

1996

Of barques and rocks : courtship and marriage in Trollope's Palliser novels

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.6jpu-9g3r>
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OF BARQUES AND ROCKS:
COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN
TROLLOPE'S PALLISER NOVELS

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of English
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by Julie Constance Stone

December, 1996

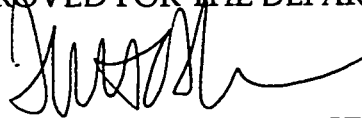
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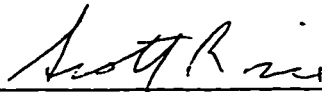
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ABSTRACT

OF BARQUES AND ROCKS: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN TROLLOPE'S PALLISER NOVELS

By Julie Constance Stone

Trollope's position regarding "The Woman Question" is still unclear to many critics; his public statements and the portraits of his female characters are often at odds with one another. Is he a feminist, or does he adhere to the traditional Victorian's position on this issue? One answer to this question may be formulated by looking at Trollope's depiction of courtship and marriage in the six novels which make up the Palliser series.

Over the course of these novels, Trollope creates a new vision of the ideal young woman: she is self-sufficient and knows what she desires from life. His vision of a successful marriage comes to resemble that of his contemporary John Stuart Mill. Trollope, like his creation the Duke of Omnium, is able to separate his personal opinions regarding "The Woman Question" from his role as a chronicler of the "real" world.

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I. Is He or Isn't He?

Unlike many of his contemporaries who chose to place their novels in the not-so-distant-past, Anthony Trollope's Palliser novels are set in "real" time. His characters live and work in contemporary Victorian society, and this choice of time period ensures that Trollope's characters must deal with the issues and politics of his day. Anthony Trollope himself states that realism in his fiction has always been a major goal, and writes in his autobiography that he has "always desired to 'hew out some lump of the earth,' and to make men and women walk upon it just as they do walk here among us,—with not more of excellence, nor with exaggerated baseness,—so that my readers might recognize human beings like themselves" (123). He feels that his novels are seeds which sow the ideals of his time, "that honesty is the best policy; that truth prevails" (123). Trollope thought of himself as a source of enlightenment for his readers, and it is through the reality of his characters and their obvious similarity to the common man that he achieves this goal.¹

In order to create a realistic portrait of life, many of Trollope's novels follow the "ordinary" lives of his characters, with a number of these plots following the lives of women as they move from childhood through courtship and marriage to widowhood. Often this movement reflects that of

¹Michael Sadlier states that "[t]he art of Trollope, therefore, has two predominant qualities: power of characterisation and power of dramatisation of the undramatic. Within the limits of these rare capacities he designed and peopled a second England, virtually a replica of the London and counties of his day" (370).

a master craftsman moving through his apprenticeship and journeyman periods before achieving a final place in his profession.² Trollope creates numerous memorable women who are caught by all the contradictions of their era; they desire to be useful and have some meaningful purpose or work for their lives, yet Victorian society has no practical or acceptable outlet for these feelings beyond marriage.³ So, they must navigate through the treacherous waters of Victorian society in order to find their accepted place within it.

Traditionally, the woman's role in Victorian society was that of the keeper of the private sphere of life, the home. The quiet modest young woman is extolled by Coventry Patmore in his poem "The Angel in the House." It is also the ideal in many works of Victorian fiction. Charles Dickens' Agnes Wickfield is just one example of a modest, uncomplaining heroine who finally comes into her rightful place as the happy wife and

²Some critics have likened Trollope's "domestic novels" with the tradition of the apprenticeship novel, and state that "By the mid-1860s and later, Trollope is much more likely to treat courtship as an apprenticeship to the difficult career of marriage . . . The choices during courtship and the marital conflicts that follow are invested with significance and intensity in these novels because Trollope views marriage for a woman as a choice involving status, security, autonomy, and power—her very identity" (Barickman, et al. 206).

³Rajiva Wijesinha feels that Trollope was interested in "the personal aspect of the problem [the role and status of women], as seen in terms of actual contemporary facts. Thus marriage is not for him either artificially induced and therefore necessarily bad, or good by virtue of being automatically romantic without any feminine initiative whatsoever; it is, in Trollope's world, almost a basic necessity in terms of social prestige and independence of action, and he is therefore prepared to show that his female characters, good, bad, or indifferent, are concerned about it, are anxious to balance social and personal desires and obligations, are in effect interested individuals, rather than vehicles for extraneous concerns, moral or masculine" (186).

mother. Even the education of a young woman at the time was geared towards her assumption of a place as a wife and mother. Elizabeth Sewell, the English writer and school mistress, stated in 1866 that:

The aim of education is to fit children for the position in life which they are hereafter to occupy. Boys are to be sent out into the world to buffet with its temptations, to mingle with bad and good, to govern and direct. The school is the type of the life they are hereafter to lead. Girls are to dwell in quiet homes, amongst a few friends; to exercise a noiseless influence, to be submissive and retiring. There is no connection between the bustling mill-wheel life of a large school and that for which they are supposed to be preparing . . . (Hellerstein, et al. 69)

These basic Victorian assumptions regarding feminine models of behavior seem to be the base upon which Trollope builds many of his female characters, yet his realistic portraits of these very same women undermine many of these traditional Victorian values.

Trollope states, in his address "Higher Education of Women," that he does not believe in any grand effort to alter abruptly women's "traditional" place in society; "We cannot alter our natures. At any rate we cannot alter them suddenly" (70). He does not argue for the assimilation of men and women, but rather for a better use of the education that women do receive, which he feels has been slowly but surely improving. "But the fault is, I think, that with women education stops short at a certain very early period of life, and that after that the mind and the intelligence become lost in the liberty which is allowed to them" (72). He acknowledges women's "quicker appreciation and more sparkling intelligence," yet he cannot support them in their quest to work outside the home:

When I hear . . . a woman . . . anxious to press forward with her whole heart into the arena of the world's work, and thus to

shake off a dependence which she feels,—but I think wrongly feels,—to be more abject than that of men, I am inclined to admire her while I oppose her. But I always must oppose her, I do know,—I think I know that she is kicking against the pricks. (73)

The reality of this vision is often worked into Trollope's novels. He feels that men must earn the bread and that women must guard and distribute it, and that God has designed them for these specific functions. Trollope states that the competition which will arise from everyone having the same education is not healthy, and insists on keeping the education issue distinct from the other issues surrounding the "Woman Question." He again stresses that "It is the use which you make of the education which has been given to you rather than the education itself which is in fault" (78). He encourages young women to put their time to good use and avoid the trap of reading novels all day, and states that they need a daily resolve to do the best "with ourselves within our power" (86).

It is his statements such as these that have led to the great debate on Trollope's true feelings about the "Woman Question." Literary critics can be found in every corner on this argument. Charles Blinderman believes that Trollope "played a commanding role in reinforcing prevailing stereotypes [of his time]" (55). David Aitken believes that Trollope unthinkingly subscribes to the notions of his day surrounding the role of women in society, and states:

. . . woman is compelled by her very nature to occupy the roles allotted her by mid-Victorian convention. She is not merely constrained, that is, but born to marry and make a man the center of her life and to serve as protectress of those essential "materials . . . of . . . Christendom," as Charles Kingsley calls them in his preface to *Hypatia*, "sacred respect for women" and "for family life." (418)

Yet, there are many critics on the other side of this argument who acknowledge Trollope's public statements regarding the role of women, but who cannot fully reconcile these beliefs with the female characters he creates in his novels. Patricia Thomson, in her work The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal, states that:

. . . despite Trollope's determined anti-feminism, his own ideal of marriage, if it does not include equality, is found, on examination, not to fall far short of Mill's other demands of 'community of interests and likeness of intellects'. It is true that he granted his heroines far more freedom in their virgin state than under the marriage yoke. But, practically without exception, they take with them into marriage intelligence, self-sufficiency and a certain proud consciousness of their own value which makes them reluctant to demand that which should be theirs by right. (111)

Rajiva Wijesinha also feels that Trollope, unlike Dickens, Thackeray and Kingsley, "presents a more realistic as well as a more sympathetic portrayal of the woman of the day" (21).

It is this contrast between his professed public statements and his accurate and realistic portrayal of the women who populate his novels which creates the question of his true stand on women's rights. By exploring his realistic portrayal of the women of his era in the Palliser novels, the reader is given a view of the essential dilemma of a woman's life from several angles. His narratives create a realistic picture of the options open to the women of his day, as he works from the basic premise that women's only respectable choice of profession is that of marriage. Yet his women understand and act upon all of the political, social and economic factors which surround the institution of marriage as they make their "career" choice. His narration lays out all of the options and emotions surrounding the events of marriage, and

enables his readers to make their own decisions regarding his characters' choices. Through this realistic portrait, the reader has a much richer understanding of the options open to women during the Victorian era. The need to marry a man who can support her is a much bleaker reality than Trollope's statement in "Higher Education of Women" that it is her right to spend and distribute the money a man earns. Trollope's works create a much more realistic image of the work required to "catch" a husband—work which the Victorians would never openly admit exists. Trollope's women must make very careful choices as they steer their "barks" through the waters of life, and each action must be carefully weighed from all sides before it is taken. Many of the "careers" of the female characters mirror those of their male counterparts'; however, Trollope's realistic portrayal of their lives points to the limited scope of their world.

Taken as a whole, the Palliser novels are an illustration of Trollope's growing understanding of the true position women occupy in Victorian society. The novels themselves were published over a span of sixteen years, with Can You Forgive Her? first appearing in serial form in January of 1864 and The Duke's Children completing serialization in July of 1880. Trollope's use of similar themes, situations and plot devices throughout the novels enables him to explore and develop his own perceptions on the plight of women in the Victorian era. Over the years, Trollope's young women, even his young and not so young widows, are placed in similar dilemmas as they move through life. They are faced with the difficult task of choosing a husband. While some choose love over money and power, others choose the money and power over love and must face the consequences of their

decisions, while others are doomed to failure on all counts. As these varying themes work their way through the six novels of the series, the way they change and develop through the years is one way to trace Trollope's picture of Victorian life. Madame Max Goesler and Lady Eustace, while sharing similar material elements, are two very distinct individuals. Similarly, Lady Glencora Palliser and Lady Mabel Grex, both of whom share an early love for a penniless gentleman, have very different fates. It is these similarities played off against the differences which form a commentary on the lives of Victorian women as they move through courtship and marriage in the world of Trollope's Palliser novels.

II. Courtships and Shipwrecks

In the Palliser novels, Trollope follows the lives of several young women as they navigate the waters of courtship and marriage. For many of these women, the process of courtship and marriage often mirrors that of their male counterparts as they choose and learn the skills essential to their careers.⁴ Like their male contemporaries, young women are sent out into the world, often under the guidance of an older and wiser woman, to learn and apply the rules of courtship in order to master this stage of their "career" and find an appropriate husband. For most young women of the Victorian era, the success or failure of their lives was measured by how well they passed through these courtship years and into "adulthood."

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the ideal of romantic love replaced the formal arranged marriages of the past, and the selection of the "proper" husband became an all-important decision. As young women began to make their own decisions about marriage, they had to learn to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of a potential spouse, while trying to fulfill the ideal of romantic love. As Stéphanie Jullien, a young eighteenth-century Parisian, faces this difficult decision, she consults both her father and her brothers, and writes:

⁴Phillip Collins sees courtship as a business concern in Trollope's novels, and states that "Courtship is of course the main 'business' conducted in his novels, as traditionally it has provided the main plot of most fiction, but in Trollope an unusually high proportion of the young people (and not so young ones) moderate the romantic, or replace it, by the businesslike approach" (301).

To decide my fate once and for all, my whole destiny? I don't dare do it. I recoil, I tremble. And then, two years. Two years! It's a long time when one is afraid, and anxious and suffering and hoping and despairing. Two years when the end of it is happiness or unhappiness, life or death. (qtd. in Hellerstein, et. al 145)

Jullien understands the magnitude of her decision; her marriage will decide her entire future life, and she must be very careful in her choice. Later in her letters, she debates the value of fortune against love, and believes that it is only through love that she will be able to make marriage work:

I am, you say, cold and not very hospitable. How else could I be with someone that I do not love, that I would marry for reason's sake, in order to give myself *a lot in life*, who would be imposed on me by a kind of necessity? How could I be sufficient to his happiness? How could I hold onto him, if I do not love him and desire him? (148)

Jullien accepts the importance of romantic love, yet she understands the reality of her times; she must choose a man with an income that she can willingly spend the rest of her life with. Like Jullien, many of Trollope's heroines struggle with this dilemma, and try to make the best of a difficult situation.⁵

A. The Ideal

As the ideal for marriage moved towards a vision of romantic love, the vision of the pure unsullied maiden without the thought of a man became a central aspect of this vision. Jane Austin satirizes the belief that a young woman can only have one great love in her life in her characterization of Marianne

⁵This is particularly clear in Trollope's novel, *Ayala's Angel*, as the main character sifts through her numerous suitors in her search for the embodiment of her "Angel of Light."

Dashwood in Sense and Sensibility.⁶ Marianne's poor early choice in love is nearly her undoing, as she ruins her health and nearly loses her youthful bloom pining away for a man unworthy of her affection. For Trollope's Duke of Omnium, the vision of a young lady's first love is very close to Marianne Dashwood's ideal. The Duke himself feels that a man deserves to have his wife come to him in the sweetness of first love without the shadow of a past romance. The Duke did not have the luxury of this ideal in his own marriage, and he had hoped his that daughter, Lady Mary, would not follow in her mother's footsteps and waste the first bloom of her love on an unworthy young man.

After the Duke discovers his daughter's love for Frank Treagear and encounters her "obstinacy" (she refuses to give him up), he is sorely tempted to take her off to the far corners of the earth to stamp out this unfortunate love, but realizes that "when this foolish passion of hers should have been thus stamped out, [she] could never be the pure, the bright, the unsullied, unsoiled thing, of the possession of which he had thought so much" (The Duke's Children 54).⁷ For the Duke, Lady Mary is merely a delicate and beautiful possession to be handed off to the right gentleman to treasure, and it is her duty to remain in this condition until she is married. The Duke, not unlike Miss Dashwood, must alter his ideal, or give into his daughter's wishes. He is not prepared for the "ugliness" of the process of finding his daughter the proper husband and of

⁶Trollope himself placed Austen among the "six great English novelists" of all time, and thought of Pride and Prejudice as one of the best novels in the English language (An Autobiography 35 & 186).

⁷George Butte believes that the Duchess encouraged this love before her death because she "saw Burgo in Treager, but also understood the difference between them" ("Ambivalence and Affirmation" 711).

curing her of her love for Treagear. The Duke's ideas are representative of the idealized vision of Victorian courtship; the woman is to be sheltered from the world so the gallant knight can rescue her from her tower, and not meant to go out into society in search of a husband:

Was he to send his girl into the world in order that she might find a lover? There was something in the idea which was thoroughly distasteful to him. He had not given his mind much to the matter, but he felt that a woman should be sought for,—sought for and extracted, cunningly, as it were, from some hiding-place, and not sent out into a market to be exposed as for sale. (The Duke's Children 89)

It is the maintenance of this façade of innocence which so many of Trollope's older characters desire for their charges. In Phineas Finn and in The Duke's Children, Lady Baldock, Violet Effingham's guardian, and the Duke of Omnium fail to see the complexity of "modern" courtship, and are unable to reconcile their vision of romantic love with, what is for them, the necessity of marrying a suitable young man. They still feel that love will eventually grow between partners. Unfortunately, money and love are not always a compatible mix in this vision of marriage, and most of Trollope's young, unmarried women must learn the rules which govern courtship with great care and skill in order to perpetuate and achieve this idealized vision of marriage, all the while making their efforts seem invisible.⁸

The language Trollope uses to describe courtship highlights the precarious nature of this process. Throughout the series, the young women's course through life is described a number of ways. For some, it is the journey of a boat

⁸Robert Polhemus feels that "[t]ension between the love ideal and the real love behavior of people shaped his fiction as it shaped nineteenth-century life and as it in curious ways still shapes twentieth-century life" (Changing Ideal 91).

through treacherous waters, and for others, it is a game with a variety of complex and difficult moves. Lady Laura Standish's progress through the world is often discussed as that of a ship or a "barque." As she questions her actions regarding Phineas Finn and her subsequent marriage to George Kennedy, she asks herself "could not she have felt the slightest shock of a passing tenderness for a handsome youth without allowing the feeling to be a rock before her big enough and sharp enough for the destruction of her entire barque?" (Phineas Finn II.11). Later when Mr. Finn visits her in Dresden, she describes her marriage as a "shipwreck" (Phineas Redux 30). By this time, she has learned and finally accepted that her position in life and her reputation are as fragile as a ship's progress through rocky waters, and understands that each decision she makes affects her ability to avoid the rocks society places before her.

