Matthew Arnold. In spite of the efforts of Brownell and Sherman, however, Arnold's direct influence in America was on the wane during the early years of the twentieth century. Raleigh dates this decline from the publication of Russell's edition of Arnold's letters in 1895, though the immediate effect of the letters was to humanize the image of Arnold that had grown up in the American mind and, temporarily at least, to remove the taint of superciliousness that had clung to that image. But the twentieth century brought with it a reaction against the moral earnestness of the Victorians, and the decay of the "Protestant Anglo-Saxon New England culture" worked against Arnold's reputation and influence.

With the deaths of Sherman and Brownell Arnold's reputation reached its lowest ebb, but the "resurgence" was to begin almost immediately. Raleigh finds that the principal inheritors of the Arnoldian tradition among contemporary men of letters are T. S. Eliot and Lionel Trilling, though he is careful to point out that they do not form a part of the lineal succession which began with James. Eliot's relationship to Arnold is something of a paradox, as M. L. S. Loring pointed out some years ago in the *Sevane Review* ("T. S. Eliot and Matthew Arnold," *Sevane Review*, XLIII [1935], 479-88). Eliot's differences of opinion with Arnold greatly outweigh their points of agreement, in spite of the similarity of their roles and of the relationships in which they stand to their contemporaries. Raleigh seems fully aware of the difficulties of grafting Eliot onto Arnold's pedigree, and he makes no attempt to obscure or minimize their differences. He finds, however, that Eliot's opinions often represent nothing more than radical or extreme versions of Arnold's own. The fallacy which is likely to crop up here is that questions of degree are almost always essential features of Arnold's position, or, to put it another way, an opinion which has been modified in degree is likely to be no longer recognizable as Arnold's, or even as emanating from him. Arnold's critique of liberalism, for example, is essentially different from Eliot's conservatism, just as Arnold's faith in the civilizing influence of the Church Establishment is essentially different from Eliot's Anglo-Catholicism.

Lionel Trilling's debt to Arnold is both clearer and more unequivocal than Eliot's. He



recognizes, as Eliot does, the necessity of carrying on the work which Arnold set out to do for his own age, but unlike Eliot he adopts many of Arnold's assumptions and methods. Like Arnold, Trilling values the individual qualities of intelligence—that is, modulation and flexibility, amenity, and tolerance—and like Arnold, too, he is committed to the faith that “society can change itself gradually by taking thought and revising sensibility.” Trilling’s faith in the powers of the critical intellect leads him to rely, not on the traditional, conservative institutions which have claimed Eliot’s allegiance, but on something closer to Arnold’s “liberalism of the future,” intelligent, flexible, and morally responsible.

Though Raleigh’s judgments may occasionally be challenged, he provides impressive documentation of his studies of the influence of Arnold on James, Brownell, Sherman, Eliot, and Trilling. But it is the very wealth of scholarship lavished on the five critics I have just named that is responsible for the book’s most serious weaknesses. Five such assorted men of letters provide too slender a basis for Raleigh’s division of the course of Arnold’s influence on American culture into three more or less clearly defined stages (Groundswell, 1865-1895; Ebb, 1895-1930; Resurgence, since 1930), and the summary chapters in each of the main sections of the book tend to confuse rather than to clarify the course of Arnold’s influence. In the chapter on Sherman, Raleigh is following a road that leads nowhere, slighting critical movements on which Arnold’s influence may not have been as strong (like the New Humanism of Babbitt and More, or the Impressionism of Gates and Spingarn), but which were undoubtedly closer to the center of American intellectual life during the first quarter of the twentieth century, and which might have led more naturally to the chapters on Eliot and Trilling. Most important of all, I don’t find that Raleigh provides enough evidence of the “resurgence” of Arnold’s influence in recent years, though it is certainly true that his influence is still a vital force. Eliot, in laying hands on the Arnoldian tradition, mangled it beyond recognition and produced, not a renaissance of Arnoldian criticism, but its opposite, the New Criticism. And Trilling, though widely respected and admired, has recruited no disciples. How, then, are we to account for the phenomenon that Raleigh—and Tate—have described?

We shall probably have to have another book to provide the answer to this question, but in the meantime it is no dispraise of Professor Raleigh’s book to say that it does not tell the whole story of an exceedingly complex literary relationship. There is reason to be grateful for what the book does supply—a wealth of data, assembled here for the first time, essential to the understanding, and to the measurement, of Arnold’s impact on America.

Cornell University

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Robert A. Donovan

### THE MASTER OF THE OTAGO

Gérard Jean-Aubry, *The Sea Dreamer: A Definitive  
Life of Joseph Conrad*, Doubleday, 1957.

Some future biographer of Joseph Conrad may find at least a footnote in a melancholy item that appeared in the New York *Sunday Times* for October 17, 1957. It reports the scrapping in Hobart, Tasmania, of the 350-ton barque *Otago*, Conrad’s first command. Converted into a prosaic coal hulk in 1912 and purchased by a retiring captain for \$2.00 in 1931, the ship had been rusting away in a backwater of the Derwent River for the last twenty years.

When in 1888 he caught his first glimpse of the *Otago* in Bangkok, Conrad relates, she impressed him as “one of those craft that in virtue of their design and complete finish will never grow old.” Yet by 1906 he apparently believed that this barque of his first command had already “gone from the face of the earth.”

Surely no one would begrudge him the illusion he nourished for the rest of his days. It is indicative, however, of how Conrad’s affection for times past tempted him to apply an occasional pastel touch to even such avowedly authentic reminiscences as *The Mirror of the Sea*, *A Personal Record*, and *The Shadow Line*. Taken at face value, such statements have sometimes misled the unwary. Conrad kept a diary for about three weeks on the *Otago* and for a month and a half in the Congo, though he later asserts: “I never made a note of a fact, of an impression, or of an anecdote in my life.” There is his statement that he had “never been a passenger” on any ship, although his most recent biography points out that he sailed from Australia to London and from Bordeaux to Africa and back in that capacity. It sometimes suited him to believe he had gone to sea at the age of fifteen. And although he had passed his thirtieth birthday as first-mate on the *Vidar*, it was more gratifying to think of himself as still under thirty when he received his first command.

That command continued to flash before his inward eye in later years. Again and again, the *Otago*, “sure of a tenderly remembered existence as long as I live,” made her landfall in the imagination of the desk-moored author, and none of the score of ships on which he had served, from the *Mont-Blanc* to the *Adowa*, went forth on so many new departures to the written page.

She is invoked in two of his best tales—"Falk" and "The Secret Sharer"—and in one of a lesser order, "A Smile of Fortune." She is the subject of *The Shadow Line*, which so exacting a critic as F. R. Leavis considers superior to "Heart of Darkness" and *Typhoon*. She appears at intervals in *The Mirror of the Sea* and once or twice in the recollections of Marlow. And she returns once more in *Last Essays*.

Conrad's tenure as master of the *Otago* began on January 19, 1888, with his appointment to the post by the harbor-master at Singapore. It ended with the acceptance of his resignation by the ship's owners in Adelaide on April 2, 1889. Achieving the coveted command of a sailing ship of his own was the triumphant culmination of his whole career at sea. Why, then, did he suddenly relinquish it after less than fifteen months of service?

It is at this point that Gérard Jean-Aubry makes what is probably his most notable contribution in *The Sea Dreamer: A Definitive Life of Joseph Conrad*, issued by Doubleday early last year. The biography is a translation of the *Vie de Conrad* published in Paris by Gallimard in 1947. Like the biographical sections in the *Life and Letters* of thirty years ago, the book is chiefly concerned with the observant and contemplative seaman J. C. Korziewski, in pursuit of whom Jean-Aubry has been making exhaustive inquiries for many years all over the world. But new evidence was hard to come by. Most of the fourteen chapters in the recent book have not only the same headings but the same documentation as the eleven chapters in the two-volume work. They differ only in style and emphasis, and in all but one, such facts as have come to light—chiefly through family correspondence hitherto unexamined—are not of major importance. But in Chapter VII, "The Pearl of the Ocean," Jean-Aubry has been able to establish Conrad's primary motive in surrendering his command.

In *Life and Letters* Jean-Aubry related how a chance remark of Conrad's awoke the suspicion that "A Smile of Fortune" contained the clue:

I feel certain that the adventures narrated in "A Smile of Fortune," connected with the cargo of potatoes, actually happened as described, on account of an odd question which Conrad asked me one day when we were talking about this story. "Do you think," he asked me, "that Jacobus had seen something?" (He was alluding to the beginning of Chapter VI where Jacobus either surprises the captain in the company of his young daughter Alice, or at least might have caught them at a compromising moment.) When I confessed that for my part I could not decide, he answered, "I never knew"—an answer which suggests that the incident is as autobiographical as the cargo of potatoes.

As inclined as he was to accept the story as fact, it must nevertheless have subconsciously occurred to him that although Conrad might be autobiographical in matters pertaining to ships and cargoes, he was less likely to give an undisguised account of so private a matter as a love affair. At any rate, in 1931 Jean-Aubry made inquiries in Mauritius, the locale of the story. These elicited a number of illuminating letters from persons who still remembered Captain Korziewski of the *Otago* from his three months' stay on the island in 1888. One of these informants, designated in the bibliography as Mme. L—, may have been the lady in question, although in his determination to conceal the documentary framework of his book as much as possible, Conrad's biographer does not make this clear. What the facts reveal, however, is that the real captain's amour was not, as in the story, with a primitive and harshly insolent girl, the illegitimate daughter of a social outcast. His actual affair of the heart was of a far more decorous kind. The object of his attentions, it now appears, was a certain Mademoiselle Eugénie, one of three orphaned daughters in a very respectable family to which he had been introduced by Gabriel Renouf, whose acquaintance he had made earlier in Bombay. The captain was a moody visitor. With problems of business and the delayed cargo on his mind, he was given to periods of silence, but he relaxed sufficiently to reply in a playful if laconic manner to twenty personal questions put to him by the young ladies for one of the "confession" albums then in vogue. To the query, "Your state of mind at the present time," his answer was "Calm." His calm must have been severely shaken, however, when on formally approaching the girl's brother to request her hand in marriage, he learned for the first time that Mademoiselle Eugénie was already betrothed and that her wedding was to take place in two months. Shortly afterwards the *Otago* left the port. In a parting letter to Gabriel Renouf, Conrad is said to have stated that he would not return to Mauritius, but that his thoughts would be with Eugénie when she stood at the altar in January. The letter itself does not appear to have survived. When later in Adelaide, the *Otago's* home port, the captain was unsuccessful in trying to persuade the owners to re-route the barque to ports in the China Sea and they insisted on keeping her in the sugar trade with Mauritius, he resigned his command.

