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The Fool of Quality (1765-1770) by Henry Brooke: A Compendium of Eighteenth-Century Sensibility

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THE FOOL OF QUALITY (1765-1770) BY HENRY BROOKE:
A COMPENDIUM OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
SENSIBILITY

by

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PREFACE

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to the genuine "Fools of Quality" who have kindly and generously attempted to direct me past folly on to a search for wisdom. Unlike that pointed out by Brooke, it may not be found even "in the very end of this book" but may yet be "a great way off." Nevertheless, this dissertation represents part of that honest search.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With a view to establishing both the scope and schema of this dissertation, it may be best, at the very outset, to emphasize what this dissertation is not about. It is not an attempt at a defense of Henry Brooke as a supreme novelist of the late eighteenth century, nor of The Fool of Quality as a supreme novel of that age. Rather, the main purpose of this study is fourfold: to define the ideology of sensibility; and, second, to note its manifestations both as a source and influence on the religion, philosophy, and society, education and aesthetics of the latter half of eighteenth-century England. Thirdly,--and therewith constituting the sphere of greatest concentration--this work proposes to trace the reflection of the above phenomena in The Fool of Quality, a novel of eighteenth-century sensibility par excellence. Finally, this study aims to indicate the relevancy of phases of this eighteenth-century ideology to present behavioral attitudes.

In 1765, the very year in which the first volume of The Fool of Quality appeared, Johnson stated: "Everyman's performances to be right-

ly estimated, must be compared with the state of the age in which he lived and with his own particular opportunities."¹ In the process of unfolding my fourfold objective, I am hopeful that both Brooke and his book will have been treated in accord with the norms Johnson advocated for the fair appraisal of literary works.

When the first volume of The Fool of Quality appeared in 1765, its author, Henry Brooke, (1703-1783), contemporary of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne, was sixty-three years old. Kingsley gives the date of his birth as 1708; the writer in the Dublin University Magazine, the Rev. R. S. Brooke, from whom he borrowed, as 1706; Saintsbury and others, as 1704; while a number of literary historians give 1703, followed by a question mark. In his edition of the novel, E. A. Baker conclusively establishes the date as 1703: "...We have the register of Matriculation at Trinity College, Dublin, which runs as follows: 'Februarii die septimi, 1720. Henricus Brook, Pension. Filius Gulielmi, Clerici, annum agens decimum septimum, natus in comitate Cavan; educatus Dublini sub Doctore Jones.' He was born, therefore, in 1703."² By far the greater

¹Samuel Johnson, "Preface to The Plays of William Shakespeare (1765)," in Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays, edited by Scott Elledge, Vol. II (Ithaca, New York, 1961), p. 662.

number of references to Henry Brooke give this date. Baker performs the same service of definitiveness in establishing 1765 as the date of the publication of the first volume in Dublin (p. xxxiv). A large number of writers take 1766 as the date, presumably basing their conclusion on the review in The Critical Review, (September, 1766), which carried a somewhat lengthy selection from volumes I and II of The Fool of Quality and noted it as printed "this year." Among more recent writers who indicate 1706 as the year of initial publication, are Kingsley, Saintbury, Fairchild, Allen, and Humphreys.

For any writer to offer a magnum opus in the twilight interim of his life's day, presupposes one of at least two possible motives. Either the work is intended to reflect a pontifical censure of society by a mind steeped in the experiences of long, close contact with it, or it is meant to be a crown to the man's own endeavors as a member of that society. If the former, one might reasonably expect views ranging from disappointment,

²Henry Brooke, The Fool of Quality (London, 1906), p. vii. It is this edition which is being used throughout this study. E. A. Baker's introduction to this critical edition added valuable material on Henry Brooke's life. However, the section on Brooke in his The History of the English Novel series is far superior in its synthesis of the man and his novel of sensibility.

All subsequent quotations from The Fool of Quality will be indicated by page number only.

to disillusionment, and even to despair; if the latter, one might certainly look for indications of a joyous glow permeating the retrospect of duty well done and blessings received in abundance. That Henry Brooke's work is of the second sort in its dual purpose as a sincere expression of gratitude to His benevolent Creator, and as a literary legacy to the world, is indisputable. In her sympathetic appraisal of Brooke on this very score, J. M. S. Tompkins points out: "...and he had now but two aims--to bear witness in rhapsody and parable to the faith that was in him, and to console himself in the sombre close of his life with a rich and fantastic winter's tale."³

Apart from marking the two hundredth anniversary of the appearance of this glowing "winter's tale," motivation for this present analysis of that tale stems from the suggestion of a number of literary historians. They contend, like George Sampson, that "Henry Brooke whose best known book is The Fool of Quality, was a man of many activities and deserves more serious study than he has yet received."⁴ Specifically, my main

³J. M. S. Tompkins, The Popular Novel in England 1770-1880 (University of Nebraska, 1961), p. 30.

⁴George Sampson, The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature. (Cambridge, England, 1943), p. 511. There are only two studies dealing solely with Brooke's The Fool of Quality, both of which appeared before 1930 and both in German. In her doctoral thesis, Henry Brooke (University of Minnesota, 1922), Helen Scurr treats all of Brooke's major works: the drama, Gustavus Vasa; the long poem, Universal Beauty; and the novel, The Fool of Quality. Innumerable treatments of the novel vary in length from generous allotment of space to brief comment or reference.

purpose envisions a threefold result: first, this study will aim to fill in--in a very modest way--lacunae. One stems from Johnson's failure to include Brooke in the Lives of the Poets merely because of a falling out with him, (Johnson magnanimously defended Brooke's Gustavus Vasa in defiance of Walpole). The other lack rises from Louis Bredvold's heavily one-sided development of sensibility in his most recent work, The Natural History of Sensibility (1962). Bredvold shows sensibility as leading almost solely to the gloomy groves of the gothic whereas, actually, it also led to the glowing Edens of the romantic. Second, an attempt will be made to point out evidence for the frequent allusions to The Fool of Quality as a didactic romance, an English educational novel which was revolutionary in a pedagogical fashion, a sentimental sermon, a curious philosophical novel; and as an instrument whereby Henry Brooke could proffer his opinions on theology, politics, society, family life, education, the fine arts, the useful arts, and related philosophical subjects. All these are to be viewed in the light of the eighteenth-century ideology of sensibility. Finally, there is the expectation of at least mildly stirring the waters of interest that might lead to a new edition of this intriguing old-fashioned novel, following and reflecting in its inimitable way, those of the "Big Four."

The Fool of Quality will then be submitted as a synthesis evolving around the slender thread of a story, and as a supreme example of the

various eighteenth-century systems, treatises, inquiries, and theories, which promoted or propounded the ideology of sensibility. Eminent divines, philosophers, writers, aestheticians and politicians, who promulgated the doctrines of this ideology, will be introduced in their turn.

"The Fool of Quality is one of the worst novels written but a remarkable book...It is the work of a man who was less of a novelist, probably, than any other who practiced the craft but who had a powerful and original mind."⁵ This pithy summarization is a striking example of one type of attitude to the novel. Determined as some critics may seem to be to scoff at the pious sentimentalizings, the interminable digressions, the piling on of episodes and the floods of tears, not one has been found who has not immediately added the final extenuating "and yet," "but, after all," "one cannot deny," and like prefatory phrases in their summing up of the undeniable worth of The Fool of Quality. Ultimate conclusions leave it as a work that stands on unique merits of its own.

There have been critics overwhelmingly favorable to Brooke and his genial Fool. An example of such a one was a surprising discovery. In a valuable article by Edwin Dike, who discovered the four volumes of the second edition of the novel containing the eighteen commentaries in Coleridge's hand, we reap the benefit of the very personal views of the Ro-

⁵Walter Allen, The English Novel (New York, 1955), p. 85.

mantic poet and critic. Here Coleridge admires, comments, amplifies, or disagrees, in passages, where length and cross references imply a rereading of the work. In a marginal note in the first volume he says directly: "Brooke was a man of true Genius."⁶ Later on in the second volume he exclaims: "Exquisite alike in thought and expression! And yet this work, worthy of being placed on the next shelf to our Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton, is only known and spoken of [as?] a Child's Book!"⁷ Among those markedly reflecting an ambivalent view of The Fool are: Allen, Foster, Saintbury, Whitney, and Wright. Writers, on the other hand, who give unmistakable evidence of a warm sympathy, not too unlike that advocated in the eighteenth century, number Baker, Coleridge, Fairchild, Kingsley, Scurr, and Tompkins.⁸ As for Brooke's contemporaries, "The London critics were surprisingly kind to the eccentric genius who led his life

⁶Edwin Dike, ed., "Coleridge Marginalia in Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality," HLB, II (November 1931), 153.

⁷Ibid., 156.

⁸The specific works of these authors are listed in the "Biography and Criticism of Henry Brooke" section of the bibliography. Every effort was made to present as complete a list as possible of all the available material on Henry Brooke and The Fool of Quality. The bibliography also lists, extensively, matter to the purpose, any of which might aid in the study of related subjects in the era of eighteenth-century sensibility.

'remote from the fountain-head of English literature,' and the book, according to Henry MacKenzie was much read and admired."⁹ Generous cuttings from the volumes as each appeared accompanied the kindly comments in such magazines as The Critical Review, The Gentleman's Magazine, and The London Magazine.

Certainly there must be a legitimate appeal, even if a quietly pervasive one, that has resulted in a new edition of the novel almost every decade since its first publication in 1765. Among the first of the special editions is the 1781 version by John Wesley, the renowned Methodist founder. Chapter IV will look more fully at this version which went into four subsequent editions.

Next, the Victorians were given the novel in two volumes in 1859 with the now famous preface by Charles Kingsley. It is said of him that his Two Years Ago has about it a strange charm, much the same kind as that in The Fool of Quality, which he adored, and by which it is clear, he was influenced.¹⁰ By far the finest, is the critical edition of 1906, published by Routledge of London. Retaining the 1859 preface of Kingsley, this edition was further enhanced by an attractive sepia half-tone por-

⁹Tompkins, p. 31.

¹⁰Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel (New York, 1943) p. 269.

trait of the author, a new biography of the author included in an extensive introduction by Ernest A. Baker, a Bibliography of Henry Brooke, a listing of the pertinent Memorabilia Brookeana, a double-fold insert page of the Brooke's family tree and a page presenting the Dramatis personae.

A leisurely perusal of this old-fashioned novel would yield long hours of quiet enjoyment. Surely many would be led to agree that "nothing can obscure the nobility of this devout fairy-tale, which sprang from a mind, which, in old age, was like an overgrown garden, a fragrant wilderness, still visited at rare and burning moments by the angels of God."¹¹

One can hope that in an age greatly addicted to power, pleasure, and money madness, The Fool of Quality, with its steady, serene note upholding basic human values, might again be sent out in the glowing words of Kingsley's final tribute:

So go forth once more, brave books, as
God shall speed thee, and wherever thou
meetest, whether in peasant or peer, with
a royal heart, tender and true, magnan-
imous and chivalrous, enter in and dwell

¹¹Tompkins, p. 32.

there; and help its owner to become (as thou canst help him) a Man, a Christian and a Gentleman, as Henry Brooke was before him. (pp. v-lix)

In the chapters to follow, innumerable examples as lessons in eighteenth-century sensibility will be cited to show the process whereby was molded "a Man, a Christian, and a Gentleman."

CHAPTER II

HENRY BROOKE AND HIS BOOK

How did Henry Brooke come to write The Fool of Quality? The answer to this question may be found in an anecdote related in the memoirs of Henry Brooke Junior. It seems that during one of the long rides with a much loved nephew, the uncle had improvised "the prettiest story imaginable," which Henry Junior providentially committed to writing. Twelve months later, Henry Senior was rapturously delighted to be handed the manuscript in response to his plea for some of the particulars. "Counsellor Brooke now began to write the work which he fancifully entitled, The Fool of Quality. He was sixty years old or more when he began it, and nearly seventy when the final volume appeared" (p. xxvii).

This may be true. However, it is not entirely impossible to view the novel as a belated substitute for a glorious work envisioned by Brooke--The History of Ireland from the Earliest Age. The prospectus for this history glows with a warmth that won even the approval of

Johnson, who said of it: "Every line breathes the true fire of genius." In 1744 when a reader wrote in to inquire of the editor of the Anthologia Hibernica whether the proposed history was ever published, the editor had to say that it was not; and by way of minor compensation he was moved to print the prospectus for his readers in full. What Brooke proposes may sound strange as the plan for a history, but it is admirably developed by him twenty-one years later in The Fool of Quality, a unique history, which, as a novel, is strange but strikingly novel. It must be remembered that the complete title is: The Fool of Quality or, The History of Henry Earl of Moreland. Thus what Brooke says in this prospectus "Dedicated to the Most Noble and illustrious, the several Descendants of the Milesian Line" applies to the 1765 "history".

History is the most affecting of all orators, it best shows and evinces the just value and estimate of things and argues as well to the heart as to the understanding. [He shows wonderful things, the excitement of cities, etc. He portrays, what leads to immortality--but all pass on and all is silent.] Goodness alone is great, and nothing is durable but virtue...

However, the historian does not leave such references to the reader's election. Like the Mentor of Cambay he takes the pupil by the hand and leads him into various countries to note all that goes on and

¹The Dublin University Magazine. "Henry Brooke," XXXIV (February 1852), 214.

more: to show consequences and causes back to the original spark. He enters deeper and unfolds the heart of man, and grows in time with its complicated and various machinery. Now he returns with his pupil into private character, he invests him with the success or misfortune of others, he interests him in favour of virtue, although distressed, and in the example of some favorite hero gathers happiness from calamity, and derives immortality from death itself...

History is dull if there is no warmth of description or when it is carried through society without emotion.²

In the next volume of the *Hibernica*, the editor, after discussing Brooke's dramas, says that "his most popular work which will probably be read when all the rest will be neglected, if not forgotten, is the novel The Fool of Quality. This delightful novel is level to all capacities and comes home to every bosom: if 'it ranks not with Tom Jones, Joseph Andrews, Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle; it may surely stand with The Man of Feeling and The Vicar of Wakefield."³

The Fool of Quality, or The History of Henry Earl of Moreland (1765-1770), followed after a lifetime of activity similar in many respects to that of another of Brooke's younger contemporaries, Henry MacKenzie.

²Anthologia Hibernica II (September 1793), 188-191

³Ibid., III (February 1794), 80.

Like him he had been the successful, though not sensational lawyer and politician. Before he came to write his first novel, he was known as a pamphleteer, dramatist, and poet. To say this much would be to show only the professional person to the neglect of the Brooke who was the loving son, brother, husband, father, and friend. It was to this fivefold capacity, too, that he brought the gifts of his great natural sensibility in a period when sensibility was the fashion. Moreover, as a Christian, he was unrestrained in his expressions of religious ardor, meriting thereby the label of enthusiast. It comes as no surprise, then, to learn that the real hero of The Fool of Quality is the author himself. Who but a fool in the lofty sense in which Saint Paul used that term (I Cor. iv. 9-21), would be spiritually wise and strong enough to subject himself to worldly condemnation by a series of highly unconventional acts? He refused a parliamentary career from sheer Quixotism; he precluded his own advancement in government office by advertising abuses; at the request of his wife, he retreated from a promising position in public life and an influential circle of friends in London; he handicapped himself at the outset by a marriage which was more generously impulsive than prudent; at a time when money meant so much to his own family and to that of his brother, he let it slip through his fingers by indiscreet philanthropy and impractical projects. Yet Brooke, who had been the companion of Lord Lyttleton and the Prince of Wales, who had been praised by Swift and Pope, found soul comfort in his role as the Irish "Fool of Quality."

"The Reverend M. Skelton wrote the conventional epitaph in verse for Brooke and so did the blacksmith at Longfield, but there should be only four words upon his tombstone. These words are The Fool of Quality. Brooke's folly was part of his charm and it would be a good thing if there were more simple and quixotic gentlemen like him alive today."⁴

Second son of the Reverend William Brooke, a protestant clergyman, Henry Brooke was born in 1703, in the village of Rantavan, in the northern county of Cavan, Ireland. After an education under Swift's friend Sheridan, he enrolled in his seventeenth year at Trinity College, Dublin. Afterwards, like his younger literary Scots peer, Mackenzie, he entered the Temple at London. His marriage to a youthful cousin Catherine Meares, whose guardianship had been entrusted to him, resulted in a more than half century of truly conjugal felicity. Yielding to his wife's importunities, Brooke returned to Ireland in 1740, cutting short a promising public career in England. Back in the beautiful surroundings of his birthplace, Brooke, now a semi-recluse but busily occupied and beloved, devoted his remaining years to a literary output as varied as it was copious. Political tracts, fables, and fairy tales for children, tragedies, and religious treatises flowed steadily from a fertile mind and a facile pen. As a climax to so full a life, the first volume of The Fool

⁴Eric Gellert, "The Fool of Quality," LM, XXX (September 1934), 428.

of Quality (1765) marked the beginning of the end of all Brooke's writing achievements. He died at Dublin on October 10, 1783.⁵

In The Fool of Quality we find the remarkably elaborate delineation of the genuine "man of feeling" from whom, Kenneth Slagle conjectures, Edinburgh's "Man of Feeling," Henry MacKenzie, imbibed lessons in responsiveness.⁶

In a review of the 1928 edition of The Man of Feeling, W. A. Ovaas itemizes some of these influences.

The features of the book suggest a more direct influence, one easier to imitate than Sterne, probably to be found in Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality (1766-1770). Here is any amount and variety of tears, from the 'drop of moisture' to the most convulsive sobs; here we meet the prototype of Harley's death, owing to unrequited love, in the Earl of Maitland's fate; here again we find long disquisitions on physiognomy, a subject frequently cropping up in Mackenzie's story; there is the passage on The Brotherhood of Man, echoed in Harley's phrase: 'let us never forget that we are all relations;' the noble prostitute, the victim of the cruelty of man, and the dreary fate of lunatics are common property to many novels of the time.

⁵"Henry Brooke," Dictionary of National Biography, II (Oxford, 1938), pp. 1332-1335.

⁶Henry Mackenzie, The Man of Feeling (New York, 1958), p. ix. Kenneth C. Slagle's introduction to this edition provides at least a partial justification for the frequent coupling of Brooke and Mackenzie as novelists who, more than any others, show the influences of Sterne as their master in sentimentality.

Goldsmith, Smollett, Sterne, Richardson, Fielding, all have been laid under contribution, but nowhere do we meet as many parallel passages as in The Fool of Quality.

Here, too, is the idealized predecessor of Newman's gentleman of a later era defined as "...one who never inflicts pain," because "his philosophy is of the gentleness and effeminacy of feeling, which is the attendant on civilization."⁸ Ultimately, the idealization of the central character becomes so sublimated that we are left contemplating a divine being. An eighteenth-century Christ figure in the person of the benevolent young Earl, Harry Clinton, rises and remains in the imagination as the story fades into a vision such as will not be seen "till the heavenly Jerusalem shall descend upon the earth."

What then is the actual story which involves this paradoxically titled hero? The story can be told very simply; its manner of telling is a different matter. The "Fool of Quality" is Henry, second son of an earl of Moreland, and so-called because he appears to his parents of less intelligence than his elder brother. He is banished from their home and brought up by his foster-mother. Subsequently an uncle, also a banished

⁷W. A. Ovaas, "Review of the Man of Feeling, "ES, XI (1929), 42-43.

⁸John Henry Newman, The Idea of a University (New York, 1960), pp. 159-160.

son, but now a wealthy, ideal-merchant, abducts him and under his benign influence, Harry develops not only physical beauty and athletic prowess, but a high degree of virtue and generosity. This he displays with tenderness and a "passionate sensibility" to countless numbers of poor, sick, and oppressed. Although the thesis of the book has not been that of "virtue rewarded"--because Brooke has been maintaining that the sins of man follow upon his abandoning the natural state for the evils of civilization--nonetheless, the "fool of quality" reaps a glorious reward. The book closes on the morning of his marriage as he prepares to go forth with his bride, a radiantly beautiful princess, in a chariot of burning gold, to nuptials symbolizing a union more exaltedly mystical than real.

To the main thread of the story just outlined, there is strung episode after episode, narration after narration. In this Brooke far exceeds Fielding, whom he resembles in a number of ways. To the nine interpolated stories of Brooke, Fielding presents only two. The lengthy essays on a variety of topics which form the introductory chapters of Fielding's Tom Jones, and are inimitably delightful in their light, deft touch, find a parallel in the essays portraying the congenial touch of wit and learning of Brooke scattered throughout The Fool of Quality. The interaction of characters for an artistic complexity of plot invites further comparison. Tom Jones evolves through an apparently loose but masterfully controlled interplay of motivation and movement, while The Fool

of Quality frequently slips the reins of a strictly compact structure. Similarity lurks in the subtle analysis that will result from their avowed purposes: Fielding created a comic epic in prose "to laugh mankind out of their favorite follies and vices;"⁹ whereas Brooke wrought a sermon of sentiment and defied the conventions of his times. He aspired to present a Fool whose Godlike sanity would be readily accepted in his judgments of "what fools these mortals be." In his unique dedication, Brooke's seeming tomfoolery couched in literary sophistication belies its tremendous moral earnestness. Coleridge was led to exclaim of it: "An exquisite composition is this 'Dedication'--To the genius of Swift it adds a moral geniality, a richness of Heart."¹⁰

This dedication accomplishes three things: it is a further elaboration of the answer to the question of why Brooke wrote the book; it defends his choice of a fool as hero; and, it sets the genial tone for the entire work. It is difficult to quarrel with one who so charmingly disarms us.

To the Right Respectable My antient and well beloved PATRON the
PUBLIC

⁹Henry Fielding, The History of Tom Jones (New York, 1950), p. x.

¹⁰Dike, p. 152.

'Why don't you dedicate to Mr. Pitt?'¹¹

Because, Sir, I would set forth my own talents than the virtues and praises of the best man upon earth. I love to say things that no one else ever thought of, extraordinary, quite out of the common way. I scorn to echo the voice of every fellow that goes on the road. Whether the vessel of the commonwealth shall sink or swim; what is it to me? I am but a passenger.

'But then, there is a manner of doing things, you know.'

No, Sir, it is no business of mine. Mr. Pitt is the patron of my patron; let my patron then dedicate to him, and welcome, dedicate statues, temples, monuments as lasting as benefits conferred! It is nothing to me; neither will I say a syllable more about the matter.

May it please your Respectfulness

THOUGH the dedication is the shortest part of a book, and held by all readers to be the vilest and most contemptible; yet the writer and his patron, the Dedicator and the Dedicatee, have a different way of thinking; the latter, on account of the incense that it breathes, and the former; on account of the profit that it brings, look upon it as the most important part of the performance.

¹¹ Here we have the very beginning of the author and friend exchanges which will crop up throughout the novel. Several of the marginalia of Coleridge seem like an interruption coming as from a third interlocutor.

Alas how little consideration is left for the race of writers, among the race of readers, especially in this chapter of Dedications.

Your Respectableness, perhaps hath not duly perpended the travail, the toil, the marvelous drudgery, the muck that Dedicators are obliged to pass through, and the fences of truth over which they must break in order to cull, select and sublimate an offering fit to lay upon the altar of adulation.

He adverts to the world of weeds that must be plod through to gather one nosegay; he refers to all the trades incumbent upon the same.

But your Respectableness, I humbly hope would not wish me to be at all the trouble, for indeed trouble is a thing I do not affect. There is also a kind of delicacy requisite in tickling the ribs of vanity. I am at heart but a downright sort of fellow, and I should, awkwardly presume to dash your merits, full, into the chops of your modesty, and deserve but ill at the hands of your Respectableness.

He refers to his grandmother who left him a fine lesson: "Never disgrace yourself, in order to do honour to any one breathing." Think not therefore my most respectable patron that I will debase myself by cajoling you to your face, or do violence to truth, by any kind of panegyric when your back shall be turned.

He admits his reasons for gratitude for favors from greatness--but he has also served it.

Your fund of good humour on such occasions is inexhaustable and you have often joined me in reproving and ridiculing your own vices and follies, which at all times you take more pleasure to rally than I apprehend you will at any time take pains to amend.

I once proposed to build your happiness on religion, on Christian piety, and a deep sense of duty; but having in vain sought a foundation whereon I might lay the first stone, the superstructure vanished like the clouds of last September.

The plan to establish their liberty and renown on principles of SPARTAN POVERTY, he feels should have been acceptable since it supported a great and glorious people. Brooke would simply add moderation, content, self-denial, etc.

Satire abounds as he describes an auction where the friend's mother was set up for sale, an Italian puppet show, useless ornaments, the gaming table, raree-shows, and finally, in remarks on the foolishness of ponderous philosophers and sage ministers.

He assures his friend he can supply his needs and tells a story to drive home his point. The result will be a fruit--one which perfectly allays the taste, and though bitter at first, it leaves an agreeable flavour in the mouth with good health assured in the bargain. This is THE FRUIT OF ABSTINANCE.

I trust that my patron, in recompense for a long life spent in his service, will pardon me the dropping of one observation. Nay--don't look disgusted--it is no matter of offence, it is nothing more than this that the nose of your Respectability hath ever been a ready handle for the leading of a FOOL and a FOOL shall accordingly attend you on my next visit.¹²

The shades of Sterne and Fielding seem to stalk about these pages. But no matter, the company is pleasant. Not unlike Swift, Brooke must needs follow his already fulsome dedication with a preface. In this he makes direct reference to his hero and his theme. And, though he "hates 'em, never reads 'em," and "why write one?"--he writes a most delightful one.

Why is hero a Fool of Quality? Because--why not impute this just to one man rather than mankind? His wisdom is of a size not suited to men's own.

What is wisdom? Tell me what is folly.

After pleasantly rambling through the stories of Solomon and Paris who show wisdom in their rejection of obstacles to its attainment, the friend is converted.

By--my pleasant friend, thou almost persuaded me to be a fool during the remainder of my pilgrimage through the wis-

12

Henry Brooke, The Fool of Quality. Vol. I (London, 1767), pp. i-xxix.

dom of the world. But is there no such thing as true wisdom in nature?--

Sir, I have written a whole chapter upon the subject: but it lies a great way on toward the end of my book and you have much folly to wade through before you come at it.

Here then begin. And pray let me have your remarks as you proceed. I will answer you as whim or judgement shall begin to dictate.¹³

If Tom Jones continues to afford perennial delight in its serious purpose attained by painless means, The Fool of Quality--lesser known, it is true--achieves an equally serious purpose through a series of singular approaches. Two painless means, more or less subtly wielded by Brooke, are a sunny brand of humor, and a style of Augustan finish. In her discussion of The Fool of Quality, Miss Tompkins emphatically asserts that because its substance is "contrition, the life of the soul that is 'melted and minted again,' it is, "in consequence, a joyous book." And "the main thread of the story is a happy dream of a boy, fitted by nature and education to be a Christian hero."¹⁴ It is in the chapters of Harry's

¹³ Ibid., xxx-xxxviii.

¹⁴ Tompkins, p. 30. Hans Högl in his Henry Brooke's Roman "The Fool of Quality," devotes most of his chapter "Charaktere," pp. 34-43, to highlighting incidents in the life of Harry that corroborate this idea.

earliest years that some of the author's genuine humor flashes out. We are treated by turns to a lad who looks and acts like an angel, but, who, in an unguarded moment loses his halo and saunters through an episode like a devastating but withal lovable, miniature picaresque.

Spying a large Spanish pointer, that just then came from under the table, he sprung at him like lightning, seized him by the collar, and vaulted on his back with inconceivable agility. The dog, wholly disconcerted by so unaccustomed a burden, capered and plunged about in a violent manner; but Harry was a better horseman than to be so easily dismounted; whereon the dog grew outrageous, and, rushing into a group of little misses and masters, the children of the visitants, he overthrew them like nine-pins; thence proceeding with equal rapidity between the legs of Mrs. Dowdy, a very fat and elderly lady, she instantly fell back with a violent shriek, and, in her fall, unfortunately overthrew Frank the foxhunter, who overthrew Andrew the angler, who overthrew Bob the beau, who closed the catastrophe.

Our hero, meantime, was happily dismounted by the intercepting petticoats, and fairly laid, without damage, in the fallen lady's lap. From thence he arose at his leisure, and strolled about the room with as unconcerned an aspect as if nothing had happened amiss, and as though he had neither art nor part in this discomfiture. (p. 4)

An excellent example of "The Fool" evincing a wisdom far in advance of his elders is seen in the candlestick episode.

In the course of the play, our Harry was commanded to put the candle into the hand of Miss Uppish, and then to kiss the candlestick; which command he obeyed literally, by giving her the candle, and kissing the candlestick which he held in his own hand.

Hereupon, a great shout was set up in the young assembly, and--O the fool, the senseless creature; the fool, the fool, the fool! was repeated throughout; while Lord Bottom laughed, and danced about in the impatience of his joy.

I was amazed that Harry's countenance seemed no way disconcerted by all this ridicule. At length Lady Mansfield called him to her. How, my dear, could you be guilty of such an error? she said; did not you know that, when you gave the candle into the hand of the young lady, she became the candlestick, and it was her you should have kissed? Harry then approached to her ladyship's ear, and in a pretty loud whisper said--I did not like the metal, madam, that the candlestick was made of. Again Lady Mansfield looked surprised, and said--You are a sly rogue, a very sly rogue, upon my honour; and have sense enough to dupe the wisest of us all. (p. 221)

The Dictionary of National Biography succinctly summarizes both the use of humor and fine style in The Fool of Quality: "The main story and its many episodes are distinguished by simplicity of style, close observation of human nature, high sense of humor and a profoundly religious and philanthropic temper."¹⁵

¹⁵DNB, p. 1334.

As regards the style, any number of critics may be cited who held out for its excellence.

Full of sparkle, knowledge of every kind from court to cot, melodramatic in its scene-shifting variety; pathetic in the highest degree; and in many parts in which he introduces divinity (which is not always orthodox) as Brooke leant towards the philosophy of mysticism--are passages of surpassing eloquence. He understood and wielded the English language with purity and power. These excellencies outweigh the over-wrought sentiment and extravagance of the work.¹⁶

Different, too, is the technique employed by the two novelists, Fielding and Brooke, involving the reader in direct contact with the omniscient author. Fielding creates the impression that the gentle reader perusing the book is the only person in the world who claims his attention at the moment. In Brooke's book, the reader feels welcome to attend the intimate conversations of Author and Friend, both of whom, of course, are Brooke: questioning and defending or explaining his theories, analyzing his characters or their actions, chiding or subtly applauding himself, too. And listen to Brooke who slyly forestalls the dear reader's complaint about the length of his digressive stories: "But how long, I say, do you propose to make your story?" "My Friend," re-

¹⁶The Dublin University Magazine, "Henry Brooke," XXXIX (February 1852), 213. The writers listed on page 5 of Chapter I echo similar sentiments.

plies the Author, "the reader may make it as he pleases." Apropos of this point, the editor of The London Magazine, among other remarks in his favorable review, says:

Mr. Brooke tells us that he originally intended to comprize his whole story in four volumes, but that matter grew upon him imperceptibly, so that his Fool, who is the very decus humani generis, is not yet arrived at any age of maturity. This is a circumstance, however, for which he has no occasion to apologize, since, notwithstanding the redundancy of his episodes, and his frequent deviations from the main business of his plan, it is impossible for any feeling bosom ¹⁷ to read him without great satisfaction.

On this score, one thinks of Sterne's Tristram who takes even longer to arrive at any age.

As a final nod to the rapport between the two writers, there remains to cite the case of the immortality desired by both of them for their "histories." Near the end of Tom Jones, Fielding muses in a whimsical yet quietly assured manner. "Comfort me by a solemn assurance, that when the little parlour in which I sit at this instant shall be reduced to a worse furnished box, I shall be read with honour by those who never knew nor saw me, and whom I shall neither know nor see."¹⁸ This hope has

¹⁷The London Magazine, XXXVIII (August 1769), 438.

¹⁸Fielding, p. 597.

been more than amply fulfilled. No less assured is Brooke's fearless prediction: "Then, sir, I shall be read and read again, in despite of my own defects, and of all that you and your critics can say or do against me. The truth is, that the critics are very far from being bugbears to me; they have always proved my friends, my best benefactors. They were the first who writ me into any kind of reputation; and I am more beholden to their invectives than I am to my own genius, for any little name I may have got in the world" (pp. 68-69). Brooke could not have written more boldly prophetic words both as regards his book and reputation. This present study is added testimony.

It remains for the reader himself to partake of the sumptuous fare and pronounce upon its palatability. Dedicated as the first volume was "to my well-beloved patron, the public," it held unexpected surprises. Today this is no less true for anyone seeking the truly novel in a novel. Its curious, rich content easily caters to a variety of tastes, needs, moods, and differences. The vast array of subjects, ranging all the way from blushes, Bible reading, the British Constitution to wine, women, and wonder, provides a practical aid for the interested reader genuinely eager in ascertaining the eighteenth-century outlook on a wide field of topics as contained in this quaint novel. From this angle, The Fool of Quality is worth its weight in print. Inasmuch as it is a revelation of the author's own time, it claims a right to a consideration because of the wide range of a significant material that is held together by so

delicate a thread of narrative.

It has seemed fitting, therefore, to include in this dissertation an appendix of notes listing in alphabetical order, and by page number, the innumerable references: religious, classical and historical, together with the subjects covered in the anecdotes, interpolated essays, stories within stories, the example, and commentaries. In addition, definitions for a number of out-of-the-way items convert this index into a useful glossary.

Apart from marking the two-hundredth anniversary of the first appearance of The Fool of Quality, a study of this old-fashioned novel is being made in the hope of introducing the general reading-public to a means of long hours of quiet enjoyment. Thus many will be led to agree that "nothing can obscure the nobility of this devout fairy-tale, which sprang from a mind, which, in old age, was like an overgrown garden, a fragrant wilderness, still visited at rare and burning moments by the angels of God."¹⁹

¹⁹Tompkins, p. 32.

CHAPTER III

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SENSIBILITY

The fictionalized account depicting aspects of eighteenth-century sensibility as presented in The Fool of Quality ranges, in its attempts at portraying the characteristic in "impressive style," from the simple to the sublime. The former mode reflects those attitudes regarding sensibility as defined by eighteenth-century usage; the latter mode radiates Brooke's particular envisioning and expression of the trait.

The first part of this chapter will deal with a brief essay at a definition of sensibility; then will follow a presentation of the uses in which the word appears a relatively few number of times in The Fool of Quality. What may be surprising is the apparent elasticity to which Brooke subjects the application of sensibility. Unconsciously, he contributes, in no small measure, to the complexity of the word. Subsequent chapters will take up the ramification of the eighteenth-century ideology of sensibility as it was projected in various aspects of the life of the century.

Thus one point must be made clear at the very outset: the term was really not absolutely distinguishable in Brooke's day from another

of the then prevailing patterns of thought, namely--sentimentalism. In his work on the eighteenth-century English novel, E. A. Baker cautions against drawing a strict dividing line between the terms.¹ They fused with a felicity equal to that shown by Brooke in the one long poem for which he is famous, Universal Beauty (1735). It is remarkable for being a versification of the benevolent deism of Shaftesbury, the mysticism of Boehme, and the findings of science. Just as remarkable is his fusing into his strange novel, The Fool of Quality, "divine as well as human things" as they show eighteenth-century sensibility.

The eighteenth-century sensibility is precisely the topic of Louis Bredvold's most recent work. In introducing it, he states that "it is a modest scientific ambition of an attempt to trace the life history of that complex of ideas and feelings which the eighteenth century called 'sensibility,' and to observe its development and flourishing and fruit.

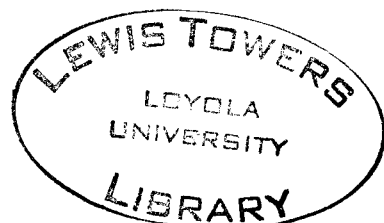
¹Ernest A. Baker, The History of the English Novel, The Novel of Sentiment and the Gothic Romance (London, 1942), p. 98. As an interesting corroboration of this caveat, one can point to Doris Bates Garey's Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: "Eighteenth-Century Sentimentalism: An Essay Towards Definition." (University of Wisconsin, 1941). Her entire first chapter, which comprises a sixth of the total work, is a painstaking effort to point out "The Problem of Defining Sentimentalism." Miss Garey lessens her problem somewhat by eliminating any discussion of the term sensibility, to which she refers but four times altogether. If an analogy be permitted--sensibility, to her, is merely the watch case, be it of silver or gold, for the watch itself. My thesis, on the other hand, takes an opposite view: sensibility is the total delicate mechanism which constitutes the watch proper; the mode in which sensibility might manifest itself may be, like the watch case enclosing the complexity of the delicate springs, very simple or highly ornate.

with the expectation that an idea, like a plant, may reveal its real nature by the course of its growth."²

Bredvold plunges into the "development and flourishing" with somewhat unexpected directness. He simply takes for granted that his audience equally takes for granted the undisputed sway of sensibility at a given period in English history. For this reason, he does not bother at attempting even the briefest of essays toward a definition of sensibility. The implications and meanings will evolve through brief quotations and references, as for example, from the title of his first chapter: "The Ethics of Feeling." But he does go on to say: "The particular development we shall be concerned with might be described as various explorations and experiments in the general field of human happiness. This theme commanded universal interest in the eighteenth century."³ With one pen stroke, Bredvold thus narrows his history of the scope of sensibility. With another stroke, he sends into our ken a multitude of writers--without naming a single one--who were concerned with the century's phase of sensibility. "The promise of happiness through virtue seemed to be an unavoidable theme, not only to preachers and philosophers, but to novelists,

²Louis Bredvold, The Natural History of Sensibility (Detroit, 1962) p. 5.

³Ibid., 6.



poets, and dramatists as well."⁴ Taking another wide leap forward, he admits that he will leave--without touching on them--the theologians and philosophers who preceded the Cambridge Platonists, and will stop only a moment with "those gentle and modest divines whose gracious charitableness and humanity are a refreshment to the weary scholar who comes upon them. They had pleasant things to say about both virtue and human nature."⁵ Further on, regarding these Cambridge Platonists, he notes: "They were not alone in expounding such ideas; scholars⁶ have shown us that Anglican divines, also, some of them of great prestige and influence, were preaching from the pulpit in much the same spirit."⁷ In another swift step, Shaftesbury is introduced. To take up a consideration of Shaftesbury as the prime molder of the form of eighteenth-century humanism designated as eighteenth-century sensibility, is to follow the tradi-

⁴ Ibid., 7.

⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶ It may be more than likely that Bredvold has here in mind a writer such as Ronald S. Crane and his scholarly article, "Suggestions Toward a Genealogy of the 'Man of Feeling,'" ELH, I (December 1934), 205-237. Professor Crane presents an impressive array of bibliographical data listing a great number of divines, together with titles of individual sermons and collections of them--both preached and penned.

⁷ Ibid., 10.

tional and too simple course of tracing this ideology. Not to be wondered at is the genuine disturbance felt by the reviewer who had come to Professor Bredvold's work expecting to find it a "summary of the whole sensibility cult," but finds, instead, that the author attains this end by skirting whole blocks of background material preceding Shaftesbury's appearance.⁸ Implicit in this review is the assumption that sensibility is the accurate term for the ideology which governed the behavior of the English people at a certain given time. What the reviewer decries is Bredvold's failure to do justice in depicting the development of this ideology.

How, then, will it be best to define sensibility? A very simple definition is this one: sensibility is a term used to indicate an eighteenth-century attitude of emotionalism as opposed to rationalism; or, elaborating this definition: sensibility is a reliance upon the feelings as a guide to truth and conduct as opposed to reason and law as regulations both in human and metaphysical relations. At this point it may be well to point up a distinction between sensibility and sentimentality: the first denotes sensitivity to emotion; the second, a false degree or exaggerated expression of this sensitivity.

⁸ Archibald C. Coolidge, Jr., rev. of Louis Bredvold, The Natural History of Sensibility (Detroit, 1962), PQ, XLII (July 1963), 316.

Furthermore, it is entirely feasible to look at the word sensibility as an omnibus term. After Crane presents innumerable proofs from the writings of Latitudinarian divines to substantiate the theory of "benevolent feelings as natural to man," he concludes by affirming:

For clearly if a capacity for 'pity, tenderness and benevolence' is what principally distinguishes man from other creatures, and if, as was generally assumed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is man's duty to live in conformity with his nature, then it follows that he does this most completely who not only practices an active benevolence toward all men but cultivates and makes manifest the 'good Affections' of his heart.⁹

The word capacity is a key word of vital significance here. In another section in which he has been discussing "Benevolence as feeling," his research has yielded, as he says, one of the earliest formal definitions of "sensibility" in its new sense. After quoting two passages from sermons given in 1700 to illustrate "good nature" in man as concomitant with the benevolence of feeling, he adds a passage out of which the earliest sense of sensibility evolves in eighteenth-century sensibility.

The word 'sensibility,' when these passages were written, had not yet come into fashion in the sense in which it was

⁹ Crane, pp. 226-7.

chiefly to be used by the writers and public of the mid-eighteenth century. It is clear, however, that the quality of mind later eulogized under the name of 'sensitivity' or 'moral weeping' by the sentimentalists of the 1740's and 1750's was no other than the quality which was already being recommended so warmly as the distinguishing sign of the benevolent man by these anti-Stoic preachers of the latter 1600's. 'Humanity, in its first and general Acceptation,' wrote an essayist of 1735 in what was certainly one of the earliest formal definitions of 'sensitivity' in its new sense, 'is call'd by Holy Writers, Good-will towards Men; by Heathens, Philanthropy, or Love of our Fellow Creatures. It sometimes takes the Name of Good-nature, and delights in Actions that have an obliging Tendency in them: When strongly impress'd on the Mind, it assumes a higher and nobler Character, and is not satisfy'd with good-natured Actions alone, but feels the Misery of others with inward Pain. It is then deservedly named Sensitivity, and is considerably increased in its intrinsic Worth...' What was this but the doctrine of the 'soft and tender mind' made widely familiar¹⁰ over a generation before by our divines?

Thus, humanity--only when it has the capacity to feel the miseries of others with inward pain--deserves the name of sensitivity.¹¹

¹⁰ Ibid., 219-220.