For other women in Trollope's world, their process towards marriage is a game to be played with great skill and care. Both Madame Max Goesler and Lady Mabel Grex acknowledge to themselves that they are playing a game for very high stakes as they search for their place in the world. Madame Max realizes that in order to succeed in the realm of life that she has chosen, she must be very careful in what she does. The narrator says of her that "she played her game with great skill and great caution," and that it is because of the calculated moves she makes that she has been accepted thus far (Phineas Finn II.170). Lady Mabel must marry in order to maintain her place in society, and she herself realizes that her courtship with Lord Silverbridge has been one that she has controlled. When she believes that she has lost him to Isabel Boncassen, she states that "she had played her cards so badly that the game was now beyond her powers" (The Duke's Children 318). For Trollope, courtship and acceptance

in society require each young woman to adhere to the steps and methods set forth by that society; in order to achieve a place within the world, one must at least appear to follow its sometimes idealized set of rules.

Much of the action surrounding Trollope's female characters within the Palliser novels focuses on the process of courtship and marriage. For Trollope, it is the experience and position his heroines gain through their courtships and subsequent marriages that are the final determination of their place in the world.⁹ All of their recognition and power as individuals is gained or lost through their choice of a spouse. Therefore, in the Palliser's world, marriage is the single defining act of a woman's life. However, even in this seemingly idyllic world the young lady who marries simply for love, without thought of her own economic position, is rare. Yet, it is this rare young woman who forms the essence of Trollope's ideal.¹⁰ There are several young women throughout the series who are the embodiment of this ideal maiden, and it is interesting to note that while the outcome of their actions remains the same throughout the series (i.e., marriage), the essential nature of Trollope's heroines changes and develops over the years as his own understanding of courtship and marriage expands.

⁹James Kincaid feels that "[f]or many of Trollope's heroines, life offers only the challenge of making a brilliant marriage. Failure means absolute emptiness, but so may success. Success in any case may mean a loss of freedom or selfhood, a very limited victory indeed" (29).

¹⁰William Overton believes that love and the commitment to another that it implies is crucial to be maintained: "Love in Trollope, for those characters who can feel it, is a commitment of the whole being which can be denied only with crippling results. Marriage is accordingly crucial for Trollopian lovers, since the maintenance of identity may depend on a fulfillment of love which is possible only within the proper social form" (291).

In the early novels of the series, the ideal quiet young maiden who follows all the generally accepted rules of courtship does not capture the majority of the narrator's (and subsequently the reader's) attention. Two of these early heroines, Mary Flood Jones and Lucy Morris, must wait patiently for their chosen champions to rescue them from the tower, and while both are ultimately rewarded for following the traditional rules of courtship, their stories do not concern the reader as much as the fate of Phineas Finn or the lies of Lizzie Eustace. Mary lives with her widowed mother in Ireland while her true love, Phineas Finn, seeks his fortune in London. The narrator describes her as "one of those girls so common in Ireland, whom men, with tastes that way given, feel inclined to take up and devour on the spur of the moment" (Phineas Finn 19). She is a beautiful young girl whose skills and expectations have prepared her to be a "good" wife. Her only real goal in life is to be Phineas Finn's wife and the mother of his children. It is clear from her situation that her future support will be provided by her husband, and as she waits for the return of her lover, she ignores the attentions of another young man with a proven income. Her only action on her own behalf is to accept Phineas and be faithful to her promise.

Unlike Mary, who has a widowed mother to provide a home for her until her marriage, Lucy Morris must earn a living while she waits for Frank Greystock to provide a suitable income for them. Lucy makes her own living as a governess, the only "career" besides marriage open to a gentlewoman, yet her fortunes and place in the world are dependent upon those who retain her services. Since she relies upon others for her living, Lucy must follow all the rules and accepted behaviors proscribed for her by her position within her employer's household, so her argument with Lord Fawn over Frank Greystock

could have been her undoing if she had been unable to find another situation. Her dependence upon the bounty and goodwill of others is a precarious existence at best, and it is only through marriage that she will ever find a measure of safety.

For both Lucy and Mary, the honorable nature of the young men they have chosen to love is all that stands between them and a life of abject poverty. Both Phineas and Frank must resist the temptations of the beautiful and wealthy women who cross their paths before marriage with offers of fortune. The possibilities open to each of them is limitless, while their chosen loves must wait patiently for their return. Unfortunately, there is no real way for either of these women to take an active role in influencing the decisions of their chosen fiancées. They must wait in seclusion until their champions return from battling the fierce dragons of the world.¹¹ Both of these young women, with their modest ways and quiet natures, are perfect examples of what a young Victorian lady should be. They exemplify the role young women should take in the traditional picture of courtship, and because they exemplify this ideal, their role in Trollope's novels, as in life, is limited. Their only actions are to move quietly into the roles allotted to them by the people around them.

¹¹Deborah Denenholz Morse believes that “[n]ot Glencora only, but also Alice and Kate—indeed all the women Trollope describes in the world of *Can You Forgive Her?*—are vulnerable because men have the institutionalized power in Victorian society” (13).

B. The Reality

In contrast to the ideal young maiden who follows all the accepted rules of courtship, Trollope creates a number of young, intelligent women who are trying to understand fully and accept their place in society. The lives of these “heroines” take up a large portion of the action within the Palliser novels. As they search for their place and role or “job” within society, they often appear to “kick against the pricks.” As these young women run up against the obstacles of their world and its ideals, they learn more fully what they can and cannot accomplish. Unfortunately, much of the unhappiness in Trollope’s world occurs when these young women step beyond society’s boundaries before finally accepting their prescribed place.

Can You Forgive Her? is concerned with Alice Vavasor’s search to find an outlet for her need to do something with her life. Much of Alice’s trouble stems from feelings that she must change everything in her life once she marries, and that marriage will be to her “as though I were passing through a grave to a new world” (Can You Forgive Her? 105). In accepting a marriage to John Grey, Alice feels that what little control she has over her own ability to act will die. Yet, paradoxically, on some level she feels that marriage is one way for her to gain a position from which to act. After breaking off her engagement with Grey, her whole reason for renewing her previous engagement with her cousin George Vavasor is her sense that she can be of some use to him politically. She can have an effect on the politics of the day by providing George with the income necessary to gain a seat in parliament. Alice understands that on one level, it is only in her association with a man that her ability to influence the world can be

effective. Her need for an outlet for action is echoed by Lady Laura Standish when she says that “a woman’s life is only half a life, as she cannot have a seat in Parliament” (Phineas Finn 58).

Lady Laura Standish, like Alice Vavasor, is not content with her own lot in life, and looks to her marriage to supply some of the power that she cannot attain on her own. The narrator’s initial descriptions of her set up the tragedy to come, and point out the incompatible mixture of the traditional and the progressive. In the first few pages of Phineas Finn, we are introduced to the two young women who vie for Phineas’s heart—Lady Laura Standish and Mary Flood Jones. A strong contrast between the two young women begins to develop, when Phineas himself states that Mary is all “silk and softness,” while Lady Laura is “lumpy” and “straggling” (Phineas Finn 21). The narrator paints a slightly different portrait of Lady Laura for the reader. She “seemed to have the perfect power of doing what she pleased,” and although she is considered a beauty, many of her gestures and mannerisms are described as mannish:

Those who knew her said that her heart was so fully under command that nothing could stir her blood to any sudden motion. As to that accusation of straggling which had been made against her, it had sprung from ill-natured observation of her modes of sitting. She never straggled when she stood or walked; but she would lean forward when sitting, as a man does, and would use her arms in talking, and would put her hand over her face, and pass her fingers through her hair,—after the fashion of men rather than of women;—and she seemed to despise that soft quiescence of her sex in which are generally found so many charms. (Phineas Finn 33)

Lady Laura, unlike Mary, is not the model of the sweet, quiet young lady who quietly waits for her knight in shining armor to come and woo her. She

understands the ways of the world and its politics, and has run her father's household since she was a very young woman.

Lady Laura's father, Lord Brentford, is a member of one of the great liberal families of England, and it is to Laura's mentorship that Phineas owes much of his initial knowledge of Parliament. Lady Laura's position in her father's household makes her one of the great political hostesses of London. This role allows her to mix with some of the most influential men in London, and enables her to introduce young Finn to all the "right" people. Her role as mistress of her father's house also allows her some freedom in her choice of a husband. Not only does Lady Laura have the young men of her own social class to choose from as her suitors, but she has many of the up-and-coming young men of Parliament. Since her current position is tied to her father's place in politics, Lady Laura understands that by the rules of the "game" she must be married in order to have, what she feels will be, complete freedom to act.

Lady Laura is by no means a feminist. She herself declares that she is not for women's rights, yet she says to Phineas, "I envy you men your clubs more than I do the House" (Phineas Finn 58). She understands the freedom that the Victorian social clubs offered young men—a place to meet, exchange ideas, and indulge in good food, liquor and cigars—all things which were not "allowed" to Laura. She is caught in a paradox; she longs to have power and action, yet she wants the "privileges" of being a woman:

It was her ambition to be brought as near to political action as was possible for a woman without surrendering any of the privileges of feminine inaction. That woman should even wish to have votes at parliamentary elections was to her abominable, and the cause of the Rights of Women generally was odious to her; but, nevertheless, for herself, she delighted in hoping that she too might be useful,—in thinking that she too was perhaps, in some degree, politically

powerful; and she had received considerable increase to such hopes when her father accepted the Privy Seal. (Phineas Finn 89)

To Lady Laura, it is her proximity to power, the men she is connected to, that gives her the ability to influence the world. And, not unlike a man, she sees her marriage as a means to an ends, a way of achieving power within the spheres allotted to her.

As a man, Phineas understands the need for wealth, not only as a means of paying for the basic needs of life, but also as a means of influencing people. As he enters Mr. Kennedy's Scottish estate, Loughlinter, Phineas is struck by how much Mr. Kennedy possesses, and by how much wealth rather than love could influence Lady Laura's decision on marriage:

If a woman were asked to have the half of all this, would it be possible that she would prefer to take the half of his nothing? He thought it might be possible for a girl who would confess, or seem to confess, that love should be everything. But it could hardly be possible for a woman who looked at the world almost as a man looked at it,—as an oyster to be opened with such weapon as she could find ready to her hand. Lady Laura professed to have a care for all the affairs of the world . . . Such a woman would feel that wealth was necessary to her, and would be willing, for the sake of wealth, to put up with a husband without romance. Nay; might it not be that she would prefer a husband without romance? (Phineas Finn 119–20)

Phineas understands Lady Laura's nature, and realizes that money must be one of her primary concerns. She has given her own fortune to cover her brother's debts and to smooth his relationship with their father, and no longer possesses the freedom of choice that another heiress might have. Lady Laura wants to maintain and strengthen her position in the world, and at this juncture, she can only do this by marrying a wealthy man with his own position . Unfortunately,

she must pay the price for selling herself to the highest bidder and forsaking her love for Phineas.

Unlike the men of Trollope's world, Lady Laura cannot openly appear to consider marrying for money. Her courtship and acceptance of Mr. Kennedy must always seem to be based on love. Although openly choosing a wife solely for her fortune is not the most socially acceptable method of courtship, the men of Trollope's world, and indeed of Victorian England, are able to marry for money without facing public censure for their actions. At all levels of income they are generally expected to look for money and position as they go out to marry, hoping that they can find a young woman compatible with their lifestyle. Frank Greystock's family is fond of repeating an old "Quaker" saying: "'Doan't thou marry for munny, but goa where munny is!'" and encourage him to marry someone other than the governess Lucy Morris (The Eustace Diamonds 119). It is not considered immoral or unmanly to marry an heiress, as the wife will be taken into the husband's sphere of life. If the husband is a gentleman, what could be more natural than for him to marry an heiress and live the life expected of him on her income? This buying and selling of young women on the marriage market leads one to question the value placed on an individual for her ability to be anything other than a source of income or the mother of a man's children.

There are several examples of men searching for the "right" heiress scattered throughout the Palliser novels. Madam Max Goesler and her £7–8,000 a year become the objects of Mr. Maurice Maule's attentions in Phineas Redux. Mr. Maule has lived the life of "an idle man with a moderate income," and has become a "spendthrift" in his quest for luxuries (183). He believes that he is still relatively young, a "real" gentleman of marriageable age, and "had come to see

the necessity of employing his good looks, his conversational powers, and his excellent manners on a second marriage which might be lucrative" (Phineas Redux 185). What Mr. Maule does not realize is that Madame Max does not need to marry her fortune to his name, and become "Mrs. Maule of Maule Abbey" (267). She has made a name and a place for herself in London. Even Phineas Finn's friends are not immune to the opportunities that Madam Max's fortune could offer him. Lady Laura Kennedy herself encourages him to "establish himself by marriage," and is sure that he will marry Madame Max for her fortune (Phineas Finn II.291). His scruples against marrying without love are almost argued away by Lady Laura:

Why should you not love her? And it is so different with a man! A woman is wretched if she does not love her husband, but I fancy that a man gets on very well without any such feeling. She cannot domineer over you. She cannot expect you to pluck yourself out of your own soil, and begin a new growth altogether in accordance with the laws of her own. (Phineas Finn II.291)

Although Lady Laura knows that she cannot live without love in her marriage, she still feels that a man can look beyond this basic need in marriage and be happy with a woman he does not love. Phineas's fellow countryman, Laurence Fitzgibbon is even aided in the pursuit of his heiress by all his friends. The Duchess of Omnium is pulled into the conspiracy to bring off the match with her invitation to Matching for the new bride. Even though marriage to an heiress seems to be a universally accepted method of gaining an income, Barrington Erle still questions whether or not Laurence Fitzgibbon would have been better off without the wife:

We must all come to it sooner or later, I suppose, but the question is whether we could do better than an annuity of £2,000 a year on the life of the lady. Office isn't very permanent, but one has not to

attend the House above six months a year, while you can't get away from a wife much above a week at a time. It has crippled him in appearance very much, I think. (Phineas Redux II.307)

It is sad that after all the effort put into achieving the Fitzgibbon match, his friends are still questioning whether or not they couldn't have done better for him than £2,000 a year during his wife's lifetime.

For Trollope's young women, as Lady Laura illustrates, openly marrying for money is one of the biggest mistakes a woman can make in her life. In addition to Lady Laura, there are several other young women in the Palliser novels who blatantly decide to marry a man for the position his money offers, and in almost every instance, she too pays the price for her decision. These characters ignore all that they have learned and cross the line between womanly and unwomanly behavior, and the narrator emphasizes this change as they lose their value in his eyes, becoming hard and worldly. Trollope himself says of one of his husband hunting characters from The American Senator that:

in Arabella Trefoil he 'wished to express the depth of my scorn for women who run down husbands'; while the book was still in serial, he wrote to Anna Steele: 'I have been, and still am very much afraid of Arabella Trefoil. The critics have to come, and they will tell me that she is unwomanly, unnatural, turgid,—the creation of a morbid imagination . . . But I swear I have known the woman,—not one special woman . . . but all the traits, all the cleverness, all the patience, all the courage, all the self-abnegation,—and all the failure.' (qtd. in Hall 421-2)

For Trollope, husband-hunting is an unpleasant reality he has encountered in his own life, and therefore must be worked into the fabric of his novels.

