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A COMPARATIVE STUDY

of

VERGIL AND HARDY

-A

Ъy

Marjorie Jones Ryan

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF SONTANY

1930

(Signed) W T Clark Chairman, Exam. Com.

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### Introduction

In writing a comparative study of Vergil and Hardy, I do not maintain that Vergil exerted a great amount of influence over Hardy; but I have been impressed by a similarity in the two men's outlook on life, and I know, both writings, that he was a student and lover of the works of Vergil, especially of the "Aeneid". Ernest Brennecke, in tracing classical influence on Hardy, speaks particularly of the influence of Aeschylus. "Among Latin authors Hardy found no such heroes or models, altho now and then he betrayed an interest in Horace."1^ "In his earliest book he quoted. somewhat pedantically, from the Latin poets, later on he occasionally permitted himself a Latin expression, such as "sollicitus timor".... His references to the literature cover a wide field, but they are for the most part allusions of the most casual character. The "golden age" of Roman literature is represented in his novels by Cicero, Howace, Catullus, and Vergil; and Ovid and Marcus Antoninus supply mottoes for sections of "Jude the Obscure". The collected allusions to Vergil, to be given below, will show that Horace was not the only Latin poet in whom Hardy "betrayed an interest". (And may one in passing take exception to "betray"?) Granting that the allusions are casual, they do at least indicate a free familiarity with their source. I propose, then, to outline the record of Hardy's contacts with Vergil. to collect his direct references to Vergil or his writings, to present a few similarities that merely suggest possibilities of influence, and to discuss the cosmic and social philosophies of the two men, which, like two intricate curves in a pattern, are separated at some parts and at others cross or run parallel.

 Brennecke, Ernest, Jr., The Life of Thomas Hardy, p.153, New York, 1925.
 The most striking example of Hardy's use of Horace is his description of the mystic effect of the "Carmen Saeculare" upon the mind of Jude; see "Jude the Obscure", p.33, New York, 1927.
 Ibid, p. 173

### Vergil in Hardy's Education

About the time that Hardy entered the village school at the age of eight, his mother, herself especially fond of Vergil,<sup>3</sup> gave him a copy of Dryden's translation.<sup>4</sup> He began to study Latin under an able teacher at the age of twelve, and continued under the same teacher for two or three years, winning a prize for his progress.<sup>D</sup> Brennecke gives a rather less encouraging account of his early training. At the age of sixteen Hardy was apprenticed to a local architect who was himself something of a classical student. 7 With the companionship of an older apprentice ("who had been well educated at a good school in or near London, and who, having a liking for the classical tongues, regretted his recent necessity of breaking off his classical studies to take up architecture.") Hardy continued guite successfully his Latin, including the reading of several books of the "Aeneid"; and he began to study Greek.7 The study of the Greek Testament for a time displaced Homer and Vergil ("a misfortune to Hardy who was just getting pleasure from these".) With the departure of the seriously orthodox fellow-student in Greek Testament Hardy turned much attention from the Testament to pagan writers, reading in the early morning before his day's work at the office.<sup>8</sup> There are a few references to Hardy's interest in the "Aeneid" during the later years of his life. At twenty-eight, after posting the manuscript of his first novel, he read the Seventh Book of the "Aeneid". A list of books read during this year, (which was spent at home after years of London, experimenting with prose writing, working for his former employer, and reading widely,) includes "Vergil's 'Aeneid' (of which he never tired.)"9 When Hardy was visiting in Rome he referred to the ruins of the Forum as the "altae moenia Romae", a whimsical allusion to the "Aeneid" 1.7.10

3 Ibid, p. 43

U	IDIG, p. TO.					
*	Brennecke, ibid, p.81-82, says that Hardy's mothe started teaching					
him Latin. Mrs. Hardy's account is no doubt the more trustworthy of the						
two as it was compiled from Hardy's personal reminiscences and notes.						
4	Hardy, Florence Emily, The Early Life of Thomas Hardy, p.21,					
	New York, 1928.					
5	Ibid, p. 28-31.					
6	Brennecke, Life of Thomas Hardy, p. 81-82. See note above.					
7	Hardy, F. E., Early Life of Thomas Hardy, p. 35-36					
8	Ibid, p. 40-41					

- 9 Ibid, p. 76-78
- 10 Ibid, p. 247

And, finally, an entrance in his diary on New Year's Eve, 1887, when Hardy was forty-seven years old, gives a list of authors read or looked at during the year, and Vergil's name is among them.<sup>11</sup> Allusions in writings of still later date, notably "The Dynasts", indicate that Vergil continued thruout Hardy's life to be a companion in his reading and a vivid memory.

#### Allusions and Minor Comparisons

Following is a list of allusions to Vergil or to his writings collected from Hardy's works:

### Desperate: Remedies

The names of two of the characters, Cytherea and Aeneas, with Cytherea the mother of Aeneas, were undoubtedly suggested by the "Aeneid".

Hardy uses a phrase from the interrupted threat of Neptune to the winds in "Aeneid" I. 35, "Quos ego - sed motos praestat componere fluctus", in describing a severe speech of Miss Aldclyffe to Manston: "Indeed the quos ego' of the whole lecture had been less the genuine menace .... than an artificial utterance."<sup>12</sup>

"Talibus incusat" is used to describe a conversation of Aeneas Manston with his mother.<sup>13</sup> The phrase is quoted from the "Aeneid" I. 410, where Aeneas rebukes Venus for her appearance incognito.

Manston's seige of Cytherea Graye is compared to the tactics of "Dares at the Sicilian games", and a quotation is given from Dryden's translation of the "Aeneid".14

Ibid, p. 267
 Hardy, Thomas, Desperate Remedies, p. 190, New York, 1899.
 Ibid, p. 228
 Ibid, p. 262

"He, like a captain who beleaguers round Some strong-built castle on a rising ground, Views all the approaches with observing eyes, This and that other part again he tries, And more on industry than force relies."15

Anne Seaway is described in the words used of Camilla in the "Aeneid" VII 805-6.

"Non illa colo calathisve Minervae Femineas adsueta manus."<sup>16</sup>

The reflection "what is keener than the eye of a mistrustful woman<sup>17</sup> certainly suggests "Quis fallere possit amantem," which Vergil uses in reference to Dido in Aeneid IV. 296.

In describing the attempted seduction of Cytherea, Hardy quotes Dryden again, merely varying the pronoun:<sup>18</sup>

"One on her youth and pliant limbs relies, One on his sinews and his giant size."<sup>19</sup>

Allusions to Vergil are more frequent in "Desperate Remedies" than in any later work.

### A Pair of Blue Eyes

Elfride is said to have "fired a small Troy in the shape of Stephen's heart,"<sup>20</sup> a clear suggestion of the influence of the "Aeneid" II, especially lines 624-625.

"Then truly all Ilium seemed to settle into the flames, And Neptunian Troy to be overturned to its depths." \*

On a visit to London, Elfride was "like Aeneas at Carthage", full of admiration for the brilliant scene.<sup>21</sup>

 Morley's Universal Library, Vol. II: Dryden, John, Vergil's Aeneid, p. 116, London, 1884.
 Desperate Remedies, p. 414.
 Ibid, p. 243.
 Ibid, p. 445.
 Morley's Universal Library, Vol.II: p. 115-116.
 Hardy, Thomas, A Pair of Blue Eyes, p. 21, New York, 1895.
 \* Translations, except those cited in references 15 & 19, are my own.
 Ibid. p. 161. Aeneas's first view of Carthage is described in the "Aeneid" I. 418-440.

It is barely possible that the theme of the falling tower which is such an essential part of this novel may have been suggested by either of two scenes from the Aeneid.<sup>22</sup> The crashing of the tower from Priam's palace is described in the "Aeneid" II. 460-467; the burning and fall of a defense tower of the Trojans in their war against the Italians is described in the "Aeneid" IX. 530-544.

Another reference to Vergil occurs in the sentence, "He had become illustrious even'sanguine claus', judging from the tone of the worthy Mayor of St. Launce's"<sup>23</sup> Vergil has the phrase in the Aeneid" I. 550,

"Troiano a sanguine clarus Acestes," which may or may not have suggested Hardy's use of the words.

### Far from the Madding Crowd

Bathsheba at the market sometimes felt inclined "to merely walk as a queen among these gods of the fallow, like a little sister of a little Jove."<sup>24</sup> The idea may well have been suggested by the petty statuesqueness of Juno as shown, for example, in the "Aeneid" I. 45-9.

Turning a wheel on a grindstone "is a sort of attenuated variety of Ixion's punishment";<sup>25</sup> this punishment is referred to by Vergil in the "Aeneid" VI. 601 and 616, tho the allusion may well have come from other sources, e. g., Ovid, "Metamorphoses" X, 43, or Pindar's second Pythian Ode.

The name of Troy may have been suggested by the "Aeneid", as the destruction of Troy is told most completely in the "Aeneid", II. The "Iliad" is, however, equally possible as a source of suggestion.

Boldwood, after learning of Bathsheba's marriage, walked about the fields all night "like an unhappy Shade in the Mournful Fields by Acheron."<sup>26</sup> These fields, the "lugentes campi", says Vergil in the "Aeneid" VI. 440-445, are the special abode of those who die for love.

22. Ibid, p. 372, et al.
23. Ibid, p. 433.
24. Hardy, Thomas, Far from the Madding Crowd, p. 103, New York, 1895.
25. Ibid, p. 151.
26. Ibid, p. 275.