¹¹ Crane's article has proved invaluable in providing not only a genealogy for "The Fool of Quality" who becomes Mackenzie's "Man of Feeling," but it has given concrete directions toward suggesting the genesis of the term sensitivity.

Therefore, as an omnibus term, sensibility is allied to, includes, or evokes a number of other significant tendencies, and related ideas which prevailed throughout the eighteenth century, reaching climaxes of diverse interpretation in the last decades. Dear to the devotees of the cult of sensibility were such familiar terms as: pity, delicacy, modesty, compassion, happiness, virtue, benevolence, humanity, and philanthropy; and the phrases: good nature, joy in grief, gentlemanly charity, friend of mankind, self-approving joy, feeling heart. These and similar phrases echo and reecho through the pages of The Fool of Quality.

Perhaps still the best succinct summary of eighteenth-century sensibility is Hannah More's poetic one:

Sweet SENSIBILITY: Thou keen delight!
 Thou hasty moral! sudden sense of right!
 Thou untaught goodness! Virtue's precious seed!
 Thou sweet precursor of the gen'rous deed!
 Beauty's quick relish! Reason's radiant morn,
 Which dawns soft light before Reflection's born.¹²

In the light of what was already said and what is yet to come, the following may be offered by way of simple paraphrase: Sensibility, you are that most sweet quality felt by man. To be motivated by you increases his joy in the joy you bring. Man needs no other teacher but you to know instantly right from wrong. You are the power that creates the innate

¹²The Works of Hannah More Vol. I (London, 1830), p. 173.

goodness of his heart. You make all his deeds virtues. You move the heart gently before the hand is moved to bestow generous help. Through you, beauty more swiftly strikes the beholder. You are the bright prelude to man's best thoughts which bask in your delights before they are born.

The verses, too, can very well serve as poetic captions for the four principal aspects of the quality of benevolence presented by Crane in the article already cited.

1. "Virtue as universal benevolence,"--Virtue's precious seed;
2. "Benevolence as feeling,"--Thou sweet precursor of the gen'rous deed;
3. "Benevolent feelings as 'natural' to man,"--Thou untaught goodness;
4. "The Self-approving Joy,"--Thou keen delight! What is more, these poetic phrases might make equally appropriate captions for the chapters in this study which considers Brooke's work a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility. This "sweet sensibility," is indeed the very heart of this particular chapter.

Hannah More also provides another instance for strengthening the contention that sensibility truly implied a capacity for the various modes of benevolence enumerated above. In 1799, seventeen years after her poem Sensibility was published, she sounded new overtones on the old theme of sensibility. In a chapter called "On the dangers of an ill-directed sensibility," she advises that sensibility is a quality that must be dealt with properly.

Notwithstanding all the fine theories in prose and verse to which this topic has given birth, it will be found that very exquisite sensibility contributes so little to happiness, and may yet be made to contribute so much to happiness, and may yet be made to contribute so much to usefulness, that it may, perhaps, be generally considered as bestowed for an exercise to the possessor's own virtue, and at the same time, as a keen instrument with which he may better work for the good of others.¹³

And in that same year, the critic of the Monthly Review for August, 1799 wishes that novelists "would sometimes inform us what ideas they annex to the word sensibility" which "ranges from compassion to the irritable weakness which shrinks from the common duties of life." Sensibility has thus come, it seems, at the end of the century, to a use which is an abuse of the capacity for emotional responsiveness. Leslie Stephen's name for it as "a kind of mildew which spreads over the surface of literature" is apt enough for this perversion of the original power latent in the eighteenth-century ideology expressed by the word sensibility.¹⁴

Other contemporaries of Brooke, in one way or another, reiterated similar attitudes. "According to the Monthly Magazine, Volume II (1796) 'a person of sensibility was susceptible of every impression of joy or

¹³Hannah More, Strictures on Female Education (London, 1830), p. 287.

¹⁴Leslie Stephen, History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, II (New York, 1962), p. 370.

grief and capable of experiencing endless varieties of warmth."¹⁵ writes Rawson in an article which makes an analysis of the eighteenth-century use of "delicacy"--one of the modes of sensibility as I have already indicated.

'Delicacy' is hard to define exactly, because it has an infinite number of differing usages. It is closely allied in meaning to 'sensibility' but refers particularly to fineness rather than intensity of feeling, while 'sensibility' might cover both.

After quoting from the Monthly Magazine, he concludes:

Sensibility was thus a more inclusive quality than delicacy. It could be effusively generous, as in Henry Brooke's Fool of Quality (1765-70), gently melancholy as in Mackenzie's Man of Feeling (1771), passionate and intense, as in the novels of Mary Hays or Mary Wollstonecraft, or more 'delicate' and 'refined', as in those of Frances Brooke or Mme. Riccoboni. These are of course only rough descriptions, aiming less at exact assesment of the works mentioned, than indicating the extreme inclusiveness of the period's conception of sensibility.¹⁶

After introducing his discussion of delicacy, Rawson notes, "Sometimes, indeed, it was synonymous with 'sensibility'." He refers to one of the

¹⁵C. J. Rawson, "Some Remarks on Eighteenth-Century 'Delicacy,' With a Note on Hugh Kelly's False Delicacy 1768," JEGP, XLI (January 1962), 1.

¹⁶Ibid.

character's use of the word in the play under discussion:

When Polly Honeycombe said her father had no notion of the 'sensibility of delicate feeling' her words were virtually tautological...If 'sensibility' then is the term for that compound of qualities most cherished by the eighteenth-century woman, 'delicacy' is the term for some of sensibility's most important attributes. Closest to the meaning of 'sensibility' is the conception of delicacy as a heightened emotional susceptibility. Such a susceptibility is modesty (a form of delicacy), as defined by Addison in a famous passage:

'Modesty...is a kind of quick and delicate feeling in the soul...It is such an exquisite sensibility, as warns [the soul] to shun the first appearance of everything which is hurtful.'¹⁷

Rawson points out that the above quotation was used by Johnson in his Dictionary (1755) to illustrate "Sensibility, I," which is defined as "Quickness of sensation." The definition under "Sensibility, 2," unsupported by quotation, was "Quickness of perception." In the fourth edition (1773), the word "delicacy" was added to "Sensibility, 2," which now read "Quickness of perception; delicacy," and the Addisonian definition of modesty was transferred here from "Sensibility, I," providing a nice lexicographical collocation of "sensibility," "delicacy," and "modesty."¹⁸

¹⁷Ibid., 2.

¹⁸Ibid., 3.

And of the several definitions listed for sensibility in the OED, two refer directly to the sense in which the eighteenth century viewed them:

4. Emotional consciousness; glad or sorrowful, grateful or resentful recognition of a person's conduct, or of a fact or a condition of things. In The Fool of Quality 1809 - II - 83, 'I am very sensible... of your Friendship, and that sensibility constitutes...my happiness.'

6. In the 18th and early 19th Century (afterwards somewhat rarely): Capacity for refined emotion; delicate sensitiveness of taste; also readiness to feel compassion for suffering, and to be moved by the pathetic in literature or art. 1768 Sterne in Sentimental Journey, 'Dear Sensibility! source unexhausted of all that's precious in our joys or costly in our sorrows!' (OED IX, p. 461)

Furthermore, designating a form of delicate, compassionate emotionalism is the concept of benevolence as the concrete, expected, and accepted manifestation of sensibility. As a pertinent eighteenth-century conception, the OED uses a quote from Butler's sermon on Human Nature delivered in 1726: "If there be any affection in human nature, the object and end of which is the good of another, this is itself benevolence, or the love of another" (OED I, p. 802). Thus the definition given reflects this eighteenth-century attitude: "1. Disposition to do good, desire to promote the happiness of others, kindness, generosity, charitable feeling (as a general state or disposition toward mankind at large)

(OED I, p. 802). As initially stated, the attitude of sensibility blends with that of sentimentality; the definition for the latter can do as well in a way for the former: "1. Characterized by or exhibiting refined and elevated feelings; arising from sentiment or refined aesthetic emotion. 1760-72. The Fool of Quality, Music (p. 58) is...but a distant and faint echo of those sentimental and rapturous tunings" (OED IX p. 471).

Discussing the important part played by the editors of The Critical Review in advocating desirable features to be incorporated by the writers of eighteenth-century novels, Claude E. Jones comments that "their greatest emphasis was placed on sensibility, on the aristocracy of sensitivity, which developed among the enthusiastic admirers of Sterne, Rousseau, Mackenzie, and Brooke. The type of sentimentality which resulted from a conscious appeal to the heart rather than the head was highly esteemed by the critics."¹⁹

Certainly it is apparent that writers took seriously the admonition to write from the heart rather than the head. And no one considered that one might lose one's head in obeying. Brooke's Mr. Fenton, for all his sensibility is, nonetheless, a shrewd and extravagantly wealthy merchant. Baker indicates the general features of the process by which the attitude of sensibility came to be accepted by the eighteenth-century novel-

¹⁹Claude F. Jones, "The English Novel: A Critical View, 1756-1785 (Part I)," MLQ, XIX (June 1958), 223.

ists.

Plenty of novelists appeared who were nothing if not in earnest, who were painfully, methodistically serious about it; and sensibility now becomes, not only the root of all virtue, but virtue itself, the indispensable quality, the hallmark of the elect. It was adopted into the approved codes of behavior; the refined congratulated themselves on their tenderness of heart, and affected the same modesty in dissembling their sensitive feelings and presenting an imperturbable face to the world as the generous person was expected to do in his acts of charity...Softness of heart, a fine gradation in our reactions to every appeal to our sympathy, and a readiness to be plunged at any suitable moment into orgies of emotion, were well nigh universally esteemed and were the very thing to make the fortune of novelists who were of exactly the same frame of mind. Such were by no means lacking. Comedy was extinct, satire under a ban. Humour, cousin-german to sentiment, might fitfully survive.²⁰ Wit and levity were a public scandal.

Yet all the same, sensibility, per se, deserved to be held as an almost sacred word by the people of England in the eighteenth-century.

The heroic and tremendous virtues might be dying out with the stormy time that evoked them, but modern security, leisure and education had evolved a delicacy of sensation, a refinement of virtue, which the age found even more beautiful. The human sympathies, which a

²⁰Baker, p. 97.

rougher age had repressed, expanded widely, especially towards the weak and unfortunate, and the social conscience began to occupy itself with prisoners, children, animals, and slaves.²¹ But the good in this cult, which was considerable, was accompanied by manifestations of folly that discredited its very name, which was laughed at, neglected during the greater part of the nineteenth century, and has been only recently revived, in a more strictly defined sense, as a useful part of the critical vocabulary.²²

Surely no one will quarrel, then, when Rawson points out: "In Sense and Sensibility, it is less sensibility that Jane Austin attacks, than excessive sensibility. In itself sensibility is a desirable quality not exclusive of, but complementary to, sense."²³

Charles Kingsley's preface indicates how well aware he was of the disfavor with which his contemporaries received their nation's heritage of eighteenth-century sensibility. Nevertheless, in presenting his edition of The Fool of Quality to the Victorian public, he was warm in his defense of this novel of undiluted sensibility.

²¹Bredvold makes no mention of this benign activity as an aspect of sensibility in his Natural History of Sensibility.

²²Tompkins, p. 92.

²³Rawson, p. 12.

Overmuch striving for pathos is the defect of the book. The characters in it, in proportion as they are meant to be good, are gifted with a passionate and tearful sensibility, which is rather French or Irish than English, and which will irritate, if not disgust many whose Teutonic temperament leads them to pride themselves rather on the repression than the expression of emotion, and to believe (and not untruly) that feelings are silent in proportion to their depth. But it should be recollected that this extreme sensibility was a part of Brooke's own character; that each man's ideal must be, more or less, the transfiguration of that which he finds in himself; and that he was honest and rational in believing that his sensibility, just as much as any other property of his humanity, when purified from selfishness (which was in his ethics the only method of perfection), could be made as noble, fair, and useful, as any other faculty which God had given. (pp. liii-liv)

When Kingsley says that Brooke has introduced a sensibility that is of French origin, he adds an enhancing facet to the lustrous gem of sensibility. What Kingsley may not have been aware of, or simply chose to ignore, was the agreeable reciprocity of French and English effusions of sensibility. Even Baker, who maintains that Richardson was the founder of the English novel of sensibility,²⁴ does not include further comment on the major part played by Richardson in influencing trends of French sensibility. His influence is of vast importance. In his four-volume

²⁴Baker, p. 96.

work on French sensibility in the eighteenth-century, Pierre Trahard devotes a long section to the role Richardson actually played in it. If Pamela--which is not strictly a novel of true sensibility--was read in French translation, so was the Fool of Quality--one novel in a score of French translations which preceded it. On the other hand, French novels of sensibility in English translation floated on their own sweet tears of sensibility throughout eighteenth-century England. Surely the waters of the English Channel must have risen perceptibly with the intermingling of English and French tears profusely shed at the prompting of "sweet sensibility."

It must not be forgotten, however, that the quality of reaction to internal and external stimuli with compassion, pity, or tenderness, is peculiarly a French trait, and of so fine a quality that it has given rise to all the refined forms of politeness, and has nurtured to a great extent the beauty of language and art.

In French, the term sensibilité may be precisely distinguished from sentiment: the former implies sensibility as already pointed out, together with the idea of sensitiveness, tenderness, feelings: sentiment is sensation or feeling. The exact word for maudlin sentimentality or affected sentimentalism is sensiblerie. It is in the assumed French usage of sensibility that even a very recent article applies the term in a study of Molière's *Tartuffe*. Reversing somewhat the customary light in which character is seen, the author argues for a new look at him,

bearing out the significance of his title: "Tartuffe et la Sensibilité Moderne."²⁵ The author tries to show that Molière left wide open the possibility of our reacting to the character with a measure of genuine sympathy.

One writer finds it easy to understand how Voltaire, "with his sardonic smile, his wit and eloquence, could have introduced the Age of Skepticism, and have convinced his contemporaries that intellect and reason were the supreme glories of human nature and that emotion was akin to 'enthusiasm'."²⁶ But he finds it

difficult to explain how Rousseau with his lack of logic, his irrationality, and his despicable personal character, could have persuaded so intelligent a people as the French to believe that the mind was less important than the heart, logic less reliable than intuition, and the undisciplined expression of emotion more valuable as a guide to mankind than divine philosophy or cultivated reflection. The fact remains that Rousseau and his doctrine of 'natural emotion' and the equality of man succeeds in destroying the Age of Reason.²⁷

²⁵H. P. Salmon, "Tartuffe et la Sensibilité Moderne," Le Français Dans le Monde, No. XXI (Décembre 1963), 19-21.

²⁶Harold Nicolson, The Age of Reason (New York, 1961), p. 411.

²⁷Ibid.

Nicolson concludes his remarks on this period by intimating that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the men and women of Europe were so exhausted by intellectualism and skepticism that they embraced Rousseau's teaching with joyous relief.²⁸ That sensibilité conveyed a number of tendencies already pointed out, may be gathered from an appraising paragraph in Trahard's introduction to his work on eighteenth-century masters of sensibility. He concludes his first chapter, "Prédominance de la Sensibilité au XVIII^e Siècle," with a meaningful summary:

La sensibilité s'analyse elle même, acquiert un sens profond, une importance capitale. La réduire au plaisirs des sens, comme on le fait vulgairement, entraîne aux erreurs grossières. Être sensible, pour Prévost, Diderot et Jean Jacques, ce n'est pas se borner a sentir, c'est se rendre compte que l' on sent, étudier la sensation, réfléchir sur ces emotions lorsque la premiere flamme est tombée; c'est, au besoin, provoquer la sensation pour l'analyser avec au raffinement cruel; c'est, en un mot, prendre conscience des sentiment, qu'on éprouve. C'est aussi réagir immédiatement et vivement, a la moindre émotion, la traduire par les paroles et par des gestes au lieu de l' enfermer en soi, montrer aux autres qu'on

²⁸ Ibid., 417-418.

est ému pour les émouvoir à leur tour...
 La sensibilité se manifeste donc à tout
 propos, et parfois hors de propos; elle
 commande la vie humaine, révèle ses in-
 stincts et sa force, sa magnificence et
 ses débordements.²⁹

In closing his work, Trahard reemphasizes the stand he has taken at the very outset of his exposition of the work of writers who lived, breathed, and wrote in the rarefied atmosphere of the ideology of sensibilité. "Ne l'oublions pas--c'est la leçon suprême qu'il faut tirer de cette étude--l'intelligence et le cœur ne se peuvent séparer sans dommage...Efforçons nous donc, en écoutant la leçon toujours vivante du XVIII^e siècle, à la fois intellectuel et sensible, d'élargir à la fois nos cœurs et nos fronts pour concevoir, nous aussi, divers, genres, de beauté."³⁰

As already mentioned, the close of the century in England will show the meanings and uses of sensibility to be other than the original conception of it as a capacity for a heightened emotional reaction to stimuli, evoking virtuous acts because of man's innate good nature. Miss Tompkins highlights the various factors in this ideological devolution.

The votary of sensibility came to value emotion for itself, without stopping to consider if it sprang from an adequate

²⁹ Pierre Trahard, Les Maîtres de la Sensibilité Française au XVIII^e Siècle (1715-1789), Tome I (Paris, 1931), pp. 18-19.

³⁰ Ibid., Tome IV, 296.

cause: indeed, it was a mark of the most refined sensibility that the cause at first blush should appear inadequate. Hence springs up in the first place a lack of proportion, and in the next place all the insincerity of stoked up feelings and self-complacency. The sensible heart seeks an occasion to indulge itself in a shower of tears, since tears are, axiomatically, purifying, and a very small occasion can be made to serve. The tiny spring releases the accumulated store of pity, or generous indignation, or the sense of human fellowship. The individual--be he victim or philanthropist--is never seen merely as such, but by a generalizing habit of mind becomes a type, a grand hieroglyphic of human destiny. It is the body of human wrongs, the general habit of human patience, momentarily linked to the spectator's consciousness by the object before him, that evokes the overwhelming response...

But the flaw that vitiates the sensibility of the eighteenth century, is its egoism; it is difficult to find a passage free from this taint. Tears are too facile, too enjoyable...One longs for a little toughness; one meets instead complacency. Of this danger the majority of the eighteenth-century writers cannot have been much aware; they gave themselves away too handsomely.³¹

Because every word of this depiction of this account of the changing idea of sensibility in the eighteenth-century can be readily supported by endless references from The Fool of Quality, it is truly fitting

³¹Tompkins, pp. 100-101.

to view the novel as a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility par excellence.

In Bredvold's Natural History of Sensibility, a consideration of this degenerated type of sensibility is side-stepped. A side road is taken to show sensibility culminating in a "cult of horror." One involuntarily shudders at such a macabre finale for the eighteenth-century man of sensibility to whom he had introduced us in his first pages. This man was to have cultivated and developed the "harmony and beauty of his nature in the literature of the eighteenth century as a means for raising his soul to perfection."³²

Thus, in spite of the fact that the writer of The Critical Review might "tremble for the sensibility" of Mr. Brooke's novel, he could nonetheless, warmly commend it because "there is a freedom and a goodness of heart discernible through the whole, which, to a benevolent mind, may be more pleasing than a strict adherence to occurrences of common life, and to what painters call the il custumi."³³

There is no difficulty, surely, in holding that "sensibility was the work of a valuable mind, and the achievement of a long process of

³²Bredvold, p. 53.

³³The Critical Review, XXII (September 1766), 204.

civilization."³⁴ And one is led to agree, too, with the reviewer, who regrets the gaps that have left Bredvold's history of sensibility incomplete on this score.

He has given the false impression that there was no side of the sensibility movement which was material and objective and truly educative and no side which emphasized that consideration of others... In short, Professor Bredvold's over-all view of sensibility is an over-simplified and traditional one which sees the whole movement as a foolish departure from reason and formal morality and does not grant it any portion of wisdom or attractiveness--a view which in the end prevents any explanation of its vogue. Yet when the Reformation and Renaissance science and enlightened philosophy shook tradition and reason and formal morality, western Europeans were forced to attempt to find ways to regulate themselves: sensibility was one perfectly sincere attempt and was a good deal more complicated than this book suggests.³⁵

If, at the close of the eighteenth century, the aspects of sensibility appeared in what were to be considered fantastically distorted forms, the suggestion strongly urged in this dissertation is that the perversion was due, not to an excess of sensibility, but, to a progressive diminishing of the prime powers of this eighteenth-century ideology.

³⁴Tompkins, p. 105.

³⁵Coolidge, p. 316.

The genealogy for the "Man of Feeling" carefully traced by Professor Crane is, by right of chronology, first applicable to Brooke's Fool of Quality. As was shown in Chapter II, Mackenzie's Man of Feeling was fashioned on Brooke's "Fool" who proved to be an imitable model. Although the term sensibility has already been discussed at some length, it might be well to preface this section, which will take up Brooke's use of that word in The Fool of Quality, with a glance at its possible source. In this way there might evolve some suggestions toward determining the genesis for the term sensibility. Crane's "Genealogy for the 'Man of Feeling,'" notes that "the eighteenth-century preachers had excellent examples in New Testament texts for their sermons on benevolence as feeling. But there was more to their frequent statements of the idea than merely a development of I Corinthians,"³⁶ Yet, St. Paul's paean on Charity is itself a glowing foreshadowing of sensibility. In it he seems to delineate the type of man to whom the angels promised peace the night Christ was born: "Peace on earth to men of good will." Long before that, there must have been men of tender hearts who rejoiced to hear what a benevolent God spoke to them through his prophet: "I will give them a heart with which to understand that I am the Lord" (Jeremias 24:7). The stupendous paradox latent in this promise gives cause for

³⁶Crane, p. 214.

thoughtful pondering.

Thus when Brooke will come along and give voice to his frequently quoted opinion--in essence, a condensation of what constituted eighteenth-century sensibility--he only says in a novel way, that which was not new.

The truth is, that people live incomparably more by impulse and inclination than by reason and precept. Reason and precept are not always within our beck; to have their due influence, they require frequent inculcation and frequent recollection; but impulse and inclination are more than at hand; they are within us, and from the citadel rule the outworks of man at pleasure. (394)

It is in the very last chapter of The Fool of Quality that Brooke makes very clear what he considers to be the source that impelled his genial "Fool" to unsurpassed acts of benevolence. For Brooke, it is the genesis of the term sensibility and the ideology of sensibility.

When the apostle, speaking of Christ, affirms that 'there is no other name under heaven whereby a man may be saved;' and again, when he affirms that 'those who had not received the law, are a law unto themselves;' he intends one and the same thing. He intends that Christ, from the fall of man, is a principle of redemption in the bosoms of all living; that he is not an outward but an inward redeemer, working out our salvation by 'the change of our depraved nature:' that in and from him alone arise all the sentiments and sensibilities that warm the heart with love, that expand it with honour, that wring

it with compunction, or that heave it with the story of distant distress; and that he alone can be qualified to be judge at the last day, who from the first day to the last was internally a co-operator and witness of all that ever passed within the bosoms of all men. (p. 394)

This is an amplification of the same idea expressed when he was only midway in his "history." Sensibility drinks from a divine fountain-head.

There is surely, my cousin, a species of pleasure in grief, a kind of soothing and deep delight, that arises with the tears which are pushed from the fountain of God in the soul, from the charities and sensibilities of the human heart divine. (p. 206)

An excellent illustration which combines a wide variety of the modes of sensibility as "keen delight," "joy in grief," sweet tears and sympathy, and even the hint that sensibility sought for itself is worthy of praise, comes almost at the very end of the book. The education of an ideal nobleman as a Christian gentleman by an ideal merchant-prince has been accomplished. "The Fool of Quality" is both the product and exemplar of eighteenth-century sensibility.

When I wept for my dear father, my mother, and brother, my affliction was anguishing and altogether bitter, without any species of alleviating sensation to compensate my misery. But it was far otherwise with me tonight. When I grieved in the grief of your old and faithful domestics, I felt my heart breaking, but I was pleased that it should break; I felt that

it was my happiness so to grieve, and I could wish a return of the same sweet sensation.

The reason is this, my love: When you lamented your parents, you lamented yourself in your private and personal losses; your affliction was just, it was natural, it was laudable; but still it was confined; it participated but little of the emotion that is excited by the affliction of others; and the anguish was the keener by being nearly limited to your own bosom, and your own concerns.

But in the griefs of my old and loving servants this night, you became wholly expanded you went beyond, you went out of yourself; you felt, without reflection, how delightful it is to go forth with your God, in his social generous, noble and divine sensibilities; and you delightfully felt, my Harry, that such a house of mourning is more joyous to your soul, than all the festivals that flesh and sense can open before you. (pp. 398-99)

Before going on to other examples of Brooke's specific use of sensibility it might be not unwise to suggest that a study of eighteenth-century sensibility bears relevancy to our own age. This may cause amazement. Yet it need not do so. Modern psychological dress may have disguised this two-hundred year old fashion of human behavior, but essentially it remains unchanged. In a very recent work, highly acclaimed by leading psychologists, educators, and counsellors, a renowned French psychologist and a convert from Marxism, bases much of his development of psychophysical symbiosis on principles which bear strong resemblance to

facets of eighteenth-century sensibility. In his introduction he takes care to stress the necessity of accepting the premises he presents in order that his entire thesis might be viewed in the proper perspective.

Problems of affectivity are infinitely more complicated than any of the questions related to the rational organization of human life. Philosophers and moralists have a mission to clarify man's destiny and establish the laws relevant to its realization. But for a long time now, they have consciously ignored these problems. If we leaf through philosophy textbooks, through the manuals of moral theology used in seminaries and by the theological faculties of both Protestant and Catholic institutions, or through the pages of ethics texts employed in schools of education, we can easily see that man is still being discussed as if he were, in essence, a 'rational animal.' Yet when we think of Hiroshima, of the death camps of Hitler and Stalin, of juvenile gangsterism, and many other characteristic features of our modern civilization, we are forced to admit that our famous 'morality according to the dictates of pure reason' has been a lamentable, catastrophic failure.

Neither philosophers nor moralists are ignorant of the fact that the domain of reason does not by any means extend into every realm of human existence. Love and hate, sympathy and antipathy, enthusiasm and discouragement--as well as some of our most unshakable convictions and beliefs--can hardly be said to be ruled by reason. They are obedient to laws that have nothing whatever to do with rationality.³⁷

³⁷Ignace Lepp, The Psychology of Loving. Translated from the French by Bernard B. Gilligan. (Baltimore, 1963), p. 1.

He notes the part that feeling plays in religious faith by scoring the part that reason does not play.

The extent to which rationalist prejudice dominates our culture can be estimated when we realize that a great many Christian theologians make an effort to prove that religious faith itself is a 'rational act,' in spite of the fact that nobody ever arrived at faith as the result of a conclusion drawn from a process of reasoning.³⁸

He is not denying the role of grace nor the intelligent assent of the mind necessary to the total act of faith. He is simply saying that the reasoning process does not necessarily come first. Is this not another way of contending for the importance of that quality in man, called "Reason's radiant morn, / Which dawns soft light before Reflection's born?"

Lepp has also something to say about the "friend of mankind" who has no heart.

I do not wish to disparage the efforts being made by social reformers. Quite the contrary, I am convinced that they are engaged in a noble and useful task, but a terribly thankless one. I myself was one of their number for years, persuaded that I was working for the happiness of mankind. By degrees, however, my experience and personal reflection brought me to come to the realization that the world never would become better and men happier until human beings learned to open their hearts, and to put greater

³⁸Ibid., 2.

warmth and love into their relationships. The betterment of the material conditions of life and the marvelous progress of science and technology will not be truly 'good' for man unless they are placed at the service of men who know how and are willing to love.³⁹

And the challenging words of Karl Rahner, presently estimated the Church's greatest living theologian, burn with a new Pentecostal fire, as he urges the People of God to "the Christian commitment" of our own times. When he turns to those who must be concerned with the care of the souls of the People of God, he dares to present a revolutionary concept. It is that the heart must govern their dedication.

The office-job type of pastor will have to die out. For the only service available from the bureaucrat mentality, which does still exist, is one that has no real care for the public: a service of an institution, not of people. Have we the courage to break away from bureaucracy, office hours, routine, impersonal, non-functional organizational clutter and clerical machinery--and just do pastoral work? If a man can find in us another man, a real Christian, with a heart, someone who cares about him and is really delivering the message of God's mercy towards us sinners, then more is happening than if we can hear the impressive and unmistakable hum of bureaucratic machinery.⁴⁰

³⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁴⁰ Karl Rahner, S. J., The Christian Commitment (New York, 1963), pp. 32-33.

And, acting on the premise that the heart should guide more frequently than the head, has brought the American Jewish Committee untold success in its annual drive for funds for its welfare agencies. This is due in great part to its nationally highly-rated advertising policy. A theme is selected which appeals simply, in the fashion of eighteenth-century sensibility, to the innermost core of man's human kindness. The theme for 1964 readily set off a chain reaction in promoting benevolent feelings to give aid: Lest we lose COMPASSION one for another.

And when the Church has accorded good Pope John the status of official canonization, it will be because, more than anything else, in typifying the best aspects of eighteenth-century sensibility, he was truly the twentieth century's universally beloved "Fool of Quality." He showed his heart to all mankind.

To come back to Brooke whose several uses of sensibility in The Fool of Quality have already been indicated. Again, it must be remembered that The Fool of Quality was written in the latter half of the eighteenth century, so that along with the primary meaning attached to sensibility, secondary meanings could by then also have been assumed. In the following passage, where the word is used the very first time, its meaning is that which was not only implied in the sermons of the Latitudinarian divines who equated virtue with happiness, but was likewise expounded by the moralists.

Mr. Meekly, said he, you have now proved to me your position more effectually, more convincingly, than all the powers of ratiocination could possibly do. While you related the story of these divine citizens, I was imperceptibly stolen away, and won entirely from self. I entered into all their interest, their passions, and affections; and was wrapped, as it were, into a new world of delightful sensibilities. Is this what you call virtue--what you call happiness?

A good deal of it, my lord. (p. 39)

It is used next in an unusual sense. Here it fuses to relate both senses and sensations. "A physician was instantly sent for; beds were provided and warmed in haste--the new guests were all gently undressed and laid therein; and, being compelled to swallow a little of sack-whey, they recovered to a kind of languid sensibility." (p. 57)

In one of the author-friend discussions, the gentle Mr. Brooke indulges in some biting satire to express his views of literary critics. Once again he sounds like Swift who also pilloried critics in his Tale of a Tub. Of especial interest is the coupling of sensibility and self-complacence, neither of which is used in a derogatory sense.

'Good sir, you should have considered that when a man sits down to write for the public, the least compliment they expect from him is, that he should think--Here, my friend, I have seen enough; I cannot affront my judgment so much, as either to recommend or patronize your performance;

all I can do for you is to be silent on the subject, and permit fools to approve who have not sense to discern.'--Thus do these critics-paramount, with the delicacy and compassion of the torturers of the Inquisition, search out all the seats of sensibility and self-complacence, in order to sting with the more quick and killing poignancy. (pp. 68-69)

Although Brooke himself received unusually kind treatment at the hands of his critics, he was moved, however, by the plight of writers not as fortunate. He implies here that the refined feelings of an author are subjected to literary butchery by the bungling and blunt perception of critics whose performance is mostly like that of a surgeon who would choose to wield a cleaver in a delicate surgery.

Only once is sensibility used in a passage reflecting Behmenistic teaching. It is, incidentally, one which evoked from Coleridge a series of four profound questions in lieu of a comment.

When this body shall fall to dust,
and all these organs of sensation be utterly cut off, what remains--what then shall follow? by what means shall my spirit attain the powers of new perception? or am I to lie in the grave, in a state of total insensibility, till the last trumpet shall sound? My nature shrinks, I confess, from a total deprivation of the sense of existence.

It is no way evident to me, my lord, that body, or at least such gross bodies as we now have, are necessary to the perceptions and sensibilities of our spirit. God himself is a Spirit, an all-see-

ing, all-tasting, all smelling, all-feeling, all-knowing, and all-governing Spirit. 'He who made the eye, shall he not see? He who made the ear, shall he not hear?' Wherefore, as our spirits are the offsprings of his divine Spirit, we may justly presume them endowed with like capacities. (p. 337)

But above all uses are those which bear out the definitions formulated for sensibility as a capacity for pity, tenderness and benevolence. The following passages are pearls of sensibility.

As I scarce remembered my mother, and had now, as it were, no farther relation nor friend upon earth, I felt a vacuity in my soul, somewhat like that of an empty stomach, desirous of seizing on the first food that should present itself to my cravings. Delightful sensibilities! sweet hungerings of nature after its kind! (p. 77)

I will take an instance from a person who is actually guilty of something very enormous; and who blushes on his being questioned or suspected of the transgression. His blushing here demonstrates his sensibility; and his sensibility demonstrates some principle within him, that disapproved and reproached him for what he had committed. And so long as this spark or principle remains unquenched in the bosom; so long as the wicked themselves can feel compunction, and be ashamed of wickedness; so long their recovery is not to be despaired of. (p. 125)

Could any lines, colourings, or mere symmetry of inanimate parts, inspire affections, of which in themselves they were incapable? No; they could only serve as

the vehicles of something intended to inspire such sensibilities, nothing further. We must therefore look higher for a cause more adequate to such extraordinary effects; and the first that presents itself is the designer, who must have conceived amiable sentiments within himself, before he could impress their beauty on these his interpreters, in order to excite suitable affections in others. (p. 134)

During my illness, my husband was the most constant and assiduous of all my attendants. The affectionate sadness, the painful distress, the tender solicitude that was visible in all his looks and actions, made way into my soul with an obliging impression; and, while I reproached myself for my ungrateful defect of sensibility towards him, love, or something tender and very like to love, took place in my bosom. (p. 178)

True love, Mr. Harry, by its own light sees into and throughout the bosom of the party beloved; I am very sensible of the tenderness of your friendship for me, and that sensibility constitutes the whole of my happiness. (p. 194)

Sir William, at the voice, lifted up his eyes to Homely, and, remembering his marked man, rose quickly, and springing forward, embraced him with much familiar affection; while Mr. Fenton sat, and his Harry stood beside him, both wrapped in their delicious sensibilities. (p. 307)

Brooke gives, also, splendid examples of the use of the word in which there is evident that veering toward the tendency of sensibility in which even the weaknesses it exhibited were looked upon as desirable graces.

Here, venturing to look up, I perceived that she had put her handkerchief to her eyes.--Ah, Mr. Clinton! she cried with a trembling voice, you are very delicate, you are sweetly delicate indeed; but ought I to take the advantage of this delicacy? I see that you would save me from the confusion of an avowal--you would save me from the mortifying sensibility of my own weakness. But, sir, you ought to not esteem that a weakness in me which I account my chiefest merit, and which is my chiefest pride. (p. 194)

He brought fresh to their remembrance all the passages of late affliction and they silently joined a flow of grief to his. But their tears were the tears of sympathizing humanity, or rather tears of delight on observing the sweet sensibilities of their darling. (p. 340-41)

Thus happy, above all styled happy upon earth, we joyed and lived in each other, continuing a mutual commerce of delightful sensibilities and love for love. (p. 386)

Finally, here are the words which are frequently quoted as depicting the very acme of heightened eighteenth-century sensibility:

Go on, cried the countess; go on--I insist upon it! I love to weep--I joy to grieve--it is my happiness, my delight to have perfect sympathy in your sorrows. (p. 198)

Having looked at the artistic and didactic manipulation to which Brooke subjected the term sensibility, it remains to follow the "Fool of Quality" whose unique quality is the perfection of his sensibility.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION OF THE HEART

Religion, for Brooke, was never mere formalism. Abundant proof of this is to be found in his own life and its fictionalized account in The Fool of Quality. What it meant to him is easily sensed through the fervent voice of his genial alias, Mr. Fenton.

You must have heard, my cousin, that the customs and manners of those times were altogether the reverse of what they are at present. Hypocrisy is no longer a fault among men; all now is avowed libertinism and open profaneness; and children scoff at the name and profession of that religion which their fathers revered. On the contrary, in those days all men were either real or pretended zealots; every mechanic professed, like Aaron, to carry a Urim and Thummim about him; and no man would engage in any business or bargain, though with an intent to overreach his neighbor, without going apart, as he said, to consult the Lord.

My Matty, at the same time, was the humblest of all saints, without any parade of sanctification. Hers was a religion, of whose value she had the daily and hourly experience; it was indeed a religion of power. It held her, as on a rock, in the midst of a turbulent and fluctuating world; it gave her a peace of spirit that smiled at provocation; it gave her comfort in affliction, patience in anguish,

exaltation in humiliation, and triumph in death. (p. 202)

Thus it must have been somewhat of a disappointment to Brooke whose anxious inquiry of his patron and friend, Pope, for a definite expression regarding his religious views, resulted in a much too cautiously worded reply. The fact that Pope was a member--in good standing--of the Catholic Church, may have restrained him in his written avowal.

It is impossible, says Pope, 'I should answer your letter any further than by a sincere avowal that I do not deserve a tenth part of what you say of me as a writer; but as a man I will not, nay, I ought not, in gratitude to whom I owe whatever I am, and whatever I can confess, to his glory, I will not say I deny that you think no better of me than I deserve: I sincerely worship God, believe in his revelations, resign to his dispensations, love all his creatures, am in charity with all denominations of Christians, however violently they treat each other, and detest none so much as that profligate race who would loosen the bands of morality, either under the pretence of religion or free-thinking.
(p. xiii)

Such broad and liberal views, bespeaking a "sober piety," could hardly have satisfied the very "pious Mr. Brooke." But Pope's answer is an admirable reflection of the state of religion in general as the eighteenth-century progressed. To open his discussion of "Methodism and the Evangelical Revival," Gerald A. Cragg first gives a summary view of the Church in England at this time.

The Hanoverian Church of England, despite its redeeming qualities, stood sorely in need of reform. The age of reason had forgotten certain fundamental human needs; natural religion might satisfy the minds of some, but the hearts of multitudes were hungry. The weaknesses of the established church--its failure to provide adequate care, the inflexibility of its parish system, its neglect of the new towns--left a vast and needy population waiting to be touched by a new word of power. "Just at this time, when we wanted little of 'filling up the measure of our iniquities,' two or three clergymen of the Church of England began vehemently to 'call sinners to repentance'. In two or three years they had sounded the alarm to the utmost borders of the land. Many thousands gathered to hear them; and in every place where they came, many began to show such a concern for religion as they never had done before." This is Wesley's own account of the beginnings of the Methodist revival.¹

There seems to be some justification for the dim views regarding the position of religion in the eighteenth century. According to one religious historian reviewing it there is little good he can say.

¹Gerald R. Cragg, The Church and the Age of Reason (1648-1789), (New York, 1961), p. 141. That this religious malaise was widespread is implied in a statement about the Catholic Church in the eighteenth century. H. Daniel-Rops quotes in The Church in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1960), p. 163. "The different Protestant Churches, especially the Anglican and Lutheran," say Mousnier and Labrousse, "were afflicted with maladies similar to those of the Catholic Church: subjection to the State, unsatisfactory recruitment and training of the clergy, lukewarmness of faith, a general tendency to rationalism and deism as well as to natural religion which affected both morality and belief."

It has been the fashion to decry the eighteenth century. We have certainly met a great deal that deserves condemnation. The tone of the public mind was often frivolous and superficial. The common people were ignorant and profane. The philosophy of the century was not deep, and religion was more defended than practiced.²

And writing almost a half-century later, Caroline Spurgeon introduced her essay on "William Law and the Mystics" by underscoring this unfavorable view of the status of religion in William Law's England.

To speak of mystical thought in the first half of the eighteenth century in England seems almost a contradiction in terms; for the predominating character of that age, its outlook on life and its mind as expressed in philosophy, religion and literature, was in every way opposed to what is understood by mystical. In literature, shallowness of thought is often found combined with unrivalled clearness of expression; in general outlook, the conception of a mechanical world made by an outside Creator; in religion and philosophy, the practically universal appeal to 'rational' evidence as supreme arbiter. In no age, it would seem, have men written so much about religion, while practicing it so little. The one quality in Scripture which interests writers and readers alike is its credibility and the impression gathered by the student of the religious controversies of the day is that Christianity was held to exist, not to be lived, but, like a

²Rev. John Hunt, Religious Thought in England (London, 1873), p. 400.

proposition in Euclid, only to be proved.³

This negative note had already been sounded in 1785 in a series of commentaries on eighteenth-century novelists by Clara Reeve.

A novelist herself, she attempted, in an aesthetic work entitled The Progress of Romance, to justify the need of those novels written as "vehicles to convey wholesome truths to the young and flexible heart." Indirectly she points up the religious weakness of the age.

At this period when a constant supply of Novels was expected by the Readers of the Circulation Library, some persons whose excellent principles led them to see and lament the decline of virtuous manners, and the passion for desultory reading, endeavoured to stem the torrent by making entertaining stories their vehicles to convey to the young and flexible heart, wholesome truths, that it refused to receive under the form of moral precepts and instructions, thus they tempered the utile with the dulce, and under the disguise of Novels, gave examples of virtue rewarded and vice punished, and if the young mind unawares to itself was warmed with the love of virtue, or shocked at the punishments of the wicked, this was all the reward they wished or expected from their labours.

³Caroline Spurgeon, "William Law and the Mystics," The Cambridge History of English Literature, IX (Cambridge, England, 1940), 305.

Of this kind were the following: Callistus
 or the Man of Fashion by Mr. Mulso
 The Exemplary Mother by Mrs. Cooper
 The Placid Man by Mr. Jenner
 The Fool of Quality by Mr. Brooke.⁴

Later on in the chapter her reference to a contemporary reviewer's opinion of The Fool of Quality will add a vital point to the discussion.

Parallels to the religious conditions of the eighteenth century found in his own Victorian era, were depicted by the novelist, Charles Kingsley, in the preface to his 1859 edition of The Fool of Quality. E. A. Baker found "his appreciation of Brooke eminently just and fair and the praise enthusiastic, but not indiscriminating" (p. xxviii).

Kingsley sees salvation for the spiritually sick men of his era in the sermonizings of Brooke.

