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Similarities Between Lazarillo de Tormes and Early English Novels

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SIMILARITIES BETWEEN LAZARILLO DE TORMES

AND EARLY ENGLISH NOVELS

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BY

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PREFACE

For the student of Spanish literature familiar with the Lazarillo de Tormes and the long series of picaresque novels written within the same framework, it comes as something of a surprise when the term "picaresque" is applied to eighteenth-century English novels. At first glance, such an application may seem inappropriate and inaccurate. The picaresque genre in Spain adhered with only minor exceptions to the pattern established by the Lazarillo.

It is the purpose of this paper, therefore, to use Lazarillo de Tormes, the prototype of the picaresque novel, as a kind of yardstick against which a number of early English novels can be held and examined. This is not an exhaustive study; there are a number of less well-known early English novels which have not been examined and which may contain much valuable material. In any case, a judicious selection has been attempted, and it is hoped that the conclusions of the study have some merit.

I should like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Robert Lee Blair, my advisor in the preparation of this paper. His suggestions, always knowledgeable and pertinent, have made this paper better than it could otherwise have been.

INTRODUCTION

La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes, published in 1554, marked the birth of a type of literature which was to flourish in Spain for a hundred years in what has been called "una de las formas más originales e intensas de nuestra literatura de la Edad de Oro."¹ ("One of the most original and intense forms of our literature of the Golden Age.") Certain very definite characteristics separated the picaresque from other types of literature, although each of the many picaresque novels that appeared in Spain between 1554 and 1646 possessed individual traits that distinguished it from others of the same type. The Lazarillo and some of its Spanish descendants were translated into English, as well as other languages, and for a time enjoyed an international vogue. In view of the popularity of Lazarillo de Tormes and of the uninhibited borrowings by the writers of the time, it seems not illogical to expect that some of the early novels of England, France, and Germany will evidence the influence of the Spanish prototype.

¹ Angel Valbuena y Prat, La novela picaresca española (2nd ed.; Madrid: Aguilar, 1946), p. 11.

I
PREDECESSORS OF LAZARILLO DE TORMES

Although La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes was the first of the true picaresque novels, it had predecessors as far back as the literature of antiquity. The Satiricon of Petronius Arbiter, with its portrait of degenerate Rome, and the Golden Ass of Apuleius, with its good-hearted but thievish donkey as the protagonist, are frequently cited as classical antecedents of the Lazarillo.

In the Middle Ages there appeared the Roman de Renard, anonymous cycles of verse of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, which is included in the genealogy of the literature of roguery because of its trenchant social satire and because of its mischievous protagonist, the fox. Such tales of Reynard the Fox existed in the Low Countries, northern France, and western Germany, and culminated in "the greatest of all works in Low German, Reinke Vos, first printed in Lubeck in 1498 and again in Rostock in 1517."²

From about the same period come some 150 fabliaux, short narrative poems which "shed a realistic and interesting light upon the manners of the time."³ These works, usually

²W. T. H. Jackson, The Literature of the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 352.

³L. Cazamian, A History of French Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 39.

anonymous, cast an irreverent and satirical eye upon the clergy and women, making use of broad and frequently coarse humor.

German folk literature included Pfaff Amis, "a thirteenth-century satire directed against sly and thievish priests."⁴ This work was made up of twelve humorous tales, in each of which gullible lay persons were outwitted by a clerical rogue. Some of these same stories reappeared in a later work, Der Pfarrer von Kalenberg.

The Liber Vagatorum (1510-16), which Chandler regards as "the first pure example of German rogue realism,"⁵ described some thirty mendicant orders and made use of manuscript accounts of criminal trials at Basel in 1475. Turned into verse in 1517 and reissued in prose in 1528 by Martin Luther, this work contributed to the first English beggar-books their descriptions of the wiles of beggars.⁶

Tales from Pfaff Amis and Pfarrer vom Kalenberg, as well as knightly romances, popular parables, legends, saints' biographies, and artistic stories of the Italian Humanists, provided material for the biographical Till

⁴Ernst Rose, A History of German Literature (New York: New York University Press, 1960), p. 65.

⁵Frank Wadleigh Chandler, The Literature of Roguery (2 vols.; The Types of English Literature; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1907), I, p. 27.

⁶Ibid.

Eulenspiegel (c. 1500). Till, a peasant boy in the service of a variety of masters and "a cheater of burghers, churchmen, physicians and nobles,"⁷ seems to anticipate the picaro, though he lacks the very human suffering and compassion of Lazarillo.

In England, too, there existed native works evidencing roguish characteristics. The early drama contained figures like the Devil, Vice, and comic servants. Robin Hood and Robin Goodfellow figured in legends. In Howleglas, a jest-book published in 1528, the central figure takes such varied roles as apprentice, robber, cook's helper, clerk, butcher, baker, candlestick maker, cobbler, physician, and monk. In the employ of a priest, Howleglas takes advantage of a one-eyed cook to steal the chickens being prepared for dinner, but "as much sinned against as sinning,"⁸ he is often also the victim of such pranks. Prior to the appearance of Lazarillo de Tormes in English there existed also anatomies of roguery of various types. For example, beggar-books like John Awdeley's "The Fraternitie of vacabondes" (1560-61) or Thomas Harman's "A Caveat for common cursetors" (1566 or 1567), studied the world of

⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁸P. M. Zall, A Hundred Merry Tales and Other English Jestbooks of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 7.

vagabonds, sharpers, and usurers, and described the various orders among such rogues.⁹

The multitude of early works with apparent kinship to the picaresque novel might seem to lessen the importance of the Lazarillo , but Chandler sets the work in its proper perspective:

The fabliaux and novelle might set forth traditional cheats and gallant ruses; the jest-books might assemble such tricks and ascribe them to single rogues; tales of legendary outlaws and Rabelaisian grotesques might contribute to the conception of roguery; and the German "Liber Vagatorum" might paint the manners of thieves and vagabonds from life; but it is "La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes" (1554) that marks the birth of the genre.¹⁰

⁹J. J. Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), II, p. 539.

¹⁰Chandler, I, p. 7.

II
LAZARILLO DE TORMES

Lazarillo de Tormes, "la novela tipo del género picaresco y lo mejor que en este se ha escrito,"¹¹ ("the novel which is the type of the picaresque genre and the best which has been written in it"), is well described by Alter's definition of the picaresque novel as "the adventurous story of a rogue's life, usually told in the first person; . . . its episodic account of wanderings, adversity, and ingenious role-playing incorporates a satiric view of society."¹²

The central character of the Lazarillo is a boy of low background. His miller father, Thomas Gonzalez, is arrested for "having performed various surgical operations on the bags belonging to the people who came to the mill to have their grain ground,"¹³ confesses his guilt, and is sent into exile. There he joins an expedition against the Moors, serving in the lowly position of muleteer and "like

¹¹Gregorio Palacín Iglesias, Historia de la literatura española (Mexico, D. F.: Studium, 1958), p. 299.

¹²Robert Alter, Rogue's Progress: Studies in the Picaresque Novel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. viii.

¹³Angel Flores (ed.), Masterpieces of the Spanish Golden Age, trans. Mack Hendricks Singleton (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957), p. 27.

a faithful servant . . . ended his life at the same time as his master."¹⁴

Lazarillo's widowed mother moves from Tormes to Salamanca, where she supports herself and her eight-year-old son by preparing meals for the students at the university and washing clothes for the horseboys of a nobleman of the city. She also becomes the mistress of a Negro stableman who contributes bread, meat, firewood, and other stolen items from the stable, as well as money from the sale of horseshoes stolen from the feet of the horses he cares for. This illicit relationship, which produces "a pretty little colored brother,"¹⁵ is abruptly terminated when the thefts are detected, and Lazaro's mother is forced to flee to another part of the city and to work for some people who live in an inn.

It is at this point that the major phase of Lazaro's life, as servant of many masters, begins. He serves, in turn, a blind man, a priest, a poverty-stricken gentleman, a friar, a seller of indulgences, an artist, a chaplain, and a bailiff. This device of the servant who goes from master to master was utilized in nearly all of the Spanish picaresque novels, for it serves so admirably as a means enabling the protagonist to view all areas and levels of society.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 28.

A logical if not inevitable result of such a movement from master to master is an accompanying movement geographically. Lazaro's first master, the blind man, is himself a wanderer. He goes where the money is, stopping along the way "wherever we found welcome and profit; and when we found neither, we made our departure the third day after our arrival."¹⁶ The pair move from Salamanca toward Toledo, visiting other towns along the way: Almoroz, Escalona, and finally Torrijos, where Lazaro flees his miserly and cruel master. In Maqueda he enters the service of a priest, who finally fires the boy because of his thefts of food. From there Lazaro wanders to Toledo, where he encounters the impoverished nobleman. This same city apparently serves as the locale for the picaro's further adventures, for no other city is mentioned, and at the conclusion of the story, Lazaro serves as town crier of Toledo.

A third trait of Lazarillo which was adopted as the trademark of most picares is his situation as a victim of adversity. Lazarillo himself describes his work as "the true account of a man who has had so many adventures and experienced so many dangers and adversities."¹⁷ In addition to the loss of his father and stepfather, he consistently encounters misfortune in the choice of his masters and suffers

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

from their tricks and/or cruelty. Hardly has he entered service under the blind man and taken leave of his mother when the former, for no apparent reason, has the boy place his ear near the figure of a stone animal and then "knocked it with a terrific blow of his hand against the beast, so that I had a headache for three days afterwards from my butting of the bull."¹⁸

At the hands of his first three masters, Lazaro suffers from a hunger that grows progressively worse, for the first two are too miserly to give him enough to eat, while the third is so poor that he has to live on what the boy can beg. When the ravenous servant is discovered in the act of pilfering the food he needs, his stingy masters punish him brutally. For example, the blind man, when he finds Lazaro imbibing wine from a hole he has made in the jug, uses his full strength to beat the boy in the face with the container with a blow "such that it addled my pate and left me senseless, and . . . so great that the pieces of it stuck in my face and tore it in several places, and it also knocked out my teeth, so that until this present day I have been toothless."¹⁹ From then on, also, the master indulges in repeated ill treatment of the boy, striking him for no reason, pulling his hair, and knocking his head about. After substituting a turnip for a sausage, Lazarillo has most of his hair pulled out, his face scratched,

¹⁸Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 34.

and his neck and throat torn badly. Moreover, the blind man delights in telling all acquaintances about the boy's misdeeds and the severe punishments administered him, and the usual reaction of the hearers is laughter. Similarly, Lazarillo is left almost dead from the beating given him by the priest, who has discovered that the boy has been using a duplicate key to the chest in which the bread is stored. At this point the boy becomes less loquacious about his hardships. Of the seller of indulgences he will say only, "I cannot truthfully say that my life with him was exactly a bed of roses."²⁰ With the artist he "underwent a thousand hardships,"²¹ but he says no more of them. From that point on he begins to acquire respectability and influence, and life is much easier for him.

These cruel hardships serve to educate a boy who is in the beginning naive. His first lesson comes from the blind man in the head-butting incident. The master says, "Idiot! Be now aware that a blind man's boy has to know somewhat more than even the devil himself."²² Lazarillo learns quickly. Of that same incident he says, "I seemed at that instant to awaken from the naivete in which like a little boy I had slept, and I said to myself: 'He is very right, and I must indeed have an alert eye and I must be ever watchful, since I am on my own, and I must learn to

²⁰Ibid., p. 81.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 30.

take care of myself."²³ Furthermore, he says that his master "gave me the only education I ever had."²⁴ It is because of this element in the Lazarillo and many of its descendants that Alter regards picaresque literature as "very much a literature of learning."²⁵

An important aspect of Lazarillo's education is the skill he learns for getting food to assuage his hunger. He finds that "Necessity is a wondrous sharpner of wits,"²⁶ and says that "If with my wit and tricks I had not managed to supply my wants, I should certainly have died of hunger."²⁷ Although the blind man is a wily rogue, Lazarillo is able sometimes to take advantage of his sightlessness. For instance, the boy makes a rip in the bag of food and then sews it up after pilfering bread or meat. He also manages to acquire money by popping into his mouth farthings given for the blind man's prayers, for which coins he then substitutes half-farthings. When Lazaro and his master agree to share a bunch of grapes, eating one grape at a time, the boy devours three to every two of the master.

With the sighted but even more niggardly priest, Lazaro has more difficulty devising means for acquiring the

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Alter, p. 3.

²⁶ Flores, p. 48.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 31.

food he needs so desperately. Rationed to one onion every four days and on Saturdays bones from the sheep's head gnawed by the priest, the boy begins to pray for the death of parishioners because of the bounty provided at the funeral, where the priest and no doubt Lazaro too "ate like a wolf and drank more than a quack doctor."²⁸ Fearful of striking out in search of a better master, since he seems to be going from bad to worse, he is finally lucky enough to have an itinerant tinker make a duplicate key to the chest in which the left-over holy bread is kept. When the priest begins to count the loaves of bread, however, Lazaro is again in straitened circumstances, limited to the crumbs a mouse could conceivably eat and the part of the bread the priest thinks the mice have been nibbling on. When the master puts a mouse trap inside the chest, Lazaro rejoices at the cheese thus added to his diet.

Lazarillo has learned enough from his first two masters to be cautious while getting acquainted with the third. When the nobleman asks questions of the boy, Lazaro "satisfied his curiosity about my person as best I could lie, stressing my good qualities and covering up the rest."²⁹

After this stage in his life, Lazaro has relatively little need for such tricks to survive. However, his

²⁸ Ibid., p. 43.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 55.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 81.

education continues, and he learns to accept with equanimity the roguery of the world and adapt to it. He is completely taken in at first by the seeming quarrel between the seller of indulgences and the bailiff, who are really partners in deceiving the public. When he sees the unscrupulous two laughing at the way they have tricked the ignorant, he says, "And despite my being so young, I was amused, and I said to myself: 'How many such tricks these jokers must have played on poor innocent people!'"³⁰ Furthermore, he learns that it is impossible to get ahead without an official position such as his own of town crier and that one's own profit is more important than his reputation. Thus, he is able to live in security under the protection of the Archpriest of San Salvador, ignoring the stories of the illicit relationship between his wife and the ecclesiast.

