THE VICTORIAN NEWSLETTER

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Introductory Remarks

Robert A. Colby

FROM ALL INDICATIONS Victorian studies are in a flourishing state. Most tangible recognition of this prosperity has been accorded by the editor of *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* in his decision, towards the end of the decade under review here, to publish Volume III (1800–1900) first. In his Preface to the *New CBEL*, George Watson writes, "The study of the eighteenth century, and of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, has swollen in extent over the past generation; but it has not transformed the shape of the subject as recent studies of romantic and Victorian literature have done" (p. xvii).

Whether "transformed" or not, there can be no doubt that the "shape" of our subject is much bulkier since the old CBEL, and in this growth the past decade has certainly been a significant one. We can point to certain milestone indicators along the way: 1963, the debut of the journal Victorian Poetry; 1964, the English X-sponsored Victorian Fiction: A Guide to Research; 1966, Volume I of the Wellesley Index published and the Toronto Conference on the Editing of Nineteenth-Century Texts;1 1968, the launching of the Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, its offshoot the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals, and another English X-sponsored publication, the second edition of The Victorian Poets: A Guide to Research; 1972, Volume II of the Wellesley Index published. The papers to follow will spell out the effect of these developments on the contour of the specific areas of prose, poetry, and fiction. First some of the more conspicuous features of our publication and bibliographical environment might be noted:

Continuing increase of scholarship. In his statistical report on the decennial VB,² Robert C. Slack has estimated an increase of about 60 percent in the number of items recorded for the last of the years, 1964, over that for the first, 1955. A rough count indicates that from 1965 to 1971, the year covered by the most recent VB (VS, June 1972), this number has doubled over again. Section III (Ideas, Literary Forms) has quadrupled in size during this period.

Greater availability of sources. The reprint presses have been busily rolling. Prominent in the Victorian field are the University of Leicester series, the Cass Library of Victorian Times, the Gregg International Series on Religious Debate, and the Parliamentary Papers being issued by the Irish University Press (two groups of special interest to Victorian cultural historians are those on the British Museum and the Public Library Act). It is also possible now for us to get our hands on more of the popular fiction of the last century thanks to the Arno Press series of Gothic Novels (including the Northanger Novels), the Oxford English Novels, and the Zodiac Press Series.

This plethora makes all the more welcome an interdisciplinary bibliography like Josef L. Altholz's *Victorian England*, 1837–1901 (1970).

Renewed interest in journalism. The signal event here of course is the long awaited Wellesley Index. Under the dedicated general editorship of Walter E. Houghton, and with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities joined to that of Wellesley College, Volume II has just emerged (October 1972), bringing the total of journals covered to 20, the number of entries to over 50,000, with authors assigned to about 90 percent (a remarkable achievement in this century of anonymity). Eventually 40 journals are to be analyzed.

With seventeen numbers issued since its inception in 1968, the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter (VPN*, begun by Michael Wolff, now edited by James Ellis and Richard Haven) has made us increasingly aware of the volume of research in progress into the too-little-known providers of daily bread for countless Victorian writers. The Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP), for which *VPN* now serves as organ, is itself sponsoring some dozen projects (directories, union lists, author ascriptions, locations of manuscript sources, and marked files), and hopes eventually to secure funds to finance a history of the Victorian press. The excellent enlarged section on "Newspapers and Magazines" compiled by Henry and

^{*} Professor Colby's remarks and the three papers that follow by Professors Tennyson, Tobias, and Stevenson were presented at the English X Meeting of the Modern Language Association, December 30, 1972.

The papers presented at this conference were published in: Editing Nineteenth Century Texts, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto, 1967).

Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Ten Years 1955-1964 (Urbana, 1962). See Introduction, pp. vii-xvi.

Sheila Rosenberg for Volume III of the *New CBEL* further affirms the advances made in this sector.

New scholarly journals. Besides VP and VPN, recent years have seen the emergence of a Dickens Studies Newsletter and a Dickens Annual (to join the venerable Dickensian), with other newsletters devoted to Mill, Gissing, Hardy, and Kipling, while the Charlotte Yonge Society has sent out a "garland."

Study centers. Noteworthy besides RSVP (with head-quarters at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst) is the Victorian Studies Centre at the University of Leicester, established in 1966 as an outgrowth of the Victorian Study Group there, with a full-time bibliographer on its staff as of 1967. There is now a Tennyson Research Centre in Lincoln, and this past year a Browning Institute was formed out of the New York Browning Society.

Electronic Data Processing. The hum of the computer is heard in the land, but whether FORTRAN is in our future is still problematical. The Magnetic Tape Selectric Typewriter has certainly affected the nature of the input to our leading compilation—the MLA International Bibliography, and accelerated the editing and correcting processes. It has also produced the first MLA Abstracts, covering the year 1970 (though appearing belatedly in September 1972).³ The hope is that eventually the process will be so speeded up as to provide us with a truly "Current Awareness" service. More flexibility in bibliographic searching is also the aim.

In Victorian studies, poetry has been most affected by the electronic revolution with computer-generated concordances for Arnold, Hopkins, and Yeats now available, and others under way for Meredith's *Modern Love* and Rossetti's *The House of Life*. Also projected is a syntactic analysis of the prose style of Carlyle.⁴ In fiction, a concordance to the Centenary Edition of Hawthorne is in progress, and a portion of Karl Kroeber's projected analyses of style has surfaced.⁵

With all this evidence of burgeoning production, it cannot be affirmed with confidence that the general readership for writing on the Victorian Age has grown proportionately. Our audience seems to be mainly the captive one of students, but evidently it is a substantial one. In a two-part report compiled for *Victorian Studies* (December 1971, March 1972), Leslie Bailey describes

over 450 courses of study, undergraduate and graduate, at some 300 colleges and universities in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand.⁶ A healthy sign is that these programs are not confined to departments of English, but also involve faculties from history, sociology, art, archaeology, and science. It can be said, therefore, that our interests are cross-cultural, at least in the academic realm.

Along with a certain yeastiness and zestiness pervading the atmosphere of Victorian studies today, a perusal of the papers to follow leads us to conclude with Francis Bacon in The Advancement of Learning that the least edited texts are the ones most in need of editing. Professors Tennyson, Tobias, and Stevenson concur that more work is needed on lesser-known writers of importance, as against the heavy concentration on about twenty major luminaries that still seems to characterize our efforts. (The work on periodicals now going on should help change this direction.) Despite a laudable stepping-up of editorial and bibliographical activity, we still work by and large from inadequate texts. Would that a Center of Editions of English Authors could be established comparable to that now in operation for American writers under the sponsorship of MLA! We are gratified with the growth of library resources, but wish we were better able to keep up with them. The contents of some great repositories have become known through published catalogs (e.g., of the U.C.L.A. Library, the Berg Collection of the N.Y.P.L., the Fales Library of English and American fiction at N.Y.U.), but the real need is for an "ongoing census," as Professor Tobias puts it, of manuscripts and other primary resources received by libraries. Finally, in view of the evident interdisciplinary nature of both education and scholarship in Victorian studies, it seems unrealistic to confine ourselves within the narrow grooves of genre study. Future programs of English X, therefore, might address themselves to relations of the literature of the Victorian Age to such peripheral areas as the visual and performing arts, social history, cultural anthropology, and education. If we were to chart future directionsthese possibly could be most neatly summed up as Text and Context.

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^{3.} The 1970 Abstracts contain 154 nineteenth-century items out of a total of 1,800; for the 1971 Abstracts the number will be 221 out of 3,000. These figures represent only 8 percent of the input so far, but with only about one-third of the key journals contributing as yet (one suspects that the publications devoted to Dickens, once they send in abstracts, will alone double the figures).

^{4.} For references to these and other projects, see sections entitled "Directory of Scholars Active" and the annual bibliographies in Computers and the Humanities (1966-).

Styles in Fictional Structure: The Art of Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot (Princeton, 1971). See Appendix of Tabulations

^{6.} Bailey's report is based on returns from 54 percent of faculty members and 76 percent of institutions queried in the United States. The percentage of return was approximately the same from Britain, somewhat higher from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Victorian Nonfiction Prose

G. B. Tennyson

ESTHER SUMMERSON CONFIDES in her narrative the following of many self-reproaches: "We got into such a chatty state that night through Ada and my guardian drawing me out to tell them all about Caddy, that I went on prose, prose, prosing, for a length of time" (VIII.23). Like Esther, I suppose that I shall be prose, proseing for a length of time, and, what sounds worse, prosing about prose. One might well wonder whether even an Esther would have the patience for it.

Of course, Dickens' usage in Bleak House is actually not so pejorative as it sounds. The OED records the use of prose as a verb, meaning to "converse familiarly, chat, gossip," as early as 1797. No doubt that is the primary meaning in Esther's mind. But no doubt too the meaning the OED renders as "to discourse in a prosy manner, to talk or write prosily," with prosily itself later defined as "with dull and tedious utterance," is also somewhere in Esther's intention. And, since one of the definitions in the OED of the noun prose is "a dull, commonplace, or wearisome discourse or piece of writing," with an entry to illustrate this usage from as early as 1688, we can hardly take much comfort from the warm colloquial sense that Esther Summerson seems to have uppermost in her thoughts. On the contrary, we must allow at the outset that the word prose has long had some rather unfortunate connotations. That may account for some of the difficulties that I will be citing in the study of Victorian nonfiction prose. That is, the word itself may have discouraged potential students.

But my initial remarks are not primarily about difficulties but rather about successes. For, despite some unfortunate connotations that the word prose has had almost since it came into English from the medieval Latin prosa for an accentual hymn, or what is also called ecclesiastically a sequence, it has still been the vehicle for much of the finest literary expression in the language, at no time more so than in the Victorian era. We students of Victorian literature are indeed fortunate in having perhaps the richest store of great works of nonfiction prose of any period in all English literature, our only rival being the seventeenth century. And we are not only fortunate but also wise in having made the discovery of

these riches in good time. Thus God has blessed us and we have returned those blessings with thanksgiving.

First, therefore, I want to speak about the thanksgiving of the past decade, namely, the positive achievements in the study of Victorian prose, especially in the study of the art of Victorian prose. Then I shall consider briefly and in order the state of scholarship in the following areas: general studies, resources, editions, correspondence, and biographies and critical studies. I shall try to point out needs as I go along.

The good news first. In the past decade Victorian scholars have discovered Victorian nonfiction prose and, having discovered it, have done more by it than at any time in the preceding half-century. Not since the fin-de-siècle rush of belles-lettrism about Victorian prose—with still standard editions of Carlyle, Newman, Ruskin, and others among its chief fruits—has there been so much juice and joy, to use Hopkins' phrase, about our prose abundance. And had there been world enough and time, my own role today would be reduced to that of an exegete instead of a John the Baptist, for we would all be the happy possessors of Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research, which is the volume that will serve as the main monument of the past decade, and more of the discovery of the mother lode of nonfiction prose.

But to put the case more clearly, let me make a brief historical excursion into the decades before the sixties. In 1953 appeared John Holloway's seminal study The Victorian Sage. It was both portent and cause of things to come. It cannot of course take all credit: even earlier harbingers had appeared in Walter Houghton's The Art of Newman's "Apologia" (1945) and, to an extent, in Grace Calder's The Making of "Past and Present" (1949), and indeed in passages in many a previous book on the Victorian prose masters, a phrase that was used for the title of a study as early as 1901. But if we look at the major Victorian anthologies of prose prior to our own period of interest, we can see that the focus of study in Victorian nonfiction prose had not been aesthetic. The Carlyle of all Victorian prose anthologies—if we think of precedence and amplitude-is surely the Harrold and Templeman of 1938.2 The approach to the great body

David J. DeLaura, ed., Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research (New York, forthcoming 1973). I am grateful for having been able, in the preparation of this paper, to consult Professor DeLaura's excellent "General Materials" chapter for the forthcoming volume.

C. F. Harrold and W. D. Templeman, eds., English Prose of the Victorian Era (New York, 1938). The same historical and background orientation is evident in other anthologies of the prose, such as Hardin Craig and J. M. Thomas, eds., English Prose of the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1929; rpt. 1957) and F. W. Roe, ed., Victorian Prose (New York, 1947).

of material in that collection is historical, political, social, economic. It was the dominant approach to Victorian prose up to the middle fifties. Holloway's study signals the shift, for he was to treat in it a number of Victorian prose masters as artists worth ranking with such as George Eliot (who finds a place in his book even while Ruskin, alas, does not). Holloway's book was followed by a series of probing articles in the publication sponsored by this group, the Victorian Newsletter. Such scholars as Dwight Culler, Martin Svaglic, R. C. Schweik, and George Levine contributed to the discussion of the character of prose as art that went on well into the sixties.3 And it was the editor of the same journal, William E. Buckler, who in 1958 brought forth the anthology, Prose of the Victorian Period,4 wherein the effects of the change in emphasis can be quite clearly discerned. Buckler's compact anthology presents the subject of Victorian nonfiction prose perhaps more for the sake of its aesthetic interest than for any other. It was a sign of the times. The traditional approach to Victorian prose, as justified for the light it cast on social and historical conditions as background to the age, or to the novel, or to the poetry, had now to make way for an interest in the art of that very prose

The decade that has lately passed has seen the interests represented by Holloway, the Victorian Newsletter exchanges, and the Buckler anthology emerge as the most exciting aspect of Victorian nonfiction prose studies. All of the landmarks of that decade are too numerous to be mentioned, but citation of a few works will help indicate the direction prose studies have been moving in. In 1962, and again in 1965, Holloway's book was reprinted in paperback. Also in 1965 there appeared a study of the prose artistry of the early Carlyle and Sartor Resartus.5 In 1968 appeared George Levine's and William Madden's provocative anthology, The Art of Victorian Prose, with no fewer than fifteen essays devoted to the artistry of such writers as Ruskin, Arnold, Carlyle, Macaulay, and Pater, and also to larger questions of prose style and approaches to it. In the same year appeared Levine's The Boundaries of Fiction, in which Macaulay, Carlyle, and Newman

figure as literary artists. The English X Group continued to spearhead interest by setting Victorian nonfiction prose as the topic for its 1969 meeting. And throughout the decade editions and anthologies of Victorian prose works and articles on Victorian prose authors reflect the new interest in the art of prose. A good example would be Robert L. Peters' collection Victorians on Literature and Art (1961), or the fairly extensive inclusion of Victorian prose writers in Louis Milic's 1969 anthology Stylists on Style, or the treatment of prose artists in E. D. H. Johnson's anthology The World of the Victorians (1964). Today aesthetic interest in the prose is an inevitable and important concern of most scholars working with Victorian prose in any way.6

The rise of the study of the art of Victorian prose, it should be pointed out, occurred more or less in conjunction with the rise of the more technical and often computer-oriented study of stylistics in literature, including fiction as well as nonfiction.7 The generative and transformational linguists by their work with stylistics have contributed at least to the general interest in the study of prose as art. In matters Victorian, Richard Ohmann has been perhaps the most stimulating of those using a transformational approach, and many future studies will doubtless move along lines he has pioneered.8 At the same time, in Victorian nonfiction prose studies there has not always been a union of the technical and the historical and the aesthetic approaches. Such a combination is very much needed.

As a kind of culmination of the concern for the art of Victorian prose, we can expect the publication next year of Victorian Prose: A Guide to Research, a volume edited by David J. DeLaura and sponsored by the English X Group itself, attesting once again to the prominent role that this group has played in the scholarly-critical concerns of the past decade in Victorian prose.

In the forthcoming volume there will be chapters on those long-established prose masters, Carlyle, Newman, Ruskin, Mill, Arnold, and Pater, as well as an unusually rich inclusion of compendium chapters on historians, rationalists, writers of the Oxford Movement, and so on.

1958). See also in this regard Kenneth and Miriam Allott, Vic-

torian Prose 1830-1880 (Penguin Books, 1956).
5. G. B. Tennyson, "Sartor" Called "Resartus" (Princeton, 1965).

^{3.} A. Dwight Culler, "Method in the Study of Victorian Prose," VNL, No. 9 (Spring 1956), pp. 1-4; R. C. Schweik, "Method in the Study of Victorian Prose: A Criticism," and A. Dwight Culler, "A Rejoinder," VNL, No. 10 (Autumn 1956), pp. 15-16; Martin J. Svaglic, "Method in the Study of Victorian Prose:
Another View," VNL, No. 11 (Spring 1957), pp. 1-5; George
Levine, "Nonfiction as Art," VNL, No. 30 (Fall 1966), pp. 1-6.
4. William E. Buckler, ed., Prose of the Victorian Period (Boston,

^{6.} There are also exceptions: neither James Sutherland's On English Prose (Toronto, 1957) nor Ian Gordon's The Movement of English Prose (Bloomington, 1966) is very helpful in regard to

Victorian prose. A useful study is Huntington Brown's Prose Styles: Five Primary Types (Minneapolis, 1966).

^{7.} For bibliographies of titles in this area see Louis Milic, ed., Style and Stylistics: An Analytical Bibliography (New York, 1967), and Richard W. Bailey and Dolores M. Burton, eds., English Stylistics: A Bibliography (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

^{8.} Richard Ohmann, "A Linguistic Appraisal of Victorian Style" in The Art of Victorian Prose, ed. Levine and Madden. See also his Shaw: The Style and the Man (Middletown, Conn., 1962) and "Prolegomena to the Analysis of Prose Style" in Style in Prose Fiction, ed. Harold Martin (New York. 1959). See David J. DeLaura, "General Materials," in the forthcoming guide to research for an excellent discussion of computer and linguistic approaches to style.

Since Victorian poetry received its first volume in 1956 and its revised one in 1968, and since Victorian fiction received its research volume (all sponsored by English X) in 1966, it seems to me clear that what was necessary before we could have a companion volume covering the prose was precisely the decade of exceptional industry and interest in prose as art. The results, then, of the discovery of Victorian prose as art are proving beneficial to Victorian prose in all its aspects, since the forthcoming research guide is by no means confined to the art of Victorian prose. It is simply that once a body of literature is accepted as art, the other concerns with it gain in importance and dignity and all aspects of the study of that literature are consequently upgraded.