### The Return of the Native

This novel contains fewer allusions to Vergil than do those mentioned above. The use of the adjective "Tartarean"<sup>27</sup> may be an echo of Vergilian influence from the description of Tartarus in the Aeneid VI, 548-627. Likewise, there is a trace of similarity between the characters of Eustacia and Dido, (see the Aeneid I. 340-370; 494-756; and IV.) as being charming, imperious women, conquered and overwhelmed by love. The details differ widely, but there is something similar in their spirits, and in the sympathy which their fates arouse in the readers.<sup>278</sup> Hardy's words can apply equally to each:

"Love is a terrible thing; a sweet allure That ends in heart-outeating:<sup>28</sup>

#### The Trumpet Major

"Bob's countenance was sublimed by the recent interview, like that of a priest just come from the 'penetralia' of the temple."<sup>29</sup> Vergil uses "penetralia" in the "Aeneid" VI. 71, for example; and the spirit felt in the presence of deity is described as "multo suspersum numine" in the "Aeneid" III. 372. The description of Apollo's taking possession of the spirit of the Cumean Sibyl may also have suggested the simile. See the "Aeneid" VI. 45-51; 77-80.

The name of the frigate "Euryalus",<sup>30</sup> a smaller companion boat to the "Victory", may have been suggested to Hardy by the name of Vergil's young hero of the "Aeneid" V. 294-297, and more particularly IX, 230-449. I have been unable to ascertain whether or not there was actually a ship so named at Trafalgar, but if so, Vergil's influence was effective in its christening.

27 Hardy, Thomas, The Return of the Native, p. 67, New York, 1917. 27a Ibid, p. 65-71, et passim.

- 28 Hardy, Thomas, Human Shows for Phantasies, Songs and Trifles, p. 271, London, 1926.
- 29 Hardy, Thomas, The Trumpet Major, p. 308. New York, 1895.
- 30 Ibid, p. 313 and p. 316.

### The Mayor of Casterbridge

The neglected shrubery in the Mayor's garden "stood distorted and writhing in vegetable agony like leafy statue as its chief inspiration, but the appeal of the statue to Hardy's imagination was no doubt enhanced by Vergil's powerful description of Laocoon's death in the "Aeneid" II. 212-222 \*

### The Well-Beloved

Pierston, looking at the stones shipped from the quarries of his native peninsula, "would call up the 'genius loci' whence they came, and almost forget that he was in London. $^{32}$  The idea of the "genius loci" or abiding spirit of a place occurs in the "Aeneid" V. 95, where a serpent comes from the tomb of Aeneas's father to gat the sacrifice, and Aeneas is uncertain "whether he should think it the genius of the place or the attendant spirit of his father."

The ghosts of Pierston's former loves came around him "in sad array like the pictured Trojan women beheld by Aeneas on the walls of Carthage."33 This is an allusion to the "Aeneid" I. 450-493, especially 479-483:

"The Trojan women with flowing hair, Sadly suppliant, and beating their breasts."

#### Two on a Tower

Viviette realizes, in her desire to remarry Swithin, that the "mollia tempora fandi" has passed.<sup>34</sup> Aeneas, in the "Aeneid" IV. 293, was waiting for the "mollissima tempora fandi" to break to Dido the news of his departure.

The Hand of Ethelberta

"What Stygian sound was this?.. a varied howling from a hundred tongues."

31.	Hardy,	Thomas,	The Ma	y <b>or</b> of	Casterbri	dge, p.	91, New	York, 1895.	,

- \* One other comparison will be discussed later in connection with the authors' philosophies.
- 32. Hardy, Thomas 33. Ibid, p. 312. Hardy, Thomas, The Well-Beloved, p. 131, New York, 1897.
- 34. Hardy, Thomas, Two on a Tower, p. 296, New York, 1895.

(A kennel of hounds was nearby.)<sup>35</sup> The use of "Stygian" suggests Aeneas's crossing of the Styx as described in the "Aeneid" VI, especially lines 417-418.

"Mighty Cerberus echoed thru the realms with his triple-throated barking."

The kitchen of a hotel is aptly called "an Avernus",<sup>36</sup> from the name of the gaseous cavern at the entrance to Hades, of the "Aeneid" VI. 237-241.

### A Laodicean

Somerset had been more interested in poetry, theology, and the reorganization of society than in "a profession which should help him to a big house and name, a fair Deiopeia, and a lovely progeny."<sup>37</sup> This is a distinct allusion to Juno's speech to Aeolus in the "Aeneid" I. 71-75, where she promises, as a reward for setting free the winds, the fairest of her nymphs, Deiopeia, a wife who would make him the father of "a lovely progeny".

Dare, who was constantly shadowing or accompanying De Stancy, is referred to as "his Achates".<sup>38</sup> This was the name of Aeneas's silent companion and helper, mentioned in the "Aeneid" I. 188 et passim.

#### Tess of the D'Urbervilles

The woman listening at Tess's door after Clare's long-postponed visit, heard "a low meaning, as if it came from a soul bound to some Ixionian wheel." <sup>39</sup> References to this punishment in the "Aeneid" are cited in connection with "Far from the Madding Crowd".

#### Jude the Obscure

While driving his aunt's bakery cart, Jude spent his time reading simple passages from Caesar, Vergil, or Horace. "While he

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<sup>35</sup> Hardy, Thomas, The Hand of Ethelberta, p.212, New York, 1895.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 305.

<sup>37</sup> Hardy, Thomas, A Laodicean, P. 43. New York, 1896.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 236.

<sup>39</sup> Hardy, Thomas, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, p.436. New York, 1892.

was busied digging out the thots of these minds, so remote and yet so near, .... Jude would be aroused from the woes of Dido by the stoppage of his cart and the voice of some old woman.....<sup>40</sup> The "Aeneid" IV contains the story of the woes of Dido.

Jude had thot that by getting to Christminster and becoming imbued with the "genius loci", he would be well on the way to entrance into a college there.<sup>41</sup>

Jude and Sue "proceeded thru the fog like Acherontic shades,"<sup>42</sup> another indication of the impression of the "Aeneid" VI on Hardy's mind.

While Jude is lying dead, echoes of Latin speeches from the Oxford ceremonies sound in his room, and the dog-eared editions of Homer, Vergil, and the Greek Testament "seemed to pale to a sickly cast at the sounds".<sup>43</sup> Hardy makes Vergil be among the few books which Jude kept thru all his struggles.

### Wessex Tales

In the story "Fellow Townsmen" occurs the sentence, "Between these cliffs, like the Libyan bay which sheltered the ship-wrecked Frojans, was a little haven...."44 The "Aeneid" I. 159-169, describes the harbour of Carthage to which Hardy was referring.

### A Changed Man and Other Tales

"The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid" tells of a baron who was "as immovable as Rhadamanthus". Rhadamanthus is mentioned as one of the judges in Hades in the "Aeneid" VI. 566.

### Life and Art

An echo of Vergil occurs in one other of Hardy's prose writings, "The Doresetshire Laborer"; in discussing popular misconceptions as to the bleak unhappiness of the life of "Hodge", the typical rural laborer, Hardy says:

40 Hardy, Thomas, Jude the Obscure, p. 31, New York 1927.
41 Ibid, p. 134; See p. 7 discussion of "The Well Beloved".
42 Ibid, p. 428.
43 Ibid, p. 487.
44 Hardy, Thomas, Wessex Tales, p. 128, New York, 1896.
45 Hardy, Thomas, A Changed Man and Other Tales. p. 334, New York, 1913.

"Indeed, it is in such communities as these that happiness will find her last refuge on earth, since it is among them that a perfect insight into the conditions of existence will be longest postponed."<sup>46</sup> In the "Georgics" II.458-540, Vergil expatiates on the happiness of rural life, and says, in lines 473-474:

"And Justice, when she left the earth, Trod her last steps among them."

The device is the same -- a personified abstraction tending to disappear from earth, and abiding longest in rural ways.

Hardy seems to make explicit in his poetry much of the philosophy that was rather more implicit in his novels; and so his poetry supplies many suggestions for comparison of spirit and feeling with Vergil. It offers, however, but a few direct allusions, perhaps because the tendency to quote often declines with increasing familiarity with the source of quotation, while the spirit of a piece of literature becomes absorbed into the student's mind and reveals itself by suggestion, rather than by conscious allusion, in his words. A few more or less direct allusions to Vergil follow:

### The Dynasts

The Spirit of the Years causes a transparency to pervade the world and reveals to the Pities the workings of the Immanent Will, showing life under the direction of an irresistible force.<sup>47</sup> While differing in details, this scene calls up the passage in the "Aeneid" II, 601-618, where Venus explains to Aeneas that the fall of Troy must not be blamed on Paris or Helen but is the work of the gods; and, snatching away the cloud which dulls his mortal vision, she shows him the various gods at their work of destruction.

"I hear confused and simmering sounds within, Like those which thrill the hives at evenfall When swarming pends."<sup>48</sup>

46 Hardy, Thomas, Life and Art, p. 21, New York, 1925.

- 47 Hardy, Thomas, The Dynasts, p. 6, et passim, London, 1921.
- 48 Ibid, p. 14.