In Trollope's narrative, the line between a "proper" British wife and a "fallen" woman whose favors are bought and sold often blurs. While in Switzerland, Lady Glencora Palliser compares herself with the kept women of

the salon when she states that “I never get money given to me by handfuls, and the man to whom I belong gives me no encouragement when I want to amuse myself” (Can You Forgive Her? II.291). She considers herself to be the property of her husband, not unlike the kept women she sees (who are presumable given the money in exchange for their sexual favors), and feels that she must rebel in order to have any say in her own life. This line is further blurred when one looks at the similarities in the narrator’s description of George Vavasor’s discarded mistress and in the description of Madame Max Goesler. These descriptions illuminate how much an income and the careful management of one’s reputation can make:

She [Jane] had long black ringlets on each cheek, hanging down much below her face, and brought forward so as to hide in some degree the hollowness of her jaws. Her eyes . . . had been blue,—that dark violet blue, which is so rare, but is sometimes so lovely. Her forehead was narrow, her mouth was small, and her lips were thin; but her nose was perfect in its shape, and by the delicacy of its modeling, had given a peculiar grace to her face in the days when things had gone well with her, when her cheeks had been full with youth and good living, and had been dimpled by the softness of love and mirth. (Can You Forgive Her? II.321)

The above description of Jane is similar in language and imagery to that of Madame Max Goesler in Phineas Finn:

She had thick black hair, which she wore in curls,—unlike anybody else in the world,—in curls which hung down low beneath her face, covering, perhaps intended to cover, a certain thinness in her cheeks which would otherwise take something of the charm from her countenance. Her eyes were large, of a dark blue colour, and very bright . . . Her chin was well formed, and divided by a dimple which gave to her face a softness of grace which would otherwise have been much missed. (Phineas Finn II.25)

Both women are young, and are considered outsiders. Madame Max must be very careful in her “conquest” of society in order to avoid being considered

Jane's equivalent.¹² She turns down the old Duke of Omnium's offer of marriage rather than risk being considered a social climber. The parallels in the descriptions also highlight another disturbing image that frequently arises when Trollope's characters are thinking of marriage, that of the "marriage market." The process of choosing a spouse is continually described as entering the market, and many of Trollope's young women are taken out by their parents and guardians to be shown to a selection of eligible young men, not unlike cattle at an auction. It is this process which so disturbs the Duke of Omnium as he contemplates his own daughter's prospects.

The imagery of the marriage market is no where more obvious in the Palliser novels than in Trollope's portrayal of Lucinda Roanoke. She is a prime example of a young woman "sold" to the highest bidder. From her first introduction to the reader, it is assumed that she must be in want of a husband (The Eustace Diamonds 331). She and her aunt, Mrs. Carbuncle, continually argue about how long it is taking Lucinda to accept Sir Griffin Tewett. It is very clear to the reader that she has spent what little fortune she has in "capturing" a husband, and much of her internal debate about accepting Sir Griffin centers on this topic:

Of course, he would come again, and she could make up her mind then. It was no doubt necessary that she should do something. Her fortune, such as it was, would soon be spent in the adventure of finding a husband. She also had her ideas about love, and had

¹²Elizabeth Epperly feels that Trollope's original design for Madame Max changed as the novel progressed. That she moves from the "border-lands" of decency into an accepted place in society. "The politics of her [Madame Max's] world and Phineas's are similar: together Phineas and Madame Max suggest how a resistant outsider may win a place in the capricious world of London high society" (29).

enough of sincerity about her to love a man thoroughly; but it had seemed to her that all the men who came near her were men whom she could not fail to dislike. (The Eustace Diamonds II.4)

Lucinda senses the trap she is in, she must marry in order to have some sort of income and maintain her place in society, yet she desires to love the man she is to marry. Her life for the past year has been one social event after another to expose her to the eligible bachelors of her set. She cannot “afford to wait as other girls might do,” and is forced to accept the first man with an ample fortune who asks her to marry him (The Eustace Diamonds II.4). Unfortunately for her, it is Sir Griffin Tewett. As she struggles with her aunt over her need to marry, Lucinda seems to equate her marriage to Sir Griffin with going to the devil, and feels that it should make no difference to her should she be unmarried without income or married to Sir Griffin; both are equally unpleasant fates.

The narrative surrounding her engagement to Sir Griffin plays up all that is ugly in a marriage without love. For Sir Griffin, love and hate are mixed together, so that the angrier he is with Lucinda, the more he desires to marry her. The narrator says that “There are some men in whose love a good deal of hatred is mixed;—who love as the huntsman loves the fox, towards the killing of which he intends to use all his energies and intellects” (The Eustace Diamonds II.12). Lucinda is merely a beautiful possession which Sir Griffin desires to own and master with all his heart, and her “savage” ways only serve to fuel his desire to possess her.

The full realization of what she has committed herself to does not come to Lucinda until she is required to kiss Sir Griffin with all the passion that a newly engaged gentlemen feels he deserves. After performing the expected gesture, Lucinda takes stock of herself in her own room:

Never before had she been thus polluted. The embrace had disgusted her. It made her odious to herself. And if this, the beginning of it, were so bad, how was she to drink the cup to the bitter dregs . . . For the sake of this man who was to be her husband, she hated all men . . . And yet she knew that she meant to go on and bear it all. Perhaps by study and due practice she might become as some others,—a beast of prey, and nothing more. The feeling that had made these few minutes so inexpressibly loathsome to her might, perhaps, be driven from her heart. (The Eustace Diamonds II.24)

For Lucinda, marriage to a man she hates more than anyone is unbearable. Yet at first, she seems willing to continue down the path she has chosen for herself.

Unfortunately, Lucinda understands all that she is giving up to become Sir Griffin's wife. She knows that to perform all that is expected of a faithful and dutiful wife would pollute her; she would become no better than a fallen woman, selling her body for an income. In the end, it is her own revulsion and the knowledge that she is "wicked" in marrying a man that she does not love that drives her to madness. She cannot bear the thought of being kissed by Sir Griffin, much less the thought of performing her conjugal duties. She says to her aunt the evening before she is to be married that "[w]hen he touches me my whole body is in agony. To be kissed by him is madness" (The Eustace Diamonds II.273). Madness for Lucinda is the only means of escape from Sir Griffin. The horror of the whole situation is fully expressed when her aunt states that other young women, including herself, have married men that they do not love, and have found lives that they can live. It is only the narrator and the reader who see the full horror of the situation.

The horror of Lucinda's situation is repeated to a lesser degree in Trollope's portrait of Lady Mabel Grex. Like Lucinda, Lady Mabel must marry for money in order to survive, and like Lady Laura Standish, she too has an

earlier love to forget. Lady Mabel and her first love, Frank Treager, agreed to part because their joint income was not sufficient to support the lifestyle they had become accustomed to. Her father and her brother have gone through the family fortune, and Lady Mabel does not have the “luxury” of falling in love. She herself says that “I cannot afford to be in love till I am quite sure that the man is fit to be, and will be, my husband” (The Duke’s Children 79). To her, Lord Silverbridge is the perfect second choice for a husband; he is young, handsome and heir to one of the largest private incomes in Great Britain. She understands the nature of the marital relationship itself and the position it brings to her:

Was she not aware that she did not love him [Lord Silverbridge];— but that she did love another man? She had made up her mind to marry him in order that she might be a duchess, and because she could give herself to him without any of that horror which would be her fate in submitting to matrimony with one or another of the young men around her. There might be disappointment. If he escaped her there would be bitter disappointment. But seeing how it was, had she any further ground for hope? She certainly had no ground for anger! (The Duke’s Children 310)

She understands the decision she is making, and it is one which in general fills her with horror. Like Lucinda Roanoke, she understands the physical relationship involved in marriage, and knows that it would be her duty to provide the next Duke of Omnium. Lady Mabel is willing to break all of the rules of romance by marrying a man she does not love in order to gain the wealth and position he has to offer. In one sense, she is no better than the kept women Lady Glencora encounters in the Swiss Gaming Houses. These women, not unlike Lady Mabel, have lost all sense of maiden shame in their quest for a means of establishing an income.

Lady Mabel’s apprenticeship is a painful illustration of all that is ugly in the process of courtship and marriage. She must maintain the appearance of an

innocent young girl, yet her early involvement with Frank Treager has removed much of this bloom.¹³ Lady Mabel is the same age as Lord Silverbridge, yet he thinks her so much older and wiser than himself. She must marry well (or not marry at all), yet she would be risking scandal and would be breaking all the rules of courtship should she openly pursue a prospective husband. The following conversation with Frank Treager is a realistic view of the paradoxical nature of the woman's role in courtship:

'Only think how a girl such as I am is placed; or indeed any girl. You, if you see a woman that you fancy, can pursue her, can win her and triumph, or lose her and gnaw your heart;—at any rate you can do something. You can tell her that you love her; can tell her so again and again even though she should scorn you. You can set yourself about the business you have taken in hand and can work hard at it. What can a girl do?'

'Girls work hard too sometimes.'

'Of course they do;—but everyone feels that they are sinning against their sex. Of love, such as a man's is, a woman ought to know nothing. How can she love with passion when she should never give her love till it has been asked, and not then unless her friends tell her the thing is suitable? Love such as that to me is out of the question. But, as it is fit that I should be married, I wish to be married well.' (The Duke's Children 81–2)

Lady Mabel acknowledges the ideal that a young woman is not to take an active interest in falling in love. A proper young lady is not to show any sign of love until she is approached by the man, and once this occurs, she is expected to display all of the signs of her passion. It is this dilemma which causes so much trouble in Lady Mabel's own life. She fell in love with Frank Treager with all the

¹³Lowrey Pei feels that "[l]ike the other intelligent, ambitious women of the Palliser series (Alice, Glencora, Laura, Violet, Marie), Mabel finds herself frustrated by a society in which she cannot work and as a single woman can do almost nothing on her own initiative . . . The only road to success open to her is through marriage to a successful man" (291).

“violence” a first love should have. Since he was “not suitable,” she must give him up and go on to love another man. Her plight raises two questions: How is a young woman to find, inspire affection in, and win a young man without crossing any of the lines of acceptable behavior, and what is she to do if she fails?

Lady Mabel’s search for the proper husband must be conducted within the bounds set for her by society. At first, she plays her game within these limits. She does not seem to go out of her way to entice Lord Silverbridge, yet he is charmed by her, even though he has a vague idea that she is much cleverer than he. She receives the desired proposal, yet she cannot bring herself to accept it even though it is what she has worked for. When Lord Silverbridge begins to pay court to Isabel Boncassen, Lady Mabel crosses this line, and begins her “game” in earnest. The possibility that she might lose Lord Silverbridge to Miss Boncassen forces her to openly vie for his hand. While Lady Mabel is at Matching during the Christmas holidays, she is hard at work trying to win back Lord Silverbridge’s affection (he is already engaged to Miss Boncassen at this point). All of her walks with Lord Silverbridge, her interest in his actions and all her charms are used to bring him back to his former humor. Lady Mabel “works” at all of this, fighting to win the great prize she feels should be hers. In all of this work, she realizes that it is not as it should be. She admits to herself that “her maiden shame” is already gone from her, and that she cannot lose anything further by striving for Lord Silverbridge’s hand:

That bloom of her maiden shame, of which she quite understood the sweetness, the charm, the value—was gone when she had brought herself to such a state that any human being should know that, loving one man, she should be willing to marry another. The sweet treasure was gone from her. Its aroma was fled. It behooved her now to be ambitious, cautious,—and if possible successful.
(The Duke’s Children 470)

It is ironic that the loss of shame which the Duke so mourns in Lady Mary is likewise already gone from the young lady he desires for his son. Lady Mabel in playing her game, plans to declare a passionate love for Lord Silverbridge and thus win back his affection (or at least appeal to his sense of honor). In playing this last card, she is false to everything that a proper young Victorian woman should be; she is to be false with "such perfect deceit" as to make her appear the "pearl of truth" (The Duke's Children 470). Even as she reminds Lord Silverbridge of a past offer of his hand, she must refrain from becoming indignant at the mention of Isabel Boncassen, as it "would not serve her turn in the present emergency" (The Duke's Children 474). The game has such monumental impact upon her life that she tries to maintain the appearance of honesty even in the midst of her emotional dishonesty. To her it is all an arranged scheme, and a game with extraordinary stakes.

Lady Mabel's inability to play out the game she has dealt is one of the true tragedies of her life. Her hesitation to take the prize (marriage to Lord Silverbridge) when it is initially offered, leads her even further outside the boundaries that society has set for a woman's role in courtship. It is her last and final sin against her sex (her appeal to Lord Silverbridge's honor and her proposal of marriage) that is the final rock upon which she wrecks her barque. By throwing herself at Silverbridge in her final efforts to become his wife, she finally realizes that she has lost the game and can never marry without love, and that she will "never, never, never love another" after Frank Tregear (The Duke's Children 616). She cannot seem to avoid her shipwreck, and the depth of her despair is evident in her confession to Lord Silverbridge that she cannot stop loving Tregear:

Always;—dear friends. And he would have loved me if a man were capable of loving. But he could sever himself from me easily, just when he was told to do so. I thought that I could do the same. But I cannot. A jackal is born a jackal, and not a lion, and cannot help himself. So is a woman born—a woman. They are clinging, parasite things, which cannot but adhere; though they destroy themselves by adhering. Do not suppose that I take pride in it. I would give one of my eyes to be able to disregard him. (The Duke's Children 581–2)

She accepts the limits that her sex places on her, and believes that women are parasites and only capable of living through another. Lady Mabel is unable to find a husband she can face without horror, and this is further compounded by her lack of position in life after her father's death. As she deals with the destruction of her hopes and her father's death, Lady Mabel must close up her family's house in London and retire into obscurity with Miss Cassowary with no visible means of support.

Lady Elizabeth Eustace (née Lizzie Greystock) is another of Trollope's young women who is false to the prescribed forms of courtship. As Lizzie Greystock, she uses all of her charms as a young "innocent" maiden to "land" the wealthy Sir Florian Eustace, and unfortunately for him, it is not until after his marriage that he discovers his wife's true nature. From her first introduction in The Eustace Diamonds, it is clear that the narrator does not think much of Lizzie. At nineteen, she is a hard and worldly young lady, capable of lying to her aunt and of pawning another's jewels to pay her debts: "Lizzie when she was nineteen knew how to do without money as well as most girls; but there were calls which even she could not withstand, debts which even she must pay" (The Eustace Diamonds 3). She is clearly not a young lady the narrator would recommend to any young man, and yet, she manages to fool Sir Florian long enough to get him to marry her. In describing their courtship, the narrator states that:

Sir Florian was a grand gentleman; but surely he must have been dull of intellect, slow of discernment, bleary-eyed in his ways about the town, when he took Lizzie Greystock,—of all the women whom he could find in the world,—to be the purest, the truest, and the noblest. . .and he was one who could believe in his wife as though she were the queen of heaven. He did believe in Lizzie Greystock, thinking that intellect, purity, truth, and beauty, each perfect in its degree, were combined in her. The intellect and beauty were there;—but, for the purity and truth——; how could it have been that such a one as Sir Florian Eustace should have been so blind!
(The Eustace Diamonds 7)

Lizzie's false nature is clear to the reader by the time she has married Sir Florian, and mercifully for him, he dies soon after their marriage leaving Lady Eustace a very wealthy widow.

In all senses, Lizzie Eustace is the most brazen of all of Trollope's young women. She has learned all of the rules governing proper behavior, yet she only pantomimes the behavior she has learned. Everything with her is an act; a performance for those around her.¹⁴ She charms her cousin Frank Greystock, and tempts him with her fortune even though he is engaged to a young woman who embodies all that is good. She pursues men because she sees the advantage of their protection. Lord Fawn is merely someone who can give her a place in society, and hopefully help her to keep the diamonds she has "stolen" from the Eustace family. Throughout The Eustace Diamonds, Lizzie uses her wealth as a means of attracting and using men. She understands that Lord Fawn needs her income, and will put up with her while she pretends love and obeys the rules.

¹⁴Walter Kendrick states that "the paradox of Lizzie's character is that she is skilled at every medium of emotional expression without any emotions to express, brilliant at manipulating signs without any notion of what they signify. She is signification without significance, meaningfulness without meaning" (138).