Because there has been a decade and more of serious study of the art of Victorian prose does not mean that all has been done in that area that could be done. There are still some needs, and I shall cite them briefly. First, the art of Victorian prose needs rather more exploration in conjunction with the philosophy of Victorian prose. In the General Materials chapter of the forthcoming prose research guide, David DeLaura makes an eloquent plea for the kind of study of Victorian prose in terms of its philosophic origins and development that the seventeenth century has been so enriched by in the work of such as Morris Croll and George Williamson. Second, the art of Victorian prose needs additional careful examination in terms of individual works. There are models in the scholarship on Victorian prose itself for this kind of undertaking. These twin needs, representing both more breadth and more depth in our study of prose, are, I think, likely in the coming decade to find scholars worthy of them.

The discovery of the art of Victorian prose, though impressive, has not been the only achievement of the past decade. More traditional areas of concern have successes to report as well. Let me outline these briefly.

First, let us consider general studies of the prose apart from those directed specifically to the art of prose. The

justly celebrated studies of the Victorian world-view by Jerome H. Buckley and Walter Houghton show an informed awareness of the role of prose writings in shaping the "ideas and beliefs of the Victorians," to borrow the title of that lively anthology reprinted in 1966 that would scarcely exist if we removed the prose writers from it.9 Basil Willey's exemplary nineteenth-century studies also illuminate Victorian nonfiction prose in many places, and Morse Peckham has made imaginative use of the prose in his works.¹⁰ Throughout the previous decade there have been collections of essays on Victorian literature that include pieces on the prose, and anthologies using the prose itself.11 Of very recent works there is David DeLaura's Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England (1969) as an instance of a thematic study that shows an awareness of both the ideas and the art of Victorian nonfiction prose. It could well stand as an example for others. But what is still needed is a historical-critical survey of Victorian prose that does with modern factual and critical approaches what some of the turn-of-the-century efforts such as Saintsbury's and Brownell's or even Hugh Walker's tried to do.¹²

Mention of Hugh Walker and his study of English essays and essayists reminds one that we are also lacking, massively lacking, one might say, studies of what I suppose we must call the subgenres of Victorian prose. There is no modern history of the nineteenth-century essay, or of biography in the age, and not even an entirely satisfactory history of nineteenth-century history writing, to say nothing of more obscure genres such as reviews, or sermons, or political treatises, and the like. The emerging Wellesley Index of Victorian Periodicals¹³ is surely going to make such histories more possible. There will be work for Victorian prose scholars for decades to come once it is possible to discern and trace the multifarious modes of nineteenth-century prose writing through the periodicals. Nor is this merely a request to catalog types or possible types for the sake of cataloging. Our understanding of the great works cannot help but be enriched

^{9.} Buckley, The Victorian Temper (Cambridge, Mass., 1951; rpt. New York: Vintage, 1964); Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (New Haven, 1959); Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians (1949; rpt. New York: Dutton, 1966).

Willey, Nineteenth-Century Studies (London, 1959), More Nineteenth-Century Studies (London, 1956); Peckham, Beyond the Tragic Vision (New York, 1962), Victorian Revolutionaries (New

York, 1970)

^{11.} Austin Wright, ed., Victorian Literature: Modern Essays in Criticism (New York, 1961); Robert O. Preyer, ed., Victorian Literature (New York, 1966); Richard A. Levine, Backgrounds to Victorian Literature (San Francisco, 1967); Robert Langbaum, ed., The Victorian Age: Essays in History and in Social and Literary Criticism (New York, 1967); Shiv Kumar, ed., British Victorian Literature: Recent Revaluations (New York, 1969). Specialized anthologies that draw from the works of Victorian prose writers themselves are: Harold Orel, ed., The

World of Victorian Humor (New York, 1961); Daniel G. Hoffman and Samuel Hynes, eds., English Literary Criticism: Romantic and Victorian (New York, 1963); Howard Mumford Jones and I. Bernard Cohen, eds., A Treasury of Scientific Prose: A Nineteenth-Century Anthology (Boston, 1963); George Levine, ed., The Emergence of Victorian Consciousness: The Spirit of the Age (New York, 1967); Gerald B. Kauvar and Gerald C. Sorensen, eds., The Victorian Mind (London, 1969); and Gordon S. Haight, ed., The Portable Victorian Reader (New York, 1972).

George Saintsbury, A History of English Prose Rhythm (London, 1912); W. C. Brownell, Victorian Prose Masters (1901; New York, 1918); Hugh Walker, The English Essay and Essayists (London, 1915).

^{13.} Walter Houghton et al., eds., The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900, 2 vols. to date (Toronto, 1966-).

by an understanding of the generic background and publishing atmosphere out of which they arose. We have, to be sure, various volumes examining the history of certain publishing houses and certain periodicals, and we have the valuable study of reading habits in Richard D. Altick's *The English Common Reader*. What is needed is a group of studies that cuts across the lines of individual houses or journals and considers the modes and conditions of types of writing for the journals in general. Surely in this regard the founding by Michael Wolff in 1968 of the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter* and the establishment of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals in 1969 will come to be seen as landmarks in the widening horizons of the study of Victorian nonfiction prose. 16

All of this brings us to resources for study. The first area of concern would be bibliographical tools. Victorian prose has been well served by the annual Victorian Bibliography published in Victorian Studies, another undertaking of the English X Group for which we can all be grateful. In the past decade, first under Robert C. Slack and then for most of the period up to the present under Ronald E. Freeman, the annual compilation has expanded from thirty-nine pages for the 1962 bibliography to seventy-seven pages for the 1971 bibliography published this year.¹⁷ Victorian prose has enjoyed its share of that expansion. Beyond the VB and the annual PMLA bibliography there is the semiannual listing of publications in the Victorian Newsletter and the annual discussion of nineteenth-century scholarship in Studies in English Literature. In recent years too the annual review of scholarship in the journal Victorian Poetry undertaken by another English X stalwart, Richard Tobias, has included Victorian prose. Under the editorship of Professor Tobias that annual survey will shortly expand into a full coverage of poetry and prose with contributions on the major figures by individual scholar-experts in the field. Our bibliographical tools were also updated in 1969 by The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature

(Vol. III), in which, however, most studies relating to the prose in general as opposed to individual authors are mixed throughout the early "General Works" section. Other genres are not treated in this way. Josef L. Altholz's recent *Victorian England* is a useful general bibliography. Jerome Buckley's concise bibliography of poets and prose writers gives welcome attention to nonfiction prose.¹⁸

If we are well served by our annual bibliographies and research surveys and by some general compilations, we still need more specialized bibliographical tools. It is perhaps worth noting that Lionel Madden's *How to Find Out about the Victorian Period* has no separate section on prose, although it has sections for drama, fiction, and poetry. But we need above all bibliographies in the prose by author, major and minor, of the sort that can be found for certain periodical contributors in the pages of the *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*.

A need at least equal to that for more bibliographies, and somewhat overlapping it, would be for information on primary resource materials. To ascertain what is currently held in American repositories is an enormous task, and to ascertain what is being acquired is next to impossible. A culling of the pages of the College and Research Libraries News over the past decade to learn what, if any, manuscript or related materials touching on Victorian nonfiction prose may have been acquired failed to turn up much beyond the acquisition by Rochester of the Disraeli papers. This is an important acquisition, to be sure, but is it entirely isolated? I do not know. Again, if I may serve as herald, we can look for some of these gaps to be filled by the prose guide to research, for contributors were asked to indicate what manuscript materials for their author or subject are known to exist, and many chapters will treat known repositories from the past. Still, a more comprehensive manuscript index for nineteenth-century prose is very seriously needed.

When it comes to editions, Victorian nonfiction prose

^{14.} Lionel Madden in his How to Find Out about the Victorian Period (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970) lists sixteen book-length studies of different Victorian periodicals. See also R. G. Cox, "The Reviews and Magazines" in From Dickens to Hardy, ed. Boris Ford, rev. ed. (Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 188-204.

^{15.} See also Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading (Boston, 1935).

^{16.} For an able statement of the problem of working with Victorian periodicals, see Michael Wolff, "Charting the Golden Stream: Thoughts on a Directory of Victorian Periodicals," in Editing Nineteenth Century Texts ed I M. Robson (Toronto, 1967).

Nineteenth-Century Texts, ed. J. M. Robson (Toronto, 1967).

17. Robert C. Slack, ed., Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Ten Years 1955-1964 (Urbana, 1967). It is perhaps worth noting that only three nonfiction prose writers are among the twelve Victorians most written about in the period of Slack's compilation. They are: Arnold (fifth place), Darwin (tenth), and Newman (twelfth). Arnold statistics include, of course, articles on his poetry as well as his prose, while Darwin

is written about more as a scientist than as a prose writer. When Slack removes three late Victorians from the list (Shaw, Conrad, Yeats), two other nonfiction prose writers move into the top twelve—Carlyle and Mill—who take places ten and eleven respectively, while Arnold moves up to third, Darwin to seventh, and Newman to ninth.

In the compilation of dissertations by Richard D. Altick and William Matthews, Guide to Doctoral Dissertations in Victorian Literature, 1886-1958 (Urbana, 1960), first place went to Carlyle, but in the later compilation by Lawrence F. McNamee, Dissertations in English and American Literature 1865-1964 and Supplement, 1964-1968 (New York, 1968, 1969), the order among Victorians is Dickens, Browning, Carlyle and Arnold (tied), Hardy, and George Eliot.

Altholz, ed., Victorian England 1837-1901 (Cambridge, 1970);
 Buckley, ed., Victorian Poets and Prose Writers (New York, 1966).

is in stronger shape than in regard to manuscripts, but it is not all that it should be. R. H. Super's edition of the prose works of Matthew Arnold is one of the major editorial achievements of the decade.19 So too is the ongoing Toronto edition of the works of John Stuart Mill.20 But the roster stops just about there, although we should perhaps not overlook the edition of Walter Bagehot by Norman St. John-Stevas.²¹ There have been high quality editions of individual works-Martin Svaglic's monumental edition (1967) of the Apologia comes to mind. There has also been an increase in popular paperback editions of Victorian prose writers, although here too the record is spotty. Ruskin, for example, flashes in and out of print in an alarming way. Indeed it is necessary yearly to consult the Guide to Paperback Books in Print to see, not which edition of a Victorian prose writer to use, but whether there is an edition of the work you seek. I say nothing whatever of the minor writers in paperback, for there is nothing to say. However, the Cass Library and the Leicester University Victorian Library, both in England, have produced some lesser known prose works in hardcover reprint. And some rareties are finding their way back through American reprint houses.

What is needed in regard to editions is a kind of twoway activity: on the one hand, more grassroots pressure on publishers from us for editions of necessary works of prose and, on the other hand, more ambitious definitive scholarly editions from university presses of the works of the great Victorians.

Those same Victorians who need editions of their works according to modern editing practices were also indefatigable letter writers and the past decade has begun to bring forth some highly commendable work in editing the correspondence of the prose masters. The now-appearing Duke-Edinburgh edition of the letters of the two Carlyles by C. R. Sanders and K. J. Fielding will require at least forty volumes to see the whole output of those two letter writers into print.22 Francis Mineka managed to contain John Stuart Mill in six volumes, but this still represents some 2,300 letters and an impressive accomplishment.23 The Birmingham Oratory continues to issue the splendid Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman.²⁴ The total will reach to about thirty volumes, of which eleven have been printed. Only Walter Pater's letters have been contained in one volume (1970)—that one ably edited by Lawrence G. Evans—but surely Pater's epistolary diffidence is anomalous in the age. Other writers' correspondence calls out for dedicated editors. With a sufficient body of material capably edited I believe we will find that the nineteenth-century was the golden age of letter writing. So, let scholarship give the world the editions of letters of Victorian prose writers and let criticism discover a new genre.

Of biographies and critical works on individual authors there is not sufficient time to speak. There are still needs. Not many are currently working in biographical or biographical-critical vineyards. There is still no standard biography of Arnold, for example, though there is the fine critical study by Lionel Trilling. We also need more critical studies on the order of John Rosenberg's The Darkening Glass (1961) and critical studies on aspects of some of our prose writers like Dwight Culler's The Imperial Intellect (1955) or George Landow's awardwinning Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin (1971). And there are countless minor figures to be examined. John Gross's Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters (1969) includes many figures of Victorian journalism almost lost to literary scholarship through inadvertence. Indeed, we need still to determine what the range of our study is. This is a problem scarcely faced by any other area. A novelist, a poet, a playwright is clearly the proper subject for literary investigation. Prose writers, however, may be held to be in the first instance historians, or statesmen, or ecclesiastics, or something else again. They may be left to other disciplines that fail to justify their stewardship. If this is a curse of nonfiction prose studies, it is also a strength, for it means that no field is so varied and so relevant to life as this one. It also means that it is the obvious area of Victorian studies that will most benefit from the increasing emphasis on interdisciplinary studies that has been spearheaded in our field by the journal Victorian Studies and by its survey of interdisciplinary programs.²⁵ The study of nonfiction prose may well turn out to be the aspect of the study of Victorian literature that gives the most to the general advancement of learn-

This survey, inadequately detailed though it has had to be, does show, I hope, something that takes us back to find the end in our beginning. To go on prose, prose, prosing need not be to engage in a "dull, commonplace,

^{19.} R. H. Super, ed., The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold, 8 vols. to date (Ann Arbor, 1960-).

F. E. L. Priestley et al., eds., The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, 10 vols. to date including letters (Toronto, 1963-).

^{21.} Norman St. John-Stevas, ed., Collected Works of Walter Bagehot, 8 vols. to date (Cambridge, Mass., 1968-).

^{22.} C. R. Sanders et al., eds., The Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle, 4 vols. to date (Durham, N.C., 1970-).

^{23.} Francis F. Mineka, ed., Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill: 1812-1848, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1963); Mineka and Dwight N. Lindley, eds., The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill: 1849-1878, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1972).

^{24.} C. S. Dessain, ed., The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman, 11 vols. to date (London, 1961-).

See Leslie Bailey, "Victorian Studies Programs in the United States and Canada," Victorian Studies, XV (1971), 185–230.

or wearisome discourse or piece of writing," not at least when we are talking about Victorian prose writers. The state of scholarship in Victorian nonfiction prose has now reached the point where we must speak instead of prose artists. I do not recall who it was who said of its poetry that Elizabethan England was a nest of singing

birds, but we now know that that was not the only era or the only mode in which there could be song. Victorian nonfiction prose can now be seen as a grand accentual hymn of extraordinary harmony with diversity. That being so, everything about it is deserving of our attention. University of California (Los Angeles)

Victorian Poetry

R. C. Tobias

My PERIOD FOR THIS SURVEY covers the first ten years of publication of Victorian Poetry. One of the founding editors of the journal, Gordon Pitts, casually turned to me at a meeting of the Modern Language Association to ask if I would like to write a review of what the rest of the world said about his subject. And so I found myself with a job. In introductory paragraphs, I once commented that the curse of reading all the periodical discussion, criticism, and exegesis is that I hunt for patterns. A British reviewer riposted that, on the contrary, the curse is that I have to read it at all. I have no regrets. I sit in the center of a continuing seminar; granted, reports lack the sting and eager vitality of the original poetry, but even dull essays send me back to poems with renewed attention. I slept through Tennyson's "The Lotos-Eaters" until Benjamin DeMott's 1962 Kenyon Review essay1 and Alan Grob's 1964 Modern Philology essay2 alerted me to currents I felt too weakly before. Neither Rossetti nor Swinburne has charmed me, but I have been taught to care for both.3 Because I am often a dull and inattentive reader, I will not issue philippics on the flood of print inundating us all; the flood wears down my personal eccentricities and prejudices; even wrong-headed judgments make me read more carefully. We try to pitch a tent on two cultural landslides, one that approached avalanche state in the nineteenth century and another in our time that seems more than an avalanche. The movement under our feet distracts us, but it makes imperative our need to understand that distant world. The modish interest in the Victorians probably develops because those

times seem serene and calm; in fact, those times seethed and moved and worried as much as our time. Reading the commentary has not revealed a pattern, but reading it has made me more aware of eclectic directions and richness. I bear my time with some slighter ease because of my perceptions of other's dis-ease.

The exciting work in the last ten years is that done to make new editions. We never know that we need an edition until it is done. In 1962, our familiar Clough proved insufficient to represent Clough's mind and art,4 and all through the decade we have been discovering new poems to add. Had I been asked to prove the need for Kenneth Allott's Annotated Edition of Arnold, I would have said that the Tinker and Lowry edition surely sufficed, but anyone who has needed to understand an Arnold poem knows how much Allott has added.5 Christopher Ricks's monumental edition of Tennyson for the same series shows not only a poet more rich than we knew, but it had the practical advantage of releasing an heretofor protected Cambridge manuscript.6 The new Browning from Ohio University⁷ has produced vigorous discussion. I confess myself bewildered by the charges and counter-charges; one critic tells me that the Browning text is a sample case of mistaken editorial principles and that it is a mere printing of poems. Another tells me that the work pioneers editing style for nineteenthcentury texts. The editors, in response, defend themselves and define their methods more carefully. The con-

"Tennyson's 'The Lotos-Eaters': Two Versions of Art," Modern

Philology, LXII (1964), 118-129.

^{1. &}quot;The General, the Poet, and the Inquisition," Kenyon Review, XXIV (1962), 442-456.

^{3.} On Swinburne I refer especially to the Swinburne issue of Victorian Poetry, IX (1971), 1-257, and Morse Peckham's Victorian Revolutionaries (New York, 1970). On Rossetti, see Dwight Culler in Ventures, IX, No. 2 (1969), 65-75, and Stephen J. Spector, "Love, Unity, and Desire in the Poetry of Dante Gabriel Rossetti," ELH, XXXVIII (1971), 432-453.

^{4.} Richard M. Gollin, "The 1951 Edition of Clough's Poems: A Critical Re-Examination," Modern Philology, LX (1962), 120-127.

^{5.} Kenneth Allott, ed., The Poems of Matthew Arnold (London: Longmans; New York: Norton, 1965).

^{6.} Christopher Ricks, ed., The Poems of Tennyson (London: Longmans; New York: Norton, 1969).