This is Hardy's description of the excitement of a crowd. Vergil compares the busy builders of Carthage to the work of bees about their hives in the "Aeneid" I. 430-436. The same description appears in the "Georgics" IV. 162-169. Another famous passage from the same poem (lines 67-87) describes the battle of the bees, and makes particular mention of the sound. To quote lines 70-72:

"namque morantes Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat et vox auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum."

"A warlike ring of rasping brass incites the drones, And a voice sounds like the trumpets' broken blare."

English officials were wondering as to Nelson's whereabouts:

"Aye, where is Nelson? Faith by this late time He may be sodden, .... Or sleeping amourousle in some calm cave On the Canaries' or Atlantis' shore Upon the bosom of his Dido dear, For all we know."49\*\*

This is an allusion, even to the detail of the "calm cave", to the "Aeneid IV. 16C-172, where Dido and Aeneas find refuge in a cave from a storm, while the forces of nature perform their marriage ceremonies.

The Emperor Francis of Austria is said to be

"An emperor in whose majestic veins Aeneas and the proud Caesarian line Claim yet to live."<sup>50</sup>

Virgil's simile is clearly an echo of the "Iliad". It remains in question which work, or if either, suggested the idea to Hardy. Bryant, W.C., The Iliad of Homer II. 111-119, p. 22, Boston & New York, 1898.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, p. 80.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Nelson's "Dido" was Emily Lyon, Lady Hamilton, wife of the British Ambassador to Naples. See "Memoirs of the Courts of Europe, Lady Hamilton, p. 1-5, New York, 1910

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, p. 124.

The Julian line is traced to Aeneas in the prophecy of Jupiter in the "Aeneid" I. 267-268, where the name Iulus is given to Aeneas's son. A little later, lines 286-288, Jupiter says:

"Of this great stock a Trojan Caesar shall be born,---Ocean shall set the limits to his sway, and to his fame, the stars---Julius, a name passed down from great Iulus."

'In a foot-note on the undertainty of the scene of the boll given by the Duchess of Richmond on the eve of Waterloo, Hardy says:

"....the spot is almost as phantasmal in its elusive mystery as towered Camelot, the palace of Priam, on the hill of Calvary."<sup>51</sup>

The destruction of Priam's palace is a stirring episode in the "Aeneid" II, 437-505.

## Winter Words<sup>52</sup>

The poem "Throwing a Tree", especially the lines which describe the trembling of the top of the tree and the final crash, suggest comparison with the "Aeneid" II 626-631, where Vergil describes the fall of an ancient ash in a simile to the fall of Troy.

"Trembling it nods its leaves in its shaken top. Till conquered slow by wounds, it groans its last, And, torn from its native mount, fall with a crash."

**Oollected** Poems

"A Broden Appointment"<sup>53</sup> tells of a disappointed lover's turning from hope of restoring the old love, and regretting that "she"

51. Ibid, p. 454. 52. Hardy, Thomas, Winter Words, p. 45-46, New York, 1929. 53. Hardy, Thomas, Collected Poems, p. 124, London, 1925. would not spare him an hour thru simple human kindness ---

"That high compassion which can overbear Reluctance for pure loving kindness' sake."

Dido makes much the same appeal in her last message to Aeneas, in the "Aeneid" IV, 429-436:

"I pray not for our former union now, Mere time I seek... till fortune teaches me, Now conquered by her, how to bear my grief."

Another comparison to the Dido story is suggested by "The Dark-Eyed Gentleman"<sup>54</sup> in which poem a woman eventually finds comfort and joy in her illegitimate son. In the "Aeneid" IV, 327-330, Dido, when she realizes that Aeneas is to depart, expresses the wish that she might have born a little Aeneas who would have kept her from feeling utterly abandoned. (With Dido, however, the craving is for the memory of the father, while Hardy's woman has forgotten the father and finds her happiness in the child.)

A contrast to Vergil's belief in the dependence of God on the Fates occurs in "Panthera"55:

"What a fame Oh son of Saturn, had adorned his name, Might the Three so have urged Thee!"

This implies that the will of Jupiter is superior to that of the Three, or the Fates, but in the "Aeneid", the situation is quite the reverse. Conjugton<sup>56</sup> cites passages to show that Vergil conceived of Fate as a force that could be thwarted or post-poned, but not overcome even by the Gods. The "Aeneid" VIII, 395-399, is especially explicit on this point; Jupiter explains that he could have delayed the fall of Troy another ten years if Venus had asked him to. The "Aeneid III, 375-376, is more nearly like Hardy:

an barian mananan mananan ka armanan karanan mukanan armanan kara arawakan karanan arawaka aka karana karanan s

54 Ibid, p. 227.

- 55 Ibid, p. 268.
- 56 Conington, John, Vergili Opera, Vols.II and III: Indices under "Fate", London, 1883.

"....so the king of the Gods Allots the fates, and turns the changes of circumstance--Thus rolls the order of events."

But even here Jupiter is scarcely more than a chief executive.

As an introduction to the sectin entitled "Poems of 1912-13"57, which group was written after the death of Hardy's first wife, occurs the quotation "veteris vestigia flammae". The memory of his wife in his loneliness seemed to restore a tenderness which had been somewhat lacking in their later years together, as he implies in "The Voice"<sup>58</sup> and elsewhere:

"Woman much missed, how you call to me, call to me, Saying that now you are not as you were, When you had changed from the one who was all to me, But as at first, when our day was fair."

The line, "veteris vestigia flammae" is from the "Aeneid" IV, 23, where Dido, in her first feelings for Aeneas recognizes the emotion which she had felt for her dead husband.

"Aquae Sulis"<sup>59</sup> relates a fanciful dialogue between the goddess of a ruined Roman temple and the presiding Deity of a Christian Church which is built on the old foundations. In answer to the goddess's complaints come the words, "Repress, oh lady proud, your traditional ires"; and no one who remembers "the unforgetting wrath of stern Juno" of the "Aeneid" I, 36; "not yet satiated with vengeance for her ancient grief" of the "Aeneid" V, 608; or the baffled anger of Juno's speech in the "Aeneid"VII, 293-323, where she says, "If I can not bend the powers of Heaven, I will stir the depths of Hell".--no one who remembers these lines fails to recognize Juno in Hardy's "lady of traditional ires".

"To My Father's Violin"<sup>60</sup> is a poem distinctly Vergilian in its plaintive sadness and probably in its allusions:

57. Hardy, Thomas, Collected Poems, p. 318, London, 1925.
58. Ibid, p. 325.
59. Ibid, p. 353-354.
60. Ibid, p. 423-424.

"Does he want you down there In the Nether Glooms.....?" Well, you cannot, alas, The barrier over pass That screens him in those Mournful Meads hereunder."

Hardly has here poetically abandoned his philosophic disbelief in immortality; the whole poem suggests the more solemn and shadowy parts of Vergil's Hades, the "lugentes campi", as described in the "Aeneid", VI, 426-493. In Vergil's Elysian fields, described in the "Aeneid" VI, 637-665, he permits the shades a calm happiness in the pursuit of earthly arts, including music.

So much for allusions and comparisons of a casual nature; these established, certainly, that Hardy was deeply familiar with the "Aeneid", especially with Books I, II, IV, and VI; and it seems most probable that he knew the "Georgics" at least the famous ending of Book II. The "Eclogues" seem not to appear as a source of direct allusion. But the greatest of Vergil's works, the "Aeneid", contributed a share quite worthy of consideration to the development of the mind of Thomas Hardy.

#### General Comparisons of Philosophies.

A comparison of some of the more vital aspects in the philosophies of the two master, Hardy and Vergil, proposes to reveal, not so much the influence of the one or the dependence of the other, as a kinship of spirit between them.

#### Directing Forces.

Both Hardy and Vergil believe that man's life is controlled by Fate. In Vergil, as mentioned on page 13, even the Gods are eventually subject to a higher authority. "Sic volvere Parcas"<sup>61</sup>. Tho Jupiter is said to rule heaven and earth<sup>62</sup> he can act only as Fate permits him, and his "sic placitum"<sup>63</sup> is a rather pompously ineffective commentary on a reading of the scrolls<sup>64</sup> of the " the moving

Aeneid I, 22.
 Aeneid IV, 269, et al..
 Aeneid I, 283.
 Aeneid I, 261.

finger". In addition to Vergil's poetic use of the Olympians as part of epic machinery, he presents a more lefty and serious conception of the Primal Force in his description of the "Anima "undi" or Soul of the World<sup>65</sup>: Heaven and earth and all men and Leasts are pervaded and controlled by a spirit or mind:

"Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet."

"A spirit within sustains, and a mind infused thru the members urges on the whole mass and riggles with the vast body." While this is not, of course, an original idea with Vergil, it seems to be a deep conviction; and his beautiful expression may well have appealed to Hardy's imagination and helped to direct his thots toward his ultimate conception of the Immanent Will. Brennecke<sup>66</sup> traces the changes in Hardy's belief as to the governing force in the universe from his youthful acceptance of "crass Casualty" and "dicing Time", as expressed in the poem"Hap"<sup>67</sup>, thru various conceptions of Circumstance, Nature, and Providence, to his final idea of the "Immanent Will" so powerfully presented in "The Dynasts".

"It works unconsciously as heretofore Eternal artistries in Circumstance. .... like a knitter drowsed Whose fingers play in skilled unmindfulness."