Jean-Aubry gallantly calls it "a heroic decision." The judgment is open to question. It would have required more fortitude to return to the island. Moreover, it is a question whether the captain's heart or his pride had sustained the deeper wound. In "A Smile of Fortune" the captain leaves port with this reflection:

The Pearl of the Ocean had in a few short hours grown odious to me. And I did not want to meet anyone. My reputation had suffered. I knew I was the object of unkind and sarcastic comments.

Perhaps even before the island of Mauritius dropped below the horizon, the man on the *Otago's* bridge began to see the comic aspects of the episode.

Human motives, especially when involved in crucial decisions, are seldom crystalline. Was it only rationalization that prompted Conrad's arguments that the China ports offered better opportunities for trade? Despite the satisfaction his command brought him, was he altogether loath to lay it aside? The responsibilities and tensions were beginning to tell upon his nerves. Paul Langlois, who had had business dealings with the captain in Mauritius, remembers him as "often taciturn and very excitable. On those days he had a nervous tic in the shoulder and the eyes, and anything the least bit unexpected—an object dropping to the floor, a door banging—would make him jump." There was, too, the letter Conrad received at this time from his beloved Uncle Thaddeus, who was aging and ill and eager to "see once more those who are dear to me." These considerations must have played some part in his decision to resign his command and return to Europe.

If Jean-Aubry is now and then inclined to over-simplify his portrait of a complex personality, his long labor of love has placed the student of Conrad still more deeply in his debt. The life of Conrad the author, which is accorded less than a third of a book of under 300 pages of text, still remains to be written. But in setting down, in the straightforward manner of a ship's log, the "indisputable facts" of Conrad's life at sea, Jean-Aubry has accomplished his mission.

When a Parisian critic in the *Gil-Blas* first called Conrad *un puissant reveur*, he took only mild exception to the epithet. He had no wish, he said, to cavil at a friendly reader. Nor should one cavil at a friendly publisher under whose imprint most of Conrad's books are still offered to the American public. Yet in a biography presented as "definitive" it is hardly unreasonable to expect some editorial vigilance in the reading of copy. One therefore reads with a certain bewilderment that Conrad "left for Singapore" (p. 131) to take command of the *Otago*, when he was obviously leaving Singapore for Bankok; and that he left Brussels for Bordeaux on May 11, 1889 (p. 159) and yet somehow managed to sail from Bordeaux on May 10 (p. 161) for the Congo. (The days of the month should be reversed; moreover, the year happened to be 1890.) Although there was "a Chinese third engineer" (p. 121) on the *Vidar*, he could hardly have been named John C. Niven, who is mentioned as "the third engineer" (p. 124) instead of as the second, which he was. One can imagine how Conrad might have snorted to see the *Loch Etive*, that sturdy Glasgow wool clipper, described as "an iron steamship" (p. 88) and the malicious hotel-keeper of "Falk," *Lord Jim*, and *Victory* named "Schonberg" in both text and index. Surely, both Conrad and Jean-Aubry deserved more careful editing than this.

New York University

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Hans J. Gottlieb

## THE VICTORIAN HEROINE

Patricia Thomson, *The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal, 1837-1873*, Oxford, 1956.

*The Victorian Heroine* is an attempt to trace and evaluate the effect of the feminist movement on the character and personality of the heroine in the nineteenth-century novel. The author uses as her starting point the accession of Victoria to the British throne in 1837 and concludes her study with the year 1873, the year of the death of John Stuart Mill and the date of publication of Trollope's *The Eustace Diamonds*, Jane Brookfield's *Not a Heroine*, and Wilkie Collins' *The New Magdalen*. In the years between Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) and the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, much discussion of feminist aims had already been heard. In addition, the world of the middle-class woman had widened to permit and often encourage home-education and some philanthropy. In fiction, the social novel had already begun to crowd out the fashionable novel in public favor, and it was this same social novel, Miss Thomson tells us, which "began that definite correlation between the Victorian woman and the Victorian heroine."

Miss Thomson's book is divided into six chapters and an epilogue. Each chapter begins with a short discussion of the growth of different aspects of feminism, and the author then goes on to show how each aspect is reflected in minor as well as major novels of the time. Because the minor novels perhaps more accurately mirrored the feminist sentiment of the nineteenth century, the book is taken up more with the fiction of such lesser figures as Rosina Bulwer Lytton, Anne Brontë, Mrs. Craik, Mrs. Wood, Mrs. Linton, and Rhoda Broughton, although Thackeray, Charlotte Brontë, Dickens, George Eliot, Trollope, and Meredith are not completely neglected. Philanthropy and the doing of good works by Victorian women seemed to excite the least amount of anti-



feminist feeling in nineteenth-century England. Yet even here there was a certain amount of uneasiness among conservative social observers early in the period for fear that Victorian ladies might lose some of their femininity if they got too close to poverty and suffering. As for the novelists, their tendency was to confine the charitable works of their heroines to district-visiting and teaching, with the lesser, more common tasks carried out by other fictional characters such as clergymen's widows, distant relatives, and affluent spinsters. By 1873, however, much of this delicacy among novelists had disappeared, and the heroine had become more than just an alms-giver—she was just as likely to be a practical, efficient social worker. As for the Victorian governess, quite often she had progressed, at least as far as her portrayal in fiction is concerned, from a brow-beaten, resigned household drudge to a woman of some standing, character, and respect in the eyes of her employer and his family.

The effect of the feminist movement was more powerfully felt on the Victorian novel when it dealt with the working woman of the nineteenth century. Most of the novelists who used such women as heroines were women themselves and thus were perhaps more inclined to lend a sympathetic ear to the feminists of the time who were primarily interested in greater employment opportunities for women forced by circumstances to support themselves. Nevertheless, the large majority of Victorian novelists, among them Trollope and Dickens, were opposed in varying degree to careers for women whenever those careers went beyond providing a mere livelihood. Even so, they were willing to allow their heroines, to some extent at least, to enter the professions which required exceptional talent—literary activity, art, music, for instance.

But if the Victorians were partially willing to accept or excuse the working woman or the female intellectual or artist, they were much more unlikely to accept the feminist doctrine of woman suffrage and equal legal rights. In the best critical passages in her book, Miss Thomson treats the Victorian heroine as she is seen as fiancée and wife in novels of Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope. Thackeray, as social critic, in his presentations of Laura Bell in *Pendennis* (1849-50) and of Ethel in *The Newcomes* (1853-55) held to the conventional sentimental, patronizing attitude toward women even while, as artist, he portrayed them as people worthy to be taken seriously with men. Dickens' heroines perhaps started with some individuality, but they soon became pallid and flat as his sentimental point of view toward women and marriage asserted itself. "Cheerful, tidy, bustling, quiet little Ruth Pinch—and not Estella, the capricious, is Dickens' more normal matrimonial ideal," Miss Thomson explains. As for Trollope, his heroines are often women of intelligence and self-sufficiency; yet when they marry they are content to accept domination by their husbands. But the days of masculine domination and condescension were numbered. John Stuart Mill's essay *The Subjection of Women* (1869) provided the feminists of the 1870's and 1880's with the ammunition they needed to dent the stone wall of opposition to female equality. Mill's essay helped a great deal to force novelists, for instance, to examine more critically the popular attitudes toward women and marriage which at midcentury were completely conventional. Another aspect of this feminist issue of equal rights for women which underwent a significant change was the Victorians' attitude toward the preservation of the marriage vows and their opinions on sexual transgressions of all types. Where early in the period under discussion the Victorian male had perhaps been excused for sowing a wild oat or two, by the 1860's it had become fairly widely held that men and women were equally blameworthy for sexual transgressions. Even though Hardy could yet be violently attacked in 1891 for his "Pure Woman Faithfully Presented," the battle for a single moral standard had already begun before 1873.

Miss Thomson's conclusions are, in the main, well taken. She willingly admits that a study such as hers may tend to magnify an issue such as feminism and crowd out of view larger, often more important themes. She also quite rightly points out that her study may well tend to ignore the great novelists and to confine our attention too much to minor novels and second-rate writers, thus perhaps twisting out of focus our view of the age. Yet she does call our attention to the important fact that much can be learned from minor works about the social thinking and prejudices of the time, and thus we can acquire a more completely filled-in background against which we are better able to evaluate the fiction of the great Victorians. Moreover, she also reminds us that feminism in the nineteenth century affected markedly the great fiction of the period even though the better writers handled feminist thinking more adeptly than did their lesser colleagues. *The Victorian Heroine* makes clear that nineteenth-century writers, both great and small, felt a change of social weather in the air, and, if at first they were reluctant to recognize it, they had by 1873 come to accept it and in some instances even to welcome it.

### III. A GUIDE TO RESEARCH MATERIALS ON THE MAJOR VICTORIANS (PART II)

#### THE BRONTËS

The student who wishes to concentrate on the Brontës will find that manuscript material—and I discuss only that—is abundant in both England and America, that a good deal of it is in private hands and hence not easily got at, but that there yet remains a large body of matter in accessible collections. In what follows, I mention only such private owners as have been generous to serious students of the Brontës; and I mention no locations where fewer than five items are to be found, for to do so would be to number the leaves of Vallombrosa! The student who wishes more detailed information must go to the *Census of Brontë Manuscripts in the United States* (in *The Trollopian*, December 1947 through December 1948). No census of Brontë manuscripts in the British Isles has been completed, though this writer has assembled a considerable body of material suitable for use in such a project. She is also continuing the United States census, enough material for a sixth part having been assembled since publication of the other five.

In England the main manuscript collections are in the Brontë Parsonage Museum (Haworth, Yorkshire); the Brotherton Library, the University of Leeds (Leeds, Yorkshire); the Arts Library, the University of Manchester (Manchester, Lancashire); the British Museum; and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Not all of these collections have been catalogued. The Brontë Museum, housing a Bonnell and a General collection, is represented by a published catalogue of the former, and will be represented by one of the latter the Brontë Council purposes publishing, after its building program at the Museum is completed, that this writer has just completed. The Brotherton Library is in process of being catalogued by its librarians; it contains a large known body of Brontë materials. The Brontë Museum and Brotherton collections dovetail in many ways, in manuscript material by the Brontës and by persons closely associated with the family. The collection at the University of Manchester is the gift of the Gaskell family and naturally bears especially on Mrs. E. C. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*. The British Museum has the items specified in the *Ashley Library Catalogue* (not entirely accurately) and from a number of other sources: the Heger family, the papers of George Henry Lewes, the descendants of George Smith of Smith, Elder and Co., and so on. The Fitzwilliam Museum owns the set of letters written by Charlotte Brontë to the Misses Wooler (and presented to the Museum by their nephew, Sir Clifford Allbutt); these have been catalogued.