^{7.} The Complete Works of Robert Browning, gen. ed. Roma A. King, Jr. (Athens, Ohio, 1969-).

troversy educates me and others who must edit these poets in the future.8

We blandly assume that we read our poets correctly. I know from my own experience with a minor figure like T. E. Brown that texts require absolute care. Hopkins, for a more apparent example, seems to have been edited carefully from the beginning by his friend Bridges, and yet after four editions, we still await an Oxford Text that will be more complete and exact than what we have had.9 What would thorough and annotated texts of Hardy, Rossetti, Meredith, or Swinburne reveal? For Hardy, we continue to use the Macmillan trade edition, but the type is tired and there is no title index. I yearn for information about previous appearances of poems and all the information that Allott provides for Arnold. The best hope for new and better editions grows from groups of scholars who gather because of their interest in a figure. Thus the Browning Newsletter and the various new Browning institutes, the Tennyson Society, the periodical English Literature in Transition, the Hopkins Society, and others are, and presumably will continue, stimulating the examination and presentation of textual problems.

Computer concordances follow when texts have been established. We have Arnold and Hopkins concordances (for Hopkins, two) because these poets have been well edited. As more texts are established, more concordances can be made so that we can study the supple, inventive thrust of nineteenth-century verse. Following the concordances will be new anthologies. We have had interesting anthologies of the pre-Raphaelites and the decadents. We need anthologies presenting the Victorian Activists at the end of the century (Kipling, Stevenson, Henley, Newbolt), the early and mid-century comic poets (Hood, Thackeray, Gilbert), and anthologies presenting thematic ideas and formal considerations (dramatic monologue, explorations of self). Eventually those older anthologies that we have all used will be replaced.

II

The decade has seen biographies of minor figures like Dixon, Clough, and Mrs. Browning, and publication of important aids to biographical study such as the checklist of Arnold's letters.¹² Maisie Ward's two-volume biography of Browning¹³ has a fine Victorian sensitivity to the poet, but she assumes that after The Ring and the Book all was downhill for the poet although the man charms as ever. Park Honan's forthcoming biography of Arnold will be the first genuine autobiography rather than a biography of his mind or his work.¹⁴ The Tennyson Society unearths and catalogs new materials to justify Tennyson, and at the moment the R. W. Rader study of Maud and Sir Charles Tennyson's biography are challenged by Christopher Ricks's new Tennyson,15 a work much fuller in details about the Tennyson family. Was it a terrible accident that Tennyson had to pull sanity out of that crowd of relatives, or is the verse the necessary result of the insecurity and pain in the family? Clearly the Tennyson family needed a good counselor, but if they had had a counselor, would we have had the poetry? As with editions, we know a biography is needed only when a new one shows us the need.

I would like new biographies of Hopkins, Swinburne, Rossetti, and I can imagine studies of Morris, Hardy, and Meredith that would attend more fully to the poetry in their lives. Minor figures like William Barnes, O'Shaughnessey, Lee-Hamilton, James Bailey, MacGonagall (he is real although rapidly becoming legendary¹⁶), Lord de Tabelay, Theo Marzials, or Lionel Johnson should be as fully treated as Phyllis Grosskurth treats J. A. Symonds (1964). We need an ongoing census of biographical materials and manuscripts in libraries. The Tennyson Society collects what it can and what is not already in the Houghton or at Cambridge; the Baylor Library devours Browning material; Yale has its Arnold. Finding the manuscripts, diaries, or letters of that host of minor figures from Coventry Patmore to John Gray (men whose

See the discussion initiated by Thomas J. Collins in the Browning Newsletter (Spring 1970) and Victorian Studies, XIII (1970), 441–444. Peckham answers some of the charge in the Browning Newsletter (Fall 1970) and Roma King explains the method further. See also Peckham's essay in Proof, I (1971), 122–155.

Norman McKenzie, "On Editing Gerard Manley Hopkins," Queen's Quarterly, LXXVIII (1971), 487-502.

^{10.} The Stephen M. Parrish concordance of Arnold belongs in the incunabula of computer concordances (1959). The two Hopkins concordances are Alfred Borrello, A Concordance of the Poetry in English of Gerard Manley Hopkins (Metuchen, N.J., 1969) and Robert J. Dilligan and Todd K. Bender, A Concordance to the English Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins (Madison, 1970).

^{11.} See James D. Merritt, ed., The Pre-Raphaelite Poem (New York, 1966); Cecil Y. Lang, ed., The Pre-Raphaelites and Their

Circle (Boston, 1969); and Jerome H. Buckley, ed., The Pre-Raphaelites (New York, 1968). See also Karl Beckson, ed., Aesthetes and Decadents of the 1890s (New York, 1966).

^{12.} Arthur Kyle Davis, Jr., Matthew Arnold's Letters: A Descriptive Checklist (Charlottesville, 1968).

Maisie Ward, A Life of Robert Browning, 2 vols. (New York, 1967, 1969), and Maurice Cramer, "Maisie Ward and Browning Biography: A New Era," Modern Philology, LXVIII (1971), 294-300.

Park Honan, "A Note on Matthew Arnold in Love," VNL, XXXIX (Spring 1971), 11-16.

^{15.} Christopher Ricks, Tennyson (New York, 1972).

^{16.} Students at the University of Chicago prepared a mock Mac-Gonagall Newsletter and I am sure that someone is writing a survey of the decade's work in MacGonagall studies.

lives often surpass their poetry in interest) is the result of stabbing in the dark. For the major figures, the newsletters and societies channel information, but for the minor figures all is chaos and old night.

III

Arnold, Browning, and Tennyson attract the critical eye still, but in the last ten years, both Browning and Tennyson have forged ahead of Arnold. Dwight Culler's book on Arnold, *Imaginative Reason* (1966), the Allott text, and the new edition of Arnold's prose¹⁷ dampen Arnold studies. We need time to absorb what these books have given. The most interesting studies see an Arnold who changes not only from decade to decade but within the span of a few years. Poems like "The Scholar Gypsy," "The Grande Chartreuse," and "Thyrsis" have been studied separately, but now we need a synthesis to put these poems not only into Arnold's life but into his cultural condition.

Browning critics still footnote Robert Langbaum's Poetry of Experience, but a busy crew demonstrates that Browning's early poems show more than signs of development and that the late poems show a poet still experimenting with language and vision. The poems of the middle years, except for occasional additions to the DeVane Handbook, are well in hand and draw the sophisticated studies of their rhetoric that American scholars, especially, enjoy. Recent studies of The Ring and the Book establish solid perspective on Browning's major work, and a French critic insists that the poem is better in its French translation. To the British, Browning is, I suspect, still a little bit vulgar.

On Tennyson the immediate task is to begin using Christopher Ricks's new annotated edition. In Memoriam excites more attention than I thought possible, but no one, I think, has made commanding pronouncement to eclipse Bradley's old reading. I am partial to J. C. C. Mays's essay "In Memoriam: An Aspect of Form" (UTQ, XXXV [1965], 22–46), but there are several equally as good. The Idylls of the King have been read in relation to their source and in relation to Tennyson's inspiration, but we wait a commanding justification to make the long poem really interesting. Tennyson's reputation gains ground against the disparagement of Sir Harold Nicolson and Paull Baum, not to mention Auden and Eliot.

Of the other poets, Hopkins still attracts fascinated attention, and he is more clearly felt to be genuinely Victorian rather than some magic precursor of the twentieth century. Elizabeth Schneider occupies the critical position that Culler does for Arnold or Langbaum for Browning;20 like them, she is the one who must be answered to and argued with in the last ten years. I have been delighted to find Rossetti's House of Life drawing the same concentration as In Memoriam (the poems are often compared as both being on the progress of a soul). No one yet sees the bizarre wit or humor in Rossetti, but studies show how Rossetti carefully modulates events from his life before it becomes poetic structure. For Swinburne. critics seek a new method of reading the poems since all our fashionable reading mitigates against his style of verse. My undergraduates respond to him intuitively and immediately; they remind me of Hardy's shock of recognition when he first read Swinburne in the mid 1860s. The issue of Victorian Poetry devoted to Swinburne and Morse Peckham's essay in Victorian Revolutionaries have established sufficient new angles to keep critical responses going for years.

At every chance, we must encourage further readings of Meredith, Hardy, and Housman. Although Meredith shared a house for a time with Rossetti and Swinburne, he seems to me to be forging a new language. His poetry is private (theirs is public). He has the wit, the tightness, the complexity of language and subject that appeals to exegetes. Further, his writing and his life seem so curiously intermixed and representative that he deserves more comment. A few of Hardy's poems draw interest while the list of books and articles on his novels grows and grows. The nine hundred and fifty poems are still terra incognita compared to the accurately charted landscapes of Hopkins or Arnold. Housman's poems continue to be admired, but except for studies in their rhetoric, he seems a poet more appreciated for his life than for his skill. The publication of Housman's essay on Swinburne makes me want to reverse Wordsworth's bromide about the need to write more poems and less criticism; I wish that more of Housman's criticism of his contemporaries survived.21 He is an amusing critic, and his aperçus often hit more than their immediate jest.

Granting that Yeats wrote his best poems after 1914 and that the nineteenth-century poems that we have are

^{17.} Robert H. Super, ed., The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold (Ann Arbor, 1960-).

Richard D. Altick and James F. Loucks II, Browning's Roman Murder Story: A Reading of "The Ring and the Book" (Chicago, 1968); Mary Rose Sullivan, Browning's Voices in "The Ring and the Book" (Toronto, 1969); Paul F. Mattheisen, "Uproar in the Echo: The Existential Aesthetic of Browning's The Ring and the Book," Literary Monographs, III (1970), 125-184.

L'Anneau et le Livre, trans. Georges Connes (Paris, 1959); see J. Tamagnan, "Fenêtre ouverte sur Browning," Etudes anglaises, XXVII (1964); 163-170.

Elizabeth Schneider, The Dragon in the Gate (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968).

^{21. &}quot;Swinburne," American Scholar, XXXIX (1969-70), 59-79.

all revised in the twentieth century, I still like to think of him with the Victorians. He had made his reputation before the old Queen died, even if he made a new one after her death, but reading him seems so naturally a culmination of force and styles in the century. Further, a great poet attracts great critics, and Yeats attracts intelligent and witty commentary. Because our sense of him is firm and placed, we can afford the luxury of a poet who gently, persuasively, and forcefully absorbed a century of romantic tradition in conflict with urgent necessity and made of the conflict an ultimate form. Of all the poets, he is the one that we can read with greatest pleasure just as he stands.

IV

I have been most interested recently in studies outside the ordinary categories. Martha Vicinus studies working class poetry; we have a fine examination of music hall verse.²² We yet await a study of magazine verse, especially that buried in dead files of forgotten journals.23 Dialect poems, sonnets, long poems, religious poems, regional poems (are there any other poets in Scotland besides MacGonagall?) need study. The poets have so little to say about the cities that England was building,24 and they seem irresolute and insecure with contemporary events. Surely no century has produced such a low level of occasional poetry. Nevertheless, the poems need to be studied with the events around them. The New Critics in America taught us to read structures; now we can profit from reading poems in their poets' lives and in their times. I am convinced that we should study not simply poems or novels or prose essays but the "poetics" of the age, whatever form that poetics worked itself out in. Freud commented that he regularized and organized the insights of the poets. He meant, I think, that the approach, the vision, and the subjects provided him with the hints for his insights. So many twentieth-century cultural studies seem to be a fleshing out of initial insights of this "poetics." The dramatic monologue, for example, suggests methods of therapy, forms of art, and techniques of evaluating experience. Blake made new ways of seeing, but so did those who consciously followed him. Sometimes mistakes suffice. I am not sure that Tennyson should or could have written a successful *Idylls of the King*, but his efforts opened legend and history for works of art for Eliot, Pound, and Lowell (I choose obvious examples).

The Victorian poets—and their editors, biographers, and critics-dramatize a process of mind. They found ways to recapture in a finer tone "that long drip of human tears."25 Reading the poetry is our central concern, but we can all be taught to read poems more fully and completely. In a genuine civilization, men do not have to explain to one another because they share experience. In the late twentieth century our shattered civilization needs to restate the experience of these poems. If we could arrive at exclusive or definite meanings, then we could read the criticism and forget the poems. If the poetry is successful, then it requires constant new approaches to see its facets. The attempt to know the sensibility, perception, and awareness of Victorian poetry continues to be a worthy and necessary task for the sake of our own sensibility, perception, and fuller awareness.

University of Pittsburgh

Victorian Fiction

Lionel Stevenson

EVEN THE SHORT PERSPECTIVE of a decade suffices to show that a significant stage in the scholarly study of Victorian fiction occurred about 1960. The development had started twenty years earlier, and a large mass of essential material was produced during the forties and fifties; but the attitude of most scholars remained tentative and deprecatory. They were exploring uncharted territory and

their satisfaction in discovery was mitigated by anxiety about their reputations. Could they have the temerity to claim that this upstart subject might rank alongside of the established disciplines?

Critical assumptions were dominated by the Jamesian doctrines, proclaimed in James's own prefaces, in Percy Lubbock's *Craft of Fiction*, and (more engagingly) in

Martha Vicinus, "The Study of Nineteenth Century British Working Class Poetry," College English, XXXII (1971), 548– 562; Laurence Senelick, "A Brief Life and Times of the Victorian Music-Hall," Harvard Library Bulletin 19 (1971), 375–398.

^{23.} Victorian Periodicals Newsletter has reported little on poetry in the magazines. T. E. Brown's Macmillan Magazine text differs radically from the book text also published by Macmillan.

Tennyson's "Lucretius" was bowdlerized for its appearance in *Macmillan's* also; see C. Ricks, "Tennyson's *Lucretius*," *Library*, XX (1965), 63–64.

G. Robert Stange, "The Victorian City and the Frightened Poets," Victorian Studies, XI [Supplement] (1968), 627-640.

Thomas Hardy, "On an Invitation to the United States," Collected Poems (New York, 1925), p. 99.

Forster's Aspects of the Novel, that Victorian novels were "loose baggy monsters," that any sort of "authorial intrusion" was an unforgivable artistic sin, and in general that the pre-Jamesian novelists were crude purveyors of popular entertainment through farce and melodrama, lacking any conception of aesthetic principles or technical subtleties. Reinforcing these austere principles, the small but influential Scrutiny group in England accepted the authority of F. R. Leavis' Great Tradition, which admitted only George Eliot, among the Victorians, as a novelist of authentic stature, which dismissed Dickens curtly as "a great entertainer" with "no profounder responsibility as a creative artist than this description suggests," and which declared roundly of Thackeray, "for the reader it is merely a matter of going on and on; nothing has been done by the close to justify the space taken-except, of course, that time has been killed."

Little wonder need be felt that when students and young scholars thirty years ago ventured to read any Victorian novels for themselves, they were amazed and delighted by what they discovered. There was a refreshing naïveté in some of the articles proclaiming that Wuthering Heights or Great Expectations was a masterpiece deserving of serious analysis. Only occasional books treated the subject with due respect. Dorothy Van Ghent's English Novel: Form and Function (1953) set a new standard for perceptive analysis of individual works. Kathleen Tillotson followed with Novels of the Eighteen-Forties (1954). In The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction (1956), Mario Praz combined an urbane acerbity with a wide-ranging critical intelligence.

A notable symptom of the new interest was the establishment of a specialized journal. When Bradford Booth planned the *Trollopian* in 1946, he envisaged a modest medium of communication among the handful of eccentrics who believed that Trollope was a major novelist. He was astonished by the magnitude of the response, and before long he began to receive good articles on Trollope's contemporaries. Renamed *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, the journal's files illustrate a quarter century of sound scholarship, and its reviews provide a conspectus of the ever-expanding range of research and criticism in the field.

Along with the growth of appreciation came the development of the necessary scholarly resources. The monumental editions of Thackeray's letters by Gordon N. Ray and George Eliot's by Gordon S. Haight applied the most rigorous standards of textual accuracy and full annotation. Bibliographies also began to be available. Michael Sadleir's massive pair of volumes, XIX Century Fiction (1951), was particularly valuable in calling at-

tention to secondary figures. Richard L. Purdy's Hardy: A Bibliographical Study (1954) was a model of usefulness. Two definitive biographies were provided in Edgar Johnson's Dickens (1952) and Gordon Ray's Thackeray (1955–58). Another important consideration was the matrix of ephemeral literature in which the major novelists functioned: this was brought to attention by Margaret Dalziel's Popular Fiction a Hundred Years Ago and Richard Altick's English Common Reader (both in 1957).

Perhaps the most important of all, critical systems and terminology for the study of prose fiction came gradually into being. Northrop Frye may have been unduly schematic in setting up his four genres of "novel, romance, anatomy, confession" and his modes of "low mimetic, ironic," and so on; but he certainly stimulated the trend toward defining fictional techniques more precisely. Hillis Miller began to apply a more metaphysical analysis based on the theories of Georges Poulet, and Marxist interpretations were offered by such critics as Jack Lindsay and Arnold Kettle.

By 1960, therefore, the ground had been prepared for mature and efficient study of the Victorian novel. A landmark book was The Rhetoric of Fiction by Wayne Booth (1961), which articulated the burgeoning revolt against the Jamesian dogmas. Booth's handling of point of view, stylistic manipulation, and other techniques left an indelible influence on all subsequent discussion. The publication in 1964 of Victorian Fiction: A Guide to Research, under the auspices of this group, brought the present status of the subject into a clear perspective, revealing the recent trends of scholarship and suggesting further directions to be followed. The journal Victorian Studies, another offspring of English X, is of special value in placing the novels side by side with the studies of historians and sociologists treating the same period.

One of the main desiderata is beginning to be supplied. During the past decade accurate texts of a few major Victorian novels have been based on thorough collation, consultation of manuscripts, and other strict bibliographical procedures, and have been equipped with adequate footnotes. The Oxford edition of Dickens, which promises to serve as a model in this respect, has kept us in suspense for too long, with Oliver Twist standing alone to tantalize us; now Edwin Drood has just been added, and further volumes are promised soon. Meanwhile, exemplary editing has been displayed in some of the Riverside series, such as the Tillotson Vanity Fair, the Haight Mill on the Floss, and the Howard Ernest Pontifex. Norton Critical Editions are following suit, and editions of a few less familiar novels are emerging from university presses.

Another helpful development has been the greater attention paid to the standards and opinions of the Victorian critics who dealt with fiction. The Theory of the Novel in England, by Richard Stang (1959), and English Criticism of the Novel, by Kenneth Graham (1965), revealed unsuspected insights on the part of the reviewers; and more recently several of the novelists have been included in the Critical Heritage series. In using this as a critical approach to a specific author, George Ford was the pioneer with Dickens and His Readers (1955); it has now been extended to another Victorian in David Skilton's new book, Trollope and His Contemporaries. The placing of the major novelists in context of their less enduring competitors has been facilitated through the publication of the late Myron F. Brightfield's lifelong compilation, Victorian England in Its Novels (1969). His classifications should prove to be of great assistance in the study of themes and trends.