And if, again a theology be possible, and an anthropology not contradictory to, but founded on, that theology;--if the old Catholic dogma that the Son of Man was the likeness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person, may be believed still (as it is by a lingering few among Christians), in any honest and literal practical sense;--if that be true which Mr. J. Stuart Mill says in his late grand Essay upon Liberty, that 'our popular religious ethics by holding out the hope of heaven and the threat of hell, as the appointed and appropriate motives to

⁴Clara Reeve, The Progress of Romance (New York, 1930), p. 41. This is a reprint of the original 1758 edition by the Facsimile Text Society.

a virtuous life, fall far below the best of the ancients, and do what they can to give to human morality an essentially selfish character; '--if by (as Mr. Mill says) 'discarding those so-called secular standards, derived from Greek and Roman writers, which heretofore co-existed with and supplemented ethics' (which should be called not Christian, but monastic, and the 'secular' correctives of which still remain, thank God, in the teaching of our public schools, and of our two great universities), 'receiving some of its spirit, and infusing into it some of theirs, there is even now resulting a low abject, servile type of character, which, submit itself as it may to what it deems the Supreme will, is incapable of rising to or sympathizing in the conception of Supreme goodness: '--if this, be true, then it may be worth while for earnest men to consider well if these seemingly impertinent sermonizings of Henry Brooke be not needed now-a-days: even though he dares to tell his reader, and indeed to take as his text throughout the book, that 'all virtues, even justice itself, are merely different forms of benevolence,' and that benevolence produces and constitutes the heaven or beatitude of God himself. He is no other than an infinite and eternal Good Will. Benevolence must, therefore, constitute the beatitude or heaven of all dependent beings.' (pp. lv-lvi)

Thus far Brooke has been instanced as an example of a writer of fiction who set forth the ideals of the human soul in order "to compare what man is with what man might be" (p. lv). A writer of non-fictional works portraying the same ideals may have well served as an inspiration

and source for Brooke. William Law⁵ (1688-1761), preached a way of life in accord with the teaching of Christ in his highly practical treatise, A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life (1728); his fervent practice of this way was more effective than any preaching. Where Law chose a spiritual treatise to expound the principles of Christian perfection, Brooke chose as his vehicle a fictional narrative. Under the guise of a "Fool of Quality," he recorded--in a leisurely paced manner--the results of adherence to such principles in his own life. In this fashion he skirted the danger of spoiling the palatability of the work by disappearing into the character of his fictional hero, the genuinely excellent model for similar applications of Law's tenets.

Thus the English reading public of 1765 was introduced to Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality wherein Brooke, the devout and kindly gentleman, the singularly Christian humanitarian, related his religious progress through the likeable and loveable "Fool of Quality," Henry,

⁵John H. Overton, writing in The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, (London, 1878), p. 61, makes a very interesting observation regarding the rise of the "Evangelicals." "It is somewhat remarkable that, as far as the revival of the Evangelicals can be traced to any one individual, the man to whom the credit belongs was never himself an Evangelical because he was distinctly High Church, he was an originator in what became the Low Church party. He was a Nonjuror, of the most decidedly 'Orange' element in the church, a Quietist who scarcely ever quitted the retirement in an obscure Northern village, of that party, which, above all others, was distinguished for its activity, bodily no less than spiritually, a clergyman who rarely preached a sermon, of the party whose great forte was preaching."

Earl of Moreland. And that this progress took its edifying directions from Law's Serious Call, is soon enough made evident.

Even a superficial study of the lives of these two men brings out not only a number of ways in which they may be viewed in common, but also instances of such notable similarity that either name might answer to the description. After ordination and election to a fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Law refused to take the oaths of allegiance to George I, and lost both his fellowship and vocation. Brooke opposed George II and suffered the censoring of his play which was prohibited almost on the very day of its staging. At this turn of events his wife feared for him, and in compliance with her wishes, he left London--losing a position in Parliament.

Both wrote a book which reflected the sincere religious convictions of the author and played no small part in influencing the religious thought in England generations after its original publication. And though both Law and Brooke were professed high churchmen, the former, because of his deep impression on the Wesley Brothers, might be considered the distant father of Methodism; and the latter, in providing the teaching tool for Methodist instructors by his Fool of Quality as adapted by John Wesley, might be likened to a genial stepfather. More paradoxical is the situation of the two men in regard to their adherence to the tenets and intuitions of Boehme (1575-1624), the mystic, whose religious thinking was highly repugnant to the ordinary English clergymen as well

as to the Wesleyan preachers.

Furthermore, as Law and Brooke taught so they wrought. In 1740, Law returned to his birthplace at King's Cliffe near Stamford, where he settled for the remainder of his life. Here he was joined by Hester Gibbon, the historian's aunt, and a Mrs. Hutcheson, a wealthy widow. Their joint annual income of 3,000 pounds was carefully regulated by Law. Only a tenth was spent on themselves; the remainder was given to works of general charity; food, clothes and money were supplied to every beggar who applied at Law's door. In addition, they cared regularly for fourteen poor girls--later, eighteen boys, as well as deserving widows. Even when Law retired to his study his watchful eye quickly noted any mendicant turning into his road and he as quickly met him and filled his needs. Though the villagers grumbled and the rector protested at the swarms of undesirable persons coming in, the trio continued their good works but slightly altering their indiscriminate almsgiving. It seems that the parishioners were prepared to tolerate their apparently foolish zeal rather than lose the three zealous souls when they threatened to leave the parish. Despite his own frugal living, Law did not carry his asceticism to excess, and amid his unrelieved routine of prayer, study, and good works, he was ever serene. Friends who visited him found him most cheerful.

On the other hand, there is Brooke whose holy living presents perhaps even a more intensified version of Law's. It is difficult to be-

lieve that one man could encompass so much personal and sympathetic concern for the needs of others. For those who find Brooke's hero in The Fool of Quality in childhood, and as a young man, performing good deeds in excess of the probable, one can only point to his once actual counterpart in the author himself. A striking example of such a good deed with its apparent excessiveness evoked a forthright criticism from Coleridge: "It would have conduced in no trifling degree to the improvement of this work if he had borne in mind the wise adage of old Hesiod, 'Half is not seldom more than the whole.' Here, for instance, the words 'thousands of' might have advantageously [been?] omitted."⁶

This is the episode in which the words (in Coleridge's volume) thousands of are not only underscored with pencil, but are also crossed out with a rugged ink-line.

Within a fortnight after this, Mr. James, the house-steward, furnished a large lumber-room with hundreds of coats, out-coats, shirts, waistcoats, breeches, stockings, and shoes, of different sorts and sizes, but all of warm and clean, though homely, materials.

⁶Dike, p. 153. The thousands of is emended to hundreds of in Baker's edition. It is as if the change was prompted by seeing Coleridge's reaction. This is not true since Dike's discovery was made long after the 1906 edition of The Fool of Quality. The editions published in the eighteenth century read thousands of.

When this was done, Mr. Fenton led his favourite up to the stores, and said-- My Harry, you see all these things, and I make a present of all these things to my Harry. And now tell me my love, what you do with them? Why, dada, says Harry, you know that I cannot wear them myself. No, my dear, says Mr. Fenton, for you have clothes enough besides, and some of them would not fit you, and others would smother you. What then will you do with them, will you burn them, or throw them away? O, that would be very naughty and wicked indeed! says Harry. No, dada, as I do not want them myself, I will give them to those that do. That will be very honestly done of you, says Mr. Fenton; for, in truth, they have a better right to them, my Harry, than you have, and that which you cannot use cannot belong to you. So that, in giving you these things, my darling, it should seem as if I made you no gift at all. O, a very sweet gift! says Harry. How is that? says Mr. Fenton. Why, the gift of doing good to other people sir. Mr. Fenton, then stepping back, and gazing on our hero, cried-- Whoever attempts to instruct thee my angel, must himself be instructed of heaven, who speaks by that sweet mouth. (p. 54)

One might expect anything from a man whose religious convictions were most profound. So it would make it seem the most natural thing in the world for a Sunday congregation once deprived of their clergyman through an emergency, to beg Brooke to take his place. Most unusual, however, would be the effect that followed as was witnessed by the returned rector who found Brooke preaching ex-tempore to the rapt congregation which was all bathed in tears. (p. xx).

Like Law, Brooke returned to the place of his birth. From a new living place called Longfield, he continued to send out to the world various literary works always with an eye to imparting many useful lessons and moral sentiments. The Fool of Quality was really the crown of all his creative output. Here at Longfield the welcome visitor was sure to find him the genial host, sparkling with warm wit heightened by the light of his large eyes, which were full of fire. The conversation at dinner turned chiefly on the custom and manners of the inhabitants in the neighborhood. "You would really think that Mr. Brooke was talking of his own children, they were all so dear to him; he prayed for them and blessed them over and over again, with tears in his eyes" (p. xxv).

It is no wonder, then, that at his death people of an entire country-side walked miles to meet his funeral coming from Dublin, or that an honest blacksmith grew eloquent in poetry summing up the feelings of all in regard to Brooke whose heart, felt and relieved "sorrows not his own." It was said of him that

he saw the peaks of virtue in enthusiastic lights, and if he conceived that he was sailing on the current of truth, his course then became reckless, and he would scorn the rudder while he hoisted every sail to drive with the breeze or catch the blast. He had a thorough knowledge of the world in theory, and saw into character with a piercing eye; but he was simple and artless in his practical conduct, and too chivalrous for common life--Many letters and other evidences are on record of his

alert sympathy with the joys and sorrows of his friends; he was the kindest of landlords, though often imposed on, and entered into the troubles of every cot-tier on his estate with a degree of sympathy almost morbid. (p. xx)

When we approach the death-bed scenes of the two men grown aged in their fidelity to the pursuit of a devout and holy life, we are prepared for the end from all that preceded. Law's was an exalted entrance into the after life. Miss Gibbon has left a touching account of his last hours.

'This death bed,' she writes, 'instead of being a state of affliction was providentially a state of divine transport. The gracious words that proceeded out of his mouth were all love, all joy and all divine transport. After taking leave of everybody in the most affecting manner and declaring the opening of the Spirit of Love in the soul to be all to all, he expired in divine raptures.'

Brooke's actual death was not accompanied by the outward raptures attending Law's, for according to his daughter, Charlotte, Brooke "died, as he lived--a Christian. With the meekness of a lamb, and the fortitude of a hero, he supported the tedious infirmities of age, the languors of sickness and the pain of dissolution; and his death like his life was instructive" (p. xxii). But the real meeting with the Lamb of God must

⁷ Henri Talon, William Law (London, 1948), p. 6.

certainly have resembled the rapturous joy of his hero's supernally beautiful marriage day when the "Fool of Quality" was transported with bliss, and his carriage seemed to be caught up to the heavens. In this symbol of marriage, Brooke had feelingly portrayed the ecstasy of the soul joined in complete union with its God.

The crowd, however, extended wide and far beyond the cavalcade. They bowed respectfully, and paid obeisance to Mr. Clinton, the duke, &c., as they passed; but, as soon as they got a glimpse of the chariot of their young Phaeton, their acclamations became unremitted, and almost insufferable to the ear, like the shouts of a Persian army at the rising of the sun.

Slowly as our Harry moved, the multitude strove to retard him, by throwing themselves in his way, that they might satiate their eyes and souls with the fullness of the sight. Bended knees and lifted hands, prayers, blessings, and exclamations, were heard and seen on all sides; and all the way as they went hundreds upon hundreds shouted forth the hymeneal of the young and happy pair. (p. 427)

Thus as Henry Brooke had lovingly and painstakingly delineated his Harry in The Fool of Quality, he had simply drawn from the model closest to hand--himself. And that self had from youth not only discussed but answered Law in the Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life.

In concluding this section glancing at the likenesses in the lives of the two writers, the glowing words of Charles Kingsley on Henry Brooke in his Preface to The Fool of Quality, can as well be applied to William

Law:

Henry Brooke's life consisted in his lofty moral standard, altogether heroical and godlike; in his delicate sensibility (quite different from sensitiveness, child of vanity and ill-temper); in his chivalrous respect for woman; in his strong trust in mankind; in his pitiful yearning, as of a saving angel, over all sin and sorrow; in his fresh and full manhood, most genial and yet most pure; in those very virtues, to tell the ugly truth, which are most crushed and blunted in young men. (xlili)

Turning to a consideration of Law's and Brooke's works already mentioned, it may seem that in similarity of purpose, too, one is like the other. Only the manner of persuasion is dissimilar; each yields a crop of differences in matter and style. As previously remarked, Law's is a spiritual treatise telling how to live according to the teachings of Christ; Brooke's is a novel showing how one man lived according to those divine teachings. It is intriguing to note that many of the comprehensive titles heading the chapters of Law's book might equally have served as headings in Brooke's Fool. Take for example: "Chapter VI--"Containing the great obligation and the advantage of making a wise and religious use of our estates and fortunes"; this is a very suitable one for Chapter XVI in which Harry liberally relieves--with bills of one hundred and sixty pounds--any number of needy people. Other captions too, would be equally adaptable: "XI--Showing how great devotion fills our lives with the greatest peace and happiness that can be enjoyed in this world," or,

XVIII--Showing how the education which men generally receive in their youth makes the doctrines of humility difficult to be practiced. The spirit of a better education represented in the character of Paternus." Some of Law's running chapter heads would be just as suitable for certain sections of the novel: "Worldliness is not Happiness." "Right Use of the World."⁸

Although both books are written from the heart, the appeal of the Call with its gently biting wit and unanswerable logic, is directed at the intellect. William Law as a master of the spiritual life was also master of that "controversial irony which pierces that which deserves to be pierced but has no poison in it."⁹ With this technique he succeeded in exposing the hidden motives lurking in the dark corners of men's hearts. Law introduced his work declaring:

I have chosen to explain this matter by appealing to this intention, because it makes the case so plain, and because everyone who has a mind may see it in the strongest light, and feel it in the strongest manner, only by looking into his heart.¹⁰

⁸William Law A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life (London, 1898), pp. iii-iv.

⁹S. C. Carpenter, Eighteenth-Century Church and People (London, 1879), p. 275.

¹⁰William Law, p. 16.

In leading men from self-deceit to self-knowledge, Law relied heavily on the use of character sketches which were, as Dobrée says, "modelled upon those which enlivened the *Tatler* ('Flavia would be a miracle of piety, if.....')." ¹¹ or, as Law himself pointed out, he would draw characters, "whose ridicule, well emphasized might teach his readers to live more reasonably." ¹² Although Law's range of observation was limited by the type of life he led, he presented quite a variety of representatives of human nature. For the most part he depicted the new middle class: merchants, financiers, high officials, women of wealth and leisure, scholars, clergymen, and gentlemen. Carefully studying the behavior of these people, he noted what he thought was most significant in each one: whether in the inconsistency between words and deeds or in the inner conflict of several "wills"; or the show of pretense and frivolity. And so in a long series of diminutive biographies ridiculing undesirable characteristics, we are given the following pointed portraits: Credule, once a "devout mother" now a "lover of gossip and scan-

¹¹ Bonamy Dobrée, English Literature in the Early Eighteenth Century (Oxford, 1959), p. 300.

¹² William Law, p. 106. Brooke must have had these characters on his mind when he liberally sprinkled his first chapter with a similar set: Sir Christopher Cloudy, and Lady Childish, Squire Sulky, Lord Prim, Lord Flippant, Mr. Gentle, and others (pp. 2-4).

dal;" "Matilda, another version of the same;" Ouranus, "haughty when first in Holy Orders, later more humble;" Cognatus, a "prick of conscience" for clergymen who know the markets but not their duties; Caecus "the proud" opposed to Clemens the good; Fulvius "full of a self-deceit" that inhibits him from doing good on the grounds of a groundless scrupulosity; Success "the Epicure," and many others.

That Law succeeded in his purpose is undeniable despite the fact that these character sketches dwell only on the failings which he wished to expose. Certainly somewhere among the sketches vast numbers of readers saw in the Serious Call as in a mirror, the reflection of their own misery. On record are some highly eminent names of those who paid tribute to the Call's great influence: John and Charles Wesley, Henry Whitfield, Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, Thomas Adam, James Stillingfleet, Edward Gibbon and Lord Lyttelton. The most notable testimony accorded the work is that of Samuel Johnson who had become as he himself admits,

a sort of lax talker against religion, for I did not much think against it; and this lasted till I went to Oxford. When there I took up Law's Serious Call to a Holy Life, expecting to find it a dull book (as such books usually are)....But I found Law quite an over-match for me, and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion.¹³

¹³James Boswell, The Life of Samuel Johnson, LLD, Vol. I (Oxford, 1826), p. 37.

Thus Law with his urbane manner and straightforward prose sprinkled with humor did "touch his readers" as he avowed, "I have just touched upon those absurd characters for no other end but to convince you in the plainest manner."¹⁴

Speaking of characters in this vein, those in Brooke's book will be embodiments not only of specific characteristics, but they will be shown progressing or regressing in settings that are a vital part of everyday human life. In the dedication to the public printed in the first volume of The Fool of Quality (discussed in Chapter II), Brooke enumerated the various foibles of that public and the remedies which he had suggested. He declared that this romance was offered as a lesson to all. He dwelt on the different notions of wisdom and folly, saying that he called his hero a fool because the world would so consider him. Thereby Brooke really wrote the history of the so-called fool as an object lesson in wisdom. That this idea forcibly struck John Wesley is to be observed in his incorporation of it in a two-page spread frontispiece for his adaptation of The Fool of Quality. In a particularly flamboyant style of drawing, a goddess-like type of being depicting Wisdom is bearing off in her arms a child whom she has just snatched from the languid hold of an extravagantly bedecked Folly.

¹⁴Law, p. 106.

In order that the "Fool of Quality" may better promulgate the lessons of wisdom, a series of characters must both affect him and be affected by him. These, without their flesh and blood deeds, might also be met in Law's pages. Among them are: Henry Clinton, the wise merchant; Henry, "The Fool of Quality," Mr. Vindex, a brutal schoolmaster; Edward Longfield, a chivalrous young man; Lord Bottom, a conceited and arrogant young nobleman; Mr. Niggard, a debtor who is ungrateful to benefactors, and others whose delicate sensibilities exaggerate their weaknesses. In this respect, Law differs from Brooke. His Serious Call did not depict nor had it anything to say to the atheist or scoundrel. Addressing himself to the sober-minded, Law felt there was hope for their improvement.

To offer examples of what might indicate specific influence or inspiration upon Brooke by Law, would result in a work of almost the combined length of the two books under discussion. As a flavor of the style, sentiment and sense of both, these excerpts portray their views of what constitutes a Christian gentleman. Law's advice to young gentlemen is to be the whole training of Harry in Brooke's novel.

Young gentlemen must consider what Our Blessed Lord said to the young gentleman in the Gospel. He bid him "Sell all that he had and give to the poor." Now though the text should not oblige all people to sell all, yet it certainly obliges all kind of people to employ all their estates in such wise, reasonable, and char-

itable ways as may sufficiently show that all they have is devoted to God, and that no part of it is kept from the poor to be spent in needless, vain and foolish expense.

If, therefore, young gentlemen propose to themselves a life of pleasure and indulgence, if they spend their estates in high living, in luxury, in intemperance, in state and equipage, in pleasures and diversions, in sports and gaming, and such like gratifications of their foolish passions, they have as much reason to look upon themselves as to be angels as to be disciples of Christ.

Let them be assured that it is the one only business of a Christian gentleman to distinguish himself by good works, to be eminent in the most sublime virtues of the Gospel, to bear with the ignorance and weakness of the vulgar, to be a friend and a patron to all that dwell about him, to live in the utmost heights of wisdom and holiness and show, through the whole course of his life, a true religious greatness of mind. They must aspire after such a gentility as they might have learnt from seeing the blessed Jesus, and show no other spirit of a gentleman but such as they might have got by living with the holy Apostles. They must learn to love God with all their heart, with all their soul, and with all their strength, and their neighbor as themselves, and then they can have all the greatness and distinction that they can have here, and are fit for an eternal happiness in heaven hereafter.¹⁵

¹⁵Law, pp. 97-98.

These earnest injunctions are clearly echoed by Brooke's "Author" in one of the many Author and Friend discussions interspersed throughout The Fool of Quality. However, where Law exhorts, Brooke expounds each of his points with innumerable examples drawn from the Scriptures, mythology, ancient and English history, and various other sources.

The greatest of great poets, in his character of Hector, has given us the lineaments of the first and most finished gentleman that we meet in profane history, admirably and amiably instanced in his attachments to his country, in his filial affections, in his conjugal delicacies, in his paternal feelings, in his ardour for his friends, in his humanity to his enemies, and even in his piety to the gods that he worshipped, (no deduction from his courage, according to ancient arithmetic!)

Some time after the battle of Cressy, Edward the Third of England, and Edward the Black Prince, the more than heir of his father's renown, pressed King John of France to indulge them with the pleasure of his company at London. John was desirous of embracing the invitation and accordingly laid the proposal before his parliament at Paris. The parliament objected, that the invitation had been made with an insidious design of seizing his person, thereby to make the cheaper and easier acquisition of the crown, to which Edward at that time pretended. But John replied with some warmth--That he was confident his brother Edward, and more especially his young cousin, were too much of the Gentleman to be guilty of any baseness. (p. 159)

As Aristotle and the Critics derived their rules for epic poetry and the sublime, from

a poem which Homer had written long before the rules were formed or laws established for the purpose; thus from the demeanour and innate principles of particular gentlemen, art has borrowed and instituted the many modes of behavior which the world has adopted under the title of good manners.

One quality of a gentleman is that of charity to the poor; and this is delicately instanced in the account which Don Quixote gives to his fast friend, Sancho Pansa, of the valorous but yet more pious knight-errant Saint Martin. Another characteristic of the true gentleman is a delicacy of behavior toward that sex whom nature has entitled to the protection, and consequently entitled to the tenderness, of man. (p. 159)

Another very peculiar characteristic of a gentleman is the giving place, and yielding to all with whom he has to do.....Of this we have a shining and affecting instance in Abraham, perhaps the most accomplished character that may be found in history, whether sacred or profane...

Another capital quality of the true gentleman, is, that of feeling himself concerned and interested in others. Never was there so benevolent, so affecting, so pathetic a piece of oratory exhibited upon earth, as that of Abraham's pleading with God for averting judgments that then impended over Sodom. But the matter is already so generally celebrated, that I am constrained to refer my reader to the passage at full; since the smallest abridgment must deduct from its beauties, and that nothing can be added to the excellences thereof. (p. 160)

Again, the gentleman never envies any superior excellence; but grows himself more excellent, by being the admirer, promoter, and lover thereof. (p. 161)

From these instances, my friend, you must have seen that the character, or rather quality of a Gentleman, does not in any degree depend on fashion or mode, on station or opinion; neither changes with customs, climates, nor ages. But as the Spirit of God alone inspires it into man; so it is as God is, the same yesterday, today, and forever. (p. 162)

From this much alone, it is easy to deduce the reasons for the extent of the influence exerted by both men on the founder of Methodism-- John Wesley (1703-1791). It was he who acknowledged that A Serious Call sowed the seed of methodism; and, it is said that next to the Bible, it contributed more than any other book to the spread of evangelicalism. Wesley was so impressed that he preached after the model of A Serious Call and used it for his highest class at Kingswood school; and, a few months before his death, he spoke of it as "a treatise which will hardly be excelled, if it be equalled, in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or for justice and depth of thought."¹⁶ This helps to account for the profoundly affecting part it played in the youth of two zealous leaders in another religious revival a century later--John Keble and John Henry Newman.

¹⁶Spurgeon, p. 313.

If Wesley found Law's treatise so eminently suitable for his evangelical purposes, how much more readily he saw the valuable instructional purposes of Brooke's unique novel is evident from the fact that he took this novel of sensibility under his own protection, having secured permission to abridge and republish it. It was Brooke's "emphasis on the needs of the poor, the oppressed, the callousness of social institutions"¹⁷ that moved him. "If a single soul falls into the abyss, whom I might have saved from the eternal flames, what excuse shall I make before God? That he did not belong to my parish? That is why I regard the whole world as my parish."¹⁸ Nor did he regard the display of emotions as excessive despite the fact that some looked upon Harry as one who "does not do much except dole out money right and left, and he is washed in grateful tears of his beneficiaries and admirers, not to mention his own."¹⁹ Because The Fool of Quality was an undeniable adornment to the vogue of sensibility which went hand in hand with the reli-

¹⁷ Oliver Elton, A Survey of English Literature 1730-1780 (London 1928), p. 241.

¹⁸ Daniel-Rops, p. 173.

¹⁹ Elton, p. 241.

religious revival, Wesley saw in it an instrument for fostering the "religion of the heart."

To his amended form of The Fool of Quality which came out in 1780 as The History of Henry, Earl of Moreland, Wesley included an introduction of compelling fervor and high commendation for the work. Many editions of this form continued to be published for the edification of devout Wesleyans, who ascribed the authorship to their beloved founder. Referring to The Fool of Quality as "not a mere novel," because "a mind like Brooke's could hardly have planned such," the writer in the 1852 Dublin Magazine provides a significant nineteenth-century view of the book. "This book was one of three which the late eminently gifted Michael Thomas Sadler said he would select as companions of his captivity if he were to be confined in the Tower for life, and had but the option

²⁰In drawing up an evaluation of Wesley's work, Edward Allen Whitney, in "Humanitarianism and Romanticism," HLO, II (January, 1939), p. 173., concludes:

The rejuvenation of religion under the banner of John Wesley-- reduced to lowest terms, the evangelical movement, whether with- in or without the confines of the established church, was a re- volt against the domination of reason in religion, a denial of the impersonality of God in his concern with human affairs, and an assertion that no man could expect salvation without miracu- lously receiving a divine conviction that he had been saved by virtue of his faith in the love and mercy of Jesus Christ. Wes- ley, more than others, brought home to the common people the personal responsibility of every man to live up to the word of God.

of this small number along with his Bible; the other two were Pilgrim's Progress and Robinson Crusoe." ²¹

In the last two paragraphs of the introduction are to be found Wesley's reasons for his enthusiastic interest in Brooke's didactic novel.

I now venture to recommend the following treatise, as the most excellent of its kind of any that I have seen, either in the English or any other language. The lowest excellence therein is the style, which is most pure in the highest degree; not only clear and proper, every word being used in its true, genuine meaning; but frequently beautiful and elegant, and where there is room for it truly sublime. But what is of far greater value, is the admirable sense which is conveyed therein, as it sets forth in full view, most of the important truths which are revealed in the Oracles of God. And these are not only well illustrated, but also proved in an easy, natural manner; so that the thinking reader is taught without any trouble, the most essential doctrine of religion.

But the greatest excellence of all in this treatise, is that it continually strikes at the heart. It perpetually aims at inspiring and increasing every right affection; at the instilling gratitude of God, and benevolence to man. And, it does this not by dry, dull, tedious precepts, but by the liveliest examples that can be conceived; by setting before your eyes one of the most beautiful pictures that ever was drawn in the world. The strokes of this

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Dublin Magazine. p. 213.

are so delicately fine, the touches so easy, natural and affecting, that I know not who can survey it with tearless eye, unless he has a heart of stone. I recommend it therefore to all who are already² or desire to be, lovers of God and Man.

By way of Brooke, Wesley, like a spiritual apothecary, continued to dispense sweet religious unction to his brethren.

It would be unthinkable to suppose that Wesley's unqualified endorsement of Brooke's book meant that there were no dissenting voices. A contemporary of both gentlemen, Clara Reeve, in acknowledging Brooke as a "man of genius, taste and sensibility,"²³ nonetheless spoke up for those who could not accept this literary vehicle for conveying certain of his pious messages. Insofar as it was a fictionalized rendition of The Theory of Moral Sentiments, a moving account of fictitious sorrows to cater to the desire for an outlet of the delicate emotions of sentiment and sensibility, it was popular with many. The number of new editions of the work attested to this. Criticism on another score sounded

²²Henry Brooke, The History of Henry, Earl of Moreland, Edited by John Wesley (London, 1781), pp. 3-4. "It was most unusual for Wesley to publish a novel," states Maurice J. Quinlan in Victorian Prelude, (New York, 1941) p. 30." While he wished to acquaint new readers with the best of English writers, he was concerned that they should read nothing but works which would contribute to moral improvement. The Fool of Quality he admired, because it contained numerous homilies and encouraged generosity to the poor."

²³Clara Reeve, p. 42.

a note of conscientious concern. Continuing the enlargement on Brooke in the 1785 Progress of Romance, the reader was presented with an adverse element being heard in the prevailing critical attitude to Brooke's tale and technique:

...unhappily these fine talents were overshadowed by a veil of Enthusiasm, that casts a shade upon every object.

I will not trust myself to give a character to works of so mixed a kind. Let us see what the Reviewers say of it."²⁴

Here the author ostensibly has a friend consult the index for the entry on The Fool of Quality. Since neither the periodical, the article, nor the writer is named, the reviewer is simply the author herself, craftily covering her identity. The entry reads:

While with pleasure we contemplate the amiable and worthy characters drawn by this able writer, it is with real concern that we see them debased to the ascetic reveries of--Madame Guyon, William Law and the rest of the rapturous tribe. What can we say more of a performance, which is at once enriched by Genius, enlivened by fancy, bewildered with enthusiasm, and overrun with the visionary jargon of fanaticism.

We shall only add our hearty wish that the ingenious writer, would give us an

²⁴Ibid.

abridgement of this work [either the author did not know of Wesley's abridgment or kept up the pretense of the review's presumably, earlier appearance,] cleared from the sanctimonious rubbish by which its beauties are so much obscured; and thus, we are persuaded, it would be perused with pleasure by readers of every rank and age; but while it remains in its present motley state, we apprehend it will be a favourite with only Behmenites, Herbutters, Methodists, Hutchinsonians, and some Roman Catholics.²⁵

The only one to impute inclinations to popery on the part of Brooke is Alexander Chalmers. He admits that "The Fool of Quality excited much attention in England." Then he goes on to say it is

a novel replete with knowledge of human life and manners, and in which there are many admirable traits of moral feeling and propriety, but mixed, as the author advances toward the close, with so much of religious discussion and mysterious stories and opinions, as to leave it doubtful whether he inclined most to Behmenism or Popery.²⁶

Clara Reeve continues in her own person in The Progress of Romance:

I shall offer conjectures of my own, that Mr. Brooke would never have condescended

²⁵ Ibid., 44.

²⁶ Alexander Chalmers. "The Life of Henry Brooke, Esq." in The Works of the English Poets. XVII (London, 1810), p. 332.

to write Novels, but to make them vehicles to convey his tenets to the minds of such readers, as were not likely to receive them in any other form.

What a pity that such genius and such taste should be used only to promote a blind and illiberal zeal to make proselytes! and to limit the mercies of God to one particular sect of Christians.

The growth of fanaticism is an alarming consideration; it is creeping into every sect among us, nay even into the established national Church.

Between Deism on one hand, and fanaticism on the other, people of rational piety, and moderation, are in no very good situation, for they are anathematized by the zealots of both parties. Let us leave them to him who best knows how to separate the grain from the chaff.²⁷

The so-called strains of mysticism in The Fool of Quality have been ascribed to the influence of Jacob Boehme, the peasant shoemaker of Gortitz. "He had been hounded by the Lutherans, but had sought refuge in his ecstasies and continued to pursue the magnum mysterium, 'the secret nature which lives, suffers, dies and is resurrected in each one of us, and is none other than Christ Himself'."²⁸ Scattered throughout the

²⁷ Clara Reeve, p. 44.

²⁸ Daniel-Rops, p. 169.

novel are more than a score of passages redolent with rapturous language, suffused emotion and mystical sentiment.

Although it is near the end of the book that passages steeped in Behmenism glow with greater intensity, several are to be found in the earlier chapters. One of these evoked a vehement reaction by Coleridge, whose emphatic "No!" was like the interruption of a third interlocutor.

The Earl is talking: "Might he not have ordered matters so, as to have presented the possibility of any degree of natural or moral evil in his universe?--[Mr. Meekly begins to reply.] I think he might, my lord. [Coleridge marked "No X" and at the bottom of the page added:

"Perfection belongs to God alone--Imperfection must therefore be found in his works--in other words--Evil--." ²⁹

The passage continues carrying its Behmenist's tenor:

Why did he not then prevent them? to what end could he permit such multiplied malevolence and misery among his creatures?-- For ends, certainly, my lord, infinitely worthy both of his wisdom and his goodness--I am desirous it should be so; but cannot conceive, cannot reach the way or means of compassing such an intention.

Can you not suppose, said Mr. Meekly, that evil may be admitted for accomplishing the greater and more abundant good?

²⁹Dike, p. 153.

May not partial and temporary malevolence and misery be finally productive of universal, durable and unchangeable beatitude? May not the universe, even now, be in the pangs of travail, of labour for such a birth, such a blessed consummation?

When Mr. Peter and Mr. Clement launch into a discussion on God's anger, Coleridge seems to be beside himself in getting his viewpoint across. He penned a lengthy criticism of several hundred words. He introduces his remarks by admitting:

This is a problem of not so easy solution, as the amiable Writer, whose religious views were those of Jacob Behmen, appears to have considered it...Why then is it incredible that in a transcendent form it should be affirmable of God in a form as transcendent to that which it exists in the best of Men, as the divine Love transcends any Love, we can feel!...Besides every ground on which the Author asserts Anger to be incompatible with God, would apply with equal if not greater force to Pity...Mercy, Justice--I have said that Brooke was a Behmenist--but in this respect he has only skimmed the Cream and sweetmeats of Behmen's System--Jacob himself entertained far other and profounder views on this point.³⁰

When the mystical passages are deleted, the book stands almost as John Wesley abridged it--that is--without a "great part of that Mystic Divinity, as it is more philosophical than scriptural" (xxvii). This Mystic

³⁰Ibid., 159.

Divinity is, of course, the mysticism of Boehme who first set Law, the genial yet stern moralist, on fire with it five years after the completion of A Serious Call. Though Brooke may have warmed his soul in either of the men's flaming ardor, the veneration and respect he has for Boehme runs just short of semi-idolatry. Hopkinson contends that for an understanding of Law's enthusiasm for Boehme, one has to see his mysticism ultimately derived from the Kabbalah. Then he refers to lines from a poem by Brooke to emphasize the attitude of worship that was true of both disciples:

The sacred fire of saint and sage
 Through ev'ry clime, in every age,
 In Behmen's wondrous page we view
 Discovered and revealed anew,

The trumpet sounds, the Spirit's given
 The Behmen is the voice from heaven.³¹

The task of summarizing the principles inherent in the teachings of Boehme is difficult. Caroline Spurgeon believes they might be summarized thus briefly: "will or desire as the original force; contrast or duality as the condition of all manifestation; the relation of the hidden and the manifest; development as a progressive unfolding of difference, with a final resolution into unity."³² Much is made of the pecu-

³¹Arthur W. Hopkinson, About William Law (London, 1948), 119.

³²Spurgeon, 317.

liar two forces manifested in all nature, within man and without, and called: good, evil and life; or, God, the devil and the world. Talon in his work on Law claims that, above all, Boehme's firmest belief was that everybody is that which he wills, and that Law's later work reflects this belief.

This principle is a dominant one in The Fool of Quality. Again and again, Brooke's "Fool" is made aware that a man becomes what he wills by submerging himself into the blessed Divine Will. The following brief excerpt offers the reader another excellent sampling of the author's ecstatic method in the exposition of this idea. Many others turn to several pages in length.

But when God is pleased to inform the will of the creature with any measure of his own benign and benevolent will, he steals it sweetly forth in affection to others; he speaks peace to the storm of rending passions; and a new and delightful dawning arises on the spirit. And thus, on the grand and final consummation, when every will shall be subdued to the will of good to all, our Jesus will take in hand the resigned cordage of our hearts; he will tune them, with so many instruments, to the song of his own sentiments, and will touch them with the finger of his own divine feelings. Then shall the wisdom, the might, and the good-

³³Talon, 65.

ness of our God, become the wisdom, might, and goodness of all his intelligent creatures; the happiness of each shall multiply and overflow in the wishes and participation of the happiness of all; the universe shall begin to sound with the song of congratulation; and all voices shall break forth in an eternal hallelujah of praise, transcending praise and glory, transcending glory to God and the Lamb! (p. 368).

Surely this is a more fiery form of "a serious call to a devout and holy life" and much akin to the Law whose mystical writings "beseech man to make his soul a 'temple' and 'altar,' the dwelling place of God. Whereas he used to offer man first and foremost, an outward discipline of life, he now endeavored to show him the inward path of those blissful states from which action naturally springs."³⁴

To those who point to the eighteenth century as an age of spiritual apathy, the figure of Law, who lived perfectly the high call to perfection, looms gigantic in compelling contradiction. For those who consider the mid-eighteenth century a morass of mere sentimentalism in religion, the lessons of Law continue through the Wesleyan leaders who use his spiritual treatise as a guide. And when the tender cultivation of sensibility is about to wane, Brooke fuses into a work of fiction the virtuous teachings of Law and the mystical tenets of Boehme, so that

³⁴Talon, p. 75.

of all of them, in a special way, might be said: Their "province is virtue and religion, life and manners, the science of improving the temper and making the heart better."³⁵ In this province Law, Boehme, Wesley, and Brooke were admirable experts.

³⁵Dobrée, p. 302.

CHAPTER FIVE

CULTURE OF THE HEART

Moving from the province in which the figures discussed in the last chapter exerted their incontestable influence in "making the heart better," we come to that of philosophy. Specifically, the concern here will be with that phase of philosophy which dictated the norms for the proper "culture of the heart" from the mid-eighteenth century on. Even more specifically, the concern will be with Brooke's own thesis regarding the essential ingredients constituting this culture in the milieu of eighteenth-century sensibility.

In a beautiful passage filled with Blake-like images, Brooke succeeds in conveying the ineffable tenderness of God's presence sweetly felt in the process of the "culture of the heart."

Though the elements and all that we know of nature and creatures, have a mixture of natural and physical evil, God is, however, throughout, an internal, though a hidden principle of good, and never wholly departs from his right of dominion and operation in his creatures; but is, and is alone, the beauty and beneficence, the whole glory and graciousness that can possibly be in them.

As the apostle says, 'The invisible things of God are made manifest by the things that are seen.' He is the secret and central light that kindles up the sun, his dazzling representative; and he lives, enlightens, and comforts in the diffusion of his beams.

His spirit inspires and actuates the air, and is in it a breath of life to all his creatures. He blooms in the blossom, and unfolds in the rose. He is fragrance in flowers, and flavour in fruit. He holds infinitude in the hollow of his hand and opens his world of wonders in the minims of nature. He is the virtue of every heart that is softened by a sense of pity or touch of benevolence. He coos in the turtle and bleats in the lamb; and, through the paps of the stern bear and implacable tigress, he yields forth the milk of loving-kindness to their little ones. Even, my Harry, when we hear the delicious enchantment of music, it is but an external sketch and faint echo of those sentimental and rapturous tunings that rise up, throughout the immensity of our God, from eternity to eternity. (pp. 310-320)

Here we have the poetic paraphrase for the equations: God equals Virtue; Virtue equals Benevolence; Benevolence equals the Chief Attribute of God; Human Benevolence equals the Reflection of Divine Benevolence. If one concept more than any other makes itself felt in the philosophical expression of Broöke, it is that of benevolence. Whenever he discusses actions which are concomitant with this concept, his words seem to take on a burning urgency.

Over and over again, Brooke will involve his lovable "Fool" in circumstances to which he, as a supreme exemplar of eighteenth-century sensibility, will react according to the dictates--not of his head--but, of his heart. In chapter after chapter, and, frequently, in page after page, The Fool of Quality offers proof that

The truth is, that people live incomparably more by impulse and inclination than by reason and precept. Reason and precept are not always within our beck; to have their due influence, they require frequent inculcation and frequent recollection; but impulse and inclination are more than at hand; they are within us, and from the citadel rule the outworks of man at pleasure. (p. 394) }

To tell how it came about that for this age, "feeling is the major and reason the minor component of man,"¹ would involve an exposition the extent of at least a modest library shelf of volumes.

This chapter, therefore, will proceed on the assumption that the fact of change in eighteenth-century philosophy that began with the enthronement of reason by Locke, "the high priest of confident rationalism,"² to its rejection by Hume, the kindly skeptic, is beyond argument.

¹A. R. Humphreys, The Augustan Age (New York, 1963), p. 194.

²Cragg, p. 168. Although this work concerns itself chiefly with the Church in the years from 1648 to 1789, two chapters offer significant insight into the eighteenth-century philosophy that drifted into the area reserved to religion: "Methodism and the Evangelical Revival," and "England: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of Reason."

In winding up the section, "Discourse of Reason," in his chapter on philosophy, Humphreys injects a vivid image that pictures this change!

...it is not surprising that Hume was soon to reject the supremacy of reason altogether, that the main stream of ethics soon abandoned this flat and dusty bed for the deeper channel of 'moral sentiment,' and that the torrent of Evangelicalism with its tumbling life-giving waters was soon to wash into men's minds the idea that there was more to life³ than the thin grass-hopperlike scratching.

What this chapter will not attempt to do, however, is to present a miniature anthology containing selected blocks of citations from the panoply of the works of the philosophers whose ideas were the moving forces of eighteenth-century thought.⁴ Neither will this chapter pre-

³Humphreys, p. 192.

⁴The most notable, and some of the less notable, writers and their works pertinent to the matter under discussion are listed in the bibliography. See especially sections A and B under IV. Of significant importance are many of the entries in A and B of V.

The British Moralists by L. A. Selby-Bigge, (Oxford, 1897), in two volumes, is still by far the most valuable compilation of extensive and judiciously selected cuttings from the writings most representative of the eighteenth-century English philosophers. Here one may readily relish the tone (an important element of any eighteenth-century writing) of the exponents of "moral sense," benevolence, "moral sentiment," and sympathy. An outstanding feature of the work is the prodigiously comprehensive index. Consisting principally of terms forming the key concepts of the philosophical expositions, such as, e.g., moral sense, virtue, benevolence, happiness, sympathy, etc., it briefly identifies each according to usage by the various moralists. The number of entries for these

sume to excavate extensively the interesting, but involved, backgrounds which yielded the philosophical phase of eighteenth-century sensibility.

terms is impressively long. Under moral sense, for Hutcheson alone, there are listed over one hundred references. About that number each is listed for Hutcheson and Butler under benevolence. Perhaps not surprisingly, virtue leads the rest with about a half dozen pages enumerating almost a thousand references to it. The work proves a veritable thesaurus of the eighteenth-century philosophers' expressions of moral ideas.