Only the Fitzwilliam Museum contains material of but one kind, letters. In the other collections the materials are mixed: diary fragments, account books, school exercises, prose tales, poems, novels, letters (and sometimes the envelopes that carried them), and drawings and paintings. Only the Brontë Museum has material of all these kinds; the Brotherton and British Museum collections are the next most complete in this particular way. Most of the British collections named also own association material in manuscript, especially letters and commentaries, as, by Mrs. Gaskell and her daughter Meta, Miss Ellen Nussey and her correspondents, and the Rev. Mr. A. B. Nicholls. One important body of association material is that owned by Sir John Murray.

Manuscript material in the United States is equally varied. Here the chief repositories are the Huntington Library (San Marino, Cal.); the collection of Mrs. H. H. Bonnell (Philadelphia, Pa.); the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, the New York Public Library; the Harvard College Library, including the Amy Lowell Collection in the Houghton Library and the Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Widener Library, as well as a number of separate items from various sources; the Morris L. Parrish and the Cyrus H. McCormick collections, the Princeton University Library (Princeton, N.J.); items in the H. J. Litcher Stark and in the John Henry Wrenn collections, the University of Texas Library Rare Books Collection (Austin, Texas); the Pierpont Morgan Library (New York City); the Yale Library (New Haven, Conn.); and the Library of Robert H. Taylor (Yonkers, N.Y.). A large body of association material is in the Rutgers University Library (New Brunswick, N.J.), Harvard, the Berg Collection, and the University of Texas.

Throughout these comments the name "Brontë" has of course been used to cover the writings of six persons: the Rev. Patrick Brontë and his wife Maria, as well as their four children who reached maturity—Anne, Charlotte, Emily Jane, and Patrick Branwell Brontë.

No definitive bibliography of the works of the Brontës exists, despite the fact that T. J. Wise published his compilation entitled *A Bibliography of the Writings of the Brontë Family*. Nor, since Wise scattered them to the four winds, have the manuscripts by Branwell ever been re-assembled, photostatically or in any other way. Until they are, they cannot be properly evaluated. Hence there is much significant work yet to be done by students of the Brontës.

## ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING

## Wellesley College Library

Letters: about 240 letters to H. S. Boyd; 21 letters to B. R. Haydon; about 79 letters to Mrs. Jameson; about 66 letters to John Kenyon; about 94 letters to Mrs. Martin; about 434 letters to Miss Mitford; "the love letters," 1845-1846; letters to EBB from Harriet Martineau, W. M. Rossetti, Alfred Tennyson, Lady Tennyson.

Poems: "Aurora Leigh" with many corrections in EBB's hand; "The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point"; a large collection of shorter poems, some of them juvenilia.

"Memorandum Book Containing the Day and Night Thoughts of Elizabeth Barrett, Hope End, 1818."

Pocket diary for 1823, with notes for reading in that year and a pocket notebook for 1824-1825, with notes on books read, in all 220 pages.

Copy for preparing the two volumes of *Poems* of 1850, with hundreds of corrections in EBB's hand.

Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Opera Graec. Lat.* (Cologne, 1690), with many marginal notes in her hand.

## The Berg Collection in NYPL

Letters: 113 letters to Arabel Barrett; 121 letters to Mrs. Eckley; letters to Isa Blagden, H. S. Boyd, Fanny Dowglass, W. J. Fox, Master David Eckley, Miss Faner, Augusta Harding, Mrs. Jameson, John Kenyon, Cornelius Mathews, Edward Moxon, E. A. Poe, W. M. Thackeray, Theodore Tilton, Thomas Westwood.

About 16 poems.

"Sketch of my own life and reflections."

6 pages of a draft of an unpublished play.

Translation of part of *Ars Poetica*, Oct. 22, 1822.

Notes and alterations for "The Greek Christian Poets and the English Poets," addressed to the printer of the *Athenaeum*.

*A Drama of Exile, and Other Poems*, 2 vols. (New York, 1844), with corrections in EBB's hand.

## Huntington Library

Letters to H. S. Boyd, *Mme.* Braun, H. F. Chorley, Fanny Dowglass, Mrs. T. B. Fell, Anna Maria Hall, William Harness, R. H. Horne, Mrs. Jameson, John Kenyon, Jessie White Mario, Marguerite A. Power, D. G. Rossetti.

Poems: "A Drama of Exile," "Essay on Mind: Analysis of the second book," holographs of about 12 poems.

Translations: "Prometheus Bound" (1832), "Song of the Rose," translations from Dante, Moschus, Euripides.

About 80 leaves of a commonplace book.

Copybook containing poems, essays, and notes.

40 leaves of "A Glimpse into my own Life and Literary Character."

71 leaves of "Le Souvenir, or Pocket Tablet for MDCCCLIV," with addresses and miscellaneous memoranda in EBB's hand.

49 leaves of a notebook containing Greek exercises, translations, a draft of portions of the "Essay on Mind," and religious memoranda.

Remarks on a work by Uvedale Price.

Translation by H. S. Boyd of St. Basil's "Homily on Paradise," with corrections in EBB's hand.

## British Museum

Letters to RB, Sarianna Browning, H. F. Chorley, R. H. Horne, Leigh Hunt, Mary Hunter, William Merry, Mary Minto, Uvedale Price, Thomas Westwood.

Frederic Kenyon's transcriptions of EBB's letters which he used in preparation for her *Letters* (1879). They include many omitted letters and portions of letters. Of particular biographical importance are some of the omitted passages in the letters to H. S. Boyd, Isa Blagden, Sarianna Browning, Miss Commeline, Fanny Haworth, John Kenyon, Mrs. Martin, and Miss Mitford.

George Smith Memorial MS of the "Sonnets from the Portuguese" and of the following seven poems: "A Denial," "Life and Love," "Verses" ["Inclusions," 1850], "A Ring," "Only" ["Insufficiency," 1850], "Proof and Disproof," "Question and Answer"; also about 12 holographs of poems and fragments of poems.

Address book, 1855-1858.



## Collection of Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.

Letters: 107 letters to Henrietta Barrett; 22 letters from RB and EBB to Henrietta Barrett; letters to EBB's mother, Mrs. Peyton, Jane Sandford; letters to EBB from her father and mother.

Poems: "Sonnets from the Portuguese," 2 leaves of "A Musical Instrument," "A Poem for New Year's Day, 1820."

Translations from Anacreon, Homer, Theocritus, Apuleius, Nonnus, Hesiod, Euripides.  
5 holographs of poems and prose sketches.

## Library of the University of Illinois

The library bought and is now in possession of the collection described in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning: Unpublished Correspondence*, Maggs Bros., London, 1937. The most important items are listed below. Letters: 56 letters to George Barrett; letters to Charles John Barrett, Edward Barrett (EBB's brother), Henrietta Barrett, Henry Barrett, Samuel Barrett (EBB's brother), Mrs. H. S. Boyd, Arabella Graham-Clarke; letters to EBB from Samuel Moulton Barrett (EBB's uncle), H. S. Boyd, R. H. Horne, G. B. Hunter, James Russell Lowell, R. Shelton Mackenzie, James Martin, Cornelius Mathews, and Mrs. Charles Moulton (EBB's grandmother).

A large collection of birthday odes to various members of the family written by EBB when a child.

## Harvard College Library

Letters to Henrietta Barrett, H. S. Boyd, Miss Clarke, R. H. Horne, John Kenyon, Mrs. Kinney, James Russell Lowell, Cornelius Mathews, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Sarah Blake Sturgis Shaw, Miss Stisted, Caroline Tappan, Ellen D. Twisleton.

Poems: "Aurora Leigh" (largely a fair copy); 2 versions of "A Meditation in Tuscany" ["Casa Guidi Windows"] of which the earlier has thousands of corrections in her hand; "The Cry of the Human"; "Sonnet to the Memory of H. S. Boyd."

## Morgan Library

2 letters to R. H. Horne.

Poems: "Sonnets from the Portuguese" [only 27 sonnets]; "A Plea for the Ragged School of London," March 20, 1854; holographs of the poems used in *Last Poems*, including the following four unpublished poems, all without titles: "Oh Eglia, my wife, my Eglatine," "For you who call me son do call me mad," "She was fifteen—had great eyes," "I am weary tonight?"

## Folger Library

Fragments of 37 letters to Miss Mitford.

Five holographs of poems, prose sketches, and school exercises—all juvenilia.

## Yale University Library

Letters to William Allingham, Mary Boyle, H. F. Chorley, Sophia Cottrell, Mrs. Annie Hayes, James Jackson Jarves, Mrs. Kinney, Cornelius Mathews, Miss Mitford, Alfred Tennyson, Lady Tennyson; letters to EBB from Mrs. Jameson, Harriet Martineau, Adelaide Sartoris.

Poems: "A Sabbath on the Sea," "On Mr. Haydon's Picture of Mr. Wordsworth"  
"Essay on Carlyle."

## Boston Public Library

Letters to Isa Blagden, H. F. Chorley, Kate Field, Miss Mitford, Miss Thomson.  
"A Tale of Villafranca."

## Library of the University of Texas

Letters to *Mme.* Braun, Mrs. Brotherton, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Shephard, Mrs. Thompson, Theodore Tilton.

Poems: "The Cry of the Children," "The Sea Mew"; also holographs of other poems, mostly juvenilia.

## Armstrong-Browning Library, Baylor University

Letters to Isa Blagden, *Mme.* Braun, Fanny Haworth, R. H. Horne, Mrs. Jameson, John Kenyon, Cornelius Mathews, Angela Owen, Allan Park Paton, Mrs. Peyton, Hiram Powers, Arlette Reynolds, Captain Reynolds, Jane Sandford, Sergeant Talfourd, and others.

## Library of Ohio Wesleyan University

EBB's marginalia in her copies of Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, ed. Z. Pearce, London, 1724; Sophocles, *Tragoediae Septem*, ed. T. Johnson, 2 vols., Eton, 1799; Plato, *Scripta Graece Omnia*, ed. I. Bekker, 11 vols., London, 1826.

Longwood College, Virginia

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Gardner B. Taplin

## ROBERT BROWNING

*Manuscripts of Poems*

1. The great bulk of Browning's manuscripts are in the Balliol College Library, Oxford.
2. There are also several in the British Museum in London.
3. There are scattered manuscripts of separate poems, usually short ones, in private homes, and mainly at Yale, Harvard, Baylor, and a few other universities.

*Letters.* There are sizeable collections of letters at the following places:

At Wellesley there are the famous Barrett-Browning letters as well as a considerable number of other scattered letters, including many from Mrs. Browning. There are also scattered letters at Harvard, Yale, Baylor, and the J. P. Morgan Library, the New York Public Library (Berg Collection), Boston Public Library, the British Museum, and a number of collections, usually of a smaller sort, in private hands, such as those in the possession of Mr. John M. Schiff in New York and those in the possession of the Countess Rucellai in Florence, Italy. Perhaps the largest collection of primary and secondary material in America is in the Browning Collections at Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

The collections in public and private institutions are easily accessible to any qualified scholar and the institutions are most generous to visitors. This is especially true if the scholar writes ahead to make arrangements. I have also found the private owners equally gracious but it is often more difficult to make arrangements.

