DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION OF CHARACTER

IN A SELECTION OF

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH NOVELS.

A Study of

Alton Locke,

The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford,

The Story of An African Farm,

The Way of All Flesh,

Father and Son.

By

ROSLYNN D. HAYNES, B.Sc.Hons.(Syd.), B.A. Hons.(Tas.).

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts.

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA,

HOBART.

June, 1970.

THIS THESIS CONTAINS NO MATERIAL WHICH HAS BEEN ACCEPTED FOR THE AWARD OF ANY OTHER DEGREE OR DIPLOMA IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY, AND TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF CONTAINS NO COPY OR PARAPHRASE OF MATERIAL PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED OR WRITTEN BY ANY OTHER PERSON, EXCEPT WHEN DUE REFERENCE IS MADE IN THE TEXT OF THE THESIS.

ROSLYNN HAYNES.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

During the course of this work I was supported by a University Post-graduate Scholarship.

It is a very real pleasure to thank my Supervisor, Dr. L.Hergenhan,for his unfailing enthusiasm during the period of my reading for this thesis and for his preliminary reading of the manuscript; I am deeply appreciative of his critical interest and stimulating discussion.

I wish to thank my parents and my husband for their cheerful encouragement and moral support during the preparation of this thesis.

My thanks are also due to Miss Frances Parsons for her critical reading of the manuscript.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

		page
Summary.		i
Introduction:	Nineteenth-Century Realism and the Victorian Autobiographical Novel.	1
Chapter I	Nineteenth-Century Views of Children - their Character and Upbringing.	24
Chapter II	Heredity and Family Environment.	56
Chapter III	Education as Development.	83
Chapter IV	Character and the Inner Self.	125
Chapter V	The Influence of Religion on Development.	162
Chapter VI	The Influence of Career.	193
Chapter VII	Free Will and Determinism in the Novels.	209
Chapter VIII	Stages of Development and the Criteria of Maturity.	239
Chapter IX	Techniques of Characterization and their Effectiveness.	283
Chapter X	Style as Characterization.	311
Conclusion.		355
Bibliography.		357

SUMMARY

This study of five Victorian novels is basically an enquiry into the effects of nineteenth-century Realism on ideas of the development and presentation of character in the novel.

A survey of the sociological origins and characteristics of literary Realism leads to a brief consideration of the autobiography and the autobiographical novel as specialized off-shoots of this movement, since personal experience came to be considered the only guarantee of authenticity. The autobiographical basis of each of the novels chosen was analysed as a preliminary step to forming some estimate of the effect of the author's personal experience on his depiction of a developing character.

The following major factors affecting development and education in the later nineteenth century are then discussed in detail:- contemporary views on the place of children in the community and the theoretical bases of their education; The Victorian family environment and the role of parents, seen as part of the "nature-nurture" controversy; formal educational systems, their limitations and proposed substitutes, and the concept of experience as education; the influence of religion, seen in all five of the novels as a repressive system which elicits the first acts of adolescent rebellion; the choice of a career as a step which determines friends, thought-

patterns and other more subtle environmental influences.

There is also a study of the growing awareness of an "inner self" as an important factor in characterization, and of the relation between this and the emerging science of psychology.

Following the discussion of these largely-deterministic influences on the developing personality, there is a brief consideration of characteristic nineteenth-century attitudes in the debate on free-will and determinism, particularly as seen in the work of some of the major novelists of the period. George Eliot's views of freedom and determinism in personal relationships are taken as a standard against which the presuppositions of the five novelists are compared.

A summary of the stages of development which the protagonists are shown as undergoing, and the particular concept of maturity posited by the authors, leads to a comparison of the relative extent to which each author was aware of development as an evolving and continuous process rather than as a series of discrete stages.

There follows a more technical discussion of the ways in which the novelists attempted to portray their characters as evolving according to their own personal insights and in particular the innovations which they introduced through their efforts to portray an "inner self" in their characters. The peculiar difficulties encountered by Hale White and Olive Schreiner in their presentation of characters who appear to be "commonplace" and largely inarticulate while being,

in fact, thoughtful and deeply sensitive, are also considered.