An earlier work than Selby-Bigge's is that of J. Mackintosh, On the Progress of Ethical Philosophy Chiefly During the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries (Edinburgh, 1872). Representing, perhaps, the first of its kind, this work consists mainly of extensive commentaries on the philosophers of "moral sense." Not yet superseded, however, is a more recent work, in which the Big Four of the British Moralists: Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, and Adam Smith, are dealt with, together with their major contemporary critics. This is James Bonar's Moral Sense, (London, 1930).

A work--somewhat difficult to classify--which is an eminently readable compendium of striking expressions--much like the eighteenth-century counterpart of present collections: Thought for Each Day of the Year--is really a gathering of aphoristic-like paragraphs compressed from the numerous notions of the chief British philosophers. The Institute of Moral Philosophy by Adam Ferguson, (Edinburgh, 1769), at least deserves looking into.

An author who is anti-everyone and everything in eighteenth-century philosophy is William Belsham and his Essays, Philosophical, Historical and Literary, (London, 1789).

Coming to the present, Basil Willey's The Eighteenth-Century Background (Boston, 1961), remains an important study eminently achieving the goal implied in the title. A. R. Humphrey, whose own chapter on "Philosophy Moral and Natural" in The Augustan World (New York, 1963), offers invaluable suggestions and interpretations, acknowledges Willey's scholarly contribution. Speaking of Shaftesbury in his article, "The Friend of Mankind' 1700-60)--An Aspect of Eighteenth-Century Sensibility," RES, XXIV (July 1948), 207, he says: "Professor Willey has dis-

A major piece of research which traced the origins of the eighteenth-century's "Man of Feeling," may serve equally as well to point out the location of the springs of thought which fed the eighteenth-century current of English philosophy.⁵

cussed him more luminously in one chapter of The Eighteenth-Century Background than anyone else in a complete book." It is interesting to observe how Humphreys has both incorporated much of this illuminating article directly into his recent book as well as the extent to which he has expanded and renewed his material before incorporation.

Mention must be made of the discovery of Volumes IV, V, and VI of the very recent six-volume History of Philosophy by Frederick Copleston, S.J., (Westminster, Maryland, 1959). Volume V, entitled Hobbes to Hume, has proved to be a researcher's rich deposit of eighteenth-century English philosophical ideas. The author has performed the enormous task of synthesizing the vast bulk of the systems, theories, enquiries, and treatises, by interweaving brief but salient quotations from the chief British moralists into a philosophical composite of the century. Copleston's history does not substitute for the original texts themselves but it does offer in one work, an outline of the leading eighteenth-century philosophical ideas. The reader desirous of surveying the entire field is spared re-viewing inevitable ranges of repetitive and overlapping material.

⁵It was seen in Chapter III of this dissertation that Ronald S. Crane's "Suggestions toward a Genealogy of a 'Man of Feeling'" provided valuable insights for an understanding of the sources that powerfully motivated that man's "feelings." This same article also provides an essay towards an analysis of the functions of the feelings themselves as they were cultivated before the eighteenth century dawned. Crane plainly states his purpose: he is to be "concerned with showing how the philosophy which found expression between the seventeen-thirties and the seventeen-nineties, in the sentimental heroes and heroines of countless English novels, plays, and poems, ever came to triumph" (Crane, p. 206). Actually the article was a "This-will-never do" type of reaction to the conventional attitude of scholars and students who looked upon Shaftesbury and his immediate disciples as responsible for accounting the impulses supreme in their effect upon the literary creators of

For a contribution to the philosophical idea under discussion from a different point of view, we return to Bredvold. By way of concluding

the "man of feeling" and his admirers among the public. (p. 207) The year of publication of the article, 1934, marks a dividing-line between critics dealing with this aspect of eighteenth-century sensibility. Prior to Crane's, is C. A. Moore's article, "Shaftesbury and the Ethical Poets in England 1700-1760," PMLA, XXXI 1916, 264-325, long accepted as the last word in the matter. With this must be coupled William E. Alderman's "The Significance of Shaftesbury in English Speculation," PMLA, XXXVIII (1923), 175-95. There are others, but these two will suffice as outstanding examples. After 1934, writers seem to be making painstaking efforts to point out their awareness of Crane's contention:

If we wish to understand the origins and the widespread diffusion in the eighteenth century of the ideas which issued in the cult of sensibility, we must look, I believe, to a period considerably earlier than that in which Shaftesbury wrote and take into account the propaganda of a group of persons whose opportunities for moulding the thoughts of ordinary Englishmen were much greater than those of even the most aristocratic of deists. What I would suggest, in short, is that the key to the popular triumph of 'sentimentalism' toward 1750 is to be sought, not so much in the teaching of individual lay moralists after 1700, as in the combined influence of numerous Anglican divines of the Latitudinarian tradition who from the Restoration onward into the eighteenth century had preached to their congregations and, through their books, to the larger public essentially the same ethics of benevolence, 'good nature,' and 'tender sentimental feeling.' (Crane, p. 207)

As one conspicuous example of making this awareness known, Michael Macklem in The Anatomy of the World, (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 82, begins his

In this chapter, "The Ethics of Feeling," he makes a somewhat startling observation: "It is, indeed, remarkable how the philosophers of the century collaborated to formulate the sentimental psychology of the good man, the man of feeling, the man of beautiful sentiments. But they were only keeping pace with the novelists, dramatists, and poets."⁶ Ordinarily, we are accustomed to view philosophers as setting the pace for writers of literature, and to view prevalent philosophical tendencies as creating the climate in which life, both real and fictional, is immersed. Thus few will be found who will argue with Paul Hazard's note showing how just such a creation of an ideological milieu is initiated, as in the case of Shaftesbury.

...Ajoutons la philosophie de Shaftesbury; laquelle, parmi tout d'éléments hétéroclites qui la composent, fait appel à la douceur, à une émotion aristocratique, à une certaine chaleur d'humanité, et fonde la morale sur instinct: alors nous obtiendrons une atmosphère toute chargée de pensée, et où cependant l'hom-

last chapter, but one stating: "The belief attributed by Mandeville to Shaftesbury [he refers to Mandeville's oft quoted passage about men being virtuous without any trouble to themselves] did not originate in the Characteristics but developed during the preceding half-century in conjunction with rational concepts of moral law. The footnote refers the reader to Crane's article. Furthermore, in a long footnote, Macklem repeats this idea and in a later and lengthier note, lists articles which deal with Shaftesbury's position before and after Crane's article.

⁶Bredvold, p. 23.

me de sentiment--peut commencer de respirer a l'aise. Encore, par Shaftesbury, sommes nous amenes à une valeur, philosophique plus directe et plus active, qu'il nous faut maintenant essayer de saisir.

Ideology first and ideas about it afterwards, is undeniably true of Brooke's novel, which at least subsumes the principles propounded by the eighteenth-century philosophers to a greater or a lesser degree. After all, the book was completed when many of the supposed philosophical novelties of the creators and the critics of these philosophers were past the first flush of their original fervor or their mild fury. The Fool of Quality seems to contemplate and cull with retrospective leisure from the century's wide choice of philosophical notions. By

⁸ 1770 there had emerged no clearly defined synthesis of the various sys-

⁷ Paul Hazard, "L'Homme de Sentiment," RR, XXVIII (December 1937), 323.

⁸ Actually, Harry, "The Fool of Quality," grows up during the reign of William III (1688-1702). Thus, even as a young man, he could not strictly speaking, have been steeped in the advanced stages of sensibility as the book pictures him. This anachronism--the pre-Anne years pervaded by the moral fashion of accompanying humanitarianism and benevolence with sympathetic tears and soft feelings--has never been pointed out. Those familiar with the fate that met Brooke's most famous drama, Gustavus Vasa (1736), which criticized Walpole's statecraft, will credit the novelist with taking measures to protect himself in old age. Since the book openly criticizes malpractice in government, the "Fool of Quality" will be safe in his outspokenness about rulers and their policies by Brooke's placing the misdeeds at an earlier age. Another reason for the pre-dating may be due to Brooke's awareness of the origins of the "Man of Feeling" as coming much earlier than Shaftesbury's

tems. It will take the nineteenth century to fully formulate, for example, the tenets of utilitarianism, which existed in potentia in a differently orientated application of them by Hutcheson, from those philosophers, who preceded, or, who would follow him. Thus Brooke, whose life spans almost the entire eighteenth century, has readily at his disposal an inexhaustible store from which to draw the expression of ideas that were the most popular moral guides of the century. In this way we arrive full circle to our proposition that The Fool of Quality is a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility.

In this chapter, I will nonetheless, act upon the suggestion implicit in Bredvold's statement cited earlier in the chapter, and present Brooke as the exponent of various eighteenth-century philosophical teachings. From this procedure there should result a modest collation of eighteenth-century moral-philosophical beliefs. In each instance of a Fool of Quality citation, I will attempt to determine the inherent view reflecting one or another of the British moralists in regard to the same proposition. This technique should justify the decision not to flood these pages with long passages from the moralists nor to attempt to match

Characteristics, and so the novelist gives us the earliest known portrait of him in "The Fool of Quality." The maturing process of Harry included a visit to the court of William III. It is, incidentally, also evident that Harry's "foolishness" in rejecting a career at court, is really a sign of his wholesome good sense. There is no clash here between sense and sensibility.

these with complementary passages from Brooke.

Apart from demonstrating the thesis that Brooke's Fool of Quality is a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility in the five vital facets of religion, philosophy, education, politics, and aesthetics, the novel is easily a compendium of another sort. Without elaborating on this second aspect, we might simply pause to remark that Brooke's Fool of Quality is a compendium of his own works. There would be no difficulty in showing how much the book encompasses. From levels of a pale Deism, as reflected in his major poem, Universal Beauty (1735), and to which Pope is alleged to have added lines and aided with revision, one ends up finally on heights of perfervid mysticism as reflected in his final long poem, Redemption (1772). In between are innumerable interesting vistas created from the effects of his vast and variegated literary output to which reference was made in Chapter II. However, because it is with the novel's aspect as a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility that we are concerned, at least a general outlining of the formulas that came to frame the moral milieu in which sensibility functioned is in order. The meaning of sensibility, together with its variant applications throughout the eighteenth century, and especially as it appears in The Fool of Quality, was already considered in Chapter III. In this chapter the stress on the meaning of sensibility takes its impetus by designating the term moral as the key word. This term is related to the definition of sensibility as "that quick emotional response

to the spectacle of others' miseries, with tenderness and softness" without which, there could be no effective benevolence.

The brief tracing of the development of the philosophical background might well begin somewhat in medias res with a consideration of Francis Hutcheson (1694-1744). In time and temper he stands midway between Hobbes's theories of "selfishness" and Hume's theories of "moral sentiment," between the cold dawn of Deism and the early warm flush of Methodism. His System of Moral Philosophy with its publication date of 1755⁹ suggests this introduction.

The System remains a compendium of Hutcheson's basic ideas, following as it does his preliminary essays into eighteenth-century thought, but coming also after Hume's important works, The Treatise on Human Nature (1737), and the Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals (1751). All three are significant contributions to the study of the "ethics of feeling." One can, without difficulty, imagine his countryman, Adam Smith (1723-1790), savoring the moral sentiments of these works and for-

⁹Hutcheson's sons could have built no finer monument to the memory of their much loved father than the publication of this System, the composition of which, had, for the most part, been completed in 1737. Hutcheson qualified, though in a more restrained fashion, as another "Fool of Quality." He expended his genuine talents in a rather obscure academy, and for the last fifteen years of his life was the inspiring, yet retiring, scholarly, gentle don of Moral Philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. His life was an utter fulfillment of the dictum that nothing is good but virtue, and that all virtue is benevolence.

culating therefrom a philosophical concoction of his own, The Theory of Moral Sentiments (1751).

In the very long introduction to the Moral System, William Leecham highlights the special features drawn by Hutcheson as directions on a course of life according to the moral sense. Hutcheson states that it is pointed out to us

immediately by our moral sense, and confirmed by all just consideration of our true interest and must be the very same idea which the generous calm determination would recommend, a constant study to promote the most universal happiness in our power by doing all good offices as we have opportunity.¹⁰

Leecham pinpoints the motivating force by which Hutcheson constructed his theories.

He apprehended that he was answering to the design of his office as effectively, when he dwelt in a more diffusive manner upon such moral consideration as are suited to touch the heart [Chapter 3 deals with the "Ultimate Deliberation of Will and the benevolent affections; Chapter 11 shows the "Way to the Supreme Happiness of Our Nature,] and excite a relish for virtue, as when explaining or establishing any doctrine, of real importance, with the most philosophical exactness. He regarded the "culture of the

¹⁰ Francis Hutcheson. A System of Moral Philosophy, I (London, 1755) p. 222.

heart" as ¹¹the main end of all moral instruction.

Because his indirect influence in Scotland and Ireland is purported to have been very great, it is very likely that Brooke must have warmed his spirit in the abiding glow of Hutcheson's own and given expression to it in ways which will be patently inferable.

The historian, Lecky, credits Hutcheson with influence of far more extensive proportions.

...He formed a new intellectual atmosphere in which old, theological conceptions of God and the universe faded. Teaching that all virtues are modes of benevolence, he exalted the amiable qualities in man to a dignity altogether inconsistent with Calvinistic theories of human nature, while his admirable exposition of the function of beauty in the moral world, as well as a strong assertion of the existence and supreme authority of a moral sense in man, struck at the root of this hard asceticism and the systematic depreciation of human nature which were ¹²deeply ingraved in the Scottish Kirk.

What is more, he closes--paradoxically enough--the circle of eighteenth-century moral thinking because "he endeavored to show that, once admitting the generous affections into human nature and the Moral Sense,

¹¹Ibid., xxxi.

¹²W. E. H. Lecky, A History of England in the Eighteenth Century, II (New York, 1883), p. 586.

the doctrine of the eternal fitness and unfitness of things, and of immutable moral truths was very just and solid."¹³

To go back somewhat before Hutcheson's day will take us to the threshold of the Cambridge Platonists, who are given the merest of token nods by Bredvold before he launches into his chapter, "Ethics of Feeling," wherein Shaftesbury is dubbed the "unofficial official philosopher of the movement of sensibility at the dawn of the eighteenth century."¹⁴ In this connection, it is interesting to find Tuveson looking at Shaftesbury as "an embryo Cambridge Platonist, finding that the problem is to avoid two extreme views stemming from Hobbes and dogmas coming from Calvin."¹⁵ He sees the basis for this in the fact that "the sympathy with the moral ideas descended from the Cambridge Platonists is seen in Shaftesbury's earliest work, the preface which he wrote for an edition of Whichote's sermons (1698)."¹⁶ This is the beginning of the eighteenth century with its "new temper" as Humphreys designates it in the first part of his chap-

¹³System of Moral Philosophy, p. 42.

¹⁴Bredvold, p. 17.

¹⁵Ernest Tuveson, "The Origins of the Moral Sense" HLO, XI (May 1948), 257. As noted earlier, Tuveson is careful to note that Shaftesbury is preceded by a number of earnest prophets of the "Moral Sense."

¹⁶Ibid.

ter, "Philosophy Moral and Natural." Introducing this chapter, he epitomizes the "new temper" of the eighteenth century.

Instead of the passionate religious conflicts of the preceding age men turned their attention to the nature of reason and the passions, the goodness or badness of 'natural' impulses, the relations between individual and community, and the origins of society whether in fear or friendship. They sought a credible and if possible creditable social psychology; they founded morality, as Christians, on love of God and charity towards men; as 'intellectualists' (a term explained later) on universal moral law to be obeyed through reason; and as believers in 'moral sentiment,' on the affections of the heart.¹⁷

One is immediately inclined to associate with these designations an eighteenth-century philosopher-scribe and/ or the particular philosophical script applicable to each. As noted previously, the range would be an extensive one: from Hobbes and his Leviathan (1651), to Hume and his Principles of Morals (1751). The latter, with its chapter on "Benevolence," and the Appendixes: "Moral Sentiment," and "Self-love," is highly significant.

What follows in this section is at best but a bird's eye view of this range. The philosophy of Hobbes excited a sharp reaction in England. In particular the so-called Cambridge Platonists, such as Cudworth (1617-

¹⁷ A. R. Humphreys, The Augustan World (New York, 1963), p. 180.

1688), and Henry More (1614-1687), opposed his materialism and determinism and what they regarded as his atheism.¹⁸ For Hobbes, moral distinctions come into being with the formation of the State, the establishment of rights and the institutions of positive law. He does give some lip-service to the idea of divine law; but his complete Erastianism shows that for all purposes the will of the Sovereign expressed in law, is the norm of morality. The Cambridge Platonists, frequently called "rationalists" in their opposition to empiricism, believed in fundamental speculative truths or principles which are not derived from experience but discerned immediately by reason, and which reflect the eternal divine truth. They were also concerned to show the reasonableness of Christianity. The master of many in sharing this reasonableness as the judge of revelation was John Locke (1632-1704), and his Reasonableness of Chris-

¹⁸It is interesting to note that Hoxie Fairchild--among others--, Religious Trends in Poetry, I (New York, 1939), pp. 479-481, considers Brooke's work as evincing strains of Christian Platonism. This is supposedly more true of his early poems, such as his best known, Universal Beauty. Never a Methodist, yet Brooke is considered a mildly representative one in his middle years. The end of his life finds him submerged in the mysticism of Boehme.

The latter two aspects of his life are fused and given expression, as was pointed out in Chapter IV of this work, in The Fool of Quality.

Christianity (1695). Deism is said to have had its real inception with this work. The classical refutation of Deism with all its works and pomps is the famous Analogy of Religion (1733), by Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752).

A strong interest in ethics is highly characteristic of eighteenth-century English philosophy. Beginning with Shaftesbury (1671-1713), as the proponent of the moral-sense theory, it is carried greatly forward by Hutcheson who has already been introduced. To some extent, Butler, and, to a slightly greater extent, Adam Smith (1723-1790), enter the picture. By their insistence on man's social nature, these four philosophers opposed Hobbes's interpretation of man as fundamentally egoistic. Furthermore, they staunchly maintained that man possesses an inborn "sense" or sentiment by which he discerns moral values and distinction. Both Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, who, as a frequent disciple, attempted to systematize his master's ideas, tried to bring back a balance to moral thinking upset by Hobbes. Both pointed out that altruism was natural. Yet both differed regarding the essence of virtue. Shaftesbury found it in a harmony of the self-regarding with the altruistic affec-

¹⁹Locke did not reject the idea of revelation, even though, as Tuveson points out in his article, p. 243: 'As a realistic observer of society, Locke noted that in fact it is opinion that constitutes the views of virtue which most men have, and that these views tend to vary from country to country. He refused to write a system of ethics demonstrated with mathematical certainty by reason alone; he begged off, as asserting we already have a perfect body of ethics in the Gospel.'

tions, thus including self-love within the sphere of complete virtue; Hutcheson found virtue identical with benevolence. Although he did not condemn "calm self-love," he regarded it as morally indifferent. When Bishop Butler comes on the scene, he will choose to side with Shaftesbury.

As for David Hume (1711-1776), here is one of England's great, genial philosophers who thought of himself as carrying on the work of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Butler, and others, and as doing for morals and politics what Galileo and Newton had done for natural science. For him, the term "moral philosophy" meant the science of human nature; but he also thought of it in the ordinary sense. And above all, he wished to discover the fundamental or elementary principles which operate in man's ethical life. He fits into the current of eighteenth-century philosophical thought by assuming the basis of moral attitudes and distinctions to reside in feeling rather than in reasoning or the intuition of eternal and self-evident principles. But at the same time, Hume contributed to the growth of utilitarianism. He will show, for example, that feeling or the sentiment of moral approbation is directed towards that which is socially useful.

Mention must be made of David Hartley (1705-1757). In his famous Observations on Man (1749), he deals in the first part with the connection between body and mind. In the second part he treats of matters relating to morality, especially under its psychological aspect. By the

principle of association of ideas, he tried to explain man's moral convictions. By the use of this same principle, it could be shown how it is possible for man to seek virtue for its own sake and to act altruistically.

Adam Smith not only followed Hutcheson's ideas by attending his lectures in Glasgow in 1737, but he ultimately took the chair of moral philosophy there in 1752, when it was left vacant by Hutcheson's successor. In 1759 he published his Theory of Moral Sentiments. In this exposition of his moral theory, central place is given to "sympathy." Although Hutcheson and Hume accorded it importance, Smith makes it the core of his ethics which, for him, is social by nature. Like Hume, he advocates an ethics of feeling.²⁰

The eighteenth-century "culture of the heart" thus truly seemed to consist in a guidance by feelings--the equating of moral qualities to feeling. Perceptible hints of romanticism are latent in such an identification as Humphreys points out.

Human feelings, of course, are more numerous than the qualities (whether rational or instinctive) involved in the special task of moral judgment. But as philosophy begins to consider even moral judgment to be a matter of feeling, or

²⁰Frederick Copleston, S.J., History of Philosophy: Descartes to Leibnitz, IV (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), pp. 30-47.

sentiment, as it stresses the fraternal emotions which should link mankind, so there unfolds a willingness in ways unconnected with moral behavior to admit the primacy of feeling, to value the intuitive and indeed irrational impulses, to feel sympathy for living things, and awe at the strangeness of Nature.²¹

In the concluding remarks in his section on "Philosophy and Literature," Humphreys refers to the indebtedness of literature to influences by philosophy. This may, or may not, be a contradiction of Bredvold's statement about philosophers keeping up with the novelists and dramatists of sensibility.

The feelings, impulses private or social, 'ruling passions', sentiment, the relations between emotion and reason--these are more and more a part of literary psychology, cultivated in finer shades and more indulgently abundant in the novel and drama of sensibility, in poetry and criticism. Hume's emphasis on sympathy has been called his most important contribution to moral philosophy, and it is the sort of philosophical introspection which deepened literary sensibility by stressing the fellowship²² between man and the world around him.

Philosophy's precise influence must always be unascertained in subjects so

²¹Humphreys, p. 199.

²²Ibid., 215.

large and various as life and literature, yet it was part of current thought and its leading ideas were the frequent concern of literary men. Its whole operation, generally speaking must be seen within the framework of Christian belief; it was a supplementary and not an alternative study of man and his world, and its conclusions about cosmic purposes or the social virtues were reinforcements for enlightened religion. From religion and philosophy alike literature drew its climate of ideas.²³

No one, it seems, would deny the impact of philosophy upon literary sensibility, but neither would one make an attempt at an accurate gauging of the extent of this influence. Suggested earlier in this chapter is the notion that Brooke's Fool of Quality is a mellowed amalgam of eighteenth-century philosophical thought, a pleasant afterglow of the century and still capable of warming the reader's heart.

The following passage is a typically representative expression of eighteenth-century moral philosophy as an aspect of eighteenth-century sensibility. Who, if one were asked to name the author, would most likely be ascribed as the philosopher?

Remember, therefore, this distinction in yourself and all others; remember that, when you feel or see any instance of selfishness, you feel and see the cov-

²³ Ibid., 216.

eting grudging, and grappling of the creature: but that, when you feel or see any instance of benevolence, you feel and see the informing influence of your God. All possible vice and malignity subsists in the one; all possible virtue, all possible beauty, all possible blessedness, subsists in the other.

As God is love, and nothing but love, no arguments of our own can reason love into us, no efforts of our own can possibly attain it. It must spring up within us, from the divine bottom or source wherein our existence stands; and it must break through the dark and narrow womb of self, into sentiments and feelings of good-will for others, before this child of God can be born into the world.

Self is wholly a miser--it contracts what it possesses and at the same time attracts all that it doth not possess. It at once shuts out others from its own proposed enjoyment, and would draw into its little whirlpool whatever others enjoy.

Love on the contrary, is a giving, not a craving; an expansion, not a contraction; it breaks in pieces the condensing circle of self, and goes forth in the delightfulness of its desire to bless.

Self is a poor dark, and miserable avariciousness, incapable of enjoying what it hath, through its grappling and grasping at what it hath not. The impossibility of its holding all things, makes it envious of those who are in possession of any thing; and envy kindles the fire of hell, wrath, and wretchedness, through-

out its existence.

Love, on the other hand, is rich, enlightening, and full of delight--the bounteousness of its wishes makes the infinity of its wealth; and, without seeking or requiring, it cannot fail of finding its own enjoyment and blessedness in its desire to communicate and diffuse blessing and enjoyment. (p. 261)

The answer would undoubtedly depend on which of the eighteenth-century moralists had been most recently encountered. It would seem certain that this passage, with its parallel construction, contrasting the benign positive function of love, and the evil, negative function of self, is vaguely reminiscent of the Cambridge Platonists, or in some respects of Butler, Law, Hutcheson, or even Hume. It is of course, a synopsis of their ideas cast over with the roseate hues of Brooke's melting tones in the process of melding. Almost at once, however, one is aware of conspicuous differences. For one thing, there is the substitution of the word love for that of charity, affection or even for benevolence. Here, too, Adam Smith's "social self" has reached the heights of sublimation; while the last paragraph spells out the alpha and omega of the "summum bonum" of eighteenth-century philosophy and eighteenth-century sensibility. Brooke would thereby prove the exception to Selby-Bigge's contention that there was very little discussion about the "summum bonum" among the British moralists. "It [the good] is generally assumed to be happiness, though there is a visible tendency

to modify it into 'deserved happiness,' and though the intellectualists assert the distinction between the moral and natural good."²⁴ This transition is like walking into a poor, dark cellar, from the cheerful, firelit living room of the eighteenth-century house of philosophy.

Coleridge must have considered Brooke's passage above especially worthy of notice. In his copy, both in pencil and in ink he has underscored whole sentences, phrases and words.²⁵ The underscoring by this writer is demonstrated by its presentation here in the chapter on "the culture of the heart."

Very early in the Fool of Quality, Brooke pauses to give the very first of his disquisitions on moral philosophy. Perhaps without intending it, he forces the reader to recall the familiar lines from Pope:

Self love but serves the virtuous mind to wake.
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake.
 The centre moved, a circle strait succeeds,
 Another still, and still another spreads:
 Friend, parent, neighbor, first it will embrace,
 His country next, and next all human race:
 Wide and more wide, th' e'erflowings of the mind
 Take ev'ry creature of ev'ry kind.²⁶

²⁴L. A. Selby-Bigge, British Moralists, I, (Oxford, 1897), p. lxvii.

²⁵Dike, p. 160.

²⁶Pope, Essay on Man, (1733-1734), IV 363-370.

Surprise lies in the fact that Brooke does not agree with this Shaftesburian summary of teachings that self-love and social are the same.

It is, said the earl, an established maxim among all thinking men, whether divines or philosophers, that SELF-LOVE is the motive to all human actions.--Virtue forbid! exclaimed Mr. Meekly. All actions are justly held good or evil, base or honourable, detestable or amiable, merely according to their motives: but if the motive is the same to all, there is an end, at once, to the possibility of virtue--the cruel and the kind, the faithful and the perfidious, the prostitute and the patriot, are confounded together.

Do not all men, returned the earl, act agreeably to their own propensities and inclinations? Do they not act so or so, merely because it pleases them so to act? And is not this pleasure the same motive to all?--By no means, my lord; it never was nor can be the motive in any. We must go a question deeper to discover the secret principle or spring of action. One man is pleased to do good, another is pleased to do evil; now, whence is it that each is pleased with purposes in their nature so opposite and irreconcilable? Because, my lord, the propensities or motives to action in each are so opposite and as irreconcilable as the actions themselves; the one is prompted, and therefore pleased, with his purpose of doing evil to others through some base prospect of interest redounding to himself; the other is prompted and spurred, and therefore pleased, with his purpose of endangering his person, or suffering in his fortune, through the benevolent prospect of the good that shall thereby redound to

others.

Pleasure is itself an effect, and cannot be the cause, or principle, or motive, to anything; it is an agreeable sensation that arises, in any animal, on its meeting or contemplating an object that is suited to its nature. As far as the nature of such an animal is evil, evil objects can alone effect it with pleasure! as far as the nature of such an animal is good, the objects must be good whereby its pleasures are excited. (p. 31)

This forms in part, at least, a mild refutation of Jean Vernet's Theory of Agreeable Sensations, promulgated as early as 1736, which in its original French, as, La Théorie des Sentiments Agréables must have been known to Brooke. The author tries to show

...the force and genuine standard of our several inclinations, pleasures, and duties, by which we obtain, as it were, the key to the whole system of humanity and morals. God having endowed man with several faculties, as well corporeal as intellectual, in order to promote his happiness, also vouchsafed to conduct him to this noble end, not only by the deduction of reason but also by the force of instinct and sensation, a still more efficacious principle.²⁷

Appearing in the same year as Vernet's work, and just two years after Pope's Essay on Man, Butler has some kindly things to say regarding

²⁷Jean Vernet. The Theory of Agreeable Sensations. Translated from the French. (Edinburgh, 1766), p. vi.

self-love in his Dissertation of the Nature of Virtue (1736).

Benevolence is indeed natural to man; but so is self-love. The term 'self-love' is, however, ambiguous and some distinctions must be made. Everyone has a general desire for his own happiness, and this 'proceeds from or is self-love.' It 'belongs to man as a reasonable creature reflecting upon his own interest or happiness.' Self-love in this general sense pertains to man's nature, and though it is distinct from benevolence, it does not exclude the latter. For desire for our own happiness is a general desire, whereas benevolence is a particular affection. 'There is no peculiar contrariety between self-love and benevolence; no greater competition between these than between any other particular affection and self-love. The fact of the matter is that happiness, the object of self-love, is not identifiable with self-love. 'Happiness or satisfaction consists only in the enjoyment of those objects which are by nature suited to our several particular appetites, passions and affections.' Benevolence is one particular, natural human affection. And there is no reason why its exercise should not contribute to our happiness. Indeed, if happiness consists in the gratification of our natural appetites, passions and affections, and if benevolence or love of the neighbor is one of these affections, its gratification does contribute to our happiness. Benevolence, therefore, cannot be inconsistent with self-love, which is the desire of happiness.²⁸

²⁸ Copleston, V. Hobbes to Hume, p. 185.

Given the emphasis which Hutcheson lays on benevolence, what is the place of self-love?

The self-regarding desires which cannot all be satisfied can be reduced to some sort of harmony, through the principle of calm self-love. In Hutcheson's opinion this calm self-love is morally indifferent. That is to say, actions which spring from self-love are not bad unless they injure others²⁹ and are incompatible with benevolence.

Such a view still closely echoes Shaftesbury's on virtue, which, to him, after all, is "the right and true manner of self-love," and "conformity, not to divine or rational law, but to the law of the affections."³⁰

Apart from being the first Behmenistic passage in The Fool of Quality, the next passage is related to the one just discussed. Admittedly turning on a discussion of self and selfishness, it goes off on a deep digression, but returns to promote the drawing away from self in order to achieve happiness by achieving the welfare of others. Thus the concepts of virtue, happiness and benevolence are duly introduced.

Every particle of matter, my lord,
has a Self, or distinct identity, inas-
much as it cannot be any other particle
of matter. Now, while it continues in

²⁹ Ibid., 180.

³⁰ Michael Macklem, The Anatomy of the World (Minneapolis, 1958), p. 85.

this state of SELFISHNESS, or absolute distinction, it is utterly useless and insignificant, and is to the universe as though it were not. It has, however, a principle of attraction (analogous or answerable to desire in the mind), whereby it endeavors to derive to itself the powers and advantages of all portions of matter. But when the divine intelligence hath harmonized certain qualities of such distinct particles into certain animal or vegetable systems, this principle of attraction in each is overcome for each becomes attracted and drawn as it were from SELF; each yields up its powers to the benefit of the whole; and then, and then only, becomes capable and productive of shape, colouring, beauty, flowers, fragrance, and fruits.

Be pleased now to observe, my lord, that this operation in matter is no other than a manifestation of the like process in mind; and that no soul was ever capable of any degree of virtue or happiness, save so far as it is drawn away in its affections from self; save so far as it is engaged in wishing, contriving, endeavouring, promoting, and rejoicing in the welfare and happiness of others.

It is therefore, that the kingdom of heaven is most aptly and most beautifully, compared to a tree bearing fruit and diffusing odours, whose root is the principle of infinite benevolence, and whose branches are the blessed members, receiving consummate beatitude from the act of communication. (pp. 33-34)

In a letter printed in the London Journal, Hutcheson gave a preview of his ethics by stating certain principles which were to be embodied in his Enquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue. This

he intended primarily as a treatise on morality rather than aesthetics. As early, then, as 1725, Hutcheson was seeking, "to establish the principle as an important development of Shaftesbury's system, the principle that the affections rather than the reasons are the strongest guides to virtue. So he foreshadows the idea that the moral sense, based on benevolent affections, and not the reason, is the foundation of our idea of virtue."³¹

By the time Brooke comes to write his novel, he will be so permeated with a belief in benevolence as both God's and man's beatitude, he will naturally immerse his "Fool" into its happiness-giving waters. In this passage, the voice is the voice of Brooke, but the thoughts are the thoughts of Hutcheson.

God, however, knows that there is nothing permanently good or evil in any of these things. He sees that nothing is a good but virtue, and that nothing is a virtue save some quality of benevolence. On benevolence, therefore, he builds the happiness of all his intelligent creatures: and in this our mortal state (our short apparatus for a long futurity), he has ordained the relative differences of rich and poor, strong and sickly, Etc. to exercise us in the offices of that charity and those affections, which, reflected, like mutual

³¹Alfred Owen Aldridge, "A Preview of Hutcheson's Ethics," MLM, LXI (March 1946), 154.

light and warmth, can alone make our good to all eternity.

Benevolence produces and constitutes the haven or beatitude of God himself. He is no other than an infinite and eternal Good Will. Benevolence must, therefore, constitute the beatitude or heaven of all dependent beings, however infinitely diversified through several departments and subordinations, agreeable to the several natures and capacities of creatures. (pp. 223-224)

It would seem that for the benevolent Mr. Brooke the meaning of sensibility has gained a new dimension: it is not only the capacity to respond to the misery of another with tenderness and pity, but to do so in a spirit of ineffable benevolence. Without much difficulty, it would be possible to formulate a new eighteenth-century equation: sensibility equals benevolence.

Brooke has accepted utterly Hutcheson's principle that

only benevolent actions are morally good. Or, more precisely it is only the kind or benevolent affections (which are the primary object of the moral sense and which, in the case of persons other than the subject of the moral sense, are inferred from their actions) that are morally good. Thus Hutcheson tends to make virtue synonymous with benevolence. In the Essay on the Passions, calm, universal benevolence, as the desire of universal happiness, becomes the dominating principle in morality.³²

³²Copleston, p. 180.

In his letter in the London Journal, Hutcheson had plainly stated that if moralists paid heed in their writings to the kind affections and emphasized human benevolence, they would move us more effectively to virtue than by teaching us to weigh debts and credits in terms of future rewards and punishments.³³ It is difficult to subscribe to the obiter dictum which condemns this teaching when it is transmuted into eighteenth-century literature. "What we condemn as sentimentalism in literature is the logical product of a society committed to the notion that God's one attribute is benevolence and man's chief perfection an imitation of it."³⁴ Modern fashion prescribes other sources of sentimentalism than this for condemnation in eighteenth-century literature.

When we turn to Hume, we discover that his theory of moral sense or sentiment assumes that some internal sense or feeling makes it known. It is this which constitutes virtue our happiness and vice our misery. Virtue arouses an "agreeable" impression, vice an "uneasy" impression. The moral sentiment is a feeling of approbation or disapprobation towards actions or qualities or characters. In his Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals, Hume defines "virtue to be whatever mental action or qual-

³³ Aldridge, p. 159.

³⁴ C. A. Moore, Backgrounds of English Literature 1700-1760 (Minneapolis, 1953), 51.

ity gives to a spectator the pleasing sentiment of approbation; and vice the contrary."

And though virtue is an end and desirable on its own account, Hume, nonetheless, stresses the importance of utility. This is clearly seen when he takes up a specific virtue such as benevolence. He holds that benevolence and generosity everywhere excite the approbation and good will of mankind. The epithets: sociable, good-natured, humane, merciful, grateful, friendly, generous, beneficent, or their equivalents, are known in all languages and universally express the highest merit which human nature is capable of attaining. Finally, when people praise the benevolent and humane man "there is one circumstance which never fails to be amply insisted on, namely, the happiness and satisfaction derived to society from his intercourse and good offices."³⁵ We have come from Brooke's benevolence as God's and man's beatitude, to Hume's benevolence as usefulness to society. However, as will be seen in Chapter VII, this side of benevolence is not foreign to Brooke's social ideals, and shows up, for example, in his choice of a world hero, who, for all his apparent ineffectualness, embodied, for Brooke, the very essence of benevolence. In another of the droll, author-friend dialogues, the reasons for his unique hero-worship are given.

³⁵ Copleston, pp. 331-333.

Friend. Laying Peter aside, who think you was the greatest hero among the moderns?

Author. To confess the truth, among all that I have heard or read of, the hero whom I most affect was a madman, and the lawgiver whom I most affect was a fool.

Friend. Troth, I believe you never would have been the writer you are at this day, if you had not adopted somewhat of both the said qualities. But come, unriddle, I beseech you; where may this favourite hero and legislator be found?

Author. In a fragment of the Spanish history, bequeathed to the world by one Signior Cervantes.

Friend. O! have you led me to my old acquaintance? pray, has not your Pegasus some smatch of the qualities of the famous Rosinante?

Author. Quite as chaste, I assure you. But I perceive that you think I am drolling; you do not suppose that you can ever be seriously of the same opinion. Yet, if you demand of your own memory, for what have the great heroes throughout history been renowned? it must answer, for mischief merely, for spreading desolation and calamity among men. How greatly, how gloriously how divinely superior was our hero of Mancha, who went about righting of wrongs, and redressing of injuries, lifting up the fallen, and pulling down those whom iniquity had exalted! In this his marvelous undertaking, what buffetings, what bruising, what trampling of ribs, what pounding of packstaves did his bones not endure! (Mine ached at the recital.) But toil was his bed of down and the house of pain was to him a bower of delight, while he considered himself as engaged in giving ease, advantage, and happiness to others. If events did not answer to the enterprises of his heart,

it is not to be imputed to the man but to his malady; for, had his power and success been as extensive as his benevolence, all things awry upon earth would instantly have been set as straight as a cedar.
(pp. 44-45)

Only the capacity for benevolence removes the intolerable curse of misery contracted by man since the fall of Adam.

You read in the third chapter of Genesis how our first father lusted after the sensual fruits of this world; how he willfully broke the sole commandment of his God; how he added to his apostasy the guilt of aspiring at independence; how he trusted to the promise and virtue of creatures for making him equal in godhead to the Creator; how in that day he died the fearfullest of all deaths, a death to the fountain of life, light, and love within him; and how his eyes were opened to perceive the change of his body into grossness, corruption, diseases, and mortality, conformable to the world to which he had turned his faith, and into which he has cast himself.

Now, had man continued in this state, his spirit, which had turned from God into its own creaturely emptiness, darkness and desire, must have so continued forever, in its own hell and misery, without the possibility of exciting or acquiring the smallest spark of benevolence or virtue of any kind. But God, in compassion to Adam, and more especially in compassion to his yet unerring progeny, infused into his undying essence a small embryo or re-conception of that lately forfeited image, which, in creation, had borne the perfect likeness of the Creator.

From hence arises the only capacity of any goodness in man. And, according as we suppress, or quench, or encourage and foster, this heavenly seed, or infant offspring of God within us, in such proportion we become either evil, malignant, and reprobate, or benevolent, and replete with divine propensities and affections. (p. 262)

Hutcheson alluded to this muted reflection of Divinity in man's humanity in his System of Moral Philosophy. Leecham thus summarizes his lengthy argument:

The soul of man, not only bears a resemblance of the Divine Intelligence in its rational faculties, but also of the Divine disinterested benignity in social and public affections: and thus too our internal constitution, formed for pursuing the general good, beautifully tallies with the constitution of the universe. This permits an analogy from Nature in its effort to preserve the species of mankind, the highest order, is formed with a disposition to promote the general good of the species, and with discernment that it is their duty to part with life, when a public interest requires it.³⁶

In his Principles of Morals, Hume reiterates this idea very simply at the same time that he rejects the idea of motivation to altruism by some kind of self-love. There are certainly cases, he says, in which it is far simpler to believe that a man is animated by disinterested

³⁶ System of Moral Philosophy, p. xix.

benevolence and humanity than that he is prompted to act in a benevolent way by some tortuous consideration of self-interest. He holds that even animals sometimes show a kindness when there is no suspicion of disguise or artifice. "If we admit a disinterested benevolence in the inferior species, by what rule of analogy can we refuse it in the superior?"³⁷

Harry's mentor, Mr. Fenton, discloses to him these same ideas, pointing up even more strongly the power of the social affections.

All other animals are gifted with a clear knowledge and instant discernment of whatever concerns them; man's utmost wisdom, on the contrary, is the bare result of comparing and inferring; a mere inquirer called reason, a substitute in the want of knowledge, a groper in the want of light; he must doubt before he reasons, and examine before he decides.

Thus ignorant, feeble, deeply depraved, and the least sufficient of all creatures in a state of independence, man is impelled to derive succour, strength, and even wisdom, from society.

³⁷Copleston, p. 334. Macklem in his The Anatomy of the World attempts, in his aptly titled chapter, "The Satisfaction of the Affections," to synthesize briefly the systems and treatise of the moralists who were concerned with those matters discussed above. The conclusion to this exposition of their ideas of the moral is that, "In Hutcheson and Hume, the distinction in the moral agent between reason and the passions disappears. The concept of reason as a determinant of behavior is reduced to the concept of instinct. Moral standards are derived from the affections and moral value is measured by their satisfaction." (p. 90).

When he turns a pitying ear and helping hand to the distressed, he is entitled, in his turn to be heard and assisted. He is interested in others, others are interested in him. His affections grow more diffused, his powers more complicated; and in any society or system of such mutual benevolence, each would enjoy the strength, virtue, and efficacy of the whole. (p. 259)

This could be Hume talking for he has held that society is naturally advantageous to man, who could not by himself provide adequately for his needs as a human being.³⁸ And just before Brooke launches into his long panegyric on the British Constitution, he is determined to present a strong case for the indisputable source of all benevolence or social affections.