A minor, but useful, activity has been the close scrutiny of the format of the novels in their original publication. The divisions into serial parts, the running titles at the heads of pages, and—above all—the illustrations, have been examined for the light they can shed on the total impact of the works. John Harvey's Victorian Novelists and Their Illustrators is merely the most extensive among a number of such inquiries.

Editions of letters have been enhanced by the C. L. Cline Meredith and the Chapple and Pollard Gaskell. Authoritative recent biographies include Gordon Haight's George Eliot and Winifred Gérin's several books on the Brontës. A few of the biographical facts that have come to light are relevant to the interpretation of the novels. The discovery of Hardy's cousin Tryphena, for instance, is as revealing as was the discovery of Dickens' friend Ellen Ternan at an earlier date.

With this wide array of dependable factual sources, the critical interpretation has proceeded apace. The scene has been dominated, of course, by the incredible proliferation of writings on Dickens, intensified by the centennial observances. Special issues of literary periodicals and acta of conferences were added to the flow of books and articles. The quarterly bibliographies in the Dickens Studies Newsletter (itself a symptom of the enthusiasm) prove that the torrent shows no sign of diminishing. Some of the published criticism, naturally, is redundant or implausible, but the quantity of solid contributions demonstrates the unparalleled vitality and diversity of Dickens' fiction and the range of critical approaches now available. Even the intransigent Dr. and Mrs. Leavis have undergone a spectacular conversion.

While the sheer bulk of the Dickensian studies renders

them conspicuous, equally serious and enlightening criticism has been applied to the other principal novelists. Techniques, imagery, symbolism, style, psychology, and sociology have all been subjected to examination. In spite of the variety of themes and methods, two definite trends can be recognized among the most significant books of the past four or five years.

One is a determined effort to draw the wide spectrum of the Victorian novel into some sort of synthesis. Assembling the disparate insights provided by the studies dealing with individual authors, a number of scholars have set out to define the unifying features and movements of the whole genre. These studies are bound to be selective: the author of such a book has to concentrate on a relatively few representative authors and novels, and the reader may be left with an uncomfortable suspicion that the resultant generalizations might not apply so aptly to a different assortment. Nevertheless, a sense of meaningful comprehension of the vast panorama emerges from the reading of such books as Raymond Williams' on The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence (1970), Hillis Miller's on The Form of Victorian Fiction (1968), U. C. Knoepflmacher's on Laughter and Despair (1971), and Donald Stone's on Novelists in a Changing World (1972). Masao Miyoshi's book on The Divided Self (1969) is distinctive in treating novelists side by side with Victorian writers in other genres, and this is a procedure that might well be extended further. Through such books as these, we are beginning to discern the outlines of the forest instead of wandering forlornly among the thickset trees.

The other recognizable current trend cannot be contemplated without a tinge of irony, for it indicates that critical standards have described a full circle in the course of a century. In their lifetime the novelists were praised warmly as profound moral teachers. When earnestness in literature went out of fashion they were analyzed for psychological penetration, for sociological data, for structural techniques, and for archetypal myths. Their moral exhortations were either ignored or deprecated as irrelevant to a work of art. Now in the serious seventies the moral themes are once more paramount.

The tendency showed itself in Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel, by Knoepflmacher (1965). It is probably inevitable that this topic should be present in any thorough examination of George Eliot's work; but it is particularly basic in the important books on Eliot in the past seven years: Experiment in Life: George Eliot's Quest for Values, by Bernard Paris (1965), and George Eliot's Early Novels: The Limits of Realism, by Knoepflmacher (1968). The same topic is equally central, how-

ever, and all the more conspicuous because of its novelty, in recent books on Dickens and Thackeray. Barbara Hardy's on *The Moral Art of Dickens* came out two years ago, and has now been followed by Joseph Gold's on Dickens as a "Radical Moralist." Meanwhile Miss Hardy has proceeded to publish *The Exposure of Luxury*, which regards Thackeray equally seriously as a moral force. Juliet McMaster's new book on Thackeray takes very much the same line. The title of a recent book by Ruth apRoberts is, quite bluntly, *The Moral Trollope*, and she portrays a much more serious thinker than the traditional view of Trollope as a bland recorder of trivia. In these books the respective novelists' most eloquent and overt passages of ethical advocacy or denunciation are reproduced without a tremor.

These two trends of current critical interpretation will probably prevail for several more years before they wear themselves out. Any attempt to suggest future developments is bound to be precarious, but some sort of forecast is possible. Though a huge quantity of useful material on the Victorian novelists has been published in the past decade, much remains to be done.

One important area not yet fully explored is the unrecognized periodical contributions by the novelists. Harry Stone's recent massive book proves that even the canon of the eminent Dickens has been far from complete. Most of the novelists had a sideline as journalists, and one feels sure that Thackeray, Trollope, and Meredith wrote scores of items that remain sunk in the prevalent anonymity of Victorian journalism. No masterpiece is likely to be uncovered, but any stray book-review or comment on current affairs may contribute something to the total picture of an author's mind. Perhaps the Wellesley Index, as it proceeds, will provide clues.

A virtually inexhaustible area of inquiry is the establishment of definitive texts for the novels themselves. The changes between serial intallments and subsequent reissue in volume form, and then each successive edition within an author's lifetime, need to be scanned for omissions, expansions, or other variations. For so far, this has been done for only a handful of the most prominent books. If it is to be achieved thoroughly, there has to be consultation of all available manuscripts. John Patterson set an example a decade ago in The Making of "The Return of the Native." To facilitate such studies, an urgent need is a master catalog of the manuscripts of Victorian fiction in libraries, museums, and private collections. Only then will it be feasible for future scholars to trace the development of each novel from its first inception to its final, perhaps repeatedly revised edition.

A great deal of work needs to be done on annotation.

Victorian fiction was crammed with allusions—to literature, to history, and to current events. Its language, too, reproduced the ever fluctuating vocabulary of conversation as much as the permanent denotations of formal discourse. With the lapse of a century, many of the references and colloquialisms have ceased to convey meanings, certainly to young students and probably often to widely informed readers. It is not necessary that such annotation should be incorporated into a new edition of the novel. Indeed, the mass of short notes could become a detriment. I suggest that scholarly journals should open their pages to contributions consisting solely of explanatory notes on a particular novel, geared to the pagination of some standard edition. Such an article would be quite as justifiable as many of the sometimes stale critical discussions that occupy our periodicals. Work on this kind of project might well be collaborative: several scholars could pool their resources of information, or one could publish all that he had been able to explicate and could invite others to send in addenda.

Both the establishing of texts and the identifying of allusions are ancillary to another open field of studythe novelist's style. Critical analysis of any prose style is difficult and for fiction particularly so. The huge bulk of each novel and the varieties of tone as the author fits the language to the mood, the shifts from narration to description, to commentary, to dialogue, all these factors militate against facile generalization. The essential fact about the style of Bleak House or Richard Feverel is that it is many styles. Yet nothing else perhaps is of greater importance for a recognition of the author's individual identity and his skillful artistry. The English Institute symposium on Style in Prose Fiction, edited by Harold Martin thirteen years ago, has not sired any numerous progeny. David Lodge's book, Language of Fiction (1966), is a pioneer work that opens up some prospects. This is one field in which computers might be used to advantage, but with the proviso that the computerized data must be a means to achieving critical perception, and not an aridly statistical end in itself.

The continued ascent of Dickens' reputation to higher pinnacles of glory has been the principal phenomenon in the critical pecking order. The others remain essentially where they stood before, though it is worth noting that Charlotte Brontë seems to have overtaken or even passed her sister Emily in favorable attention from critics and scholars. Nor is it likely that upstart demigods will invade the exclusive Olympus of the Big Seven. Nevertheless, more serious scholarly attention might well be accorded to the battalion of lesser novelists who crowd the lower slopes. The distinctive features of their books,

the influence of their experiments and their successes, the tides of public taste that they illustrate, all are interesting for intrinsic qualities as well as for connections with their betters. Edward Bulwer Lytton, for example, was one of the most widely read authors of the period, and he ranged through a wider diversity of moods and methods than any of his contemporaries. Indeed, his versatility seems to have been his chief handicap in critical estimation: it is assumed that he had no creative core or basic identity but swung like a weathervane in the changing breezes. Similarly, Charles Lever was probably the chief competitor of Dickens and Thackeray in the

forties and fifties, and his work, too, exemplifies the shifting currents of the time, as he widened his scope, deepened his insights, and improved his skills; yet the standard reference works dismiss him with a few scornful lines about the two or three comic military novels that were his 'prentice work. George Borrow and Robert Smith Surtees and George MacDonald and George Whyte-Melville are distinctive figures that have been persistently ignored. A dozen or a score of names could be added to this list, and the explorable wealth of Victorian fiction would still not be exhausted.

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Emily Brontë and the Responsible Imagination

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CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S COMMENTS in the 1850 Preface to Wuthering Heights have given rise to a conception of Emily as a rustic, unconscious, and untutored genius, much in the tradition of the natural genius so admired by the Romantics. Wuthering Heights, said Charlotte, "is rustic all through," the work of a "homebred country girl" whose mind was not amenable to the influence of other intellects, and who "wrought with a rude chisel and from no model but the vision of [her] meditations." When she was finished "she did not know what she had done." Such a description of Emily is as misleading as it is attractive. In part, Charlotte's misconception may have resulted from her own beliefs about artistic creation. She says in the Preface:

the writer who possesses the creative gift owns something of which he is not always master—something that at times strangely wills and works for itself. He may lay down rules and devise principles, and to rules and principles it will perhaps for years lie in subjection; and then, haply without any warning of revolt... it sets to work on statue-hewing, and you have a Pluto or a Jove... as Fate or Inspiration direct. Be the work grim or glorious, dread or divine, you have little choice left but quiescent adoption. As for you—the nominal artist—your share in it has been to work passively under dictates you neither delivered nor could question—that would not be uttered at your prayer, nor suppressed nor changed at your caprice.

These views, as her letters to Wordsworth in 1840 and G. H. Lewes in 1847 and 1848 indicate, she held quite

 Muriel Spark, The Brontë Letters (London, 1954), pp. 86, 139, 142-143. Charlotte's dislike of Pope is perhaps particularly significant in this context. See Spark, p. 47.

consistently.1 However, the work of such Brontë scholars as C. P. Sanger, Fannie Ratchford, Inga-Stina Ewbank, and J. Hillis Miller has made it quite clear that the author of Wuthering Heights was no such "nominal artist" working passively and unconsciously. Recently John Hewish has pointed out Emily's wide reading and her literary debts, suggesting that she did indeed have models other than "the vision of [her] meditations."2 But it is my contention in this paper that Emily's poetry alone proves Charlotte wrong, for the poetry shows that, like Tennyson, Emily fought a long battle (approximately ten years) over the question of the legitimate use of the creative imagination. Emily's stance is often ambiguous and contradictory, but the general direction of her development is clearly away from escapism and toward an attempt to come to terms with a detestable world. Therefore, I cannot agree with John Hewish when he says, "No one, after studying the poems, would expect their author to write Wuthering Heights."3 The writing of the novel and a change in the style of the last Gondal poems are the inevitable outcome of Emily's development as a self-aware artist.

In the forty-two poems she wrote by the end of 1837, Emily introduced every important theme she was to elaborate later. Her fictional kingdom of Gondal was already established as a moral waste land in which normal values are inverted and perverted, and in which uncontrolled passion and ambition reign. The consequent suffering and destruction affect the innocent as well as the guilty. After 1837, the depiction of a perverted and hellish world

Emily Brontë: A Critical and Biographical Study (London, 1969), pp. 33-36, 40-45, 118-135.

^{3.} Hewish, p. 117.

became increasingly vehement, emphasizing the awful consequences the deeds of the evil have on others. There is a growing sense of waste as the poems point out unrealized or perverted potential. Injustice, pain, and destruction predominate, the description of war and its consequences recurring with increasing frequency. In fact, Gondal's wars and all their attendant misery, violence, and cruelty became Emily's chief metaphor for the world in which she lived. She states, in a French essay entitled "Le Papillion,"

All creation is equally insane.... Nature is an inexplicable puzzle, life exists on a principle of destruction; every creature must be the relentless instrument of death to others, or himself cease to live. Nevertheless, we celebrate that day of our own birth, and we praise God that we entered such a world.... at that moment the universe appeared to me a vast machine constructed only to bring forth evil: I almost doubted the goodness of God for not annihilating man on the day of his first sin.4

Of all the creatures in this world, man is most perverse. Where animals destroy only out of need, man torments and destroys for amusement as well. In another essay, "Le Chat," she suggests that "if hypocrisy, cruelty and ingratitude are the characteristics exclusively of mean people, this class includes everyone; our education develops one of these qualities to great perfection, and the others thrive without cultivation, and we, far from condemning them, look upon all three with great complaisance." Children, she suggests, are unwittingly cruel, but adults, instead of discouraging such behavior, knowingly and deliberately encourage it. "I have seen you embrace your child rapturously when he came to show you a beautiful butterfly crushed between his cruel little fingers; and, at that moment, I wished very much that I had a cat, with a half-swallowed tail of a rat hanging from his mouth, to present as the image, the true copy, of your angel."5 Clearly, Emily shared little of Wordsworth's belief in the innate goodness of man or of the Victorian's optimism about his age. She saw human behavior all too often motivated by self-interest and selfindulgence. Civilization, she predicted, will become Death's Prime Minister and Intemperance "will flourish under her rule."6 Decorum and social convention, designed to make behavior more humane, were too frequently used instead to make self-indulgence and its consequent inhumanity socially respectable. In such a world the ability to feel intensely was the only salvation, and it must be paid for in suffering (Hatfield 112).⁷ Little wonder that Emily was so aware of the incongruity of pain and evil with the splendor of nature, and of the inadequacy of Christianity to provide explanations for this situation. The angels are happy because they are ignorant (Hatfield 149). For Emily, then, Hell was no place of torture and retribution predicated for the afterlife; it was life on earth.

In the face of such pain and injustice she made compassion a cardinal virtue. Like Anne, Emily loved animals and emphatically rejected Aunt Branwell's Calvinistic theology that would relegate animals and servants to the status of lower beings. The same compassion Emily felt for the wounded fledglings she and Anne brought home from the moors, she extended toward human beings. While describing Branwell as a "hopeless being," she never condemned him as Charlotte did, for he was but one unfortunate in a world in which life was largely a matter of suffering and misfortune. In Hatfield 123, Emily refuses to join the world's hate and scorn for one who has died in disgrace. To do so would be as unjust as despising "the timid deer / Because his limbs are fleet with fear," or hearing "with joy the leveret's cry / Because it cannot bravely die." Similarly, in one of her French essays, "L'Amour Filial," she suggests that we may shun those who are evil and degraded, but not malign them. "Why add our malediction to God's? Rather we should pity and deplore their condition."8 As a result she could not tolerate a God who damned men for eternity, who did not distinguish between the sin and the sinner. In Gondal's Queen, the imprisoned Fernando de Samara asks, "shall these long agonizing years / Be punished by eternal tears?"9 He answers his own question:

No; that I feel could never be; A God of hate could hardly bear To watch through all eternity His own creations dread despair.

"If I have sinned," he says, "long, long ago / That sin was purified by woe" (Hatfield 133).

Given her extreme sensitivity to suffering, it is not surprising that a sense of imprisonment characterizes the poems, and with it a longing to return imaginatively to the innocent happiness of childhood. By the time she began *Gondal*, Emily was already aware of the importance of her imaginary worlds as a defense mechanism. Her

^{4.} Five Essays Written in French, trans. Lorine White Nagel (Austin, 1948), pp. 17-18. It is important to remember that Emily was a mature woman of twenty-five when she wrote these French essays.

^{5.} Nagel, pp. 9-10.

^{6. &}quot;Palais de la Mort," Brontë Society Transactions, XII, No. 4 (1954), 284.

All references to Emily's poems are identified by the number given the poem in The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë, ed. C. W. Hatfield (New York, 1941).

^{8.} Nagel, pp. 13-14; see also Hatfield 111.

^{9.} I have generally followed Ratchford's reconstruction of the Gondal saga in Gondal's Queen (Austin, 1955).

"escape" into the imagination enabled her to control life; by means of the private vision she could create an inner world from which she could exclude the people and society she found so distasteful. In this world she could bring back summer in wintertime, relive the past, and replace grief with joy. In a poem that refers to her time as a teacher at Law Hill, she describes how her dream world provided a temporary relief from the unpleasant duties she had to fulfill:

Yes, as I mused, the naked room
The flickering firelight died away
And from the midst of cheerless gloom
I passed to bright, unclouded day—

(Hatfield 92)

The world of that bright day is the Haworth moors. "Written in Aspin Castle" (Hatfield 154), begun while she was studying in Brussels, contains the same poetic landscape. That the first poem is not related to the Gondal saga while the second is, is not surprising, for Gondal had the same austere physical and moral geography as her northern moor country. Escape into the world of Gondal was also constantly available because, as J. Hillis Miller has written:

The Gondal events did not become, like historical happenings, part of a vanished past after they had occurred. They functioned for Emily Brontë just as religious myths functioned for the Greek poets and tragedians. Transformed into a collection of eternal events, they were happening over and over again all the time, always there to be returned to and recreated in poetry.¹⁰

Thus in the midst of a growing family crisis over Branwell's behavior and her father's eyesight, Emily, then almost twenty-seven years old and on her first long holiday trip, wrote not of the events of the trip, but of the exciting events in the Gondal saga she and Anne enacted.¹¹

Her disgust with the world of humanity became most vehement between 1842 and 1845, and the greater her disgust, the more she was tempted to flee from the world. In a series of dialogue poems she tries to justify such an escape. In "The Night Wind" (Hatfield 140), the wind, a symbol of undefiled nature, the poet's friend since childhood, appeals to the poet to return to the physical world of woods and flowers. The poet rejects the "gentle singer" and asks that he "leave my human feelings / In their own course to flow." But the wind refuses to leave and declares that "I'll win thee 'gainst thy will." The poem ends ambiguously; we are not told if the wind succeeded. Six months later Earth and Nature again implore the poet to return to them from the dark

regions in which her "mind is ever roving." Again, we are not told the poet's reaction, although Nature's argument is very powerful and appealing. But then the note of revulsion for the world intensifies. "So hopeless is the world without," she says in "To Imagination" (September 3, 1844), "The world within I doubly prize," the world "where Thou and I and Liberty / Have undisputed sovereignty" (Hatfield 174). A similar pattern of images associating night with "A vision dear" and day with "bitter waking" appears in a number of poems. She associates night not only with relief and a kind of happiness, but also with the spiritual world, with a sense of unity. Day, in contrast, represents the materialistic world and the activities of inhumane, materialistic man. It represents multiplicity, fragmentation, the inversion of all values:

And this shall be my dream to-night....