Finally the ways in which structure and style of writing are used as auxilliary means of characterization are examined.

Since the novels are being discussed within this framework, many avenues of critical analysis are clearly beyond the scope of this study. Thus the last chapter treats only those aspects of style which relate to characterization, and such concepts as language and symbolism are only briefly mentioned.

INTRODUCTION.

Nineteenth-Century Realism and the Victorian Autobiographical Novel.

From Defoe, Fielding and Jane Austen onwards, the mainstream of the English novel has always followed the realist tradition in the sense of standing for truth; it has always been felt obligatory to report "life", however wide the interpretation of this reportage might be. Thus when Charlotte Brontë observed in Jane Eyre "I am not writing to flatter parental egotism, to echo cant or to prop up humbug; I am merely telling the truth"[1], she was not enunciating a new ideal any more than George Eliot was when, nine years later, she castigated those members of her sex who departed from this principle.[2]

The 1860's however, ushered in the cult of realism in a new sense. Formerly it had been cultivated not for its own sake, but rather for a moral purpose: it was a mirror of life, to teach as well as to delight, and therefore, to distort the truth too violently would be to destroy the moral lesson as well. But now realism came to be valued as an end in itself, the only criterion of worth, and the reasons for this change in attitude are not far to seek.

The demand for a "mirror of life" in both character and incident during the later nineteenth-century has been linked by many critics with the whole progress and evolution of civilization during this period, particularly with the pronounced tendency away from the

Romanticism of the early part of the century, and towards things scientific and material. The Zolaesque passion du document passed into English literature in its more extreme form in the work of Charles Reade, whose collections of newspaper clippings were often transcribed almost in toto in his novels, but he represents only an exaggerated form of the passion for verification widely prevalent at the time. In the preface to Hard Cash Reade affirmed his principles:

> Hard Cash, like The Cloister and the Hearth, is a matter-of-fact Romance - That is, a fiction built on truths; and these have been gathered by long, severe, systematic labour, from a multitude of volumes, pamphlets, journals, reports, blue-books, manuscript narratives, letters, and living people whom I have ... examined and cross-examined.[3]

Similarly, Walter Besant minutely explored Stepney, Whitechapel, Poplar, Limehouse, Bow, Stratford, and Shadwell before writing All Sorts and Conditions of Men[4] while Thomas Hardy, of a quite different school of realism, accompanied his novels with notes on Wessex and a map of the area. The documentary ideal is a general characteristic of realism between 1860 and 1890, and arose directly from the mental habits encouraged by the growing fame of science. So Cazamian writes that "science provides the very type of a mentality that is essentially counter-Romantic, at the same time as it precisely defines the psychological tone of the period".[5] There are at least two aspects of this scientific turn of mind which may help us to understand the frame of reference within which novelists of the

period were writing.

The first of these is an ambitious quest for an all-embracing synthesis, a supreme theory, a central point towards which the multiplicity of scientific results would be seen increasingly to converge. This, in turn, may well stem from a nostalgic backward glance to the Romantic period and away from the chaos which analytical science seemed to be uncovering. It is obvious that Carlyle, the most fiery and ambitious prophet of this period was basically antagonistic towards the principles of science, but when Herbert Spencer, fired by the unifying potential of Darwin's hypothesis, organized all knowledge into a philosophy of evolution, the whole scientific movement and the Romantic desire for unity of being seemed to reach their joint apotheosis.

By itself, this desire for synthesis might well have produced merely a philosophic novel of voluminous proportions, but another scientific ideal was also adopted into literature at the same time - the need for analytical documentation. Indeed, by a natural affinity, the novel seemed the most suited of any literary form to the pursuit of realistic validity. So stringent did this demand become that authorial experience was considered almost the only guarantee of fidelity. Walter Besant put it first among the laws of fiction:

> First, and before everything else, there is the Rule that everything in Fiction which is invented and is not the result of personal experience and observation is worthless.[6]

and Matthew Arnold wrote:

> In the novel one prefers, I think, to have the novelist dealing with the life which he knows from having lived it rather than with the life which he knows from books or from hearsay.[7]