For all laws that were ever framed for the good government of men (even with the divine decalogue), are no other than faint transcripts of that eternal LAW OF BENEVOLENCE which was written and again retraced in the bosom of the first man, and which all his posterity ought to observe without further obligation. (p. 263)

In a lengthy passage suffused with Behmenistic ardor, Brooke's moral agent tends toward "the satisfaction of the affections only when God is pleased to inform the will of the creature with any measure of his own benign and benevolent will, and steals it sweetly forth in affec-

³⁸Copleston, pp. 335-36.

tions to others" (p. 368). Brooke never once mentions "moral sense," or "moral sentiment," yet, The Fool of Quality is a verbal transport of this sense and this sentiment. To abide by them would be to dwell in a Mystic Utopianism and this indeed seems to be both his and his Fool's aim.

Again, the theory of the social affections and of their satisfaction in moral activity complements the concept of virtue as its own reward. This idea is frequently reiterated in the Characteristicks. Brooke dwells on this idea with steadily rising rapture. Thus, when he had almost completed his book, this idea is almost engulfed in a sublime expression: "There is no species of allowed or conceivable virtue that is not reducible under the standard of their leader, and all-generating parent, called Love. Good will is the eternal blessing of all to whom it is beneficent, and also generates its own blessing in the very act of its love." (p. 367).

Hutcheson, too, has repeatedly stressed benevolence as the very center of morality manifested in intense devotion to the common good and the achieving of the greater good or happiness of the greatest possible number. Brooke not only believes this, but promulgates it in an ecstatic fashion.

And thus, on the grand and final consummation, when every will shall be subdued to the will of good to all, our Jesus will take in hand the resigned cordage of our hearts; he will tune them,

with so many instruments, to the song of his own sentiments, and will touch them with the finger of his own divine feelings. Then shall the wisdom, the might, and the goodness of God, become the wisdom, might, and goodness of all his intelligent creatures; the happiness of each shall multiply and overflow in the wishes and participation of the happiness of all. (p. 368)

Elsewhere, Hutcheson had stated this very simply. "That disposition therefore which is most excellent, and naturally gains the highest moral approbation, is the calm, stable, universal good-will to all, or the most extensive benevolence. And this seems the most distinct notion we can form of the moral excellency of the Deity."³⁹

One is inclined to agree with the writer who, having surveyed the theories of virtue, benevolence, happiness and affections, offered a plain summary: "It appears that the definition of virtue and happiness are the same."⁴⁰

Hence the sanction for self-approving joy, advocated by the moralists and divines. One of Harry's earliest lessons consisted in an inculcation of attitudes of generosity toward the hungry, naked and shelterless beggars whom he was to spy out and aid. One of his sweet rewards was to be this unique type of self-approving joy.

³⁹Selby-Bigge, p. 421.

⁴⁰Adam Ferguson, Institute of Moral Philosophy. (Edinburgh, 1769), p. 159.

And believe me, my Harry, whenever you are cold, or hungry, or wounded, or in want, or in sickness yourself, the very remembrance of your having clothed, and fed, and cured, and comforted the naked and the hungry, the wounded and the afflicted, will be warmth, and food, and medicine, and balm to your own mind.
(p. 54)

This would do for an example for Hutcheson's Illustration of the Moral Sense wherein he concludes at one point: " 'Tis plain a generous compassionate Heart, which at first view of the Distress of another, flies impatiently to his Relief, or spares no Expense to accomplish it, meets with strong Approbation from every Observer who has not perverted his Sense of Life by the School of Divinity or Philosophy. Joining frequently and habitually the Acts of Piety with those of Humanity is, no doubt, the Perfection of Goodness and Virtue."⁴¹

And in a passage pregnant with the fulfillment of the satisfaction of the social affections, Brooke depicts his "Fool" in the dazzling last pages delightfully exulting in self-approving joy. The touch of humor delicately enhances the weight of idealistic humanitarianism.

Longfield then beckoned his lord forth, that he might relate to his eye, rather than to his ear, the success of his commission. They hastened to a long

⁴¹Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions, p. 333.

barn where he showed Harry two ranges of beautiful children, one of a hundred chosen girls, another of a hundred chosen boys, all dressed in a clean and elegant uniform. Harry walked between the ranks, his heart exulting in the sense of its own genial humanity. Then embracing his agent--Yes, dear Longfield, he cried, these shall be indeed my children; and I will prove a true and affectionate father to them. But let us hasten to bestow upon them a tender mother too, I trust.

He flew back as a glimpse of lightning, and seizing and half-devouring the hand of his bride--Will you pardon me, my beloved, says he, some matters that happened before our union? I have collected all the children I ever had before marriage. They wait for your inspection; and I hope that you will not prove a hard stepmother to them.--You are a rogue, says she, archly smiling, and giving him a pat on the cheek; but come along, and, so saying, away they tripped.

The princess walked, with a silent and musing attention, up and down the ranges. Her heart grew strongly affected, and, taking out her handkerchief, she wiped away the dropping tear.--And has my lord, says she to Longfield, has he indeed taken upon him to be a father to all this pretty host of little ones?--He has so, please your highness, says Longfield, and has accordingly clothed and provided for them.--O, she cried, under the FATHER which is in heaven, he is the dearest father that ever was upon earth! So exclaiming, she turned to Harry, and hiding her face on his shoulder, she pressed him to her heart. (p. 425)

The evolution of thought in these paragraphs is highly reminiscent of an evolution attributed to Hartley. Of him it is said that he tried to trace the evolution of the higher out of the lower pleasures, from the pleasures of sense and of self-interest, through the pleasures of sympathy and benevolence, up to the supreme pleasure of the pure love of God and of perfect self-denial.⁴²

With the mention of the quality of sympathy, so prominent a feature of eighteenth-century sensibility, the last of the so-called British moralists, Adam Smith, takes his bow at the court of eighteenth-century British philosophy. Although the salient feature of his moral philosophy centers on sympathy, he has not been the first to accord it importance. Both Hutcheson and Hume had conceded the vital use of the concept of sympathy. But Smith's use of it is more obvious in that he begins his Theory of Moral Sentiments with this idea and thus gives his ethics from the outset a social character. "That we often derive sorrow from the sorrow of others is a matter of fact too obvious to require any instance to prove it."⁴³ But, according to Smith, the sentiment of sympathy is not confined to the virtuous and humane; it is found in all men to some degree.

⁴²Copleston, p. 193.

⁴³Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments (London, 1751), p. 2.

Smith explains sympathy in terms of the imagination. "As we have no immediate experience of what men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation...By the imagination we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him."⁴⁴

With Smith, it is not "moral sense" which dictates the actions described in his theory, but an original sentiment of human nature itself. Sympathy, or "fellow feeling," is often excited so directly and immediately that it cannot reasonably be derived from self-interested affection, that is, from self-love. And there is no need to postulate a distinct "moral sense" which expresses itself in moral approval or disapproval. For "to approve of the passions of another as suitable to their objects, is the same thing as to observe that we entirely sympathize with them; and not to approve of them as such is the same as to observe that we do not entirely sympathize with them."⁴⁵

Furthermore, not only does Smith reject the idea of an original and distinct moral sense, but he also rejects utilitarianism. With him the concept of sympathy reigns supreme. Yet he does agree that "no qualities

⁴⁴Ibid., 5.

⁴⁵Ibid., 16.

of the mind are approved as virtuous, but such as are useful or agreeable either to the person himself or to others; and no qualities are disapproved of as vicious but such as have a contrary tendency."⁴⁶ It is not surprising that there should appear in Smith's native city, a translation and enlarged edition of Jean Vernet's Theory of Agreeable Sentiments in 1766.

As already stated in Chapter III, the famous words of the Countess of Maitland in The Fool of Quality are cited as an example of the highest refinement of eighteenth-century sensibility.

Go on, cried the countess; go on--I insist upon it! I love to weep--I joy to grieve--it is my happiness, my delight, to have perfect sympathy in your sorrows.
(p. 198)

It is no less a superb instance of the moral sentiment of sympathy as it is a mode of eighteenth-century sensibility. Another illustration by Brooke, whose own life--as we saw in Chapter II--was one unceasing symphony of sympathy, is often cited as evidence of the extreme to which benevolence will reach in the man of sensibility. Here sympathy is the accelerator of the benign feelings.

Here the earl looked truly astonished.--Fifty thousand pounds! he exclaimed. Impossible, Harry! Why, you

⁴⁶Ibid., 325.

had neither such ponds nor lakes as mine in London, wherein you might make ducks and drakes of them. How in the world could you contrive it? Where did you dispose of them?

In hospitals and in prisons, my father, answered Harry. In streets and highways, among the wretched and indigent, supplying eyes to the blind, and limbs to the lame, and cheerfulness to the sorrowful and broken of heart; for such were my uncle's orders.

Let me go, let me go from this place, my lord! cried Meekly; this boy will absolutely kill me if I stay any longer. He overpowers, he suffocates me with the weight of his sentiments. (p. 346)

Throughout The Fool of Quality, the copious tears of sensibility are never bitter. They are sweetened by the alchemy of tender sympathy. As when

The poor dear man then opened his broad eyes in a wild stare upon me, with a look that was made up half of joy and half of shame. He then kneeled down, as I supposed that I might reach to kiss him, and taking me into his arms--You are not born of woman; you are an angel! he cried; and so he fell a-crying, and cried so sadly, that I could not for my heart but keep him company. (p. 228)

An interesting passage combining the elements of instinctive good will and sympathy occurs in a rather unexpected scene. At an opera:--

Between the acts he turned, and cast his eye suddenly on me.--Sir, says he, do you believe that there is such a thing as

sympathy?--Occasionally, sir, I think it may have its effects; though I cannot credit all the wonders that are reported of it.--I am sorry for that, said he, as I ardently wish that your feelings were the same as mine at this instant. I never saw you before, sir; I have no knowledge of you; and yet I declare that, were I to choose an advocate in love, a second in combat, or a friend in extremity, you--you are the very man upon whom I would pitch. (p. 379)

One cannot be too surprised at this unerring reaction of instinctive sympathy when one remembers that as a mere toddler, Harry gave evidence of this rare trait.

What is your name, my dear? said the old gentleman. Harry Clinton, sir! Harry Clinton! repeated the old man, and started. And, pray who is your father! The child then, looking tenderly at him, replied--I'll have you for a father, if you please, sir. The stranger then caught him up in his arms, and passionately exclaimed--You shall, you shall, my darling, for the tenderest of fathers, never to be torn asunder till death shall part us! (pp. 5-6)

Mr. Meekly, said my lord, my son Harry pays you a very particular and very deserved compliment; he puts me in mind of that sort of instinct by which a strange dog is always sure to discover, and to apply to the most benevolent person at table. Indeed my lord, said Mr. Meekly (caressing the child), I know not whether by instinct, or by what other name, to call my own feelings; but certain it is, that the first moment I saw him in his little peasant petticoats, I

found my heart strongly affected toward
him. (pp. 22-23)

But Brooke will never be satisfied with a mere show of human sympathy. It needs must bear about it the semblance of the Divine image. Thus half way in his account of Harry's progress in benevolence, he attributes to him the very qualities of the compassionate Christ Whose words and Whose redeeming work merge in the life of this "Fool."

Ned then turned to Harry, and taking him by both hands, and looking him fondly in the face--O Master Harry, Master Harry! he cried: I never shall be able to say the word farewell to you, my Master Harry! I was hungry and you fed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was a stranger and you took me in; the whole world to me was fatherless and friendless, when you were father and mother, and a whole world of friends to me, my true lord and master, Harry! Are you not my owner? am I not your property, your own hard bought bargain? Did you not purchase me with your stripes, and with your precious blood, and will you suffer me to be taken away from you, my heart's master?

Here Harry, swallowing his passion as well as he was able, clasped Ned in his arms and cried--My brother, my brother, my friend and brother for ever.
(p. 248-249)

Even the intellectualists among the moralists might have to agree that such a display of benevolence was due to sympathy.

For creating such characters as the ultra-benevolent uncle and Christ-like Harry, Brooke is judged kindly by Walter Wright as well as

others.

He was well aware that the world was marred by misery and crime, and that it was too complex to be at once reformed. Nevertheless, he believed that kindness would develop the innate virtuous impulses in even the worst of sinners. In Moreland he created a kind of itinerant benefactor, and in Moreland's history he illustrated the power of sympathy to reduce the suffering of humanity and to eradicate the most obstinate vices. He was an accurate realist when he described its annihilation by a young boy whose only weapon was a generous heart.⁴⁷

In spite of his rejection of the idea that we sympathize with others by imagining ourselves in their place, Hume comes round to an admission, nonetheless, that because we love and identify ourselves with our neighbor,⁴⁸ we are able to sympathize with him.

And when Brooke makes one of his characters reflect:

I once thought, my love, that learning was the principal promoter of piety. But I have long since discovered that to know is not to feel, and that argument and inclination are often as opposite as adversaries that refuse all means of reconciliation. (p. 113),

⁴⁷Walter Wright, Sensibility in English Prose Fiction 1760-1814: A Reinterpretation (Urbana, 1937), p. 30.

⁴⁸Selby-Bigge, pp. lviii-lix.

he is holding, as did Hume, for an "ethics of feeling," because the genial Scotsman had said that morality is grounded on feeling rather than on the analytic understanding. In other words, moral distinctions are derived ultimately, not from reasoning, but from feeling, from the moral sentiment. Reason alone is not capable of being the sole immediate cause of our actions. Hume even goes so far as to say that "reason is, and ought to be the slave of the passions"⁴⁹ and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them."⁵⁰

It is not surprising then, to view the layman of the eighteenth century turning "in relief to an ethics that let him believe that his natural feelings were right and good, and even more to the corollary that if he followed his natural instincts he could not go wrong."⁵¹ This brings us back to the beginnings of this chapter. The prominent figure of Brooke, who is so frequently moved to act as a "Man of Feeling," stands immovable in the conviction that "the truth is, that people live incomparably more by impulse and inclination than by reason and precept."

⁴⁹The word passion is used in the philosophical sense and here includes emotions in general.

⁵⁰Copleston, p. 319.

⁵¹Lois Whitney, Primitivism and the Idea of Progress (Baltimore, 1934), p. 85.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION OF THE HEART

Just as there existed an "ethics of feeling" implying the goodness and rightness of the natural feelings, and the natural instincts as norms for right conduct, so there existed an education of feeling. This education of feeling--or the education of the heart--was practically unknown before the late eighteenth century. As pointed out in Chapter II, The Fool of Quality, published after the mid-century, was considered pedagogically revolutionary. Most literary historians agree that "it is the first important educational novel."¹ It is

a treatise on education cast into fictional form. Harry Moreland, who, incidentally, is probably the first instance of the child hero in fiction, is brought up to follow the dictates of his heart; he is the fool of the title. The fool, educated to act according to the generosity of his feelings and so regarded at first as little better than a half-wit, confounds and eventually converts all his critics by his irresistible goodness, the plausi-

¹George Sherburn, The Restoration and Eighteenth Century 1660-1789. III, A Literary History of England, ed., Albert Baugh (New York, 1948), p. 1028.

bility of his arguments, the attractiveness of his personality, ²and, possibly, his inexhaustible wealth.

An interesting treatment of the English novel of the late eighteenth century places Brooke's novel under the general classification of the novel of purpose.

The late eighteenth century, the period just prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution, saw several well-recognized types of the novel combine and new genres emerge. The forty years following the deaths of the great classic novelists of the eighteenth century were a period of transition. The prose comedy of manners, the Fielding type of novel, was combined with the sentimental romance, the Richardson-Sterne-Mackenzie type, and produced the novel of purpose; the sentimental novel also combined with the novel of terror--foreshadowed by Smollett and created anew by Walpole in 1764--and produced the popular gothic romance. The novel of manners continued reduced in bulk, externalized somewhat, and particularized by a group of feminine writers. The historical romance was begun and developed to that point at which Scott found it.

First, the novel of purpose was a type emerging as a result of the influence of the sentimental novel on the novel of manners, in the process of which the latter became revolutionary, or doctrinaire. The

²Allen, pp. 85-86.

influence of Rousseau's ideal of nature and the natural man is plainly apparent here. With the addition of politics and ethics, the novel of sentiment became almost entirely didactic, advancing theories of government, education, and general conduct. Two branches may be noted; those novels which were revolutionary in a pedagogic fashion and those that were revolutionary from a political and sociological standpoint.

The first group included such novels as (a) The Fool of Quality, 1766-1770, Henry Brooke. (b) Sandford and Merton, 1783-1789, Thomas Day. (c) A Simple Story, 1791, Elizabeth Inchbald³

Brooke's avowed purpose in the Fool of Quality is to describe the upbringing of an ideal nobleman through the fostering of his sensibilities. Two phases of that fostering--religion and philosophy--have already been studied.⁴ This chapter will show how Brooke imparts the lessons which will foster the education of the heart. However, this entire study could have centered around the main theme of the novel. Although there are innumerable lesser ones, the main theme is the sentimental ed-

³Alonzo C. Hall and Leonard B. Hurley, Outlines of English Literature. (New York, 1930), p. 168.

⁴See especially pp. 81-89), in which Brooke's purpose to teach through the pages of The Fool of Quality is made very evident. These passages contain a number of concrete ideas toward the definition of a gentleman a hundred years before Newman's classical one in The Idea of a University.

ucation of a youth, with emphasis on the role of the tutor. But around it, the main story is constrained to meander in and out of tales, fables, anecdotes, conversations between author and friend, essays and sentimental tableaux. Baker points out the reasons for this.

The Fool of Quality is the first of the pedagogic novels in English; Sandford and Merton was to appear the year that Brooke died, and to follow the same mixed plan of story and illustrations, if plan it can be called in the earlier case. Rousseau's Emile had been published in 1762, and was evidently read and digested by Brooke, who agreed with Rousseau that the basic principle of education should be to bring out the healthy original instinct, to foster and develop the spontaneity and probity of nature. The book described the whole course of the upbringing of an ideal nobleman; and, since nothing is omitted, since everything that happens to Harry Moreland is thrown into it, along with the experiences with all who cross his path, and the instances from ancient and modern history, the fables, anecdotes, and sermons, with which his imagination is fed, the result almost outdoes John Buncle in heterogeneousness. Everything is made to yield edification and an inspiration to noble living, often in a manner beyond praise. Thus the excellence of the book is in the parts and in the spirit of universal goodwill and abnegation of self informing every incident, every utterance; it is a transparency, a shadow-picture, in which the soul of the⁵ lovable Henry Brooke is the shining light.

⁵Baker, p. 114.

Baker makes it very clear that the pedagogy in The Fool of Quality is Rousseauistic in origin. A work earlier than Baker's is even more emphatic on this score. After stating that two things in particular deserve notice in the work of Brooke, Vaughan says,

In the first place, The Fool of Quality (1766) is more deeply stamped with the seal of Rousseau--the Rousseau of the second Discourse and of Émile--than is any other book of the period. The contempt which Rousseau felt for the conventions of society, his 'inextinguishable hatred of oppression' in high places, his faith in the virtues of the poor and simple, his burning desire to see human life ordered upon a more natural basis--all this is vividly reflected upon every page of The Fool of Quality. It is reflected in the various discourses, whether between the personages of the story or between the author and an imaginary friend (of the candid sort), which are quaintly scattered throughout the book: discourses on education, heroism, debtors' prisons, woman's rights, matter and spirit, the legislation of Lycurgus, the social contract, the constitution of England--on everything that happened to captivate the quick wit of the author. Clearly, Brooke had grasped far more of what Rousseau came to teach the world and had felt it far more intensely than Mackenzie. Before we can find anything approaching to this keenness of feeling, this revolt against the wrongs of the social system, we have to go forward to the years immediately succeeding the outbreak of the French revolution; in particular to the years from 1790 to 1797--the years of Paine and Godwin, of Coleridge's 'penny trumpet of sedition'; or, in the field of the novel, the years of Caleb Williams, of

Nature and Art, of Hermesprong, or Man as he is not. There, no doubt, the cry of revolt was raised more defiantly. For, there, speculation was reinforced by practical example; and the ideas of Rousseau were flashed back, magnified a hundred-fold by the deeds of the national assembly, the convention and the reign of terror. And this contrast between the first and the second harvest of Rousseau's influence is not the least interesting thing in the⁶ story of the eighteenth-century novel.

Chapter VII will attempt to reveal Brooke's passionate feelings in regard to the wrongs of the century's social system. Here his discourses on education will claim attention. Of such discourses, both lengthy and brief there are close to a hundred in The Fool of Quality. Through the views expressed, it will be justifiable to conclude that if Rousseau's Émile, or a Treatise on Education, gives a carefully worked out plan for the upbringing of a male child, Brooke's Fool of Quality gives a carefully worked out practice of that plan. But, "the doctrines are brave and at the time surprisingly novel. The work is an interesting synthesis of much of the best teaching of Rousseau and Wesley."⁷ That Wesley found the sentiments relating to wealth, philanthropy, character, and the uni-

⁶C. E. Vaughan, "Sterne and the Novel of His Times," CHEL, X (Cambridge, England, 1940), 58-59.

⁷Frederick C. Gill, The Romantic Movement and Methodism (London 1937), p. 124.

versal Fatherhood of God in line with his own teachings rests in the proof of his own popular version of the novel. As for The Fool of Quality's being a synthesis of Rousseau's teachings--only Helen Scurr seems to sound a doubting note. In turning from a discussion of the mystical elements in the book, Miss Scurr says:

As easily overstated is the influence of John Jacques Rousseau upon The Fool of Quality. It is tremendously difficult to state precisely what the influence of Rousseau upon any English writer of this period may have been. Since, for the most part, he was rather intensifying tendencies already rooted in English soil than propounding theories exciting by their novelty.⁸

Undoubtedly this was true. More than just mutterings of dissatisfaction with English education became heard. In 1755 appeared a work, the title of which indicates both the importance attributed to, and the indictment of, British education at the time. Among the criticisms aired in British Education, Or the Source of the Disorders of Great Britain, the author has underscored three:

First, in not providing properly for the support of religion, by neglecting to instruct those who are to be its guardians, in the most necessary qualifications of all to the discharge of their sacred func-

⁸Helen Margaret Scurr, Henry Brooke, (University of Minnesota, 1922) pp. 100-101.

tions; as also for the support of our constitution and civil liberties, in not taking care to train the youth destined to compose the august body of our legislature, in such arts and studies as can alone render them capable of filling that important part. Secondly, in making the path of knowledge difficult and uncertain by a total neglect of our own language. Thirdly, in omitting all care of the imitative arts, so essential to the well-being of this country.⁹

It would seem that, among other things, Brooke imposed upon himself the obligation of offering specific remedies for these defects through his system of education. Although Miss Scurr repeats her statement that there is no external evidence of the influence of Rousseau upon Brooke, she also repeats the notion that "the most obvious likeness of Brooke to Rousseau is found in his proposed system of education. Émile and The Fool of Quality are alike, pedagogic romances, taking a hero through the years of formal education into marriage."¹⁰ Later on she says that "it would be possible to point parallels between minute details in Émile and The Fool of Quality,"¹¹ some of which I shall make it my business to

⁹Thomas Sheridan, British Education, Or the Source of the Disorders of Great Britain (London, 1755), p. 533.

¹⁰Scurr, p. 102.

¹¹Ibid., 105.

point out. Finally, she reiterates and reemphasizes that "in his theories of education, Brooke is so near to Rousseau that the likeness cannot be disregarded." Furthermore, she sees that the influence is far more evident in the first chapters than the last, partly because it is in the early chapters that most stress is laid upon education, and partly because Brooke gradually recedes from his incipient radicalism.¹² Nor is there reason to deny this. Thus one might quarrel only with the view that denies Rousseau's influence in the book.

A synopsis of Émile might, for the most part, sum up the principles of education upon which The Fool of Quality was based. Rousseau's work was based on the theory that "natural man" is good and giving free rein to nature must result in good education. Rousseau advocated the substitution of a tutor in place of the father, who, because of the pressure of society's demands, could not carry out his duties of properly instructing his offspring. Émile's mind is to be developed through conversations with the tutor. Let Émile become self-reliant. Let him learn to yield to pain and suffering without fussing. Give him wide liberty to sports. Let him experience feeling. Give him opportunities to contemplate nature. Let him have opportunities to work with his hands. Use simple language with him, and let there be no learning by rote. Let Émile run around barefoot.

¹²Ibid., 106.

As for religion, Émile should believe in God and see Him in all creation. But do not bother his head with books, dogmas, priests and church.

In a splendid apologia for the education of the heart, Brooke's Mr. Fenton outlines for the tutor, Mr. Clement--the name is significant--how he should continue the education of Harry whose childhood followed the freedom advocated by Rousseau. This is the first of the summaries of a period of training. Included here is the passage depicting the opposite kind of training, usually reserved for the elder and pampered child. Novelists after Brooke will make a specialty of noting this contrasting type of training, as for example, in a work already cited, Day's Sandford and Merton. Brooke chose to drop the subject of Richard's upbringing in order to concentrate on the wise "Fool."

Meanwhile, the education of the two children was extremely contrasted. Richard, who was already entitled my little lord, was not permitted to breathe the rudeness of the wind. On his slightest indisposition, the whole house was in alarms; his passions had full scope in all their infant irregularities; his genius was put into a hotbed, by the warmth of applause given to every flight of his opening fancy; and the whole family conspired, from the highest to the lowest, to the ruin of promising talents and a benevolent heart.

Young Harry, on the other hand, had every member as well as feature exposed to all weathers; would run about, mother naked, for near an hour, in a frosty morning; was neither physicked into delicacy,

nor flattered into pride; scarce felt the convenience, and much less understood the vanity of clothing; and was daily occupied in playing and wrestling with the pigs and two mongrel spaniels on the common; or in kissing, scratching, or boxing with the children of the village. (p. 2)

The uncle has already carried out a great deal of the training à la Émile and now Harry, at the age of eight, is a reasonable specimen of the lad with a naturally good heart steadily advancing in sensibility. Perfection in it is set as his life's goal to which Mr. Clement must lead him according to Brooke.

I value the installing of a single principle of goodness or honour into the mind of my dear Harry, beyond all the wealth that the Indies can remit. I would not have you through any zeal or attachment to me, think of pushing my boy into learning of the languages beyond his own pleasure. Neither would I have you oppress or perplex his infant mind with the deep or mysterious parts of our holy religion. First, be it your care to instruct him in morality; and let the law precede the gospel, for such was the education that God appointed for the world. Give him, by familiar and historical instances, an early impression of the shortness of human life, and of the nature of the world in which he is placed. Let him learn, from this day forward, to distinguish between natural and imaginary wants; and that nothing is estimable, or ought to be desirable, but so far as it is necessary or useful to man. Instruct my darling, daily and hourly, if possible, in a preference of manners and things that bear an intrinsic value, to those that receive

their value and currency from the arbitrary and fickle stamp of fashion. Show him also, my Hammel, that the same toils and sufferings, the same poverty and pain, from which people now fly as they would from the plague, were once the desire of heroes and the fashion of nations; and that thousands of patriots, of captains, and philosophers, through a love of their country or of glory, of applause during life or distinction after death, have rejected wealth and pleasure, embraced want and hardship, and suffered more from a voluntary mortification and self-denial than our church seems to require in these days for the conquest of a sensual world into which we are fallen, and for entitling us to a crown in the kingdom of eternity. (pp. 126-127)

In the epilogue to his edition and translation of the Émile, Boyd appraises the entire concept of natural education as envisioned by Rousseau. Again, it will be possible to find specific analogies in Brooke's application of the same ideas, whether as imitator or originator.

The revolutionary idea in education, expressed with strange compelling power in the Emile, is at once simple and profound. It is, in a word, that education to be effective in the making of good human beings and through them of a good society, must be child-centred. Educators before him had stressed the need to take proper account of the child's point of view, but always they had thought of children as limited creatures requiring to be fashioned after the adult pattern. Jesus indeed had set the child in the midst and told the older people that they must become as children if they were to enter the kingdom of heaven, but till Rousseau no-

body had ever tried to give practical effect to this precept. It was because poor frustrated Rousseau had so much of the child in himself that he was able to look at life through the eyes of a child, and appreciate the child's point of view. And thus he was led to realize, as no one had done before, that it was only by living his own kind of life in all its fullness that the child could develop into adult man. From that conception of the child as a being with rights and duties on his own level of experience everything else followed: the idea of natural education (that is, of education in accordance with the nature of the child); the need for definite knowledge of children, both boys and girls, at the successive stages of their growth, and the need also for a knowledge of their individual characteristics; the training for life through life in a country environment from which all influences that might lead to vice or error are excluded by a wise direction; the limitation of learning to matters of personal concern and interest till maturity brings fitness for adult studies; the impersonal discipline of consequence to check waywardness and misconduct. These principles, presented concretely in the romantic tale of Emile and Sophie, and interwoven in more abstract form with the biographical detail, laid on the imagination of a great number of Rousseau's contemporaries.

Along with others, James R. Foster rates the story of Harry's youth as the best part of The Fool of Quality, and the first, or almost the

¹³ William Boyd, trans., ed., The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau (New York, 1960), pp. 180-181.

first, full length portrait of a boy.¹⁴ To say this much is to give no idea of the unique methods that the self-appointed mentor will follow in developing the sensibility of his nephew-pupil, whom he has kidnapped in order to save from being spoiled by luxury and pampering as his brother had been. He is put into the hands of a warmhearted woman, who, without riches, enjoys the wealth of the blessings of a good life. With the approval of his wealthy uncle-tutor, then, Harry is permitted to run naked in the wind, wrestle pigs, and lead the carefree life of a common lad. When the rich merchant-uncle, Henry Clinton, finally takes the hardy and brave boy into his own home, he provides a companion for him in the person of an orphan whom he has adopted. The uncle plans to develop the sensibility of the boys by exposing them to objects upon which they can exercise the expansive forces of their hearts. Throughout the novel he is shown teaching less by precept than by example and experience.

Because Brooke is intent on having Harry learn from direct contacts with life, the story stretches through a long series of episodes, which in Brooke's quixotic idealism, are exaggerated to the highest extravagances. Yet the author's belief regarding the education of children contains some sound common sense, and it is for this reason that the book is

¹⁴James R. Foster, History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in England (New York, 1949), p. 168.

still interesting as a bedside book for pedagogues. It is true that the kernels of practical worth must be picked out by going through the many layers that Brooke piles on with the particular heightened style of his presentation.

There is, Mr. Vindex, but one occasion wherein fear may be useful in schools or commonwealths: and that is, when it is placed as a guard against evil, and appears, with its insignia of rods, ropes, and axes, to deter all who behold from approaching thereto.

But this, Mr. Vindex, is far from being the sole occasion on which schoolmasters apply the motives of fear and castigation. They associate the ideas of pain to those lessons and virtues which the pleasure of encouragement ought alone to inculcate; they yet more frequently apply the lash for the indulgence of their own weaknesses, and for the gratification of the virulence of their own naughty passions; and I have seen a giant of a pedagogue, raving, raging, and foaming, over a group of shrinking infants, like a kite over a crouching parcel of young turkeys.

There are, I admit, some parents and preceptors, who annex other motives to that of the rod; they promise money, gaudy clothes, and sweetmeats, to children; and, in their manner of expatiating on the use and value of such articles, they often excite, in their little minds, the appetites of avarice, of vanity, and sensuality; they also sometimes add the motive of what they call emulation, but which, in fact, is rank envy, by telling one boy how much happier, or richer, or finer, another is than himself.

Were tutors half as solicitous, throughout their academies, to make men of worth as to make men of letters, there are a hundred pretty artifices, very obvious to be contrived and practised for the purpose. They might institute caps of shame and wreaths of honour in their schools: they might have little medals, expressive of particular virtues, to be fixed on the breast of the achiever till forfeited by default: and on the report of any boy's having performed a signal action of good-nature, friendship, gratitude, generosity, or honour, a place of eminence might be appointed for him to sit on, while all the rest of the school should bow in deference as they passed. Such arts as these, I say, with that distinguishing affection and approbation which all persons ought to show to children of merit, would soon make a new nation of infants, and consequently of men. (p. 67)

What a resounding ring of truth in sound child-training ideas already two hundred years old!

To come back now to the fact pointed out earlier in the chapter: the possibility of paralleling details from Rousseau's Emile and Brooke's Fool. In instance after instance, it would seem that Brooke has the Emile propped as an outline in front of him which he fills in with all the specific details of the story of the English "Emile." Rousseau says:

It is by doing good that we become good. I know of no surer way. Keep your pupil occupied with all the good deeds within his power. Let him help poor people with money and with service, and get justice for the oppressed. Active benevolence will lead him to reconcile the quarrels

of his comrades and to be concerned about the sufferings of the afflicted. By putting his kindly feelings into action in this way and drawing his own conclusions from the outcome of his efforts, he will get a great deal of useful knowledge. In addition to college lore he will acquire the still more important ability of applying his knowledge to the purposes of life.¹⁵

Not only will Harry do good, but he will do it to such an excess that critic after critic will put it down as a fault with Brooke. In partial extenuation of such an attitude on the part of Brooke, one can only say that he may have hoped for at least a minimum of response to a maximum of stimuli.

Excellent for our purposes of appraising the behavior of a pupil brought up according to the code of conduct promulgated by Rousseau, are the remarks of Wright on the Fool of Quality. He examines the novel in the light of its being an example of "reliance on feeling as a guide in all conduct." That Harry commits apparent folly through such guidance is not matter for utter condemnation.

Brooke endowed his boy with the compassion and benevolence of a Grandison. He called the boy, Henry Moreland, a fool, because to the worldly mind his actions would seem extremely imprudent or even absurd. Moreland acted without forethought and without the guidance of learning. He knew only the maxims which his guardian

¹⁵Boyd, p. 113.

had taught him and nothing of the wisdom usually considered necessary for achieving success in the world. But he was motivated by what to Brooke was a greater and less erring power than reason and ordinary education. Instead of pausing to judge the advisability of a deed, he proceeded spontaneously to follow the tendency of his heart. He was foolish only in forgetting himself completely in his pity for others and in yearning to alleviate the hardships of the poor and miserable. His folly consisted in disposing of 50,000 pounds in London with nothing to show his guardian for the apparent prodigality except the gratitude of the people whom he had rescued from the debtors' prison and from the extremities of poverty.

Moreland was a good boy from the beginning, but most of his youthful friends were at first indifferent to anything except mischief, which they pursued with all the zeal and ingenuity of hardened picaros. As soon as they had experienced contrition, however, they directed their energies toward deeds of benevolence. They ceased to be mischievous boys and became little men of sensibility.

Brooke revealed a great faith in the goodness of human nature when he uniformly turned the miscreant of one episode into the Sunday-school hero of the next.¹⁶

That Brooke is sensibly aware of the need for wisdom by the man of true sensibility is shown in his longest digression. Of the eleven in-

¹⁶Walter Wright, Sensibility in English Prose Fiction, 1760-1814, A Reinterpretation. Vol. XXII (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1937), pp. 29-30.

terpolated stories in The Fool of Quality, "The History of the Man of Letters" is by far the longest and most elaborate. Yet if one looked for a brief, neat summary of this tragical narration, it is to found in one paragraph of the Emile.

When I see young people confined to the speculative studies at the most active time of life and then cast suddenly into the world of affairs without the least experience, I find it as contrary to reason as to nature and am not at all surprised that so few people manage their lives well. By some strange perversity we are taught all sorts of useless things, but nothing is done about the art of conduct. We are supposed to be getting trained for society but are taught as if each one of us were going to live a life of contemplation in a solitary cell.¹⁷

"Be a man of feeling," exclaims Rousseau, "but also a wise man. Actually, it is of no consequence whether Emile succeeds in the dead languages, in literature, in poetry or not."¹⁸ The "Fool of Quality" is nothing if not a "man of feeling." Perhaps this is what a modern educator in a very modified way is trying to say. Evaluating the social studies in his nationally outstanding school system, this superintendent admits: "We felt that they did little to get the student to care about society and the

¹⁷Boyd, pp. 112-113.

¹⁸Ibid., 127.

role he plays in it. Feeling, as well as reasoning, should be involved in the study of mankind."¹⁹ In another place he says: "Not very much that is worthwhile happens to a child except through a teacher who cares."²⁰ Support for these notions can be found as far back as two hundred years ago. Rousseau is very definite about the education of the adolescent heart.

If you want to encourage in a young man's heart the first promptings of a nascent sensibility and make him kindly and good, do not let pride, vanity, and envy grow up in him by giving him a misleading vision of human happiness. Do not let him view the pomp of courts and the attractions of pageantry, or take him into high society. To show him the world before he knows mankind is not to make a man of him but to corrupt him; is not to instruct him but to lead him astray. All men are born poor and naked, subject to ills and sufferings of every kind, condemned in the end to die. This is what man's lot really is, and with this the study of human nature should begin.

At sixteen the adolescent knows about suffering because he himself has suffered, but he barely knows that others beings also suffer; seeing without feeling is not knowledge. But when the first development of the senses kindles in him the

¹⁹ Charles E. Brown, "The School of Newton," Atlantic Monthly, CCXIV (October 1964), 76.

²⁰ Ibid., 77.

fire of imagination, he begins to feel himself in his fellows and to share in their sufferings. It is at this point that the sad picture of humanity should bring to his heart the first compassion he has ever experienced. So is born pity, the first social sentiment that affects the human heart, according to the order of nature.²¹

In Chapter V, I have included a number of passages from The Fool of Quality that relate to the nurturing of the heart in its reaction to the dictates of the social affections. However, where Rousseau is averse to having Emile's tutor expose him to afflicting sights unduly, Brooke makes such experiences the unmitigated rule. The visit to the great metropolis of London must yield a salutary lesson in the perfecting of Harry's sensibility.

Harry had now seen whatever London could exhibit of elegant, curious, or pleasing; and Mr. Fenton judged it time to hold up to him the melancholy reverse of this picture--to show him the house of mourning, the end of all men--to show him the dreary shades and frightful passages of mortality, which humanity shudders to think of, but through which human nature of necessity must go.

For this purpose he took him to the GENERAL HOSPITAL, where death opened all his gates, and showed himself in all his forms...

²¹Boyd, pp. 102-103.

While Mr. Fenton led his pupil through groaning galleries, and the chambers of death and disease, Harry let down the leaf of his hat, and drew it over his eyes to conceal his emotions. All that day he was silent, and his countenance downcast; and at night he hastened to bed, where he wept a large tribute to the mournfully inevitable condition of man's miserable state upon earth.

The next day Mr. Fenton took him to the Bethlehem Hospital for idiots and lunatics. But when Harry beheld and contemplated objects so shocking to thought, so terrible to sight--when he had contemplated, I say the ruin above all ruins, human intelligence and human reason so fearfully overthrown; where the ideas of the soul, though distorted and misplaced, are quick and all alive to horror and agony; he grew sick and turned pale, and suddenly catching his uncle by the arm--Come, sir, let us go, said he, I can stand this no longer.

When they had reached home, and that Harry was more composed:--Are all the miseries, sir, said he, that we have witnessed these two days, the consequences of sin?--Even so, indeed, my Harry! all these, and thousands more, equally pitiable and disgusting, are the natural progeny of that woe-begetting parent. Nor are those miseries confined to hospitals alone; every house, nay every bosom, is a certain though secret lazarus-house, where the sick couch is preparing, with all the dismal apparatus, for tears and lamentations, for agonies and death.

Since that is the case, who would laugh any more? Is it not like feasting in the midst of famine, and dancing amidst the tombs.

All things in their season, my dear, provided that those who laugh be as though they laughed not, remembering that they must weep; and provided that those who weep be as though they wept not, having joy in their knowledge that the fashion of this world quickly passeth away.

On the following day, Mr. Fenton, returned to Hampstead, leaving Harry and Mr. Clement ability to indulge the benevolence of their hearts. (pp. 321-322)

The number of incidents in which Harry not only reflects Emile, but long before him, Mr. Henry Brooke, help to build a case for the possibility that Brooke was both original and revolutionary, pedagogically speaking. These exhortations of Rousseau will have been followed to the last jot and tittle by Harry, and as faithfully by the genial Mr. Brooke, his author.

He visits the homes of the peasants, finds out about their circumstances, their families, the number of their children, the extent of their land, what they produce, their markets, their privileges, their taxes, their debts, and so on. He rarely gives them money, unless he can control the use of it himself. For one he gets the house that is falling to ruin repaired or thatched. For another he has the ground which has been abandoned for lack of means cleaned up. For another he provides a cow, a horse or other stock to replace a lose. He reconciles two neighbors who are on the point of going to law. He gets attention for a sick peasant and makes sure that he has proper food and drink. He helps poor young people who want to get married. He never despises the poor and unfortunate.

He often takes a meal with the peasants he is helping. He is the benefactor of some, and the friend of others, but he never ceases to be their equal. To sum up everything, he always does as much in person as with his money.²²

All along Harry's tutor has been tempering his heart to make it the most delicate organ of refined sense and sensibility possible. As a sampling of the type of instruction that continues ceaselessly with the variations that the occasion demands, the following is offered as one of the more condensed.

Within a few weeks after the late dissertation upon blushing, the same company being present, and dinner removed--Harry, says Mr. Fenton, tell me which of the two is the richest, the man who wants least, or the man who hath most?--Let me think father, says Harry. Why, sure they are the same thing; are not they, dada?--By no means, my darling, cried Mr. Fenton.

There lived two famous men at the same time, the one was called Diogenes, and the other Alexander. Diogenes refused to accept any worldly goods, save one wooden cup to carry water to his mouth; but when he found that he could drink by lying down and putting his mouth to the stream, he threw his cup away, as a thing he did not want.

Alexander, on the other side, was a great conqueror; and when he had conquered and

²²Ibid., 158.

got possession of all the world, he fell a crying because there were not a hundred more such worlds for him to conquer. Now, which of these two was the richest, do you think?