Yale University

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William C. DeVane

## THOMAS CARLYLE

In addition to the publications recorded in the bibliographies (Isaac W. Dyer's elaborate work [*A Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle's Writings and Ana*, Portland, Maine, The Southworth Press, 1928], C. F. Harrold's briefer section in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, and the "Annual Victorian Bibliography," students of Carlyle will be interested in the following important collections of Carlyle's manuscript letters, his literary manuscripts, and the books in his library.

Of manuscript letters, the largest number is now deposited in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh. Other letters are found in the British Museum; Carlyle's House, 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea (see catalogues of Carlyle's House, published by the National Trust, London, May 1937, and by the Carlyle's House Memorial Trust, 7th edition, n. d. [about 1925]), the Morgan Library in New York, the New York Public Library (Berg Collection), the Iowa University Library (Brewer Collection), and the Yale University Library. Professor Charles Richard Sanders of Duke University is now systematically collecting photographic reproductions of all known letters of Carlyle. When completed, this collection will be monumental. It will make available the fullest record of Carlyle's life and thought.

Two very valuable collections of manuscripts (besides letters) have not been fully exploited by scholars. One collection is Carlyle's notebooks. Although two of these notebooks were edited by C. E. Norton, other parts have never been printed. For some years before 1940, the manuscripts of the notebooks were in the hands of Mr. J. A. S. Barrett (Redbraes, Peebles, Scotland); he was good enough to answer inquiries and to publish corrections of some passages that Norton has misread (see *Notes and Queries*, CLXVI [March 10, 1934]). But in recent years I have not been able to trace these MSS. A very valuable collection of miscellaneous MSS is found at Yale. Such scholars as Elmer Brooks and Grace J. Calder have published several of these Yale MSS; other materials in the collection await attention.

Perhaps the best collections of books owned by Carlyle (many containing signature, and some containing annotation) are found at Carlyle's House, Chelsea (see especially the catalogue published by the Carlyle's House Memorial Trust, 7th edition, n. d. [about 1925]) and at Harvard University (see catalogue by W. C. Lane, *The Carlyle Collection* [books on Cromwell and Frederick], The Library of Harvard University, Bibliographical Contributions, No. 26, 1888).

Many letters, literary manuscripts, and books were disposed of at Sotheby's sale of Alexander Carlyle's property on June 13-14, 1932 (see Sotheby and Company's catalogue of that sale). Most of the Carlyle items that are now at Yale and many that are now at the National Library of Scotland were sold at that time. Sotheby and Company, with characteristic generosity, have sometimes been able to furnish information or useful clues as to the purchases of a particular item that seemed important for an investigator to trace.

University of Kentucky

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Hill Shine

## GEORGE ELIOT

*Works:*

The MS of *Scenes of Clerical Life* is in the Morgan Library; the MSS of all the other major works are in the British Museum, Add. 34,020-43.

*Letters:*

Yale has the largest collection of letters. The next largest group, that in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh, consists of George Eliot's correspondence with the firm of Blackwood. The British Museum has the letters to Elma Stuart and to Mrs. Mark Pattison. Other groups of letters are in the Parrish Collection at Princeton, the Berg Collection in the New York Public Library, the Huntington Library, and the Coventry Public Library. There are many smaller collections in libraries and in private hands. A list of the holdings can be found in *The George Eliot Letters*, VII, 391-394.

*Journals and Diaries:*

George Eliot's Diary for 1879 is in the Berg Collection. All the other extant journals and diaries 1854-80 are at Yale. Most of the interesting entries have been published.

*Notebooks:*

There were a great many little notebooks among the George Eliot MSS sold at Sotheby's, 27 June 1923; some of them have dropped from sight. Several of them are in the Yale collection, including the so-called Quarry for *Felix Holt*, which was a part of Professor Tinker's collection. The Quarry for *Romola* is in the Parrish Collection at Princeton; another book of notes for *Romola* is in the British Museum, Add. 40,768. The Houghton Library at Harvard has the Quarry for *Middlemarch*, which was published by Professor Kitchel in 1950.

All of these materials are accessible to scholars. Those in private hands are sometimes difficult to get at. It is my impression that the valuable contributions to scholarship will come now from a close study of her works, from the MSS through the various revised editions. There are no startling biographical discoveries to be made in any of the MSS I have seen.

Yale University

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Gordon S. Haight

## GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS

The principal collections of Hopkinsiana were quite fully described in my article "The Manuscripts of Gerard Manley Hopkins" (*Thought*, Vol. XXVI, No. 103, 1951-1952, pp. [551]-580); but some manuscripts have since changed hands and new materials have come to light. The present abbreviated list is accurate up to the end of 1957.

I. *The Robert Bridges Collection* includes (i) *The A-Manuscript*, a thick scrapbook of Hopkins's autograph poems; (ii) Hopkins's letters to Bridges: two leather wallets containing 151 letters, twenty postcards, and one fragment; and (iii) Hopkins's letters to Richard Watson Dixon: thirty-nine letters.

All these MSS have been published. The *A-MS* is temporarily deposited at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Use of or study of these materials depends on arrangements made with Sir Edward Bridges, Goodman's Purze, Headley, Epsom, Surrey.

II. *The Bodleian Library Collection*, purchased from the poet's great-nephew Mr. L. Handley-Derry in 1953, includes (i) *MS-B* (*MS.Eng.poet.d.149* - 79 leaves, mainly autograph); (ii) *MS-H* (*MS.Eng.poet.d.150* - 130 leaves, mostly in Hopkins's hand); (iii) Miscellaneous autograph drafts and copies (*MS.Eng.poet.c.48* - 62 leaves); (iv) Hopkins's letters: sixty-nine (69) to his mother, five (5) to his father, two (2) to his sister Kate, one (1) to his brother Lionel, three (3) to his friend Edward Bond. (*MS.Eng.letter.e.40* - 116 leaves); (v) Hopkins's letters to his family, from 1874 to 1889 (*MS.Eng.letters.e.41* - 147 leaves); (vi) Bridges's letters to the poet's mother Kate Hopkins: fifty-five (55) letters and one (1) postcard (*MS.Eng.letters.d.143* - 120 leaves); (vii) Hopkins's music: copies of songs and/or settings by Hopkins in various hands (*MS.Mus.c.97* - 26 leaves); (viii) Hopkins's copies of Dixon's poems (*MS.Eng.poet.e.91* - 81 leaves); (ix) Hopkins's *Commonplace Book*: Notes, extracts, etc., made as an undergraduate (*MS.Eng.poet.e.90* - 111 leaves); (x) Miscellaneous Papers: School reports, certificates of degrees, retreat notes, letters to and from his family at time of his death, four (4) watercolor drawings (1853-1858), press-cuttings on his death, two pencil sketches, and a watercolor sketch of G. M. H. (1859) most likely by his Aunt Maria [Mrs. George de Giberne], (*MS.Eng.misc.a.8*).

Some of these MSS and pictures are unpublished. They are available at the Bodleian Library by application to (1) The Rev. P. Caraman, S. J. (representative of the copyright



owners), 114 Mount Street, London, W. 1, and (2) R. W. Hunt, Keeper of Western Manuscripts, The Bodleian, Oxford.

III. *The Hopkins Family Collection*: includes family albums of pictures, several large "Wander-books" (recording family trips, etc.), letters from Lionel Hopkins and other members of the family to their parents, inscribed books handed down in the family, etc.

This large collection of association items was made available to the late Humphry House for his work on the early life of Hopkins but is apparently not yet available to anyone else. It is owned by the poet's great-nephew Mr. L. Handley-Derry but is at present in the care of Mrs. H. House, 61 Bateman St., Cambridge, England.

IV. *The Campion Hall Collection*: includes Hopkins's (i) Early Diaries and Journals; (ii) School Notebooks; (iii) Oxford Essays; (iv) Sketchbook; (v) Sermons; (vi) Notebooks; (vii) Miscellaneous poems in autograph; (viii) Lecture notes and notes on the classics; (ix) Musical settings; (x) Miscellaneous papers and fragments; (xi) Commentary on *The Spiritual Exercises*.

Arrangements to study these MSS should be made with The Reverend the Master, Campion Hall, Oxford, or through the Rev. P. Caraman, S.J., 114 Mount Street, London, W. 1.

V. *The Gonzaga University Hopkins Collection*: includes a few MSS, numerous facsimiles, portraits, association items, and hundreds of books, pamphlets, etc., pertaining to Hopkins, Bridges, Dixon, and Coventry Patmore.

This largest collection of Hopkinsiana in America will be available late in 1958 in the Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, Spokane 2, Washington. Access to the collection will be by arrangement with the Librarian, though permission to publish all copyright material must be obtained from the Rev. P. Caraman, S.J., London.

VI. *The Edward Manley Hopkins Collection*: oil and water color portraits of Hopkins's ancestors, numerous examples of the water colors by his Aunt Frances Hopkins [née Frances Anne Beechey], books by his father Manley Hopkins, and other books and items associated with the Hopkins family. The owner is the poet's second cousin, Mr. Edward Manley Hopkins, 205 Park View Avenue, Bronxville 8, N.Y.

339 Greene Street  
New Haven 11, Conn.

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(Rev.) A. Bilschoff

#### GEORGE MEREDITH

The major accumulation of Meredith material, both letters and manuscripts, is the great Altschul collection, which for the past thirty years has been in the Yale University Library. The original donation was sumptuously catalogued by Bertha Coolidge in 1931. Later acquisitions are recorded by Richard B. Hudson in the *Yale University Library Gazette*, XXII (1948), 129-133; but since that date much further material has been added. Approximately 165 letters in the library of the University of Texas are described by Professor C. L. Cline in the *University of Texas Library Chronicle*, VI, No. 1 (1957), 30-32. There are some important letters and documents in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library. Manuscripts of three novels are in the Pierpont Morgan Library. The Huntington Library has a number of manuscripts of poetry and fiction. The archives of Charles Scribner's Sons contain correspondence regarding the American editions and copyrights of Meredith's works. A valuable source of biographical and critical material, in the University of Illinois Library, is eighteen folio scrapbooks of clippings collected by M. Buxton Forman when making his Meredith bibliography. The Columbia University Library has three scrapbooks of obituary notices. In England the largest accessible collection of letters is the correspondence with Sir William Hardman, owned by the Garrick Club.

Professor Cline is working on a complete edition of Meredith's letters. The late Dean Hudson was editing the notebooks and unpublished manuscript material in the Altschul Collection, but at the time of his recent and lamented death the material was not ready for publication.