It is surely this demand for authorial experience, insofar as it was possible, which led to the peculiarly Victorian spate of autobiographical and semi-autobiographical literature, - so prolific that Badger calls it the most Victorian literary genre of all times, for, "during the nineteenth-century, and especially during the Victorian era, more good autobiographies were published in English than in any previous hundred years."[8] The tradition of the religious confession, from the time of St. Augustine through the Confessions of Rousseau and the French and English Diarists, here swells to full strength on the tide of realism, the first fruits of the dual current being Wilhelm Meister which Carlyle translated into English in 1824. Autobiographical fiction of the period ranges from Sartor Resartus, Loss and Gain, and The Nemesis of Faith to The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, and The Way of All Flesh, while in poetry a similar autobiographical frame of reference may be seen in Tennyson's "Supposed Confessions of a Second-rate Sensitive Mind", Browning's "Pauline" and Clough's "Dipsychus". Nor, although Proust, Gide and Joyce are basically autobiographical novelists, has there been such a tide of autobiographical fiction since this period.

It is no accident that the great historians, Macauley, Buckle and Lecky wrote and were admired for their historical method at this

time. Their contribution is the application of a scientific care for minutiae and realistic truth, to the field of history, formerly so often a happy hunting ground for literary flights which rendered the separation of fact from fiction virtually impossible.

It is with the novel however, in particular the Bildungsroman, that we are concerned, and there are at least two aspects of the scientific consciousness which are relevant to a discussion of the increasing influence of autobiography. The first of these is a preoccupation with time - past, present and future and their interrelated meaning. Whether this interest arose from the popularising of the physical and biological sciences (especially geology and biology) with the mid-nineteenth century stress on duration and change, or from a deeply-rooted feeling of living in a period of rapid change, (opinions varied as to whether it was a change towards progress or decadence), there can be no clear and final estimate, but most of the Victorian writers felt an absorbing interest in the past, - sometimes as an escape from the problems of the present, but more often as a guide to self-understanding. Professional historians stressed to the point of redundancy the immediate relevance of their antiquarian task and the novelists, nearly all of whom produced at least one historical work, scarcely disguised the fact that these tales of the past were often designed as commentaries on contemporary social issues. Buckley sees the flood of autobiographies as a concentration on the private past of individuals,

which came to be even more fascinating than the public past of nations movements and, ultimately, of the Creation:

> The ordered confessions of Mill, Ruskin, Newman and Darwin, - to name only the most distinguished practitioners of the genre - indicate the scope and depth of the effort to define personality in time, to trace from past to present the development of what might now be called the inner-directed self.[9]

It is the discovery of this "inner-directed self" which we shall trace in the five novels of this study, endeavouring to see how far such a preoccupation with self was a general characteristic of the period.

For the greater authors, autobiography is an interplay, a collusion between past and present, and its significance lies more in the illumination of the present situation, of the author who writes, than in the uncovering of the past. He writes about his life with the consciousness of having reached his present position and attitude and thus over the description of his early life there hovers the knowledge of what he is to become. If this present position is not brought home to us (or is only feebly apparent) there is a failure: the autobiography has become an impersonal story. This subtle penetration of the past by the present should affect not only the shape of the autobiography but also the mode of description, the style. Thus we can say with conviction that, given the personality of Mark Rutherford as developed in the Autobiography and the Deliverance, the style is exactly what we should expect from such a

person and, moreover, the later novels of "Mark Rutherford" are entirely consistent with the kind of books that this person would write.

For many this fascination with the past arose from a belief in its continuing reality; Carlyle reminded the Victorians at the outset of the perpetual miracle of the Here and the Now, which no Time-Element should conceal:

> Is the Past annihilated, then, or only past;
> Is the Future non-extant, or only future?
> Those mystic faculties of thine, Memory and
> Hope, already answer. ,.. The curtains of
> Yesterday drop down; the curtains of
> Tomorrow roll up; but Yesterday and
> Tomorrow both are.[10]