O, exclaimed Harry, Diogenes to be sure-- Diogenes to be sure! He who wants nothing is the richest man in the world. Diogenes was richer than Alexander by a hundred worlds. (pp. 127-128)

To keep his pupil at the right heroic pace, his mentor constantly plays upon his sensibilities, educating him through the emotions by placing before him great examples from history. Such digressive stories as that of Damon and Pythias, and the Burghers of Calais, Brooke suffuses with not ignoble sentimentality. And the rhetoric of the narration serves successfully in delivering a powerful message to the heart of a growing boy. This is Pythias' exultant address on the scaffold:

My prayers are heard, he cried; the gods are propitious! You know, my friends, that the winds have been contrary till yesterday. Damon could not come--he could not conquer impossibilities; he will be here to-morrow, and the blood which is shed to-day shall have ransomed the life of my friend, O! could I erase from your bosoms every doubt, every mean suspicion of the honour of the man for whom I am about to suffer, I should go to my death even as I would to my bridal! Be it sufficient, in the mean time, that my friend will be found noble; that his truth is unimpeachable; that he will speedily approve it; that he is now on his way, hurrying on, accusing himself, the adverse elements, and the gods. But I haste to prevent his speed; executioner, to your office! (p. 32)

But Damon does arrive and embracing Pythias is now ready to die despite the protests of his friend.

Dionysius the tyrant is moved, and Brooke reveals this in moving language.

Dionysius heard, beheld, and considered all with astonishment. His heart was touched; his eyes were opened; and he could no longer refuse his assent to truths so incontrovertably approved by their facts.

He descended from his throne. He descended the scaffold. Live, live, ye incomparable pair! he exclaimed. Ye have borne unquestionable testimony to the existence of virtue; and that virtue equally evinces the certainty of the existence of a God to reward it. Live happy, live renowned! and, O form me by your precepts as you have invited me by your example, to be worthy of the participation of so sacred a friendship. (p. 33)

That Harry's young heart has been made malleable in progressively advanced religious instruction is deducible from a self-revelatory question.

Will you be pleased, sir, to indulge me in one question more? Could not God, in his omnipotence, have effected the salvation of man by some other means than the sufferings of our dear Christ? I think, were it to be done again, I would rather forfeit my salvation than that he should endure such agony on my account. (p. 332)

The answer is one of transcending depth.

Frequently Brooke's instructions take on such depths as Rousseau

would find unacceptable, because unfathomable, to the pupil. Yet, the discussion of the two boys in Harry is not without its measure of psychological insight. Brooke joins the company of two immortals: Augustine of Hippo and Jung of Zurich who postulated a similar view.

I will tell you, my Harry, says Mr. Fenton. And as you have generously intrusted me with one secret, that of having a very bad boy within you; it is but fair that I should intrust you with another secret, which is that of having an exceeding good boy within you.

What, two boys in one, sir, how can that be? It is even so, my darling; you yourself told me as much. Did you not say that, this very day, the one was struggling and fighting within you against the other? that the one was proud, scornful, ostentatious, and revengeful; the other humble, gentle, generous, loving, and forgiving? and that when the bad boy got the better, the good boy took him to task, and reprimanded and severely rebuked him, and made him cry bitterly? (pp. 164-165)

To help Harry understand this duality within himself Brooke leads him to apply the Esau and Jacob story to the situation. Not satisfied with this, he follows it with the tale of the virtuous king Cyrus. After this tale is told, Brooke seems almost to slip the reins of consciousness, as his disquisition turns on the secret of how the spirit of man came to be an empty dark creature, which, nonetheless, bears within itself the good spirit, breathed in by the spirit of God himself. Brooke has thus carried his young charge to the very threshold of the sense of

the sacred. Much that he says here and elsewhere would meet with the approval of modern psychologists. As one of them puts it:

In recent years, however, the sense of the sacred has tended to be impaired, even among young people, by the impact of technological realism, of an all-pervasive materialism, and of 'familiar naturalism.' The cult of idealism easily provokes smiles today and is superseded by the cult of human development which, at first sight, strikes a much less absolute note.

Yet there can be no doubt that the sense of the sacred is particularly strong during adolescence and at the beginning of young adulthood, and that this constitutes its 'sensitive period.'²³

As stated earlier in the chapter, the influence of Rousseau is far more evident in the first chapters than the last. Similarities between the two male pupils are especially abundant in the early years. Harry, like Emile, is spared the schooling in "company behavior" to which most male boys are subjected. Again, Harry, like Emile, never learns to love finery, and when his uncle tells him the story of Hercules to stress a point, he innocently ruins a splendid set of clothes in order "not to be poisoned by them"; at times he thinks nothing of shedding his clothing altogether. Neither child has been encouraged to develop a taste for toys. When Harry, aged six, is presented with a gift of expensive ones, he manfully rejects them. Mr. Brooke, the teacher, has a word with his

²³Pierre Babin, Crisis of Faith (New York, 1963), p. 42.

readers regarding this.

Friend. Is it not too early for your hero to show a contempt of toys?

Author. My lady, as you will see, imputed it to his folly, not to his philosophy.

Friend. But children have a natural fondness for fine things.

Author. How so? is there a natural value in them?

Friend. No. But--

Author. Education, indeed, has made the fondness next to natural; the coral and bells teach infants on the breasts to be delighted with sound and glitter. Has the child of an inhabitant of Monomotapa a natural fondness for garbage?

Friend. I think not.

Author. But when he is instructed to prize them, and sees it to be the fashion to be adorned with such things, he prefers them to the glitter of gold and pearl.

Tell me, was it the folly, or philosophy of the cock in the fable, that spurned the diamond, and wished for the barley-corn?

Friend. The moral says that it was his folly, that did not know how to make a right estimate of things.

Author. A wiser moral would say it was his philosophy, that did know how to make a right estimate of things; for of what use could the diamond be to the cock? In the age of acorns, antecedent to Ceres and the royal ploughman Triptolemus, a single barley-corn had been of more value to mankind than all the diamonds that glowed in the mines of India.

Friend. You see, however, that age, reflection and philosophy, can hardly wean people from their early fondness for show.

Author. I see, on the contrary, that the older they grow, and the wiser they think themselves, the more they become attached

to trifles. (pp. 11-12)

More wisdom lurks in this apparently playful tête-à-tête than in a sometime solemn discourse. Like Emile, Harry is developed in body as well as mind. Throughout the Fool of Quality great emphasis is laid upon physical education to which the young hero takes so readily that there are a great number of genuine boy fights. Harry's regular routine includes dancing, wrestling, boxing, and riding. On several occasions, Harry's feats of physical prowess are of a "superman" quality. Thus, when his wedding day arrives, and he chooses to cap it with a tremendous show of agility by vaulting an incredibly lofty pole, soaring over it like a golden eagle, we cannot be too surprised.

A picture of the results of the tireless training conducted by the untiring mentor, is given in the account that concludes Harry's period of childhood. Brooke in this does as Rousseau, summarizing each period in Emile.

Our hero increased in stature and all personal accomplishments, and had happily got over the measles and smallpox. He was now nearly master of the Latin and Greek languages. He could outrun the reindeer and outbound the antelope. He was held in veneration by all masters of the noble science of defense. His action was vigour, his countenance was loveliness, and his movement was grace. (p. 257)

As the training of both lads continues, one drawback in this system of education clearly emerges. Unless there is at the disposal of

the tutor and trainee vast financial resources, this type of education--especially for the upbringing of a nobleman as is the projected goal for Harry--is impractical and impossible. But in the Fool of Quality, quality may well stand for the most excellent type of education provided for the hero, as well as the limitless capital to make such an education of the heart possible.

Thus Harry's education is continued in such a way--and here the resemblance of "the Fool" to Emile well-nigh comes to an end--that he will be prepared to take an active part in Parliament, through a study of history, geography, and an exhaustive analysis of the British Constitution. His grand tour, unlike the conventional traveling to widen cultural horizons, consists of a whole series of humanitarian activities calling for large outlays of money. Again, this is preparation for Harry's future as a beneficiary of society, an aspect of his training which forms an important pivot of discussion in the next chapter.

A word must now be said about what Rousseau and Brooke had to say of women and their education. Near the end of Emile, Rousseau makes some specific suggestions for the education of women, as Emile looks forward to marriage with Sophie, who embodied what Rousseau thought to be the chief quality of women--sweetness. "Being destined to obey a being so imperfect as man (often with many vices and always with many shortcomings), she must learn to submit uncomplainingly to unjust treatment and marital wrongs. Not for his sake but for her own she must preserve her

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sweetness." Here Brooke parts company with Rousseau. On several points he is still in agreement with Rousseau, however. This is seen in the criticism both voice at the extreme artificiality in which a young female is reared. Brooke's takes the form of satire poured out on the methods that produce their yearly crops of "Lydia Languishes." But where Rousseau sees woman merely the servant and handmaiden of man, Brooke places her in a position of eminence. At no time in The Fool of Quality does he offer any ideas as to her training--yet it is plain that he considers woman man's equal in the capacities of the spirit.

A passage that many readers must have put down as among the earliest championing of a woman's right to rejoice in her prerogatives as a woman, is Brooke's tribute to all women, and in its important significance, a tribute to him.

In one of the gentle arguments between Author and Friend, Brooke replies to his friend's reluctance in accepting the exalted character he has drawn of the beloved Arabella. His friend's contentions are ably refuted.

Friend.....

Such an exaltation of female character is of evil influence among the sex; each woman will be apt to arrogate some of the merits to herself; their vanity will be

²⁴Boyd, p. 140.

inflated, and they will rise, on the stilts of Arabella, to a presumptuous level with their natural qualities: in the bed-chamber, kitchen, and nursery, they are useful to man; but beyond these, my friend, they are quite out of the element of nature and common sense.

Author. I have sadly mistaken this whole affair, it seems: I actually apprehended that woman might be admitted as a companion to man, and was intended occasionally to soften his temper and polish his manners. They have at times formed governors, legislators and heroes. The great Pericles derived all the powers of his oratory, and the elegance of his taste, from the example and instructions of the lovely Aspasia; and the Gracchi also caught the spirit of their eloquence, and the fire of their patriotism, from their mother Cornelia.

Friend. Pshaw! the women you have mentioned were but as single luminaries, perhaps one in many centuries, who shot away and shone out of their appointed spheres.

Author. Mayhap, I can produce still better authority to prove to you, my friend, that woman was not merely intended to form and instruct us, to soften, and polish the rudeness of our mass; she was also appointed to native empire and dominion over man.

Friend. By all means, my dear sir; I am quite impatient to be instructed in the policies and constitution of this your petticoat government.

Author. Whenever you shall be pleased to turn over to the third chapter of the first book of the prophet Esdras you will there find it written to the following purpose.

(pp. 119-120)

Then follows a description of the contest declared by Darius to answer the question: "What was strongest?"

Brilliant defenses by princely geniuses follow: The first, ably defending wine, the second, more ably defending war as the strongest.

Lastly, slow and bashful, arose the young advocate for the FAIR; and bowing thrice around, he let his words go forth as the breathing of soft music:--

Great, O princes! great is the strength of WINE, and much greater is the strength and glory of MAJESTY. But yet there is a power that tempers and moderates, to which rulers themselves pay delightful obedience.

Man is as the rough and crude element of earth, unmollified by the fluidity of water and light. Heaven therefore sent WOMAN--gentle, bright, and beauteous woman--to soothe, form, and illumine the rudeness of his mass.

She comes upon man in the meekness of water, and in the brightness of the morning beam! she imperceptibly infuses love and delight into him, and bids his affections go forth upon kindred and country.

The planter who planted the vineyard, and the vintner who pressed the grape, were born of woman; and by woman alone the subject and the sovereign receive existence advantageous or desirable.

She brings man forth in his weakness, and she brings him up to his strength; he is fostered in her bosom, he is nourished with her substance, and he imbibes into his being the sweetness of humanity with the milk of his mother.

Without woman, where would be father, or where would be child? where the rela-

tions, endearments, and connections of kindred, the charities that bind the wide world together into one inclusive family, the great BROTHERHOOD OF MAN?

She comes not against you in the hostility of weapons, or fearfulness of power. She comes in the comfort and mild light of beauty; she looks abashed, and takes you captive; she trembles, and you obey. Yet hers is the surest of all signiories on earth; for her dominion is sweet, and our subjection is voluntary, and a freedom from her yoke is what no man could bear.

There are no forms of human government that can exempt us from her sway; no system of laws that can exclude her authority. Do we not study, toil, and sweat, and go forth in the darkness, and put our face to every danger, to win and bring home treasure and ornaments to our love? Even the robbers and savage spoilers of mankind grow tame to the civilizing prerogative of beauty.

If men seek peace, it is to live in kindly society with woman; and, if they seek war, it is to please her with the report and renown of their valour.

Even the highest and mightiest--the lord of lords and king of kings--is caught in the fascinating net of his Apame. I saw her seated by his side; she took the crown from his head, and gave it new lustre by the beauty of her brow and the brightness of her tresses. I saw her chide him in her playfulness and strike him in her petulance, yet he pressed the hand of her pleasing presumption to his lips; he gazed fondly and fixedly on her; if she laughed, he laughed also; but if she affected dis-

pleasure, he spoke and looked submissive, and was fain to plead and sue for reconciliation. (pp. 121-122)

Surely, the applause both of the monarch and his people which greeted the young orator, was increasingly augmented by those in eighteenth-century England, who heartily accepted this exalted view of woman. Here was a more revolutionary view, the very opposite of the rather narrow, passive, and colorless role to which woman was relegated by Rousseau. What has been said of a number of eighteenth-century didactic writers, applies with especial significance to Brooke and his "Fool."

Whatever may be thought of the tone of its teaching, there can be no doubt that taken as a whole, the literature of the eighteenth-century proposed to itself the role of teacher, and that its bias is toward edification rather than towards the pursuit of abstract truth or of aesthetic charm...²⁵ The uniqueness of these eighteenth-century teachers is to be found in the services rendered by them as popular educators. In this capacity, they acted sometimes as moral reformers, sometimes as expounders and interpreters, sometimes as sworn foes to conventionalism and cant. To the theology and philosophy of their time they stood severally in different relations, but what distinguishes them as a class was their manner and adapting the

²⁵ Charles Whittuck, The "Good Man" of the XVIIIth Century (London, 1901), p. 19.

"wisdom of the wise" to popular uses.²⁶

It would seem that Brooke was sitting as the model for a portrait of the finest eighteenth-century teacher. Together with his young hero, we have followed some of his ardent and wise instructions reviewed in these last chapters.

²⁶Ibid., 23.

CHAPTER VII

PATRIOTISM OF THE HEART

The realist in Brooke deplored and denounced the evils of English government and the consequent evils of English society; the idealist in Brooke dreamed of a political and social order founded on benevolence. The one blessed the British Constitution as having been developed according to the people's needs; the other damned the perversities practiced by unscrupulous civil servants who twisted its statutes and precedents--obeying the letter but killing the spirit. This twofold expression of Brooke's social realism and idealism voiced throughout the pages of The Fool of Quality constitutes the major concern of this chapter. As will be seen from what follows, the views of the morally indignant, albeit kindly indulgent, lawyer Brooke deserved a hearing, for he spoke for the sake of humanity.

In The Fool of Quality Brooke managed not only to tell the story of a rich man's son, but to plead--as he had pleaded throughout his long life and much writing--for the reign of benevolence in every walk of life.

Brooke--the lawyer instinct still alive in him--was fearless in presenting his humanitarian cases before the bar of social justice.

Here, then, for the last time, Brooke emphasizes the humanitarian emotions, concomitant outgrowths of the virtue of sensibility. At the same time that he attacked the evils of English government, he showed how a benevolent government should function. From what has been said of Harry's education, it is easy to realize that, without outrightly contending so, Brooke has, perhaps unconsciously, fulfilled Johnson's stern dicta of requisites for the novel. Brooke criticized the educational system, as well as other facets of the social and political systems of his day. In his introductory remarks to the study of the eighteenth-century novel, Baker makes Johnson's position clear.

The reviewers had recognized authority for the view that fiction was not a serious art worth the attention of serious people, and since it was read principally by those who did not think much for themselves it must be made studiously and healthily didactic. Dr. Johnson was strongly of this opinion. 'These books,' he said, 'are written chiefly to the young, the ignorant, and the idle.' Hence, he continues, 'They serve as lectures of conduct, and introductions into life. They are the entertainment of minds unfurnished with ideas, and therefore easily susceptible of impression; not fixed by principles, and therefore, easily following the current of fancy; not informed by experience, and consequently open to every false suggestion and partial account.' And so the reviewers insisted that every story must enforce a moral les-

son. There was no virtue in a merely truthful representation of life; for Dr. Johnson asks, "Why it may not be as safe to turn the eye immediately upon mankind as upon a mirror which shows all that presents itself without discrimination. 'It does not vindicate the legitimacy of a character to prove 'that it is drawn as it appears, for many characters ought never to be drawn.' Mixed characters are dangerous, since their amiable qualities may tempt the reader to condone their faults. Men in history have been 'splendidly wicked, their finer endowment throwing a lustre on their crimes,' and 'such have been in all ages the great corrupters of the world, and their resemblance ought no more to be preserved, than the art of murdering without pain.' But Johnson ignores the perilous consequences of distorting or suppressing truth in the interest of morality, and how much safer as well as wise and honest it is to show Nature going¹ her own way than to falsify the picture.

Thus, again and again, as Brooke is roused to righteous indignation, his didactic digressions reach rhetorically unrestrained heights as he castigates vehemently, exposes mercilessly, or urges eloquently. And all this is dictated by his profound sympathy for his fellow human beings, confirming yet once more, that in The Fool of Quality are to be found all the strains of benevolent humanitarianism depicted in the highest degree as genuine marks of sensibility. It has been shown in Chapter V to what

¹Baker, p. 20.

extent the philosophical influence of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, and the impact of the teaching of Adam Smith in the Theory of Moral Sentiment (1759), moved Brooke to his particular brand of benevolence.

All his life long it had been his fond but not foolish hope to help others to exclaim as his Harry did: "How detestable is that power, which is not exercised in acts of benevolence alone!" (p. 273). Because he feels that this is his last chance to speak out, his benevolent "Fool" seems often to be almost beside himself in urging the reign of the feelings as they come from a God of benevolence.

Apropos of Brooke's use of a novel as a vehicle of transmitting this idea, are one historian's remarks:

Among the peculiarities of the century under consideration may be mentioned the practice of conveying certain principles on the subject of morals, religion, and politics through the medium of fictitious narrative. Though many works of fiction had been formed prior to the age, with the view to convey, to a certain extent, moral principles and impressions, yet the plans of attacking particular classes of men, or of doctrine through this medium, and of interweaving systems of morality, theology, or philosophy, through the pages of romance or novels, was seldom if ever attempted before the eighteenth century.

²Samuel Miller, A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century. II (New York, 1803), p. 167.

Baker, on the other hand, repeats this same idea slanting it to emphasize its political propaganda uses.

Political and social writings having a strong revolutionary or anti-revolutionary bias were nothing new in England; think of Piers Plowman and the Elizabethan pamphleteers of Milton's tracts, the philosophical and yet definitely controversial writings of Hobbes, Locke, or Hume, the polemical books and tracts and articles of Bolingbroke and Swift, sometimes approximating to the form and method of fiction. Even recently, Amory and Henry Brooke had written works that could be called novels only because there was no other category nondescript enough to receive them.³

But before one comes to watch the novel-as-vehicle-for-ideas in action, it will help to glance at the particular historical setting in which it functioned. It would be difficult to find a better summary of the age under consideration than Trevelyan's in the chapters on Dr. Johnson's England.

It is only in the years that followed (1740-1780) we find a generation of men wholly characteristic of the Eighteenth-Century ethos, a society with a mental outlook of its own, self-poised, self-judged, and self-approved, freed from the disturbing passions of the past, and not yet troubled with anxieties about a very different future which was soon to be

³Baker, p. 228.

brought upon the scene by the Industrial and the French Revolutions. The gods mercifully gave mankind this little moment of peace between the religious fanaticisms of the past and the fanaticisms of class and race that were speedily to arise and dominate time to come. In England it was an age of aristocracy and liberty, of the rule of law and the absence of reform; of individual initiative and institutional decay; of Latitudinarianism above and Wesleyanism below; of the growth of humanitarian and philanthropic feeling and endeavor; of creative vigour in all the trades and arts that serve and adorn the life of man.

It is a 'classical age,' that is to say an age of unchallenged assumptions, when the philosophers of the street, such as Dr. Johnson, have ample leisure to moralize on the human scene, in the happy belief that the state of society and the modes of thought to which they are accustomed are not mere passing aspects of an ever shifting, kaleidoscope, but permanent habitations, the final outcome of reason and experience. Such an age does not aspire to progress though it may in fact be progressing; it regards itself not as setting out but as having arrived; it is thankful for what it has, and enjoys life without 'deep questioning which probes to endless dole!...

To the typical men of the period of Blackstone, Gibbon and Burke, England appeared to be the best country possible in an imperfect world, requiring only to be left alone where Providence and the revolution of 1688 had so fortunately placed her...

It is true that the men who were least content were those who looked closest at the

realities of English life--Hogarth, Fielding, Smollett and the philanthropists: they indeed exposed particular evils as unsparingly as Dickens himself.

Nor was the self-complacency of that age altogether unjustified, though it was unfortunate because it sustained an atmosphere inimical to any general movements of reform. It was a society which, with all its grave faults, was brilliant above, and stable below.⁴

In a work concentrating exclusively on the period which was Whig dominated, there is to be found a succinct summary of those years (1714-1760). These are the years which Brooke has in mind as he spins his tale of the Fool of Quality, extolling patriotic sentiment. The fact that it is King William's court which Harry visits, and not that of one of the Georges has been discussed earlier as Brooke's way to save his skin. Of those years (1714-1760), Williams says that this age had

a rare unity of its own and seems to concentrate in itself all the faults and merits that we are yet to think of as especially characteristic of the whole eighteenth century. Common sense is the highest virtue, enthusiasm is distrusted; individual enterprise is encouraged, communal effort neglected; the boundaries between the different classes of society are well marked off and not easily overstepped,

⁴G. M. Trevelyan. English Social History (London, 1947), pp. 339-341.

while the Englishman of every class is famous for his insular self-satisfaction and his contempt of foreigners...⁵

In the political sphere the undisputed domination of Locke's political ideas provide the most obvious thread of unity for this period. The Revolution was to be interpreted in the light of his theories by Latitudinarian evangelists of whig doctrine. England, for want of a written constitution has always depended more on the deduction of such commentators as Locke than on legal enactments for the preservation and development of its system of government⁶...The least statutes were enacted. This was to be expected in our age where the chief function of the government was held to be 'the preservation of Property,' and absolute freedom of contract entitling a free community.⁷

The clipped conciseness of the description seems to be just too neat and one senses the need for explanations or amplifications to make it entirely acceptable. By way of answering some of the questions raised, and filling the gaps disclosed, these additional views are given here. In part, Whitney is answering Leslie Stephen's contemptuous remark that

⁵Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760 (Oxford, 1939) p. 1.

⁶Ibid., 3.

⁷Ibid., 8.

whilst Wesley stirred the masses, five ladies and a gentleman began to play at sympathy with the poor and oppressed." Whitney says this is only a half-truth--this use of the example of Hester Gibbon as one of sheer sentimentality.

Stephen's remarks on sentimentalism remain unsatisfactory in that the 'substitution of feeling for reason' however much sentimental nonsense it may have produced in some writers, had behind it the solid foundation of a passionate desire to reform the evils of the world--not merely the evils of Parliament.

The acceptance of the teaching of John Locke in regard to the functions of government plus the policy of the Whig oligarchy, plus the stagnation of the church, had relieved the government of responsibility for the moral and spiritual welfare of its people. Consequently private enterprises were a must. It was necessary to feel a real sense of being your 'brother's keeper.'⁸

Whitney contends that research on humanitarianism in the eighteenth century would help to explain the fundamental shift in the dominant point of view which had so vital an influence in the age which was to come. A look at Brooke's book should be a step toward that explanation.

⁸ Edward Allen Whitney, "Humanitarianism and Romanticism," HLO, II (January 1939), 167. Appearing in the same year as the Williams text, the article seems to be a rebuttal to the historian's summary. It is, nonetheless, an independent work because of its earlier publication.

On the other hand, Brooke's use of the novel for political propaganda purposes is shown as a natural transition from Whig panegyric verse writing to Whig panegyric novel writing.

Except for satirical and highly sentimental purposes, the business of the political versifier gradually diminished. The growth of the romantic ideal and the consequent discouragement of didactic poetry in general was one cause. Another was the growing realization that if Whig doctrines were to be propagated in belles lettres, the work could be performed more fully and convincingly by the sentimental novelist, as Henry Brooke fully demonstrated in The Fool of Quality.

That Brooke succeeds in this demonstration is true. But he does more than propagate political views or doctrines. It must be remembered that, above all, his novel is a unique treatise on education--the education of the heart. Rich in potential humanitarian emotions, this heart was to be taught to involve the feelings in acts of benevolence to fellowmen. From this angle, this present chapter is really a continuation of the preceding one.

For this reason, a work citing and commenting on the theories of a gentlemanly education in England from 1660-1775, belongs with the material in that chapter. However, because its author saw fit to include

⁹C. A. Moore, Backgrounds of English Literature 1700-1760 (Minneapolis, 1953), p. 144.

his selections from The Fool of Quality in a chapter entitled, "Public Spirit as an Aim in the Gentleman's Education," the matter, thereby, becomes pertinent here.

Young Harry Clinton, Henry Brooke's portrait of the ideal gentleman, was equally aware of the patriotic duties of a man of rank. He was destined, in political fulfillment of the ideal, to 'be a member of the legislature of Great Britain.' He was furthermore, invited by William III to serve him at court, a distinction 'to which I aspire, answered Harry, as soon as I am capable of so high a duty.'¹⁰

In his education of his nephew Harry, Mr. Fenton tried, by means of exhortation and example to fill him¹¹ with public spirit and generous impulses.

There follow illustrations of Harry's prodigious benevolence. Some of these have been already cited in these pages, some will be cited in later ones. In every instance, it is overwhelmingly evident that Harry had learned his lesson well.

Thus Harry's youthful benevolence is responsible for bringing aid to countless numbers of prisoners, the sick, the distressed, the poor, the suffering, and the grieving. In the spending of vast sums on those

¹⁰George C. Brauer, The Education of a Gentleman (New York, 1959), p. 37.

¹¹Ibid., 42.

in need, he was ever guided by the first inclinations of his heart. The "Fool of Quality" was foolish only because he forgot himself by spending over 50,000 pounds out of pity for the misery of others. Many may quarrel with this gentle fool's prodigal manifestation of the quality of benevolence¹² already alluded to in discussing the century's attitude of sensibility; but hardly any one quarrels with the deeply sincere motives that moved him to sympathy and respect for his fellowman. Brooke had spent all his life championing the cause of education, women's rights, relaxation of the penal code, prison reforms, Irish Catholics, better farming, democracy, and religious tolerance. Innumerable political tracts and pamphlets, even fables, fairy tales, dramas, and religious treatises put to propaganda use, attest to this. Near the close of his life, Brooke once again takes up this championship in The Fool of Quality.

To the list of those who point out the past played by novelists in the spread of humanitarian emotions, must be added Helen Sard Hughes, who offers a new insight. She quotes from a 1750 essay "On the Origin and Progress of Novel Writing," by a Mrs. Barbauld, who talks about "the ef-

¹²As Coleridge's commentaries on The Fool of Quality show, he was more than once amazed at Harry's generosity. Once he complains rather whimsically: "I wish Brooke could have shewn us how to do good with a little--Harry lays about him at a rate that makes one ashamed of oneself--and one thinks, in spite, how easy it is to be generous with a million of money in ones pockets." Dike, p. 159.

efficacy of fiction in spreading a doctrine of benevolent sympathy."¹³
 Miss Hughes goes on to say that an early twentieth century writer's deduction from a study of Eliza Haywood and her work, is applicable to the other novelists. "Benevolence and sensibility to distress are almost always insisted on in modern books of this kind, and perhaps it is not an exaggeration to say that much of the softness of our present manners, much of the tincture of humanity so conspicuous amidst all our vices, is owing to the bias given by our dramatic writings and fictitious stories."¹⁴ "Novelists like Brooke, who aim at awakening social sympathies, lead on to the novelists and reformers of the Nineteenth Century who go a step farther and expose social evils which could be relieved by new legislation."¹⁵

Descriptions of humanitarian heroes of the type to be found in The Fool of Quality, formed the regular staple of certain eighteenth-century magazines. Here then were the real prototypes for such benefactors. In reading one such item from the Weekly Journal and Saturday Post for July

¹³Helen Sard Hughes, "The Middle Class Reader and the English Novel," JEGP, XXV (1926), 375.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Edith Birkhead, "Sentiment and Sensibility in the Eighteenth Century Novel," Essays and Studies, X (Oxford, 1925), p. 104.

9, 1720, one instinctively thinks of Harry's benevolent uncle, Mr. Fenton and of his benevolent pupil.

An unnamed but prominent Gentleman of London who has acquired a prodigious fortune in the South Sea[so] that he has relieved a great many unhappy Persons from Prisons, contributed a large Sum to unfortunate Clergymen, lent money to decaying Tradesmen, without the least Prospect or Expectation of Repayment, and is now actually about building a Charity--School for the poor Children of his own Ward."¹⁶

As a final point in his chapter on "Public Spirit," Brauer notes:

"As a branch of history, the study of politics was considered especially valuable. In order to equip his nephew for the public duties to which he would soon be called, Mr. Fenton educated him at great length in the necessity and nature of government, the ideas of British liberty, and the origins and principle of the British Constitution."¹⁷ The pages in The Fool of Quality concentrating on this phase of Harry's instruction to evoke a patriotism of the heart, take up a lengthy section beginning on page 257 and ending on page 284. The part dealing specifically with the British Constitution takes up almost a dozen pages. It is this section which was quoted by a number of the eighteenth-century magazines when

¹⁶ Ibid., 376.

¹⁷ Brauer, p. 44.

Volume IV of The Fool of Quality appeared. The London Magazine (1769), prefaced the cutting with a descriptive title and noted the superior merits of the excerpt.

An Epitome of the British Constitution from the Fourth Volume of The Fool of Quality, just published, by the celebrated Henry Brooke, Esq. Author of Gustavus Vasa.

At a time when the nature of our constitution is so much the object of enquiry; and at a crisis also where there is perhaps an uncommon degree of propriety in being perfectly acquainted with the principles, the following epitome, which is written with no less precision than candour, will, we are certain, give general satisfaction to our Readers.¹⁸

Then follows: "Mr. Fenton's short-system of the beauties and benefits of our constitution" (p. 273).

In Chapter V of this study, we looked at the social philosophers whose aim was to help construct a society based on the doctrines of social "sympathy," "the social affections," "moral sentiments" and "benevolence." That these doctrines did not completely take hold and so pervade the British social climate, making every Briton benevolent, is proved from the many accounts in The Fool of Quality. Here can be gathered first hand information--related in a piteous tale or in a telling

¹⁸The London Magazine, XXXVIII (August 1769), 410.

denunciation--that the quality of sensibility did not drop as a gentle dew from heaven upon every member of mankind beneath.

London alone offered the dismal prospect of harboring every conceivable social ill possible. In his chapter about that city, Humphreys despairs of even cursorily covering so much rot in society.

The prison-system was abominable, the administration of justice was erratic and sometimes execrable, and the underworld lived under the threat of Newgate, Tyburn, and transportation. The poor soldier whom Goldsmith's Chinese traveller meets (The Citizen of the World, letter cxix) has suffered childhood on the parish, a spell in the work-house, transportation, slavery on the plantations, fever, press-gangings, wounds depriving him of four fingers and a leg, and imprisonment in a French gaol. The fact that he cheerfully considers Newgate 'as agreeable a place as ever I was in all my life' is ambiguous praise.¹⁹

Furthermore, what may have proved exasperating to the social philosopher and the honest philanthropist.

Many ills were hardly recognized as such; many others were phlegmatically accepted. Yet the proximity of grim or tragic incident can have left no-one, however fortified by wealth or position, quite indifferent to the sombreness of life, to human heads on Temple Bar, mobs ready for

¹⁹Humphreys, p. 21.

arson and plunder, diseases which doctors fought by guesswork, a high death-rate for children,²⁰ and a general short expectation of life.

In a famous tirade upon London, in the fervent outburst of his compassionate heart, Brooke passionately summarized all the evils plaguing the lives of his countrymen.

O, London! London! thou mausoleum of dead souls, how pleasant art thou to the eye, how beautiful in outward prospect; but within, how full of rottenness and reeking abominations! Thy dealers are all students in the mystery of iniquity, of fraud and imposition on ignorance and credulity. Thy public offices are hourly exercised in exactness and extortions. Thy courts of judicature are busied in the sale, the delay or perversion of justice; they are shut to the injured and indigent, but open to the wealthy pleas of the invader and oppressor. Thy magistracy is often employed in secretly countenancing and abetting the breach of those laws it was instituted to maintain. Thy charities subscribed for the support of the poor, are lavished by the trustees in pampering the rich, where drunkenness swallows till it wallows, gluttony stuffs till it pants, and unbuttons and stuffs again. Even the great ones of thy court have audaciously smiled away the gloom and horrors of guilt, and refined, as it were, all the grossness thereof, by inverting terms and palliating phrases. While the millions that crowd and hurry through thy streets are univer-

²⁰Ibid., 22.

sally occupied in striving and struggling to rise by the fall, to fatten by the leanness, and to thrive by the ruin of their fellows. Thy offences are rank; they steam and cloud the face of heaven. The gulf is hollow beneath that is one day to receive thee. But the measure of thy abominations is not yet full; and the number of thy righteous hath hitherto exceeded the proportion that was found in the first Sodom. (p. 309)

Then, there were flinty-hearted landlords, and consequently, the starving tenants; the overworked, underpaid laborers; the despairing small farmers. For an extension of these desolate factors, one need but glance at Hogarth's pictorial representations. The cry for the cause of the great numbers of abandoned bastard children, the neglected prostitutes, the disabled seamen, the poor old soldiers, could not be stifled forever. At the turn of the century, other writers will be moved in wrath to lay the whole burden of these social sins at the feet of society itself. In the meantime, the curse of the social ills is alleviated by private enterprise by numbers of "Fools of Quality." Their sensibility was stronger than the century's resigned attitude to poverty because of the belief that "a person's proper rank and station" was meant to keep him there. Yet in such an attitude there was no hypocrisy; and this, like the real ignorance in not knowing how to deal with all the social miseries on a nation-wide, organized scale, is an honest extenuation. What is more, in spite of the social blight that seemed to settle in so many social quarters, it could be contended, and with justification, that

the "eighteenth-century was the golden age of philanthropy."

When rates on the Poor Laws rose, and reached by the beginning of the eighteenth century a figure which seemed preposterous, attention was brought to the rate-payer of great numbers of destitute people, for whom some provision must be made. Numerous schemes for dealing with the poor were devised, pamphlets were written, sermons were preached, and charitable societies sprang up in great numbers and variety. The eighteenth century was the golden age of philanthropy. Charity blossomed so fully just at this point in history because the economics and social condition of the poor demanded immediate notice, and because the sentimental and moral temper of the times ensured a quick response to this demand.²¹

Becker, in his interesting discussion of "enthusiasm" in the eighteenth century, and the frequent enthusiasm engendered in opposing it, holds strongly that the entire century was inspired by "the Christian ideal of service, the humanitarian impulse to set things right."²² It is time to step in and once again sound the thesis of this work: sensitivity is the word, as used in these pages, for what Rodgers calls "the moral and sentimental temper of the times that ensured a quick response

²¹ Betsy Rodgers, Cloak of Charity (London, 1949), p. 3. The subtitle of this work is Studies in Eighteenth-Century Philanthropy.

²² Carl J. Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven, 1932), p. 41.

to the demands of Charity." The hint has already been dropped that not only is The Fool of Quality a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility, but, that it is likewise a compendium of Brooke's theses, doctrines, and arguments expressed over a long life, in a variety of literary forms. It may come as a surprise to many readers to learn that a long poem sympathizing with the plight of fallen women is by Brooke. In The Female Seducer (1734), Virtue bids--in tender language--"the little trembler" to rely on her own inherent worth and forget the past for the future. In a study of sentimental and ethical tendencies expressed in minor eighteenth-century poetry and essays, Harder is at some pains to show that Brooke is not a follower of Shaftesbury. He says that "Brooke, while conforming to the conventional moral views, condemned the harsh treatment to which she [the seduced woman] was exposed and expounded the principle of restoring the repentant sinner to society."²³

In The Fool of Quality, Brooke's poem is turned into a plea by an eminent benevolent gentleman, at a gathering of like-minded gentlemen. Surprisingly, the frank arguments favoring an establishment of a Magdalene House have nothing maudlin about them. The overwhelmingly generous

²³ Johannes Hendrik Harder, Observation on Some Tendencies of Sentiment and Ethics Chiefly in Minor Poetry and Essay in the Eighteenth Century Until the Execution of Dr. W. Wood in 1777 (Amsterdam, 1933), p. 257.

response--Harry's name, of course, must lead the rest--is indeed Charity covering a multitude of sins.

One evening, as our companions were drinking tea in the Temple Exchange Coffee-house, a man, advanced in years but of a very respectable appearance, got up and addressed the assembly:--

Gentlemen, said he, among the several hospitals and other charitable foundations that have done honour to the humanity of the inhabitants of this city, there is one still wanting which, as I conceive, above all others, would give distinction to the beneficence of its founders; it is a house for repenting prostitutes, an asylum for unhappy wretches who have no other home--to whom all doors are shut, to whom no haven is open, no habitation or hole for rest upon the face of the earth.

Most of them have been seduced from native innocence and modesty by the arts of cruel men. Many have been deceived under promise and vows of marriage; some under the appearance of the actual ceremony, and afterwards abandoned or turned forth to infamy by their barbarous and base undoers. Shall no place then, be left for repentance, even to those who do repent? Forbid it, charity; forbid it, manhood! Man is born the natural protector of the weakness of woman; and, if he has not been able to guard her innocence from invasion, he ought at least to provide a reception for her return to virtue.

I have the plan of this charitable foundation in my pocket; and if any of you gentlemen approve my proposal, and are willing to subscribe, to solicit your friends to so beneficent a purpose, I re-

quest your company to the tavern over the way.

Here the speaker walked toward the door, and was followed by Harry and Clement, and thirteen or fourteen more of the assembly.

When the company was seated round a large table, the gentleman produced his plan, with a summary of the rules and institutes for the conduct of the house, which he proposed to call the Magdalene House: a plan which hath since been espoused and happily executed by others, without ascribing any of the merit to the first projector.

As all present applauded the manner of the scheme and intention of the charity, each of them subscribed from a hundred to twenty pounds, till it came to Harry's turn, who subscribed a thousand pounds in Mr. Fenton's name. (pp. 322-323)

That there was already such a house established in 1758, takes away nothing from the credit for such benevolent agitation ascribed to Brooke.

24

The initial note was struck by him in 1734.

As for coming to the aid of impoverished or orphan children, Brooke's capturous description of his young hero's wedding day which included introducing his beloved princess-spouse as the mother of his two hundred children previous to his marriage, was given in the chapter on sensibility.

²⁴ See the note on this in Scurr, p. 109, n. 33.

ity.

Brooke's technique in presenting this project in its various stages of completion helps to make the grand finale not improbable.

First, he mulls over his idea and sounds it out to get reactions.

As I was lately on my rambles through some villages near London, the jingle of a number of infant-voices struck my ear; and turning, and looking in at the ground floor of a long cottage, I perceived about thirty little girls neatly dressed in a uniform, and all very busily and variously employed in hackling, carding, knitting, or spinning, or in sowing [sic] at their sampler, or in learning their letters, and so forth.

The adjoining house contained about an equal number of boys, most of whom were occupied in learning the rudiments of the several handicrafts; while the rest were busied in cultivating a back field, intended as a garden for these two young seminaries.

I was so pleased with what I saw, that I gave the masters and mistresses some small matter; and I resolved within myself, if ever I should be able, to gather together a little family of my own for the like purposes.

Now, gentlemen, here comes Mr. Meekly's money, quite in season for saving just so much of my own. But hang it, since I am grown suddenly rich, I think I will be generous for once in my life, and add as much more out of my proper stock. I shall also make so free as to draw on my uncle there for the like sum; and these, totted together, will make a pretty beginning of my little project. (pp. 370-371)

Later, he has chosen an ideal superintendent for his project, which will aim at the education of the heart such as he has known.

When they came to the turn that led to the mansion-house, Harry perceived with much pleasure that the two school-houses, which he had put in hand before the death of his father, were now completed. They stood opposite to each other, with the road between them. Their fronts were of hewn stone, and a small cupola rose over each, with bells to summon the children to meals and to lesson.

Here, Longfield, says our hero, is to be your province. You are to superintend these schools at a salary of three hundred a-year and I will soon send you with proper means throughout the country, to muster me a hundred chosen children of each sex; for I yearn to be a father, Longfield, and to gather my family of little ones under my eye and my wing. (pp. 410-411)

As we have seen, part of the celestial joy of his marriage is the coincidental completion of this project so dear to his heart.

The Harder study couples both Johnson and Brooke as writers who attacked the abuses of debtors' prisons. "In 1758-1759, Johnson attacked debtors' prisons condemning the system on economic and ethical grounds. This is a landmark in the history of reform. Not only the Idler and Gentleman's Magazine but also Henry Brooke in The Fool of Quality (1763), complains of the severity of the law against debtors."²⁵ Brooke indeed

²⁵Harder, p. 275.

does so. From a somewhat lengthy section in which Society, Life, Liberty, and Property are under discussion, Brooke shifts easily to a criticism of the laws with respect to debtors. Brooke's two voices: that of the lawyer, and that of the sentimental humanitarian, alternate in rapid succession. The lawyer points out the foisting of insupportable technicalities:

Many of our poor city dealers are yearly undone, with their families, by crediting persons who are privileged not to pay, or whose remoteness or power places them beyond the reach of the law. For by the return of non-invent, generally made upon writs, one would be apt to imagine that no single sub-sheriff knew of any such thing as a man of fortune, within his respective country, throughout the kingdom of Great Britain. (p. 225)

Then the humanitarian lashes out vehemently:

Since the severity of law is such, that he whose misfortunes have rendered him insolvent must 'make satisfaction,' (for so the savages esteem it,) by surrendering his body to durance for life, it is surely incumbent on our legislators and governours to make the condition of the unhappy sufferers as little grievous as may be.