I'll think there's not one world above, Far as these straining eyes can see, Where Wisdom ever laughed at Love, Or Virtue crouched to Infamy. . . .

Where Pleasure still will lead to wrong, And helpless Reason warn in vain; And Truth is weak and Treachery strong, And Joy the shortest path to Pain.

(Hatfield 157)

This pattern culminates in a poem dated April 14, 1845. The poet laments the passing of night, "that watch divine" in which "I was at peace" and "revelled in my changeful dreams." Now, though the dazzling sun has restored the earth to joy, the poet is left with "a desert sky."

O Stars and Dreams and Gentle Night; O Night and Stars return! And hide me from the hostile light That does not warm, but burn—

That drains the blood of suffering men; Drinks tears, instead of dew: Let me sleep through his blinding reign, And only wake with you!

(Hatfield 184)

Thus her imaginary world provided her with a sanctuary, a place where she could lead a charmed life. In part this was how she achieved that contentment of mind that is so obvious in her birthday notes, especially the one of 1845, and that she felt her sisters lacked. But with the publication of her poems in 1846, Emily's fortress collapsed; her creation now had a life of its own.

^{10.} The Disappearance of God (New York, 1965), p. 160.

^{11.} See the 1845 birthday note.

In her imaginary world she had worked, thought, dreamt, and struggled to achieve autonomy. Now, like Tennyson's Lady of Shalott after she left her island, Emily was to be judged by the very world she detested. Her life and vision were to be limited by the taste and comprehension of others and she was no longer free. Her sense of futility is expressed in Lockwood, the symbol of the world she detested, who does not go home a sadder and wiser man because his comprehension is too limited by his conventional tastes. Similarly, we know that her contemporaries found *Wuthering Heights* quite incomprehensible. Writing became laborious for her after 1845. She wrote only two further poems and left unfinished a painful revision of the second one.

Yet there is evidence to suggest that the publication of Emily's poems merely accelerated a rejection of her dream world that was ultimately inevitable. The expression of the longing to escape is frequently accompanied by a sense of unease, a feeling of guilt and an admission that such an escape is a delusion. For in spite of her pessimistic view of basic human nature, Emily possessed a good "Victorian" conscience and a well-developed sense of duty that never quite approved of her "unproductive" existence. Of Emily's unhappy stay in Brussels, Charlotte stated in the 1850 Preface, "Once more she seemed sinking, but this time she rallied through the mere force of resolution: with inward remorse and shame she looked back on her former failure, and resolved to conquer in this second ordeal." When Emily changed her mind, and refused to teach in their proposed school, Charlotte wrote that Emily "would look after the housekeeping, and, although something of a recluse, she is too good-natured not to do all she could for the well-being of the children."13 Again, in her 1845 birthday note Emily wrote that she was "not as idle as formerly" and had "learnt to make the most of the present." But the strongest indications of Emily's "conscious qualms" are found in a poem entitled "Self-Interrogation," begun in Brussels and finished at Haworth:

"The vanished day? It leaves a sense
Of labour hardly done;
Of little gained with vast expense—
A sense of grief alone!
"Time stands before the door of Death,
Upbraiding bitterly;
And Conscience, with exhaustless breath,
Pours black reproach on me."

(Hatfield 155)

Similarly in the Gondal saga the words spoken by the judge in sentencing Julius set out clearly the Victorian

ideals that provide the moral framework for the Gondal epic:

"Glorious is the prize of Duty,
Though she be a serious power;
Treacherous all the lures of Beauty,
Thorny bud and poisonous flower!
"Mirth is but a mad beguiling
Of the golden-gifted Time;
Love, a demon-meteor, wiling
Heedless feet to gulfs of crime."

(Hatfield 178)

The tone of Victorian moral earnestness is unmistakable in the judge's warning that "these hours so wildly squandered" shall with "penance sore be paid." However unorthodox some of her beliefs may have been, in one respect, at least, Emily was very Victorian. There was no place in her scheme of things for a hedonistic pleasure principle. She was very much in the tradition of Carlyle—a proponent of duty and the Puritan work ethic. Her conscience demanded that she not only face up to the religious and philosophical implications of the meaning of human existence, but also try to offer a vision of how man and his society might be regenerated. In one of her last personal poems Emily wrote that she must never let her "Spirit tire / With looking for what is to be" (Hatfield 188).

From the very beginning, Emily's poems show that she was acutely aware of a conflict between Gondal and nature; that is, between her fantasies and the "real" world. As early as November 1837, she indicates her awareness of certain dangers inherent in her "escapism." She begins a poem by stating her complete scorn for humanity, but receives a devastating answer:

False and foolish mortal, know, If you scorn the world's disdain, Your mean soul is far below Other worms, however vain.

Thing of Dust—with boundless pride, Dare you take me for a guide? With the humble I will be; Haughty men are nought to me.

(Hatfield 35)

Emily also became aware very early that escape into the world of imagination can at best provide only temporary relief. The ending of "A little while, a little while / The noisy crowd are barred away" is reminiscent of the ending of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale":

Could I have lingered but an hour It well had paid a week of toil,

See also Tennyson's "The Poet's Mind," whose attitudes Emily would have heartily endorsed.

^{13.} Spark, p. 114.

But truth has banished fancy's power; I hear my dungeon bars recoil.

(Hatfield 92)

Almost a year later she speaks of her "vision dear, though false, for well my mind / Knows what a bitter waking waits behind" (Hatfield 114). During 1844 the inner debate reached a crisis. In a series of personal poems her dislike for the world of man and her commitment to the imagination is fervently repeated, but accompanied by increasing scepticism. The imagination is her comforter (Hatfield 168), her refuge, and offers some of the comforts of religion-"My slave, my comrade, and my King!" (Hatfield 176). But in the last stanza of "To Imagination" (September 3, 1844), she admits that such an escape is a "phantom bliss" that she cannot trust. In Hatfield 176 (October 14, 1844), she implores the God of Visions to defend her against Stern Reason who has come to judge her. The God of Visions is to explain why she has chosen him, when she "did cast the world away," why she has been "Heedless alike of Wealth and Power-/ Of Glory's wreath and Pleasure's flower." Brontë critics have traditionally seen this poem as signifying the victory of "Gondal over Nature." 14 Because of the tone of the poem itself and because of the context in which it appears, I believe it suggests precisely the opposite. No one seems to have taken into account its very defensive tone. In the very first stanza the poet states that Reason "Is mocking at my overthrow," and the tone of the rest of the poem is one of pleading with the God of Visions to defend her, of defensively explaining her allegiance to him. And the ending is quite inconclusive:

And am I wrong to worship where Faith cannot doubt nor Hope despair Since my own soul can grant my prayer? Speak, God of Visions, plead for me And tell why I have chosen thee!

But the question remains: Does he plead for her? I believe that he does, but not in the way she would have wished, for the poet admits that prudence has taught the subject to rebel against the sovreign imagination. In a poem dated February 1845, the poet yearns for an end to inner conflict. The Seer replies with a vision of unity, but the poet rejects the vision because her own experience cannot confirm it (Hatfield 181). In April of 1845 she begs the Stars, Dreams, and Night to return and hide her from the hostile light of day "that does not warm, but burn," yet she also admits "It would not do" (Hatfield 184). Visions are comfortable and useful, but delusory if not firmly grounded in the world of practical reality.

And leaning on thy [Julius'] generous arm, A breath of old times over me came; The earth shone round with a long-lost charm; Alas, I forgot I was not the same.

(Hatfield 60)

It is clear that Emily's dream worlds were closely associated with her childhood. When she used her dreams as an escape from reality, she was trying to return to that state of childhood bliss in which she could create and order the world as she saw fit. To seek to escape reality by living in the past, however, is a form of death:

This dark night has won me To wander far away; Old feelings gather fast upon me Like vultures round their prey.

(Hatfield 120)

The realization that she could not, in fact, regress into childhood and night forced her to realize also that she must come to terms with the cruel reality of broad daylight.

Emily's desire to escape, it should be remembered, was only one impulse at work in her nature. To see her at any time as escaping into magic fairy lands is to oversimplify and distort. Even in her adolescence Emily demonstrated an ability for creating "worlds" in which she could explore human nature. On the moors, according to

A similar pattern emerges in the poems dealing with her longing to return to childhood innocence. Childhood, in both the Gondal and the personal poems, is a time of purity, joy, hope, and of harmony with the universe (Hatfield 3). Not surprisingly, she links childhood with spring and its carefree happiness (Hatfield 91). But birth also marks the beginning of a period of exile. The creation of human life is a shrouding and obscuring act, for the initially free and expansive soul is now imprisoned in the body. Birth begins the process of degeneration described in Wordsworth's "Intimations" ode (Hatfield 93 and 150). With the loss of childhood, life turns into a kind of hell and man spends the rest of his existence longing for his lost Eden (Hatfield 94, 120). Occasionally, Emily can momentarily forget her suffering by revisiting in memory her childhood (Hatfield 114). But even this, she realizes, is a delusion that will be followed by a bitter waking. There can be no return in this life to that childhood of innocence and happiness: "Lost vision! 'tis enough for me — / Thou canst not shine again" (Hatfield 86). Gondal's Queen also learns this lesson when she begins to suffer the consequences of her fall from the path of purity and duty:

^{14.} See, for example, Fannie Ratchford, Laura Hinkley, Winifred Gerin, Phyllis Bentley, Derek Stanford.

Ellen Nussey, "half reclining on a slab of stone, [Emily] played like a young child with tadpoles in the water, making them swim about, and then fell to moralizing on the strong and the weak, the brave and the cowardly, as she chased them with her hand."15 In both the juvenile plays about the African Glasstown Confederacy and the Gondal saga she was exploring human behavior. Her concern, however, was not with the specific social, political, or economic events and institutions of the day. Rather her imagination was stirred by writers like Scott and Macpherson, in other words, by works that showed man in his more primitive and elemental state, devoid of the veneer of civilization that might mask his true nature. Charlotte commented in 1848 that Ellis Bell did not admit "it as his creed that 'the proper study of mankind is man'—at least not the artificial man of the cities."16 Thus she was chiefly interested in questions of basic human nature and in the principles upon which any viable social organization must be founded. She attempted to show the reader what is and what ought to be, but in terms of general considerations, such as man's responsibility to his fellow man, and not in terms of specific institutions and systems. After Emily's death Charlotte stated that Ellis Bell was "somewhat of a theorist: now and then he broaches ideas which strike my sense as much more daring and original than practical; his reason may be in advance of mine, but certainly it often travels a different road."17 Fifteen years after her stay in Brussels, M. Heger, assessing Emily, thought that she "should have been a man-a great navigator. . . . Her powerful reason would have deduced new spheres of discovery from the knowledge of the old; and her strong imperious will would never have been daunted by opposition or difficulty; never have given way but with life."18

After 1844 this side of Emily took precedence over the impulse to escape. It was a victory for moral earnestness, almost as if she too had heard Trench say, "Tennyson, we cannot live in Art." In the Gondal poems Emily had portrayed the disintegration of a society whose inhabitants were dedicated to the gratification of self. She saw the Byronic individualism of these characters as socially irresponsible because it demanded self-gratification at all costs, making the individual oblivious to the welfare of others. This is also the problem Emily delineated in Wuthering Heights. Heathcliff and Catherine are not amoral forces, but errant human beings destroyed by their own willfulness, and destroying others in the process. The same is true in varying degrees of most of the other

characters. The result is the breakdown of all social order. But in Wuthering Heights the delineation is much more concrete and specific. The events of the novel take place in a recognizable nineteenth-century social context, as do the solutions she offers. The possibility of regeneration lay in a love that placed the welfare of another above personal considerations. Destructive self-sufficiency that could produce only isolation and fragmentation was to be replaced by a unity founded on principles of compassion and esteem. Desires must be made to operate within a framework of responsibility that recognizes one's duty to love his fellow man. This resolution, tentatively suggested in the Gondal poems, is spelled out much more fully and clearly in the novel. The second Catherine and Hareton are able to reestablish the community because they return love for hate, unlike their elders who repaid hate with hate. "No Coward Soul is mine" (Hatfield 191), written during the time Emily was composing Wuthering Heights, also demonstrates this greater confidence and clarity of vision. Conflict, rebellion, lamentation, and the death-wish have been excluded. Instead the poem contains the ringing affirmation of an imagination that has transcended rather than run away from the world. And, as in Wuthering Heights, that transcendence is based on a belief in the "wide-embracing love" with which "Thy spirit animates eternal years." It is a love that leaves no room for Death, "Since thou art Being and Breath / And what thou art may never be destroyed." After Emily completed Wuthering Heights, she wrote one Gondal poem, and began a revision of it in 1848, the year of her death. The poem shows a clear attempt to link Gondal more directly with the "real" world and its ills. Her concern with social themes is much more clearly evident than in previous Gondal poems. And again, any hope of salvation rests in a self-sacrificing love that can return love for hatred.

In Anne Brontë's Agnes Grey, Agnes tells Lady Ashby that the end of religion is to teach us how to live, not how to die. Emily came to hold the same belief about the use of the creative imagination. The real and imaginary worlds were of equal importance to her because through the imaginary she could achieve an aesthetic objectification of the real. Thus she was not callous or indifferent, as has sometimes been suggested, but rather detached in the way that Matthew Arnold was to suggest the artist should be. In her fictional worlds she could escape direct involvement in human suffering, yet, at the same time, investigate the nature and cause of such

^{15.} E. M. Delafield, The Brontës: Their Lives Recorded by Their Contemporaries (London, 1935), pp. 47-48.

E. C. Gaskell, The Life of Charlotte Brontë (London, 1908), p. 151.

^{17.} Clement Shorter, The Brontës, Life and Letters (London, 1908), I, 396-397.

^{18.} Gaskell, p. 151.

suffering and offer her own ameliorative vision. Her achievement links her with such Victorian writers as Tennyson, Arnold, and Carlyle, who, finding themselves in an alien and hostile environment, used their creative powers to transcend that environment by offering their

countrymen a new vision of life that would liberate them from their mundane and materialistic existence and once more make men aware of the potential for human greatness and nobility inherent in each one of them.

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Wave and Fire Imagery in Tennyson's Idylls

Henry Kozicki

TENNYSON'S USE OF IMAGES involving waves on the sea or lake and images of fire and light appears inconsistent because the same images carry the meaning of both the forces that make history and those that dissolve it. Arthur comes on a ninth wave "gathering half the deep" (CA, 379),1 but so do Lancelot's savage kin, "as a wild wave in the wide North-sea" (LE, 480). The sea journey is spiritually purposeful,2 such as Arthur moving "From the great deep to the great deep" (CA, 410) or Galahad going to the spiritual city "far on the great Sea" (HG, 510), but also an image for spiritual degeneracy, as Merlin's Breton voyage "across the deeps" (MV, 199)3 or Lancelot's seven-day voyage "along the dreary deep" (HG, 805). Arthur is sun and light and "the fire of God" (CA, 127), but Vivien seems also to symbolize the "fire of Heaven" and "sun-worship" (BB, 450-451). The most arresting imagery couples water and fire and is equally paradoxical: when Arthur comes, "all the wave was in a flame" and "in the flame was borne / A naked babe" (CA, 381-383), but Vivien too comes caroling of the "fiery flood" (BB, 448) and knightly degeneracy is presented by Dagonet in terms of a "great lake of fire" (LT, 345).

Such apparent ambiguity is resolvable, however, when the wave and fire imagery is understood from the viewpoint of Tennyson's philosophy of history, as the support of a notion of cyclic history inexorably (for whatever reason) undergoing metamorphosis from form to formlessness.⁴ "The old order changeth, yielding place to new" (CA, 508): rebirth, conquest, "golden rest" (MV, 140), decay, and barbarism come with equal power and regularity, and Tennyson exploits the developing subimages of the wave building, breaking, cleansing, flattening, muddying, and finally dissipating as a new wave gathers power. Fire, however, seems the constant force, investing all phases of the historic cycle: if not agape,

eros—or worse. First in historic "form," then in formlessness, its energy comes with even measure, historically formative in one phase, destructive in another.

The inception of historic form is accompanied by mythic shapes that appear to detach themselves mystically from the wave arching. Arthur appears on the crest of the flaming wave seemingly attended by various sea-spirits: "the white mermaiden swam, / And strong manbreasted things stood from the sea" (G, 243-244). At the coronation, as he imposes order on historic chaos through the vow, the Lady of the Lake is by his side, who "when the surface rolls, / Hath power to walk the waters like our Lord" (CA, 292-293). The keystone of Camelot's gate was "rippled like an ever-fleeting wave" (GL, 211). These are symbols of control over the formless deep,5 rising logically out of the image of the wave, and their forms are properly charged with divine fire. Arthur was borne "in the flame" of the wave; picked up by Merlin, "the child and he were clothed in fire" (CA, 389). The sea-creatures too were bathed in "wild sea-light" and from the shore could be seen "headland after headland flame / Far on into the rich heart of the West." "The flickering fairy-circle wheeled and broke / Flying, and linked again," suggesting by the circling dance the imposition of form: "A wreath of airy dancers hand-in-hand / Swung round the lighted lantern of the hall" (G, 240-260).

As the blank deep produces waves, so pure sunlight (a wave form) prismatically breaks into color. At the coronation, formless sunlight assumes form by passing through the stained-glass that depicts the Crucifixion; the white radiance of eternity so stained materializes "Flame-colour, vert and azure, in three rays, / One falling upon each of three fair queens" (CA, 274–275), queens "clothed with living light" (PA, 454). Light is, of course, the archetypal symbol for transcendence (*In Memoriam*,

All quotations from the *Idylls* are from *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London, 1969), by the obvious abbreviations of the individual books.

ations of the individual books.