"A Brain whose whole connotes the Everywhere."<sup>68</sup>

"A Will that wills above the will of each. Yet but the will of all conjunctively."<sup>69</sup>

These last two quotations suggest comparison with Vergil on the Anima Mundi. God is sometimes used as an alternative name or poetic personification for Fate, in such poems as "God-Forgotten,"<sup>70</sup>

65. Aeneid VI, 724-729.
66. Brennecke, Ernest, Thomas Hardy's Universe, Chapter II, Boston, 1924.
67. Collected Poems, p. 7.
68. Hardy, Thomas, The Dynasts, p. 1-7, London, 1921.
69. Ibid, p. 344. "New Year's Eve,"71 "God's Education."<sup>72</sup> Again, that He is a man-created figure doomed to be reasoned out of existence, is suggested by "A Plaint to Man,"<sup>73</sup> and "God's Funeral."<sup>74</sup> Both Hardy and Vergil, then, present the idea of a dominant, allpervading, and inescapable force; but the Anima Mundi is called "mens," and is the source of man's intelligence, while Hardy's Immanent Will has not become conscious as yet, and man's consciousness is just another of Its blind creations. To quote form "New Year's Eve:"<sup>75</sup>

"Sense-sealed have I wrought, without a guess That I evolved a Consciousness To ask for reason's why.""

Men of Aeneas and the Napoleon of "the Dynasts" both illustrate Destiny men conscious of the directing power of Destiny in their lives. The burden of Aeneas's speech of farewell to Dido is that he cannot direct his life as he would but must go on to Italy in accordance with his revealed destiny: "Italiam non sponte sequor."<sup>76</sup> Thruout the poem, Aeneas is consciously the agent of fate. As for Nappleor: "The Emperor whose ways do but outshape Its governing".<sup>77</sup> is "one of the few in Europe who discern the working of the Will."<sup>78</sup> He apologizes to Queen Louisa:

"Some force within me, baffling mine intent Harries me onward, whether I will or no. My star, My star is what's to blame - not I."<sup>79</sup>

Aeneas might have made the same speech. After Moscow, Napoleon says:

71. Ibid. pp. 260-261.
72. Ibid. pp. 261-262.
73. Ibid. p. 306.
74. Ibid. pp. 307-309.
75. Ibid. pp. 260-261.
76. Aeneid IV. 333-361.
77. The Dynasts, p. 36.
78. Ibid. p. 179.
79. Ibid. p. 565.
\* The same idea occurs many

The same idea occurs many times in Hardy's poetry. Other examples will be cited in different connections.

"I had no wish to fight, nor Alexander, But Circumstance impaled us each on each. The Genius that outshapes my destinies Did all the rest."<sup>79</sup>

Usually the actors are not conscious of the directing of their acts but, as Hardy says of Wellington, "acting while discovering his intention to act."  $^{\rm n80}$ 

Irony of Accepting the thesis that men are directed in spite of themselves. Hardy and Vergil both feel the irony Human Responsibility of the human sense of responsibility for conduct the cruelty of the pangs of anxiety and remorse which accompany acts over which the individual has no control, or, as Hardy puts it, "the incongruity of penalizing the irresponsible."81 After showing Helen during the fire in Troy, seeking sanctuary from the wrath of Greeks and Trojans alike, Vergil has Venus explain that neither Helen nor Paris but the Gods are responsible for the fall of the city; but Helen suffered the pangs of remorse and bore a burden of human blame anyway.<sup>82</sup> Another example of human respon Another example of human responsibility in the face of Fate occurs in Aeneas's departure from Troy with his father and son. He knows that he is destined to escape with Ascanius and found a new city, but his mind is filled with fear for his companion.<sup>83</sup> Why couldn't he also know that no real harm could befall him? It seems that human hearts are made to be anxious. The tragedy of Clym's life in "The Return of the Native" turns on the same theme. As a result of over-reaching good intentions, of an ill-timed love affair, #and particularly of accidental misunderstandings, and of coincidences, Clym is made to feel a terrible burden of blame for the death of his wife and his mother. "Those who ought to have lived lie dead, and here I am alive .....

79. Ibid. p. 363.
 80. Ibid. p. 505.
 81. Collected Poems, p. 526.
 82. Aeneid II, 567-604.
 83. Aeneid II, 726-729.

The Effect of love on a serious and purposeful man's career is also suggested by the "Aeneid" IV, where Aeneas's finding of Italy is for a time jeopardized by Dido. The treatment differs in many points, but forms an interesting matter for speculation. Similarity between the heroines has already been mentioned. and my great regret is that for what I have done no man or law can punish met<sup>#84</sup> Napoleon rebels at the feeling of blame for the loss of lives which is brot to him by a dream of the defeat to come at Waterloo:

> "Why should this reproach be dealt me now? Why hold me my own master, if I be Ruled by the pitiless planet of Destiny?"<sup>85</sup>

The most ironically helpless phase of Hardy's fatalism is the idea that character itself is Fate.<sup>86</sup> The Mayor of Costerbridge becomes thru this consideration a tragic rather than a villainous character. J. W. Cunliffe's introduction to "The Return of the Native" brings out the idea that happiness is influenced by temperament, but temperament is left unaccounted for.<sup>97</sup> In his essay on "The Profitable Reading of Fiction, "Hardy says: "Those (books)..... which impress the reader with the inevitableness of character and environment in working out destiny, whether that destiny be just or unjust, enviable or cruel, must have a sound effect....upon a healthy mind."<sup>88</sup> So man suffers and blames himself or his fellow-man, while fategiven character "works out destiny, just or unjust."

Dissatisfaction<br/>with Forces be-<br/>hind LifeBut whence and why the frequent injustice? Here<br/>is another great problem which engrossed both<br/>Vergil and Hardy, tho the latter has made a greater<br/>attempt to answer the question which Vergil

presents:

"Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?"

"Muse, tell me why - what god was crossed? -What anger burned the heart of Heaven's Queen, That she should force to labors manifold, And cause to suffer many a change in lot, A man whose life shone fair in piety? Is such the anger in the heavenly minds?"<sup>89</sup>

84. The Return of the Native, p. 382.
85. The Dynasts, p. 468.
86. The Mayor of Costerbridge, p 137.
87. The Return of the Native, Intro. p. XII.
88. Life and Art., p. 66.
89. Aeneid I. 8-11.

In an outburst of sympathy for the struggling Trojans, Vergil says:

"Alas, it is not granted us to trust at all in Gods who are unwilling."<sup>90</sup>

Similarly, in another connection, he says:

"Cease to hope to turn the fated will of the Gods by prayer."91

A comrade falls in battle, the man of all the Trojans who guarded most carefully the ways of justice -"Dis aliter visum."<sup>92</sup> "The Gods deemed otherwise." In the prayer of the barbarian Iarbas to Jupiter Ammon, Vergil suggests the answer which Hardy finds to the question of the justice of God:

> "All-powerful Jupiter, whom Mauritanian tribes Honour at suptuous feasts with generous pouring of wine, Do you behold our woes, or is true that, when you hurl The whirling thunder-bolt, we shudder and cringe in vain? And that the cloud-flashing fires that shatter our souls with fear Are blind, and the crashing of thunder is but an empty sound?"<sup>93</sup>

Vergil seems here to grant that circumstances may justify the conclusion that the universe is ruled blindly, though he eventually believes in a conscious spirit in the universe, and leaves the question of its apparent injustice unsolved. Aeneas vows to Dido when she first offers him aid:

> "If any heavenly power regard true worshippers, If justice aught avails, or a true mind That knows within itself that it is right, May the Gods grant unto you your due reward."<sup>94</sup>

90. Aeneid II. 402.
91. Aeneid VI. 376.
92. Aeneid II. 426-428.
93. Aeneid IV. 206-210.
94. Aeneid I. 603-605.

When he leaves Dido he says, in substance,

"I'm glad to have met you, I'll never forget you, but Destiny leads me on, and no marriage oath have I taken."<sup>95</sup>

We cannot but feel that there is some justification for Dido's outburst:

"No longer does great Juno, nor the Saturnian father regard me with just eyes. Nowhere is faith secure:"96

Vergil makes full use of suppressed sighs and a lofty sense of a high calling to save Aeneas from seeming a cad; but he does of pretend to morally justify Juno or Venus who had been the original instigators of the love-affair, each for her own ends. He leaves the problem unsolved, except that we feel that the directing forces of the universe, whatever they are, are more responsible than man for human woe. Jupiter passes the responsibility one step farther back when he remarks.

"Rex Jupiter omnibus idem. Fata viam invenient."