Once the scandal about the diamonds begins to surface, she is no longer an eligible choice, yet by his own rules of conduct, he cannot break off the engagement without a publicly acceptable reason. Lizzie's final refusal to return the gems is Lord Fawn's only way out of a marriage he has grown to dread. Lizzie's subsequent marriage to the Rev. Mr. Emilius is merely the marriage of two liars. Both are able to flatter and admire the other's talents, while perceiving the other's use.

For Lizzie, a second marriage is not an opportunity to find the love she never had, it is merely an opportunity to bind herself to a man whose position and inherent power in society can be used to advance her own needs. She has no desire to be equal with men and enter into a life-long partnership. Lizzie breaks all the rules which govern marriage in Trollope's world by marrying without love or affection. She does not possess Alice Vavasor's desire to do something with her life, either on her own or through marriage, nor does she quietly wait for her knight in shining armor to return to her like Mary Flood Jones or Lucy Morris. Lizzie merely desires to control and manipulate men with her beauty and her wealth in order to get what she desires—position and power of her own.

It is this open bid for power and a role beyond "wife" that causes so much trouble for these "heroines." Trollope, like many of his contemporaries, did not think that women should forsake their traditional roles in life altogether as they pursued their own careers. It is the total departure from proper maidenly behavior that causes so much grief in the lives of these characters. In their quest for money and power, they forsake all that society expects of them, and are punished for their actions. Trollope himself did not support many of the radical goals of the women's movement, but he did come to see the need for a middle

place between the old vision of the proper young lady and the more radical image of the young woman who sees and treats the world as a man would.

C. A New Ideal

As the world of the Palliser's grew and developed over the course of the six novels, Trollope begins to mix the old romantic ideal and the reality of Victorian daily life to form a new ideal of courtship. This new ideal is able to mix love, a sense of career, and economics in a way that enables his heroines to take their rightful place in the world. The ultimate winner in this new ideal is the young woman who learns to work with the rules and from within the boundaries created for her by society.

Violet Effingham, in Phineas Finn, is the first of these new heroines who has a sense of what society expects of her, but is willing to explore the boundaries set for her while she searches for her proper place in life. She understands the limitations society places on her as she wends her way through the maze of courtship. Miss Effingham is luckier than either Mary Flood Jones or Lucy Morris; she possesses a sizable fortune, and should she never marry, has the means of supporting herself. (It is this independence which makes her far more interesting to the reader and gives her a more prominent position in the narrative). Although Violet has control of her own income, her age and marital status require her to live with her aunt, Lady Baldock. In order to protect her reputation in the world, Violet cannot maintain her own establishment and still retain the semblance of innocence that the Victorians prized so highly. Lady Baldock feels that it is her duty to teach Violet these valuable lessons regarding

courtship and the proper type of gentleman to marry, as well as to safeguard Violet's reputation while she learns her lessons:

She [Lady Baldock] longed to be dominant over her niece as she was dominant over her daughter; and when she found that she missed such supremacy, she longed to tell Violet to depart from out her borders, and be no longer niece of hers. But had she ever done so, Violet would have gone at the instant, and then terrible things would have followed . . . It is the duty of a guardian, no doubt, to look after the ward; but if this cannot be done, the ward's money should at least be held with as close a fist as possible (Phineas Finn II.39).

Violet's marriage to an eligible gentleman and the transfer of her responsibility for Violet's fortune are Lady Baldock's goals. In this traditional society, an appropriate elder chaperone or a husband is the only real safeguard to a young lady's reputation, and this outward, visible control of a young woman's reputation helps maintain the appearance of acceptable behavior.

Violet, unlike Mary Flood Jones, is active in her choice of a husband. Her income allows her to circulate in society and make a choice from among the eligible young men of her set. At one point in time, she is confronted with four different suitors—Phineas Finn, Lord Chiltern, Lord Fawn and Mr. Appledom—and it is from among these four gentlemen that she must choose a man she truly loves to be her husband. It is her insistence that she love the man she will marry which leads Lady Baldock to declare that Violet “would marry a shoe-black out of the streets if she were so minded” (Phineas Finn II.62). Lady Baldock is worried, not that Violet will marry a man she cannot love or respect, but that she'll marry a man who does not reflect Violet's proper place in society. Her aunt's worries are groundless, as Violet herself understands the rules governing a woman's choice in a husband:

I prefer men who are improper, and all that sort of thing. If I were a man myself I should go in for everything I ought to leave alone. I know I should. But you see,—I'm not a man and I must take care of myself. The wrong side of a post for a woman is so very much the wrong side. I like a fast man, but I know that I must not dare to marry the sort of man I like. (Phineas Finn 95-96).

Although she may flirt with danger, Violet knows that she must marry someone who will be accepted by her social circle. She loves Lord Chiltern, and has done so since childhood, but cannot agree to marry him until she is sure he will provide her with the stable family life she needs. It is her love for him which finally wins the day and enables her to accept a life with the fiery Lord Chiltern, and Trollope rewards her for her patience with a happy and successful marriage.

Madame Max also makes her first appearance in Phineas Finn. She is a young widow who comes to England from the continent with a sizable fortune in order to make her way in London society. Because of her status as an outsider, she must balance the rules which govern the lives of those around with her own desires more carefully than any of Trollope's other heroines in order to win her "game":

Madame Max Goesler was a lady who knew that in fighting the battles which fell to her lot, in arranging the social difficulties which she found in her way, in doing the work of the world which came to her share, very much more care was necessary,—and care too about things apparently trifling,—than was demanded by the affairs of people in general . . . With all her ambition, there was a something of genuine humility about her; and with all the hardness she had learned there was a touch of womanly softness which would sometimes obtrude itself upon her heart. . . But she was highly ambitious, and she played her game with great skill and great caution. (Phineas Finn II.170)

Like Lady Laura Standish, Madame Max is clever, well educated and able to discuss books and politics with great ease. She desires acceptance by those she

has chosen to live amongst, and with all her wealth, has the luxury of marrying for her own pleasure.¹⁵

Like Lady Mabel Grex, Madame Max steps across the lines of “proper” behavior and proposes to one of the young men within her circle, but unlike Lady Mabel, it is without the disastrous effects and commentary by the narrator. Within a very short period of time after her introduction in Phineas Finn, Madame Max offers her fortune to Mr. Finn to help finance his political ambitions. Like George Vavasor, Phineas Finn is a young man seeking his fortune in Parliament with very little money to back him, but unlike Vavasor, Phineas cannot accept money from a woman. In discussing his prospects for a seat in the next election, as he takes his leave of Madame Max and Matching, Phineas is unsure of whether or not he will be returning to London in January. Madame Max breaks many of the rules of the English society by telling Phineas that “accident had made her rich, full of money,” and if he would only come to her, she would teach him “how faithful a woman could be” (Phineas Finn II.98). As she makes this offer, she understands that in England, “there are things that one may not say . . . that are tabooed by a sort of consent,—and that without any reason” (Phineas Finn II.98). She understands the rules of the game, and is taking a great risk in making this offer to Phineas, and the fact that she makes this offer in French, only serves to emphasize the fact that a “proper” young woman cannot openly pursue a man without “sinning against their sex” (The Duke’s Children 82). She has risked her carefully crafted reputation and

¹⁵Letwin calls Madame Max “the most perfect gentleman in Trollope’s novels,” and feels that she “wanted her social acceptance to depend wholly upon her true qualities” (74 & 83).

painstakingly earned position in London society by offering her hand and fortune to a young man, some would say, she hardly knows. Madame Max is very lucky that she has judged Mr. Finn's character correctly, as her breach of etiquette goes no further than the little book-room in the Matching library.

Her refusal of the Duke of Omnium's offer of marriage is another indication of her understanding of the way British society works, and an affirmation of what she truly desires out of life. The Duke is one of the last of the old-style nobles who are used to having everything their hearts desire, from fine jewels to beautiful women. In his final days, the Duke wants Madame Max to share the sunsets of Como with him, and when this proposition fails, he asks her to marry him and become the Duchess of Omnium. In making her decision, Madame Max weighs her options much as a man would weigh his. She feels the challenge thrown her way by Lady Glencora, but she wonders if the victory, marriage to the Duke, is really worth the effort. She is coming to the realization that what she really desires for herself is love:

But, the victory gained, what then would remain to her? Money she had already; position, too, she had of her own. She was free as air, and should it suit her at any time to go off to some lake of Como in society that would personally be more agreeable to her than that of the Duke of Omnium, there was nothing to hinder her for a moment. And then came a smile over her face,—but the saddest smile,—as she thought of one with whom it might be pleasant to look at the colour of Italian skies and feel the softness of Italian breezes. (Phineas Finn II.203)

In making her final decision, Madame Max acts upon all she knows about the society she has chosen to live in. She understands that her humble birth would take some of the sweetness away from the "victory" of her marriage to the Duke; she would not be accepted by the very society she longs to conquer. She sees the

advantage of maintaining her own position, and choosing the things which will ultimately make her happy.

Madame Max sees another chance to achieve the happiness she longs for at the end of Phineas Finn. By this time in the novel, unbeknownst to his London friends, Phineas is engaged to Mary Flood Jones, and has come back to London to resign his place in the government and leave Parliament over the debate on Irish tenant rights. To many of his friends the solution to this problem is simple, marry Madame Max or at least accept a loan of money from her (both are things which his honor forbids him to do). On some level, Phineas's internal debate mirrors that of Madame Max; he can maintain his self-respect and marry the woman he has asked to be his wife, or he can do what everyone expects of him and marry a woman, whose charms and company he appreciates, in order to gain a much needed income. (And like Madame Max, Phineas chooses the honorable path). Unlike Lady Mabel Grex, Madame Max's proposal to Phineas is out of the goodness of her heart. The reader has already learned that her love for Phineas Finn played a small role in her refusal of the Duke of Omnium, and that her only concern is for Mr. Finn's happiness. She offers all that she has, all that has become hers by "accident," to enable him to continue the work of his heart. This offer of marriage is significant in that it does not lessen the reader's opinion of Madame Max, nor does the narrator condemn her for her actions.¹⁶ She is not a young woman scheming to win a man whose money and position

¹⁶Shirley Letwin sees Madame Max's bending of the rules of convention in her offer to Phineas as "a display of the discernment and courage that makes her such a perfect lady" (162).

are necessary for her own survival; she is a good and honest friend offering all that she has to the man that she loves.

Her heroics in relation to Mr. Finn are continued in Phineas Redux, which Trollope claimed was simply the second half of the novel. In this half, the fortunes of Mr. Finn take a turn for the worse. He is accused of the murder of Mr. Bonteen, and it is only through Madame Max's actions that he ultimately gains his freedom. By taking a trip to the far reaches of Europe to prove that Mr. Emilius is really the murderer, Madame Max takes on the role of the knight in shining armor and saves Mr. Finn's life. It is only after his ordeal is finally over that he is able to ask her to marry him, and as she accepts him, she emphasizes that it is only on the condition that it will be an equal partnership.

"If you ever remind me of that again [his poverty] I will strike you . . . Between you and me there must be nothing more about that. It must be an even partnership. There must be ever so much about money, and you'll have to go into dreadful details, and make journeys to Vienna to see that the houses don't tumble down;—but there must be no question between you and me of whence it came."
(Phineas Redux II.355)

Phineas must never again think about where the money comes from, and must take equal pains in managing *their* income. In creating a "career" for herself, her partner can acknowledge her contributions and active role in their joint venture.

Lady Mary Palliser is another one of Trollope's later heroines who actively shapes her own destiny. She struggles against her father's vision for her life in order to remain true to her first love, and her story takes up a large portion of the narrative in The Duke's Children. Her love for Frank Treager takes shape during a family trip to Italy, and sparks her father's struggle to choose between what he desires for his children and acceptance of his children's desires for their own lives. Because Lady Mary appears late in the series, Trollope's attitude towards

her is very different from his treatment of earlier heroines. Her battles against what her father believes to be right are not as monumental and disastrous as Lady Laura's struggle with her love for Phineas and her chosen role as a rich man's wife.

Like Violet Effingham, Lady Mary expects to have her own fortune and feels that she has a right to bestow her riches upon the man of her choice, yet her father feels this fortune should be given to someone far more deserving than Frank Treager. Lady Mary, unlike Emily Wharton of The Prime Minister, is rewarded for her stubbornness. She understands the limitations of her world, and knows that she "cannot go to college like Gerald, or live anywhere just as I please, like Silverbridge," yet she is confident in her own judgment and ability to choose a husband (The Duke's Children 12). Lady Mary has chosen a young man from what she considers is her own class, and takes an active role to bring her own courtship to a successful conclusion. She obeys her father's wishes, but states that she will never cease to love Treager. In one sense, she is expected to exercise her own judgment and act upon what she knows about courtship and marriage, while at the same time she is expected to fall in love with someone her father can approve of. Lady Cantrip has a better sense of Lady Mary's situation, and wishes she could counsel the Duke to give in to her:

She could not bear to hear him say that the girl must be made to yield, with that spirit of despotic power under which women were restrained in years now passed. If she could have spoken her own mind it would have been to this effect: 'Let us do what we can to lead her away from this desire of hers; and in order that we may do so, let us tell her that her marriage with Mr. Treagear is out of the question. But if we do not succeed,—say in the course of the next twelve months,—let us give way. Let us make it a matter of joy that the young man himself is so acceptable and well-behaved.'

That was her idea, and with that she would have indoctrined the Duke had she been able. (The Duke's Children 187)

Lady Cantrip understands that the rules governing courtship have changed over the years since Lady Glencora's family persuaded her to marry Plantagenet Palliser, and she cannot justify forcing Mary to live by the old and out-dated ideals of her father's generation.¹⁷

Isabel Boncassen is another of Trollope's later heroines who is able to blend her desire to control her own destiny with her ability to work within the confines society has created for her. Isabel is a beautiful and intelligent young American who falls in love with Lord Silverbridge on her family's trip to England. Her father is there to conduct research in the British Museum, and encourages Isabel to follow her own interests at the museum. Isabel has her own ticket to the reading room in the museum, and "has all the things brought to her just like the other learned folks" (The Duke's Children 537). Here is finally a heroine who is able, and encouraged, to conduct her own line of research at the museum like a young man, and is also capable of observing and learning the subtle rules which govern courtship in Victorian England. Isabel herself says that "I wish to behave well to English eyes," and governs many of her interactions with Lord Silverbridge to ensure this.

Miss Boncassen understands that things in England are not the same as they are in America. In America, she is free to treat the bank clerk with the same manner as she treats the son of a millionaire, yet in England she must learn and master the subtle differences between gentlemen. She comes to recognize the

¹⁷Lowrey Pei even goes so far as to suggest that the Duke is caught between the present and the past, and that for him "his children's future becomes the resolution of his past" (284).

difference in position between a Dolly Longstaffe and a Duke of Omnium, and it is her understanding of these seemingly invisible differences which leads her to insist upon the Duke of Omnium's approval when Lord Silverbridge asks her to marry him. She knows that the Duke can respect and like her as they discuss politics at Matching, but it is another matter indeed when she is to be the mother of the future Dukes of Omnium.

Isabel puts all of her knowledge of British society into play as she chooses her future place in life. She understands the magnitude of her decision to marry Lord Silverbridge, and intends to go into the marriage as her husband's equal. During her visit to Matching, she tells Lord Silverbridge that she has "no idea of going on such a journey [into marriage] except on terms of equality,—just step and step alike" (*The Duke's Children* 428). Isabel fully intends that marriage shall be her "career," but she, like Madame Max, also expects her partner in life to acknowledge her abilities and to accept her participation in life's daily decisions as an equal from the beginning.

* * * * *

Trollope is never able to put his belief in societal norms aside and truly embrace the issues behind the "Women Question." He always feels that his female characters must work from within these norms in order to achieve marriage and find their place in the world. However, Trollope's understanding of just how this is to be achieved and what it is to look like changes through the years. He moves from the formal ideal, represented by Mary Flood Jones and Lucy Morris, through the women who kick against the pricks to develop a new ideal, represented by Lady Mary Palliser and Isabel Boncassen. These young women are able to balance the demands of society with their own goals in order

to successfully marry.¹⁸ Part of their success is their adherence to love and its importance, and this adherence becomes one of the core values of Trollope's new ideal. Trollope understands and acknowledges that wealth and/or an income are necessary to live, but emphasizes that they are not worth selling your soul for. Lady Mabel Grex is the prime example of someone who breaks with this ideal. She sells herself for the security of a title and an income, and it is her utter failure to let go of her first love for Frank Treager that is the rock which sinks her barque. She is unwilling to try to live within their small income and take a chance on their love.¹⁹

This new vision of love and the partnership that is formed when the two lovers marry is something that Trollope continues to explore in the Palliser novels as he follows many of his characters into married life. These marriages succeed or fail based upon his characters' ability to adapt their ideals to those of their chosen mate, and develop a personal vision of how marriage is to work.