2. See Georg Roppen, "'Ulysses' and Tennyson's Sea-quest," English Studies, XL (1959), 77–90.

^{3.} See Clyde de L. Ryals, From the Great Deep (Athens, Ohio, 1967), pp. 61–62, on such "ambiguous effect."

See Ryals, pp. 102, 109, on Tennyson's philosophy of history.
 W. David Shaw, "The Idealist's Dilemma in *Idylls of the King,*" Victorian Poetry, V (1967), 47, notes that "the Lady is controlling the potentially destructive forces of nature."

XLVII, equates light with "the general Soul"), and so God materializes himself in various forms, "fulfils himself in many ways" (PA, 409). At the vows, his knights are "Half-blinded at the coming of a light" (CA, 265) and themselves further extensions of the prismatic effect, through Arthur. But since Arthur is "the fire of God" (CA, 127; LE, 314), "the great Sun of Glory" (GL, 22), and "the Sun in Heaven" (LE, 123), he is unbroken sunlight and perfect, and thus a "stainless King" and "stainless gentleman" (MV, 54, 790). Logically, his sword Excalibur, primal symbol of historic organization, was forged while "lightnings played about it" (GL, 67) and given to Arthur off the surface of the deep.

Both the wave and fire imagery suffer a diminution and transformation over the length of the *Idylls*. The wave sweeps over the world and cleanses it, but in the process loses its vitality and becomes polluted, finally flattening to formlessness. The fire transmutes from divine to natural, from historic forming power to existential human passions and natural desires, devoid of historic form.

The image of the purifying wave is readily associated with the commonly accepted image of flowing water as vivifying. Gareth addresses a pine swept away by a cataract as a "false knight / Or evil king" and wishes himself a "knight of Arthur, working out his will, / To cleanse the world" (GL, 5-25). Appropriately, he imposes his will on historic time by defeating the Timeknights, significantly throwing Morning-Star cleanly, with greater difficulty coping with Noonday Sun who accidentally "slipt in the stream, the stream / Descended, and the Sun was washed away" (GL, 1020-21), and having the greatest problem with Evening Star, miming in this manner the cyclic course of history and man's role in it. The wave's and Arthur's force coinciding is "To cleanse this common sewer" of all his realm (MG, 39; GE, 894) and make men's hearts "Clean for a season" (HG, 91). As the Idylls proceed, however, we become aware of a weakening of the wave's power. In place of cataracts, torrents of pure water, and knights like Gareth, Geraint, and Edyrn historically acting, Balin and Balan sit ineffectually, immobilized by their passions, beside their water-flow, a "fountain-side," that "down, / From underneath a plume of lady-fern, / Sang, and the sand danced at the bottom of it" (BB, 21-25). The diminution continues. Pelleas, soon to become Red Knight, sits befuddled in the lush, moon-lit gardens as "one rivulet from a tiny cave / Came lightening downward, and so spilt itself / Among the roses, and was lost again" (PE, 416-418). The wave image contracts also in reference to the heart of Modred, the destroyer of history, whose malice "Rankled in him and ruffled all his heart, / As

the sharp wind that ruffles all day long / A little bitter pool about a stone / On the bare coast" (G, 49-52).

Along with this loss of force is the gradually increasing pollution. Vivien speaks of "That old true filth, and bottom of the well" (MV, 47); she is herself to Merlin "false and foul / As the poached filth that floods the middle street" (MV, 795-796). Wine turns into mud (LT, 298). Guinevere calls herself "one pollution" (G, 614). Tennyson carries the imagery to its logical end in the stagnant swamp of the Red Knight, whom Arthur let "heavily to the swamp / Fall, as the crest of some slow-arching wave, / Heard in the dead night along that table-shore, / Drops flat, and after the great waters break / Whitening for half a league, and thin themselves, / Far over sands marbled with moon and cloud, / From less and less to nothing." The degenerate knights trampled the Red Knight in the mire "and slimed themselves" (LT, 460-470).

The fire imagery suffers a corresponding transformation to historical diffusion. At the beginning, inspired by Arthur as "the fire of God," Gareth springs "Like flame from ashes" to make "deeds" (GL, 536, 563) in the redemptive forge-and-work image pattern familiar from In Memoriam (CXVIII, for example: "life is not as idle ore" but "battered with the shocks of doom / To shape and use"). But midway through the Idylls the fire spreads formlessly or is put out. Rumor and slander run like "Fire in dry stubble" (LE, 730). Merlin's "fire for fame," as he withdraws from history, is "quenched" by Vivien, presaging the new wave, as "in an Ocean Cave / The blind wave feeling round his long sea-hall / In silence" (MV, 415, 216, 229-231). The light images now attend mock-knightly motions. God's work goes undone. Percivale says that it is only "earthly heats that spring and sparkle out / Among us in the jousts" (HG, 33-34). All becomes play. The fires of agape turn to the equally powerful fires of eros and when blocked there become destructive and demonic. Where once the knights had seen "That pure severity of perfect light" (G, 641), now Pelleas sees as "the light," damsels-errant who go (in a clearly sexual image) "to tilt against the knights" (PE, 58, 62). Lancelot in viewing the last tournament "gazes on a faded fire" (LT, 157).

Vivien as the apostle of sun-worship bears a paradoxical relationship to Arthur the sun-god. "The fire of Heaven," she sings, "is not the flame of Hell. / The fire of Heaven is on the dusty ways. / The wayside blossoms open to the blaze. / The whole wood-world is one full peal of praise" (BB, 441–444). Arthur too had "felled / The forest, letting in the sun, and made / Broad pathways for the hunter and the knight" (CA, 59–61) so that "all the land was full of life" (G, 257). The difference

must be perceived from the viewpoint of history. Arthur cleared the forests so that human commerce could civilize the wilderness. Vivien's paean is to savage nature and the sexual fires that animate it, and so it is that "This fire of Heaven, / This old sun-worship," as she says, "will rise again, / And beat the cross to earth, and break the King / And all his Table" (BB, 450–453).

Where the fires cannot find outlet in history or the flesh, they turn ruinous. We are given an image early of Camelot as "a city all on fire / With sun and cloth of gold" (CA, 478-479), but the Grail vision, instigated by the insubstantial nun for whom human love had been "rudely blunted," arrives in destructive formlessness as lightning: "A cracking and a riving of the roofs, / And rending, and a blast, and overhead / Thunder" (HG, 75, 183-185). The Grail vision's effect on Camelot seems to auger the curse of the frustrated Pelleas: "The crack of earthquake shivering to your base / Split you, and Hell burst up your harlot roofs" (PE, 456-457). The questors perform no useful historical tasks but "follow wandering fires / Lost in the quagmire," "A mocking fire," in "A dying fire of madness (HG, 319-320, 667, 765). The fires possess no historically viable form: Arthur's statue it is that seems to "flame / At sunrise"; or the dreadful hill that Percivale and Galahad climb, where "dry old trunks about us, dead, / Yea, rotten with a hundred years of death, / Sprang into fire" (HG, 242-243, 495-497). At the end, in a complex image, a "ghastly something" flew at Guinevere from the setting sun, "touched her, and she turned- / When lo! her own [shadow], that broadening from her feet, / And blackening, swallowed all the land, and in it / Far cities burnt" (G, 78-82). She is now the prism through which light acts, but to burn instead of build. Quite properly, then, the Queens that had been, with Arthur as prism, "Flamecolour, vert and azure" are now "Black-stoled, blackhooded" as Arthur passes onto the "level lake" (PA, 359-365).

Arthur and the sea-creatures had risen from the cresting historic wave in a nimbus of fire; now in the flat trough, new shapes burn. Pelleas sees Ettarre and her women, "Strange as to some old prophet might have seemed / A vision hovering on a sea of fire, / Damsels in divers colours" (PE, 49–51). The call is now to "follow Vivien through the fiery flood" (BB, 448). Arthur had been the Word acting, and the vows the controlling form over historic chaos. Now in the last stages of decline, the knights, says Dagonet, in another carefully wrought image,

play "at ducks and drakes / With Arthur's vows on the great lake of fire" (LT, 344–345); the vows, once symbolized by the Lady of the Lake walking on water and controlling, are now stones skipping over the flat surface, "free," imminently to sink and disappear.

The Arthurian wave is gone; all is still. Tristram sings of "A star in heaven, a star within the mere!" (LT, 726) -(a mere flat as the "dead lake" of In Memoriam, XVI, "That holds the shadow of a lark"). On its banks is the jetsam, like Dagonet, a "mock-knight," a "water-sodden log" (LT, 2, 253). But a wind is rising, "the winds that move the mere" (LT, 732). Vivien was a part of the inexorable pattern: "little rat that borest in the dyke / Thy hole by night to let the boundless deep / Down upon far-off cities while they dance"—and all "heard and let her be" (MV, 110-112, 144). Seemingly man-made in this manner, new waves are gathering out upon the deep: "The heathen," that "ever-climbing wave, / Hurled back again so often in empty foam" (LT, 92-93), as Arthur says. But the new wave is upon them.6 The growing savagery of the knights is shown by the unprincipled attack on the disguised Lancelot by his own kinsmen, "as a wild wave in the wide North-sea, / Greenglimmering toward the summit, bears, with all / Its stormy crests that smoke against the skies, / Down on a bark, and overbears the bark, / And him that helms it" (LE, 480-484). Tristram represents the new wave of barbarism-and a vigorous wave it is by the strength of the imagery—and almost repeats Vivien's song: "Free love free field.... New leaf, new life—the days of frost are o'er: / New life, new love . . . "; he arrives to hear the tournament crowd, the "voice that billowed round the barriers roar / An ocean-sounding welcome" (LT, 275-279, 167–168).

The new wave overwhelms Arthurian history. Arthur's words after the final battle in Lyonnesse refer to the waves crashing on the shore as "this great voice that shakes the world, / And wastes the narrow realm whereon we move" (PA, 139–140), seemingly a clear reference to the notion of god-ordained, wave-like patterns in history. The attendant supernatural figures of the Queens do not permit this cyclic history to be understood naturalistically, but as a strange succession of phases in which man plays a mysterious role, a philosophy of history that Tennyson supports with the meticulous workmanship of wave and fire imagery.⁷

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^{6.} Tennyson spoke in 1887 of the "mighty wave of evil passing over the world" (Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son [London, 1897], II, 337).

^{7.} Tennyson's readiness to use the same imagistic frame at all stages

of the historic cycle, however, requires the critic to work dialectically (and heuristically) between Tennyson's philosophy of history and the image patterns themselves to arrive at a proper understanding of either.

Tennyson and the Spasmodics

Joseph J. Collins

TENNYSON's Maud is often described as an experiment in the manner of the "Spasmodic School" of poetry. The notion that Tennyson was somehow influenced by the Spasmodic poets first appeared in some of the contemporary reviews of Maud; however, the error would probably have died a natural death but for the remarks of George Saintsbury who complained that Maud "looks too much like an essay in competition with the Spasmodic School of its own day"—a verdict that paved the way for the general acceptance of the misconception today.1 Samuel C. Chew pronounced the same judgment in A Literary History of England: "That Tennyson was influenced by these Spasmodic poets is evident from the discontinuity of the thought and the extravagances of the style."2 More recently, Jerome H. Buckley, in The Victorian Temper, based his argument for Tennyson's "conversion" very largely on the poet's early "Spasmodic" impulse, noting also that Paull F. Baum "seriously underestimates the 'Spasmodic' element in Tennyson."3 And finally, an indication of the prevalence of this notion in modern criticism is furnished by its unqualified acceptance in Victorian Poetry and Poetics, where Maud is labeled "the finest product of a school derisively called Spasmodic."4

There is no concrete or analytical support for the allegations of Spasmodic influence in the composition of Maud. An examination of representative Spasmodic poems shows that most of their distinctive characteristics are not found in Maud, and that those characteristics that are present did not suddenly appear in Tennyson's poetry after Spasmodicism became current, but were present in his earlier work. In fact, as many Victorian readers were aware, the Spasmodics (like most of the other minor poets of the period) were indebted to Tennyson. My argument is directed not so much against the imprecise and misleading use of the term Spasmodic to suggest the "Romantic" or "Byronic" tendencies in Tennyson's poetry, as it is against the contention that Tennyson "was influenced by these Spasmodic poets." The evidence does not support such a contention, but rather points to what ought to be recognized, that there were common influences at work on Victorian poets that produced different but related effects. The Byronic hero fathered many Victorian protagonists and among them the Tennysonian and Spasmodic heroes.

First of all, it should be noted that there was no Spasmodic school of poetry, nor was there even a general agreement among critics of the period as to which poets should be classified as Spasmodics. The poets most commonly associated with Spasmodicism were Phillip J. Bailey, Alexander Smith, and Sydney Dobell; however, there were those who questioned the credentials of Bailey. Hugh Walker, for example, joined Bailey in protesting the claim that the latter fathered the school: "Bailey is sometimes spoken of as the 'father of the Spasmodic School'; but the criticism which classifies him with Dobell and Alexander Smith is superficial, and he was fully justified in repudiating it." Bailey's Festus (1839) does exhibit several Spasmodic traits, but it will not be necessary to examine this 40,000 line epic, for the charge that Tennyson was influenced by the Spasmodics is based mainly on the alleged similarities between Maud and the poems of Alexander Smith and Sydney Dobell.

The poem by Alexander Smith that critics have linked with Tennyson's Maud is called A Life Drama, a quasidramatic production that was included in his Poems (1852, dated 1853). The hero of the poem is Walter, an egotistical Byronic figure who possesses an exalted sense of the sacred function of poetry and an exaggerated opinion of the value of his own poetic talent. The poem opens with Walter's impassioned declaration that fame is the "next grandest word to God." His quest for fame through poetry and his stormy love affair with Violet constitute the central episodes of the poem. Several scenes are devoted to the hero's ambitious estimates of his great promise and to his plans for the future. He is convinced that he is the poet who will "set this age to music" (VI.-85), the poet who "must ere long arise," "A mighty Poet whom this age shall choose / To be its spokesman to all coming times" (II.24). Lines such as these led the reviewer in Blackwood's to point out that "the poet's glory is to celebrate other achievements than his own," and that "the lauds of the self-worshipping man, or the

2. Ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York, 1948), p. 1386.

 Walter E. Houghton and G. Robert Stange (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 7.

^{1.} A History of Nineteenth Century Literature (New York, 1902), p. 263. Another early critic who detected Spasmodic influences in Maud was Edmund Gosse; he expressed surprise at "the extraordinary influence which he [Dobell] exercised over Tennyson" (Silhouettes [New York, 1895], p. 335).

^{3.} The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 63-65, 87, 255, n. 48.

^{5.} The Literature of the Victorian Era (New Delhi, 1964), p. 249.
6. Poems, 3d ed. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1854), p. 9.
Hereafter cited by scene and page number.

rhapsodies of the self-admiring youth" do not constitute true poetry.

Besides these extravagant speeches of a "self-admiring" artist-hero, another of the characteristics of Spasmodic poetry is its loose and disjointed organization; this may be seen in Smith's poem with its arbitrary division into scenes and absence of any logical progression in the action. However, the traits of Spasmodicism that sent Victorian critics into ecstasies of revulsion were the piling up of grotesque imagery, the erotic "fleshly" element, and the ranting tone. All of these can be illustrated by citing a few brief passages from A Life Drama. In one of the climactic episodes of the poem the hero (alone in the city at midnight) berates himself for having "unintentionally" seduced Violet:

My soul breeds sins as a dead body worms!
They swarm and feed upon me. Hear me God!
Sin met me and embraced me on my way;
Methought her cheeks were red, her lips
Had bloom, I kissed her bold lips, dallied
With her hair; she sang me into slumber.
I awoke—It was a putrid corse that clung to me

(X.135)

It was Smith's preoccupation with erotic details, though, that the reviewers attacked most vigorously. The rather explicit account of the seduction of Violet was distasteful enough for many Victorian readers, but even more objectionable were the numerous "fleshly" descriptions scattered throughout the poem:

'Neath the stars I sat with Clari; Her silken bodice was unlaced, My arm was trembling round her waist I plucked the joys upon her lips.

(IV.52)

I tremble when I touch thy garment's rim, I clasp thy waist, I feel thy bosom's beat—O kiss me into faintness sweet and dim!

(VIII.103)

The final scenes of A Life Drama are devoted to Walter's rehabilitation. Violet convinces him that "Love will redeem all errors" (XII.157), and he renounces the sins of his youth, resolving to give up his foolish pursuit of pleasure and fame in order to devote his life to helping others. This Goethean resolution suggests an important influence at work in mid-Victorian literature, a point which Hugh Walker underscores in his discussion of Clough's Dipsychus:

Half a century of experience after Goethe's great

work—the years during which the lessons of the French Revolution had sunk into the general heart—had brought minds of a rank considerably below Goethe's much where he had stood. The middle of the nineteenth century was consequently the time of his maximum influence.... There is in Dipsychus a kinship to Bailey's Festus and to Dobell's Balder, which might momentarily tempt those who class Bailey as a Spasmodic Poet to include Clough also in that class.8

Walker's observation also suggests perhaps why some critics were led to postulate a Spasmodic influence in Tennyson, for this same Goethean element is seen in *Maud*.

As in the case of Dobell's *Balder*, which was published in the latter part of 1853, many critics misinterpreted Smith's intentions in *A Life Drama*. Apparently many of the readers did too, since Tennyson criticized Smith for teaching a pernicious "creed" and advised him to "learn a different creed to that he preaches in those lines beginning 'Fame, fame, thou art next to God.' "9 Tennyson may never have got beyond the opening section of the poem, for Smith intended to show Walter's progress from selfishness and sensuality to the stage of moral rectitude and selfless service to his fellow man—a progress that involved the repudiation of this pernicious creed.

The Goethean influence, the Byronic poet-hero, and many of the stylistic devices that have been noticed in Smith's poem are seen once again in *Balder*. Dobell's version of the Spasmodic protagonist desires "to drain / The rapture of a lifetime at a gulp" and his self-laudation exceeds even that of the hero in Smith's poem. His lifejourney is also intended to exhibit the tragic results of self-imposed isolation, doubt, and excessive artistic pride. Some additional characteristics of Smith's style at once apparent in *Balder* are the interminable monologues presenting the grandiose speculations of the hero, the contemporary setting, the mechanical division of the poem into scenes, and the bombastic speeches laden with grotesque imagery.