"King Jupiter is the same to all. The Fates will find a way."<sup>97</sup>

Hardy was less resigned than Vergil to the apparent injustice and blindness, as he saw it, of the power which runs the world; and he goes farther in setting up a solution to the questions which Vergil ""opounded and left to haunt men's imaginations. Call it Nature, God, Immanent Will, or what you wish, the force at the back of things seems to Hardy justifiable only on the supposition of blind unconsciousness. In a comment on a review of Maeterlinck's essay, "The Mystery of Justice," in which Maeterlinck had suggested that Dame Nature may have a scheme of morality of her own, Hardy says:

95. Aeneid IV. 331-347.
96. Aeneid IV. 371-373.
97. Aeneid X. 113-114.

"Pain has been and pain is: no new sort of morals in Nature can remove pain from the past and make it pleasure...and no injustice however slight can be attoned for by her future generosity however ample, so long as we consider Nature to be or to stand for unlimited power.... What made the foregone injustice necessary to Her Omnipotence? So you cannot, I fear, save her good name except by assuming one of two things: that she is blind and not a judge of her actions, or that she is an automaton and unable to control them; in either of which assumptions... you only throw responsibility a stage further back."<sup>98</sup>

The poem "A Dream Question"<sup>99</sup> applies to God the same accusation which Hardy applied to Nature in the above quotation. God replies that He cares not for men's opinior, but hints that there may be a hidden explanation. Many of Hardy's poems express the idea of the blindness and indifference of the Prime Force; among them may be mentioned: "The Lacking Sense",<sup>100</sup> "Doom and She",<sup>101</sup> "The Sleep Worker",<sup>102</sup> and the whimsical "A 1 ilosophical Fantasy,"<sup>103</sup> which shows Hardy near the end of his life maintaining the same thesis:

> "Aye, to human tribes nor kindlessness Nor love I've given, but mindlessness, Which state, tho far from ending, May nevertheless be mending.""

"The Dynasts" shows very vigorously Hardy's dissatisfaction with the rule of "It." The Spirit of the Pities, on being shown the workings of the Will, sees but does not wish to believe:

"Enough. And yet for very sorriness I can not own the weird phantasma real!"

"Affection ever was illogical", remarks the Spirit of the Years, the

98. Life and Art. p. 131-132.
99. Collected Poems, p. 245.
100. Collected Poems, p. 106-107.
101. Ibid. p. 108-109.
102. Ibid. p. 110-111.
103. Hardy, Winter Words, p. 119-124.
\*As to the mending, more will be said later.

true interpreter of the cosmos.<sup>104</sup> As the Spirits look on King George's insame sufferings, the Pities are almost driven

"To hold that some mean, monstrous ironist Has built this mis-timed fabric of the spheres, .... and not thy said Unmaliced, unimpassioned nescient Will?"

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But the Spirit of Years replies: "Mild one, be not too touched with human fate, Such is the Drama. Such the Mortal state: No sigh of thine can null the Plan Predestinate."<sup>105</sup>

The last line might serve well as a translation of Vergil's

"Desine fata deum flecti sperare precando."

When the Pities say they want to pray for relief, the Chorus Ironic remarks:

"Ha-ha: That's good. Thou'lt pray to It:-But where do Its compassions sit? Aye, where abides the heart of It?"<sup>106</sup>

Sadness <u>of Life</u> The sad lot of man in a world so conditioned and ruled is perhaps the dominant note in Hardy and a strong one in Vergil. There are few details in the Aeneid which do not center around some phase of human struggle, with predestined doom or intriguing Gods, with the elements, or with other men: even the sports of Book V are funeral games. The most striking expression of Vergil's sense of human sorrow occurs in connection with Aeneas's visit to Carthage. He saw in the temple scenes from the Trojan war and exclaimed:

> "Achates, now what spot in all the world Is there not filled with stories of our toil? Ah Priam! Even here a due reward Awaits the man whose deeds can merit praise. Here are the tears of life, and mortal woes Touch mortal hearts."107

104. The Dynasts. p. 36-37.
105. Ibid. p. 304.
106. Ibid. p. 306.
107. Aeneid I. 459-462.

"Sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt!"

When one finishes the Dido story, he is not so sure about the"due rewards", but the "lacrimae rerum" are very apparent. This phrase was suggested to the mind of at least one commentator on Hardy's verse who wrote:

> "The untranslatable 'sunt lacrimae rerum' would serve as a general title for most of Mr. Hardy's poems."108

Hardy may have had this phrase in mind when he wrote "At the War Office, London<sup>#109</sup> containing the lines:

> "....circumstance which brings The tragedy of things."

Several notable quotations showing Hardy's feeling of the sadness of life occur in poems dealing with a favorite idea of his. that human suffering is due to man's having a consciousness which God has not yet attained:

> "....thought outbrings The mournful many-sidedness of things."110

"Had not thought-endowment Caught creation's groom."111

The mortal moan begot of sentience."112

The last words in "The Mayor of Casterbridge" tell of Elizabeth "whose youth had seemed to teach that happiness is but an occasion-al episode in a general drama of pain."<sup>113</sup> There was a time when Jude and Sue "were happy - between their times of sadness."114 And one might cite quotations indefinitely.

-----108. Hardy, Thomas, poems of the Past and Present, New York 1902. a quotation from The Daily News inserted as advertising for "Wessex Poems." 109. Collected Poems. p. 89. 110. Collected Poems, p. 89. 111. Hardy, Thomas, Human Shows For Phantasies Songs and Trifles, p. 114, London, 1926. 112. Ibid. p. 14.

- 113. The Mayor of Casterbridge. p. 406.

The WillIn the face of such sadness there comes a reaction againstagainst Life.the desire for life, a will against life, wherein lies<br/>another point in common between Vergil and <sup>h</sup>ardy. Clym's

feeling of the tragedy of continued existence after the death of his family is similar to the feeling expressed by Aeneas in his prayer during a storm.

> "Oh thrice and four times blessed Ye, whose lot it was to die beneath The walls of Troy, before your father's eyes! ...Oh, that I could not fall on Ilion's fields!"114a

In the Aeneid V. 623-624, the same idea is expressed in reference to the sea-weary women of Aeneas's expedition. When Aeneas is visiting Anchises in the Elysian fields, he inquires about a group of souls beside the River Lethe, and learns that they are the souls fated to live again who, before returning to life drink from the river "Waters which free them from care and bestow a long forgetfulness." Aeneas is shocked:

"Oh father, and must we believe that some souls go aloft to the world And enter slow bodies again? What terrible lust for the light Can enter their miserable hearts?

Anchises then explains the need of successive lives before the degrading effects of the body can be overcome and leave the soul pure enough to be fused with the fire of the Anima Fundi. The draught from Lethe makes it possible for the souls "to gaze on the sky in pure forgetfulness and begin once more to wish to enter into bodies", for without forgetting the former existence no one would wish to live again.<sup>115</sup> Hardy carries this further. Little Father Time in "Jude the Obscure" is an example of a new type of child that sees the horrors of life before developing power to resist them.

> "It is the beginning of the coming universal wish not to live."116

Mad Judy, who rejoices at early deaths and weeps at christenings and weddings, though called insame by her neighbors, thoroughly represents the will against life. $^{117}$ 

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114a. Aeneid I. 94-98. 115. Aeneid VI. 713-751. 116. Jude the Obscure, p. 400. 117. Collected Poems, p. 138.

"In the Evening"<sup>118</sup> and "The Unborn"<sup>119</sup> touch imaginatively on the idea of pre-existence with the implication that it would be better never to enter the world, (quite in the spirit of Vergil's Lethe scene) but the Will drives souls out to life.

#### Love, pro and con.

"I Said to Love"<sup>120</sup> carries the same strain of will against life, plus the idea of unhappiness in love which seems one of love's characteristics to both Hardy and Vergil. The Dido story gives Vergil his opportunity to call love fire and poison.<sup>121</sup> To use a different metaphor:

> "The fire eats deep in her tender frame And silent lives the wound beneath her heart."122

And when Dido's love conquers her anger and pride and forces her to make a last appeal to the Italy-bent Aeneas, Vergil reflects:

> "Oh wicked Love, to what do you not drive the hearts of men:"123

On the other hand, Vergil grants the possibility of happiness in romantic love. Dido's first appeal to Aeneas when he decides to leave is based primarily on the tenderness of their affection; and they must have been happy or separation could not have cost such pain.<sup>124</sup> The picture of the Shade of Dido living in the underworld in sympathetic harmony with Sychaeus suggests happy possibilities in love.<sup>125</sup> And Lavinia's blush, when her mother openly declares her preference for Turnus as a son-in-law, seems to show where her happiness might have been found had the Fates not willed it otherwise.<sup>126</sup> With Hardy, love is a force that, while sometimes fulfilling its promise of happiness (in so far as circumstances do not interfere), very often works harm

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Human Shows, etc. p. 256-257.
Collected Poems, p. 268-269.
Ibid. p. 103-104.
Aeneid I. 687.
Aeneid IV. 66-67.
Aeneid IV. 412
Aeneid IV. 305-332; and IV. 388-396.
Aeneid VI. 472-474.
Aeneid XII. 63-71.
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by coming at the wrong time or by causing attraction to the wrong person. "Under the Greenwood Tree" leaves us with the promise of an almost happy married life; so does "A Laodicean." The love of Gabriel and Bathsheba in "Far from the Madding Crowd" promises well for it is supported by their community of interests and sufferings.127 But for Clym in "The Return of the Native" and for St. Cleve in"Two on a Tower" love came at the wrong time for success and happiness to flourish. As examples of the mischief-making power of love there may be mentioned Anne's inability to love the faithful John instead of the capricious Bob in "The Trumpet Major;" Giles Winterborne's obliviousness to the levoted and compatible Marty South in"The Woodlanders;", Bathsheba's short-lived fascination for Troy in "Far from the Madding Crowd;", and Jude's tragic attachment to Arabella in "Jude the Obscure". "At the Word Farewell", 128 and "Last Love Word"129 show Hardy's belief that love is a phase of doom" for better or for worse." The struggle of Clare and Tess against yielding to their love in "Tess of the D'Urbervilles" brings out the same idea. 130