Yet it is interesting that while, as Buckley[11] notes, some of the poets were able to find at the heart of the eternal process moving on, glimpses of an infinite present, (Arnold's "Buried life", Browning's "infinite moment", and Hopkins" vibrantly present nature poems), most of the novelists were more aware of the effects of time, particularly the psychological effects. Hence the flood of Bildungsromane from Wilhelm Meister on through Pendennis and David Copperfield, all based on the assumption that the very recollection of childhood and development was, in itself, the key to the meaning of life. Thackeray spent two years at Cambridge, more interested in recreation than academic work, and, like Pendennis, left without taking a degree. In Pendennis, Thackeray, like Dickens in David Copperfield, is working out some of his troubles, reliving the torments

and uncertainties of adolescence and early manhood. These writers echo Chateaubriand in the preface to his Memoires (1809), which so vividly recaptures faint memories and tries thereby to elucidate the complexity of the self:

> I write chiefly in order to account for myself.... I want, before I die, to explain my unexplainable heart. [12]

The second aspect of scientific consciousness which seems relevant to this discussion of the factors making for the increased interest in character development with time, is the growth of psychological awareness in the latter part of the nineteenth-century. Curiously, although the interest of the English novelists, as early as the 1840's, in character-development, is undoubtedly "scientific" in that it is already analytic in its description, there was no organized science of psychology until the last decade of the century, for even the writings of Havelock Ellis, frequently cited as Freud's gifted predecessor (although his thought differs markedly in many fundamental respects from Freud's) do not display the experimental observation and detailed analysis which we associate with the scientific spirit of exactitude. Thus, in a sense, the great nineteenth-century novelists might be said to have produced, or at least fostered, the climate into which this newest of the sciences could safely be born.

There are, of course, also sociological factors, which combine to produce the importance of self-consciousness for Victorians of the

later half of the century. Johnson makes a valuable distinction between an earlier Romantic consciousness of self, which as in effect a fascination with self, and the Victorian self-consciousness which he sees basically as an uncertainty with the self, and thus very different in kind from the awareness of self of the Romantics, whether we think of "the sublime egoism of Wordsworth, or the melancholy self-forgetfulness of Keats."[13] If Johnson is right, it is not difficult to assign reasons for the changing attitude he detects. The essence of Romanticism was the glorification of the individual with all his powers and potential, a return to the Renaissance spirit of which "fascination" in all its connotations was the key-note. Moreover the unquestioned doctrine of the Incarnation gave value and meaning to the individual life until the rise of German Form Criticism. By the Victorian period however, although there was still a firm belief in the potential glory of man, there was also a nagging doubt, especially about man's moral superiority if he were really the product of an amoral, if not immoral, evolutionary scheme. Carlyle and Tennyson were not so much prophetic voices crying in the wilderness as spokesmen for a widespread schizophrenia. Johnson sees Sartor Resartus as the boundary work in this changed attitude to self:

> For all its Romantic language, Sartor Resartus is not a prose Prelude; both its tone and the method of its spiritual autobiography contrast strikingly with Wordsworth's, introducing irony, ambiguity and fictional indirection into the narrative.[14]

With Sartor Resartus, he continues, we have disguise, both personal and fictional, sincere and mocking, suggestive of a division within the intelligence itself. The dual self of the puzzled editor and the puzzling professor allows for a confrontation of me by I, and implies, like the doubly significant name of Diogenes Teufelsdröckh, duality, irony and self-doubt.

In general, the fluctuating interest in psychology in literature, varies inversely with the flow of religious belief. When there is a widespread belief in an orthodox faith and life after death, interest centres on the eternal dimension, rather than on mundane aspects of life. At such periods, biography becomes deductive, ethical, didactic, and often superficial; but in times of speculation, doubt and scepticism, the reading public is most interested in human behaviour, and biography becomes correspondingly inductive, critical, detached and realistic. Now probably no period preceding the Victorian one had seen such widespread questioning of traditions on every side - religious, moral, and socio-political; the time was singularly ripe for a flowering of autobiographical fiction. With or without disguise, authors were only too ready to analyse their development and their doubts for the edification of themselves and others, and the reading public was eager to learn that others shared its questioning, and could articulate its dimly-felt dissatisfactions. Again and again the combination of autobiography and art, of uneasy self-awareness and a consequent need to adopt some impersonal disguise