In view of the fact that many later picares indulged in tricks merely as practical jokes, as had Till Eulenspiegel and other progenitors of the "archetype," it must be conceded that not all of Lazaro's tricks can be justified on the basis of his hunger. However, neither can he be regarded as a practical joker; those deceptions not aimed at food are designed for revenge, and all are directed at his blind master, the most capriciously cruel of his masters. After the beatings he has endured, Lazaro can perhaps be forgiven for repaying the blind

³⁰Ibid., p. 81.

man by leading him down the worst possible roads, wherever the stones or mud seems worst. And, just as the blind man has whacked the little boy's head against the stone animal, so the servant, a little older and a little wiser, aims his master at a stone pillar, tells him to jump hard to clear the flood of water in the street, and watches as "he struck the pillar head-on with such force that the sound of the collision made was very much as if a big pumpkin had struck the stone; and with his head split open he fell back half dead."³¹

One other episode in which the blind rascal also gets his just deserts cannot really be classified as a trick. Certainly Lazaro's part in it is completely involuntary. After the boy has gobbled down the juicy sausage, leaving a rather undesirable turnip in its place, the suspicious blind man begins to smell the servant's breath. Then, as Lazaro tells the tale,

Because of my great fear and the recentness of my eating the sausage, that object had not yet settled in my stomach. The groping around of his very generous nose in my throat half choked me, and encouraged my unsettled stomach to reveal my guilt and greediness by returning the blind man's sausage to him. So it was that before he could get his beak out of my mouth, my stomach was so greatly moved that the nose and the poorly chewed sausage left my person at the very same instant.³²

This is the only incident of its kind in Lazarillo de

³¹Ibid., p. 41.

³²Ibid., p. 38.

Tornes, but many later writers recount episodes reminiscent of it.

In keeping with his impoverished background and his desperate struggle for survival, it is perhaps not at all surprising that the anti-hero protagonist of the Lazarillo should at times reveal a streak of cowardice in his nature (especially since even such heroic characters as Hamlet were wont to accuse themselves of cowardice on occasion--and even to equate it with the operation of conscience itself). One such episode can perhaps be attributed to the remains of his earlier naivete. After serving for some time in a house completely devoid of food and almost barren of furniture, he hears a widow lamenting in the funeral procession behind her dead husband, "O my dear husband and my lord! Where do they bear you now? Alas, to that sad and cheerless dwelling where there is never eating or drinking!"³³ Terrified that they are taking the body to his master's house, he rushes there, bolts the door, and begs the nobleman's protection against the assumed invasion-to-be. Although the truth is explained to him and the funeral procession passes by, he is distressed for some time: "Although we ate well that day I took no joy in my food, nor, indeed, did I recover my color for the following three days."³⁴ Lazarillo's second manifestation of cowardice

³³Ibid., p. 67.

³⁴Ibid., p. 68.

involves no such misunderstanding. As agent of the law with a bailiff, he can see clearly the possible dangers associated with the work. When master and assistant are one night pelted with stones and beaten with sticks by some fugitives, Lazaro's fears prove sound. He states with no trace of shame, "My master, who stayed behind, was manhandled, but they never caught me. After that I handed in my resignation."³⁵

In spite of his treachery toward and abandonment of some of his masters, Lazarillo is basically a good-hearted person. Jusserand is unfair in characterizing him as "crafty, perverse, conscienceless, proud of his high deeds and misdeeds, relating with satisfaction his knavish tricks in upper or lower society."³⁶ Lazarillo can say even of the blind man, "I feel sorry because of the vexations I caused him."³⁷ His kind heart is revealed even more strikingly in his conduct toward his third master. When Lazarillo penetrates the brave front the nobleman presents to the world, the boy feels a sense of kinship.

May the Lord ever feel as merciful towards me as I felt towards my master, for I knew how he felt, having myself gone through the same tribulation so many a time previously--and still. . . . Because he had absolutely nothing and no choice, I had a fond fellow-feeling for him. I felt pity for him but held no grudge against him, and many times, to lighten his wants, I deprived myself of the fruits of my own begging.³⁸

³⁵Ibid., p. 82.

³⁶Jusserand, II, p. 539.

³⁷Flores, p. 39.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 63-64.

Not only is Lazarillo aware of the physical suffering of his master; he also perceives the nobleman's need to maintain the pose he has established, and the servant exhibits great delicacy in offering a share of the food he has begged:

"I wondered how he would take it--as a courtesy on my part or not--if I invited him to share my meal with me."³⁹ So the boy waits until the master turns the conversation so that it is possible for the offer to be made without offense and accepted without loss of face.

In addition to sketching the outlines for the character of future picares, the little work Lazarillo de Tormes also establishes quite clearly the basic structure of the picaresque novel. One major characteristic is its autobiographical form; virtually all of the picaresque novels in Spain make use of first-person narration. A second characteristic is the episodic nature of the plot. The protagonist himself forms almost the sole link between the various scenes of the book. At one point the spinning women, who in Chapter III charitably take the boy in when he has been abandoned by his master, reappear in Chapter IV to help him obtain his fourth master. Occasionally, also, Lazarillo mentions a previous master, as when he compares the miserly blind man and priest with his third master.

The motivation of the protagonist serves also as a unifying force. The tale is an illustration of the idea

³⁹ibid., p. 63.

with which Lazaro concludes his prologue: "And it will likewise be seen that those to whom she [Fortune] has not been partial have often done much more than those who have inherited their wealth, for many times, through their own energy and pluck, the less favored have, despite ill fortune, eventually reached port."⁴⁰ In the first three episodes, Lazarillo struggles desperately for mere subsistence in the face of an ever-gnawing hunger. At the end of the third episode he has reached the nadir of his existence, for he has been deserted by his master, an event "which brought home to me how very low my fortunes had fallen. For when all these adverse circumstances were added up, it became apparent to me that my affairs were so very much upside down that, although masters are usually left by their servants, in my case the contrary occurred, and I was left by my master."⁴¹ From this point Lazaro's fortune seems to improve, and instead of struggling against hunger, he can begin to work for comparative security and the appearance of respectability. By Chapter VI and his seventh master, the chaplain, he can say, "This was my first real progress on the way to a better life. Now for the first time I had enough to eat."⁴² After four years of peddling water in the service of the chaplain, Lazarillo has saved enough money to buy second-hand clothes, "A doublet of old fustian with braided sleeves

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 26.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 74.

⁴²Ibid., p. 81.

and open collar, and a cloak that had once been fuzzy, and an old-fashioned sword made by the swordmaker Cuellar."⁴³ Having attained the appearance of respectability, Lazarillo quits his job and begins to look for a position that will enable him to settle down and earn something for his old age, all of which he achieves through his official position as town crier and unofficial position as recipient of "full favor and aid from my lord the Archpriest."⁴⁴ It should be noted that in his willingness to work and to earn his living, Lazarillo differs from most later Spanish picares and from that which came to be called picaresque.

The third major aspect of the picaresque novel as exemplified by Lazarillo de Tormes is its satirical view of contemporary life. For this the role of the protagonist as a wandering servant is admirably adapted, for it enables him to cast his critical view upon various areas of society. It has been suggested by Lope Blanch that the first three chapters alone form a kind of synthesis, satirically exaggerated, of sixteenth-century Spanish society. "Los tres primeros amos de Lazaro . . . son como símbolos de tres estratos sociales castellanos: el hampa, la iglesia, y la nobleza."⁴⁵ ("The first three masters of Lazaro . . . are like symbols of three Castillian social strata: rogues, the church, and nobility.") The blind man is an example

⁴³Ibid., p. 82.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁵Juan M. Lope Blanch, La novela picaresca (Mexico, D. F.: Andrea, 1958), p. 26.

of the wily beggar with many tricks to deceive people, "a thousand ways of getting money."⁴⁶ He has prayers for almost everything, can predict the sex of an unborn child, and has prescriptions for every ailment. He is familiar also with the slang of thieves, which he teaches to Lazarillo.

In the characterization of his third master, Lazarillo satirizes the members of the nobility who, suffering from "the dark disease of honor,"⁴⁷ struggle to maintain their status without money for even the necessities of life. The master will never admit, even to his servant, that he has had nothing to eat. Through the lips of the nobleman, the novel is also able to present the deceptions practiced by those in the service of the nobility. The gentleman says:

I could lie to him as well as anyone else and please him most marvellously. I would die laughing at his witticisms and sallies, even though they were not the best in the world. I would never say anything to him that might upset him--even though it would be to his advantage if I did so. I would be very solicitous about his person in word and deed, but I certainly would not go out of my way to do anything for him unless I was sure it would come to his notice.⁴⁸

The group that Lazarillo criticizes most severely is the clergy. A number of ecclesiasts appear in the work, all in an unfavorable light. The priest whom the boy serves is avaricious, and avarice is apparently not alien to the clergy, for the gentleman master says, "I have contacted

⁴⁶Flores, p. 31.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 60.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 71.

many priests and gentlemen of the cloth, but they are such close-fisted people that nobody in all the world can do anything with them."⁴⁹ The friar of the Order of Grace, like some of Chaucer's clergymen, dislikes choirs and monastery meals and is so fond of "gadding about" that "he wore out more shoes than anyone else at the monastery."⁵⁰ The seller of indulgences, like Chaucer's pardoner, is an unscrupulous deceiver. His Latin is poor enough that he avoids using it unless he knows that the local clergy are unlearned. This man forms a partnership with a bailiff who pretends to doubt the efficacy of the indulgences, to be struck down in a fit for his skepticism, and finally to be cured by the prayer of the pardoner and the application of an indulgence to his head, a device that causes the documents to sell quite rapidly. Reference has already been made to the Archpriest of San Salvador, who arranges Lazarillo's marriage, asks the couple to rent the house next door to facilitate the wife's coming and going by night or day, and is reputedly the father of three babies the woman has had before marrying Lazarillo.

This, then, is Lazarillo de Tormes, a little work which in Spain served as inspiration for dozens of picaresque novels in the century following its publication in 1554. It was translated into French, German, Dutch, and English, into the latter language first of all by

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 74.

David Rowland in an edition licensed in 1568 but apparently not printed until 1576.⁵¹ The Lazarillo appeared again in England in 1586, 1596, also in a dozen editions between 1622 and 1680, as well as in 1708 and 1726. With such a vogue, it would be surprising if there would not appear in the English works of the time evidences of the influence of the Lazarillo: a character of low background, the servant of many masters, a wanderer, a victim of adversity, a person educated by life to live by his wits, an individual basically good-hearted in spite of his wiles; a plot which is episodic in nature and which employs first-person narration; a humorous view of life, including satire of contemporary society.

⁵¹Chandler, I, p. 235.

III
OTHER PICARESQUE NOVELS ON THE CONTINENT

Before proceeding to an examination of the novel in England, one needs to be cognizant of a few important Continental works in the picaresque genre which followed the Lazarillo de Tormes. While the abundance of translations made possible a direct influence of the Lazarillo upon English prose fiction, the work could have also exerted an indirect effect through several of its successors.

The first of these novels is Mateo Alemán's Primera parte de la vida de Guzmán de Alfarache, a more extensive work in the same vein which was published in 1599 in Madrid, Barcelona, and Saragossa. This Primera parte is made up of three books, the first of which relates Guzmán's early experiences which make plain to him that he must trick others or himself be tricked, and particularly satirizing inns. The second describes his initiation into active roguery in Spain and his frauds in service there, while the third shows his ups and downs in Italy, from his life among the begging fraternity of Rome to his happier days as buffoon for a cardinal and as page to a French ambassador.

Many translations of Alemán's work were made, and it has been asserted that "No other Spanish picaresque novel ever attained the same general celebrity or exercised so

broad an influence as this one."⁵² Forgetting its real title, readers came to call it commonly the Picaro, as if in it they saw the most successful realization of the picaresque character and environment.

Aleman used the same basic plan followed in Lazarillo to satirize society, but he covered a broader social field and broadened the function of the picaro as well. Guzman is at least as much a wanderer as a servant, and the work is therefore more thoroughgoing in its treatment of society.

Another difference between Guzman and Lazarillo is that "No hay en este juvenil la fria inclinación hacia el mal que llega a apoderarse de Guzman de Alfarache."⁵³ ("There isn't in this juvenile the cold inclination toward evil which comes to take control of Guzman de Alfarache.") Whereas Lazarillo begins life as an innocent and naive boy, Guzman says at one point, "Era yo muchacho vicioso y regalado, oriado en Sevilla sin castigo de padre, la madre viuda."⁵⁴ ("I was a vicious and gifted boy, reared in Seville without the punishment of a father, my mother a widow.")

Guzman is full of corrosive satire and harsh pessimism. Where Lazaro talks about his masters with the

⁵²Mateo Aleman, Guzman de Alfarache, ed. Samuel Gili y Gaya (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1926), p. 7.

⁵³Lope Blanch, p. 26.

⁵⁴Aleman, Pt. I, Book I, Ch. III.

happy vivacity of a boy, at times even with sympathy, Guzmán, more expert in the art of living, sees in the ruins of his characters not a motive for laughter at the ridiculous acts of individuals or of class, but a deep evil inherent in mankind. Only for religious reasons does his satire stop before the Cardinal, the only character in the novel who obeys motives more elevated than the realities of daily life. But Alemán doesn't succeed in enveloping even him with sufficient sympathy to interest the reader.