¹⁸Deborah Denenholz Morse feels that Trollope is ambivalent to the "Woman Question," and states that "[t]he ambivalence Trollope apparently feels about the ideal of feminine purity is reflected in the tension between the sympathetic characterizations of women wrestling with the strictures their society imposes upon them, and the resolutions of all the novel's plots" (9-10). Jane Nardin echoes this vision of Trollope's ambivalence to the "Woman Question" and says that "[g]rowing sympathy does not necessarily mean complete sympathy, and the ideas about woman's nature that emerge from Trollope's novels reveal a degree of unresolved ambivalence. His own public pronouncements and the pronouncements of his narrators are often hostile to the feminist aspirations of his contemporaries and his characters. But he returns repeatedly to the frustration of ambitious women trapped by the very views of feminine nature he sometimes defends" (11).

¹⁹In his later work, *Ayala's Angel*, Frank Houston and Imogene Docimer do take this chance, and are rewarded for their faith in love with the help of an elderly aunt with a house and her own small income.

For Trollope, this exploration of marriage further enables him to explore his new ideal of love and develop a model for the Victorian woman's "career."

III. Partners and Tyrants

Trollope, unlike some of his contemporaries, follows many of his young heroines beyond courtship and into marriage. (For example, the reader does not meet Lady Glencora Palliser, a major character of the Palliser series, until after her arranged marriage to Plantagenet Palliser). Once married, Trollope's young women must learn the rules which govern marriage and apply them to their lives. In one sense, they have passed all the tests of their apprenticeship, and are now ready to become journeymen in their chosen profession of marriage. Just as in life, Trollope's marriages run the gamut of success, and for many of these relationships, their success or failure reflects upon the quality of the courtship and upon their adherence to the values of the love match.

The necessity of love in marriage is evident as Trollope's narrator reveals his views on the ideal marriage throughout the texts. In Phineas Redux, the narrator looks at the differing expectations of men and women when they are married:

A young man seeks a young woman's hand in marriage, because she has waltzed stoutly with him, and talked pleasantly between the dances;—and the young woman gives it, almost with gratitude. As to the young man, the readiness of his action is less marvelous than hers. He means to be master, and, by the very nature of the joint life they propose to lead, must take her to his sphere of life, not bind himself to hers. If he worked before he will work still. If he was idle before he will be idle still; and he probably does in some sort make a calculation and strike a balance between his means and the proposed additional burden of a wife and children. But she, knowing nothing, takes a monstrous leap in the dark, in which everything is to be changed, and in which everything is trusted to chance. (156-7)

On one level, this statement is a good indication of what the average Victorian woman can expect from marriage. She is to be chosen from among her companions to live her life with a young man she has only seen on brief social occasions. It is a tremendous leap of faith for her, as she must assess her future spouse's temperament by what she has seen and experienced in public. She can have no real sense of his core values and ideals from her brief interactions, and must rely upon her family and friends to discover the hidden background behind the man. On another level, the narrator's remarks do not really acknowledge the complex reality behind marriage. It does not address the different agendas a husband and wife may bring to wedlock; a woman's need for a means of accomplishing some good of her own in the world, or a man's sense that his wife is to be the keeper of the private life, the home, while he is the earner of their daily bread and the doer of great things in the world. Fortunately for Trollope's readers, the marriages depicted in the Palliser novels do not always follow this simple formula.

Lady Chiltern, formerly Violet Effingham, understands the thought behind this statement, and was therefore very careful in choosing her own husband. Miss Effingham understood the "leap in the dark" she was taking in marriage, and was very careful to marry a man that she could live with. In discussing Lady Laura's life with Mr. Kennedy she questions the idea that as a man he is inherently good:

Men are so seldom really good. They are so little sympathetic. What man thinks of changing himself so as to suit his wife? And yet men expect that women shall put on altogether new characters when they are married, and girls think that they can do so. (Phineas Redux 30)

It is the reality of this expectation in marriage, the ability to change their partner's nature, that causes so much trouble in the marriages of Trollope's world. Lady Chiltern becomes Trollope's "perfect wife" because she freely chooses the man she marries, and understands the nature of Victorian marriage. She chooses a man who, she believes, will make her happy; she understands his temper and his own love for her. In going into her marriage, she does not expect to change him (most of the change in his character occurred before they were married, as he grew older and wiser), and she is happy with her place in life as the wife of the local master of hounds. Lady Laura Kennedy states it best when she says, "I am sure they are happy together, because Violet has more common sense than any woman I ever knew" (Phineas Redux 57).

It is this sympathy and common sense that two of Trollope's most famous characters must find in their own marriage. Of the Pallisers, Trollope himself says:

By no amount of description or asseveration could I succeed in making any reader understand how much these characters [the Duke and Duchess of Omnium] with their belongings have been to me . . . or how frequently I have used them for the expression of my political or social convictions. They have been as real to me as free trade was to Mr. Cobden, or the dominion of a party to Mr. Disraeli . . . (An Autobiography 151)

It was his desire to follow these two characters through their "progression of character" which inspired him to return again and again to their story.²⁰

²⁰"It was in regard to the old Duke of Omnium, of his nephew and heir, and of his heir's wife, Lady Glencora, that I was anxious to carry out this idea; but others added themselves to my mind as I went on, and I got round me a circle of persons as to whom I knew not only their present characters, but how those characters were to be affected by years and circumstances" (An Autobiography 264-5).

In looking at Trollope's vision of marriage, it is impossible to ignore one of his contemporaries writing about women's rights and a new vision of marriage.²¹ John Stuart Mill, in his work The Subjection of Women, does not entirely throw out the concept of marriage as he discusses the role of the modern middle-class woman. Instead, he believes that women should have the power of earning an income, but he feels that if they have *chosen* to marry, the running of the household should then become their exclusive career (the extra income a wife's job could bring in would not be worth the time it forces her to take away from her family). He states that a woman's husband should earn an income which allows her to provide the family with a home, and her children with an education. He states:

Like a man when he chooses a profession, so, when a woman marries it may in general be understood that she makes a choice of the management of a household, and the bringing up of a family, as the first call upon her exertions, during as many years of her life as may be required for the purpose; and that she renounces, not all other objects and occupations, but all which are not consistent with the requirements of this. (51)

Mill goes on further to state that this should be a beginning place, and if there are woman with "faculties exceptionally adapted to other pursuits" they should be allowed to pursue these activities, while being responsible to make sure that their household is kept in proper order. Although Trollope may

²¹Patricia Thompson feels that "despite Trollope's determined anti-feminism, his own ideal of marriage, if it does not include equality, is found, on examination, not to fall far short of Mill's other demands of 'community of interests and likeness of intellects'. It is true that he granted his heroines far more freedom in their virgin state than under the marriage yoke. But, practically without exception, they take with them into marriage intelligence, self-sufficiency and a certain proud consciousness of their own value which makes them reluctant to demand that which should be theirs by right" (111).

not agree with all of Mill's statements or ideas (Violet Effingham threatens to join Mr. Mill's cause to annoy her friends and family) he does agree that when a woman chooses to become a wife, her main occupation should be the maintenance of her household. It is this understanding which influences many of the young women of Trollope's novels when choosing a husband.

It is also clear from Trollope's novels that he and Mill have come to similar conclusions about the interactions between a husband and wife within the marriage structure. Just as Madame Max and Isabel Boncassen insist that they shall go into marriage as equals, Mill insists that a marriage should be that of equals and based on mutual trust and affections. He sees danger in the current structure of marriage, and feels that in this structure, the woman is more of a personal slave to her husband than any "Negro" slave could be:

The two are called "one person in law," for the purpose of inferring that whatever is hers is his, but the parallel inference is never drawn that whatever is his is hers; the maxim is not applied against the man, except to make him responsible to third parties for her acts, as a master for the acts of his slaves or of his cattle. I am far from pretending that wives are in general no better treated than slaves; but no slave is a slave to the same lengths, and in so full a sense of the word, as a wife is. Hardly any slave, except one immediately attached to the master's person, is a slave at all hours and all minutes; in general he has, like a soldier, his fixed task, and when it is done, or when he is off duty, he disposes, within certain limits, of his own time, and has a family life into which the master rarely intrudes. "Uncle Tom" under his first master had his own life in his "cabin," almost as much as any man whose work takes him away from home, is able to have in his own family. But it cannot be so with the wife. (33)

It is this exercise of absolute power that Mill so fears in marriage, and on some levels, Trollope agrees with this assessment. In the marriages that fail

so utterly in the Pallisers novels, and in Trollope's other works (i.e., the Trevelyan marriage in He Knew He Was Right), it is the husband's tyranny and the wife's struggles with obedience that cause so much heartache and disaster.

Both Trollope and Mill try to create a new definition of marriage within their works, and despite Trollope's public rejections of Mill, their ideals continue to be quite similar. For Mill, his ideal marriage is as follows:

What marriage may be in the case of two persons of cultivated faculties, identical in opinions and purposes, between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities with reciprocal superiority in them—so that each can enjoy the luxury of looking up to the other, and can have alternately the pleasure of leading and of being led in the path of development—I will not attempt to describe . . . But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this, and this only, is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinion, customs, and institutions which favour any other notion of it, or turn to conceptions and aspirations connected with it into any other direction, by whatever pretences they may be coloured, are relics of primitive barbarism. (102-3)

He sees marriage as a union of equals, with both partners striving for the same goals. While Trollope may never go so far as to allow the woman the lead in a marriage, his successful marriages are between individuals who agree upon the direction and goals of the marriage.

In looking at the marriages in the Palliser novels it is easy, almost without exception, to put the marriages into two categories: one where the husband desires his wife to be his partner in the marriage, so the marriage is successful; and, one where the husband demands that the wife obey his "wishes," so the marriage fails. It is almost as if Trollope heard Mill say, "The sufferings, immoralities, evils of all sorts, produced in innumerable cases by

the subjection of individual women to individual men, are far too terrible to be overlooked," and needed to depict this for his readers (85).

A. Tyrants

There are two marriages within the Palliser novels that are brilliant illustrations of some of the evils of marriage that Mill depicts in his work The Subjection of Women. The marriage of the Kennedys and the marriage of the Lopezes are prime examples of how a husband can misuse the power given to him by the conventions and laws governing marriage, and how the exercise of this power affects the individuals within the partnership. Although both marriages began very differently—Lady Laura Standish marries Mr. Kennedy for his money and position—while Emily Wharton marries for love, both marriages are failures in Trollope's eyes. Neither couple is able to achieve the love and respect for one another that is necessary for success in his world.

As we have seen earlier, Lady Laura's marriage to Mr. Kennedy is based upon her need to maintain her place in life. As she tells Mr. Finn, she has "accepted the owner of Loughlinter as my husband, because I verily believe that I shall thus do my duty in that sphere of life to which it has pleased God to call me" (Phineas Finn 138–9). She intends to marry her knowledge of politics and her political connections to a politician with the means to use them. Lady Laura anticipates playing the Scotch "lady bountiful" and looks forward to helping Mr. Kennedy with his constituent work. What she does not anticipate is the quiet life that Mr. Kennedy and his mother live at home,

and the total lack of interaction with her circle of acquaintances from London. Her temperament and her expectations do not prepare her for the quiet Sundays at home, where the reading of sermons is the only prescribed mode of occupation, and her brother's warning that she will not find it as easy to drive Mr. Kennedy as she hopes will more than come true.

Her lessons on the realities of her life commence immediately upon her marriage. It is not too many months after her marriage to Mr. Kennedy that she complains to her friend Mr. Finn about the unbearable restrictions that her husband's ordered life have placed upon her. For Laura, the time between her last meeting with Mr. Finn and her first meeting with him after her marriage has weighed heavily on her hands. She has learned that in her case, a woman may not do as much as a man. All the great wealth of Mr. Kennedy's is hers in much the same way the "dainties at the banquet belonged to Sancho the Governor;" an analogy that is very apt one for her situation on a number of levels (Phineas Finn 302).

Don Quixote's squire, Sancho Panza, is given the governorship of an island, the Isle Barataria, as part of a great joke. From the moment he arrives at Barataria, Sancho shows such good sense that those around him (both those who are in on the joke and those who are not) were "unable to decide whether to write him down as a wise man or a fool" (758). The rulings he hands down as a judge are so insightful and clever that he is compared to Solomon. Yet, even in his displayed ability to govern wisely, he is controlled by those around him. As he is taken into the banquet, a physician is stationed by his side to determine what he can eat. As dish after dish is removed from the table before he can even take a bite, Sancho questions the doctor about his

duties. The doctor's reply is most telling. He is there to think for the governor:

My principal duty is to be present at his [the governor's] dinners and suppers, to let him eat what seems to me fitting, and to take away from him what I presume may do him harm and be injurious to his stomach. (765)

It is this very type of supervision which brings Sancho to Laura's mind, and forces her to equate her position in Kennedy's house with Sancho's position in Barataria.

Throughout their conflicts, Kennedy insists that his wife bow to his wisdom in all things. All of the judgment Lady Laura has exercised as her father's daughter and the woman who ran his household are now to be kept in check; Mr. Kennedy will make all of the important decisions. She must learn *his* "excellent" system of bookkeeping and of housekeeping and adapt to his expectations for her life. The great things she had in mind to do after her marriage are not a part of Mr. Kennedy's idea of acceptable occupations for a lady; he feels that it should be enough for her to "sit at home and look after his welfare" (Phineas Finn 304). For Kennedy, this is all a dutiful wife who abides by the law of God and man should strive for. This marriage is a perfect illustration of what Mill finds so abominable in the institution of middle-class marriage as it stood in his day:

The law of servitude in marriage is a monstrous contradiction to all the principles of the modern world, and to all the experience through which those principles have been slowly and painfully worked out. It is the sole case, now that negro slavery has been abolished, in which a human being in the plenitude of every faculty is delivered up to the tender mercies of another human being, in the hope forsooth that this other will use the power solely for the good of the person subjected to it. Marriage is the

only actual bondage know to our law. There remain no legal slaves, except the mistress of every house. (86)

Lady Laura is an intelligent and worldly young lady, and one of the problems in her marriage is the fact that she is more intelligent than her husband. Her abilities and instincts as a politician are much more developed than Mr. Kennedy's, and his insistence that, as her husband, he is her master does not bode well for their future happiness together. It is shocking to Phineas that she should subject herself to a man he has always "despised as being weak, irresolute, and without a purpose!" (Phineas Finn 307). For Kennedy to feel that he is the head of *his* household, he must firmly enforce *his* rules and expectations.

It is Kennedy's sense of what his wife's duty should be that further damages their relationship. For him, duty is everything. While Lady Laura thrives on her contact with the leading politicians of the day, Kennedy only sees it as a duty to be performed. Men with his wealth and position in the world are expected to take an interest in politics and to further these interests by entertaining like-minded men:

He went up to London every year, and to Parliament, as a duty; and then, during some period of the recess, would have his house full of guests,—as another duty. But his happiness was to consist in such hours as these which seemed to inflict upon his wife the penalty of a continual headache. (Phineas Finn 308)

While his happiness lies in the quiet solitude of Loughlinter, Lady Laura's lies in the whirl of London society. Their lack of agreement on the large duties of life, make even the small ones impossible to agree upon. While Mr. Kennedy performs his duties without the thought of happiness, Lady Laura longs for some small piece of happiness.