Hope in<br/>Human Char-<br/>acter.So love, as a thing which we can't help, and which is<br/>full of possibilities for sorrow, does not offer much<br/>relief to Hardean and Vergilian sadness. But notes<br/>of comfort and hope which are strikingly similar doappear in the writings of both men, though sometimes the comfort has<br/>to be distilled out of irony. One such note may be found in their<br/>faith in human character: Man is fated to struggle and to hope<br/>ouite as truly as he is to suffer, but what if he were not? There<br/>is something encouraging in the attitude of a man who can say, as<br/>Acheas said to his comrades after the ship-wreck:

"We have suffered worse evils before; perhaps some day we may rejoice in the memory of these woes."<sup>131</sup>

After making all allowance for the face that Aeneas supposedly had a knowledge of his assigned task in life, there remains an admirable

127. Far from the Madding Crowd, p. 468-469.
128. Collected Poems, p. 405-406.
129. Human Shows, etc. p. 93.
130. Tess of the D'Urbervilles p. 169-216.
131. Aeneid I. p. 198-208.

kernel of hopeful human character as the basis of his speech. The fact that the speech was inspired by the "Odyssey"131a does not invalidate it as a part of what Vergil admired and trusted. The Sybil, after prophesying war and poverty for Aeneas, encourages him with the words,

> "Yield thou not unto ills but advance the more boldly against them, Wherever your fortune allows you."131b

A more striking example of persevering character is shown in Aeneas's speech to the youths who followed him into Troys's death-struggle. He addresses them as "bravest of hearts - in vain," and tells them that the Gods have abandoned the flaming city and that their only certainty is hopelessness. "So madness enters the minds of the youths" - the madness of utter daring.<sup>132</sup> Bravery persists in spite of the knowledge that it is "frustra." There is a similar irony in Hardy's "will for happiness" which led Tess into such grief;<sup>133</sup> and yet, life would be worse without that will. In "To an Unborn Pauper Child",<sup>134</sup> Hardy recognizes the redeeming inconsistency of man's nature; after recognizing that it would be better for the child never to live, he adds:

"Must come and bide. And such are we Unreasoning, sanquine, visionary -That I can hope Health, love, friends, scope In full for thee."

IndividualAnother ray of ironic comfort lies in the view thatSuffering butindividual suffering is merely incidental to largeIncidental.purposes. Brennecke notes this likeness between Hardy<br/>and Vergil:

"The very closeness of Thomas Hardy to the classical ideal in dealing with an epic subject can be observed in the fact that he centers his attention on broad questions

131a. Butcher, S.H. and Long, A., The Odyssey of Homer p. 140, New York, 1923.
131b. Aeneid VI. p. 95-96.
132. Aeneid II. p. 348-355.
133. Tess of the D'Urbervilles. p. 216.
134. Collected Poems, p. 117-118.

of Destiny and Collective Will, viewing individual suffering sympathetically but as no more than a by-product. This attitude is frequently found in classical writers and is not always perfectly understood by modern readers... In the Aeneid, Dido's tragic end, so disturbing to modern notions of the ideal relation between hero and heroine, was probably dwarfed immeasurably in the eye of Roman readers by the main consideration of Aeneas's fulfillment of Rome's destiny."<sup>135</sup>

Aeneas's seemingly careless loss of Creusa during the escape from Troy is understandable from the same point of view. His chief concern had to be for the gods and for his son who is to carry on the dynasty and lead to the founding of Rome. And besides, the poet had to kill Creusa to leave Aeneas free for a diplomatic marriage that would ensure the acceptance of the Trojans in Italy. In this case even Creusa acquiesced, and appearing as a ghost, prophesied Aeneas's future marriage, adding sweetly and with a most unwomanlike lack of jealousy,

"Have done with tears for your beloved Creusa."136

No so Dido, and not so the Empress Josephine who constitutes a 137 notable case in Hardy of the sacrifice of an individual to a cause. As Napoleon tersely puts the situation:

atomaticana, cancerana atomaticana de caso are as catomaticana area de

"The Empire Orbs above our happiness And 'tis the Empire dictates this divorce."<sup>138</sup>

135. Brennecke, Ernest, Life of Thomas Hardy, p. 233-234, New York, 1925.
136. Aeneid II. p. 725-795.
137. The Dynasts, p. 199-204; p. 259-267; p. 420-424.
138. Ibid. p. 259.

Human Sympathy: Development. That the most real and effective counterbalance to the sadness of life is human sympathy, is an inescapable conviction of Hardy; it is chiefly the sense of a heart sorrowing deeply at evils to which the mird will not blind itself,

that redeems Hardy from accusation of pessimism and cynicism, and leads the reader to love as well as admire the man behind the works. There are many evidences in Vergil's writings of the same attitude of abiding sympathy with abiding sadness.<sup>4</sup> T.R. Glover has a fine passage on the effect of suffering in developing human sympathy as shown thru Vergil's writings.<sup>139</sup> "Vergil shows us the effect of pain and sorrow upon character in the deepening and broadening of love." Vergil expresses the idea in the words of Dido:

"Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco,"

"Not ignorant of woe myself, I learn to aid the wretched."  $^{14\mathrm{C}}$ 

Hardy treats similarly the effect of experience in broadening sympathies and developing perspective. Newson, in "the Mayor of Casterbridge", "like a good many rovers and sojourners among strange men and strange moralities, failed to perceive the enormity of Henchard's crime, notwithstanding that he was the chief sufferer therefrom.<sup>141</sup> Tess of the D'Urbervilles makes the same point; Angel's companion in Brazil "had sojourned in many lands and among more peoples than Angel; to his cosmopolitan mind such deviation from social norm (as Tess's) so immense to domesticity, were no more than are the irregularities of vale and mountain chain to the whole terrestrial curves."<sup>142</sup> Eventually Angel's own sympathies were broadened so that he could devotedly protect Tess for the few days that Circumstance permitted them to be together. In the short story "A Mere Interlude Hardy discusses the effect of suffering.<sup>143</sup> Baptista learned that her at-first-unwelcome, illegitimate step-daughters had natures "unselfish almo

\* The feeling of similarity between Hardy and Vergil in this point chiefl. suggested the pursuing of this study.

- 139. Glover, T. R., Vergil, p. 328-329, London, 1920.
- 140. Aeneid I. 630.
- 141. The Mayor of Casterbridge, p. 383.
- 142. Tess of the D'Urbervilles, p. 390.
- 143. Hardy, Thomas, A changed <sup>Man</sup> and Other Tales, p. 300-301, New York, 1913.

sublimity." The harshness of their early lives had lifted them above personal ambiton, so that they regarded the world "in a purely objective way, and their own lot seemed only to affect them as that of certain human beings among the rest, whose troubles they knew rather than suffered"----- "That in humanity as exemplified by these girls there was nothing to dislike but infinitely much to pity, (Batista) learned with the lapse of each week in their company."

As the development of sympathy had redeemed the crude personalities of the girls, so in the end it saved Batista's happiness. But more to the point than the development of sympathy, is its functioning both in the characters created by the authors, and even more particularly in the minds of the authors themselves.

In spite of Aeneas's cruelty in leaving Dido (which Vergil Vergil's apologizes for by making the Fates seal his ears) we Sympathy realize that he did feel sorrow for her: "he longed to mitigate her grief and turn aside her cares with comforting words."145 And when he met her Shade in Hades, he wept for having caused her death.<sup>146</sup> Another fine example of Aeneas's human tenderness is seen at the death of Lausus. After warning the young man not to make trial of a strength greater than his own. Aeneas kills him in sudden burst of wrath; and then he groans with pity and wishes that he could reward him according to his valor, but he can only let Lausus keep the arms that had delighted him in life, and send him back for burial among his own people.<sup>147</sup> It is, however, Vergil's own pervading pity expressed from his own point of view rather than thru a character, that appeals most strongly to the reader. No critc, it seems, fails to elaborate upon this essentially Vergilian characteristic. Tyrell discusses the contrast between Homer's and Vergil's handling of war and shows that Virgil does not have the earlier poets feeling of joy in battle. "The Latin poet, in the tenth book of the 'Aeneid', forces himself to sustain for awhile this uncongenial strain. But his heart is not in it."148 When he sends a weapon home, it pierces the tunic woven by the victim's mother.<sup>149</sup> The mourning scenes of

144. Aeneid IV. 440.
145. Aeneid IV. 393-394.
146. Aeneid VI. 456-466.
147. Aeneid X. 809-832.
148. Tyrell, R. Y. Latin Poetry, p. 130-132, Cambridge 1895.