Yet another aspect of the Guzmán which sets it apart from the Lazarillo is its many interpolations, some of them novela in the Italian style and others moral digressions. The former, consisting of stories like that of Ozmin and Daraja, is said by Pfandl to have no other purpose than to introduce a little variety and to sweeten the bitter pill "del conocimiento de si mismo."⁵⁵ ("of the knowledge of oneself") These moralizing sections constitute an innovation not even implicit in Lazarillo but present in practically all the works of the genre to follow the Guzmán.

By 1656 there were five English editions of the translation of Guzmán by Mabbe, and references were made to it in some of the early chronicles of crime and other roguish works which flourished in England at that time.⁵⁶ The Guzmán was also translated into French, first in 1600,

⁵⁵Ludwig Pfandl, Historia de la literatura nacional española en la Edad de Oro, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Araluce, 1952), p. 305.

⁵⁶Chandler, pp. 175 and 203.

and apparently enjoyed great popularity there, for it was retranslated in 1619 and 1620, existed in eight editions by 1646, and appeared in perhaps its most important translation in 1732, the translation of Alain René LeSage.

Another Spanish work widely read and highly regarded in England and frequently cited, especially by eighteenth-century novelists, was Cervantes' Don Quixote, the first part of which was published in 1605 and the second in 1615. While not, strictly speaking, a picaresque novel, the Quixote contained a number of picaresque elements. The plot is basically episodic in nature and deals with the adventures encountered by master and squire as they wander through Spain. There is no changing of masters, but Sancho Panza, a materialist ruled principally by his stomach, is reminiscent of the picaro. There also appears in the novel Gines de Pasamonte, an escaped galley slave who steals Sancho's donkey and later masquerades as the owner of a puppet show.

In Germany there appeared in 1669 Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's Der Abentheurliche Simplicissimus. In form this work is like the picaresque novels of France and Spain, and like Lazarillo de Tormes its central figure is a naive anti-hero. Simplicius Simplicissimus, who grows up with peasant foster parents, is forced by wartime destruction of his childhood home to flee to the forest, taking refuge there with a hermit who, unknown to Simplicius, is actually his own father. After the death of the hermit, the boy wanders through

Germany and France in the course of such varied careers as court jester, soldier, charlatan, and robber. Simplicissimus introduces the supernatural element with the prince of the subterranean water sprites, who instructs the protagonist in the rudiments of philosophy, and with a spyglass and hearing trumpet which enable him to observe the sights and sounds of the world from his final retreat, a hermitage in the Black Forest. There are obvious differences between this work and the earlier Spanish picaresque novels, and Chandler is probably right when he states, "If the form and inspiration for this be derived from Spanish and French, its matter and manner are original."⁵⁷

In 1715 Alain Rene LeSage, translator of the Guzman, produced his own picaresque novel, Gil Blas, which Chandler asserts "perfected the genre, and did more than any other to develop out of it the modern novel."⁵⁸ The work followed the basic outline of both the Lazarillo and the Guzman. Making use of first-person narration, it tells the adventurous career of a boy who serves a variety of masters. As he progresses from poverty to prosperity, he surveys and satirizes many aspects of contemporary society. Like Guzman de Alfarache, Gil Blas interpolates a number of biographies among the loosely-connected episodes of his own life. Although the work outdid the Guzman in the proportion of inserted episodes and histories, it shared with the Lazarillo

⁵⁷Chandler, p. 30.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 22.

an avoidance of moralizations. Gil Blas achieves a greater organic unity through the use of "recognitions and cross-references to events and personages past and to come."⁵⁹ Chandler asserts that Gil Blas differs from its Spanish forebears in providing its anti-hero with a respectable, middle-class origin (his father is a retired soldier who becomes a squire, his mother a small shopkeeper's daughter who becomes a waiting woman), minimizing his roguery, awakening his conscience, and softening his heart.⁶⁰ However, Gil Blas is much like Lazarillo in his compassion for his fellow men. In what Alter describes as "his first important encounter with the misfortune of others,"⁶¹ that with the lady captured by bandits, Gil says, "I let her give free vent to her sighs, and wept also; so natural is it to interest one's self for the unfortunate. . . ."⁶²

There is some disagreement as to the merits of Gil Blas. Cazamian, although aware of the universality of the book, adds, "But it suffers from serious faults; it is both disconnected and repetitious; the interruptions of adventitious stories are too frequent, and an impression of monotony creeps into the long narrative; only certain scenes and

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 23.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 60.

⁶¹Alter, p. 12.

⁶²Alain René LeSage, Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane (London: Frederick Warne and Company, n. d.), p. 31.

episodes remain fully alive."⁶³ But Chandler places the work at the zenith of achievement in the picaresque genre: "In Gil Blas the picaresque type had attained such perfection that thereafter its decline or complete transformation could alone be expected."⁶⁴ Furthermore, he views the French novel as the means by which the Spanish pattern was transmitted to England:

It will be evident that the direct current of the literature of roguery flowed from Spain through France to England. . . . Gil Blas was the great distributor of picaresque influence, and English fiction of the eighteenth century felt its full effect.⁶⁵

Certainly in examining English novels for similarities to the Lazarillo, one must bear in mind the importance of Gil Blas as an influential work in its own right as well as a probable transmitter of the elements of the Lazarillo.

⁶³Cazamian, p. 244.

⁶⁴Chandler, p. 25.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 35.

IV
THE UNFORTUNATE TRAVELLER, OR, THE LIFE OF JACKE WILTON

In 1594 there appeared what has been called "the first picaresque novel in the tradition of Lazarillo de Turmez [sic] to appear in the English language."⁶⁶ Certainly, if there was any Spanish influence on the work, it had to come from the Lazarillo, the only picaresque tale produced in Spain by that time. The Spanish work had been translated into English in 1576, and enjoyed great popularity at the time Nashe wrote The Unfortunate Traveller.

While it is the purpose of this paper to examine the similarities between Lazarillo and certain English works (and there are such similarities in Nashe's work), The Unfortunate Traveller could never be regarded as an outright imitation of the Spanish romance of roguery. Nashe added events of grim brutality to his tale. In addition, he sometimes pauses in his narration to address a little sermon to his readers (see pp. 56-63). Moreover, instead of making use of types from the society he knew, he added historical personages, like Martin Luther, Sir Thomas More, John of Leyden, the Earl of Surrey, Erasmus, and Aretino. Lazarillo does mention the Emperor Charles V,

⁶⁶ Shorter Novels: Elizabethan and Jacobean, ed. Ernest Rhys (Everyman's Library; London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1949), p. xx.

but does not really introduce him as a character in the story.

Like the anonymous author of the Lazarillo, Nashe makes use of a variety of events held together merely by the fact that they take place within the experience of one person and are presented in the form of a first-person narration. Perhaps a slightly greater degree of unification is achieved through the occasional reappearance of two characters besides Jack, the Earl of Surrey and Diamante.

Also like Lazarillo, Jack Wilton spends part of his life in the service of a master, though this role has less prominence in the English novel. As the work begins, Jack is "a certaine kinde of an appendix or page, belonging or appertaining in or vnto the confines of the English court."⁶⁷ He is apparently the product of a better family background than was Lazarillo, for Jack claims to be "a Gentleman at lest,"⁶⁸ just as he claims superiority as a servant: "I was no common squire, no vnder troden torch-bearer."⁶⁹ The one man whom Jack Wilton mentions explicitly as his master is "the right honourable Lord Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey."⁷⁰

Jack Wilton, like Lazarillo, is also a wanderer, as the title of the work suggests. The Englishman's

⁶⁷ Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, or, The life of Jacke Wilton (London: Charles Whittingham and Co.; 1892), p. 13.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 68.

travels are much more extensive than those of the Spanish boy. From the siege of Tournay and Terouanne, Jack returns to England but flees to the Continent again because of a fearsome plague, the "sweating sickness." After a visit to Germany at the time of the destruction of the Anabaptists led by John of Leyden, Jack returns to England, where he re-enters the service of the Earl of Surrey, who is ready to embark on a journey to Italy to do combat in the name of his beloved Geraldine. En route to Italy, Jack recounts incidents that take place in Rotterdam and Wittenberg. At Venice he leaves his master, but assumes the identity of the latter to elope with a recently widowed gentlewoman whom Jack has seduced in prison. The two earls meet again at Florence, where Jack has fled with his mistress to avoid trouble with the authorities over her pregnancy. After a series of dangerous adventures in Rome, Jack, recently reunited with Diamante, flees to Bologna, whence he returns to the camp of the English army between Ardes and Guines in France.

In the course of these wanderings, Jack is frequently a victim of adversity. In this respect his life is similar to that of Lazarillo, although Jack's troubles never stem from the cruelty or caprice of his master, for whom he has only praise.

My heroicall master exceeded in this supernaturall kinde of wit, hee entertained no grosse earthly spirite of avarice, nor weake womanly spirit of pusillanimity and feare that are fained to be of the water, but

admirable, airie, and firie spirites, full of freedome, magnanimitie and bountihood.⁷¹

Jack, somewhat like Lazarillo, sometimes precipitates these disasters. As the Spanish picaro is brutally beaten for his thefts of food and wine, so Jack is whipped for lying to the victualler of the English army. However, most of his ill fortune is a result of the roguery of others. He is twice thrown into prison, once as a result of a conspiracy between two Italian prostitutes and once because of his apparent guilt in a robbery, rape, and supposed murder. On another occasion Jack falls into the hands of Zadoch, a wily Jew who plans to sell the boy to Doctor Zacharie for use in anatomy experiments.

If Jack had ever been naive, this quality never appears in the story of his life. As he introduces himself in the first pages, he refers to "a number of my creditors that I coosned,"⁷² and after tricking the lord of the alehouse into extreme liberality, he says, "This was one of my famous atchievements, insomuch as I never light vpon the like famous foole, but I haue done a thousand better ieasts."⁷³ Jack's tricks usually produce money instead of the food that Lazarillo aims for. During the siege in France, Jack makes use of false dice to empty the purses of his companions, and on another occasion he disguises himself as a girl to

⁷¹Ibid., p. 70.

⁷²Ibid., p. 14.

⁷³Ibid., p. 26.

obtain money from an amorous army captain. By sounding a false alarm signaling a French attack, he frightens the clerks in charge of the army's funds, and when they take flight, Jack makes off with the money. Like Lazarillo, Jack lives by his wits: "Amongst this chaffe was I winnowing my wits to live merily."⁷⁴

Part of Lazarillo's education includes learning "How virtuous it is for men to rise from low estate, and, contrariwise, how vile it is to fall low from high position."⁷⁵ Similarly, Jack comments, "Any man is a fine fellow as long as he hath anie monie in his purse."⁷⁶

Although both Jack and Lazarillo make use of their wits in order to make their way in the world, the Spanish lad convinces us by his vivid description of his hunger that he is forced into this way of life, while the reader never really knows whether Jack believes his trickery necessary for survival. In one passage only does he refer to "imminent extremitie,"⁷⁷ when the captain who has been living on the cream of Jack's earnings at dice is portrayed as "verie deuoutly paring of his nailes for want of other repast."⁷⁸ Jack, therefore, makes use again of trickery to end this

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 15.

⁷⁵Flores, pp. 30-31.

⁷⁶Nashe, p. 28.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 29.

⁷⁸Ibid.

drain on his own income (in striking contrast to Iazarillo's treatment of the impoverished gentleman) and persuades the captain to slip into the French camp and kill the French king, an attempt which works out as Jack desires but to the captain's great disadvantage.

There is some similarity between the final situation of the two protagonists. After hearing the evil life stories of Cutwolfe and Esdras and viewing the ghastly execution of the latter, Jack finds himself so "mortifiedly abjected and danted"⁷⁹ that he marries his courtesan, performs many acts of charity, and flees the "Sodom of Italy."

The similarity between the lives of the protagonists of these two works should not be overly stressed. There is an essential difference in their characters which overclouds the more superficial similarities, and that is Jack's apparent lack of humanity. He fails to manifest any concern for any other person or, as a matter of fact, even for himself except in one instance--his captivity by Doctor Zacharie. Then, for the first and only time, he reveals his feelings:

O the cold sweating cares which I conceiued after I knew I should be cut like a French summer dublet. Me thought already the bloud began to gush out at my nose: if a flea on the arme had but bit me, I deemed the instrument had prickt me. . . . Not a drop of sweate trickeled downe my breast and my sides, but I dreamd it was a smooth edge razor tenderly slicing down my breast and my sides.⁸⁰

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 215.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 177.

Chandler asserts flatly that there is no attempt at satire in The Unfortunate Traveller, a fact which would serve to differentiate the work from its Spanish predecessor.⁸¹ This assertion seems debatable, however, for certain social groups do receive a share of humorous criticism.

As Jack makes use of all his wiles to urge his captain to attempt the life of the French king, he speaks of the cleverness and deceit necessary for the feat:

How he must be familiar with all & trust none, drinke, carouse and lecher with him out of whom he hopes to wring anie matter, sweare and forswear, rather than be suspected, and in a word, haue the art of dissembling at his fingers ends as perfect as anie courtier.⁸²

Jack also mocks the fastidious ways of the army clerks:

A lowse that was anie Gentlemans companion they thought scorne of, their nere bitten beardes must in a deuils name be dewd euerie daie with rose water, hogges could haue nere a hayre on theyr backes, for making them rubbing brushes to touse theyr crab lice.⁸³

The inhabitants of Wittenberg, representatives of both town and gown, receive a large share of Jack's satirical comments. Wilton describes the heads of the University of Wittenberg meeting the Duke of Saxony "in their hooded hypocrisie and doctorly accoustrements."⁸⁴ The oration delivered upon that occasion is stolen from Tully, a theft which Wilton later says is common. The

⁸¹Chandler, p. 197.

⁸²Nashe, p. 31.