But this most Christian duty, this most humane of all cares, is yet to come. When a debtor is delivered up into the fangs of his jailer, he is consigned to absolute and arbitrary slavery; and woe be to the wretch whose poverty may not have left him a sop for Cerberus. How more than miserable must be the state of

those unhappy men, who are shut in from all possible redress or appeal against the despotic treatment of their savage keepers, whose hearts are habitually hardened to all sense of remorse, and whose ears are rendered callous by incessant groans!

We are credibly informed that it is usual with such keepers to amass considerable fortunes from the wrecks of the wretched: to squeeze them by exorbitant charges and illicit demands, as grapes are squeezed in a vine-press while one drop remains; and then to huddle them together into naked walls and windowless rooms; having got all they can, and nothing further to regard, save the return of their lifeless bodies to their creditors.

How many of these keepers exact from their distressed prisoners seven and eight shillings per week for rooms that would not rent at a third of that sum in any other part of this city! At times, nine of those wretched prisoners are driven to kennel together in a hovel, fit only to stable a pair of horses, while many unoccupied apartments are locked up from use. Even a sufficiency of the common element of water is refused to their necessities, an advantage which the felons in Newgate enjoy. Public or private benefactions are dissipated or disposed of at the pleasure of the keepers regardless of the intention or order of the donors. And the apartments appointed to these miserable men are generally damp or shattered in the flooring, and exposed, by breach or want of windows, to the inclemency of night-air, and all the rigour of the season. (pp. 226-227)

Brooke will not live to see the reforms with which humane legislation will gradually erase from the scene of English society the deplor-

able conditions he knew at first hand. His contemporaries easily recognized the unpalatable facts in the fictional accounts of his hero's visits to the prisons with their incarcerated victims.

Despite the fact that such social evils had crept into the picture of the economic system, there was enough of merit in it to lend it highly favorable aspects. It is fitting, therefore, that Humphreys begins his chapter on the eighteenth-century English world of business by quoting a glowing reference to the reasons for its world prestige.

The present and future grandeur, fame, riches and happiness of Great Britain depend so entirely on the ingenuity, industry and commercial spirits of its inhabitants, and on the wisdom of its legislature, that no study seems more important than that which tends to convey proper ideas of those most essential subjects, Commerce, Politics, and Finance.

Thomas Mortimer, ²⁶
Elements of Commerce (1772).

The remainder of this chapter will try to show how Brooke's book expansively treats of the subjects of Commerce, Politics and Finance. Although The Fool of Quality faintly foreshadows The Wealth of Nations, 1776 it is a select compilation, as has been pointed out, of Brooke's principal social and political notions.

²⁶Humphreys, p. 52.

Before the novel is three chapters old, the main story is interrupted for a disquisition on the blessings accruing to the nation from the harmonious interrelation of the Tiller, the Manufacturer, and the Merchant.

The wealth, prosperity, and importance of all this world are founded and erected on three living pillars, the TILLER of the ground, the MANUFACTURER, and the MERCHANT. Of these, the tiller is supposed to be the least respectable, as he requires the least of genius, invention, or address; and yet the ploughman Triptolemus was worshipped as a god, and the ploughman Cincinnatus is still held in as high esteem as any peer of any realm, save that of Great Britain...

Permit me to repeat, that the wealth, prosperity, and importance of everything upon earth, arises from the TILLER, the MANUFACTURER, and the MERCHANT; and that, as nothing is truly estimable save in proportion to its utility, these are consequently very far from being contemptible characters. The tiller supplies the manufacturer, the manufacturer supplies the merchant, and the merchant supplies the world with all its wealth. It is thus that industry is promoted, arts invented and improved, commerce extended, superfluities mutually vended, wants mutually supplied; that each man becomes a useful member of society; that societies become further of advantage to each other; and that states are enabled to pay and dignify their upper servants with titles, rich revenues, principalities, and crowns. (p. 25)

Brooke waxes especially eloquent as he accedes the greatest credit to the merchant for "the grandeur, fame, riches, and happiness of Great Brit-

in." It is not without significance that the benevolent man of sensibility, Mr. Fenton, is an ideal merchant prince. Brooke, however, was not the first to sing the praises of the merchant in a piece of literature. Thorowgood, in The London Merchant (1731), instructs his virtuous apprentice, Trueman, regarding the noble name of merchant. More than many a gentleman, the merchant has come to the aid of the English crown, by might of money and weight of power. Mr. Sealand, in The Conscious Lovers (1722), is an earlier mouthpiece for this idea. And even Johnson is to have commented: "An English Merchant is a new species of Gentleman."²⁷ Brooke remains unmatched in his delineation of this new-come nobility.

The merchant, above all, is extensive, considerable, and respectable, by his occupation. It is he who furnishes every comfort, convenience, and elegance of life; who carries off every redundance, who fills up every want; who ties country to country, and clime to clime, and brings the remotest regions to neighbourhood and converse: who makes man to be literally the lord of the creation and gives him an interest in whatever is done upon earth; who furnishes to each the product of all lands, and the labours of all nations; and thus knits into one family, and weaves into one web, the affinity and brotherhood of all mankind.
(pp. 25-26)

The several paragraphs which follow this discuss corporate laws, avarice

²⁷Humphreys, p. 84.

and related topics--"a theme that Coleridge especially liked."²⁸ He wrote a long, interesting passage as comment, concluding it on the fly leaf of the volume. He begins by saying,

In the infancy of Commerce these chartered Bodies Corporate were not only useful but perhaps necessary. So only could the power of Capital be called into action, and experience be rendered progressive. But in the adult age of Commerce these Monopolies are dead weights.

The general Rule is against them--if in any case a chartered Monopoly is defensible, it must be defended as an exception. And the Defenders have the onus probandi,²⁹ that it is an exception.

In the following passage, Brooke's paean on merchants literally shouts its acclamation of their superior role among men--lording it even over their rulers.

But tell me, my dear, and tell me sincerely; you speak of your uncle as one of the richest and greatest men upon earth--as a prince--as an emperor--enabled to give away fortunes and provinces at pleasure.

And he is my lord, cried Harry--he is greater than any prince or emperor upon earth. To speak only of his temporal wealth

²⁸Dike, p. 152.

²⁹Ibid., 153.

or power--the most inconsiderable part of his value--he can do, as I may say, what he pleases in England. The ministry are at his beck--they profess themselves his servants; and even his majesty acknowledges himself deeply his debtor, and owes him, I daresay, half a million. (p. 348)

In less than a decade of years, Adam Smith's economic treatise The Wealth of Nations (1776), will re-echo these lofty sentiments as principles underlying England's economic system.

Anyone uneasy about economic results might find comfort in the semi-religious sanction Adam Smith gave to business by detecting the hand of Providence in the working of economic laws. All in law the businessman could consider himself a public benefactor, strong in moral worth and active in promoting civilization and the good life.

Once more--before the last of the digressive stories fall into place in the main thread of the story, Brooke repeats his praise of the merchant.

Why, pray, said I, is he a lord?--A lord? quotha: not so little as that comes to neither. No, sir; he is a prince--the very prince of our merchants' and our merchants are princes above all lords.--And, pray, how do they style or call him?--He has many names and titles. When our traders speak of him, they call him Mynheer Van Glunthong; but others style him my lord of merchants, and others, my lord the brother-man, and my lord the friend of the poor. (p. 361)

³⁰Humphreys, p. 88.

Brooke has never ceased trying to edify. And wealth, for his wise "Fool," has opened ever more avenues for the manifestations of genuine sensibility.

Commerce is another of the subjects that deserves attention in estimating the wealth of nations. Having at most but barely introduced it in the passage cited on manufacturing, Brooke amplifies his idea with illustrations (he describes his observations on that most prosperous of industrial countries--Holland); he submits suggestions whereby man may be encouraged in ingenuity and industry. To Brooke's credit be it said, his explanation is more plainly sensible than, as would be expected, ingenious.

Permit me, then, to explain to your lordship, how some men and some nations come to be encouraged to industry, and others to be discouraged, or in a manner prohibited from it.

Different men are endowed with different talents and powers, insufficient in many respects, though superfluous in others, to their own occasions. Different countries are also endowed with different productions, superfluous in many respects to the natives, though necessary or desirable for the well-being of foreigners.

Now, these alternate qualities of deficiency and abundance, at once invite and impel all men, and all countries, to claim and to impart that reciprocal assistance which is denominated commerce. Each gives what he can spare, each receives what he wants; the exchange is to the mutual advantage of all parties. And,

could a method be found out for encouraging manufacturers to persevere in their industry, and, improve in their arts, by a ready conveyance and sale of all their redundancies, neither want nor superfluity could find place upon earth.

All this is quite clear and self-evident, Mr. Meekly; but how to procure this ready sale is the question.

Your lordship must allow that the way to procure it would be to bring barterers and commuters, buyers and sellers, all who mutually want and mutually abound together. For this is the end and purpose of every market upon earth. (p. 352)

Here, for once, compressed into a nut-shell of space, is a description of the vast concourse of commerce. What follows is an elaborate, but concretely practical prospectus of a project to insure Britain's supremacy in commerce. Brooke's idea was not absolutely original; his presentation was.

From what has been premised, my lord, it is most evident that industry is the parent of the wealth of this world. That no man's industry is sufficient to his own occasions. That the mutual assistance denominated commerce is therefore, necessary to the well-being of all people. That the reciprocal advantage of this commerce consists in supplying mutual wants with mutual redundancies. That this commerce, however, cannot be carried on without a medium for the conveyance of such supplies. That such a medium by land, even where it is practicable, is tedious, toilsome, expensive, extremely discouraging, and cannot be pushed to any con-

siderable extent or effect. That God, however, hath opened for the purpose an easy, speedy, and universal medium of seas, lakes, and rivers, part of which he hath left unnavigable, that man might finish by art what nature had prepared, and contribute in some degree to his own advantages. (p. 354)

His panegyric on canals, "this work of national, or rather of universal beneficence," appeared in the last volume of The Fool of Quality. Its publication date of 1770 was just about the time that the construction of canals was given its first great impetus. By the turn of the century, several thousands of miles of canals will have been dug.

Thus it is in keeping with his character role as a public-spirited British citizen of King William's day, that Mr. Meekly discourses warmly of the enormous benefits in carrying out such a proposal. The earl's reaction is a mental picture just short of an apocalyptic vision. It is Brooke, of course, who exclaims:

What a happy--what a glorious prospect now opens to my view! How easily, how speedily, how profitably, might this method be put in execution throughout the earth! There is no deficiency of rivers or collateral streams for the purpose. The sinking into the earth would give vent to new springs, and extract plenty of water in all places for an inland navigation; and half the number of hands that perish through war and want, might be peacefully and plentifully employed in accomplishing this weal of mankind. Famine and depredation would then cease. Nation would no longer rise up against

nation, nor man against man. The earth, by culture, would soon become capable of sustaining tenfold the number of its present inhabitants. We should no more be tempted to push each other from existence. We should find ourselves mutually interested in preserving and multiplying the lives of all from whose labours we were to derive such advantages. All would be plenty, all peace and benevolence throughout the globe. The number of inhabitants, instead of being a burden would then become the riches of every climate. All hands would be set to work, when thus assured of a purchaser for every kind of labor. The buzz of wheels, reels, and looms; the sound of hammers, files and forges; with the shouts of vintage and the songs of harvest, would be heard in all lands! I am quite astonished that a work, so full of benefit and blessing to the universe of man, is not already commenced, advanced, and complete. (pp. 354)

At the same time, he is realistic in setting forth the enormous opposition which such a proposal will evoke, despite the fact that it would be one of "the greatest of charities, a charity to Great Britain, a charity to mankind." The conclusion is that "nothing less than the act of the whole legislature, to whom the people have committed their confluent powers, can avail for an undertaking of such national import." (p. 355). Harry then begs for the entire project to be set forth in writing and vows that if he lives to come to the lower house of parliament he will exert all his powers to this capital charity. "And if no other oratory will avail for the purpose, I will bribe the members with a hundred thousand pounds, and corrupt them, if possible, into one act of patriotism"

(p. 356). Here was the man of sensibility moved by the patriotism of the heart to an act of universal benevolence.

Harry's avowal, once he becomes a member of Parliament, to dedicate his personal powers and assets to promoting the public welfare, intimates the need for a favorable type of political climate for the cultivation of beneficial legislation. So closely related is the commonweal of a nation to its political life, the two elements alternate as cause and effect in that nation's prosperity at any given period of history.

Hence, the final section of this chapter will say something about the subject of Politics and its important position contributing to, or securing, the greatness of eighteenth-century England. The views are those of Brooke, a man, who, for apparently Quixotic reasons, gave up a preferred career in Parliament. The voice that was not heard in its Houses, spoke from his writing desk in the guise of political pamphlets, essays, dramas, and tales. It spoke for the last time through The Fool of Quality, a Brookean-sounding version of many of Locke's political theories.

The man Brooke knows may not be as savagely selfish as Hobbes's "man in the state of nature," but his selfishness is, nonetheless, not less despicable. With shrewd psychological insight, Brooke draws a revealing picture of the eighteenth-century man, reluctant to display unselfish public spirit.

They confessed themselves convinced of the utility of the scheme; and, could each of them be assured of engrossing to himself the most considerable part of the profits that would thereby accrue to the public, the work would instantly be begun, and would shortly be perfected. For, such is the nature of unregenerate man, that he grudges to others any portion of those goods which he so eagerly craves and grapples after for himself. He would hedge in the air, and make a property of the light. In proportion as he sees his neighbours in comparative want, he exults in the accumulation of imaginary wealth. But should he deem them, in a measure, more prosperous than himself, he sighs at his inmost soul, and grows wretched and repining. (p. 355)

Before culling a number of passages in which Brooke concentrates chiefly on the formation, function or malfunction, of British government, some references should be made to the underlying political philosophies which were in the political air breathed by the citizenry of the eighteenth century. A summary from the History of Philosophy used in Chapter V answers this purpose.

Locke, like Hobbes, also starts from an individualistic position and makes society depend on a compact or agreement. But his individualism is different from that of Hobbes. The state of nature is not by essence a state of war between each man and his fellows. And in the state of nature there are natural rights and duties which are antecedent to the State. Chief among these rights is the right of private property. Men form political society for the more secure enjoyment and

regulation of these rights. As for government this is instituted by society as a necessary device to preserve peace, defend society and protect rights and liberties; but its function is, or should be, confined to this preservation of rights and liberty. And one of the most effective checks to unbridled despotism is the division of powers, so that the legislative and executive powers are not vested simply in the hands of one man.

With Locke, then, as with Hobbes, the State is the creation of enlightened self-interest, though the former stands closer to the mediaeval philosophers inasmuch as he allows that man is by nature inclined to social life and even impelled to it. The general spirit however, of Locke's theory is different from that of Hobbes. Behind the latter we can see the fear of civil war and anarchy; behind the former we can see a concern with the preservation and promotion of liberty. The stress which Locke lays on the separation between the legislative and executive powers reflects to some extent the struggle between parliament and monarch. The emphasis placed on the right to property is often said to reflect the outlook of the Whig landowners, the class to which Locke's patrons belonged. And there is some truth in this interpretation, though it should not be exaggerated. Locke certainly did not envisage a monopoly of power in the hands of the landowners. According to the philosopher's statement, he wrote to justify, or hoped that his political treatise would justify, the Revolution of 1688.³¹

³¹Copleston, p. 46.

Over and over again, Brooke, in one way or another comes back to these ideas as he continues instilling the love of the virtue of patriotism in the bosom of his "Fool of Quality." Well on in the lessons on benevolence, he brings his pupil to almost supra-natural plains declaring: "Benevolence must, therefore, constitute the beatitude or heaven of all dependent beings, however infinitely diversified through several departments and subordinations, agreeable to the several natures and capacities of creatures." (p. 224)

Almost without warning, Brooke swings back to earth and a discussion of man in society, which his human wants and weaknesses have created and to which he has entrusted three of his rights: Life, Liberty, and Property.

Every man, when he becomes a member of this or that society, makes a deposit of three several sorts of trusts, that of his LIFE, that of his LIBERTY, and of his PROPERTY.

Now as every man, in his separate or independent state, has by nature the absolute disposal of his property, he can convey the disposal thereof to society, as amply and absolutely as he was, in his separate right, entitled thereto.

This, however, cannot be said of his life, or of his liberty. He has no manner of right to take away his own life, neither to depart from his own liberty: he cannot therefore convey to others a right and authority which he hath not in himself.

The question occurs, by what right it is that the legislative and executive powers of community appoint some persons to death, and others to imprisonment? My answer is short, and follows:

It is the right, perhaps the duty, of every man, to defend his life, liberty, and property, and to kill or bind attempters. This right he can, therefore, convey; and on such conveyance it becomes the right and duty of the trustees of society to put to death or imprison all who take away, or attempt the life, liberty, or property of any of its members. (p.224)

The paragraph beginning, "It is the right, perhaps the duty, of every man, to defend his life, liberty, and property, and to kill or bind the attempters," evoked a comment by Coleridge that showed his careful reading of the passage.

Here is confusion--Tho' a man kill or bind in defense of his property, it does not follow that he has and can convey a right to punish by killing or binding [.] It is one thing to resist violence, another to correct crime.³²

After citing examples in substantiation of his position--taking in Greece, Egypt, Holland and the Mosaic dispensation--Brooke comes round to a criticism of the debtors' laws.

Later, as the uncle feels his nephew has made sufficient progress to be initiated into the beauties and workings of the British Constitu-

³²Dike, p. 156.

tion, he reverts to the subject of liberty and property already introduced. The echoes are unmistakable.

I have already shown you, Harry, that every man has a right in his person and property; and that his right is natural, inheritable, and inalienable. No consent of parties, no institution, can make any change in this great and fundamental law of right; it is universal, invariable, and inalienable, to any men or system of men. It is only defeasible in particular cases; as where one man, by assailing the safety of another, justly forfeits the title which he had to his own safety.

If human nature had never fallen into a state of inordinate appetence, all laws and legal restraints would have been as needless and impertinent, as the study and practice of physic in a country exempted from mortality and disease. But, forasmuch as all men are tyrants by nature, all prone to covet and grasp at the rights of others, the great LAW OF SAFETY TO ALL can no otherwise be assured, than by THE RESTRAINT OF EACH FROM DOING INJURY TO ANY.

On this lamentable occasion, on this sad necessity of man's calling for help against man, is founded every intention and end of civil government. All laws that do not branch from this stem are cankered or rotten. All political edifices that are not built and sustained upon this foundation, 'of defending the weak against the oppressor,' must tumble into a tyranny even worse than that anarchy which is called the state of nature, where individuals are unconnected by any social band. But if such a system could be framed, whereby wrong should not be permitted or dispensed with in any man, right would consequently ensue,

and be enjoyed by all men, and this would be the perfection of CIVIL LIBERTY. (p. 264)

He becomes the preacher, pounding home to rulers whence their lawful authority comes. They are all only "agents and instruments and dispensers of beneficence...God's true representatives and vice regents on earth." But "arbitrary regents are no further of his appointment than the evils of earthquakes and hurricanes."

But so strong is the propensity to usurpation in man; so dangerous is it to tempt trustees with the investiture of power; so difficult to watch the watchers--to restrain the restrainers from injustice--that, whether the government were committed to the One, the Few, or the Many, the parties intrusted have generally proved traitors, and deputed power has almost perpetually been seized upon as property.

Monarchy has ever been found to rush headlong into tyranny--aristocracy into faction and multiplied usurpation--and democracy into tumult, confusion, and violence. And all these, whether distinct or compounded with each other, have ended in the supremacy of some arbitrary tyrant, enabled by a body of military mercenaries to rule, oppress, and spoil the people at pleasure. (p. 265)

'Salus Populi--Public Safety--Security to the Persons and Properties of the People'--constitutes the whole of England's polity. Here empire is 'Imperium legum, the sway of law:' it is the dispensation of beneficence, of equal right to all: and this empire rises supreme over king, lords, and commons, and is appointed to rule the rulers to the end of time. (pp. 265-266).

Of the last paragraph, Coleridge comments:

This is either a barren Truism, or a teeming Fallacy, according as the words are understood. The first, if physical Power be meant, the second, if the Right to demand obedience--i. e. Moral Power [.]

In whom can the right to demand obedience reside but in the whole body or those authorities established and delegated for the benefit of the whole body-- If not here, where will you find it except in the Divine right of ³³Kings--and we have not got to that yet--

The tutoring of Harry in public spirit has mounted steadily and comes inevitably to a climax of warm sensibility. Certainly a more rapturous reaction than that of Harry in this next instance is not humanly possible.

I beg pardon, sir, says Harry, for interrupting you once more; but you desire that I should always speak my mind with freedom. You have delighted me greatly with the account which you gave of the benefits and sweets of Liberty, and of its being equally the claim and birth-right of all men; and I wish to heaven that they had an equal enjoyment thereof. But this you know, sir, is very far from being the case; and that this animating fire, which ought to comfort all who come into the world, is now nearly extinguished throughout the earth.

O sir! if this divine, golden law of lib-

³³Dike, p. 161.

erty were observed, if all were restrained from doing injury to any, what a heaven we should speedily have upon earth! The habit of such a restraint would in time suppress every motion to evil. The weak would have the mightiness of this law for their support; the poor would have the benevolence thereof for their riches. Under the light and delightsome yoke of such a restraint, how would industry be encouraged to plant and to multiply the vine and the fig-tree! how would benignity rejoice to call neighbors and strangers to come and fearlessly partake of the fruits thereof! (p. 267)

At this stage of Harry's education, this unrestrained effusion of sensibility crowns all the efforts of his tutor to educate the heart of his young pupil to lead him to just such a response. This response is the noble shout of every young magnanimous heart. It serves, too, as a potent reminder that The Fool of Quality as a pedagogical treatise is remarkable in that Brooke, writing in 1765, meets the highly accepted criteria that mark the best teachers of adolescents today.

A teacher of youth is one who knows how to educate the person's emotional life, and not merely the orientation of his will....

A teacher of youth is one who knows how to educate the person not merely on the conscious but, in that psychological state where the faculties are still insufficiently differentiated...

A teacher of youth is one who knows how to educate the person in his painful, groping quest--not merely his rational faculty.

A teacher of youth is one who knows how to educate the person to see things in terms of their purpose and meaning rather than function...

Tomorrow as an adult, he will be more easily satisfied with precise objective, even impersonal knowledge and with a value synthesis. Today, as adolescent, he very badly needs a friendly reliable presence, a wise teacher whose way of life can inspire him and exert an influence.

34

In a very lengthy digression Harry's uncle proceeds to give a "short system of the beauties and benefits of our constitution." His brief introduction mounts to a sublime exclamation.

Your reading has informed you, and may further inform you, of the several steps and struggles whereby this great business was finally effected. It was not suddenly brought to pass; it was the work of many ages; while Britain, like Antaeus, though often defeated, rose more vigorous and reinforced from every soil. Of times long passed, what stupendous characters! what sacred names! what watchful councils! what bloody effusions! what people of heroes! what senates of sages! How hath the invention of nature been stretched, how have the veins of the valiant been exhausted, to form, support, reform, and bring to maturity, this unexampled constitution, this coalescence and grand effort of every human virtue, British Liberty! (p. 273)

³⁴ Pierre Babin, Crisis of Faith (New York, 1964), pp. 158-159. The subtitle of this is The Religious Psychology of Adolescence.

Humphreys' discussion of Parliament in his Augustan work cites instances to show its strength and its weakness. He concludes with a reference to Brooke: "So with all its faults Parliament, newly growing up to its emergent system of responsible cabinet with majority government and constructive opposition was viewed with complacency. Henry Brooke's Fool of Quality (1766) contemplates the British constitution almost ecstatically."³⁵

Brooke's unique system of this constitution, of which Harry made himself perfect master in little more than a month, was divided into four parts: The Regal Estate, The Aristocratical or Second Estate, The Democratical or Third Estate, and The Three Estates in Parliament. Apart from indicating the prerogatives, duties, and limitations of the persons in each estate, there are always present the overtones of sensibility we have come to expect from our author. "Here then we find that a King of Great Britain is constitutionally invested with every power that can possibly be exerted in acts of beneficence; and that, while he continues to move within the sphere of his benign appointment, he continues to be constituted the most worthy, most mighty, and most glorious representative of Omnipotence on earth" (p. 276).

Warm expressions of a hyperbolic nature crop up constantly in the

³⁵Humphreys, p. 126.

disquisition; as for example, "Distinguished representatives. Happy people! immutably happy while worthily represented!" (p. 281)

In a resounding peroration, Brooke, morally convinced of the well nigh divine merits of the British Constitution, delivers a jeremiad upon generations yet unborn who might destroy it.

Should the morals of our constituents ever come to be debauched, consent, which is the salt of liberty, would then be corrupted, and no salt might be found where-with it could be seasoned. Those who are inwardly the servants of sin, must be outwardly the servants of influence. Each man would then be as the Trojan horse of old, and carry the enemies of his country within his bosom. Our own appetites would then induce us to betray our own interests, and state policy would seize us by the hand of our lusts, and lead us 'a willing sacrifice to our own perdition.'

Should it ever come to pass that corruption, like a dark and low-hung mist, should spread from man to man and cover these lands--should a general dissolution of manners prevail--should vice be countenanced and communicated by the leaders of fashion--should it come to be propagated by ministers among legislators, and by the legislators among their constituents--should guilt lift up its head without fear of reproach, and avow itself in the face of the sun, and laugh virtue out of countenance by force of numbers--should public duty turn public strumpet--should shops come to be advertised where men may dispose of their honour and honesty at so much per ell--should public markets be opened for the purchase of consciences, with an 'O yes! We bid most to those who

set themselves, their trust, and their country, to sale,'--if such a day, I say, should ever arrive, it would be doomsday indeed to the virtue, to the liberty, and constitution of these kingdoms! (pp. 283-284)

It would have been impossible for Harry, the now very wise Fool, not to have learned these ardently enthusiastic lessons in public spirit to a most heightened degree. A perfect man, his quality as a peerless patriotic English gentleman and citizen, was not lost upon the Crown, the Court, or his contemporaries.

CHAPTER VIII

AESTHETICS OF THE HEART

More than once throughout this study of The Fool of Quality, there was occasion to call attention to the rhapsodic quality and the warmth of feeling in its many steeped-in-eighteenth-century-sensibility speeches. Whether Brooke exults in the glories of the British Constitution, or agonizes at the tyranny of unscrupulous lawyers, or rejoices in the sweetness of the blessings of benevolence, the same undiminished fervor accompanies the recounting. It is time to pay somewhat closer attention to the reasons for the rhetorical richness he attached to what should have been the secondary elements in the story.

One of the best possible ways in which to do this is to review The Fool of Quality in the light of eighteenth-century aesthetics. From this its twofold role will emerge: It will reveal Brooke's several references to aesthetic criteria--those principles relating to the feeling of beauty, and, it will reveal the book as an embodiment of those principles. The focus required by this dual purpose accents the fact that the thesis of

this chapter is closely allied to the one in the chapter on sensibility¹ and to that in the chapter on philosophy in the milieu of eighteenth-century sensibility.²

Already indicated was how the quick tear and tender sympathy, marks of genuine eighteenth-century sensibility, accompanied the process of the culture of the heart. Like the hero in Mackenzie's Man of Feeling, Harry in The Fool of Quality undergoes a variety of emotional experiences so that in each of them he might respond with the ultimate of heightened sensibility. This sensibility, "the very aristocracy of sensitivity."³ was of prime importance among the ingredients constituting the eighteenth-century novel.

In a study of the English novel for the thirty-year period, 1756-1785, as viewed by the editors of The Critical Review, it is the quality of sentimentality which is commented upon at great length.

The greatest contributing factor, however, was the emphasis placed on sensibility, on the aristocracy of sensitivity, which developed among the enthusiastic admirers of Sterne, Rousseau, Mackenzie and Brooke. The type of sentimentality which resulted

¹Chapter III: "Eighteenth-Century Sensibility," pp. 31-67.

²Chapter V: "Culture of the Heart," pp. 106-156.

³Claude E. Jones, "The English Novel: A Critical View, 1756-1785 (Part II)," MLQ, XIX (September 1958), 223.

from a conscious appeal to the heart rather than the head was highly esteemed by the critics.

The necessity for writing not from the intellect and imagination, but from the heart, was maintained throughout the period. For this reason the critics approved of Rousseau, though they considered him inferior to Richardson...In 1763 a female author is praised for being as sentimental as Rousseau, and as interesting as Richardson; three years later Henry Brooke's lachrymose Fool of Quality is cited...for incident and character and suggested domestic settings as most efficacious in arousing it.

Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett, three early masters of the English novel, were continuously popular with the critics, as were Mackenzie, Brooke, Rousseau, Mrs. Griffiths and Mrs. Sheridan. Only Sterne and Goldsmith were underestimated. The novel, like other forms of literature, was judged by the criteria of common sense, restraint, sentiment, and the conviction that all art should have a moral purpose.

Here we might pause to make an observation and to raise a question.

The Fool of Quality as a work of art meets the last criterion stated above to a maximum degree. But, is The Fool of Quality a work of art? To judge from what has been so frequently repeated regarding Brooke's book as a vehicle for inculcating sentiments of the highest virtue, the

⁴Ibid., 224.

observation stands irrefutable. Is it not possible to imagine that had Johnson had Brooke's Fool at hand in writing of "The Moral Duty of Novelists," he might readily have cited it as an example in which the novelist fulfilled this duty perfectly?

In narratives where historical veracity has no place I cannot discover why there should not be exhibited the most perfect idea of virtue, of virtue not angelical, nor above probability, for what we cannot credit we shall never imitate, but the highest and purest that humanity can reach, which, exercised in such trials as the various revolutions of things shall bring upon it, may, by conquering some calamities and enduring others, teach us what we may hope and what we can perform. Vice (for vice is necessary to be shown) should always disgust, nor should the graces of gaiety or the dignity of courage be so united with it as to reconcile it to the mind. Wherever it appears, it should raise hatred by the malignity of its practices, and contempt by the meanness of its stratagems, for while it is supported by either parts or spirit, it will be seldom heartily abhorred. The Roman tyrant was content to be hated if he was but feared, and there are thousands of the readers or romance willing to be thought wicked if they may be allowed to be wits. It is therefore to be steadily inculcated that virtue is the highest proof of understanding and the only solid basis of greatness, and that vice is the natural consequence of narrow thoughts, that it begins in mistake and ends in ignominy.

⁵Samuel Johnson, "The Moral Duty of Novelists," Eighteenth-Century Critical Essays, II, edited by Scott Elledge (Ithaca, New York, 1961), p. 575.

From 1750, the year in which the Rambler with this pronouncement appeared, to the present, critics invariably emphasize this "moral-duty" aspect of the eighteenth-century novelist. The discussion which follows will attempt to look at some of the parts in the mechanism which produced and propelled The Fool of Quality as a successful best seller in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. As this is done, the question raised at the beginning of this section will be to some extent--directly or indirectly--answered. This in no way cancels the avowal made in the introduction of this dissertation. There the stated objectives did not include a defense of Brooke's Fool of Quality as a major novel or supreme exemplar of this newly emerging genre in the eighteenth century. It will be seen, however, that Brooke's book is classifiable as a unique work of art which rests securely on its own defenses.

A very recent work on the eighteenth-century novel makes those particular defenses an important subject of exposition. As his first premise, the author contends that his study should "correct the notion or qualify the view that the mid-eighteenth-century novels appear artistically or intellectually inferior because they do not conform to later standards and practices. But from Pamela to Tristram, they constitute a distinct historic kind within the genre of the convention."⁶ The fact that

⁶Park, p. 1163.

the eighteenth-century novel, actually a formula-less genre, (yet, comparatively speaking, less form and formula are to be found in today's novel), had nearly five hundred specimens translated into French during the eighteenth century is a notable phenomenon.⁷

This is evidence of the concrete influence on the intellectuals in French literature ...However, one must not confine one's attention to the specific influence of English novelists upon their contemporaries in France. The student of literature is interested in more than the printed page. It is his chief aim to evoke the past, to breathe again the atmosphere of days that live only in the pages of history.

The eighteenth century means more to him than a shelf of books which have become the permanent possession of literature. He desires to re-create, through the power of the imagination, the society of a former age,--not only the discussions of the philosopher and the brilliant drawing room conversation of the day, but the confused thoughts and aspirations of the humble average citizen. In short, it is necessary to consider the English novel not only in its relation to the genre in France, but, also very broadly, as an element in the social background of the times. The dominating presence of the English novel overshadows the cultural life of the times and its success must be

⁷ French readers must have welcomed Le Fou de Qualité, as much as the English received Prevost's Man of Quality.

regarded⁸ as an event of historical consequences.

Surely it is meet and just to claim for Brooke's Fool of Quality some measure of distinction for its contribution to such a success. As a compendium of the ideology of eighteenth-century sensibility, it is, historically speaking, invaluable. Gill considers it an important work in reproducing the prevailing vogue of sentimentality which came between the Age of Reason and the Romantic awakening. He views "Brooke's doctrines as very brave and at the time surprisingly novel."⁹ He sees his novel as an excellent synthesis of much of the best teaching of Rousseau and Wesley. "It possesses the uncommon breadth and freedom typical of both."¹⁰ And although he cannot concede to Brooke's writing the qualities of Wesley's clear mind and transparent style, he nonetheless maintains that,

Brooke is too significant in English literature to be entirely forgotten, and we can hardly avoid placing him, not merely among the minor novelists, but among those whose work as an indirect result of Methodism, helped to direct the evolution

⁸Harold Wade Streeter, The Eighteenth Century English Novel in French Translation (New York, 1936), p. 162.

⁹Frederick C. Gill, The Romantic Movement and Methodism (London, 1937), p. 124.

¹⁰Ibid.

of the English novel. Not only at a time when there were few fictional models to follow, but also that he employed the novel at an early stage for moral issues, using it not merely for entertainment and instruction, but also for awakening the social sympathies and ethical ideals.¹¹

More than once in the course of this dissertation, opportunity presented itself to point out Brooke's intense earnestness in advocating "The Fool" as a perfect model of the Christian gentleman, patriot, and person. Stressed, too, were his efforts to ease the lessons in training by expressing them in the most entertaining way possible. Yet, what Whittuck says of this type of literature in general, is applicable to Brooke only in part. "Whatever may be thought of the tone of its teaching, there can be no doubt that taken as a whole, the literature of the eighteenth century proposed to itself the role of teacher and that its bias is toward edification rather than towards the pursuit of either abstract truth or of aesthetic charm."¹² As one of the best reviewed novels by eighteenth-century critics, The Fool of Quality was frequently cited for its breadth and happiness. More than one modern critic agrees with Tompkins that it is a joyous book. And there are others like Gill who note that "despite the emotional emphasis there is little morbidity or depression

¹¹ Ibid., 125.

¹² Whittuck, p. 19.

in it--free as it is from all superstition and prejudice."¹³

In a way, this is quite remarkable, if one remembers that Brooke, like the novelists who preceded him, or those who wrote contemporaneously with him, was compelled to grope his way in this new medium. Once Brooke had been struck with the happy thought of bringing together in one place all that he had thought and taught through a fruitful lifetime, what better mode for its expression than the novel? One should not be too surprised at the occasional angry note a century later, by critics who could not stomach the literary stuffing of a novel to almost bursting with all manner of things. Saintsbury compares The Fool of Quality favorably with Amory's unusual Life of John Bunclie, esq., and says the Brooke's is "a much more respectable and an almost equally interesting book, though a worse novel, seeing that it attempts innumerable things which a novel cannot manage. It is a wholly impractical book and a chaotic history, but admirably written, full of shrewdness and wit, and of a singularly chivalrous tone?"¹⁴

One of the reasons for the unwieldiness of the eighteenth-century novel is to be found in the novelist's own conception of his role. It

¹³ Gill, p. 123.

¹⁴ Gellert, p. 420.

was not enough for him to tell a story, but he must teach, preach, reform, and philosophize. To do this, it was necessary to hold up the story with numerous digressions of a suitable length in order to perform his other moral duties. A section in the work, The Age of Johnson, is primarily concerned with this aspect of the eighteenth-century novelist. Irma Sherwood's study discloses some of the techniques that came to be adopted to insure a creditable performance by the novel writer. Brooke's adoption of the various devices and procedures is notable; equally notable, however, is the end-result beyond what was expected from novel writers by novel readers.

In commenting on the novelists' use of digression for commentary, Miss Sherwood says:

Usually the author regarded the moral bypath as quite as attractive and edifying as his main route. Even in the great novels in which the theme is clearly defined and the unity is firm, fascinating byways are not eschewed. The commonness of this digressive habit, examples of which can be found in virtually every eighteenth-century novel, can be attributed not only to the spirit of criticism and spirit of morality which dominates the age but to the fact that the novel was a new literary type.¹⁵

¹⁵Sherwood, p. 115.

For his purposes, Brooke took the manipulation of the novel via digressions with utmost seriousness. Altogether, there are close to a hundred of these discursive interpolations in The Fool of Quality. All those which form natural clusters around one topic have provided the subjects for the first eight chapters of this work. Furthermore, eighteen of these digressions fall into one of two important groupings: histories and Author-Friend discussions. The Fool of Quality, or The History of Harry, the Earl of Moreland includes nine other histories ("The History of the Man of Letters" is by far the longest, and immediately recalls a similarly digressive history in Tom Jones). The second group consists of the nine Author-Friend conversations, which are used by Brooke to convey, for the most part, with a lighter, humorous touch, the criticism or comment he cannot leave unsaid on some subject which particularly interests him. Both of these groups will be discussed more fully later in the chapter.

The following section will glance at items--both numerous and novel--that provided a miscellany of matter calculated to affect the eighteenth-century heart.

Listed in the bibliography under Brooke's Works, is a most interesting entry: The History of Henry, Son to Richard, Earl of Moreland, (taken from the novel by H. Brooke),...a Chap-book. In this form, then, the English populace became acquainted with The Fool of Quality. The

eighteenth-century chapbook (literally "cheap" book), peddled about by "chapmen" and usually a small book of sixteen or thirty-two pages, poorly printed and crudely illustrated, had a great appeal for the common folk. Ordinarily, "these books contained all sorts of topics and incidents: travel tales, murder cases, prodigies, strange occurrences, witchcraft, biographies, religious legends and tracts, stories of all sorts."¹⁶ That Brooke's book with its abundance of such ingredients was given this popular treatment, is not surprising.

From The Fool of Quality, one might also compile a good-sized, but inevitably kaleidoscopic, Brookeana of the subjects incorporated by Brooke. These undergo varying degrees of amplexness, or are included simply for striking allusiveness. Those which he treats in the first manner have been identified as to their particular relation and function they bear to the topic developed in each of the preceding chapters. Of those which fit into the second category, one can count well over a hundred. It will be possible to look at only a very small fraction of these allusions,¹⁷ since even the parables "fall like manna,"¹⁸ in The Fool of

¹⁶William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard, A Handbook to Literature (New York, 1961), p. 78.

¹⁷The Appendix lists as extensively as possible both types of subjects. Furthermore, definitions, identifications, and explanations are supplied for some items because of their curious, interesting, or particularly significant relevancy.

¹⁸Dike, p. 151.

Quality, which was even considered "the richest fictional storehouse of sentimental cliches."¹⁹ Or, as Baker puts it:

At a time when the sentimentalists regarded fiction as so important an influence upon morals, one of them was sure sooner or later to write a novel embracing divine as well as human things. And it might have been predicted that Henry Brooke, the Irish enthusiast, who, in his poem Universal Beauty, and elsewhere, had fused the benevolent deism of Shaftesbury with the mysticism of Jacob Boehme, was the likeliest man to do it.²⁰

Even after excising portions of both deism and mysticism, there was still enough of the divine remaining in The Fool of Quality, for Wesley to come up with his popular version, as we have seen, for the use of the Methodists. But it held further resources, of a philosophical nature, for the writer who gathered the proper selections from Brooke's work and published it as Benignity or The Ways of Happiness.²¹ This title unquestionably reverts to the theme of Brooke's novel, but for Brooke to have advertised his story by this eighteenth-century sermon title, would have been an artistic catastrophe. One must not miss a still wider use of

¹⁹Baugh, p. 1028.

²⁰Baker, 114.

²¹See entry for 1818 in the bibliography under Brooke's Works.

The Fool of Quality. If the story meanders in the original telling, what we may wonder, must happen to it when The Fool of Quality is paraphrased in verse, as it was by John Phillips in 1822.²² Since this version in verse was based on Wesley's abridgement of the novel, its purpose as a treatise for nourishing the religion of the heart continues. We have already looked at this teaching purpose in Chapter IV. We have also looked at the novel as a pedagogical tool, the deft use of which, by an expert, should result in a superior product.

At this point let us take a brief look back to Brooke's system of education. In the early education of Harry, appropriate fables and instructive tales underscore the teaching.

At times of relaxation, the old gentleman, with the most insinuating address, endeavored to open his mind and cultivate his morals, by a thousand little fables; such as a bold sparrow and naughty kids that were carried away by hawk, or devoured by the wolf, and of good robins and innocent lambs that the very hawks and wolves themselves were fond of, for he never proposed any encouragement or reward to the heart of the hero, save that of the love and approbation of others. (p. 8)

As Harry grows in maturity, his education courses advance accordingly. He studies history, geography, languages (including English), mathematics, and is given an in-depth analysis of the British Constitution.

²²See entry for 1822 in bibliography under Brooke's Works.

The illustrative tales and anecdotes to supplement this teaching are now of a different tenor and tone.

As an example, there is the account of the Burghers of Calais, in which Brooke "strikes an epical note," and which is "a trumpet-call to the heart of a boy."²³ A high moment of tension and sentiment is reached when the six citizens voluntarily offer themselves to save the people of the city.

'Indeed, the station to which the captivity of Lord Vienne has unhappily raised me, imparts a right to be the first in giving my life for your sakes. I give it freely, I give it cheerfully--who comes next?'

Your son! exclaimed a youth, not yet come to maturity. 'Ah, my child,' cried St. Pierre, "I am then thrice sacrificed. But no, I had rather begotten thee a second time. Thy years are few but full, my son; the victim of virtue has reached the utmost purpose of heroes!' Your kinsman, cried John de Aire! Your kinsman, cried James Wissant! Your kinsman, cried Peter Wissant! Ah, exclaimed Sir Walter Mauny, bursting into tears, why was not I a citizen of Calais? (p. 36)

In the end the queen prevails upon her husband to deprive the burghers of the glory that would come to them by forgiving all and sending these home with gifts. But--

²³Baker, p. 117.