Duke University

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Lionel Stevenson

#### ANTHONY TROLLOPE

Primary materials for the study of Anthony Trollope are so well known and generally accessible that perhaps only a brief recapitulation is called for at this time.

The best collection of first and subsequent editions is that of Michael Sadleir. This

segment of Mr. Sadleir's library was not included in the published catalogue of his collection and thus not acquired in the purchase of the library by the University of California at Los Angeles, but the Sadleir *Bibliography* of Trollope is drawn substantially from his own books. To these have recently been added from the library of Muriel Rose Trollope the novelist's own copies of his books. A second superb collection is that acquired by Morris L. Parrish and bequeathed to Princeton. This material was described by the present writer in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Summer, 1945). Good collections have also been assembled at Yale, Harvard, the Huntington Library, and the British Museum. At the Folger Shakespeare Library one may find Trollope's large collection of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays, 257 of which are annotated with casual critical comment.

Trollope apparently destroyed the MSS of his early novels. At any rate, none of the first ten survives, and *Framley Parsonage* (1861) is to be found only in part. From this point, his first notable public success, he was meticulous in preserving everything he wrote. The following MSS have been traced:

- Framley Parsonage*. Chaps. xixff. Vaughan Library, Harrow School.  
*Orley Farm*. Carl H. Pforzheimer, Purchase, N.Y.  
*North America*. Princeton.  
*Rachel Ray*. George H. Arents, New York, N.Y.  
*The Small House at Allington*. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.  
*Can You Forgive Her?* Yale.  
*Miss Mackenzie*. Berg Collection, New York Public Library.  
*The Belton Estate*. Huntington Library.  
*Nina Balatka*. George H. Arents.  
*The Last Chronicle of Barset*. Yale.  
*The Claverings*. Michael Sadleir, London, England.  
*Phineas Finn*. Chauncey B. Tinker. New Haven, Conn.  
*He Knew He Was Right*. J. P. Morgan Library, New York.  
*The Vicar of Bullhampton*. Houghton Library, Harvard.  
*Sir Harry Hotspur of Humblethwaite*. Estate of Jerome Kern, Beverly Hills, Calif.  
*Ralph the Heir*. Houghton Library, Harvard.  
*Australia and New Zealand*. D. M. Colman, Hove, Sussex, England.  
*The Eustace Diamonds*. Robert H. Taylor, Yonkers, N.Y.  
*Phineas Redux*. Chauncey B. Tinker.  
*Lady Anna*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*Harry Heathcote of Gangoil*. Yale.  
*The Prime Minister*. George H. Arents.  
*The American Senator*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*South Africa*. Huntington Library.  
*An Eye for an Eye*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*John Caldigate*. George H. Arents.  
*Cousin Henry*. Yale.  
*The Duke's Children*. Chauncey B. Tinker.  
*The Life of Cicero*. Princeton.  
*Doctor Wortle's School*. Michael Sadleir.  
*Ayala's Angel*. Yale.  
*Lord Palmerston*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*Marion Fay*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*The Landleaguers*. Robert H. Taylor. MS notes and an outline for this novel are to be found at Yale.  
*An Autobiography*. British Museum.  
*An Old Man's Love*. Robert H. Taylor.  
*The Noble Jilt*. Wrenn Library, University of Texas.  
*Four Lectures*. Parrish Collection, Princeton.  
 "The Lady of Launay." Huntington Library.  
*The New Zealander* (an unpublished novel). Michael Sadleir.

The above list lacks ten titles, the most important of which are *The Way We Live Now*, *Is He Popenjoy?*, and *Mr. Scarborough's Family*.

With regard to letters, reference may be made to the present writer's *The Letters of Anthony Trollope* (1951), where the owner or depositary of all known holographs is given. Since publication the only new letters that have turned up are a small group to Austin Dobson at the University of London.

## IV. NOTES AND BRIEF ARTICLES

## A NOTE ON SCHOLARSHIP: WILLA CATHER ON A. E. HOUSMAN

When Willa Cather was touring France and England in 1902, she sent home to the *Nebraska State Journal*, in Lincoln, a series of articles. One written from Ludlow, in Shropshire, and dated July 11, 1902, contains this sentence: "I went to Shrewsbury chiefly to get information about Housman, and saw the old files of the little country paper where many of his lyrics first appeared as free contributions and signed 'A Shropshire Lad.'" Of course, this is nonsense: there isn't any information about A. E. Housman in Shrewsbury, for he never lived there and never even spent much time there (according to his own word),<sup>1</sup> and there is no little country paper where his lyrics first appeared, and they were never signed "A Shropshire Lad."

Housman was born in Worcestershire, lived in Bromsgrove, and was in London in both 1896, when *A Shropshire Lad* was first published, and in 1902, when Willa Cather was in England (she visited him there). None of the lyrics from the book appeared anywhere before *A Shropshire Lad* was issued by Kegan Paul in London;<sup>2</sup> there is no evidence from anyone that such poems were printed separately, and the very notion infuriated Housman when he was asked for permission to do so in anthologies and elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the title was not Housman's: it was suggested to him by a friend, A. W. Pollard, who saw the MS just before it went to the publisher.<sup>4</sup> But Willa Cather, writing as an admirer of A. E. Housman and not as a scholar, wouldn't have known any of this—it was not at the time common knowledge.

By 1951 such information was known to Housman students and many others. But Mildred R. Bennett, simply repeating the 1902 passage from the *State Journal*, wrote in *The World of Willa Cather* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1951, p. 125): "Willa had been to Ludlow to get information and found the old files of the little country paper where his poems were first published under the signature of 'A Shropshire Lad.'" (Ludlow had also been confused for Shrewsbury.) In *Notes and Queries* for 23 June 1951 (CXCVI, 281) I called attention to this error, yet asked if anyone knew of such a country paper, what poems were published under "A Shropshire Lad," and if there were evidence that Housman wrote them. I expected no reply, and none was received. The note was subsequently listed in Housman bibliographies, but since the title was "A Shropshire Lad in Shrewsbury" it was not included in lists about Willa Cather. So when E. K. Brown's *Willa Cather: A Critical Biography*, completed by Leon Edel (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), appeared, Willa Cather was quoted that "she went to Shrewsbury 'chiefly to get information about Housman—and saw the old files of the little country paper where many of his lyrics first appeared as free contributions and signed *A Shropshire Lad*.'" The same erroneous story from the same source.

Then in *Willa Cather in Europe: Her Own Story of the First Journey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), George N. Kates reprinted the fourteen pieces from the *Nebraska State Journal* of 1902 with an introduction and incidental notes. The chapter entitled "Shropshire and A. E. Housman" gave the full text of Willa Cather's article from Ludlow, including the sentence with the errors (p. 28). In his incidental notes, instead of putting right the misstatements, Mr. Kates merely repeats what had been said before (p. 24): "In Shrewsbury, actively tracing her unknown poet, with Western enterprise she goes for further information to the files of the little country newspaper, in which many of his poems were first printed."

It is certainly not an important point, but a fact is a fact—and if scholarship is concerned with anything it is concerned with putting facts right. Thus my brief note in *Notes and Queries* in 1951. Twice since then books come out "compounding the felony," and one asks, How often need you say, "I think there's been a mistake," before anyone listens? Mrs. Bennett may be excused the initial error, as scholarship may not be her field; and Mr. Brown died early in 1951 before the *Notes and Queries* piece appeared; when Mr. Edel came to complete the biography, he did not alter this chapter; but Mr. Kates perhaps ought to have dug a little deeper into A. E. Housman's background, and he may well have if Willa Cather bibliographers had noticed "A Shropshire Lad in Shrewsbury," *Notes and Queries*, CXCVI (23 June 1951), 281.

One interesting question remains: What did Willa Cather find in that little country paper in 1902? It may be an injustice to her, but I don't think she was enough of a literary detective to go back to the files of 1895 and 1896 to seek out *A Shropshire Lad* lyrics before the first edition. Would she have even seen the first edition? The first American edition, of only 150 copies, was dated 1897: it was the Kegan Paul edition with a "John Lane: The Bodley Head, New York" title page tipped in. The first American printing was issued by Henry Altemus, Philadelphia, in 1902, and this may well have been the issue Willa Cather saw.<sup>5</sup> Then in Shrewsbury that same year she could very likely have seen individual lyrics from the book, reprinted without permission, and signed "A Shropshire Lad." Her phrase "old files" could have meant anything from 1896 to 1902, and to say that they were Housman's lyrics first appearing "as free



contribution and signed 'A Shropshire Lad' reads like romantic invention. It seems a charming idea, but I prefer the story of Housman's bringing out the first edition at his own expense. And this has the additional merit of being true.<sup>6</sup>

Wayne State University

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William White

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See A. E. H.'s answer to Maurice Pollet's questionnaire, which first appeared in *Etudes Anglaises*, I (September 1937), 385-404; also in Laurence Housman, *A. E. H.* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1937), pp. 20-21; and Grant Richards, *Housman: 1897-1936* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), pp. 267-271.

<sup>2</sup> Besides myself, A. S. F. Gow, Lawrence Housman, Grant Richards, John Sparrow and John Carter, among others, have done bibliographical work on Housman, and no one has even suggested such prior publication. Mr. Carter, "On Collecting A. E. Housman," *The Colophon*, n.s. III (Winter 1938), 58, says: "None of the poems in *A Shropshire Lad* had ever, I think, been previously printed." See also John Carter and John Sparrow, *A. E. Housman: An Annotated Hand-List* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1952), pp. 19-23. And Laurence Housman, *A. E. H.*, p. 80, writes: "Alfred had kept [*A Shropshire Lad*] a sealed secret from his family until the day of publication."

<sup>3</sup> Grant Richards's book, *Housman: 1897-1936*, is filled with such letters. See also Percy Withers, *A Buried Life* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1940), p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Pollard, "Some Reminiscences," *Alfred Edward Housman: Recollections* (Bromsgrove: Bromsgrove School, 1936), p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Willa Cather does say, however, that "the book had been selling in America for six years"—i.e., from 1896 to 1902. However, when she uses the words "his London publishers," it is not clear whether she means Kegan Paul or Grant Richards (who published *A Shropshire Lad* from 1898 on).

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mr. John L. Hobbs, Borough Librarian and Curator for the Public Libraries, Museum, and Art Gallery of Shrewsbury, who was kind enough to have his reference librarian search the files of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* for 1895, 1896, and 1897, without finding any of Housman's poems. He agrees with me that the *Chronicle* was the most likely place to look, though three more obscure periodicals are unlikely possibilities: *Shropshire Notes and Queries*, *Wellington Journal* and *Shrewsbury News*, and *Osmestry, Shrewsbury, and Border Counties Advertiser*. A Housman poem was re-printed, after the book was published, in the *Chronicle* on 22 April 1898, p. 3: "Reveille" (*A Shropshire Lad* IV), with the fourth stanza left out. This unauthorized appearance may have been what Willa Cather saw. It was signed "A. E. Housman in 'A Shropshire Lad,'" which may have led her to believe it an original printing instead of a reprinting.