⁸³Ibid., p. 42.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 76.

burghers of the city then appear "in their distinguished liueries, their distinguished liuerie faces I mene, for they were most of them hot liuered dronkards, and had all the coate coulours of sanguin, purple, crimson, copper, carnation that were to be had in their countenaunces."⁸⁵ Their representative, Vanderhulke, "a bursten belly inkhorne orater,"⁸⁶ delivers a long-winded oration dealing primarily with drinking. Still in honor of the Duke, the scholars present a comedy, giving the writer an opportunity to portray the ludicrous gestures of the comedians. One stamps as if he intends to demolish the stage; another throws his arms around as if he were throwing cudgels at a pear tree, while a third simply winks and makes faces. Similarly, in one of the most delightful passages in the book, Nashe describes the mannerisms of a series of oraters which, he says, "would affoorde a man a morsell of mirth."⁸⁷

Through the words of the Earl, the work also ridicules the English traveler who comes home praising foreign countries, dressed in ludicrous styles, and manifesting sundry evil traits acquired abroad. Foreign countries themselves receive a share of this criticism. For example, the tendency of the citizens of Rome to commemorate everything draws the attention of the writer: "Till this daie not

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 78.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 83.

a Romane (if he be a right Romane in deed) will kill a rat, but he will haue some registred remembrance."⁸⁸

The physician, one of the most frequently satirized types, appears in The Unfortunate Traveller as a miser much like Lazarillo's masters. Jack says,

Miserable is that mouse that liues in a Phisitions house, Tantalus liues not so hunger-starud in hell, as shee doth there. Not the very crums that fall from his table, but Zachary sweepes together, and of them mouldes vp a Manna. Of the ashie parings of his bread, he would make conserue of chippings.⁸⁹

Some of the doctor's techniques are not only niggardly but nauseating.

In The Unfortunate Traveller Nashe has made use of a number of elements that appeared also in Lazarillo de Tormes: satire; an episodic plot with first-person narration; a wily protagonist who is a wanderer, a victim of adversity, and to a limited extent a servant.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 133.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 178.

V
THE FORTUNES AND MISFORTUNES OF THE FAMOUS MOLL FLANDERS

Not until more than a century and a quarter after Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller did there appear in England a work that can be truly labeled a picaresque novel, though there were many short works belonging to the literature of roguery. In view of this lapse of time, it can be expected that Daniel Defoe's The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders of 1722 will differ considerably from Nashe's work and even more from Lazarillo de Tormes. As a matter of fact, some writers contend that Moll Flanders does not even stem from the picaresque line but from the English criminal biographies.⁹⁰ This may well be the case, but the work does share certain elements with the original Spanish picaresque novel.

Moll Flanders, like Lazarillo de Tormes and The Unfortunate Traveller, is the "episodic fictional autobiography of a 'roguish' figure."⁹¹ Watt points out that "Although there are some two hundred characters in Moll Flanders, no one of them knows the heroine for more than a fraction of her career."⁹² Defoe has achieved a degree

⁹⁰Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), p. 106.

⁹¹Alter, p. 57.

⁹²Watt, p. 112.

of complexity or sophistication in the structure of the work, however, by employing a number of characters who reappear at intervals in the work. When Moll moves to Virginia with the husband who is really her brother, she encounters her mother, who is mentioned at the beginning of the work but whom Moll has never really known. The Lancastershire rogue whom she marries on a trip to the north and by whom she is promptly deserted is much later thrown into the same prison in which Moll is confined and ultimately goes with her to Virginia. At this time the protagonist again encounters her brother and a child born of the incestuous union. The woman who cares for Moll during one of her awkward pregnancies later helps school her in crime, dispose of goods she steals, and assemble the goods necessary for transportation.

The woman making use of the alias of Moll Flanders is of a low background comparable to that of Lazarillo. Her mother, a convicted thief, gives birth to Moll in Newgate before undergoing transportation. As the father is never even mentioned, it seems quite probable that the girl is illegitimate. Moll's very early childhood is spent with a group of wandering gypsies, in contrast with the years following her escape from them which are relatively sheltered and comfortable.

Moll, like Lazarillo, presents herself in the early pages of her story as innocent and naive. She describes her innocent desire to be a gentlewoman, believing that "Being a gentlewoman was to be able to work for myself, and get

enough to keep me without that terrible bugbear going to service."⁹³ Her naivete appears also in the account of her seduction by the older brother in the house where she is employed. When the young man takes advantage of the family's absence as well as Moll's naivete to tell her how much he loves her and to beg her to make him happy, she says, "I said little to him again, but easily discovered that I was a fool, and that I did not in the least perceive what he meant."⁹⁴ Her change in attitude appears when, in retrospect, she bewails her stupidity in failing to offer more resistance to his advances, a course which would have compelled the gentleman either to marry her or to settle a maintenance upon her.

With such a background as Moll's, almost the only recourse she has is to earn her living in service, and after the death of her guardian she does go into the service of a rich family. She has much better fortune than Lazarillo, however, in the type of master, for the family is quite wealthy and treats the girl very well. She is able to benefit from the education of the daughters of the family, learning to speak French, dance, and sing. However, it is in this household that Moll loses her innocence, so perhaps service is as disastrous for her as for the Spanish picaro. At any rate, the role of service in Moll Flanders is minimal,

⁹³ Daniel Defoe, The Fortunes and Misfortunes of the famous Moll Flanders (Cleveland: Fine Editions Press, 1953), p. 8.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

for after her first marriage she never again works as a servant.

In Defoe's novel Moll moves from man to man much as Lazarillo drifts from master to master. After her seduction, she reluctantly marries the younger brother of her seducer. Upon her husband's death she marries a draper, who abandons her after squandering their money and going to jail for debt. At this point Moll is clever enough to arrange a marriage with a well-to-do man who takes her to America; here, however, Moll realizes to her horror that she is involved in an incestuous marriage to her own brother. She returns to England, where she becomes the mistress of a generous and kindly man whose wife is insane. Abandoned by him after a serious illness brings repentance for his iniquity, Moll marries again, only to learn that she has been deceived by a fortune hunter. After giving birth to the offspring of this brief alliance, Moll marries again, this time to an honest clerk. She has apparently engaged in other liaisons along the way, for before this last marriage she calls herself, "One that has lain with thirteen men."⁹⁵ When her clerk dies from the shock of losing a large sum of money, Moll launches into a life of crime, including prostitution, but she never marries again. At the close of the novel she is reunited with her highwayman husband.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 150.

The circumstances involving Moll's movement from man to man serve to indicate another similarity between her life and that of Lazarillo: both are victims of adverse circumstances.

Moll is also a wanderer as Lazarillo had been. In addition to her travels between England and Virginia, she does some wandering in England itself, sometimes merely to accompany husband or lover, occasionally to hide a troublesome pregnancy or to escape the scrutiny of the authorities, once to seek lower living costs, and at least once to locate new fields for her criminal activities.

In another parallel to the Spanish picaresque novel, life's experiences educate Moll. As Lazarillo learns of the importance of the wits in making one's way, so Moll learns that money is the principal item of significance in the male-female relationship. She realizes this first through the sister in the household where she is employed

Betty [Moll] wants but one thing, but she had as good want everything, for the market is against our sex just now; and if a young woman have beauty, birth, breeding, wit, sense, manners, modesty, and all these to an extreme, yet if she have not money, she's nobody, she had as good want them all for nothing but money now recommends a woman.⁹⁶

Moll's unfortunate experience with the older brother, who refuses to marry her because of the possibility of losing his inheritance, disillusioned her as to the extrinsic value of love. "So certainly does interest banish all manner of affection, and so naturally do men give up honour and justice,

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

humanity, and even Christianity, to secure themselves."⁹⁷ She takes this lesson to heart, and when the untimely death of her first husband leaves her with twelve hundred pounds, she says of the flattering suitors who surround her, "I had money in my pocket, and had nothing to say to them. I had been tricked once by that cheat called love, but the game was over; I was resolved now to be married or nothing, and to be well married or not at all."⁹⁸

In addition to cultivating an attitude of wary cynicism toward men and marriage, Moll learns clever tricks to manipulate others, "to deceive the deceiver."⁹⁹ Once she makes use of such devices to bring about the marriage of a young friend jilted by a suitor because she has inquired about his character and financial standing. Usually, however, Moll employs such tactics for her own benefit. On one occasion she makes use of others to spread rumors of her wealth while she in seeming jest calls herself poor; thus, the man who marries her as a consequence of such wiles has no real basis for reproaching her. Moll is less scrupulous when dealing with her ex-lover; in order to wrest an additional fifty pounds from him, she flatly lies to him, saying that she needs the money to join her mother in Virginia.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 45.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 47.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 61.

Moll's career in outright crime may also be compared with Lazarillo's thefts of food, though there is a distinction that should be made: the boy's masters were obligated to provide him with the food he needed, and when they were too miserly to do so, he felt himself justified in taking what they would not give. The picaresque never recounts thefts from anyone but his masters, although he does beg upon occasion. Nevertheless, both Moll and Lazarillo engage in theft. Instead of stealing food and drink, Moll appropriates goods: linens, laces, a necklace from a little child, bundles left lying on the counters of shops or cast aside by a thief in flight, rings from a window-sill, a silver tankard from a tavern. Then her governess arranges a "schoolmistress" to instruct Moll in the arts of "shop-lifting, stealing of shop-books and pocket-books, and taking off gold watches from the ladies' sides,"¹⁰⁰ and Moll sinks even deeper into her life of crime.

Moll, like Lazarillo, blames her evil life on necessity: "The vice came in always at the door of necessity, not at the door of inclination."¹⁰¹ Circumstances frequently leave a very narrow margin between Moll and poverty. Upon the death of her guardian she finds herself with "not so much as a lodging to go to, or a bit of bread to eat."¹⁰² After her draper husband flees to France, she

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 168.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 105.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 11.

again sees herself with "That little I had left apparently wasted, which when it was gone, I saw nothing but misery and starving was before me."¹⁰³ Even when her circumstances are more auspicious, Moll still worries and struggles to save, "knowing well enough that such things as these do not always continue."¹⁰⁴ She reiterates her fear of poverty and the power this fear has to drive her into and cause her to continue in a life of crime.

In addition to a dread of poverty, however, Moll Flanders seems to be motivated also by a passion for money, a trait which leads Alter to label her "a bourgeois picaroon."¹⁰⁵ Certainly Moll seems very early to feel the lure of gold, and it seems to have played a role even in her seduction, along with her naivete and her love for the scoundrel. The lucre and the affection are intertwined in an interesting way in the tale of her downfall. Moll says, "I was more confounded with the money than I was before with the love, and began to be so elevated that I scarce knew the ground I stood on,"¹⁰⁶ and later, "As for the gold, I spent whole hours in looking upon it; I told the guineas over and over a thousand times a day."¹⁰⁷ "My colour came and went, at the sight of the purse and with the fire of his proposal

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁰⁵Alter, p. 35.

¹⁰⁶Defoe, p. 16.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 18.

together."¹⁰⁸ The lure of greater wealth causes Moll to forget her honest bank clerk and marry a sharper, and later brings her to persist in her criminal career even when she has accumulated enough goods so that the necessity no longer exists. Alter says of Moll, "She views nearly all her activities as a means of making profit. One could hardly find a clearer antithesis to the picaresque attitude toward money, its significance, and its uses."¹⁰⁹

This attitude is not so very different from Lazarillo's in his later days, however. When the picaro considers a possible marriage between himself and the servant of the Archpriest, he concludes, "Considering that from such a worthy person nothing could come but good and profit, I accepted the arrangement."¹¹⁰ Later, when he is distressed by the evil tales circulating about the ecclesiastic and Lazaro's wife, the priest says, "If you are sensitive to slanderous tongues, you will never get ahead. . . . Therefore, pay no heed to what people say, but fix your attention, rather, on what is of most importance to you--your own profit, I mean."¹¹¹ There is not much difference between Lazarillo "living in all prosperity and at the height of my good fortune"¹¹² on the bounty forthcoming

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁹Alter, p. 47.

¹¹⁰Flores, p. 83.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 84.

from the lecherous Archpriest, and Moll and her highwayman living comfortably in Virginia on the proceeds of their individual lives of crime.

One major element of the Lazarillo which is lacking in Moll Flanders is satire. As Chandler puts it so flatly, "Defoe eschewed humor."¹¹³ Nevertheless, Moll does view certain aspects of society critically if not satirically. One institution of the time which is criticized through the lips of Moll's mother is Newgate: "There are more thieves and rogues made by that one prison of Newgate than by all the clubs and societies of villains in the nation."¹¹⁴ Also, Moll refers more than once to the growing vice of the age. There were few men that a woman could trust, and the number of evil women in the world was attested to by the thriving business of Moll's governess, who provided for the lying-in of prostitutes.

Although Moll Flanders lacks the humorous view of life so characteristic of the picaresque, the work does embody a number of elements to be found in the Lazarillo: a character of low background narrates her own life story, which includes her role as a wanderer, a victim of adversity, a naive student in the school of experience who learns to live by her wits.

¹¹³Chandler, I, p. 6.

¹¹⁴Defoe, p. 70.

VI
THE HISTORY OF THE MOST REMARKABLE LIFE,
AND EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES,
OF THE TRULY HONOURABLE COLONEL JAQUE,
VULGARLY CALL'D COLONEL JACK

In December of the year in which Moll Flanders was published, there appeared another work of Daniel Defoe, under the impressive title of The History of the most Remarkable Life, and Extraordinary Adventures, of the truly Honourable Colonel Jaque, vulgarly call'd Colonel Jack. This work is in the same tradition as Moll Flanders and is remarkably similar. It also includes elements similar to those of Lazarillo de Tormes.