Euryalus's mother<sup>150</sup> and of Pallas's father <sup>151</sup> at the death of their sons, are outstanding examples of Vergil's sympathy with the suffering and loss incident to war. He mictures suffering and death because his poem demands it, but makes the gods look on in pity "that mortals mus suffer such woes."152 The pervasive quality of Vergil's sympathy show most appealingly in his use of a single word on a few lines inserted incidentally to the trend of the poem. Dido, determined to die, feign her purpose when addressing her "maestam sororem."153 Vergil's sympat overburdened it would seem with sorrow for Dido, has yet room to consider Anna's feelings at seeing the suffering of her sister. In happi strain, but beautifully revealing his imaginative sympathy, Vergil com pares Dido, on her first appearance to Diana leading her chorus and surpassing all her attendant goddesses, "and joys swell the silent hea of Latona." The Mother's pride in her goddess daughter's supremacy ha little to do with Dido, but much to do with the revelation of Vergil's greatly human heart.<sup>154</sup> There was a temple in Italy reported to have been built by Daedalus, and decorated with scenes from Creta (legend. Vergil describes a few of the pictures and then adds: "Thou too, Icar would have had a large part in this mighty work, had grief permitted. Twice having tried to portray your fall thru the air, twice failed the father's hands." Vergil takes time to dwell on the implications of human sorrow in the work of art, then has the Sibyl remind Aeneas that he hasn't time just now to look at pictures.<sup>155</sup>

Sympathy<br/>WithVergil's sympathy (and Hardy's likewise) does not stop with<br/>human beings but embraces the pain of animals as well.AnimalsLaocoon's struggling cries are like those of a bull excapin<br/>wounded from the altar; 156 Dido's first restless ravings ar<br/>or struggling to the wanderings of a wounded deer, and one forgets Dido in<br/>pitying the animal's sufferings.

149. Ibid, p. 131, quoting Aeneid X.818.
150. Aeneid IX. 473-502.
151. Aeneid XI. 139-181.
152. Aeneid X. 759.
153. Aeneid IV. 476.
154. Aeneid I. 494-504.
155. Aeneid VI. 14-41.
156. Aeneid II. 222-224.
157. Aeneid IV. 69-73.

Ascanius wounded with a devil-directed arrow is most human in its pain; "bloody and like one bewailing it filled all the stable with its plaint."158 Hardy, too, extends his sympathy beyond simply human sufferings. When the dog drove Gabriel Oak's sheep over the cliff and reduced him to poverty, Gabriel's first feeling was one of pity for the untimely fate of these gentle ewes and their unborn lambs." Hardy even justifies the dog, but permits Gabriel to shoot him.<sup>159</sup> In "Horses Aboard<sup>160</sup> Hardy pities the horses being taken to war,

" - - wrenched ary From the scheme nature planned for them - wondering why."

In "Bags of Meat" he sympathizes with the animals at an auction sale.161 "Last Words to a Dumb Friend" <sup>162</sup> (on the death of a cat) and "Dead Wessex the Dog of the Household"<sup>163</sup> show that Hardy did not feel that emotion and imagination were used unworthily when applied to animals. "Birds at Winter Nightfall"<sup>164</sup> and "The Reminder"<sup>165</sup> are examples of poems showing Hardy's sympathy for the suffering of birds in their natural surroundings; in the latter poem, Hardy looks out from his Christmas fire to see a thrush straining for a rotting berry:

"Why, of starving bird, when I One days joy would justify And put misery out of view Do you make me notice you!"

"The Puzzled Game Birds"<sup>166</sup> "The Blinded Bird"<sup>167</sup>and "The Mongrel"<sup>168</sup> are sympathetic protests against human cruelty to animals.

Hardy's Brennecke says of Hardy: "His life and works are one great <u>Sympathy</u>. protest against man-made and god-made misery--against man's<sub>169</sub> inhumanity to man, to woman, and even to the lower animals. Hardy, in his "Apology", the preface to "Late Lyrics and Earlier",

158. Aeneid VII. 483-503.
159. Far from the Madding Crowd, p. 41-42.
160. Human Shows, etc. p. 182.
161. Ibid. p. 229.
162. Collected Poems, p. 621-622.
163. Winter Words, p. 159-160.
164. Collected Poems, p. 135.
165. Ibid. p. 252.
166. Ibid. p. 135.
167. Ibid. p. 418-419.
168. Winter Words. p. 83-84.
169. Brennecke, Ernest Life of Thomas Hardy. p. 259. N. Y. 1925.

gives definte expression to his creed: "that whether the human and kindred animal races survive till the exhaustion or destruction of the globe. or whether these races perish and are succeeded by other before that conslusion comes, pain to all upon it, bongued or dumb, shall be kept down to a minimum by loving-kindness operating thru scientific knowleage - "170 "Jude" expresses most articulately of the novels Hardy's protest against social cruelty and stupidity, the "Tess" is a close second. Hardy shows most clearly in "The Return of the Native" his sympathy with individuals struggling with circumstances largely beyond their control. "Tess" offers a fine example of Hardy's feeling coming to the surface in a single word. As Tess lies asleep, she is surrounded by the officers whose duty binds them to execute her. Clare, knowing there is no hope, takes her "poor little hand" and waits until she awakens. The word "poor" carries not only Clare's heart-breaking sympathy, but Hardy's and the readers' as well.<sup>171</sup> Two poems, "The Burghers" 172 and "A Wife and Another" 173 portray human sympathy at its highest point of self-sacrifice; in the first a husband, in the second a wife, yields gracefully to the overpowering love of his or her legal mate for another person. Both poems draw our sympathy and admiration to the one left alone, and in each case that person has the assurance of being right in the eyes of God. "His Country", 174 "And Appeal to America on Behalf of the Belgian Destitute, 175 Cry of the Homeless, 176 and "And There was a Great Calm<sup>1177</sup> are but a few of Hardy's war poems which show his sufferings of sympathy during the war period. One of the most beautiful expressions of Hardy's spirit of sympathy is in the last stanza of "To Meet or Otherwise."178 A young man has decided that the happiness of one meeting with his love will be of permanent value to them regardless of future circumstances:

170. Collected Poems, p. 527.
171. Tess of the D'Urbervilles, p. 454.
172. Collected Poems, p. 20-22.
173. Ibid. p. 246-248.
174. Ibid. p. 507-508.
175. Ibid. p. 509.
176. Ibid. p. 511-512.
177. Ibid. p. 557-558.
178. Ibid. p. 292.

"So to the long-sweeping symphony From times remote Till now, of human tenderness, shall we Supply one note, Small and untraced, yet that will ever be Somewhere afloat Amid the spheres, as part of sick Life's antidote."

Another poem which shows Hardy's faith in the human heart is "A Plaint to Man.<sup>179</sup> God utters the complaint that He was created by man in need of a refuge, and that now He is being reasoned out of existence. And so.

> "The truth should be told, and the fact be faced That had best been faced in earlier years: The fact of life with dependence placed On the human heart's resource alone, In brotherhood bonded close and graced With loving-kindness fully blown, And visioned help unsought, unknown."

In "The Dynasts", Hardy tells us that the chorus of the Pities" approximates to 'the Universal Sympathy of human nature--the spectator idealized' (quoting Schlegel) of the Greek chorus; it is impressionable and inconsistent in its views, which sway hither and thither as wrought on by events."<sup>180</sup> Thruout the poem the Pities represent the reaction of the sympathetic heart to the cruelty of the spectacle of man caught in the meshes of blindly predestined circumstance--controlled by the Immanent Will. The Chorus of the Years, representing "the impersonal wisdom of the ages,"<sup>180</sup> reveals Hardy's intellectual conception of the Universe; but the Pities cannot quite accept its dictums. In the end the Years confess to the Pities,

> "You almost charm my long philosophy Out of my strong-built thot."<sup>181</sup>

And then, in the most emphatic spot in Hardy's most significant work, the Pities speak with a ring of hope born of the sympathetic heart and depending

179. Ibid. p. 306.
180. The Dynasts, Preface, p. IX.
181. Ibid, p. 524.

largely thereon for its fulfillment:

"Nay;--shall not Its blindness break? Yea, must not Its heart awake, Promptly tending To Its mending In a genial germing purpose, and for loving-kindness sake?"

If there is no such hope, then let man perish, "But a stirring fills the air Like to sound of joyance there That the rages of the ages Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the darts that were, Consciousness the Will informing till It fashsion all things fair:"<sup>182</sup>

Hope of The Pities dare to voice the hope that the spirit of human Betterment sympathy may eventually become universalized and effective in society, and so reduce much of the suffering of the world. Hardy certainly means this in his oft-repeated hope of the coming consciousness of It, but he means more: that as consciousness has evolved in man, and brot sorrow with it thru the realization of imperfection, so eventually consciousness may evolve in the Soul of the Universe, and bring crrection of the evils which seemingly result from Its present blindness. "The Mother Mourns", <sup>186</sup> and "Before Life and After"<sup>184</sup> treat of the development of man's percipience; while "Agnostoi Theoi", <sup>185</sup> and "Fragment, "186 in additiom to "The Dynasts", definitely express Hardy's hope of betterment which he calls "evolutionary meliorism."<sup>187</sup> To quote from "Fragment":

> "Since he made us humble pioneers Oh himself in consciousness of Life's tears," It needs no mighty prophecy To tell that what he could mindlessly show His creatures, he himself will know. "By some still close-cowled mystery We have reached feeling faster than he,

\* Once again - "lacrimae rerum."

182. Ibid. p. 525.
183. Collected Poems, p. 101-103.
184. Ibid., p. 260.
185. Ibid. p. 171-172.
186. Ibid. p. 482-483.
187. Ibid. p. 527.

But he will overtake us anon, If the world goes on."

Meanwhile, the individual may be partially preserved from the indifferent despair which is the logical concommitant of determinism and given an intellectual motive for indulging in kindly impulses by the thot that there is "a modicum of free will conjecturally possessed by organic life when the mighty necessitating forces--unconscious or other--that have' the balancings of the clouds,' happen to be in equilibrium, which may or may not be often."188 "He Wonders About himself"<sup>189</sup> expresses the same idea in verse:

> "Part is mine of the general Will, Cannot my share in the sun of sources Bend a digit the poise of forces And a fair desire fulfil?""