## OSCAR WILDE AND WILFRID BLUNT:

## IRONIC NOTES ON PRISON, PROSE, AND POETRY

Among the eminent late Victorians both Oscar Wilde and Wilfrid Blunt wrote significant prose and poetry in prison as well as about prison life. The circumstance of Wilde's imprisonment as a result of his countercharges to the Marquis of Queensberry's public accusation of Wilde's homosexuality is well known.

Blunt's imprisonment, less notorious than Wilde's, was the result of a political rather than a moral issue. Like Shelley, Blunt had long been concerned about the plight of the landless Irish peasant-farmers, "but instead of floating bottles and distributing leaflets he got himself imprisoned and glorified."<sup>1</sup> As Lady Gregory acknowledged in the preface to the American edition of his diaries, Blunt became "the first Englishman put in prison for Ireland's sake." In *The Land War in Ireland* Blunt records in detail, quoting from his letters and diaries, his interest in the cause of Ireland, his struggle for an English seat in Commons (he refused several Irish constituencies), his travels in Ireland, his methodical planning to test the legality of Balfour's policies administered under the Crimes Act, his arrest for speaking at a proscribed meeting on Lord Clarincede's estates,<sup>2</sup> his subsequent arrest, trial, appeal, countersuit, and imprisonment. This is the romantic and gallant story of the fight of one individual who would probably have succeeded single-handed in overthrowing the Government's Irish policy had it not been for the single dissenting vote of a Quaker jurymen who opposed any form of violence.<sup>3</sup> Instead, Blunt, the aristocratic Sussex landowner, went to prison in order to dramatize the wretched conditions in Wilde's native land.

During his eight weeks in prison Blunt lacked paper and decent writing materials—"simple amenities... allowed in every age and in all other countries by even the most autocratic kings, princes, and potentates to political offenders."<sup>4</sup> He wrote secretly what he could on scraps of paper and on the leaves of his prayer-book. Sixteen of these sonnets "written in prison" Blunt published under the title "In Vinculis" immediately upon his release from Kilmainham Gaol. Dedicated "to the Priests and peasantry of Ireland who for three hundred years have preserved the tradition of a righteous war for faith and freedom," the series recounts Blunt's reactions and emotions while in Galway and Kilmainham gaols, "thought out, most of them, in the dark of the long nights with the roar of the Shannon falls in my ears."

"In Vinculis" is the least satisfactory of Blunt's six sonnet sequences. It is at once both too long and too short: too long for a series with little organic unity and too short for

the kind of surface unity implied by the superficial devices of its individual titles and its philosophy about the effect of prison on a proud spirit. For most contemporary reviewers "In Vinculis" held little charm. Mr. Percy Addleshaw in the *National Review* believed it to be "the mistake of a poet... Doubtless its composition went far to make the tedium of prison life bearable, but it is full of hysterical screaming, and some of us would forget it gladly." But Oscar Wilde, writing in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, pronounced the poem far superior to *The Love Sonnets of Proteus*, which was "wilful and weak... the record of passing moods and moments, of which some were sad and others sweet, and not a few shameful." "In Vinculis," however, "strips one by its fine sincerity of purpose, its lofty and impassioned thought, its depth and ardour of intense feeling... an unjust imprisonment for a noble cause strengthens as well as deepens the nature."

Blunt was undoubtedly surprised and pleased by this flattering criticism, and later that year when he and his cousin George Wyndham reconstituted the famous Crabtree Club (named after one of Blunt's country estates), Oscar Wilde was present "on a single occasion." From this time until his death Wilde appears in Blunt's *Diaries*. In 1891 Blunt records breakfasting in Paris with Oscar, who "was writing a play in French to be acted in the Francais. He is ambitious of being a French Academician." A year later Blunt was sitting at a dinner party between Mrs. Algvy Grosvenor and Wilde. "Oscar was in good form and he and I... sat up till half-past twelve talking when the rest were gone." In 1894 at a brilliant luncheon given by the recently married Margot Tennant and Henry Asquith, who as Home Secretary was later to be in charge of the prosecution against Wilde, Oscar was "at the height of his social glory." He remained after the rest had gone, telling "stories to me and Margot." When the two left together and headed in the same direction, Blunt recalls, "I said, 'Well, we will walk together as far as Grosvenor Square.' 'No, no,' he [Wilde] said, and called a passing hansom. 'I never walk.'"

Blunt was at his Egyptian home in the outskirts of Cairo when on April 11, 1895, the news reached him "of the huge scandal of Oscar Wilde's arrest and prosecution." And when he heard of Wilde's death in 1900, he recorded that Oscar was without exception "the most brilliant talker" he had ever come across. "Something of his wit is reflected in his plays, but very little." Physically, says Blunt, Oscar was repellent, though with a "certain sort of fat good looks." Then somewhat smugly for one not himself above reproach<sup>5</sup> Blunt writes: "I was never intimate with him, though on superficially cordial terms when we met... if he had on leaving prison begun a decent life people would have forgiven him, but he returned to Paris and to his dog's vomit." As for his work other than drama Blunt pronounced that Wilde's poetry "though nothing very wonderful, was good, especially his 'Ballad of Reading Gaol,' as was also a protest he wrote on leaving prison about prison treatment."

This latter statement is interesting in the light of Blunt's far inferior prison poem, "In Vinculis,"<sup>6</sup> that Wilde had ironically overpraised. Interesting also is Blunt's singling out Wilde's letters on prison reform for special commendation, for perhaps the most influential document to come out of his own Irish imprisonment was "Mr. Blunt's Memorandum on Prison Reform, especially as to the Treatment of Political Prisoners..." One of Winston Churchill's first acts as Home Secretary in 1910 "was to telegraph for Wilfrid Blunt's memorandum on prison reform."<sup>7</sup>

It is not surprising that Blunt, however much he might protest to the contrary, found in Wilde much to admire. Here was a man who like himself dared to challenge Philistia with deeds as well as words. When he was recovering from a long illness in 1905, one of Blunt's visitors was Robert Ross, "Oscar Wilde's friend, who was with him in his last hours. I was curious to know about these and he told me everything," records Blunt. Particularly was Ross asked about Wilde's treatment in prison: his illnesses, his hard labor, and lack of writing materials except in the last eight months. Remembering his own prison experience, Blunt quizzed his visitor closely about *De Profundis*: "I asked him how much of this poem was sincere." Ross, who had replaced Wilde's original title "Epistola: In Carcere et Vinculis" (which is perhaps reminiscent of the title of Blunt's own prison poem) and who as Wilde's literary executor had just finished rigorously editing the work for publication, did not even bother to explain that *De Profundis* was not a poem.

Here, then, is the final irony. Five years after Wilde's death his literary executor and a "friend" whose "In Vinculis" he had praised for "its fine sincerity of purpose" set about to discuss the "sincerity" of a poem that Blunt had not read and that Ross had so excised in his editing that not until 1913 did Lord Alfred Douglas discover that *De Profundis* was actually extracts from a letter Wilde had addressed to him. Nevertheless, records Blunt in his last entry about Wilde, "Ross made £800 by '*De Profundis*,'" all of which was to be claimed by the bankrupt court. The attitudes of Wilde and Blunt toward their prison experiences and their writing and toward each other form so co-incidental and ironic a pattern that Hardy would surely have labeled it a satire of circumstance.

## Notes:

- <sup>1</sup>Newman I. White, "Wilfrid Blunt's Diaries," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXI (October, 1922), 360.
- <sup>2</sup>The second Marquis of Clarinacarde, also an admirer of Catherine Walters (the inspirer of *The Love Sonnets of Proteus and Esther*), was an acquaintance of Blunt's in his days as a Paris attaché.
- <sup>3</sup>Edith Finch, *Wilfrid Scawen Blunt: 1840-1922* (London, 1938), p. 252.
- <sup>4</sup>*The Land War in Ireland* (London, 1912), p. 371.
- <sup>5</sup>For the account of Blunt's rather unsavory relationship with one of his daughter's friends, see Lady Emily Lutyens, *A Blessed Girl* (New York, 1954).
- <sup>6</sup>"The Ballad of Reading Gaol" was not actually written in prison as was "In Vinculis" but recollected in tranquility like Blunt's ballad of Irish persecutions, "The Canon of Aughrim."
- <sup>7</sup>Philip Guedalla, *Mr. Churchill* (New York, 1942), p. 131. Having had a taste of prison life at Pretoria during the Boer War, Sir Winston was eager to set about the improvement of conditions for war as well as for political prisoners.