Although the protagonist Jack is told by his nurse that he is the son of a gentlewoman and a man of quality, there is a shadow over his birth, almost certainly that of illegitimacy. The nurse has been paid by Jack's father to take the baby "off his Hands, and deliver him and my Mother from the Importunities that usually attend the Misfortune, of having a Child to keep that should not be seen or heard of."¹¹⁵

In addition to the adverse circumstances of his birth, Jack is subjected to further adversity at the age

¹¹⁵ Daniel Defoe, The History of the most Remarkable Life, and Extraordinary Adventures, of the truly Honourable Colonel Jaque, vulgarly call'd Colonel Jack (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1927), I, p. 1.

of ten when his nurse dies. The boy is left to sleep in the warm ashes of a glass-house and to earn his living by running errands or engaging in petty thefts. At one point he narrowly escapes execution when he is confused with one of his more wicked companions. Later he is kidnapped and taken to Virginia as a servant. From this point, Jack cannot be truly regarded as a picaro, for his fortune grows rapidly. Nevertheless, from time to time he is still beset by adversity. He is violently assaulted by a beggar and left "wounded very frightfully in several Places. . . . Among the rest my Nose was slit upwards, one of my Ears almost cut off, and a great Cut with a Sword on the Side of the Forehead, also a Stab into the Body, tho' not dangerous."¹¹⁶ During a relatively brief military career, he is twice taken prisoner and once wounded. In a duel over his second wife, he nearly kills a marquis and has to flee the country. Jack's four marriages are a source of considerable difficulty for him: his first wife proves to be extravagant and promiscuous, the fidelity of his second is also questionable, his third spouse becomes addicted to alcohol, and the fourth meets an untimely death. In addition, a number of his children succumb to an epidemic of smallpox. At one point Jack is in danger of arrest for participating in a rebellion, and he is frequently plagued by storms and pirates.

Jack's life also includes considerable wandering. In addition to his travels between England and Virginia,

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 24.

his military career takes him to Italy. Later he spends time in Paris and Flanders as well as in Spanish holdings in the New World.

Jack, like Lazarillo, presents himself as a naive boy who has to obtain his education from life itself. He doesn't even know what to do with the first coins that come to his hands. Although he very early engages in petty thefts, he lacks sufficient moral training to be aware of the evil he is doing. Even while supporting himself through crime, he is scrupulously honest in certain contexts: he performs conscientiously any errand assigned to him, and he is careful not to destroy bills and papers that he cannot make use of but to return them to their owners whenever possible.

Jack's education, though it includes various wiles for making a living and the substitution of experience for naivete, involves an aspect that Lazarillo never mentions. When Jack is past thirty, a fortune hunter begins to pursue him, and the protagonist describes himself at that time as "a meer Boy in the Affair of Love."¹¹⁷ By the time he is contemplating his fourth marriage, however, all he expects is a woman who will be kind to his children; so far as anything else is concerned, "Let her be Whore or honest woman, said I, as she likes best. I am resolv'd I won't much concern myself about that."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Ibid., II, p. 2.

¹¹⁸Ibid., II, p. 74.

Even during his early criminal career, Jack reveals a kind-hearted nature like Lazarillo's. When he, in the company of other highwaymen and footpads, robs a servant girl and a poor lady, Jack is troubled by the deed. "My Heart was full of the poor Woman's Case at Kentish-Town, and I resolv'd if possible to find her out, and give her Money."¹¹⁹ He weeps over his evil deed, seeks out the woman, and returns the money to her. He also treats his straying wives with a degree of magnanimity, though he has earlier contemplated murdering them. After divorcing his first wife for her promiscuity, he is still willing to take her back if she will agree to mend her ways. Similarly, he continues to support his second wife until she elopes with the marquis.

Another element of similarity between Colonel Jack and Lazarillo de Tormes lies in the episodic plot and the first-person narration employed in both. Although Jack's tutor and servant accompanies him through much of the first volume and all of the second, he is a relatively minor character. The only other character who reappears is Jack's first wife; after a life of crime, she is transported to Virginia, where she becomes Jack's house-keeper. When he learns her identity, the two are reconciled and remarry.

Defoe's Colonel Jack, like his other novels, lacks satire, but it does share with the Lazarillo an episodic

¹¹⁹Ibid., I, p. 79.

plot, first-person narration, and a good-hearted, naive character of low background who wanders through the world, encountering adversity, and living by his wits before settling into respectability.

VII
ROXANA, OR THE FORTUNATE MISTRESS

Another of Defoe's novels, Roxana, or The Fortunate Mistress, published in 1724, merits attention at this point, although it bears considerably less resemblance to Lazarillo de Tormes than does Moll Flanders.

Like the Lazarillo, the English novel again makes use of first-person narration and a plot which consists of a loosely-connected series of episodes. As in Moll Flanders, however, there are other unifying elements in addition to the protagonist. Most of the characters reappear at least once. Roxana's first husband appears at intervals and causes her considerable worry. The children of the marriage figure toward the end of the work, as do the Dutch merchant and the rich prince whose mistress Roxana has been earlier. Moreover, Roxana has as her companion throughout almost all of the work her maid Amy. Nevertheless, the plot of Roxana must be regarded as distinctly inferior to those of Moll Flanders and Lazarillo de Tormes, for it breaks off so abruptly as to be ludicrous.

Roxana, like Moll Flanders, is completely lacking in satire and almost completely in social criticism. The only institution upon which Roxana casts a critical eye is marriage. As a result of her first unfortunate experience

in that area, she says,

I had had such bad luck with my first husband, I hated the thoughts of it. I found that a wife is treated with indifference, a mistress with a strong passion; a wife is looked upon as but an upper servant, a mistress is a sovereign; a wife must give up all she has, have every reserve she makes for herself be thought hard of, and be upbraided with her very pin-money, whereas a mistress makes the saying true, that what a man has is hers, and what she has is her own; the wife bears a thousand insults and is forced to sit still and bear it or part and be undone, a mistress insulted helps herself immediately and takes another.¹²⁰

Roxana also comments adversely upon the city of Rome. She dislikes the swarms of ecclesiastics and the quarrelsome servants that throng the city.

In spite of the differences between Roxana and Lazarillo, there are certain noteworthy similarities between the lives of the two protagonists. Although the English-woman comes of a well-to-do background, she finds herself in young womanhood a victim of adversity. In a marriage arranged by her parents, Roxana becomes the wife of a foolish brewer, "a weak, empty-headed, untaught creature,"¹²¹ who mishandles his funds. When Roxana's parents die, they leave her inheritance in the hands of her brother because of their distrust of the incompetent husband. Subsequently, the brother fails in business, losing not only his own money but also Roxana's. Eventually Roxana's husband exhausts their resources and abandons her.

¹²⁰ Daniel Defoe, Roxana or The Fortunate Mistress (Cleveland: Fine Editions Press, 1946), p. 129.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 11.

It is at this point that Roxana momentarily reveals a trace of naivete. When her landlord begins to shower her with kindnesses, Roxana continues to insist to Amy that his actions proceed from the goodness of his heart. Her innocence doesn't last long, however; the man's intentions become quite clear, and Roxana makes her decision: "The kindness and good humour of the man and the dread of my own circumstances concurred to bring me to the point, and I even resolved, before he asked, to give up my virtue to him whenever he should put it to the question."¹²²

At this juncture it is perhaps possible to justify Roxana's deeds on the basis of necessity, as was done for Lazarillo and Moll Flanders. Roxana's situation seems indeed desperate as she describes it:

They saw me in rags and dirt, who was but a little before riding in my coach; thin, and looking almost like one starved, who was before fat and beautiful. The house, that was before handsomely furnished with pictures and ornaments, cabinets, pier-glasses, and everything suitable, was now stripped and naked, most of the goods having been seized by the landlord for rent or sold to buy necessaries. In a word, all was misery and distress, the face of ruin was everywhere to be seen; we had eaten up almost everything, and little remained, unless, like one of the pitiful women of Jerusalem, I should eat up my very children themselves.¹²³

Roxana's pitiable situation is then the reason for her downfall: "Poverty was my snare, dreadful poverty!"¹²⁴

¹²²Ibid., p. 42.

¹²³Ibid., p. 20.

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 41.

However, after the death of her jeweler landlord, Roxana is left in comfortable circumstances but nevertheless enters into an illicit relationship, this time with a prince. The pattern of illicit relationship combined with growing wealth continues almost to the end of the book; it is only in the concluding paragraph of the work that Roxana is again brought low by a "dreadful course of calamities."¹²⁵

It will be apparent from the preceding remarks that Roxana, like Moll Flanders, moves from man to man as Lazarillo does from master to master. After her unfortunate marriage to the brewer, Roxana enters into a series of liaisons: with a jeweler who is murdered, with a rich prince who ultimately repents his licentious life, very briefly with the Dutch merchant, with the king of England, and with a rich lord. Finally she marries the Dutchman.

In the course of these affairs, Roxana does a substantial amount of traveling. With the jeweler she visits France, her birthplace, and with her prince she journeys to Italy and back to Paris. The persecutions of an avaricious Jew force her to flee to Rotterdam, and from there she continues to England, where she resides until, as the wife of the Dutchman, she returns to the Continent.

There are numerous significant differences between Lazarillo de Tormes and Roxana which should not be overlooked: Roxana's lack of human warmth, the absence of humor

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 318.

in the work, the relatively minor role of necessity as a motivating force, and perhaps most of all the fact that Roxana never really lives by her wits. Her lovers inevitably come in search of her and lavish gifts upon her; she merely has to take care not to be defrauded. Nevertheless, the two novels share the elements of first-person narration, basically episodic plot, and a character who encounters adversity and wanders geographically as well as from man to man.

VIII
THE HISTORY OF THE ADVENTURES OF JOSEPH ANDREWS
AND HIS FRIEND MR. ABRAHAM ADAMS

Although Richardson's Pamela made use of a servant girl as heroine and subjected her to a certain kind of abuse at the hands of her master, there seems to be little else in the work that evidences any kind of kinship with the picaresque novel. Perry seems to be correct in asserting, "The picaresque novel, it need scarcely be said, had no influence on Richardson."¹²⁶ In the novels of Henry Fielding, however, "the adventurous picaresque stories have borne fruit."¹²⁷ The first of these works to be considered is The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams, which first appeared in 1742. This novel was perhaps influenced more by Cervantes' Don Quixote than by the earlier Lazarillo de Tormes, but there are certain parallels which can be drawn between it and the earlier novel also.

Joseph Andrews seems to share with Lazarillo a background in the lower classes, and until the surprising revelation at the very end of the novel that he is the son of a gentleman, Joseph perceives the world from the

¹²⁶Thomas Sergeant Perry, English Literature in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), p. 322.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 346.

point of view of a servant, conducts himself as a member of the lower class, and is treated as such by all he encounters.

As the story opens, Joseph is a footman in the household of Lady Booby. Unlike Lazarillo, however, he does not acquire further employers as the tale develops.

As a servant Joseph is the victim of unfair treatment by his mistress, though this cannot quite be equated with the blows and hunger Lazarillo had to endure from his masters. Joseph's dismissal because of his chaste rejection of Lady Booby's advances thrusts him into the world in a state not radically different from that of Lazarillo. Joseph has little money and only borrowed clothing and must rely on the charity of those he meets along the way. Moreover, his subsequent wanderings with the Parson and Fanny are similar to those of Lazarillo.

Probably because of Joseph's greater age and strength, he seldom serves as the passive recipient of a beating as Lazarillo does. The Englishman is involved in a number of battles but usually emerges victorious, and never hopelessly defeated. In the episode with the highwaymen, however, Joseph is outnumbered and administered such a severe beating that the bandits leave him for dead. In this incident there is considerable physical similarity between the plight of Joseph and that of Lazarillo, both in the brutality of the beatings they receive and in the indifference with which their plight is viewed by others.

There is an ethical difference, however, between Lazarillo's beating as punishment for his thefts and Joseph's cudgeling at the hands of highwaymen.

There are a great many pranks aimed at Parson Adams, whom Gosse regards as "really the hero of the novel, the somewhat insipid loves of Joseph and Fanny forming little more than an excuse for the journeys of Parson Adams."¹²⁸ The little clergyman is doused at frequent intervals: by hog's blood at the hands of the landlady of an inn, with soup by the poet at the squire's house, in a tub of water as part of an elaborate practical joke played by the same squire, and later with the contents of a chamber pot in a battle with the squire and his followers at another inn. In addition to these ablutions, the parson finds himself floundering in the mire of a pig sty, attacked by dogs, and frequently engaged in battles from which he emerges with battered body and tattered clothing. It must be conceded that Fielding was probably more directly inspired in such adventures by the misadventures of Don Quixote in his ramblings. Nevertheless, such episodes are also reminiscent of the mishaps of Lazarillo.

Although there are parallels between the incidents of the two works, it must be recognized that there is substantial difference between their main characters. At the beginning of Fielding's novel, Joseph may be regarded

¹²⁸ Edmund Gosse, A History of Eighteenth Century Literature (London: The Macmillan Company, 1901), p. 252.

as somewhat naive in his conduct toward Lady Booby, but he never undergoes what Alter calls the deniaisement or "wising-up."¹²⁹ The same can be said of Adams; neither Joseph nor the parson ever learns the technique of compromise with the world that is the key to Lazarillo's survival.

Like Lazarillo de Tormes, Fielding's novel is rich in humor and satire. In fact, Chandler contends that "It was through Fielding that satire entered the English romance of roguery, which before his day had been peculiarly devoid of it."¹³⁰ Fielding states in the preface of this work his intention to portray the affectation that proceeds from vanity and hypocrisy, and the novel is rife with these. Mrs. Slipslop, in an attempt at elegance of language, reveals her ignorance. Both she and Lady Booby endeavor to hide their unbecoming passion for Joseph and their frustration at his repulses behind a screen of critical comments about him and the young woman he loves.