Vergil's<br/>Bases of<br/>HopeThe note of hope is stronger in Vergil than in Hardy and rests<br/>upon somewhat different foundations. Hardy could scarecely have<br/>abandoned himself to the exuberance of the fourth Eclogue with

its promise of a return of the Golden Age. But Vergil's extravagance is partly justified by considering that the poem was written in high hope of peace after two generations of civil war.<sup>190</sup> Vergil's hope is here, as with Hardy, born of suffering and pity. In the "Aeneid," Vergil's social hopes are based on the assurance of a new and better regime under Augustus. Rome shall have power without end, and under the deified Augustus men shall lay aside their stern ways of old, and the God of War will be imprisoned.<sup>191</sup> Later, Vergil is less sanguine, but still feels that it is Rome's desting to rule the world:

> "To rule the peoples'neath thy sway, oh Roman man, remember; These be thy arts; to bring the ways of peace. To spare the humbled and cast down the proud."<sup>192</sup>

Ernest Bre necke's chapter on "The Ultimate Hope" in "Thomas Hardy's Universe", p. 128-148 has generally influenced this discussion.
188. Ibid. p. 527.
189. Ibid. p. 479-480.
190. Page. T. E., Vergil's Bucolics and Georgics, p. 123, London, 1922.
191. Aeneid I. 275-296.
192. Aeneid VI. 851-854.

The individual's contribution to a better order is strongly implied in Vergil's catalogue of the spirits chiefly blest; war martyrs, faithful priests, especially those who have spoken words "worthy of Phoebus," (Which means contributors to philosophy, art and science), "those who have bettered life by seeking out new skills, and who have made themselves deservedly remembered."<sup>193</sup> This sounds quite like Hardy's "lovingkindness operating thru scientific knowledge."

Immortality. One definitely constrasting element (yet with aspects of similarity) in the two men's philosophies must be mentioned-the belief in individual immortality. After making all allowances for Vergil's use of traditional epic machinery (of ghosts, etc.) one cannot escape the conclusion that he did believe in the survival of the individual soul and its ultimate unification with the anima mundi. Hardy sees no basis for belief in personal survival: in "The Sign Seeker"<sup>195</sup> he

"And nescience mutely muses when a man falls he lies."

"Her Immortality"<sup>196</sup> "His Immortality",<sup>197</sup> and "The-To-Be-Forgotten"<sup>198</sup> present the idea that the only survival is in the memory of those who knew the dead in life. "While Drawing in a Churchyard,"<sup>199</sup> "Friends Beyond",<sup>200</sup> and "Your Last Drive"<sup>201</sup> bring out the idea of the complete rest and indifference of the dead. In the former two poems Hardy imaginatively presents the spirits as being conscious of their unconsciousness, but, he does not posit actual survival. However, Hardy does present in a few poems a conception similar to Vergil's idea of becoming a part of the Anima Mundi. "The Absolute Explains,"<sup>202</sup>, "So, Time,"<sup>203</sup> and "In a

193. Aeneid VI. 660-665.
194. Aeneid VI. 724-56.
195. Collected Poems, p. 43-44.
196. Ibid. P. 48-50.
197. Ibid. P. 130-131.
198. Ibid. P. 131-132.
199. Ibid. P. 504.
200. Ibid. P. 52-54.
201. Ibid. P. 319-320.
202. Human Shows, etc. p. 115-119.
203. Ibid, P. 120.

Museum"<sup>204</sup> present the thot that what has been is, and cannot be lost from time regarded as a whole, whether we consider the song of a bird on a human soul. To quote from "So, Time:"

> "Young, old Impassioned, cold, All the love-lost thus Are beings continuous, In dateless dure abiding, Over the present striding With placid permanence: That knows not transcience: Firm in the Vast First, last; Afar, yet close to us."

Nature It remains to consider similarities between Hardy and Vergil in their attitudes toward nature. Both had a keen perception of detail; both knew country life at first hand and felt sympathetically interested in simple country people; and, while neither ignored the poetic value of appropriate natural settings, they both felt the indifference of the natural world to the world of human suffering.

To cite but a few examples, Vergil's description of the harbour of Carthage, with the "bristling shade" of its fir trees, <sup>2C3</sup> his picture of the snake to which he compares Pyrrhus, <sup>2O6</sup> and his battle of the bees, <sup>2O7</sup> show how keenly Vergil noted details in his surroundings. Hardy's pictures of the Cliff Without a Name in "A Pair of Blue Eyes,"<sup>2O8</sup> of Egdon Heath in "The Return of the Native,"<sup>2O9</sup> of the sky over Gabriel Oak's pasture in "Far from the Madding Crowd,"<sup>210</sup> and the whole background of "The Woodlanders," to say nothing of his poems, show his power to see nature vividly and to capture his vision in words.

204. Collected Poems, p. 404.
205. Aeneid I. 159-164.
206. Aeneid II. 471-475.
207. Georgics IV. 67-87.
208. A Pair of Blue Eyes, p. 251-254.
209. The Return of the Native Ch. I., and p. 52-53, et al.
210. Far from the Madding Crowd, p. 8-10.

No one not interested in country life and people could have written "The Georgics" which contain, besides details of procedure in farming, such passages as the description of rural life for which Book II is noted, <sup>211</sup> and the picture of the old Sicilian gardener delighting in his carefully raised flowers and fruits.<sup>212</sup> Critics generally agree that among the finest passages in Hardy's novels are the scenes from rural life; the cider-pressing scene in Desperate Remedies, "Under the Greenwood Tree," the sheepshearing in "Far from the Madding Crowd"<sup>214</sup> the dairy at Talbothays<sup>215</sup> and the farm at Flintcomb Ash from "Tess"<sup>216</sup> are but a few outstanding examples. The furze-cutters of "The Return of the Native" who are themselves almost part of the heath form a suggestive background to the struggles and disappointments of the more ambitious and aspiring major characters. But "Tess" and the short story "The Withered Arm"<sup>217</sup> amply prove that Hardy does not make his rural people insensible to the sufferings of life, even tho he hints that their conditions are most conducive to happiness. His study of "The Doresetshire Laborer"<sup>218</sup> shows how thoroly Hardy observed and considered the condition of the rural people whom he portrayed so well.

As Hardy finds the force in the Universe indifferent, so also he feels that nature is coreless of man's life and sufferings. The gloom of the aged Egdon is appropriate to the story of "The Return of the Native," but men have suffered in past ages and will again while the heath looks on unregarding. In "Two on a Tower" human minds probe the depths of interstellar space and human hearts suffer as usual. The same idea of the insignificance of man against the vastness of nature is shown in "A Lunar Eclipse,"<sup>219</sup> the poet watches the shadow grow and reflects:

211. Georgics II. 458-540.
212. Georgics IV. 116-148.
213. Desperate Remedies, p. 144-152.
214. Far from the Madding Growd, p. 164-175.
215. Tess of the O'Urbervilles, p. 112-124, et al.
216. Ibid. p. 325-336; p. 371-374, p. 380-383.
217. Hardy, Thomas, Wessex Tales, p. 65-103, New York 1925.
216. Hardy, Thomas, Life and Art. p. 20-47, New York 1925.
219. Collected Poems, p. 105-106.

"And can immense Mortality but throw So small a shade Is such the stellar guage of human show?"

In "At the Mill"<sup>220</sup> flowers bloom and birds sing the same after a human tragedy as before. And in "Harbour Bridge"<sup>221</sup>after a cruel conversation between a sailor and his wife,

"White stars ghost forth that care not for men's wives, Or any other lives."

In "The Mayor of Casterbridge" Hardy scribes the quiet calm of the evening following the brutal scene of Henchard's selling of his wife. "In the presence of this scene, after the other, there was a natural instinct to abjure man as a blot on an otherwise kindly universe; till it was remembered that all terrestrial conditions were intermittent, and that mankind might some night be innocently sleeping when these quiet objects were raging loud"222" The contrast between the calm of nature and the distress of man was an idea which also appealed to Vergil. After describing beautifully the quiet of night in the sky, on the earth and among the beasts of the field, he tells of the passionate sorrows and doubts which filled Dido's mind during her last night among the living.<sup>223</sup> The same contrast is made elsewhere between the quiet of night and Aeneas wakeful with the distress of war.<sup>224</sup> On the day before the fall of Troy, the Trojans wearied themselves with rejoicing and sank to sleep, scattered in their homes thruout the city.

> "The heavens roll, and Night from ocean hastes, Wrapping in mighty shades the earth and sky And treachery of the Mirmidons. While quiet The Trojans lie-sleep fills their weary limbs--From Tenedos the Argive ships return Beneath the friendly silence of the moon."<sup>225</sup>

\* Passage cited by Garwood, Helen, Thomas Hardy, An Illustration of the Philosophy of Schopenbauer, p. 27, Philadelphia. 1911.

220. Human Shows, etc. p. 187.
221. Ibid. p. 157-158.
222. The Mayor of Casterbridge, p. 14.
223. Aeneid IV. 522-553.
224. Aeneid VIII. 26-30.
225. Aeneid II 250-255.

But realizing that the moon, like men, is but carrying on its fated course in the Universe, Hardy and Vergil present their pictures of man's suffering, probe deeply the ternal question of earth's imperfection, seek comfort where they may, and make their readers love them for their boundless human sympathy.

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