The principals in the poem are Balder, his wife Amy, and a doctor friend named Paul. The story is centered on Balder's struggles to write his great epic, but in his consuming desire to write a great poem, Balder, unlike Walter, is motivated by a craving for power; he wants "not Fame but Power / Power like a god's and wielded as a god!" In preparation for his ambitious poetic task, he resolves to taste all the joys and know all the experiences the world has to offer.

Balder is confident that he will be able to complete his

Margaret Oliphant, "Modern Light Literature—Poetry," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, LXXIX (February 1856), 133, 134.

^{3.} The Literature of the Victorian Era, pp. 326-327.

Hallam Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir (New York, 1897), I, 468.

The Poetical Works of Sydney Dobell, ed. by John Nichol (London, 1875), II, 9. Hereafter cited as Works; parenthetical citations give scene and page number.

masterpiece, and, like Smith's Walter, assume his "great office":

Oh God! to how great office was I born, To how proud exaltation came I in Unquestioned as one comes into his own.

(XXXIV.240-241)

He expects to be the "Bard of the future! Master-Prophet!" (XXIV.169). And he will leave the isolation of his palace of art to descend to the valley, bringing his divine message to mankind:

In the form
Of manhood I will get me down to man!
As one goes down from Alpine tops with snows
Upon his head, I, who have stood so long
On other Alps, will go down to my race,
Snowed on with somewhat out of Divine air,
And merely walking thro' them with a step
God-like to music like the golden sound
Of Phoebus' shouldered arrows, I will shake
The laden manna round me as I shake
Dews from this morning tree. And they shall see
And eat, and eating live, and living know,
And knowing worship.

(XXIV.151-152)

For the present, however, he feels that Amy is unfairly delaying his apotheosis: "You heavens, what right / What right makes me the bleeding instance?" (XXXV.248). After raving at length in this vein, expatiating on his role as the "Paragon of woes," Balder finally resolves to kill Amy. Whether he actually goes through with the deed is not made clear, but he is galvanized into action when she snatches from his hands his "long meditate" epic, the "cunningest composition of his art" (XLII.-286), and pitches it into the moat below. The poem ends with Balder "divesting" Amy and debating with himself about the most convenient place to thrust his blade.

The obscurity of the poem led many reviewers to misinterpret the poet's intentions. It was thought that Dobell's hero was designed to represent his ideal of the gifted poet, a god-like being unfettered by the bonds of conventional morality. What dismayed Dobell most, however, was the critics' identification of the author with his creation:

I have reason, however, to blame some of these powerful witnesses for the indecorous haste and uncharitable dogmatism with which, as I have seen and am informed, they have taken for granted that I must personally admire the character I think fit to delineate, and that I present as a model what, in truth, I expose as a warning.

(Works, II.4-5)

Dobell's defense did little to discourage the reviewers from attributing the sentiments of the poetic protagonist to his creator—within a year Tennyson was to bear the same charge reiterated with regard to his own hero in *Maud*.

A number of the characteristics that have been pointed out in the poems of Smith and Dobell do, indeed, appear in Tennyson's Maud; but before I review these Spasmodic elements that Tennyson is thought to have appropriated, one of the most pronounced differences between the Spasmodic and Tennysonian heroes should be mentioned. As the Victorian reviewer, Margaret Oliphant, observed in her critique in Blackwood's, Tennyson's speaker "does not think himself a divinity; he has not a manuscript at hand to draw forth and gaze upon with delighted eyes; he is not—let us be grateful—a poet." Following along these same lines, Paull F. Baum contrasts the heroes of Balder and Maud:

Balder, the embodiment of a "doubtful mind," stands for egotistic excesses of poetic genius... whereas the hero of 'Maud' is a young man unbalanced by domestic misfortunes springing from social evils and stands (if for anything in particular) for the egotistic excesses of romantic love in conflict with society. Balderism is a late species of Byronism; the hero of 'Maud' is merely a victim of contemporary conditions, not of grandiose cosmological dreams.¹²

Professor Baum is one of the few modern critics who have resisted the notion that the Spasmodics influenced Tennyson.

To return to the resemblances between Maud and the poems of Smith and Dobell, there is no question but that these shared traits were present in Tennyson's poetry long before the phenomenon of Spasmodicism became current. These similarities may be considered under four separate headings: the use of mixed meters and violence of language; the organizational device of mirroring the action in the changing moods of a single character and the modern setting; the hero who is tangled in a web of gloomy speculation and morbid self-analysis, making his own personal maladjustment an indictment of society; and, finally, the theme of the alienated youth's moral restoration and reconciliation with society joined to the motif of the restorative power and redemptive function of love.

In Maud the use of exaggerated metaphors and irregular meter are devices that Tennyson consciously employed to suggest the hero's instability. "He is the heir of madness," Tennyson explained, and "the peculiarity of this poem... is that different phases of passion in one person

^{11. &}quot;Modern Light Literature-Poetry," p. 133.

^{12.} Tennyson Sixty Years After (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 310.

take the place of different characters." Actually, Tennyson, as early as *The Lover's Tale*, had experimented with the characterization of an insane protagonist, and he anticipated the Spasmodic's use of mixed meters and intercalary songs in *The Princess*. Tennyson's choice of a modern setting in *Maud* was obviously not a new departure either; he had already accomplished Walter's dream of setting the age to music in his widely popular "Locksley Hall." Nor has one very far to look to uncover the poet's earlier use of the changing moods of a single character as a central organizational principle, for besides "Locksley Hall" there was *In Memoriam* to serve as a model for lesser poets in their attempts to create spiritual autobiographies.

The remaining similarities in characterization of the hero and in the nature of the themes have already been accounted for in part by the fact that the Spasmodics and Tennyson shared a common heritage—the Romantic and Goethean elements that are present in Smith, Dobell, and Tennyson. And one only need recall Tennyson's performance in "Locksley Hall," The Princess, and In Memoriam to be convinced how wide of the mark allegations of Spasmodic influence are in these areas. The themes of spiritual regeneration and the redeeming power of love are prominently displayed in these poems, while the characteristics of the protagonist are distinguishing traits of the aesthetic hero of Tennyson's earlier poems.

The Tennysonian heroes of the poems up to and including Maud are, in fact, variations of the type that he created in The Lover's Tale. In this early poem, Julian, the archetype of Tennyson's hero, is a young man sensitive and passionate to the point of acute emotional instability; he is morbidly introspective and weakly irresolute instead of defiant and impenitent like his ancestor, the Byronic hero. To underline his isolation and alienation Tennyson portrayed him as one who was orphaned young, brought up in a sheltered environment, and illprepared to cope with the frustrations and cares of the cold world of reality. The immediate cause of his disaffection with life is a blighted love affair; and in the ensuing emotional crisis he is subjected to visions, trances, and fever-fits of insanity before he is able to regain his emotional equilibrium.

Tennyson, clearly, was not influenced by the Spasmodics; however, it is not difficult to understand how this

notion originated. It was easy enough for the critic to link the Spasmodic and Tennysonian heroes because of their common lineage, but except to a few critics their true relationship was not immediately apparent. In his 1853 review of A Life Drama,14 Charles Kingsley, for example, asserted that Smith had copied "The Two Voices," but Kingsley's voice was drowned out in the clamor that greeted Maud when it appeared in 1855. There arose from some quarters the shocked and outraged cry that Tennyson was imitating the Spasmodics. As Edgar F. Shannon reported in his survey of the critical reception of the poem, Maud "was subjected to some of the bitterest denunciation Tennyson had thus far met in his literary career." Looking back over Tennyson's career in 1892, Margaret Oliphant, who had been one of the most vociferous of these early critics, recalled the sense of shock and betrayal that many Victorian readers felt on first looking into Tennyson's Maud: "The passion, the madness, the frenzy, bringing in so many jarring elements, all the vulgar wrongs and injuries of the day, gave us a strong recoil as if we had been betrayed. What had we done in our ecstasy of wonder and admiration to be plunged all at once into this?"16 It is not surprising that some of the early reviewers adduced the recent extravagances and "jarring elements" contributed by Smith and Dobell.

But calmer critical assessment was not long in coming. Within a year of the publication of Maud critics were pointing out the influence of Tennyson on the Spasmodics. The reviewer in Blackwood's described Smith and Dobell as "his imitators—the smaller people who endeavor to compete with him in poetry,"17 and the critic writing in the Edinburgh Review observed that "Within the last few years several poems have been written on the principle of versifying the manners of the day, but with very different degrees of success; Mr. Tennyson himself set the example, and after him we descend from the impassioned, but coarse and unrhythmical, pages of Aurora Leigh to the 'City Poems' of Mr. Alexander Smith."18 The critical reaction, unfortunately, degenerated to charges of plagiarism, and by 1857 a writer in the Athenaeum was gleefully recording instances of Smith's "wholesale literary appropriation" and marveling at "the new poetic system of composition."19 The charges of plagiarism, combined with William E. Aytoun's tren-

^{13.} Memoir, I, 396. "The poem was first entitled 'Maud or the Madness'" (I, 402).

^{14.} Literary and General, Lectures and Essays (London, 1880), p. 64, from his article in Fraser's Magazine, October 1853. A. H. Clough, also writing in 1853, was convinced that one of "the antecedents of the 'Life-Drama'" was The Princess (The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough [London, 1869], 1, 359).

 [&]quot;The Critical Reception of Tennyson's 'Maud,' "PMLA, LXVIII (1953), 398.

 [&]quot;Tennyson," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, CLII (November 1892), p. 758.

^{17. &}quot;Modern Light Literature—Poetry," p. 133.

Aubrey de Vere in his review of Coventry Patmore's "Angel in the House," Edinburgh Review, CVII (January 1858), 122-123.

^{19.} William Allingham (?), "The Last New Poet," Athenaeum, No. 1523 (January 3, 1857), p. 16.

chant parody, Firmilian, severely damaged the reputation and popularity of the Spasmodics.

One would think that in such an anti-Spasmodic atmosphere the notion of Tennyson's indebtedness to the Spasmodics could not possibly have survived. Yet it survives today as a commonplace of Tennyson criticism, testifying to the surprising tenacity and durability of a tradition that grew out of uncritical responses to Tennyson's poetry.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Recent Publications: A Selected List

Arthur F. Minerof

August 1972—January 1973

I

GENERAL

ARTS. Conisbee, Philip, and Alan Crawford. "Art and Artifacts: Some Recent Exhibitions." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 79-89. Review-article.

Gaunt, William, The Restless Century: Painting in Britain 1800-1900. Phaidon. Rev. TLS, 22 December, p. 1550.

Hersey, George L. High Victorian Gothic. Johns Hopkins. Rev. TLS, 10 November, p. 1365.

Thompson, Paul. William Butterfield. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Critical assessment of the architect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Freeman, Ronald E. "Victorian Bibliography for 1971." Victorian Studies, June 1972, pp. 507-84.

Knoepflmacher, U. C. "Recent Studies in the Nineteenth Century." Studies in English Literature, Autumn, pp. 801-24.

Robson, A. P. "The Critical Heritage Series." Victorian Studies, June 1972, pp. 475-80. Review-article dealing with major figures included in the series.

CRITICISM AND LITERARY HISTORY. Armstrong, Isobel. Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry 1830-1870. Athlone, Rev. TLS, 22 September, p. 1106.

Brantlinger, Patrick. "Bluebooks, the Social Organism, and the Victorian Novel." *Criticism*, Fall, pp. 328-44. The profound and pervasive influence that the Victorian social sciences had on Victorian thought, art, and literature.

Britain, I. M. "Francis Adams: The Arnoldian as Socialist."

Historical Studies, October, pp. 401-23. The influence of Arnold.

Hall, N. John. "Trollope and Carlyle." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, September, pp. 197-205. Carlyle did not care for Trollope as a writer; Trollope's reaction to Carlyle's work was mixed.

Haven, Richard. "The Ancient Mariner in the Nineteenth Century." Studies in Romanticism, Fall, pp. 360-74. Even the best nineteenth-century critics of the poem are unlikely to satisfy a modern reader.

Jenkins, William D. "Swinburne, Robert Buchanan, and W. S. Gilbert: The Pain that Was All but a Pleasure." Studies in Philology, July 1972, pp. 369-87. In Patience, Bunthorne is primarily Swinburne, and Grosvenor is primarily Buchanan.

Kaplan, Fred. Miracles of Rare Device: The Poet's Sense of

Self in Nineteenth-Century Poetry. Wayne State University. A reading of selected Romantic and Victorian poems, Blake through Browning.

Tarr, Roger L. "Dickens' Debt to Carlyle's 'Justice Metaphor' in *The Chimes.*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, September, pp. 208-15. The metaphor from *Past and Present* is one of the controlling images of Dickens' story.

VanArsdel, Rosemary T. "The Westminster Review: Change of Editorship, 1840." Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. XXV, pp. 191-204. Hickson was well suited to continue the Westminster as an organ for advanced thought.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS. Gash, Norman. Sir Robert Peel. Longman. Peel's life after 1830. Rev. TLS, 3 November, p. 1312.

Hamer, D. A. Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery. Oxford. Rev. TLS, 11 August, p. 949.

Taylor, Arthur J. Laissez-faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth-Century Britain. Macmillan. Rev. TLS, 12 January, p. 45.

HISTORY. Hudson, Kenneth. "Current Trends in Industrial Archaeology." Victorian Studies, September, pp. 91-98.

Waters, Martin J. "Irish History Without Villains? Some Recent Work on the Nineteenth Century." Victorian Studies, December, pp. 223-34. Review-article.

Woodham-Smith, Cecil. Queen Victoria: Her Life and Times. Vol. I: 1819-1861. Hamish Hamilton. Rev. TLS, 20 October, p. 1247.

RELIGION. Everitt, Alan. The Pattern of Rural Dissent: The Nineteenth Century. Leicester University. Rev. TLS, 6 October, p. 1205.

Hoppen, K. Theodore. "W. G. Ward and Liberal Catholicism." Journal of Ecclesiastical History, October, pp. 323-44. Ward was the most prominent English ultramontane intellectual of his day.

SCIENCE. Bibby, Cyril. Scientist Extraordinary: The Life and Scientific Work of Thomas Henry Huxley 1825-1895. Pergamon. Rev. TLS, 3 November, pp. 1301-1302.

Williams, L. Pearce. The Selected Correspondence of Michael Faraday. Cambridge. Rev. TLS, 3 November, pp. 1301-1302.

- SOCIAL. Arnstein, Walter. "A German View of English Society: 1851." Victorian Studies, December, pp. 183-203. Translation of one section of a travel guide to London published in 1851 by J. J. Weber.
 - Goldstrom, J. M. The Social Content of Education 1808-1870. Irish University Press. Rev. TLS, 3 January, p. 19.
 - Greenhill, Basil, and Ann Giffard. Travelling by Sea in the Nineteenth Century. Includes 78 plates. Rev. TLS, 15 December, p. 1541.
 - Metcalf, Priscilla. Victorian London. Cassell. Rev. TLS, 1 December, p. 1453.
 - Pearson, Michael. The Age of Consent. David and Charles. Victorian prostitution and its enemies. Rev. TLS, 3 November, p. 1346.
 - Spiller, Brian. Victorian Public Houses. David and Charles. Rev. TLS, 5 January, p. 22.

II

INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

- AINSWORTH. Ligocki, Llewellyn. "Ainsworth's Tudor Novels: History as Theme." Studies in the Novel, Fall, pp. 364-77. Ainsworth's novels are an implicit rejection of the nineteenth-century belief in progress and in the perfectibility of man.
- ARNOLD. DeLaura, David J. "Coleridge, Hamlet and Arnold's Empedocles." Papers on Language and Literature, Fall 1972 Supplement, pp. 17-25. Coleridge's portrait of Hamlet provided essential elements for the elaborate self-analysis indulged in by Empedocles.
 - Forbes, George. "Arnold's 'Oracles.'" Essays in Criticism, January, pp. 41-56. These poems are interesting evidence of Arnold's struggle to "see his way."
 - Kau, Joseph. "In Utrumque Paratus': Impresa of the Stoic." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 181-84. The allusive nature of the title-epigraph implies that a practical, eclectic solution is possible for the dilemma posed by the alternatives of the poem.
 - McGurk, E. Barry. "Gentlefolk in Philistia: The Influence of Matthew Arnold on E. M. Forster's Howards End." English Literature in Transition, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 213-19. Arnold's "imaginative reason" is the principal characteristic of Forster's "inner life."
 - Mermin, Dorothy M. "The Two Worlds in Arnold's 'The Strayed Reveller.'" Studies in English Literature, Autumn, pp. 735-43. The poet-hero chooses the world of "natural magic" because he thinks human life futile.
 - Super, R. H. Essays Religious and Mixed. Michigan. Vol. VIII of the Michigan edition. Rev. TLS, 25 August, p. 988.
- BAGEHOT. Sisson, C. H. The Case of Walter Bagehot. Faber and Faber. Rev. TLS, 18 August, p. 959.
- BRONTES. Benvenuto, Richard. "The Child of Nature, the Child of Grace, and the Unresolved Conflict of Jane Eyre." ELH, December, pp. 620-38. Jane is divided between two concepts of salvation.
 - Eagleton, Terry. "Class, Power and Charlotte Brontë." Critical Quarterly, Autumn, pp. 225-35. Charlotte Brontë's novels attempt to occupy the compromising middle-ground between reverence and rebellion.
 - Lavers, Norman. "The Action of Wuthering Heights."