In Trollope's world, Lady Laura's unhappiness can all be linked to her loveless marriage, and to her continuing friendship with a man she quickly admits she still loves. As she comes to realize that love in marriage is far more valuable than the assets of her spouse, her relationship with Phineas soon becomes a point of contention in her marriage. What Lady Laura did not discover during her courtship with Kennedy was his deep abiding need to be the head of his household in all things, including his wife's emotional life. After Phineas has come to request her help in securing Miss Effingham's hand in marriage, Laura allows Kennedy to see her mental agitation. As she struggles with her emotions and tries to present a calm face to her husband, Kennedy insists that she share her troubles with him so that he may solve them for her: "If you are in trouble you should tell me what it is, and leave it to me to try to help you" (Phineas Finn II.20). He is to be her guide in all things, and cannot allow even a part of her to be her own.

As Lady Laura continues to rebel against Kennedy's "yoke," he tries to recall her to what he feels are the "proper relations" between a husband and wife; a sense of "mutual regard and esteem" (Phineas Finn II.108). He wants her to display the proper regard for his God given place as her "Lord and Master," and desires to esteem her for her ability to live with this relationship. He is a striking example of the men Mill rails against:

All causes, social and natural, combine to make it unlikely that women should be collectively rebellious to the power of men. They are so far in a position different from all other subject classes, that their masters require something more from them than actual service. Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments. All men, except the most brutish, desire to have, in the woman most nearly connected with them, not a forced slave, but a willing one, not a slave merely, but a favourite. (15)

Kennedy expects Laura to willingly follow his way of life, and in doing this, he never considers happiness to be a part of the equation.

Lady Laura's compliance with Mr. Kennedy's wishes, and her continued residence under his roof are necessary to his sense of self. He cares what those around him think, and feels that he should at least be able to control his own wife. The narrator says of him that:

His married life had been unhappy. His wife had not submitted either to his will or to his ways. He had that great desire to enjoy his full rights, so strong in the minds of weak, ambitious men, and he had told himself that a wife's obedience was one of those rights which he could not abandon without injury to his self-esteem. (Phineas Finn II.114)

Even in his unhappiness he still clings to his sense of what the world feels is right. He cannot break from his sense of duty to find happiness, and this is one of the key factors that drives him to madness. For Kennedy, duty is all, and as he strives to develop this same sense of duty in his wife, he further drives her away. Even as he tries to talk Lady Laura into returning to him, he only calls on her sense of duty (59). He even goes so far as to tell Mr. Finn that "I did not want her to make me happy. I do not expect to be made happy. I wanted her to do her duty" (Phineas Redux 89). Unfortunately, it is Kennedy's insistence on duty from a wife who does not love him that causes the great shipwreck of their marriage. It is as Lady Laura says: "I tried to blaze into power by marriage, and I failed,—because I was a woman. A woman should marry only for love" (Phineas Redux 106).

The end of Sancho's governorship and the end of Lady Laura Kennedy's marriage contain echoes of one another. As Sancho leaves his island, he pulls his bruised and battered body (the result of a mishap while

strapped between two shields) onto his faithful ass Dapple, he asks his “counselors” to “Make way gentlemen, and let me return to my old freedom. Let me go and seek the life I left, and rise from this present death” (814).

Laura herself states that she is “so bruised that I am not able to stand on my feet” (Phineas Finn 302). Her marriage to Kennedy has played her the same trick that Sancho’s governorship has played him. It has taken both a physical and a mental toll on her, and in leaving her husband Laura is looking for her old life. She longs for her love, Phineas Finn, and holds out hope for a reconciliation with him after husband’s death. As a wealthy young widow, she curses her fate as she watches Phineas marry her rival Madame Max Goesler. Her current status in life is aptly described by Sancho’s words to his ass Dapple as he prepares to leave the Isle:

Since I left you and climbed the tower of ambition and pride a thousand miseries have pierced my soul, a thousand troubles and four thousand tribulations. (814)

Lady Laura’s own pride and ambition leave her an “old” used-up widow with no one to share the fortune she paid so dearly to acquire.

Love and duty are also key elements in Trollope’s portrait of the Emily Wharton and Ferdinand Lopez marriage; another brilliant illustration of a wife who is slave to her husband’s will. Emily Wharton chose her marriage to Lopez in opposition to her family’s wishes (they wanted her to marry Arthur Fletcher, a close friend of the family and a member of her own social class). For Emily, like many young ladies of her social class, marriage is her only “career choice,” and the narration quite frankly reminds the readers of this fact:

Like other girls she had been taught to presume that it was her destiny to be married, and like other girls she had thought much about her destiny. A young man generally regards it as his destiny either to succeed or to fail in the world, and he thinks about that. To him marriage, when it comes, is an accident to which he has hardly as yet given a thought. But to the girl the matrimony which is or is not to be her destiny contains within itself the only success or failure she anticipates. (The Prime Minister 39–40)

Emily herself acknowledges that her marriage must be a success (as it is her only option), and realizes that she must marry a “good” man in order for this enterprise to succeed. Unfortunately for her, she does not make a wise choice. She truly believes she loves Lopez, but she really knows nothing about him. She has no sense of her own worth, much less a sense of what her chosen spouse does to earn his income. For her, he is merely a handsome young man to be worshipped as husbands are meant to be worshipped. For Mr. Wharton, Lopez represents the foreign and unknown, while Arthur Fletcher represents someone Emily can fully understand and believe in, as well as someone who will be a proper companion for her. Although he would not argue for marriage within strict social classes, Mill does believe that similarity of minds within marriage forms the basis of a strong and successful marriage:

Nothing can be more unfavourable to that union of thoughts and inclinations which is the ideal of married life. Intimate society between people radically dissimilar to one another, is an idle dream. Unlikeness may attract, but it is likeness which retains; and in proportion to the likeness is the suitability of the individuals to give each other a happy life. (98)

Trollope’s depiction of the Wharton-Lopez marriage points out the tragedies of marriage between two very dissimilar people, and confirms that similarity

of minds is what leads to the perfect marriage, and not a lover's ability to charm and be tender at the proper moments.

The disparity of minds between Emily Wharton and Ferdinand Lopez becomes evident only hours after their wedding. Their differences are most clearly displayed in their attitudes toward money and the source of their income. For Emily, her income is not something to be pondered. She has lived in comfort all of her life and has no need to worry about her personal expenses, much less the expenses associated with running a household. Her father has always taken care of her and her brother Everett. To her, it is only natural that those members of her family who will not inherit lands or money should work for a living—her father's favorite, Arthur Fletcher, practices law before going into Parliament. It is only natural that Emily's suitors should have some sort of occupation—and an income to go with it—but just what that occupation is, and how much income is derived from it is not her primary concern in her search for a husband.

From the beginning, Emily Wharton appears to be the perfect Trollopian heroine. She is bright and intelligent, comes from a good family and knows what is proper for her station in life. It is clear from the narrative's description of her brother Everett, that Emily is the brighter of the two: "But here, in speaking of the brother, it may suffice to say, that the sister, who was endowed with infinitely finer gifts than his, did give credit to the somewhat pretentious claims of her less noble brother" (The Prime Minister 15). Emily has been schooled in all the traditions of her class—including her acceptance of Everett's exalted position—and feels that Lopez meets all the criteria she has set for herself in choosing a husband. What Emily does not

know, and will not find out until her wedding day, is how her husband's mind and career truly work.

In his interview with Mr. Wharton to ask for Emily's hand in marriage, Lopez states that he is "engaged in foreign loans" (The Prime Minister 29). An occupation which Mr. Wharton rightly believes is a very precarious way of earning a living. Neither Mr. Wharton nor Emily fully understand how Lopez plans to earn his income after his marriage. Mr. Wharton expects him to earn an income to support his daughter, and Lopez expects Emily's fortune to further his career. From the very first, it is clear that Emily's fortune is an import part of her charm:

On his own behalf it must be acknowledged that he did love the girl, as well perhaps as he was capable of loving any one;—but he had found out many particulars as to Mr. Wharton's money before he had allowed himself to love her. (The Prime Minister 40)

As the narration progresses, it becomes even more clear that Lopez is not an honest man. Although he loves the girl he is to marry, "[h]e was willing to cheat all the world,—so that he might succeed" (The Prime Minister 227). It is this sensibility that he brings to his marriage, and it is this sensibility that he wishes to instill in his wife. Before his wedding, Lopez resolves that his wife must learn the importance of money so that she can participate in his own feelings about the making of money. For him, it is imperative that his wife "learn that the enjoyment of these things [fine clothing, jewels and carriages] must be built upon a conviction that the most important pursuit in the world was the acquiring of money" (The Prime Minister 231). His financial worries make it imperative that his wife begin to practice her portion of the family "business" as quickly as possible; a business totally foreign to her

understanding and sense of values. Lopez cannot even keep his resolve to forget about his financial cares for two hours (much less the fortnight he had originally resolved on), and Emily's lessons on how to "extract" money from her father begin not one week into her marriage.

These lessons in the "joint work of their life" prove to be the undoing of the Lopez marriage (The Prime Minister 233). Less than a week after their marriage, Lopez asks Emily to write her father to ask him for money, and as her "mind within her recoiled at this . . . she was very careful that he should not feel any such motion in her body" (235). This seemingly simple request is only the first of many in her short marriage. Emily Lopez has gone from being a young woman who has never even discussed money with her father to being her husband's means of extracting much needed cash from her father's pockets. Early in her marriage, Emily learns that her husband's humor depends entirely upon his financial situation (and upon her cooperation in acquiring the capital needed to carry on his work). His lesson that "it would be the duty of both of them to get all they could from her father" is a very costly one (The Prime Minister 271). It is only the first sign that her husband's ways are not those of her family and her childhood.

It is this battle for dominance over Emily—the imposition of Lopez's belief system on a young girl from the bastion of the British upper-middle classes—that is the undoing of the Lopez marriage. From the beginning it is clear that Emily has faith in her father's ability to do what is right:

If it was proper that a father should give his daughter money when she was married, why did not her father do so without waiting to be asked? And yet, if he were unwilling to do so, would it not be better to leave him to his pleasure in the matter? (The Prime Minister 271)

Her father has always taken care of her, taught her what is right, and done what is right. Yet, here is the man she loves trying to teach her that her father has not done his duty by her. Lopez only sees what Mr. Wharton can provide for Emily financially, and does not fully understand the emotional support he has given her. The money issue, in one sense, is only the tip of the iceberg in Lopez's relations with Emily and her father. Lopez wants the security of the financial support that his alliance with the Whartons brings, but does not understand the moral grounding that his wife's family has given her.

Lopez drives his wife further from him as he continues her lessons in life. As Emily's marriage progresses, she comes to understand that "by her marriage she had divided herself from her own people" (The Prime Minister 281). The events surrounding the election at Silverbridge force a major turn in Emily's relations with her husband. After she receives a letter from Arthur Fletcher—a man she considers good, noble and true—Lopez extends his lessons from the pursuit of money to his sense of what is proper behavior for his wife. Like Mr. Kennedy, Lopez feels that it is his right to dictate what his wife thinks or does in all things: "You are a child, my dear, and must allow me to dictate to you what you ought to think in such a matter as this" (The Prime Minister 284). He is asking Emily to put aside all that she knows about Fletcher's nature and accept his assertion that her childhood friend is a liar; something that she knows to be false. The Fletcher/Lopez situation also leads Lopez to tell Emily that her father's opinion shall have no weight in her life either:

I will not have any interference from your father between you and me. If I had listened to your father, you would not have been here now . . . But I will consult him in nothing so peculiar to myself as my own wife. And you must understand that in

coming to me all obligation from you to him became extinct. Of course he is your father; but in such a matter as this he has no more say to you than any stranger. (The Prime Minister 288).

This behavior on Lopez's part is offensive to his wife, and ultimately leads to the demise of her love for him (especially as she begins to compare his behavior with that of Arthur Fletcher).

Lopez's insistence that he rule his wife in all things is ultimately his undoing. As his control over Emily moves from using her to get money from her father to insisting that he determine their joint friends and enemies—"You must take up your husband's friendships and your husband's quarrels"—his true nature comes out (The Prime Minister 353). He is not the gentleman that Emily dreamed of as a young maiden:

The beau ideal of a man which she then pictured to herself was graced, first with intelligence, then with affection, and lastly with ambition. She knew no reason why such a hero as her fancy created should be born of lords and ladies rather than of working mechanics, should be English rather than Spanish or French. The man could not be her hero without education, without attributes to be attained no doubt more easily by the rich than by the poor; but, with that granted, with those attained, she did not see why she, or why the world, should go back beyond the man's own self. (The Prime Minister 290).

This ideal is only part of what her father values in a gentleman, and as Emily begins her comparison of Lopez and Fletcher, she comes to understand just exactly why it might be important to go back beyond the exterior of the man himself. A true gentleman would not take advantage of her loyalty. Even though she is losing her love for Lopez, Emily is true to the vows she has taken. She will obey Lopez in the things she can—such as where she lives and whom she visits—but, she cannot go against what she knows to be right. It is, as the narrator says: "Her loyalty to him [Lopez], which he could

understand though not appreciate, enabled him to be a tyrant to her" (The Prime Minister 353). Unlike Lady Laura Kennedy, Emily Lopez cannot bring herself to leave her husband. She is willing to sacrifice her own life and go to South America with Lopez, even though she no longer loves him.

On one level, the tragedy of the Lopez marriage is that Emily Wharton marries the man she loves. She takes all that she knows from her own education and experiences, and chooses a man she thinks she can spend the rest of her life with. She chooses the romantic over the known entity. Unfortunately, she marries the man that does not have the same expectations or experiences. Lopez understands the outward forms of British life; he looks like a gentleman, he can act like a gentleman, and he knows his rights as a husband. Unfortunately for his wife, his main goal in life is to use this knowledge of how gentlemen behave to cheat the world. He will use anything and everything put in his power to make his way in the world, and Emily Wharton is just one more method of taking his desired place in the world. Lopez understands Emily's adherence to duty, and takes advantage of this. He uses her desire to do what is right to manipulate her into doing what he wants her to do. His inability to live life the way Emily has been raised is the main reason that his wife's love for him dies. She cannot love a man without honor and after she has married Lopez comes to realize that he has no honor.

Mercifully for Emily Lopez, her punishment for choosing incorrectly does not last long. She is released from all signs of her unfortunate marriage with the death of her child and Lopez's suicide. However, she now sees herself as damaged goods. She has lost the sweet bloom of first love that is so

valuable in her circle with her marriage to Lopez, and feels that she can never allow herself to be happy again. Her sorrow after Lopez's death is not just for him, but for the death of all that she was and for the disgrace she has brought to her family. She has gone from being the bright shining star of the Wharton family, to being the outcast, and she cannot bring herself to forgive her actions and accept Arthur Fletcher's offer of marriage:

It was not only that her love has been misbestowed,—not only that she had made so grievous an error in the one great act of her life which she had chosen to perform on her own judgment! Perhaps the most crushing memory of all was that which told her that she, who had through all her youth been regarded as a bright star in the family, had been the one person to bring a reproach upon the name of all these people who were so good to her. (The Prime Minister II.279)

Emily longs to hold onto the disgrace she has brought to herself and holds out against the happiness offered to her by Arthur Fletcher. Unlike Lady Laura Kennedy, Emily Lopez is given a second chance at life with the man she loves and admires.

B. Partners

To fully understand why a marriage succeeds or fails in the Palliser novels, it is important to realize that a "successful" marriage in Trollope has a more complex nature than one which ends in disaster (such as the Kennedy or Lopez unions). On one hand, it would be quite simple to say that marriages in Trollope's world flourish when they are based on mutual affection or love, but the glaring failure of the Lopez marriage (seemingly based upon mutual affection) proves that love alone is not enough to avoid

shipwreck. Another (and far more important) element must be added to love in order for a marriage to truly prosper in the Palliser's world. Trollope believes that similarity of minds and shared values and goals (two things which Mill extols in The Subjection of Women) must be added to a base of mutual affection for a union to grow and prosper. The successful courtships of the novels often become joyful (and prosperous) marriages, and many of the young women who were wooed and won in the first novels of the sequence reappear later as married women with happy ordinary lives. Their mastery of the early lessons of courtship and their well-informed choices in husbands provide the basis for their place among the pillars of Trollope's world.