The writer devotes considerable space to satirizing attempts to conceal or rationalize a lack of charity. Peter Pounce, the miser, argues against charity on the grounds that

the distresses of mankind are mostly imaginary,
and it would be rather folly than goodness to relieve
them. . . . How can any man complain of hunger . . .
in a country where such excellent salads are to be

¹²⁹Alter, p. 31.

¹³⁰Chandler, p. 78.

gathered in almost every field? or of thirst, where every river and stream produce such delicious potations? And as for cold and nakedness, they are evils introduced by luxury and custom. A man naturally wants clothes no more than a horse or any other animal; and there are whole nations who go without them.¹³¹

Parson Trulliber takes much the same position, crying, "I know what charity is, better than to give to vagabonds."¹³² His wife adds, "Besides, if we were inclined, the poor's rate obliges us to give so much charity."¹³³ A gentleman from the same area seems to be afflicted with a similar attitude; though he is lavish with his offers of kindness, he always remembers some difficulty which makes the deed impossible. Reluctance to do good appears again when a stage-coach comes upon Joseph lying battered and naked in a ditch. One gentleman wants to flee immediately to avoid being robbed; a lady objects to bringing Joseph into the coach because of his state of undress; the coachman insists that someone will have to pay the fare. The miserable man would probably have been left lying there if a lawyer had not mentioned the matter of legal liability in the event of Joseph's death or the possibility of a lawsuit against the passengers should he live. It is no wonder that Joseph remarks upon "so few instances of charity among mankind,"¹³⁴

¹³¹Henry Fielding, The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams (Garden City, New York: The Masterworks Program, n. d.), p. 275.

¹³²Ibid., p. 172.

¹³³Ibid.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 236.

much as Lazarillo comments, "Charity had there taken flight to heaven."¹³⁵

The law receives a share of satire in Joseph Andrews. When the central characters are haled before the court as robbers, the justice is revealed as an ignorant person who doesn't recognize the name of Aeschylus. Lawyer Scout is all too ready to twist the law to please Lady Booby and actually has Joseph and Fanny brought into court for cutting a hazel twig and walking on the grass. For this the justice orders them to Bridewell for a month and is contemplating having them stripped and whipped when Lord Booby arrives to vouch for them.

In Lazarillo de Tormes the protagonist marvels at "How many there must be in the world who flee from others-- simply because they cannot see themselves!"¹³⁶ Even good Parson Adams is able to see in others faults that he cannot detect in himself. He reproves Joseph for his bitter lamentations over the apparent loss of Fanny but defends his own passionate bewailing the loss of a son. Likewise, he takes great pride in a particularly good sermon he has prepared on the topic of vanity. Another human failing presented humorously in the parson is pedantry.

Although Fielding does not make use of the first-person narrative form in any of his novels to be discussed

¹³⁵ Flores, p. 54.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 28.

here, he does employ the pattern of a loosely connected series of episodes as the structure of his work. There is considerable interweaving, however, of even minor characters. Members of the Booby household figure primarily at the beginning and at the end of the work, almost as a frame for the wanderings of the trio of main characters. The peddler who charitably pays the charges at one of the inns along the way reappears at the close of the work to disclose the fact that Fanny is actually Pamela's sister. The ostensible digression in the form of the life story of Mr. Wilson ultimately reveals Joseph's true parentage..

In spite of the fact that Fielding's central characters could not conceivably be regarded as picares, he has made use of many of the Lazarillo elements: a boy of evidently humble background, a servant, becomes a wanderer and a victim of adversity in a relatively loosely-organized plot full of slapstick humor and satire.

IX
THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE LATE
MR. JONATHAN WILD THE GREAT

Chandler suggests that Fielding's novel The History of the Life of the late Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great, which was published in 1742, may have actually been written earlier than Joseph Andrews. This is a plausible theory, for the novel has little in common with either Joseph Andrews or Tom Jones. It merits only brief mention here, for while it falls within the province of rogue literature, it has little to do with the picaresque novel developed by the anonymous author of the Lazarillo de Tormes.

As in Lazarillo, elements of satire can be found in Jonathan Wild, which Alter terms "a quasi-picaresque novel,"¹³⁷ and which in its entirety is intended to satirize the assumption of a necessary connection between greatness and goodness. In the marriage of Wild and Miss Snap, Fielding offers a satirical portrayal of matrimony. He says, for example, that the honeymoon is "the only moon, indeed, in which it is fashionable or customary for the married parties to have any correspondence with each other."¹³⁸

¹³⁷Alter, p. 26.

¹³⁸Henry Fielding, The Works of Henry Fielding, Vol. V: Jonathan Wild (New York: Bigelow, Brown and Company, Inc., n. d.), p. 181.

In this union Wild shares Lazaro's fate as cuckold but never develops the philosophical attitude of the picaro toward his shame.

Jonathan Wild lacks the use of first-person narration employed in the Lazarillo, but the plot of the English novel, like that of the Spanish, is episodic, consisting primarily of a series of Wild's criminal exploits. It differs from the Spanish work, however, in its continuity of even the minor characters. Jonathan and his gang of thieves direct their schemes repeatedly at the same victims, notably Heartfree and Count LaRuse, or at each other.

There are superficial similarities between the characters of Jonathan Wild and Lazarillo de Tormes. Jonathan's background, like Lazarillo's, is low. It includes a long line of pickpockets, a turncoat, and a number of inhabitants of Newgate.

Jonathan early exhibits propensities in keeping with his lineage. Even as a boy he organizes his schoolmates to commit thefts, retains the major share of the booty for himself, and betrays anyone who doesn't cooperate. Such wiliness, greed, and treachery, apparently engaged in more as a sport than from necessity, form the pattern for Wild's entire life and eventually lead him to Newgate and the gallows.

On only one occasion does Wild evince the slightest sign of compassion: he momentarily regrets his responsibility in the impending execution of Heartfree. He quickly

recovers from this lapse into pity, however, and in the rest of the novel he is shown to be a thoroughgoing villain, motivated by malice and greed, and untouched by feelings of friendship or loyalty. Wild is such a thorough-going rogue that on his way to the gallows he even picks the pocket of the parson.

Jonathan Wild has in common with Lazarillo de Tormes only an episodic plot, satire, and a superficial similarity in the catalogue of roguish activities.

X
THE HISTORY OF TOM JONES, A FOUNDLING

In Fielding's The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling (1749) there appear a number of resemblances to the Lazarillo, although Muir's classification of the work as a picaresque novel has been subject to much debate.¹³⁹

As the reader is first introduced to Tom, there would appear to be a strong parallel between this English protagonist and the Spanish picaresque. Tom Jones is believed to be the illegitimate offspring of Jenny Jones, a servant girl, and Benjamin Partridge, the local schoolmaster. In this light, it is universally agreed that Tom "was certainly born to be hanged."¹⁴⁰ In the denouement, however, Jones is found to be of considerably less humble parentage. His real father was a university-educated son of a clergyman, and his mother was the sister of Squire Allworthy himself. In this light, though Tom is still illegitimate, he becomes quite acceptable to respectable society, especially since he will inherit Squire Allworthy's estate.

¹³⁹Edwin Muir, "Novels of Action and Character," Approaches to the Novel, ed. Robert Scholes (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1961), p. 183.

¹⁴⁰Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones, A Foundling ("The Modern Library;" New York: Random House, 1950), p. 77.

Tom shares Lazarillo's fate as the victim of adversity. He suffers severe beatings at the hands of Square and Thwackum and like Lazarillo wreaks some vengeance upon them as he defends Molly Seagrim--vengeance which is nevertheless unpremeditated by Tom. Cast out of the house by Squire Allworthy as the result of Blifil's distortions of the truth, Tom is adrift in the world somewhat as Lazarillo was. "Jones, no more than Adam, had any man to whom he might resort for comfort or assistance."¹⁴¹ The considerable sum of five hundred pounds which Allworthy has given the boy is promptly lost by Tom and found by Black George. Tom suffers physical assault upon several occasions following his expulsion. He is struck over the head with a bottle by Ensign Northerton and injured severely. The landlady of one of the inns he patronizes attacks him with a broom to prevent him from entering with the disheveled Mrs. Waters. Mr. Fitzpatrick attacks him with a sword, though Tom emerges from this battle intact. The protagonist twice runs afoul of the law: once when Squire Western has him prosecuted for stealing Sophia's muff and once when Tom has apparently murdered Mr. Fitzpatrick.

It should be conceded here that Tom is never, or at least very seldom, in the desperate straits of Lazarillo. Tom is given money at various times, first by Allworthy, then by Sophia, and finally by Lady Bellaston. On his

¹⁴¹Ibid., p. 270.

journey he has Partridge to accompany him and occasionally to furnish him with funds. On two occasions Fielding mentions long intervals Tom has passed without eating, but the reason is not the lack of food but Tom's preoccupation with thoughts of Sophia. Tom nearly always has at least one friend who sympathizes with him and who works to extricate him from the current difficulty.

In a number of instances, Tom indulges in behavior which could be classified as roguish, though these misdeeds usually benefit others rather than Tom. He steals apples and a duck, which he promptly gives to Allworthy's game-keeper. Likewise, Tom and Black George occasionally engage in poaching on a neighbor's land. Other behavior of Tom which is not precisely like that of Lazarillo but which nevertheless brings social disapproval upon him includes his drinking to excess, quarreling and fighting, and taking money from Lady Bellaston. The latter act is in many respects more similar to Lazarillo's conduct than any other of Tom's acts.

While Tom never really lives by his wits as Lazarillo is forced to do, he is like the Spanish picaro in the generosity of spirit which he displays. In Lazarillo this appears but once, in Tom repeatedly. Black George and his family profit from this trait of the hero: Tom sells his Bible, horse, some of his clothing, and other items to raise money for the gamekeeper's family; he endures a severe hiding to avoid implicating Black George

in the crime of poaching; he runs through the rain to tell the family he has persuaded Allworthy to provide for them. After the escape of Ensign Northerton, Tom prevails upon the military authorities not to punish the soldier on guard at the time of the escape. He offers all the money he has to aid an impoverished relative of Mrs. Miller, and declines to reveal the fact that the man has previously attempted to rob Tom. Furthermore, he persuades Mr. Nightingale to marry Nancy Miller rather than to abandon her in her pregnancy.

Tom's basic goodness exceeds that of Lazarillo by reaching even to nobility. Although he finds Sophia's money at a time when he could well use the sum, he staunchly refuses to make use of it, keeping it instead until he can return it to her. He also displays an extreme degree of magnanimity in his treatment of Blifil, the villain initially responsible for most of the adversities which Tom has confronted. Lazarillo, who could wreak brutal revenge upon his blind master, would seem incapable of such sustained generosity.

Tom and Lazarillo are similar in being wanderers. After being sent away by Squire Allworthy, Tom decides that with his lack of training and of funds the best course open to him is to go to sea. A large portion of the action of the novel takes place between Somersetshire and London as most of the major characters wend their way from inn to inn.

In its wealth of humor and satire Tom Jones has a great deal in common with Lazarillo de Tormes. The writers of both works see the weaknesses of their society and use the techniques of satire to emphasize the flaws they perceive. Fielding does not paint so grim a picture as the Lazarillo presents, but he does reveal hypocrisy and affectation almost everywhere: in the sister of Squire Allworthy, in the pedagogues Square and Thwackum, in the Blifil brothers and the captain's son, in a multitude of servants.

In a number of passages, Fielding satirizes women who give the appearance of virtue without possessing the reality. Such hypocrisy appears when Miss Bridget eavesdrops at Squire Allworthy's door and then reproves her maid for being curious. Mrs. Deborah, like Slipslop in Joseph Andrews, sounds out the feelings of her mistress and then says what she knows will please the lady.

It is not merely the female characters whose hypocrisy is revealed, however. Square, who "held human nature to be the perfection of all virtue, and that vice was a deviation from our nature, in the same manner as deformity of body is,"¹⁴² is found crouched in Molly Seagrim's closet. Thwackum, whose favorite phrase is "the divine power of grace," loves nothing better than beating Tom. Both these men, who spend much time discussing

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 83.

goodness and virtue, are guided exclusively by self-interest. In a manner reminiscent of Parson Adams' in Joseph Andrews, Square, while speaking of broken bones and pain being beneath the consideration of a wise man, reacts in confutation of this very point: when he bites his tongue in the midst of the discourse, it "created much emotion in him, and caused him to mutter an oath or two."¹⁴³

In this work as in many others of the time, the physician receives his share of satire. When Captain Blifil falls fatally ill, the two physicians called in devote their time to bickering over the cause of the attack instead of trying to revive the patient. The doctor who cares for Jones after the attack by Northerton discourses learnedly upon various aspects of medicine but repeatedly alters his prescription for the patient according to suggestions offered by the landlady of the inn.

The inns and owners themselves also appear in Fielding's satire. Repeatedly the treatment Tom receives in these places varies depending upon the impressions the innkeepers have of the status of the youth. If they take him for a vagabond, they try to keep him from their door; if he is reported to be a relative of a rich country squire, he is given a hearty welcome. Further, Fielding generalizes about the rules of the trade:

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 165.

The first is, if they have anything good in their house (which indeed very seldom happens) to produce it only to persons who travel with great equipages. Secondly, to charge the same for the very worst provisions, as if they were the best. And, lastly, if any of their guests call but for little, to make them pay a double price for everything they have; so that the amount by the head may be much the same.¹⁴⁴

Fielding's novel is as rife with satire as the anonymous Lazarillo, and there is, moreover, a superficial resemblance between the plots of the two in the apparently accidental wandering from place to place and from episode to episode. But Fielding's work differs from the Lazarillo in its organization and handling of incident almost as much as it does in length. Coleridge is said to have ranked Tom Jones in ingenuity with Oedipus Rex and The Alchemist, and a number of critics have devoted considerable attention to the intricate pattern of the book. Austin Dobson, for example, has said:

The incidents which, in Cervantes, simply succeed each other like scenes in a panorama, are, in Tom Jones, but parts of an organized and carefully arranged progression towards a foreseen conclusion. As the heroes cross and re-cross each other's tracks, there is scarcely an episode which does not aid in the moving forward of the story.¹⁴⁵

Tom Jones gives frequent evidence of Fielding's skill in weaving seeming trifles like the bird, the horse, and the muff into his tale and making significant use of them. Moreover, he uses his characters in much the same way. The seemingly great number of characters appearing

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 360.