Brave St. Pierre, said the queen, wherefore look ye so dejected? Ah, madam! replied St. Pierre, when I meet with such another opportunity of dying, I shall not regret that I survived this day. (p. 36)

The answer was a perfect model for a man being schooled in the highest sensibility.

In a highly informative study on the English novels and their appearance in the magazines from 1740 to 1815, we learn that the reviews of The Fool of Quality reached 10,000 words regularly.²⁴ This startling fact is easily clarified. Whole, lengthy episodes were detached and printed in full, together with the reviewers' comments. Already noted was the inclusion of the entire dissertation on the British Constitution in volume 8 of The London Magazine, 1768. In that same year, "The History of a Reprobate," from Chapter XVI of Volume III and "The History of an Englishman's Slavery in Algiers," from Chapter VIII, of the Fool of Quality (1768) appeared in The Chronicle.²⁵ The "History of a Reprobate" appeared in several other magazines down to as late as 1803.²⁶

²⁴ Robert D. Mayo, The English Novel in the Magazines 1740-1815 (Evanston, 1962), p. 207.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 246.

²⁶ See entries under The London Magazine in the bibliography in section under General Reference Works on Henry Brooke.

But it is "The History of the Man of Letters" episode which has its own most interesting history. Apart from appearing in at least two magazines, and, due to its length, in several installments, it was also used by Leigh Hunt for his Classic Tales 1806-1807. This series was intended to contain the best short fiction of the previous age. Of the ninety-seven selections, thirty-eight are English. The extract from The Fool of Quality (one of the four novels used for the work) was an admirable introduction to the novel itself of which it was a loose but, nonetheless related segment.

A closer look at the contents of this "history" within a History, discloses an unusual literary compote. In this longest digression (about fifty pages), Brooke relates the life of Mr. and Mrs. Clement, covering only the tragical interval: the completion of Clement's education as a finished gentleman but an ineffectual person, up to the time that he, his wife, and child resign themselves to death from starvation. It would have been too simple for Brooke to leave it at this. Apart from a few minor digressive episodes, he devotes several pages each to disquisitions on a "Classical Education," on "Faith, Feeling and Providence," and, on "Liberty."

In a vividly dramatic court trial scene which ends on a supercharged note of glorious sensibility, Brooke takes the opportunity to lash out at abuses in the London courts. After calmly listening to the vulgar tirade

and illegal barrage of questions, "Mr. Longfield barely smiled" (p. 106). He then proceeds to disabuse the entire assembly with irrefutable logic and evidence. Coleridge's comment on this indicates that he is weighing Brooke's bold attack with the infeasibility of a writer's launching a similar one in his day. Coleridge reflects:

The effect of such delineations as this of the Judge is dangerous in the present state of the popular mind--but it must be remembered in H. Brooke's justification that Chief Justice Page and others gave too great occasion for such portraits, and were infamous for their abusive brow-beating Language on the Bench--and for their shameless partiality where the Government or²⁷ the Aristocracy was concerned.
S. T. C.--

Briefer discussions include these topics: "the dark night of the soul"; "the exaltation of virtue"; a rhapsody on "industry," an amplification of which, will flower more fully later on in the book; "the power of Christianity"; and, the solace of "tears." And for extra good measure, there is an original poem. The only unembellished allusions in this "history" are references to the Widow of Sarepta and Esdras the Prophet. By way of bringing this episode to a close and commenting on it too, Brooke adds the fourth of the nine Author-Friend discussions. The topics of this one provided discussion matter for Chapter VI of this disserta-

²⁷Dike, p. 155.

tion in the section on the education of women.

This sketchy tracing of the important episode of "The History of the Man of Letters," is the closest possible approximation to a blueprint of Brooke's development of The Fool of Quality in toto. In it, his "Fool," who is really wise, can speak profitably of many things, and we are free to draw liberally from this provision of plenty--useful and entertaining fare.

But much wisdom is also distilled through the Author-Friend discussions to which several references have already been made. And it is this second group of digressions that makes necessary the use of the device of the dead stop. What Brooke has to say is always quaintly charming, or, surprisingly, striking, in the presentation of a truth with what approaches modern psychological insight. When an author good-naturedly criticizes his own work, he evokes an equally good-natured response in his reader.

Friend. Now, my dear friend, as you have not applied for the favour of these established arbitrators of genius and literature, you are not to expect the least mercy from them; and I am also free to tell you, that I know of no writer who lies more open to their attacks. You are excessively incorrect. Your works, on the one hand, have not the least appearance of the Limaie labor; nor, on the other, have they that ease which ought to attend the haste with which they seem to be written. Again, you are extremely unequal and disproportioned; one moment you soar where no eye can see, and straight descend with rapidity, to creep in the vulgar phrase of

chambermaids and children. Then you are so desultory that we know not where to have you; you no sooner interest us in one subject, than you drag us, however reluctant, to another. In short, I doubt whether you laid any kind of plan before you set about the building; but we shall see how your fortuitous concourse of atoms will turn out.

Author. Do I want nature?

Friend. No.

Author. Do I want spirit?

Friend. Rather too much of fire at times.

Author. Do I want sentiment?

Friend. Not altogether.

Author. Then, sir, I shall be read and read again, in despite of my own defects, and of all that you and your critics can say or do against me. The truth is, that the critics are very far from being bug-bears to me; they have always proved my friends, my best benefactors. They were the first who writ me into any kind of reputation; and I am more beholden to their invectives than I am to my own genius, for any little name I may have got in the world: all I have to fear is, that they are already tired of railing, and may not deem me worth their further notice.--But pray, my good sir, if you desire that I should profit by your admonitions, ought you not to give me instances of the faults with which you reproach me?

Friend. That would be time and labour altogether thrown away, so I have not the smallest hope of bringing you to confession. You are a disputant, a casuist, by your education; you are equally studied and practised in turning any thing into nothing, or bringing all things thereout. But do not flatter yourself that I have yet given you the detail of half your

faults; you are often paradoxical, and extremely peremptory and desperate in your assertions. (p. 69)

Dr, Brooke criticizes Brooke so as to forestall other critics who would find fault with the characters of Clement and his wife.

Friend. Your story of Clement, my friend, is truly interesting, and in some passages may be edifying also. I have only to observe that it is too long for an episode, and that the character of your heroine-milliner is constrained and unnatural; it is elevated above the fortitude and virtues of man himself, but quite out of the sight and soaring of any of her weak and silly sex. Had she been a princess--an empress--she could not have figured in your history with greater dignity.

Author. There lay my error, sir; unhappily I did not reflect, that royalty or station was necessary to Christian resignation and lowliness of temper. (p. 119).

Apropos of these many and lengthy digressions, it may be noted here, that it was

natural enough, for the same reason [the novel's being a new literary type], the extent to which the eighteenth-century novel tended to borrow methods from other literary forms. Methods had already proved satisfactory in the periodical essay, conduct book, sermon, epic drama. All these found their way into the novel, especially the essay. The novelist creates a new character only to illustrate his point and then promptly forgets about him; he summarizes neatly in finished eighteenth-century style, an admirable precept--²⁸which has nothing to do with the main story.

²⁸Sherwood, p. 116.

To Brooke's credit be it said, (albeit this extenuation is cannon fodder for critics who deplore such plotting), not one of the interpolated histories is strictly irrelevant. The hero of each minor story is created as a necessary aid in the vast educational system involving the principal hero, Harry, toward the full development of his sensibility.

Another convention which is an integral part of The Fool of Quality is the role of the mentor character. Brooke indeed reserves to Mr. Fenton, Harry's prodigiously rich uncle, "most of the wise speeches and actions which are demonstrations of the author's theories put into practice, and which are above reproach; he functions as a deus ex machina, he helps the hero and heroine; he makes judicious pronouncements on developments in the story and he must be the fountain head of advice."²⁹ Very early in The Fool of Quality, we understandingly resign ourselves to listening to our author in the long, formal, and fervent discourses of Mr. Fenton. The innumerable quotations presented throughout this dissertation in substantiation of one or another of his tenets are samples of such literary ware.

Here is a conspicuously outstanding example from among many passages one might select. Containing, as it does, both the reason and the remedy for the evils of sinners, it is also very interesting rhetorically: a

²⁹

Sherwood, p. 119.

paragraph approximately two hundred words in length consisting of one sentence, rises to a climactic crest through a series of five subordinate clauses beginning with "could," and then drops to a quiet close in a brief verbal phrase.

Could creatures, without the experiences of any lapse or evil, have been made duly sensible of the darkness and dependence of their creaturely nature, and of the distance and distinction between themselves and their God; could they have known the nature and extent of his attributes, with infinity of his love; could they have known the dreadful consequences of falling off from him, without seeing any example, or experiencing any consequences of such a fall; could they have otherwise felt and found that every act of creaturely will and every attempt at creaturely power, was a forsaking of that eternal wisdom and strength in which they stood; could all intelligent creatures have been continued in that lowliness, that resignation, that gratitude of burning affection which the slain will of the mortified sinner feels when called up into the grace and enjoyment of his God; could those endearing relations have subsisted in creation, which have since newly risen between God and his lapsed creatures wholly subsequent thereto-- those relations, I say of redemption of regeneration, of a power of conversion, that extracts good of evil, of a love that no apostasy can quench, that no offences can conquer--if these eternal benefits could have been introduced, without their ground or foundation in the admission of evil, no lapse or falling off would ever have been. (p. 369)

If all the expressions of wisdom were left to the mentor character,

however, the work would be a monologue-treatise. Hence, some of the other principals are permitted to reflect the views of the author. It is especially appropriate, it would seem, that wise speeches should come from the mouth of the model character--in the case of The Fool of Quality--Harry. But as Sherwood points out: "The voicings of the wise opinion of an experienced person are really out of keeping with the age."³⁰ And later on in a discussion of the style of this type of comments, such items as polysyllabic words, balanced phrases, parallel structure, emphatic repetitions, and studied comparisons--" really serve to emphasize the author's attitude toward the material."³¹ In this regard, too, Brooke's wise-beyond-his-years Harry is no exception. A good example of this is Harry's enraptured response of an exalted religious fervor on liberty as quoted in Chapter VII of this work.

In a fine critique which highlights the weaknesses as well as the strong points of The Fool of Quality, other traits, besides its digressiveness for didactic purposes, are listed. These help to build an admirable case supporting the contention that this old-fashioned novel is worth its salt of scholarly study.

The Fool of Quality is not remarkable
for structural unity; it has a good deal

³⁰Ibid., 120.

³¹Ibid., 123.

of immature characterization, and the new introspective habits in literature were as yet experimental and somewhat crude. Brooke's method emphasized, if not actually initiated, valuable points of flexibility and comprehensiveness. The vessel may have been full and overcrowded, but at least it showed variety and universality. It had room for everyone and everything. If eccentric it was not narrow. It indicated the possibility of the novel as a medium, not merely of romance, or entertainment but equally of instruction and propaganda. It combined fiction with realism. It emphasized character, personal motives and ideals. At the same time, it laid stress on social duties and responsibilities. It portrayed the community at the same time that it related the individual to the world.³²

A hundred years earlier than Gill, Kingsley analyzed the novel with equal perceptiveness. His emphasis on its humanistic worth is understandable.

But if an ideal does exist of the human soul as of the human body;--if it be good to recollect that ideal now and then, and to compare what man is with what man might be;--if the heroic literature of every nation, and above all these, the New Testament itself, are witnesses for that spiritual ideal, just as Greek statuary and the paintings of the great Italian masters are witnesses for the physical ideal;--if that ideal, though impossible with

³²Gill, p. 125.

man, be possible with God, and therefore the goal toward which every man should tend, even though he come short of it:-- then it may be allowable for some at least among the writers of fiction to set forth that ideal, and the author of the "Fool of Quality" may be just as truly a novelist in his own way, as the authoress of "Queechy" and the "Wide Wide World." There are those, indeed, still left on earth who believe the contemplation of the actual (easy and amusing as it is) to be pernicious to most men without a continual remembrance of the ideal; who would not put into young hands even that Shakespeare who tells them what men are, without giving them, as a corrective, the Spenser and the Milton who tell them what men might be; who would even (theological questions apart) recommend to the philosophical student of mere human nature the four Gospels rather than Balzac. But such are, doubtless, as Henry Brooke was, dreamers and idealists. (p. lv)

Signs that critical notions of this sort are not completely dead today, may be detected in the occasional flicker of life on the horizon of critical literature defending the position of artistic didacticism. A very recent article dares to broach the Johnsonian view of moral duty, the application of which formed a major relevant digression in this chapter. Keeping in mind that The Fool of Quality may only qualify as a major minor classic, there is definitely place for it in this interesting hypothesis.

Too many contemporary literary critics are so preoccupied with unearthing 'literary fallacies' (whether they be of the

personal or intentional or affective variety) that they ignore the manifest fallacy in their own restrictive approach to art and literature, discussing the works of art as though they were absolutely autonomous and hermetically sealed against the intrusions of the extra-aesthetic world. As an outgrowth of such a restrictive view, it is not surprising that much contemporary critical and creative work is so clinical and technical and ingenious in its emphasis, trying to cast upon literary studies an aura of scientific respectability. Nor is it surprising that the humanistic values inherent in great classical literature are so rarely alluded to in the contemporary criticism of literary works. According to this view, the greatness of an author like Shakespeare is to be accounted for not in terms of his comprehensive and complex personal vision of human experience, nor in terms of his halting but dexterous expression of such a vision, nor in terms of the aesthetic emotion that his work elicits, but exclusively in terms of ingenious workmanship. To carry this contemporary approach to its logical conclusion, it would have to be said that a literary work does not speak to men; it speaks to itself. It exists in splendid isolation.

In contrast to this contemporary trend of critical purism and monism, the critics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Addison, Johnson, Coleridge, Arnold and Newman approached literary works with a sensitive awareness of their humanistic values and implications. The critics of this older tradition would bestow upon the literary artist³³ the dignified role of public educator.

³³ Harold M. Petitpas, "Newman's Idea of Literature: A Humanist's Spectrum, Renaissance, XVII (Winter 1964), 97.

That Brooke, with The Fool of Quality as his chief pedagogical portfolio, is a public educator supreme remains an indisputable postulate.

By way of transition back to the twofold role of The Fool of Quality in its reflections on, and as an embodiment of, eighteenth-century aesthetics, a clarifying note should be sounded. Aesthetics as the science of the beautiful in art and in nature should involve a consideration of the beautiful as distinguished from the moral or the useful. In the eighteenth century, however, aesthetics and morals, as philosophical concepts, were frequently complementary if not actually interchangeable. Thus, when Edith Birkhead supports her conclusion that "Brooke's obvious sincerity and belief in his idealistic theories carry us over many absurdities."³⁴ by showing his like-mindedness with Shaftesbury, we get only a half view.

His views were similar to those of the philosopher Shaftesbury, who advocated our bringing into harmony the different impulses which stir the heart, by directing our feelings toward our fellowmen. He believed like Shaftesbury that happiness comes from within, and that the happiness which we procure for others reacts on ourselves.³⁵

³⁴ Birkhead, p. 106.

³⁵ Ibid., 107.

This is true, but what Shaftesbury really said is of vastly wider

implication.

The mind, which is spectator or auditor of other minds, cannot be without its eye and ear, so as to discern proportion, distinguish sound, and scan each sentiment or thought which comes before it. It can let nothing escape its censure. It feels the soft and harsh, the agreeable and disagreeable in the affections; and finds a foul and fair, a harmonious and a dissonant, as really and truly here as in any musical number or in the outward forms or representations of sensible things. Nor can it withhold its admiration and ecstasy, its aversion and scorn, any more in what relates to one than to the other of these subjects. So that to deny the common and natural sense of a sublime and beautiful in things, will appear an affectation merely, to any one who considers duly of this.

Now as in the sensible kind of objects the species or images of bodies, colors, and sounds are perpetually moving before our eyes, and acting on our senses even when we sleep; so in the moral and intellectual kind, the forms and images of things are no less active and incumbent on the mind, at all seasons, and even when the real objects themselves are absent.

In these vagrant characters or pictures of manners, which the mind of necessity figures to itself and carries still about with it, the heart cannot possibly remain neutral; but constantly takes part one way or other. However, false or corrupt it be within itself, it finds the difference, as to beauty and comeliness, between one heart and another; and accordingly, in all disinterested cases; must approve in some measure of what is natural

and honest, and disapprove what is dishonest and corrupt.³⁶

Shaftesbury, therefore, assimilates the moral to the aesthetic sense. Hutcheson follows suit.

In a discussion of the problems of ethics in the eighteenth century, and the relationship between morality and aesthetics, Copleston concludes:

By concentrating on the idea of the beauty of virtue and the ugliness or deformity of vice, Shaftesbury had already given to morality a strongly aesthetic colouring. And Hutcheson continued this tendency to speak of the activity of the moral sense in aesthetic terms.³⁷

Discussing Hume's view of this assimilation, he says: "As for morals and aesthetics (which Hume calls 'criticism'), these are objects of taste and sentiment more than of the understanding. Beauty, whether moral or natural, is felt more properly than perceived."³⁸ He discusses Hume's attitude to "moral sentiment as a feeling of approbation or disapprobation towards actions or qualities or characters."³⁹ In a previous section, he had pointed out that this "moral sentiment" is disinterested. Tying this idea in with Hume's views on aesthetics the author

³⁶ Shaftesbury, Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, I (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1963), pp. 251-252.

³⁷ Copleston, V, p. 181.

³⁸ Ibid., 316.

³⁹ Ibid., 331.

draws a new conclusion: "Aesthetic pleasure is, it is true, also disinterested. But though moral and natural beauty closely resemble one another, it is not precisely moral approbation which we feel, for example, for a beautiful building or a beautiful body."⁴⁰

Hume has here made broad generalization of concepts presented as early as 1725 by Hutcheson, who modified Shaftesbury's views, and was in turn himself modified by Hume. In a discussion "Of Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design," several interesting passages occur:

It is true what chiefly pleases in the countenance are the indications of moral dispositions; and yet were we by the longest acquaintance fully convinced of the best moral dispositions in any person with that countenance we now think deformed, this would never hinder our immediate dislike of the form or our liking other forms more. And custom, education, or example could never give us perceptions distinct from those of the senses which we had the use of before, or recommend objects under⁴¹ another conception than grateful to them.

In the section, "Of original or absolute beauty," Hutcheson underscores the tenet quoted above.

As to the most powerful beauty in countenances, airs, gestures, motion, we shall

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Elledge, I, from An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue, p. 355.

show in the second treatise that it arises from some imagined indication of morally good dispositions of mind. In motion there is also a natural beauty when at fixed periods like gestures and steps are regularly repeated, suiting the time and air of music⁴² which is observed in regular dancing.

A terse summary of this beauty and morality juxtaposition in eighteenth-century aesthetics is given by Ferguson in 1769, in his chapter on "Moral Laws." Here he has shown how they are distinguished from the physical, in any general expression of what ought to be. He concludes: "In this sense, the rules of art, the canons of beauty and propriety relating to any subject whatsoever are to be classed with moral laws."⁴³

At this point, one might easily raise the objection that there is not one word as yet on the other of the two most important aesthetic concepts of the eighteenth-century--sublimity. Paradoxical as it may seem, the philosophers as aestheticians, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson and Hume, did have specific ideas on beauty; but not one of them used the word sublime. Instead, feeling, emotionalism, sentiment, enthusiasm, or greatness gave the name to this function. Samuel Monk's well-known work on the sublime includes a reference of an almost incidental nature to this status quo

⁴²Ibid., 360.

⁴³Ferguson, p. 138.

in eighteenth-century aesthetics.

An additional impetus had been given to aesthetic speculation by Shaftesbury in his Characteristicks, in which, as the upholder of a rather Platonic theory of beauty, he kept alive a view of art not wholly reconcilable with neo-classicism. Unfortunately he did not discuss the sublime... The Moralists, 1709, and the Miscellaneous Reflections, 1711, dwell on the value of enthusiasm, and thus reinforced the cause of emotionalism in art and in life, while, at the same time, they provided a philosophical basis for the appreciation of the natural world. In 1715, Jean Pierre Crou-saz, later to become famous in England through his attack on Pope's Essay on Man, had introduced the theory that we have a feeling for beauty, that our aesthetic judgments are not judgments at all, but simply a matter of feeling, which is accompanied by pleasant emotions that arise from the heart. Sentiment reaches directly and without delay the same conclusions as to the beauty or ugliness of an object as would reason if time were given for reflection. This is distinctly a change from the judgment of art by rules and by reason; the way had been prepared for such a theory and its far-reaching inferences when the neo-classicists themselves were forced to admit the failure of the rules after a certain point. Pope's 'grace beyond the reach of art' is distinctly said 'to gain the heart, and all its ends at once attain.' The Longinian tradition, and especially the sublime, were from the first capable of being blended with such a theory, for the sublime was a matter ⁴⁴ rather of feeling than of the rules. ⁴⁴

⁴⁴Samuel H. Monk, The Sublime (Arr. 1960), pp. 59-60.

The stage is set for the entry of Brooke, the critic, whose work easily slips into the aesthetic categories thus far depicted. Without once using the term sublime, he constantly gives evidence of enthusiastic employment of it in his theories of beauty as will be soon indicated. But a caveat: Brooke is Brooke; not only are his theories stamped with his unique brand of sensibility, but his concept of beauty is given a complex intensification through a correlation with Biblical, Behmenistic, or even quasi-scientific beliefs.

In this instance, as so frequently is the case, Brooke the tutor seems to have suddenly become oblivious of his young charge and is instructing us the readers. We who have been carefully following his lessons to Harry, the good-hearted lad, whose innate kindness shows in his face, are all unaware led into the position of pupils. Brooke confidently expounds his theories on beauty as stemming from sentiments in the artist himself.

In the designings of sculptors, of painters, and statuaries, we however see very great and truly-affecting beauty. I have, at times, been melted into tears thereby; and have felt within my bosom the actual emotions of distress and compassion, of friendship and of love. I ask, then, what it was that excited these sensations? Could any lines, colourings, or mere symmetry of inanimate parts, inspire affections, of which in themselves they were incapable? No; they could only serve as the vehicles of something intended to inspire such sensibilities, nothing further. We must there-

fore look higher for a cause more adequate to such extraordinary effects; and the first that presents itself is the designer who must have conceived amiable sentiments, within himself, before he could impress their beauty on these his interpreters, in order to excite suitable affections in others.

Here then it is evident, that whatever we affect or love in the design, is no other than the sentiment or soul of the designer, though we neither see nor know any thing further concerning him. And thus a sculptor, a painter, a statuary, or amiable author, by conveying their sentiments in lasting and intelligible characters to mankind, may make the world admirers and lovers of their beauty, when their features shall be rigid and incapable of expression, and when they themselves shall no longer exist among men. From hence it should seem, as indeed I am fully persuaded that mind can affectingly love nothing but mind; and that universal nature can exhibit no single grace or beauty that does not arise from sentiments alone. (p. 134)

Some of Shaftesbury's ideas have been incorporated therewith with ready ease.

'Here, then,' said he, 'is all I would have explained to you before: that the beautiful, the fair, the comely, were never in the matter, but in the art and design; never in body itself, but in the form or forming power. Does not the beautiful form confess this, and speak the beauty of the design whenever it strikes you? What is it but the design which strikes? What is it you admire but mind, or the effect of mind? It is mind alone which forms. All which is void of mind

is horrid, and matter formless is deformity itself.'⁴⁵

But that Brooke is aware that in The Fool of Quality he has struck a somewhat strange note, becomes clear when he admits that it is a novel notion. "The power of this sentimental beauty, as I may say, is in many cases great, amazing, and has not yet been accounted for, that I know of, by any philosopher, poet, or author, though several have made it their peculiar study and subject." (p. 155). When he attempts to throw light on this wonderful mystery "involved in impenetrable darkness," the result is a combination of aesthetic terms in a Behmenistic application.

We have already seen that human artificers can impress the beauty of their own sentiments on their inanimate works. Suppose, then, that God should be barely the same to universal nature that a finite designer is to the piece he has in hand. He finds that the stuff or material which he is to form and to inform, is in itself utterly incapable of any thing that is desirable. He therefore finds himself under the necessity of imparting to his works some faint manifestation or similitude of himself; for otherwise they cannot be amiable, neither can he see his shadow in them with any delight. On matter, therefore, he first impresses such distant characters of his own beauty as the subject will bear; in the glory of the heavens, in the movement of the planets, in the symmetry of form, in the harmony of sounds, in the el-

⁴⁵ Elledge, I, from The Moralists, p. 219.

egance of colours, in the elaborate texture of the smallest leaf, and in the infinitely-fine mechanism of such insects and minims of nature as are scarce visible to eyes of the clearest discernment.

But when God comes towards home, if the phrase may be allowed; when he impresses on intelligent spirits a nearer resemblance of himself, and imparts to them also a perception and relish of the beauty with which he has formed them--he then delights to behold, and will eternally delight to behold his image, so fairly reflected by such a living mirror. Yet still they are no other than his own beauties that he beholds in his works; for his omnipotence can impress, but cannot possibly detach, a single grace from himself. (p. 135)

Such a view is, of course, entirely in keeping with the view of the man who has emerged as a moralist of eighteenth-century sensibility.

What Petitpas says of Newman's idea of literature applies in this conjunction to Brooke.

In his idea of literature, Newman, with his characteristic personalist approach to reality, focuses primary attention on the literary artist. As opposed to the extreme forms of contemporary depersonalism, he would have us rediscover the person, the human presence, in artistic works. In the language of an author, Newman discovers the 'faithful expression of his intense personality, attending on his own inward world of thought as its very shadow; so that we might as well say that one man's shadow is another's as that the style of a really gifted mind can belong to any but himself' (The Idea,

p. 280). In contrast to all mechanistic approaches to literature, he also insists that it is not 'some production or result attained by the partnership of several persons or by machinery, or by any natural process, but in its very idea it proceeds, and must proceed, from some one given individual.'⁴⁶

It is in perfect keeping with Brooke's character that he should have expostulated:

By beauty, therefore, I do not mean the beauty of lines or angles; of motion or music; of form or colour, of numerical agreements or geometrical proportions; nor that which excites the passion of some pragmatical innamoratos for a shell, a tulip, or a butterfly. All of these have, undoubtedly, their peculiar beauty; but then that beauty has no relation to the power or perception of that which contains it; it is derived from something that is altogether foreign, and owes the whole of its merits to the superior art and influence of God or man. (p. 134)

Brooke closes this particular section on beauty on a truly sublime note instantly bringing to mind Augustine's apostrophe: "O Beauty ever Ancient, ever New!"

Here also we discover why the bliss which we reach after eludes our grasp; why it vanishes, as it were, in the moment of enjoyment, yet still continues to fascinate and attract as before; forasmuch

⁴⁶Petitpas, p. 98.

as the BEAUTY after which we sigh, is not essentially in the mirror where we behold its similitude. Thus, Ixion is said to have clasped a cloud, without reflecting that it was but a bare resemblance of the real divinity who had excited his passion.

This will at once account for all the wonderful effects of beauty. For, if nothing but God is lovely; if nothing else can be beloved, he is himself the universal and irresistible magnet, that draws all intelligent and affectionate beings, through the medium of creatures to the graces of their Creator; till the veil shall finally be taken away, and that he himself shall appear, in his eternal, unclouded, and unspeakable beauty, infinitely lovely and infinitely beloved. (p. 136)

In a charmingly curious piece on beauty, Brooke goes off into an extended discourse on physiognomy. With characteristic copiousness, he manages to touch on a wide range of matter: social manners and morals, facial muscles and movements, melancholic, and merry temperaments. He commences this section saying:

As the heavens are made expressive of the glory of God, though frequently overcast with clouds and tempests, and sometimes breaking forth in thunders that terrify, and lightnings that blast; so the general tenor of a human countenance is made expressive of the nature of the soul that lives within, and to which it is ordained as involuntary interpreter. (p. 128)

When he has covered all his subjects, he comes back to his original topic and concludes by reemphasizing his thesis regarding beauty and senti-

ment.

Finally this brings me to my last and most important remark on the nature and power of beauty itself. And here we must note, that, though nothing can be affectingly lovely and detestable that does not arise from some sentiment of the soul, there is yet, in many faces, such a natural symmetry, or disproportion, as is generally called by the name of beauty and ugliness. Thus, in some countenances you perceive a due relation and agreement between the parts; while in others the forehead may overwhelm the nether face; or the mouth threaten to devour the other features; or the nose may appear as a huge steeple that hides a small church; or as a mountain that is the whole of a man's estate; in so much that as some may be said to want a nose to their face, in the present case they may be said to want a face to their nose. But this species of beauty and ugliness excites no other kind of pleasure or disgust, save such as we receive from two pieces of architecture, where one is executed with propriety, and the other is obviously out of all rule. And, to continue the simile, if people should be seen looking out of the windows of those two buildings, we may come to detest and avoid the first and to love and frequent the latter, for the sake of those who live therein. And just so it is with regular faces that express a deformity of soul, and with disproportioned features that may however be pregnant with the beauty of sentiment. (pp. 133-134)

Although Brooke alleged himself as the originator of these views, he might have had to admit that Vernet's theories on agreeable sentiments were, in a way, reechoed in The Fool. The Frenchman's theory was, as he

proposed, to

distinctly account for everything that is esteemed beautiful and agreeable in the works of nature and art, in countenances, in colours, in sounds, in the figure, preparation, symmetry, variety, and novelty of objects, in the tastes of every age, in language and style, in the sciences, in the passions, in the motions of the soul, and, in a word, in every thing which is of a moral and physical nature, or which is conducive to the real advantage of men.

By these steps we easily ascend to a first intelligence and beneficent cause, who has established the beautiful harmony and given us precisely that degree of sensibility, which considering everything, was best⁴⁷ suited to our wants and necessities.

Beauty, then for Brooke, is just short of being made synonymous with God Himself, and so it will be for him in time and beyond.

God, indeed, is himself the beauty and the benefit of all his works. As they cannot exist but in him and by him, so his impression is upon them, and his impregnation is through them. (p. 319)

Of God, Brooke would have us believe with his "Fool," that "the world from the beginning is fraught with him, and speaks of him." (p. 333).

In his chapter on "The Sublime and the Pathetic," Monk mentions

⁴⁷Vernet, p. x.

among the sources of sublimity--

The power of rhythm and of music; oratory; the passion of love; prayer; superstition; and strange convulsions of nature. By way of conclusion, Jacob adds to this list terror, compassion, 'with all that relates to the pathetic; 'the heroic deeds and sentiments of great men; reflections on the ruins of time; the contemplation of death, and of the formation and final dissolution of all things.⁴⁸

In the quotations from The Fool of Quality used in these chapters, one can point to innumerable examples which hark back to one or another of those sources. In short, it seems utterly fitting to propose here, that for the purposes of Brooke's incursion into the field of aesthetics, the word sensibility might easily subsume the meanings in sublimity. Brooke's genuinely sincere feeling is of such power as to raise even his homely figures to heights of sublimity.

Her constitution, it is true, is not yet quit, perhaps never ought to be quit, of some intestine commotions. For, though liberty has no relation to party dissension or cabal against government, there is yet a kind of yeast observable in its nature, which may be necessary to the fermentation and working up of virtue to the degree that is requisite for the production of patriotism and public spirit. But when this yeast of liberty happens to light upon weak or vapid tempers, they are im-

⁴⁸ Monk, p. 61.

mediately affected like small beer casks, and rave and boil over in abundance of factious sputter and turbulence. Party and faction therefore, being the scum and ebullition of this animating yeast, are sure signs and proofs of the life of liberty, though they neither partake nor communicate any portion of its beneficence; as rank weeds are the proof of a hot sun and luxuriant soil, though they are the detestable consequence of the one and the other. (265)

Both the music and the meaning of the psalms break through in this protest against God's apparent unconcern for His creatures.

I looked up to heaven, but without love or confidence. Dreadful power! I cried out, who thus breakest to powder the poor vessels of thy creation! Thou art said to be a bounteous and benevolent caterer to the spawn of the ocean, and to the worms of the earth. Thou clothest the birds of the air and the beasts of the forest! they hunger, and find a banquet at hand. Thou sheddest the dew of thy comforts even on the unrighteous; thou openest thy hand, and all things living are said to be filled with plenteousness. Are we alone excepted from the immensity of thy works? shall the piety of my wife, shall the innocence of my infant, thus famish, unregarded and unpitied, before thee? (p. 94)

And, in corroboration of the statement that The Fool of Quality is not only a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility, but also of his own works, the following lines, redolent with religious depth, are the prose version of his long religious poem, Redemption.

In this stupendous work of redemption, I saw Jesus makes himself as it were little, that we may become great; he stoops into manhood, that he may exalt us into God. He came not arrayed in the fool's coat of the lustre of this despicable world, nor in the weakness of its power, nor in the meanness of its dignity; but over his immensity he threw the appearance of limitation, and with time he invested his eternity; and his omnipotence put on frailty; and his supremacy put on subjection; and with the veil of mortality he shrouded his beauty, that he might become familiar to us, that we might behold and converse with him face to face, as man converses with man, and grows fond of his fellow.

Before the incarnation, God was feared in his thunders, and adored in the majesty and magnificence of his works. But it is in the meek and lowly Jesus that he becomes the object of affection; in the bleeding, the suffering, the dying Jesus, we behold him with weeping gratitude, we love him with a love of passion and burning, a love that languishes for him, that cannot bear to exist without him.

How could that perverse people shut their eyes to the divinity of their precious Messiah, while he gave such hourly and ocular proofs of the power and extent of his godhead in and over all things? while he went about doing good, carrying healing in his breath, in his touch, in his garments; while the lame sprung up as a bounding roe at his bidding; while the tempest heard his voice and was still, and the sea spread itself as a carpet beneath the foot of its creator; while the deaf ear was opened, and the dumb tongue loosed to utterance; while he poured the

beams of his light upon the new opening eyes of the blindborn gazer; and while in death, and amidst the tombs, his word was life and resurrection? (p. 332)

The lofty theme of death is treated in truly lofty style.

What a fearful thing is death! All our inlets of knowledge and sensation closed at once! the sound of cheer, and the voice of friendship, and the comfort of light, shut out from us for ever! Nothing before us but a blackness and depth of oblivion; or, beyond it, a doubtful and alarming sensibility! strange scenes and strange worlds, strange associates and strange perceptions, perhaps of horrid realities, infinitely worse than non-entity! Such are the brightest prospects of infidelity in death!

Where, at that time, are your scoffers, your defiers of futurity? where your merry companions, who turn their own eternity into matter of laugh and ridicule? Dejected and aghast, their countenance wholly fallen, and their heart sunk within them, they all tremble and wish to believe, in this hour of dissolution. They feel their existence sapped and sinking from under them; and nature compels them, in the drowning of their souls, to cry out to some thing, to any thing, Save, save, or I perish! (p. 204)

A passage that moves along at a leisurely swinging pace, derives its not unpleasant rhythm from a generous dose of antithetical phrases bedecked in alliterative dress.

What I have observed with respect to melancholy, may be equally affirmed of any other affection whose opposite gets an

habitual empire in the mind. I say habitual because there are some persons of such variable and fluctuating tempers, now furious, now complacent; now churlish, now generous; now mopingly melancholy, now merry to madness; now pious, now profane, now cruelly hard-hearted, now meltingly humane-- that a man can no more judge of what nature or disposition such people are, than he can determine what wind shall predominate next April; and yet, when the wind blows, he can tell by every cloud and weathercock from what point it comes, and may as easily decipher the present temper by the aspect.
(pp. 132-133)

In concluding this chapter, it is stating the obvious to say that Brooke holds a unique place in the aesthetics of the heart. He holds it by right of a book which had room enough and feeling, to wax rhapsodic over scenes of oriental splendor or Cheapside squalor. Credit should be accorded him for his part in providing "a more nearly complete picture of the inward psychological life of man than did the writers who ignored the emotional forces which motivate action."⁴⁹ And may not Brooke justly lay claim to some measure of greatness, if, as Myron Simon points out in his recent article on the Longinian spirit in criticism--

Greatness in writing rests on the principle which is not a matter of structure, selection, and arrangement, but a matter of hyp-

⁴⁹Wright, p. 152.

sis--an elevation of spirit. Longinus signals great writing by enthusiasm rather than analysis.⁵⁰

Mindful of all that has been said, it is entirely possible then, to substitute the term sensibility for the term sublimity, in Henn's terse interpretative summary of the main tenets of Longinus' On the Sublime. Formulated therefrom thus is a summary for this present chapter on Brooke's Fool of Quality as the subject of the aesthetics of the heart.

1. 'The Sublime' is a term used of literature which is the product of the great and noble mind,
2. presenting its ideas in an organization which is remarkable for its instantaneous appeal,
3. producing in men's minds a range of emotions similar to that which inspired the artist,
4. the result of the emotion being a 'valuable state of mind' necessarily inexplicable, but referred to by means of a series of conventional terms.

Further, its existence demands both 'passion' and sincerity: there 'breathe' the very fury of elevating expression, and make the words in-

⁵⁰ Myron Simon, "Creative Criticism: the Longinian Spirit," The Dalhousie Review, XLII (Summer 1962), 221.

spired.⁵¹

That The Fool of Quality faithfully answers to the requisite for such sublimity is due to the fact that it is a creation in accord with Brooke's profound belief that the universe is organized on sentimental principles; that the supreme Governor regards his creatures with infinite sensibility; that he imparts to them also a perception and relish of the beauty with which He has formed them. This is "sentimental beauty" as Brooke calls it, "for universal nature can exhibit no single grace or beauty that does not arise from sentiment alone." Thus truthfully spoke Henry Brooke, an eighteenth-century person of sensibility whose aestheticism, always, was that of a "Fool of Quality."

⁵¹T. R. Henn. Longinus and English Criticism. (Cambridge, England, 1934), p. 15.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The Fool of Quality rightfully claims an undisputed place in eighteenth-century literature. That it affords a panorama of a particular period in English history, somewhat in the manner of Dostoievski's Idiot in the nineteenth century, is no mean quality. Like the Russian, Brooke presents, not a history of ideas, but, the fictional incarnation of an ideology. A sympathetic view of The Fool of Quality sees it as a gently stirring eddy in the wider current of eighteenth-century philosophic notions.

An offshoot of these notions, as it were, the ideology of sensibility deeply influenced the manners and morals of a sizeable sector of English society in the eighteenth century. The essence of this ideology permeates Brooke's book and lends to it a tone of glowing warmth; its depiction through concrete action brings to the story a sense of convincing strength. Both of these qualities appear in the numerous citations that were used to substantiate the facts of eighteenth-century sensibility discussed in the six major chapters of this study: Eighteenth-Century Sensibility, Religion, Moral Philosophy, Education, Patriotism, and Aesthetics.

Incredible as such an array of subjects evolving from one work may seem, it is not an incongruous mixture. Binding these disparate but vital adjuncts of human society is the spiritual and emotional power of the ideology of sensibility. In The Fool of Quality, Brooke channels this power to a twofold purpose: it is the climate of emotionalism (as opposed to rationalism), in which his characters will live and breathe, and have their being; and, it is the sublimated energy by which his characters will act and react. His over-all end in view comprises the theme of the novel: the education of a young, ideal merchant-prince in the religion, culture, patriotism, and aesthetics of the heart.

To attain this objective, Brooke as pedagogue must artistically manipulate the important interrelationship of the two roles of teacher and pupil. Mr. Fenton, merchant-prince and mentor, is Henry Brooke, pedagogue; Harry, hero and "Fool of Quality," is every pupil potentially. Innocent as The Fool of Quality is of the finesse of modern psychological terms, it is not without psychological insights. As his vehicle of instruction Brooke chooses the novel, a new literary genre in the eighteenth century, and, consequently, exhibiting characteristics of experimentation. His choice of the novel form was not to write a novel per se, but to bring together in one work all his theses, doctrines and arguments, both human and divine. It is this combination of Brooke's life-long views previously expressed and now incorporated into his copious novel, that has led to a further designation of his Fool of Quality as a compendium

of all his literary works. What better way to present the "useful" than through the "entertaining" form of a fictional narrative? Yet Brooke was clever enough a craftsman not to call his work, of which the theme was indeed a triumph of this sort, A Triumph of Benevolence. (One novelist actually did use this edifying title.) Brooke's title is based on Saint Paul's text, "We are fools for Christ."

For this reason, this dissertation did not set out to defend or dissect the Fool of Quality in order to arrive at an evaluation determining its proper status in that genre. The simple expedient of refraining from a retroactive application of twentieth-century criteria was adopted. Brooke's novel was viewed as the work he intended it to be: a lesson in sensibility. If at first sight he seems to be the Augustan version of an "ineffectual angel," history's second sight must acknowledge his contribution. His rhetorically exuberant agitation for the proper attitude needed as a foundation for benevolent human acts was not without effect. Thus, conscious of the forces motivating Brooke's literary production, an attempt was made, instead, to mine the rich ore of its myriad manifestations of eighteenth-century sensibility. This sensibility, it was maintained, is best viewed as the total delicate mechanism in which sentimentality and related attitudes might flourish. And it was further maintained, that sensibility is best and most comprehensively defined as a capacity to react with instinctive feelings of pity, tenderness, and benevolence, to the miseries of others--to feel with others. The en-

deavor to corroborate the ramifications of eighteenth-century sensibility as portrayed through The Fool of Quality under the aspects discussed in each of the preceding chapters, was directed at confirming the original thesis: The Fool of Quality (1765-1770), by Henry Brooke, is a compendium of eighteenth-century sensibility. Subjoined to this thesis is the corollary which upholds the relevancy of certain facets of this eighteenth-century ideology to various twentieth-century modes of emotional response.

Exactly two hundred years ago Henry Brooke, a benevolent "Fool of Quality" himself, stated, "The truth is, that people live incomparably more by impulse and inclination than by reason and precept." Today, every genuine human encounter has within it that which bears witness to the truth of this forthright declaration.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Sister M. Agnesine, Dering, S.S.C. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the dissertation is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

28 May 1965
Date

David J. Spencer
Signature of Adviser