(which fails to be a complete disguise - this is as important as the would-be suicide's note to someone who will strategically prevent his death), occurs in Victorian fiction, to produce a complex and artistically valuable representation of human life, with its moral ambiguities and mixed feelings. Gordon Ray[15] has shown how Thackeray's novels draw strength through this very relation between a personal attitude and a fictional embodiment. Thus Pendennis is Thackeray, alternately revealed and disguised as the author oscillates between identification with, and alienation from, his protagonist. The disguises and poses of the Victorian arts are usually attempts neither to create anew, nor utterly to hide, the artist's self, but rather to ask about, and perhaps to discover, a personal conviction and a personal identity, for behind a fictional façade, however diaphanous, it was possible to be more fully oneself than in the blinding glare of full autobiographical truth. Charlotte Brontë's Villette, Meredith's Evan Harrington and The Ordeal of Richard Feverel, Reade's Christie Johnstone and Gissing's New Grub Street are only a few of the semi-autobiographical novels in which the authors have been able to portray a deeper truth about themselves because they have been freed from the limitations of factual authenticity.

The writing of autobiographical fiction involves a technical anomaly which the nineteenth-century writers grappled with for the most part unawares. This is the inherent conflict between a strictly scientific demand for truth (which involves objectivity

and detachment from the facts), and the demands of literary form, which require commitment to a point of view from which to select and marshall those facts which will produce an artistic whole. Frequently this second factor was ignored in theory. Thus, Sir Edmund Gosse, wrote in his article for the Encyclopaedia Britannica on "Biography", that it should be "a faithful portrait of a soul in its adventures through life" and that "the peculiar curiosity which legitimate biography satisfies is essentially a modern thing, and pre-supposes an observation of life not unduly clouded by moral passion or prejudice."[16] He lays no stress on the literary element and apparently assumes that actuality is paramount, that content is far more important than form. Yet, ironically, the greatness of his own autobiographical novel, Father and Son, one of the finest autobiographies to emerge from the nineteenth century, depends largely on his ability to derive a shaped and dramatic work of art from the random facts of life. What he records is not a chance series of events, but the developing, logical and climactic sequence of a story in which every possible significance and causal relationship is drawn from the events selected.

This relative emphasis on form and content is the basic difference between a diary and an autobiography, a difference which Pascal perceptively defines:

> We expect from a diary all the uncertainties, false starts and momentariness that we find in them. From autobiography however, we expect a coherent shaping of the past; and

> if diary entries or letters are quoted, we need the explanatory, interpretative commentary of the author. ...One demands from the best more than an account of personalities, events and circumstances. These must become the framework, in some sense, the embodiment, of the writer as a man pledged to life, and one must be set free from them as historical facts, and from the concern with their accuracy as historical documents, in order to savour the quality of the central personality.[17]

We have seen that the characteristically Victorian growth of autobiographical fiction was stimulated by the desire for realism; but the debt of the realistic novel to autobiography is equally unmistakeable, particularly in the field of character development. The great nineteenth-century novels which plumb the depths of childhood experience, from the work of Dickens and the Brontës on, are unimaginable without the autobiographies of Rousseau and Goethe. Their importance lies not only in the rediscovery of the child's world of experience, but in the recognition of the obscure urges and vivid impressions of childhood, the passionate and irrational affections which are so decisive for the adult - the realisation, in short, that man is not a static being, but a development, a continual process of becoming. Thus the great autobiographies transformed the conception of the psyche by their realization of its complexity - a complexity which we have now come to expect from the followers of James, Lawrence and Joyce, and especially in the conception of development as a process of flux,

alternating progressions and regressions, apparently independent of any obvious lines of logic. It is this demand for complexity, too, which has come to ensure that all great and perceptive novels of character development are, to some extent at least, autobiographical, and this is particularly so for novels of childhood; adults may share with others reminiscences of the struggles of late adolescence and the turmoils of maturity but, of necessity, the only childhood one can experience is one's own.