¹⁴⁵Austin Dobson, quoted in Felham Edgar, The Art of the Novel (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 64

in the work is somewhat deceptive, for some characters appear under more than one name or at times anonymously, and the denouement of the work reveals an extremely complex intertwining of characters and events in a plot which has rightly been called "complex and ingenious."¹⁴⁶

While the plot form employed in Tom Jones is no longer the same as that in the Lazarillo, there are a number of significant similarities between the works: a boy of apparent low background, a wanderer, a victim of adversity, a good-natured individual, as the central figure in a novel full of satire.

¹⁴⁶ David Daiches, A Critical History of English Literature (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1960), II, p. 721.

XI
THE ADVENTURES OF RODERICK RANDOM

It has been said that "Among the prominent eighteenth-century novelists of England, it was Tobias Smollett who most intentionally and explicitly sought to place his narrative in the continental tradition of the picaresque novel."¹⁴⁷ In The Adventures of Roderick Random (1748) Smollett used LeSage's Gil Blas as his model, a choice which would suggest that there should be numerous similarities between the work and Lazarillo de Tormes. Some of these similarities appear immediately in Smollett's prefatory description of the aim of the work: "I have attempted to represent modest merit struggling with every difficulty to which a friendless orphan is exposed, from his own want of experience, as well as from the selfishness, envy, malice, and base indifference of mankind."¹⁴⁸

Roderick's grandfather is "a gentleman of considerable fortune and influence,"¹⁴⁹ whose displeasure his father incurs by marrying a poor relative serving as housekeeper. As a result of the death of his mother

¹⁴⁷Alter, p. 59.

¹⁴⁸Tobias Smollett, Roderick Random (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1951), p. 5.

¹⁴⁹ibid., p. 9.

and the disappearance of his father, Roderick is left alone and subject to the abuse of relatives and of a cruel schoolmaster. Disinherited upon the death of his rich grandfather, he is left like Lazarillo to make his way in the world but, having the advantage of education, he elects to become a doctor in the Navy. In London he is ridiculed, bespattered, and cheated as he undergoes the humiliations that confront the humble office-seeker. He is more than once robbed by highwaymen and defrauded by innkeepers, card sharps, and other types of confidence men. Impressed into the Navy, he is subjected to many brutalities, including being tied to the deck during a bloody battle. Upon his return to England, Randon is stripped and robbed by other crew members and then sent from house to house by villagers who wish to avoid the responsibility of caring for him. Roderick's fortunes reach their nadir when he is jailed for debt.

Roderick's wanderings in the course of his career are much more extensive than those of the original Spanish picaro. From his native Scotland he proceeds to London to seek his fortune. In the course of his naval career, he visits various parts of the western hemisphere. Roderick is carried to France by smugglers, and on his final voyage he visits Argentina and Paraguay as the doctor for a ship engaged in smuggling and slave-trading.

The service of various masters appears in Roderick Randon as it does in few of the English works of this

period. Even here it plays a less prominent role than in the Lazarillo, but Roderick does have three masters in the course of the novel. The first is Mr. Launcelot Crab, a surgeon who pays the boy no wages but who in order to place on the young man the blame for a maid's pregnancy does finally furnish Roderick funds to go to London. There Roderick goes to work for Mr. Lavement, a French apothecary who ultimately discharges him for alleged thefts of medicines. After his shipwreck the protagonist finds employment as footman in the household of an eccentric poetess. When he rescues the niece of his mistress from the rude advances of a local nobleman, Roderick is forced to flee to avoid imprisonment.

Roderick Random never in the course of his life undergoes the definitive moment of awakening from naivete to cleverness that Lazarillo experiences at the hands of his blind master. As a young Scot in London, Random is naive enough to be deceived by sharpers and practical jokesters. Even much later in his career, when he proposes to be a fortune hunter, Mr. Banter says of him, "You are too honest, and too ignorant of the town to practice the necessary cheats of your profession, and detect the conspiracies that will be formed against you."¹⁵⁰ It would seem, therefore, that Roderick shares with Lazarillo the naivete but not the williness.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 283.

While Roderick never lives by his wits as Lazarillo does, he does make use of wiles to gain vengeance upon his enemies, much as the Spanish picaro does upon the blind man. The Scot avenges himself upon O'Donnell by luring the latter to a supposed assignation, scourging him with nettles, and leaving him naked. When treated with indifference by Melinda, he arranges for a barber to escort her to a ball while Roderick himself, elaborately attired, appears with a rich heiress. In a less wily but more violent vengeance, Roderick organizes his schoolmates, traps the schoolmaster, and then administers a severe beating upon Mr. Syntax to repay the severity he has suffered at that gentleman's hands.

Roderick Random has been characterized as "a selfish bully, whose faults it is exasperating to find condoned."¹⁵¹ Such a description seems contrary to the evidence of the work itself. Roderick seems usually to act merely in self-defense, and frequently he performs acts of kindness and compassion parallel to Lazarillo's treatment of his third master. Random takes Miss Williams in and cares for her when he seemingly no longer has anything to gain from such kindness, and says of himself at that time, "Such extremity of distress must have awaked the most obdurate heart to sympathy and compassion. What effect, then, must it have had on mine, that was naturally

¹⁵¹Gosse, p. 259.

prone to every tender passion?"¹⁵² Similar generosity appears when Roderick fits out Oregon with a decent wardrobe and gives Mr. Melopyn a sum of money. Even Mrs. Gawky, whom Roderick has every reason to hate, comes to him "relying upon the generosity of my disposition,"¹⁵³ and is not disappointed.

Like the anonymous author of Lazarillo de Tormes, Tobias Smollett uses his work to satirize many aspects of the life of his times. "Certainly, none of our eighteenth-century English novelists has shown up the rottenness of contemporary English social and political conditions with more truth and contempt of accepted opinion."¹⁵⁴

There is great similarity between the world of Lazarillo de Tormes and that of Roderick Random. Both contain well-established social hierarchies in which those at the top are wily and capricious and those on the lower ranks must endure the caprices and fawn at the feet of their "betters." In the case of Earl Strutwell, such subservience would include even engaging in homosexual practices. In the maze of hangers-on that Roderick encounters in his quest for a position in the Navy, he finds it necessary to await the kindness of the member of Parliament and "grease the palm" of everyone with whom he

¹⁵²Smollett, p. 121.

¹⁵³Ibid., p. 316.

¹⁵⁴F. C. Green, Minuet: A Critical Survey of French and English Literary Ideas in the Eighteenth Century (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1935), p. 363.

comes in contact in the meantime. Fortune hunters pose as wealthy individuals and flatter their intended victim. The playwright has to endure a thousand slights and delays before the ultimate rejection of his work.

The British navy comes in for a large share of the criticism of this work. In the Navy as elsewhere, ignorance and brutality prevail. The work is especially satirical in describing the inept conduct of the battle of Cartagena.

The well-established institution of the British coffee-house appears at length in Roderick Random, along with a description of the foolish and the roguish who frequent it and the tricks they play upon one another.

Members of the clergy are satirized somewhat as in the Lazarillo. On his journey to London, Roderick encounters a "cheat in canonicals, . . . a character frequent in my own country."¹⁵⁵ In France he meets a Capuchin, "a merry facetious fellow, who, notwithstanding his profession and appearance of mortification, loved good eating and drinking better than his rosary, and paid more adoration to a pretty girl than to the Virgin Mary, or St. Genevieve."¹⁵⁶ This ecclesiast proves also to be a cheat when he slips away with all of Roderick's cash.

Although Smollett employed some of his characters more than once in this novel, the plot can nevertheless be characterized as episodic. The various incidents that

¹⁵⁵Smollett, p. 46.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 239.

make up the work are connected loosely, and many characters appear only once and quite briefly. "The structure of his story . . . is . . . derived consciously from the Picaresque school of writers."¹⁵⁷ The novel is also like Lazarillo de Tormes in its use of the autobiographical form.

Roderick Random is very similar to Lazarillo de Tormes in having a central character in the service of a variety of masters, a wanderer, victim of adversity, naive in the face of the rascalities of the world, capable of retaining a spirit of generosity; both include extensive satire; and both employ an episodic plot with first-person narration.

¹⁵⁷Ibid., p. xi.

XII
THE ADVENTURES OF PEREGRINE PICKLE

Tobias Smollett's Adventures of Peregrine Pickle, though it is sometimes classified as a picaresque novel, in a number of respects departs from the pattern set by Lazarillo de Tormes. Nevertheless, there are certain parallels between these two works.

In family background Peregrine has considerably more to boast of than the Spanish picaro. The father of the former is the son of a merchant who retires to the country to avoid losing his father's fortune. Peregrine, however, profits little from this background, for he very early inspires a strong revulsion in his mother, who prevails upon his henpecked father to reject the boy. Nevertheless, Perry cannot be regarded as truly abandoned, for his aunt and uncle, Commodore and Mrs. Trunnion, take him in, provide his every need, and ultimately make him their heir.

With this kind of background, there is never any need for Peregrine to act as a servant; as a matter of fact, he is usually accompanied by at least one servant of his own.

Peregrine does considerably more traveling than Lazarillo, and goes as a gentleman on a tour of France and Holland rather than as a poor boy looking for a position.

Adversity doesn't play a major role in the life of Peregrine Pickle. He repeatedly finds himself under arrest because of his improper advances to ladies or his hot-tempered reactions to insults, but he is nearly always released immediately. In the fourth and last volume, however, Pickle's fortunes decline rather drastically as a result of his fruitless venture into politics and his attempt to rebuild his fortune through loans to others. He is ultimately arrested for debt and spends some time in prison. The work ends happily, however, with Peregrine rich again and finally married to his beloved Emilia. In this respect he enjoys prosperity and good fortune as Lazarillo does, but Peregrine's honor is unsullied as that of the Spanish picaro is not.

Although Pickle is never presented as a really naive character, it can perhaps be said that he does learn from his brief encounter with adversity. Likewise, although he never finds himself forced to develop the type of wiliness of Lazarillo, he does employ a great number of tricks in the course of the novel. Some of these tricks are aimed at the rascals that he meets, some are planned for revenge, and some seem to proceed simply for an early-developed love of practical jokes.

As early as nine months, Peregrine is manifesting a love for pranks.

It is reported of him, that, before the first year of his infancy was elapsed, he used very often, immediately after being dressed, in the midst of the caresses which

were bestowed upon him by his mother, while she indulged herself in the contemplation of her own happiness, all of a sudden to alarm her with a fit of shrieks and cries, which continued with great violence till he was stripped to the skin with the utmost expedition, by order of his affrighted parent, who thought his tender body was tortured by the misapplication of some unlucky pin; and when he had given them all this disturbance and unnecessary trouble, he would lie sprawling and laughing in their faces, as if he ridiculed the impertinence of their concern. Nay, it is affirmed, that one day, when an old woman, who attended in the nursery, had by stealth conveyed a bottle of cordial waters to her mouth, he pulled his nurse by the sleeve, and, by a slight glance detecting the theft, tipped her the wink with a particular slyness of countenance, as if he had said with a sneer, "Ay, ay, that is what you must all come to."¹⁵⁸

The commodore and his wife fall victim of many of Peregrine's tricks. As a child Pickle loves to walk upon Trunnion's gouty great toe, to take "indecent freedoms" with his nose, to throw his tobacco pouches into the flames or empty the snuff-box into Trunnion's favorite beverage. These pranks become so troublesome that Peregrine is sent off to school, but when he comes home, he and some of the servants concoct even more elaborate jests at the expense of his adoptive father and mother: strange sounds to distress the aunt, ghastly apparitions to terrify the uncle, visits from attorneys or from people bearing letters from relatives whom Trunnion despises, a false duel between Trunnion and Peregrine's father. In view of the kindness of the Trunnions toward Peregrine, there seems to be no rational motivation of any kind to justify such tricks,

¹⁵⁸ The Works of Tobias Smollett (New York: Bigelow, Brown and Company, Inc., n. d.), III, Pt. I, pp. 89-90.

and many of them far exceed the bounds of a simple practical joke.

Some of Peregrine's tricks are designed for revenge, much like Lazarillo's arranging for his blind master to crash into the pillar. Perry's ludicrous painting of the black eye of his tutor, Mr. Jolter, can be at least somewhat justified because of the alacrity with which the pedagogue has reported the boy's misdemeanors to school authorities and to Commodore Trunnion. His dressing a baboon in brother Gam's clothes and horsewhipping of Gam's officious tutor are to repay the ill treatment Peregrine has received at their hands. Peregrine's further revenge upon the curate is not only ingenious but humorous: he and his friends imitate conversations and arrange circumstances to create the impression that Mr. Sackbut is cuckolding the landlord of a nearby inn, and the landlord quite naturally waylays the culprit and flails him thoroughly.

A third category of tricks which the reader can understand and appreciate are those by which Peregrine exposes to ridicule those who deserve it because of their hypocrisy or rascality. Smollett describes his hero in this role: "He not only acted the reformer, or rather the castigator, in the fashionable world, but also exercised his talents among the inferior class of people, who

chanced to incur his displeasure."¹⁵⁹ In many such pranks there is a strong element of satire, another link with the Lazarillo. At the university, Perry "perceived ample subject for his ridicule, in the characters of these wrong-headed enthusiasts. It was a constant practice with them, in their midnight consistories, to swallow such plentiful draughts of inspiration, that their mysteries commonly ended like those of the Bacchanalian Orgia."¹⁶⁰ Peregrine joins the group, gets them thoroughly drunk one night, and then persuades them to burn their wigs, shoes, and caps and march into the street, where he involves them in a battle with another group and then slips off, leaving them to their punishment.