## V. EDITORIAL NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

- \* I wish to remind you that the official topic for papers to be read to Victorianists at the 1958 meeting of MLA (in New York!) is *FICCIÓN*. This announcement may be of little more value to you than as a statement of fact, for the official deadline for submission of papers was April 15. However, if you have any last-minute "mysts," I am sure that the Chairman of the Program Committee will at least send his regrets: Professor Edgar F. Shannon, Department of English, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
  - \* Your editor has accepted responsibility for arranging the VICTORIAN LUNCHEON at the 1958 meeting. It is not possible to invite reservations at this time, however, since some preference for the Statler has been expressed by members of the group, and the Statler is not yet ready to announce its prices. Such invitation will be published in the next issue of *VNL*, however, and if necessary members will be individually circularized. Catered luncheons are becoming so unconsciously expensive that one day this whole question of group-luncheons may have to be reconsidered.
  - \* Our younger Victorianists who have not yet found a permanent berth will undoubtedly be somewhat cheered by the increased employment traffic this Spring. George Ford has moved to Rochester, and Cincinnati has appointed a new associate professor in the period. Rumor has it, too, that Louisville has made a new Victorian appointment and that the following universities are at least beginning to put out feelers: Chicago, Emory, Ohio State, Wayne State, and Washington (in St. Louis). Apparently, too, young Victorianists for appointment to assistant and associate professorships are not to be found on every corner.
  - \* Richard D. Altick and William R. Matthews, both of Ohio State, are compiling a comprehensive bibliography of doctoral dissertations in Victorian literature, from the beginnings of academic interest in the field down to the present. The list will be international in scope, British and Continental dissertations being included as well as those written in American universities. This guide will, when published, be a convenient and time-saving reference tool for all graduate students in Victorian literature and their advisers. May it prosper!
  - \* The University of Minnesota is publishing this Fall a *festschrift* volume in honor of the late Professor James T. Hillhouse (author of *The Waverley Novels and Their Critics*, 1936), edited by Robert C. Rathburn and Martin Steinmann, Jr.: *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad*. The collection will consist of two general essays, one on the eighteenth-century novel and another on the twentieth-century novel, and twenty essays on major and minor British novelists of the nineteenth century. *From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad* will differ from the usual *festschrift* volume in certain important respects: all essays were written especially for this book and the contributors were chosen, not because they were friends or colleagues of Professor Hillhouse (though some of them were), but because they are either leading authorities on their topics or promising young critics and scholars. Here are some of the contributors and their topics: Alan D. McKillop, "Critical Realism in *Northanger Abbey*"; David Daiches, "Scott's *Redgauntlet*"; Douglas Bush, "A Note on Dickens' Humor"; George H. Ford, "Self-Help and Helplessness in *Bleak House*"; Robert B. Hellman, "Charlotte Brontë's 'New' Gothic"; Bradford A. Booth, "Trollope's *Orley Farm*: Artistry Manqué"; Arthur Mizener, "Anthony Trollope: the Palliser Novels"; Gordon S. Haight, "George Eliot's Originals"; John Holloway, "Hardy's Major Fiction"; William Van O'Connor, "Samuel Butler and Bloomsbury"; William Y. Tindall, "Apology for Marlow."
  - \* Readers of *VNL* will have a special interest in several recent and forthcoming articles and reviews in *Victorian Studies* (Indiana University): Walter E. Houghton, "Arnold's 'Empedocles on Etna'"; Francis E. Mineka, "John Stuart Mill: Letters on the French Revolution of 1830"; Conrad Tanzy, "Browning, Emerson, and Bishop Blougram"; Douglas Bush's review of Hoxie Fairchild's *Religious Trends in English Poetry*; Martin Svaglic's review of recent books on Newman by Bouyer and Chadwick; Geoffrey Tillotson's review of Walter Houghton's *The Victorian Prame of Mind*; R. K. Webb's review of Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader*.
- Further, the editor of *Victorian Studies* writes: "There were some suggestions, a year or more ago in *VNL*, for a 'Books of 1859' volume, to appear in 1959. We have assumed since there has been no subsequent comment, that nothing has come of those suggestions, and we've gone ahead here with plans for a centenary volume." We are rather inclined to think that something has "come of those suggestions": namely, the projected centenary volume of *Victorian Studies*. It will be welcome.



\* Perhaps it will not be considered immodest if your editor takes this hidden corner to let you know that he has not exactly been partaking of the long sleep. In March, the Houghton Mifflin Company published two editions of his *Prose of the Victorian Period*, one in the paperbound Riverside Editions, and one in cloth. Later this Spring, the Librairie Droz (of Geneva) will publish his *Matthew Arnold's Books: Toward a Publishing Diary*, which will be distributed in this country by Associated College Presses, New York University. Not unrelated to this latter book is an article to appear in *PMLA* in June: "Studies in Three Arnold Problems," on *Culture and Anarchy; A Guide to Greek Poetry*, an unfinished project; and *Essays in Criticism, First Series*.

## VI. RECENT PUBLICATIONS: A SELECTED LIST

SEPTEMBER, 1957 - FEBRUARY, 1958

### GENERAL

- ART AND THEATRE.** Edward Gordon Craig, *Index to the Story of My Days: Some Memoirs, 1872-1907*. Hulton Press. Rev. *TLS*, Oct. 25, p. 642. The stormy career of a notable producer and scene designer, son of Ellen Terry.
- J. H. V. Davies, "A Defence of Victorian Architecture." *Listener*, Feb. 20, pp. 313-15. On Butterfield, Pearson, and Street, creators of "an architecture which has as much to offer, if we can strip away our preconceptions, as the poetry of Tennyson and Browning." See also John Betjeman's announcement ("City and Suburban," *Spectator*, Aug. 23, pp. 244-45) of the founding of a "Victorian Group" to work for the preservation of the best examples of nineteenth-century architecture. Betjeman lists three useful "rules for looking at Victorian buildings."
- A Victorian Canvas: The Memoirs of W. P. Frith*. Ed. by Neville Wallis. London: Bles; N. Y.: Macmillan. Rev. by Peter Quennell in *Spectator*, Nov. 8, p. 622. Two volumes of reminiscences by the painter of "Derby Day," condensed and illustrated in this new edition.
- Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "High Victorian Gothic." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 47-71. A definitive illustrated survey of the mid-Victorian phase of the Gothic revival, 1849-1870.
- Gretchen Paulus, "Beerholm Tree and 'The New Drama.'" *Toronto Quarterly*, October, pp. 103-15. On Tree's production of *An Enemy of the People*, in 1893.
- BIBLIOGRAPHY.** Charles and Edward Lauterbach, "The Nineteenth-Century Three-Volume Novel." *Papers of the Bibl. Society of America*, LI (1957), 263-302. A statistical account of the three-decker, 1800-1894.
- George Watson, ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. Vol. V: Supplement, A. D. 600-1900. Cambridge Univ. Press. Corrected, expanded, and brought up to date; lists most of the important scholarly and critical studies, 1941-1955.
- CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY.** Lord David Cecil, *The Fine Art of Reading*. Constable. Rev. *TLS*, Sept. 13, p. 546. Includes essays on Conrad and Walter Pater.
- Margaret Dalziel, *Popular Fiction 100 Years Ago: An Unexplored Tract of Literary History*. London: Cohen and West. Rev. *TLS*, Dec. 13, p. 756.
- Naomi Lewis, *A Visit to Mrs. Wilcox*. Cresset Press. Rev. *TLS*, Nov. 22, p. 707. Includes essays on Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte Mew, Tennyson, Tupper, and Charlotte M. Yonge.
- Mortimer R. Proctor, *The English University Novel*. Univ. of California Press. Rev. *TLS*, Feb. 21, p. 101. Discusses a number of Victorian novels.
- R. K. Webb, "The Victorian Reading Public." *Universities Quarterly*, November, pp. 24-44.
- HISTORY.** Michael Alexander, *The True Blue: The Life and Adventures of Colonel Fred Burnaby, 1842-1885*. Hart-Davis. Rev. *TLS*, Dec. 13, p. 754. Exploits of a prototype Victorian soldier-explorer.
- Maurice Bruce, *The Shaping of the Modern World, 1870-1939*. Vol. I: 1870-1914. Hutchinson. Rev. *TLS*, Feb. 14, p. 82. An ambitious survey (970 pp.) of world history in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras.
- Edward Boykin, ed., *Victoria, Albert, and Mrs. Stevenson*. London: Muller. Rev. *TLS*, Jan. 31, p. 59. Letters from Mrs. Andrew Stevenson, wife of the American Minister in London, 1836-41.
- J. P. C. Harrison, "The Victorian Gospel of Success." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 155-64. On Samuel Smiles and other exponents of self-help.
- "Indian Mutiny." *Spectator*, Aug. 2 - 30. A series of vivid eye-witness accounts of the Mutiny, compiled from the *Spectator* of 1857.
- Michael St. John Packe, *The Bombs of Orsini*. Secker and Warburg. Rev. *TLS*, Jan. 10, p. 21. Life of an Italian revolutionary whose attempt on the life of Napoleon III complicated relations between England and France.
- The Letters of Lady Palmerston*. Ed. by Tresham Lever. Murray. Rev. *TLS*, Nov. 15, p. 683. New light on the most distinguished of Victorian political hostesses.
- PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.** Raymond G. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent*. New York Univ. Press, 1956. The subtitle is explanatory: "The religious aspects of liberal and humanitarian reform movements, 1815-1848."
- David Lack, *Evolutionary Theory and Christian Belief: The Unresolved Conflict*. Methuen. Rev. *TLS*, Sept. 27, p. 579. An account of the controversies which followed the publication of the Darwin-Wallace studies, 1858-59, and their aftermath.
- E. D. Mackerness, "Henry Parry Liddon: The Diadochus of the Tractarians." *Church Quarterly Rev.*, October, pp. 466-77. On the sermons of a notable Anglo-Catholic.
- Andrew Wordsworth, "Portrait of a Great-Uncle." *Listener*, Aug. 29, pp. 314-15. On Charles Wordsworth (1806-92), Bishop of St. Andrews.
- PUBLISHING AND JOURNALISM.** *Adam and Charles Black, 1807-1957*. A. and C. Black. Rev. *TLS*, Dec. 6, p. 748. History of an important publishing house in Edinburgh and London.
- Royal A. Gettmann, "Colburn-Bentley and the March of Intellect." *Studies in Bibliography* (Univ. of Virginia), 1956. Thackeray's "Bacon and Bungay" in a new light; based on unpublished material.

- Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell, 1848-1958*. Cassell. Rev. *FLS*, Jan. 31, p. 62. On a firm that specialized, during its Victorian years, in "family reading."
- R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch*. Collins. Rev. *FLS*, Sept. 27, p. 574. Five of the ten chapters deal with *Punch* under its first four editors, 1841-1906.
- Diderik Roll-Hansen, *The Academy, 1869-1879: Victorian Intellectuals in Revolt*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde. On the most scholarly of Victorian weeklies.
- SCIENCE. G. S. Carter, *A Hundred Years of Evolution*. Sidgwick and Jackson. Rev. *FLS*, Oct. 11, p. 613. An account of the various stages through which evolutionary theory has passed.
- Charles Newman, *The Evolution of Medical Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford Univ. Press. Rev. *FLS*, Oct. 18, p. 629.
- SOCIAL. B. Bernard Cohen, "Emerson and Hawthorne on England." *Boston Public Library Quarterly*, April, pp. 73-85.
- Guy Deghy, *Paradise in the Strand: The Story of Romano's*. Richards. On a famous restaurant much patronized by theatrical folk, 1870-1914.
- O. R. McGregor, *Divorce in England: A Centenary Study*. Heinemann.
- Cyril Ray, "Pre-Wolfenden." *Spectator*, Sept. 27, p. 389. The Victorian demi-monde as revealed by *The Man of Pleasure's Illustrated Pocket-Book*, 1850.
- AUTHORS
- ARNOLD. William E. Buckler, "Matthew Arnold in America: 'The Reason.'" *AL*, January, pp. 464-470. The "debt" Arnold discharged by his first American tour: was it a money-debt (incurred by Arnold's son at Oxford); or was it a "spiritual debt" to the friend of Arnold's youth - Emerson?
- E. B. Greenwood, "Matthew Arnold: Thoughts on a Centenary." *Twentieth Century*, November, pp. 469-79. A suggestive article which draws a startling parallel between Arnold and D. H. Lawrence.
- William A. Madden, "The Divided Tradition of English Criticism." *PMLA*, March, pp. 69-80. Disinterested judgment vs. substitute-religion in the work of Arnold and later critics.
- Fraser Neimann, "The Zeitgeist of Matthew Arnold." *PMLA*, December, pp. 977-96. Ambiguities in Arnold's use of the terms "Zeitgeist" and "Time-Spirit," which may mean current opinion or a positive developmental power.
- Kathleen Tillotson, "Matthew Arnold and Carlyle." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1956, pp. 133-53. On the influences which led Arnold to number Carlyle among the "voices" that stirred him in the 1840's.
- BARHAM. William G. Lane, "The Primitive Muse of Thomas Ingoldsby." *Harvard Library Bulletin* (Winter 1958), pp. 47-83. The first part of a well documented study, based in part on unpublished letters and diaries.
- BRONTËS. Miriam Allott, "Wuthering Heights: The Rejection of Heathcliff." *Essays in Criticism*, January, pp. 27-47.
- Jacob Korg, "The Problem of Unity in *Shirley*." *NCF*, September, pp. 125-36. Charlotte Brontë's attempt to construct a broad picture of society results in a straining of unity, but her use of consistently romantic criteria of conduct partially overcomes this difficulty.
- BROWNING. Joseph E. Baker, "Religious Implications in Browning's Poetry." *PQ*, October, pp. 436-52. A valuable synthesis of criticisms of Browning's religious position; should be read as a supplement to Fairchild's recent chapter.
- David V. Erdman, "Browning's Industrial Nightmare." *PQ*, October, pp. 417-35. "Childe Roland" as symbolic protest against the dehumanizing tendencies of the age.
- Roma A. King, Jr., *The Bow and the Lyre: The Art of Robert Browning*. Univ. of Michigan Press. Critical analyses of five representative poems.
- Betty Miller, "The Séance at Ealing: A Study in Memory and Imagination." *Cornhill Mag.*, Autumn, pp. 317-24. On the tensions produced by Browning's rejection and his wife's acceptance of spiritualism.
- BUCKLE. Giles St. Aubyn, *A Victorian Eminence: The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle*. Barrie. Rev. *FLS*, Feb. 28, p. 111.
- BUTLER. Angus Wilson, "The Revolt of Samuel Butler." *Atlantic Monthly*, November, pp. 190-98. On Butler's "Anti-Victorianism," its virtues and its defects.
- CARLYLE. Iris Origo, *A Measure of Love*. Pantheon. Rev. by Peter Quennell in *NYFR*, Nov. 10, p. 5. Includes an essay on the Carlyles and the Ashburtons.
- Francis X. Roellinger, Jr., "The Early Development of Carlyle's Style." *PMLA*, December, pp. 936-51. The style of *Sartor*, the first true Carlylese, was consciously cultivated to meet the requirements of Teufelsdröckh.
- CARROLL. "Recollections of Lewis Carroll." *Listener*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, pp. 198-202, 238-43. Personal reminiscences of Carroll by four of his surviving "child-friends."
- CLOUGH. Frederick Mulhauser, ed., *The Correspondence of Arthur Hugh Clough*. Oxford. Rev. *FLS*, Dec. 6, p. 738.
- DICKENS. Arthur A. Adrian, *Georgina Hogarth and the Dickens Circle*. Oxford.
- Louis Crompton, "Satire and Symbolism in *Bleak House*." *NCF*, March, pp. 284-303; Norman Friedman, "The Shadow and the Sun: Notes Toward a Reading of *Bleak House*." *Boston Univ. Studies in English*, Autumn, pp. 147-66. "People who like to talk about the symbols of Kafka and Mann and Joyce have been discouraged from looking for anything of the kind in Dickens" (Edmund Wilson, 1941). This situation no longer exists, as these two studies and a dozen others in the past decade amply demonstrate.
- G. Ingh James, "Dickens: An Essay in Christian Evaluation." *Blackfriars*, November, pp. 466-73. A Roman Catholic view.
- Lauriat Lane, Jr., "Dickens' Archetypal Jew." *PMLA*, March, pp. 94-100. Fagin as symbolic devil; Riah (in *Our Mutual Friend*) as an unsuccessful attempt to atone for apparent anti-Semitism.
- John Manning, "Charles Dickens and the Oswego System." *JHI*, October, pp. 580-86. Mr. Gradgrind's educational theory, its origins and American analogues.
- Harry Stone, "Dickens's Tragic Universe: 'George Silverman's Explanation.'" *SP*, January, pp. 86-97. Dickens's "last serious story" (1868) as a clue to his tragic view of life.



- ELIOT. Jerome Beaty, "George Eliot's Notebook for an Unpublished Novel." *Princeton Univ. Libr. Chronicle*, Summer, pp. 175-82. Sketches and plan for a novel set in England during the Napoleonic Wars, and apparently dating from the late 1870's.
- Richard Stang, "The Literary Criticism of George Eliot." *PMLA*, December, pp. 952-61. A reconstruction of George Eliot's theory of fiction, based on dicta from her reviews and from the novels themselves.
- Jerome Thale, "George Eliot's Fable for Her Times." *College English*, January, pp. 141-46. Allegory and realism in the two plots of *Silas Marner*.
- GILBERT. Hesketh Pearson, *Gilbert: His Life and Strife*. Methuen.
- HARDY. M. A. Goldberg, "Hardy's Double-Visioned Universe." *Essays in Criticism*, October, pp. 374-82. "Dialectical tension" between the mechanistic and the humanistic attitudes.
- Eugene Goodheart, "Thomas Hardy and the Lyrical Novel." *NCF*, December, pp. 215-25.
- HOPKINS. Walker Gibson, "Sound and Sense in G. M. Hopkins." *MLN*, February, pp. 95-100. On the theological implications of sound-likenesses in Hopkins's verse.
- JOWETT. Geoffrey Faber, *Jowett: A Portrait with Background*. Faber. Rev. *TLS*, Oct. 25, pp. 633-34.
- MARTINEAU. Vera Wheatley, *The Life and Work of Harriet Martineau*. Secker. Rev. *TLS*, Oct. 4, p. 592.
- MEREDITH. Gordon S. Haight, "George Meredith and the 'Westminster Review.'" *MLR*, January, pp. 1-16. A notable discovery of literary reviews by Meredith in the *Westminster*, April 1857—January 1858. Among the authors he reviewed were Kingsley, Ruskin, Trollope, Flaubert, Reade, and—Meredith.
- Robert Watson, "George Meredith's *Sandra Belloni*." *ELH*, December, pp. 321-35. Sentimentalism as estrangement from society, the theme of this novel.
- MILL. Maurice Cranston, "J. S. Mill as a Political Philosopher." *History Today*, January, pp. 38-46.
- Francis E. Mineka, ed., "John Stuart Mill: Letters on the French Revolution of 1830." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 137-54.
- NEWMAN. Louis Bouyer, *Newman: His Life and Spirituality* (Trans. by J. Lewis May). Burns and Oates. Rev. by Rose Macaulay in *Spec.*, Jan. 31, p. 137.
- Owen Chadwick, *From Bossuet to Newman: The Idea of Doctrinal Development*. Cambridge Univ. Press, Rev. *TLS*, Dec. 6, p. 744.
- QUIDA. Monica Stirling, *The Fine and the Wicked: The Life and Times of Ouida*. Gollancz. Rev. by Christopher Sykes in *Spec.*, Dec. 20, p. 876.
- PATER. René Wellek, "Walter Pater's Literary Theory and Criticism." *Victorian Studies*, Sept., pp. 29-46.
- PATTISON. V. H. H. Green, *Oxford Common Room: A Study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattison*. Edward Arnold. Rev. *TLS*, Dec. 20, p. 774.
- RUSKIN. Joan Evans and J. H. Whitehouse, eds., *Diaries of John Ruskin*. Vol. II: 1848-73. Oxford. Rev. by Peter Quennell in *Spec.*, Feb. 28, p. 267.
- Sir Kenneth Clark, "Can You Sketch?" *New Statesman*, Dec. 14, pp. 821-22. On Ruskin's *Elements of Drawing*, 1857.
- Margaret E. Spence, "The Guild of St. George: Ruskin's Attempt to Translate his Ideas into Practice." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, September, pp. 147-201. Based on unpublished letters.
- STEVENSON. Richard Aldington, *Portrait of a Rebel: The Life and Work of Robert Louis Stevenson*. Evans. Rev. *TLS*, Oct. 4, p. 594.
- SWINBURNE. Paull F. Baum, "Swinburne's 'A Nympholept.'" *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Winter, pp. 58-68. Perceptive interpretation and comment on an important and neglected poem.
- Thomas E. Connolly, "Swinburne on 'The Music of Poetry.'" *PMLA*, September, pp. 680-88. On Swinburne's critical vocabulary and its applications.
- THACKERAY. Gordon N. Ray, *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom (1847-1863)*. McGraw-Hill. The concluding volume of Ray's definitive biography. Rev. by Edgar Johnson in *NYTBR*, Jan. 12, p. 6.
- THOMPSON. Derek Stanford, "Francis Thompson's Prose." *The Month*, Nov., pp. 299-306. On Thompson as critic.
- W. G. Wilson, "Francis Thompson's Outlook on Science." *Contemporary Rev.*, Nov., pp. 263-66. The influence on Thompson's writing of his scientific and medical studies.
- WILDE. *Salome*. Heinemann. A new translation by R. A. Walker, with an introduction by the translator and with the Beardsley illustrations.
- J. C. Finzi, *Oscar Wilde and His Literary Circle*. A Catalogue of MSS. and Letters in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library. Univ. of California Press.

## PROJECTS — REQUESTS FOR AID

- FREDERICK WILLIAM FABER. A. J. Cornwell asks for letters and documents relating to Faber. *TLS*, Oct. 4, p. 593.
- FARADAY. A. E. Jeffreys is preparing a biography. *TLS*, Aug. 2, p. 471.
- FUN. Edward S. Lauterbach is writing a history of this Victorian humor magazine (1861-1901), one of the chief rivals of *Punch*. *TLS*, Aug. 30, p. 519.
- HARRIET GROTE. Mrs. E. Grunwald is engaged in research on Mrs. Grote, especially regarding her friendships with eminent Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. *Notes and Queries*, October, p. 456.
- HUTTON. Robert H. Tener is engaged on a study of Richard Holt Hutton, editor of the *Spectator*, 1861-1897. *Spectator*, Sept. 6, p. 307.
- LANKESTER. J. Lester is working on a biography. *TLS*, Oct. 18, p. 625.
- LEFANU. Frederick Shroyer is completing research for a biography. *TLS*, Nov. -8, p. 673.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

OSCAR MAURER

THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER is edited for the English X Group of the Modern Language Association by William E. Buckler, 737 East Building, New York University, New York 3, New York. Subscription rates in the United States and Canada are \$1.00 for one year and \$2.00 for three years. All checks should be made payable to William E. Buckler, personally, so that they may be easily negotiated. The subscription rates for the United Kingdom are 7/6 for one year and 15/ for three years. Checks should be made payable to K. J. Fielding, Malayan Teachers Training College, Kirkby, Liverpool. Mr. Fielding is the British representative of VNL.