As many of the young women wooed in the early novels take their final place in the world, the narration follows a practice common to Nineteenth Century literature and takes its leave of them. Upon her marriage to Mr. John Grey, Lady Glencora Palliser's cousin, Alice Vavasor, quietly moves into the background of the Pallisers' lives. The reader's only sights of her occur when she occasionally reappears as Mrs. Grey, wife of the Duke of Omnium's great friend and the member for Silverbridge. Mrs. Grey is present at many of the dinners the Pallisers host at Matching and in London throughout the series that follows Can You Forgive Her?, but the reader does not learn anything about her life or her thoughts on the events around her. The great action surrounding her later life occurs when Mr. Grey's application for the Chiltern Hundreds (as a result of his impending mission to Persia) sparks the great Lopez/Fletcher battle for his empty seat in the Prime Minister. This is almost the last we hear of the Greys until the

Duke of Omnium determines that he cannot ask his wife's cousin to care for his daughter after the Duchess's death. On some levels, it is almost as if all the narrator's (and the reader's) interest in Alice Vavasor disappears *because* she has settled down into her proper (and long-anticipated) sphere in life.

Lady Chiltern has only a slightly more prominent place in the later narratives than Mrs. Grey. Her appearance in Phineas Redux gives us a glimpse of her life as a married woman. It is to the Chilterns' home that Phineas is first invited upon his return to London and politics. Here we find a woman who is "not in the least altered," even though she has had a baby since Mr. Finn last saw her (Phineas Redux 19). She has taken on the duties of the wife of the Master of the Brake Hounds, and she shows "Baby, and Oswald shows the hounds" (19). Even with these new duties and responsibilities, she is essentially unchanged. The Chilterns' marriage is based upon their long friendship and courtship (each has a thorough understanding of the other's character), and their interactions with their close friends illustrates the stability of their relationship with one another. The Chilterns' friendship with Mr. Finn is even the means of his re-introduction to Madame Max Goesler. Madame Max is invited down for the hunting because Lady Chiltern remembers that "of old he [Mr. Finn] was fond of pretty women, and she knew that in coming days he might possibly want money" (Phineas Redux 125). It is a tribute to Mr. Finn's own character and to the strength of the Chiltern's union that Lady Chiltern can take such an active role in supplying an earlier supplicant for her hand (a rival which Lord Chiltern felt obliged to meet on the sands of Blankenberg) with the means of re-entering society.

The Chilterns are the picture of the perfect Victorian couple—he pursues his duties as the Master of the Brake Hounds, while she supports these duties by filling their home with guests who can appreciate the hunting her husband works so hard to produce. In order to further the interests of the Brake Hunt, Lady Chiltern is willing to leave her own home to travel to Matching with her husband in order to settle the question of Trumpeton Wood with the new Duchess. Throughout Phineas Redux, the Chilterns' own relationship deepens as they advance the needs and desires of their friends and relations. They are by Mr. Finn's side as he is charged with the murder of Mr. Bonteen. Lady Chiltern testifies on his behalf at the trial, with her husband at her side to hear her say that she regards Mr. Finn as "a man who was brave and tenderhearted, soft in feeling and manly in disposition" (Phineas Redux II.212). Their friendship with Adelaide Palliser and Gerard Maule provides the young couple with strong allies as they wend their way through a thorny courtship. Lady Laura's own return to England is eased by the friendship of her brother and his wife, and Lord Chiltern later provides her with a means of communicating with Mr. Finn during his prolonged stay in prison. The portrait of the Chilterns' marriage that is painted in Phineas Redux reveals a couple who are comfortable (and in love) with each other, and from this position of security work to ensure the happiness of their friends and family.

The marriage of the Chilterns' great friend, Mr. Finn, and his wife Madame Max Goesler runs more like an equal partnership than a traditional Victorian marriage. From the very beginning of their engagement it is clear that this will be a marriage of equals. As Madame Max Goesler, Mrs. Finn

managed not only her fortune, but was also able to gain for herself a place within English society. Her efforts on behalf of Mr. Finn during his trial demonstrate her ability to take care of herself as well as others. Her visits to the Meager family and her journey to Prague in search of evidence against Mr. Emilius are instrumental in proving Phineas's innocence and in saving his life, yet she brushes aside the danger she has faced by claiming that she is "constantly going to Vienna on business" (Phineas Redux II.248). Even after this display of competence, Madame Max is willing to give up much of her own authority to the husband she has chosen for herself.

Throughout the last two novels of the Palliser series, Mrs. Finn continues to play a valuable role in the narrative, and a more complete picture of her relationship with Mr. Finn comes to light. In The Prime Minister, Mrs. Finn takes her place as the Duchess of Omnium's invaluable ally and right hand in her efforts to create a "second government" to support the work of the coalition government her husband has been called upon to create. It is in Mrs. Finn's first conversations with the Duchess regarding Mr. Finn's place in this new government that she explains the independence so vital to their relationship: "Mr. Finn will be like the Duke in one thing. He'll take his own way as to being in or out quite independently of his wife" (The Prime Minister 54). Mr. and Mrs. Finn married for love, and they are able to sustain that affection because neither one exercises undue influence or power over the other. Their marriage is one of strong contrasts between the traditional and the untraditional. Mrs. Finn works on behalf of the Duchess as a kind of "assistant hostess" in the sphere of the home (or what for Lady Glencora could be called the private political realm), while her husband

serves the Duke and his country in the public political realm (The Prime Minister 180). Yet, their own private arrangements as to who performs which functions is rather unclear. On some levels, Mrs. Finn does bow to her husband's schedule; she accompanies him on his annual voyage in August while he is the First Lord of the Admiralty. Yet, when it comes to the control of their income, it is never quite clear just who is responsible for its management.

From the beginning of their relationship, it is obvious that Madame Max means for Mr. Finn to benefit from her wealth (her initial offers of monetary support before their marriage make this clear to Mr. Finn). Upon their engagement Madame Max explains to Phineas that "[i]t must be an even partnership" about money (Phineas Redux II.355). Just what that partnership really looks like is developed as the narrative progresses. As Mrs. Finn and the Duchess discuss the great plans for Gatherum and the vast sums of money required to pull them off, the Duchess laments her lack of ready money and assumes that Mrs. Finn must not have the same troubles (she had been reported to spend between £7–8,000 a year before her marriage to Mr. Finn) (Phineas Finn II.31) In order to correct her friend's false assumption, Mrs. Finn assures her that she hasn't "a shilling," as she has a husband of her own who must be consulted (The Prime Minister 95–96). It seems from this statement, that she has given control of her wealth to Mr. Finn upon their marriage. Yet, in The Duke's Children the reader learns that "[i]t was customary with Mrs. Finn almost every autumn to go off to Vienna, where she possessed considerable property, and there to inspect the circumstances of her estate" (326). It is evident from this statement that Mrs. Finn is still very

active in the management of their joint income, and it is also clear from the sentence that follows that her husband does not always accompany her on these journeys. It is interesting that she obviously feels that the fortune she brought into her union with Mr. Finn is not hers alone to control.

Nevertheless, she seems to have much of the management of this income in her own hands. It is just one more example of how their partnership and their independence are maintained as each performs their "assigned" duties.

In contrast to the other "major" marriages in the Palliser novels, the reader does not "see" the courtship of Lady Glencora M'Cluskie and Mr. Plantagenet Palliser; they are introduced as husband and wife in Can You Forgive Her?. It is only through the narrative that we learn of Lady Glencora's love for Burgo Fitzgerald and of her family's desire to give her and her £50,000 a year to the Duke of Omnium's heir. From the narrative, it is evident that her family's concern is the protection of her great fortune and position, and the need to marry her to someone whose own position will ensure the survival of what they have worked so hard to amass:

She had listened,—with many haughty tossings indeed of her proud little head, with many throbbings of her passionate young heart; but in the end she listened and heard reason. She saw Burgo, for the last time, and told him that she was the promised bride of Plantagenet Palliser, nephew and heir of the Duke of Omnium. (188)

Much of Lady Glencora Palliser's unease with her position as the wife of Plantagenet Palliser in Can You Forgive Her? comes from her inability to reconcile her girlish vision of the romance that should accompany marriage and the reality that she must marry her fate to someone more appropriate for her station in life.

Mr. Palliser's own expectations of marriage are a good indication of what Lady Glencora must face, as well as indication of what some men of his rank expect out of marriage. Palliser himself is not a romantic man, although he did have an earlier affection for a married woman:

He had not dabbled much in the fountain of Venus, though he had forgotten himself once, and sinned in coveting another man's wife. But his sin then had hardly polluted his natural character, and his desire had been of a kind which was almost more gratified in its disappointment than it would have been in its fruition . . . He knew that it would never be for him to hang up on the walls of a temple a well-worn lute as a votive offering when leaving the pursuits of love. (248)

Lady Glencora M'Cluskie was presented to Palliser as the most obvious choice for a mate, both her rank and her fortune are equal to his own prospects, and both will help contribute to the advancement of his political ambitions. Mr. Palliser was told of his chosen bride's love for Burgo Fitzgerald and he feels that every young woman has some such story to tell, but he does not seem to fully understand the strong sentiment associated with this first love. He believes that merely telling his wife, "You must love me now," will be enough to make her love him and make his marriage happy (249). For his own part, the mere act of making Lady Glencora his wife seems to generate the love he needs to be happy, and "on the whole he was contented and loved his wife, as he thought, very heartily, and at least better than he loved anyone else" (249). It is this basic contentment that allows him to continue on with his work in much the same fashion as before his marriage, with long hours in the house and long hours at home spent working on his plan for decimal coinage.

Lady Glencora Palliser's marriage marks the beginning of a new life for her, and a new series of lessons and skills to absorb and apply. She must learn to reconcile her romantic nature and sense of fun with her husband's sense of propriety and position in life. As she learns how to behave as the wife of the man who may be the next Chancellor of the Exchequer, Glencora chaffs at the restraints placed on her by society and longs to do much more than she is allowed. She says to her cousin Alice Vavasor that "I don't mean anything improper, you know; only one does get so hampered, right and left, for fear of Mrs. Grundy" (223). Rather than just assume the role of the proper and loving wife, Glencora needs her "dull" husband to win her love:

I do not know that Lady Glencora's heart was made of that stern stuff which refuses to change its impressions; but it was a heart, and it required food. To love and fondle some one,—to be loved and fondled, where absolutely necessary to her happiness. She wanted the little daily assurance of her supremacy in the man's feelings, the constant touch of love . . . the softness of an occasional kiss given here and there when chance might bring them together, some half-pretended interest in her little doings, a nod, a wink, a shake of the head, or even a pout. It should have been given to her to feed upon such food as this daily, and then she would have forgotten Burgo Fitzgerald. (Can You Forgive Her? 249–250)

Lady Glencora is caught between being a young girl in the first flush of love and a woman whose position in the world places her at the forefront of London society. Alice's description of Lady Glencora as sometimes looking like a child and sometimes looking like an old woman is an accurate description of this internal struggle (232). Glencora knows that it is proper to be the first downstairs in her own house, yet she tells Alice (a relative her own age with whom she has really only had brief contact) all the intimate

details of her marriage within the first hour and a half of her visit to Matching.

In order for the Pallisers' marriage to survive, Plantagenet and Lady Glencora must both learn to put aside their pre-conceived notions of marriage, and find some common ground from which to work. At the beginning of their union, politics is all to Palliser, and he feels that his career makes up for the "small everyday calamity of having a wife who loved another man better than she loved him," and that "[t]o lose his influence with his party would be worse to him than to lose his wife" (Can You Forgive Her? 250). Unfortunately, his young wife does not "give two pence" about the politics which make up such a large portion of her husband's life (231). She is willing to try to be good and greet all the guests at her house for his sake, but she cannot bring herself to be an enthusiastic participant in his life while she is still in love with Burgo. Lady Glencora does not understand her husband's nature. She believes that Palliser cannot love her until she has an heir for the title he is to inherit, and uses her childlessness as an excuse to nurture her love for Burgo. Fortunately for both their sakes, Mr. Palliser begins to understand that his young wife needs his physical presence and outward signs of his affection in order to respond to his love for her. It is also fortunate that Lady Glencora knew what was "fitting, useful and best under the circumstances" and sends Mr. Fitzgerald away for the last time at Lady Monk's party (Can You Forgive Her? II.103). This near disaster is what finally cements their married relationship. As a result of the near loss of his wife, Mr. Palliser vows to take his wife to the Continent for a time; a trip which will allow him to display his affection for her and ensure that he cannot

ignore her while performing his public duties. As an even greater measure of his desire to ensure the survival of his marriage, Palliser must deny his own ambition and turn down the long coveted seat in the cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to make the promised trip to the Continent. It is only natural that the Pallisers should conceive a child on this journey; Mr. Palliser is no longer retiring for the evening hours long after his wife has gone to sleep.

Just as the birth of an heir completes the process of forgetting Burgo Fitzgerald, Lady Glencora's own developing interest in politics further brings the Pallisers' interests as a married couple into alignment. When we are introduced to Lady Glencora Palliser again in Phineas Finn, Mr. Palliser is Chancellor of the Exchequer, and her own interest in politics is apparent:

Lady Glencora, whose husband was, as has been said, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who was still a young woman, and a very pretty woman, had taken lately very strongly to politics, which she discussed among men and women of both parties with something more than ordinary audacity. (Phineas Finn 115)

Her conversations throughout this novel are full of politics. At Mr. Kennedy's estate in Scotland, Lady Glencora's politics are too "fast and furious" for Mr. Kennedy as she calls for "making all men and women equal" (Phineas Finn 136-127). Lady Glencora seems to be far more radical in her politics than her husband, but she does understand that the goal of the Liberal party is "to reduce the inequalities" of the British social and political system. Even in Phineas Finn, it is clear that the gatherings at Matching and in London are put together in reference to furthering her husband's (and his party's) political goals. It is at one such political gathering that Phineas Finn, as a young and highly favored member of Parliament, meets Madame Max

Goesler (Phineas Finn II.24). In addition to introducing him to the woman he will eventually marry, Lady Glencora takes up Mr. Finn's political career as one of her pet causes in Phineas Redux.

The power and influence that the wives of the major politicians believe they wield becomes apparent during Lady Glencora's efforts on behalf of Mr. Finn in Phineas Redux. As the Duke's party begins to form a new government, the Duchess asks her husband to talk to Mr. Gresham about a place for Mr. Finn (Phineas Redux 338). When her efforts are thwarted by Mr. Bonteen's statements about Mr. Finn's character, she sets about to ensure that Mr. Bonteen will not "enter Elysium" (356). Although she fails to gain Mr. Finn the support he needs to attain a government appointment, she understands the game well enough to make sure that Mr. Bonteen is not rewarded with the much desired seat in the cabinet. She brings the social aspect of the game into play with a few well-placed words here and there. By merely singling Mr. Bonteen out for her "special attention" during a social gathering at Matching, Lady Glencora ensures that those in power within her husband's party view him as unworthy of the place he aspires to fill (Phineas Redux 357). Although her efforts on behalf of Mr. Finn are great, he does not succeed in gaining a position within the government (Mr. Gresham was "firmly resolved that no woman's fingers should have anything to do with his pie") (Phineas Redux 360). Lady Glencora's "party" may not have succeeded in their efforts to gain Mr. Finn a position, but her party's drawing rooms (and the access to the leading members of his party they afford) are always open to him.

The Duchess of Omnium's political interests (and her affection for her husband) are at their peak in The Prime Minister. It is only at this stage of their marriage, when the Duke has reached a position his wife feels befits his station in life, that the Duke of Omnium experiences the kind of wifely worship that he has desired from the beginning of his marriage. As the novel begins, the Duke of Omnium is on the brink of becoming the head of a new coalition government, and as his wife realizes this, her joy and affection for her husband are complete:

'You are going to be Prime Minister!' she exclaimed. As she spoke she threw her arms up, and then rushed into his embrace. Never since their first union had she been so demonstrative either of love or admiration. 'Oh, Plantagenet,' she said, 'if I can only do anything I will slave for you.' As he put his arm round her waist he already felt the pleasantness of her altered way to him. She had never worshipped him yet, and therefore her worship when it did come had all the delight to him which it ordinarily has to the newly married hero. (48)

The Duchess's excitement about her husband's new position is two-fold. It is a great honor for him to finally be "to her thinking, the leading man in the greatest kingdom in the world," and she feels that *she* is now in a position to enhance his stature with her own works (50). The narrator says of her that she has a "celebrity all her own, quite independent of his [the Duke's] position, and which could not be enhanced by any glory or power added to him" (50). The division of labor between the Duke and Duchess of Omnium becomes clear as the novel progresses. Not only does the Duchess run the household, but she serves as the Duke's contact with the non-political world. In the early years of their marriage, Mr. Palliser feels that the guests at Matching are always his wife's (Phineas Redux II.313). Throughout their marriage, the Duchess has managed his social contacts for him—bringing the

world (both political and non-political) into their home—and this does not change when he becomes Prime Minister. The Duchess takes her role as the Duke's social representative seriously, and plans to form her own cabinet to implement a grand plan of entertainments in support of the new government that would "frighten anyone less audacious" than herself (The Prime Minister 54).