In France the protagonist persuades his ignorant artist friend to wear a woman's dress to a masquerade, where a nobleman takes liberties with the supposed female and the artist finds himself in jail. Pickle torments the poor ignoramus for some time by telling him that the imprisonment will be for life unless he consents to castration. On another occasion Peregrine tells Mr. Pallet and Mr. Jolter that the Fricassee of rabbit they are eating is really a cat, a lie that results in the physical illness of the two gullible victims. On at least two occasions Peregrine turns the tables on card sharps, exposing them to ridicule as well as taking their money.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., IV, Pt. IV, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., III, Pt. I, p. 283.

At Bath Pickle and his friend Godfrey arrange for all the doctors in the city to call simultaneously upon an old gentleman who detests physicians and who, upon being roused by the clamor from his first good sleep in days, administers a severe beating with his crutches to every doctor within his reach. On another occasion, Peregrine, seeing in a newspaper two advertisements of men wishing to borrow money, arranges an interview in which each man believes the other is prepared to lend money.

While some of his pranks make him seem cold and capricious, Perry sometimes reveals a very human kindness and compassion. In his conduct toward Godfrey Gauntlet, the protagonist manifests a sensitivity comparable to that of Lazarillo:

He would, at that time, with the utmost pleasure, have shared his finances with him; but, as he would not run the risk of offending the young soldier's delicacy of honor, by a premature exertion of his liberality, he resolved to insinuate himself into an intimacy with him before he would venture to take such freedoms. . . .¹⁶¹

Perry manages to assist the worthy young man through others: once through his uncle and once through the assistance of an earl who owes Pickle a debt of gratitude. When Commodore Trunnion expresses a desire to make his will so as to give Peregrine everything, the latter persuades the old gentleman instead to remember Hatchway and the other servants and to provide for Mrs. Trunnion. The tale

¹⁶¹Ibid., III, Pt. I, p. 248.

of a poor widow in distress brings Perry to visit the lady and to give her twenty pounds. Even when he is handling his money with great care, his bounty goes on.

He was still as friendly and benevolent as ever, though his liberality was more subject to the restraint of reason; and he might have justly pleaded, in vindication of his generosity, that he retrenched the superfluities in his own way of living, in order to preserve the power of assisting his fellow-creatures in distress. Numberless were the objects to which he extended his charity in private.¹⁶²

Peregrine Pickle differs from Lazarillo in being narrated in the third person, but its plot is still the loosely episodic type like that of the Lazarillo. Perhaps because of the extreme length of the English work and also on account of the weak motivation of Peregrine, the novel seems even less unified than the Lazarillo in spite of repeated appearances by such characters as Pipes, Matchway, Gauntlet, and Emilia.

Smollett makes use of considerable satire in Peregrine Pickle. Pedantry again receives its share of ridicule. When Perry first falls in love with Emilia Gauntlet, Mr. Jolter devises an elaborate geometrical argument to prove that the boy's feeling will bring only ruin and disgrace. The educational background of Jolter and all such traveling governors is called into question; they are familiar with financial dealings abroad but ignorant of the laws, customs, and character of the people. In Mr. Pallet, Smollett portrays an appalling ignorance of art.

¹⁶² Ibid., IV, Pt. IV, p. 59.

In the doctor companion of the artist is revealed the devotee of the ancients, somewhat reminiscent of Fielding's Parson Adams. This enthusiasm of the doctor results in an elaborate dinner prepared in the manner of the ancients, a banquet that leaves most of the guests retching violently.

Smollett's satire is by no means limited to pedantry. In France an irreligious Capuchin comes on the scene, ready to act as a pimp if the price is right or to make use of parings from a horse's hoof to exorcise an evil spirit. The English city of Bath receives a large portion of criticism in the work because of its sharpers who take advantage of every possible human weakness. Scientists and inventors are satirized in the Society of Yelpers, as are writers in the College of Authors. Through the device of Cadwallader Crabtree's disguise as a magician, Smollett is able to reveal more human weakness: a clergyman anxious to know when he will come into a living, a usurer waiting for an annuitant to die, a writer who wants to know whether his play has been or will be presented, women who have become involved in illicit affairs—all these and many others.

It is probably in this portrayal of a society so full of rascals and rogues that Peregrine Pickle is most like Lazarillo de Tormes. However, the two works are also similar in their episodic plots and in their kind-hearted central characters who wander and perpetrate pranks.

XIII
THE ADVENTURES OF SIR LAUNCELOT GREAVES

Because Smollett's novel The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves (1762) is deliberately patterned after Cervantes' Don Quixote, it is in many ways different from Lazarillo de Tormes. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between the two works which should be noted.

Because he is designed as a hero rather than as an anti-hero, the central character is obviously different from Lazarillo. Sir Launcelot is of illustrious lineage and unsullied character, a knight-errant who sets out to right wrongs in the world. Because of his mission, however, he does share with Lazarillo the status of a wanderer. Moreover, the kindly nature of Lazarillo is even exceeded in the knight, who compels a rich farmer's son to marry the girl he has debauched, arranges a living for a deserving cleric, and frees from jail a number of unjustly imprisoned people.

Although the plot consists of a series of episodes which seem to take place fortuitously, it exhibits a complexity not achieved by the Lazarillo. The author employs a framing technique in the use of a group of people in an inn at the beginning of the work and the same group reunited at the close. Sir Launcelot and his squire,

Timothy Crawshaw, make their appearance in the second chapter, and their background is told by Tom Clark. In the course of the novel the paths of these characters cross and recross.

Sir Launcelot Greaves shares with La-arillo de Tormes an abundance of satire. Early in Smollett's work, the wordiness and pedantic language of lawyers is mocked charmingly. Justice Gobble and his wife receive a large share of the satire in the novel. Not only is the justice unjust, but he is also ignorant, as he reveals in the following discourse:

The laws of this land has provided—I says as how provision is made by the laws of this here land, in reverence to delinquens and malefactors, whereby the king's peace is upholden by we magistrates, who represents his majesty's person, better than in e'er a contagious nation under the sun; but, howsomever, that there king's peace, and this here magistrate's authority cannot be adequably and identically upheld, if so be as how criminals escapes unpunished. Now, friend, you must be confidential in your own mind, as you are a notorious criminal, who have trespassed again the laws on divers occasions and importunities; if I had a mind to exercise the rigor of the law, according to the authority wherewith I am wested, you and your companions in iniquity would be sewerely punished by the statue; but we magistrates has a power to litigate the sewerity of justice, and so I am contented that you should be mercially dealt wital, and even dismissed.¹⁶³

The medical profession also receives a share of the criticisms: when Timothy falls ill, the ministrations of the apothecary nearly kill him.

¹⁶³The Works of Tobias Smollett (New York: Bigelow, Brown and Company, Inc., n. d.), II, pp. 154-155.

In spite of the peregrinations of the hero, his kind heart, and the satire in Sir Launcelot Greaves, the basic character of the work is substantially different from that of Lazarillo de Tormes, a difference that results inevitably from the use of a crusading knight as the central character instead of a lowly servant struggling for survival.

XIV
THE EXPEDITION OF HUMPHRY CLINKER

In Tobias Smollett's last novel, The Expedition of Humphry Clinker, which was published in 1771, the author varied the picaresque formula more than he had in his previous works but still employed some of the stock elements.

The central figure, at least as named in the title, is "a love begotten babe, brought up in the work-house, and put out apprentice by the parish to a country blacksmith, who died before the boy's time was out."¹⁶⁴ Humphry therefore shares with Lazarillo a low background and an early beginning in a life of adversity. Nevertheless, Clinker, like Tom Jones, is revealed in the denouement to be the illegitimate child of a member of the higher class, Matthew Bramble himself. Humphry's fortunes do not reach the level of Tom's, however, for Bramble's son marries a servant girl and seems destined to become a vestry-clerk.

The role of servant in Humphry's career is minimal, as it is in all the English novels of the picaresque genre. He serves only one master, Matthew Bramble, in the course of the novel, though before encountering Mr. Bramble's

¹⁶⁴Tobias Smollett, The Expedition of Humphry Clinker (The Modern Library; New York: Random House, 1929), p. 96.

party, Humphry has worked as helper and extra postilion in a stable.

Humphry's early life has brought adversity, as did Lazarillo's. Illness has kept him from working and forced him to sell or pawn everything he possesses. His resulting state of misery and shabbiness is so disgraceful to the stable that he is fired. When he encounters Mr. Bramble, Humphry offends Mrs. Tabitha with his ragged state: "She said he was such a beggarly rascal that he had ne'er a shirt to his back, and had the impudence to shock her sight by shewing his bare posteriors."¹⁶⁵

After entering the service of Mr. Bramble, Humphry has a much better life, although at one point he is mistakenly arrested as a robber and forced to spend some time in jail. Other than that, his misfortunes are those he shares with the rest of the group: overturned coaches, rainstorms, dangerous seas.

Humphry also takes on the character of a wanderer to a certain extent. Mr. Bramble and his family are making an excursion through northern England, Scotland, and Wales, and Glinker naturally accompanies them as they visit Bath, London, Harrogate, Scarborough, the Scottish Highlands, Buxton, and Gloucester.

Humphry is good-hearted as Lazarillo is, but shares none of his roguishness. In fact, he is a self-made

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 94.

evangelist and even takes advantage of his incarceration to preach to the inmates of the jail.

Since the plot of the work involves travel from place to place with an accompanying assortment of adventures, Smollett appropriately adopted the epistolary form. The sights and events of the journey are recounted through letters written by every member of the group except Humphry himself.

Like Smollett's other works, The Expedition of Humphry Clinker is full of satire, especially in the letters of Matthew Bramble, who is extremely critical of many of the cities he visits. For example, he dislikes the upstarts who throng the streets of Bath, the odors and foulness of the water there, the ridiculous styles of architecture. As a matter of fact, he is critical of almost everything he sees in England but pleased by almost everything in Scotland.

In The Expedition of Humphry Clinker Smollett has employed a number of the elements characteristic of the picaresque novel: a boy from the lower class assumes the role of a servant, encounters adversities in his wanderings, and displays a kind heart in a series of loosely-connected episodes in which satire plays an important part. All of these elements except satire, however, are of much less importance in this work than in the conventional picaresque novel, just as the role of Humphry himself is much less central .

XV
CONCLUSION

It becomes clear from an examination of certain of the more important early English novels that elements from the picaresque novel are repeatedly employed in many of these works. A favored device with Defoe, Fielding, and Smollett was to thrust an innocent young person into the world, subject him to difficulties of all kinds, and ultimately reward him with financial prosperity and frequently marital bliss as well.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that in the better-known early English novels there was no picaresque novel as it was known in Spain. Only parts of the formula were employed in any given work, and there were certain aspects of the Lazarillo that were almost universally subordinated in England. The role of the protagonist as a servant, for example, is given much less prominence. Jack Wilton serves one master, as does Moll Flanders; Joseph Andrews has his Lady Booby, Roderick Random serves three masters, and Humphry Clinker only one, at least within the scope of the novel. Moreover, English writers on the whole seem to dislike taking their protagonist from the servant class. Richardson, of course, working with another framework, did very well with such a protagonist. But

Joseph Andrews is discovered to be a gentleman, and Tom Jones and Humphry Clinker are ultimately found to be the illegitimate offspring of members of the upper class and therefore regarded as being superior people.

Another tendency that appears in these works is a negative correlation between humor and living by the wits. These two factors are among the most important elements in the Lazarillo, but they do not occur in combination in these English novels. Defoe's novels tend to make use of a character living by his wits, but they are devoid of humor. For him such a life is a deadly serious business. On the other hand, in Smollett and Fielding there is much humor, but here the central characters, even when cast adrift into the world, do not resort to wiles to make their way. To be sure, Jonathan Wild is a wily individual, but he is too malicious to allow true humor.

It is also interesting to note that when the English hero or heroine (and these terms apply to the English protagonists as neither applies to Lazarillo) is wandering through the world at the lowest point of his career, he is seldom alone. Moll Flanders has her governess; Colonel Jack has a number of friendly people who show him little kindnesses. Roxana is accompanied by Amy, Joseph Andrews by Parson Adams and Fanny, Tom Jones by Partridge, Roderick Random by Strap, Peregrine Pickle by Hatchway or Pipes. If, as Alter says, the solitary condition is one of

the essentials of the picaresque, we will not find it here.

The English characters also seldom face life at the subsistence level as Lazarillo did through so much of his career. Defoe's protagonists perhaps do momentarily, but before long even Colonel Jack has a little stock of money put aside. When Tom Jones is depicted without even a shilling, he uses whatever money he obtains to bribe a footman or to pay the fare on a chair. Roderick usually has the wealth of a half dozen ruffled shirts that could be pawned. Joseph Andrews and Humphry Clinker seem most nearly to reach the plight of Lazarillo in the inadequacy of their apparel, but in both cases benefactors appear promptly to cover their nakedness.

The result of such transformations as these of the basic elements of the picaresque formula is to raise the plane of the milieu from a lower to a higher level, one compatible with middle-class ideals. Such a process may stem in part from the historical distance between the Lazarillo and most of the works studied here. It may be attributable to fundamental differences between the cultures of Catholic, Latin Spain and Protestant, Saxon England. Perhaps a combination of historical and cultural factors offers the best explanation. Whatever the cause, a comparison of Lazarillo de Tormes with these early English novels, although it reveals many areas of similarity, makes clear the fact that in the English literature there was no picaresque novel as the Spanish knew it.

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