- South Atlantic Quarterly, Winter 1973, pp. 43-52. The governing action of the novel is the restoring to power of the Earnshaw family.
- Madden, William A. "Wuthering Heights: The Binding of Passion." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, September, pp. 127-54. The significance of Lockwood's first dream.
- BROWNING. Bullen, J. B. "Browning's 'Pictor Ignotus' and Vasari's 'Life of Fra Bartolommeo Di San Marco.'" Review of English Studies, August, pp. 313-19. Fra Bartolommeo was the model for Pictor Ignotus.
 - Gridley, Roye E. *Browning*. Routledge and Kegan Paul. Rev. *TLS*, 24 November, p. 1420.
 - Hancher, Michael. "The Dramatic Situation in Browning's 'Pauline.'" Yearbook of English Studies, Vol. I, 1971, pp. 149-59. The dramatic nature of the poem.
 - Korg, Jacob. "The Music of Lost Dynasties: Browning, Pound and History." *ELH*, September, pp. 420-40. Pound was indebted to Browning's example for the dominant mode of the *Cantos*, the fusion of poetry and history.
 - Shaffer, Elinor. "Browning's St. John: The Casuistry of the Higher Criticism." *Victorian Studies*, December, pp. 205-21. The higher criticism influenced Browning's own methods as a poet.
 - Yetman, Michael G. "'Count Guido Franceschini': The Villain as Artist in *The Ring and the Book." PMLA*, October, pp. 1098-1102. Browning uses Guido's second monologue as an implicit repudiation of what he considers to be the specious theory of art that Guido relies on in Book V.
- CARROLL. Henkle, Roger B. "The Mad Hatter's World." Virginia Quarterly Review, Winter 1973, pp. 99-117. Within the Alice books are explorations of an adult life that venture as far as Carroll could risk going toward freedom from the responsibilities and self-limitations of modern society.
 - Kincaid, James R. "Alice's Invasion of Wonderland." *PMLA*, January, pp. 92-99. Tonal ambivalence makes the Alice books complex.
 - Phillips, Robert. Aspects of Alice. Gollancz. Criticism 1865-1971. Rev. TLS, 15 December, p. 1525.
- MARY COWDEN CLARKE. Gross, George C. "Mary Cowden Clarke, 'The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines,' and the Sex Education of Victorian Women." Victorian Studies, September, pp. 37-58. Popular writer, Shakespearean scholar and critic for the masses, and a teacher of her vast audience on the subject of Victorian womanhood.
- CLOUGH. "Arthur Hugh Clough: Victorian Poetry and the Suspense of Judgment." TLS, 12 January, pp. 43-44. Review-article.
 - Castan, Constantine. "The Marriage of Epithalamium and Elegy in a Poem of Clough." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 145-60. Clough blends the contraries of epithalamium and elegy in "Epithalamium."
- DICKENS. Adamowski, Thomas H. "Dombey and Son and Sutphen and Son." *Studies in the Novel*, Fall, pp. 378-89. Similarities between the two novels, especially in their hostility toward extreme individualism.
 - Carolan, Katherine. "Dickens' Last Christmases." Dalhousie Review, Autumn, pp. 373-83. The symbolic value of Christmas grew in complexity as Dickens' attitude toward the world grew in complexity.

- Fleissner, R. F. "Charles Dickens and His China: The Architecture of *Bleak House*." *Tamkang Review* (Taiwan), Vol. III, No. 2 (October 1972), pp. 159-70. The importance of the house *figura* to uncovering the mysteries of *Bleak House*.
- Grundy, Dominick. "Growing up Dickensian." Literature and Psychology, Vol. XXII, No. 2, pp. 99-105. The pervasive theme of the abandonment of the child in Dickens' novels.
- Millhauser, Milton. "David Copperfield: Some Shifts of Plan." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, December, pp. 339-45. The novel shows that Dickens knew where he was going and that he advanced deliberately toward a total effect.
- "The Mystery and Its Manuscript." TLS, 11 August, p. 946. Review-article concerning editions of Dickens.
- Robison, Roselee. "Time, Death and the River in Dickens' Novels." English Studies, October, pp. 436-54. Dickens used images of river and sea to illustrate a central Christian paradox, rebirth through death.
- Steig, Michael. "The Critic and the Illustrated Novel: Mr. Turveydrop from Gillroy to *Bleak House*." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, November, pp. 55-67. The complementarity of Dickens' and Browne's artistic visions.
- Steig, Michael, and F. A. C. Wilson. "Hortense Versus Bucket: The Ambiguity of Order in *Bleak House.*" *Modern Language Quarterly*, September, pp. 289-98. Hortense and Bucket, images of anarchy policed by order.
- DISRAELI. Colley, L., and J. Vincent. "Disraeli in 1851: 'Young Stanley' as Boswell." *Historical Studies*, October, pp. 447-54. Stanley's sketch at many points runs parallel to other assessments of Disraeli.
- ELIOT. Baker, William. "George Eliot's Readings in Nineteenth-Century Jewish Historians: A Note on the Background of 'Daniel Deronda.'" Victorian Studies, June 1972, pp. 463-73. Eliot transformed her reading of eight nineteenth-century Jewish historians into fictional form.
 - Edwards, Michael. "A Reading of Adam Bede." Critical Quarterly, Autumn, pp. 205-18. Dinah is the deepest embodiment of the novel's sense of life.
 - Evans, C. F. H., and A. C. Wood. "George Eliot's Maternal Ancestry." *Notes and Queries*, November, pp. 409-16. Complete pedigree.
 - Higdon, David Leon. "Eliot's *Daniel Deronda*, Chapter 36." *Explicator*, November, No. 15. George Eliot structured the main plot line of her novel with Jason, Medea, and Creüsa in mind.
 - ——. "The Iconographic Backgrounds of Adam Bede, Chapter 15." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, September, pp. 155-70. The close connection between George Eliot's imagery and the didactic Protestant emblem books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
 - Hornback, Bert G. "The Moral Imagination of George Eliot." Papers on Language and Literature, Fall, pp. 380-94. The Importance of "feeling" as it informs Middlemarch.
 - Martin, Bruce K. "Rescue and Marriage in Adam Bede." Studies in English Literature, Autumn, pp. 745-63. The importance to the novel of two crucial incidents: Donnithorne's rescue of Hetty and Adam's marriage to Dinah Morris.

- Scott, James F. "George Eliot, Positivism, and the Social Vision of 'Middlemarch.'" Victorian Studies, September, pp. 59-76. Eliot's complex attitude toward Positivism figures importantly in the structure and character analysis of Middlemarch.
- Swann, Brian. "George Eliot and the Play: Symbol and Metaphor of the Drama in *Daniel Deronda*." *Dalhousie Review*, Summer 1972, pp. 191-202. The "theatre" is a binding metaphor and symbol in the novel.
- W. S. GILBERT. Jones, John Bush. "Gilbert and His Ballads: Problems in the Bibliography and Attribution of Victorian Comic Journalism." Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. XXV, pp. 217-25. A study of Gilbert's journalistic verse may be seen as part of larger weaknesses in the overall approach to the subject.
- GASKELL. Butler, Marilyn. "The Uniqueness of Cynthia Kirkpatrick: Elizabeth Gaskell's Wives and Daughters and Maria Edgeworth's Helen." Review of English Studies, August, pp. 278-90. Cynthia is a more fascinating figure than Maria Edgeworth's Cecilia.
- HAGGARD. Hinz, Evelyn J. "Rider Haggard's She: An Archetypal 'History of Adventure.'" Studies in the Novel, Fall, pp. 416-31. Haggard's use of the past to evaluate the present makes it a work deserving of serious critical attention.
- HARDY. Davie, Donald, ed. Agenda: Thomas Hardy Special Issue. Vol. X, Nos. 2-3, Spring-Summer 1972. Symposium.
 - Giordano, Frank R., Jr. "Thomas Hardy on Lenz's Napoleon: A New Letter." English Language Notes, December, pp. 122-23. Dated September 2, 1907, the letter is characteristically forthright, sales-conscious, and modest.
 - Giordano, Frank R., Jr., and Jack A. Robinson. "Thomas Hardy and Owen Haydn: A New Letter." *Notes and Queries*, September, pp. 330-31. To Herman Lea, praising Haydn's poetry.
 - Halliday, F. E. *Thomas Hardy*. Adams and Dart. Biography. Rev. *TLS*, 6 October, p. 1193.
 - Kay-Robinson, Denys. Hardy's Wessex Reappraised. David and Charles. Rev. TLS, 13 October, p. 1237.
 - Schweik, R. C. "A First Draft Chapter of Hardy's Far From the Madding Crowd." English Studies, August, pp. 344-49. The evidence of this draft in some ways enhances Hardy's image as a conscious artist.
 - Stevens Cox, J. and G., eds. The Thomas Hardy Yearbook 1972-1973. Toucan. Rev. TLS, 1 December, p. 1469.
 - Wright, Terence. "Rhetorical and Lyrical Imagery in Tess of the D'Urbervilles." Durham University Journal, December, pp. 79-85. Similarity and difference between Hardy's novel and some of James's work.
- HOPKINS. Bischoff, Anthony, S.J. "Hopkin's Letters to His Brother." TLS, 8 December, pp. 1511-12. Previously unprinted letters to Everard Hopkins.
 - Eagleton, Terry. "Nature and the Fall in Hopkins: A Reading of 'God's Grandeur.'" Essays in Criticism, January, pp. 68-75. Hopkins' ambivalence toward Nature as both sacremental and radically vitiated.
 - Sutherland, John. "'Tom's Garland': Hopkins' Political Poem." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 111-21 The poem depends on a complex allusiveness, especially to Shakespeare's Coriolanus.

- RICHARD HOLT HUTTON. Tener, Robert H. "The Writing of Richard Holt Hutton: A Check-List of Identifications." Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, September, entire issue.
- KINGSLEY. Rowse, A. L. "Kingsley at Eversley." Contemporary Review, December, pp. 322-26. Biographical.
- MACAULEY. Brumbaugh, Thomas B. "Macaulay and Niebuhr." *Notes and Queries*, November, p. 408. Unpublished letter to Niebuhr dated February 25, 1846.
- MEREDITH. Korg, Jacob. "Expressive Styles in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel.*" Nineteenth-Century Fiction, December, pp. 253-67. The significance of the novel's variety of artificial rhetorics.
 - Ogino, Masatoshi. "The Allegorical Pattern in *The Ordeal* of Richard Feveral." Studies in English Literature (Japan), English Number 1972, pp. 79-95. The novel is an allegory, the theme of which is the Fall of Man.
 - Reader, Willie D. "The Autobiographical Author as Fictional Character: Point of View in Meredith's Modern Love." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 131-43. The poem is unified by a series of transitions wherein the omniscient narrator of the first and last few stanzas is identified with the husband-narrator of the middle stanzas.
- NEWMAN. Brendon, Piers. "Newman, Keble, and Froude's Remains." English Historical Review, October, pp. 697-716. The Oxford Movement was jolted by Froude's Remains in the direction in which Newman and Keble wanted it to go.
 - Dale, P. A. "Newman's 'The Idea of a University': The Dangers of a University Education." *Victorian Studies*, September, pp. 5-36. The *Idea* is a defense of religious exclusiveness and Church control of university education.
- PATER. Bizot, Richard. "Pater's 'The Child in the House' in Perspective." *Papers on Language and Literature*, Fall 1972 Supplement, pp. 79-95. The autobiographical implications of this imaginary portrait.
 - Lyons, Richard S. "The 'Complex, Many-Sided' Unity of The Renaissance." Studies in English Literature, Autumn, pp. 765-81. The Renaissance is a work of aesthetics, based on a concept of culture and animated by a moral idea.
- ROSSETTIS. Adlard, John. "Christina Rossetti: Strategies of Loneliness." *Contemporary Review*, September, pp. 146-50. *Goblin Market* is a desperately serious poem.
 - Fraser, Robert S. Essays on the Rossettis. Princeton University Library. Rev. TLS, p. 1404.
 - Fredeman, William E. "Impediments and Motives: Biography as Unfair Sport." *Modern Philology*, November, pp. 149-54. Review-article.
 - Nelson, James G. "The Rejected Harlot: A Reading of Rossetti's "A Last Confession' and 'Jenny.'" Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 123-29. These poems suggest that Rossetti was not immune to the Hebraic-Hellenic conflict.
- RUSKIN. Landow, George P. "Another Ruskin Letter." Notes and Queries, November, p. 420. Dated January 12, 1864.

 ——. "John Ruskin and W. J. Linton: A New Letter." English Language Notes, September, pp. 38-41. To Linton, concerning Ruskin's positive feelings toward Brantwood, which he purchased from the expatriate woodengraver.

- Lutyens, Mary. *The Rushins and the Grays*. John Murray. Rev. *TLS*, 10 November, p. 1354.
- Mahl, Mary R. "A Letter from John Ruskin to Jean Ingelow." *Notes and Queries*, November, pp. 420-21. Written shortly before September 16, 1879.
- Maidment, B. E. "A New Ruskin Letter." Notes and Queries, November, pp. 419-20. Dated March 13, 1867.
- Walton, Paul H. The Drawings of John Ruskin. Oxford. Includes 103 plates. Rev. TLS, 10 November, pp. 1353-54.
- SWINBURNE. LeBourgeois, John Y. "Swinburne, Lord Lytton, and John Forster." Notes and Queries, November, pp. 417-19. The correspondence between Lytton and Forster contain a series of notes concerning Swinburne, which offer a supplement to The Swinburne Letters.
 - Meyers, Terry L. "Swinburne's Later Opinion of Arnold." English Language Notes, December, pp. 118-22. Swinburne continued to recognize the merit of Arnold's best poetry.
 - Peattie, Roger W. "Swinburne and His Publishers." *Huntington Library Quarterly*, November, pp. 45-54. Some letters of William Michael Rossetti shed some light on this relationship.
 - Wilson, F. A. C. "Indian and Mithraic Influences on Swinburne's Pantheism: 'Hertha' and 'A Nympholept.'" *Papers on Language and Literature*, Fall 1972 Supplement, pp. 57-66. The importance of Swinburne's Indian studies.
- TENNYSON. Boyd, John D. "In Memoriam and the 'Logic of Feeling." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 95-110. Distinguishing between logic proper and the logic of feeling helps the reader to appreciate Tennyson's strategy for resolving the poem's central philosophical problem.
 - Mason, Michael Y. "In Memoriam: The Dramatization of Sorrow." Victorian Poetry, Summer 1972, pp. 161-77. The lyrics are the diary-like record of an imagined character's grief.
 - Ricks, Christopher. *Tennyson*. Macmillan. Rev. *TLS*, 25 August, p. 988.
 - Ross, Malcom. "Time, the Timeless, and the Timely: Notes on a Victorian Poem." Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Series IV, Vol. IX, 1971. In Memoriam gives significant unity and purpose to conflicting patterns of cosmic and historical time.
 - Rutenberg, Daniel. "Crisscrossing the Bar: Tennyson and Lionel Johnson on Death." *Victorian Poetry*, Summer 1972, pp. 179-80. Differences between "Crossing the Bar" and "In Falmouth Harbour."
 - Shaw, W. David. "Imagination and Intellect in Tennyson's 'Lucretius.'" Modern Language Quarterly, June 1972, pp. 130-39. The speaker makes a brilliant but unsuccessful attempt to hold fact and values in unison.
- THACKERY. Hegan, John. "'Bankruptcy of His Heart': The Unfulfilled Life of Henry Esmond." Nineteenth-Century Fiction, December, pp. 293-316. The vision of Esmond's fate presented in The Virginians is pictured subtlely and obliquely in Henry Esmond.
 - Hardy, Barbara. The Exposure of Luxury: Radical Themes in Thackeray. Peter Owen. Rev. TLS, 6 October, p. 1198.
 - Moler, Kenneth L. "Evelina in Vanity Fair: Becky Sharp and Her Patrician Heroes." Nineteenth-Century Fiction,

- September, pp. 171-81. Becky is an anti-Evelina and she is surrounded by a host of anti-Orvilles.
- Sundell, M. G. "Thackeray Criticism: Its Fortune and Misfortunes." Studies in the Novel, Fall, pp. 513-21. Reviewessay.
- Sutherland, John. "Thackeray's 'Before the Curtain."

 Notes and Queries, November, pp. 408-409. Suggests a source in Alfred Bunn, the theatrical manager.
- TROLLOPE. Hall, N. John. "Anthony Trollope: Honest and True." Notes and Queries, November, pp. 416-17. Trollope's use of certain pet lines of poetry in his work.
 - Harvey, G. M. "Heroes in Barsetshire." *Dalhousie Review*, Autumn, pp. 458-68. In *The Last Chronicle*, Trollope was charting the narrowing possibilities for moral heroism in the modern world.
- WILDE. Lawler, Donald L. "Oscar Wilde's First Manuscript of The Picture of Dorian Gray." Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, Vol. XXV, pp. 125-35. The Morgan Library holograph is not the original manuscript.

PROJECTS—REQUESTS FOR AID

- CHARLES JEREMIAH WELLS. For a variorum edition of *Joseph and his Brethren*, Priscilla Johnston would like to locate proof sheets for the 1876 edition and the 1876 bound edition, presentation copy to R. H. Horne. 108 Waterman Street, Providence, R.I. 02906.
- MRS. HUMPHREY WARD. R. I. Aldrich is seeking the whereabouts of any unpublished correspondence, MSS, etc. *TLS*, 19 January, p. 72.
- OSCAR WILDE. Myrna J. Lundquist is searching for manuscripts and typescripts, particularly in private collections. 3923 N. 15th, Tacoma, Wa. 98406.
- "SPY" (Sir Leslie Ward). Roy T. Matthews is working on a life and seeks assistance. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.
- WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. R. W. Peattie wants to locate letters to Morris Colles sold at Sotheby's in 1963. TLS, 19 January, p. 72.

Staten Island Community College City University of New York

English X News

Committee News

Officers for 1973 are Michael Timko, Chairman; G. B. Tennyson, Secretary. Thomas Collins and Donald Gray were elected to the Executive Committee (1973-1975).

Ruth apRoberts, Chairperson of the 1973 program, announces that the papers to serve as the basis of the panel discussion on "Sexuality in Victorian Literature" have been selected and will be available for publication in the fall issue of *VNL* in advance of the meeting. For the 1974 program, the topic is to be Fiction, with the understanding that the term bear the implications of "experimental" as well as "orthodox."

Correspondence

Nadean Bishop announces the publication this spring of the initial issue, free on request, of the *Arnold Newsletter*. To appear thrice annually, *AN* will include reports on research in progress including dissertations, surveys of Arnold holdings in major libraries, and brief seminal papers about Matthew Arnold and members of his family. Subscriptions at \$3 for one year, \$5 for two years, may be ordered from Professor Bishop, Department of English, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan 48197.

Jane Millgate (Victoria College) writes that the departments of English and History at York University and the University of Toronto cooperate in offering a one-year M.A. in the interdisciplinary study of Victorian Britain and Its Empire. Details may be obtained from the Coordinator of the Victorian Studies Option at F303 University College, University of Toronto, Toronto 5, or at 125 Atkinson College, York University, Downsview, Ontario.

Back issues of VNL, at a cost of \$1.50 per copy, are available in limited quantities for the following numbers: 8, 20, 23, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, and 42.