The Duchess's plans for her form of government are well in place a mere six weeks after her husband's appointment as Prime Minister, and at first all appears to go smoothly with her efforts. The huge receptions and dinner parties at their London House in Carlton Gardens are full of individuals whose presence "might be desirable—in however remote a degree" (The Prime Minister 98). She is first introduced to Ferdinand Lopez at one of her own London receptions (after her husband asks her to send him a card), and her ability to look past her own likes and dislikes for her husband's sake are at their highest during these "state" occasions:

'Her Grace has none [scruples]. She has feelings and convictions which keep her straight, but no scruples. Look at her now talking to Sir Orlando Drought, a man whom she both hates and despises. I'm sure she is looking forward to some happy time in which the Duke may pitch Sir Orlando overboard . . . But she is talking to Sir Orlando now as if she were pouring her full confidence into his ear, and Sir Orlando is believing her. Sir Orlando is in a seventh heaven, and she is measuring his credulity inch by inch.' (The Prime Minister 104)

At this point she is the great social politician of the family, as her husband sits in the corner with the Duke of Bungay to avoid the crowd which fills his house. The Duke himself even feels the weight of her efforts. As the first session of his rule comes to a close, he begins to doubt his own ability to govern (as he believes he has had no work of his own to perform), and he

begins to think that maybe his position, wealth, and wife are the reasons he was chosen to be Prime Minister. His wife is adept at the social skills that bind men together, and he wonders if these skills do not make the Duchess the true Prime Minister (161). The Duke himself is neither “gregarious nor communicative,” and on some levels, he truly needs his wife’s abilities to fulfill his duties in the new coalition government (250).

Unfortunately, the initial successes of the Duchess’s efforts on behalf of her husband take a back seat to the Duke’s inability to carry on the “vulgarity” of the season at Gatherum, and the turmoil surrounding the election at Silverbridge only further separates the political ambitions of the Duke and the Duchess. The Duchess’s insistence that the Duke may still exercise his right to back a candidate for the seat at Silverbridge (an act which would be unconstitutional after election reform), and the Duke’s own publicly stated intention not to interfere with the election brings their political plans into direct opposition. The Duchess’s own thinking on the election is this: “She certainly had a little syllogism in her head as to the Duke ruling the borough, the Duke’s wife ruling the Duke, and therefore the Duke’s wife ruling the borough” (The Prime Minister 196). This syllogism has worked for the Duchess in the past, as she’s had her way in spending their income and in pursuing her grand entertainments. In moving this “little syllogism” into the real world of politics, the Duchess runs into an immovable object as the Duke asserts his right to have the final say on any Ducal politics. The Duke’s interaction with Major Poutney at Gatherum, when he asks for the Duke’s support in running for Silverbridge, is the final blow to the Duchess’s great

plan of cementing the coalition government together with her abundant hospitality and to her dream of her own duly elected member of parliament.

The Duchess's ambition to have one of her chosen "swans" elected to parliament is the beginning of the a series of events that finally brings her husband's term as Prime Minister to an end. Her unfortunate decision to "disobey" the Duke's direct request not to interfere in the Silverbridge election, her misguided choice of Lopez, and the Duke's own insistence that he pay the £500 that Lopez requests, all conspire to bring the Duke a level of public scrutiny he cannot withstand. In some ways, it is the image of the Duke and Duchess as one, as two sides of the same coin, that brings this business to a head. The Duke's over chivalric nature—a later comparison to Don Quixote and his desire to maintain a long dead way of life is apt—forces him to take the blame for his wife's actions; "A man and his wife are one. For what she does he is responsible" (The Prime Minister II.22). For most of their marriage, she has been entirely responsible for the social (home) aspects of their union, while he has been responsible for their political (public) actions. It is only when she oversteps her duties in the political/public side of their lives that they come into conflict. This division of power has worked very well for the Duke and Duchess of Omnium in the past:

If it were to go on he must throw up everything. Ruat cælum, fiat—proper subordination from his wife in regard to public matters! No wife had a fuller allowance of privilege, or more complete power in her hands, as to things fit for women's management. But it was intolerable to him that she should seek to interfere with him in matters of a public nature. (The Prime Minister 304)

It is ironic that one of the causes of turmoil in their marriage, politics and the Duke's career, is what ultimately brings them closer together. The Duke of St.

Bungay expresses it well when he thinks that “though she [the Duchess of Omnium] had failed to love the man, she had given her entire heart to the Prime Minister” (II.240–1). For the Duke and Duchess, it is their joint interest in “Mr. Palliser’s” political career (even though they differ in how to advance that career) that finally brings them to a point where the Duchess can fully love, admire, and respect her husband. It is also interesting to note that the Duchess’s social nature, a nature that causes the Duke so much agony at the beginning of their union, becomes one of the Duke’s own assets. The Duchess’s and her contributions to their joint life have slowly and surely become an invaluable part of the Duke’s own nature.

The Duke does not fully understand this dependence upon his wife and her abilities until the Duchess’s death in the opening words of The Duke’s Children. It is only as a result of her death that it becomes clear to him that she has truly become one with him. Over the years, the Duchess had become the Duke’s best friend and ally. She was the only person who knew the various aspects of his life, and the one person he could rely upon for help. The narration describing the Duke’s grief describes their relationship best:

. . . he had hardly made for himself a single intimate friend—except the one who had now passed away from him. To her he had been able to say what he thought, even though she would occasionally ridicule him while he was declaring his feelings. But there had been no other human soul to whom he could open himself . . . He had so habituated himself to devote his mind and his heart to the service of his country, that he had almost risen above or sunk below humanity. But she, who had been essentially human, had been a link between him and the world. (The Duke’s Children 3)

The Duchess had served as the Duke’s social self, responsible for entertaining the Bonteens and Droughts who crossed their path during the Duke’s career.

She had been able to weather the storms of society (and the press) in The Prime Minister when he was bent by their force. The Duchess even promises to find her contentment solely in her husband after his resignation (The Prime Minister II.309). It is only now, after she has irrevocably left him, that he realizes the loss of his wife is far worse than the loss of his party's support. Although they may not have commenced their married life in love, the development of a mutual interest in politics, and their joint efforts on behalf of the Duke's coalition government helped them form a lasting union that is broken only by the Duchess's death.

* * * * *

In his portrayal of all the marriages in the Palliser novels, Trollope demonstrates that it is not love alone that enables a marriage to survive. Lady Laura Kennedy marries Mr. Kennedy without love, and is unable and unwilling to adapt her ambitions and expectations to her husband's. Emily Wharton sees her love for Ferdinand Lopez die as he tries to teach her a mode of life which is entirely foreign to everything she knows and loves. These marriages are destroyed, not only by a lack of love, but by each couple's inability to find some common ground upon which to build their lives.

It is only when a husband and wife share the same interests and expectations for their lives that a marriage truly prospers and thrives in the Palliser's world; marriage where the individuals are, as Mill states, "identical in opinions and purposes" (102). The marriages which work in the Palliser novels are those based on truth, respect and friendship. The Finns, the Chilterns, and even the Pallisers go into their marriages relatively clear about the character of their future spouse. They know, for the most part, what they

are to expect out of their marriage, and it is this knowledge that creates the success these couples experience.

IV. "Is He or Isn't He?" Redux

In looking at Anthony Trollope's views on the Women Question, it is important to understand the fundamental principal which governs the lives of his female characters—marriage is one of the few career options open to Victorian women. The sentiment expressed by Jane Austen fifty years before the publication of Can You Forgive Her?—"It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife"—is still in force in Trollope's world (Pride and Prejudice 51). His female characters understand that it is the business of their lives to marry well. What has changed since Austen's time is the nature of marriage and the expectations Trollope's female characters bring to wedlock. These new women hope to accomplish something with their lives, and marriage is the means they have of achieving their goals.

Lady Laura Kennedy hopes to influence the world through her position as the wife of one of the leading politicians of the day, only to have her hopes dashed by a man she cannot love or live with. Lady Glencora Palliser is able to succeed where Lady Laura fails. She earns a place for herself in the world on her own merits, and is able to achieve a measure of political influence that Lady Laura only dreams of. The young women of Trollope's world are able to influence the direction their lives take through the choices they make. They are bright, capable, and intelligent (occasionally, these same young women are more intelligent than the young men who vie for their affections). It is the image of this capable young woman that adds to the great debate about Trollope's stand on the Women Question.

Trollope's quest to create a "real" world in his novels is a major component behind the design of his capable young women. The women who populate his novels are like their contemporaries in the real world. Like Alice Vavasor, they feel the need to do something with their lives. They are tempted by the unsuitable young men they can't marry. They worry about their lack of children, and where their income is going to come from. The contrast between his realistic portrayal of the concerns of the young women of his era and his public statements about the rights of women is the impetus for many of the questions about his true opinion on women's roles in society.

If we accept that Trollope's views on the rights of women may be viewed as a part of the structure of his political views, much of what he says regarding these views—through his direct statements and through his political characters—may be applied to the conflict between his professed values and his realistic female characters. In An Autobiography, Trollope declares "I consider myself to be an advanced, but still Conservative-Liberal, which I regard not only as a possible but as a rational and consistent phase of political existence. I can, I believe, in a very few words, make known my political theory; and as I am anxious that any who know aught of me should know that, I will endeavour to do so" (242-3). In choosing to describe himself as a "Conservative-Liberal," Trollope categorizes himself with a combination of opposites.²³ He is at once at odds with himself in his political views, not

²³George Butte believes that "Trollope's *Commentaries of Caesar* (1870) and *The Life of Cicero* (1880) illustrate dramatically two major characteristics of his political thought: his generally liberal commitments and an intense conflict between his loyalties to the past and the future." The two Romans represent his devotion to "inherited institutions and traditions" and "the demand for reform;" they represent the conflict between the liberal and the conservative in Trollope's own politics. (210)

unlike his creation the Duke of Omnium, of whom he once said he has "been as real to me as free trade was to Mr. Cobden, or the dominion of a party to Mr. Disraeli; and as I have not been able to speak from the benches of the House of Commons, or to thunder from platforms, or to be efficacious as a lecturer, they [the Duke and Duchess of Omnium] have served me as safety-valves by which to deliver my soul" (An Autobiography 151). And, like his creation, Trollope has a difficult time reconciling his public pronouncements with his private opinions.

In a conversation with Phineas Finn in The Prime Minister, the Duke discusses the nature of this dilemma. He admits that his initial position as a liberal was one which he quietly accepted as part of the family's heritage. His political career was entrusted to the guidance of an older aristocratic member of the Whig party, the Duke of St. Bungay, and it is only as he grew older and worked for the party, that he began to understand the necessity of the liberal position. The Duke admits that most men in parliament are there to "improve the condition of the people by whom we are employed, and to advance our country, or at any rate to save it from retrogression," yet the methods by which this is to be done is where the Liberals and the Conservatives differ (263). He perceives the Conservative's position as one based on the maintenance of the "natural order of things." The Conservative "thinks that God has divided the world as he finds it divided, and that he may best do his duty by making the inferior man happy and contented in his position, teaching him that the place which he holds is his by God's ordinance," and that it is through the maintenance of this position that the Conservative will accomplish the governance of the country (264). The

Duke's (and conceivably Trollope's) own ideas about liberalism are much more complicated and much more ambiguous:

'The Liberal, if he have any fixed idea at all, must, I think, have conceived the idea of lessening distance,—of bringing the coachman and the duke nearer together,—nearer and nearer, till a millennium shall be reach by——'

'By equality?' asked Phineas eagerly interrupting the Prime Minister, and showing his dissent by the tone of his voice.

'I did not use the word, which is open to many objections. In the first place the millennium, which I have perhaps rashly named, is so distant that we need not even think of it as possible. Men's intellects are at present so various that we cannot even realize the idea of equality, and here in England we have been taught to hate the word by the evil effects of those absurd attempts which have been made elsewhere to proclaim it as a fact accomplished by the scratch of a pen or by a chisel on a stone. We have been injured in that, because a good word signifying a grand idea has been taken out of the vocabulary of good men. Equality would be a heaven, if we could attain it. How can we to whom so much has been given dare to think otherwise? . . . You're a liberal now because you know that it is not all as it ought to be, and because you would still march on to some nearer approach to equality; though the thing itself is so great, so glorious, so godlike,—nay so absolutely divine,—that you have been disgusted by the very promise of it, because its perfection is unattainable. Men have asserted a mock equality till the very idea of equality stinks in men's nostrils.' (265)

For both the old Duke of St. Bungay and the young Duke of Omnium, "Equality is a dream" to be achieved at a later date, a time where their individual privilege and position will not be affected. They are assisting to tear down the laws and ideals that maintain the structure of privilege that provides them with their place in life. As the current government prepares the County Suffrage Bill for the coming session, the old Duke's reaction is truly that of the Conservative-Liberal:

The old Duke knew that the measure would come,—but believing it to be wholly undesirable, thought that he was doing good work in

postponing it from year to year. But Mr. Monk had become urgent and the old Duke had admitted the necessity. There must surely have been a shade of melancholy on that old man's mind as, year after year, he assisted in pulling down institutions which he in truth regarded as the safeguards of the nation;—but which he knew that, as a Liberal, he was bound to assist in destroying! It must have occurred to him, from time to time, that it would be well for him to depart and be at peace before everything was gone. (268-9)

The Duke of St. Bungay believes that a slow march towards “equality” is what the country needs, but he wants to postpone the inevitable, and maintain the world he has grown old in, as long as possible.

This conflict between the conservative side of Trollope and the liberal side of Trollope is evident in his treatment of his female characters. To return to “Higher Education of Women” for a moment, we see Trollope’s belief in the traditional roles of men and women. However, by separating and accepting the need for “higher” education from political privileges and social standing, Trollope misses the connection between education and the ability to provide some sort of social position for oneself. He accepts the traditional Victorian position that a woman’s only possibility of social standing and career are to be achieved through marriage. Victorian women may understand politics much more clearly than their predecessors, especially those who inhabit the pages of Trollope's novels, but they are still not, by their very nature, able to participate in politics. Trollope, in his public statements, is an advocate for the safe, slow change of education for women, rather than a radical change in status. He cannot make the jump from his view that women should be well educated and should use their gifts of intellect, to the idea that woman should have a place in the world beyond the

home. It is the move to equality that seems to elude him in his public pronouncements.

It is almost as if Trollope, like the Duke of Omnium, adopted a political stance because it was what was expected of him and did not stop to think about it until he has reached maturity. In his youth he adopted the traditional position that a woman's only place is the in the home and as he aged, his opinions and views about what women are capable of achieving changed. Even within the novels, his views on just what the ideal maiden looks like changes. Over the course of the six novels, the Mary Flood Joneses and the Lucy Morrisses develop into strong independent young women, like Isabel Boncassen and Lady Mary Palliser, who take control of their own lives and expect an equal partnership in marriage. His narrator acknowledges that Lady Glencora Palliser possesses the skills to be a fine politician. And, without a doubt, Isabel Boncassen, the future Duchess of Omnium, will be an educated and informed member of the electorate when she is given the vote. But, being a Conservative-Liberal, Trollope never goes beyond advocating that young women should look to marriage as their means of contributing to society. However, Trollope, not unlike the Duke of St. Bungay, realizes that the slow process of tearing down all the old institutions that govern his life is occurring, and his young women represent just one of the forces at work in this process.

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