In the work of the earlier writers, Fielding and Jane Austen, character change and development, where it occurs, is roughly linear: Tom Jones' career is a progressive enlightenment, leading to an easily foreseen goal, even if the steps towards that goal are sometimes unexpected; Emma's growth to maturity and self-understanding follows a definite progression with no very alarming back-slidings. By the time of George Eliot's novels there is, at each crucial point in development, a multiple choice of possibilities open to the character, but once the choice is made a rigidly deterministic web of circumstances is swiftly woven outwards from that point. Meredith, on the other hand, is more aware of the ebb and flow of possibilities - his determinism is not as rigid as George Eliot's, - but his view of life is still predominantly rational; thus Harry Richmond, looking back on his career, meditates:

> I see that I might have acted wisely and did not; but that is a speculation taken apart from my capabilities. ... We are sons of yesterday, not of the morning. The past is our mortal mother, no dead thing. Our future constantly reflects her to the soul. Nor is it ever the new man of today who grasps his future, good or ill. We are pushed to it by the hundreds of days we have buried, eager ghosts. And if you have not the habit of taking counsel with them, you are but an instrument in their hands.[18]

The debt of the realistic novel to autobiography is evident not only in the appreciation of the historical moment, the incident, perhaps outwardly trivial, which becomes of vital importance in the growth of self-realization, but also in the evolution of style, for, as Pascal remarks:

> A style had to be invented, as Rousseau was acutely aware, that would do justice to this concrete world in its detail, its pettiness, and at the same time, to its spiritual meanings, exaltations, tortures.[19]

It is a delicate balance, this need to show the realistic externals which make a character alive for us, and the concomitant risk of becoming trivial. The problem is one of selection as Pritchett rightly observes:

> Modern autobiography fails when it has no attitude, when it has no special subject which rescues the self from the cliché of having lived. There is no credit in living; the credit is in being able to specify experience.

The five novels chosen for detailed discussion in this study are all of that large class of nineteenth-century novels dealing with what might be called "apprenticeship for life", in that the protagonist in each case comes to greater self-realization and maturity through a series of major crises. The actual critical circumstances in each novel are apparently very different: in Alton Locke it is a social crisis which brings home to Alton a wider perspective of human values; in The Way of All Flesh it is an intellectual and sociological crisis which besets the adolescent and makes revolt a necessity; in Father and Son there is again an intellectual crisis to be weathered before the child can achieve independence; in the Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, the situation is ostensibly a religious crisis but, as we shall see, it is fundamentally a personal adjustment and self-acceptance which must be achieved before Mark Rutherford reaches a stable and mature existence; The Story of An African Farm is in many ways unique in nineteenth-century literature in its portrayal of the awakening of a young girl and boy, in stark and violent circumstances, to the awareness of adulthood, and the bitterness which this state entails for those who crave freedom and fullness of life.

In this study I have deliberately avoided the much-discussed major novels which immediately suggest themselves as outstanding examples of the Bildungsroman, and have concentrated on five relatively minor novels of varying status in the critical scale of today. All five are, to a greater or lesser degree, autobiographical in

content, as I shall describe briefly below, and are therefore subject to the considerations discussed above. Moreover, they reflect, as though from different facets of a crystal, the major crises of Victorian life and thought, and the ways in which these impinged on a developing, sensitive personality. Consequently, these writers who looked into themselves against the background of their time, have much illumination to throw on the ideas of character evolution which emerged during this period, and on trends in the realistic and the autobiographical novel. In some ways, the very defects of style which have prevented these novels from achieving the status of major novels in an age which produced so many works in the first rank of literature, enable us to see more clearly the novelists' tentative gropings towards the characteristically Victorian concept of self-awareness and the discovery of an inner self, for the still-apparent skeletal frame allows us to appreciate more fully the scheme which their greater contemporaries often took for granted.

The realism which clothes the basically autobiographical experiences and thoughts in each of the five novels varies markedly. Kingsley relies heavily on documentary realism - a reliance which he himself stressed by including in the 1861 edition of the novel his pamphlet, "Cheap Clothes and Nasty", describing many of the incidents quoted in the Morning Chronicle report on the condition of the working tailors, incidents which are clearly introduced later in the actual novel.

The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford is also heavily documented - it has been valued by some critics chiefly as a portrait of a certain social stratum in a particular era. Sperry, quoted with approval by several critics[21], claims that Hale White

> has done for the humble non-conformity of his own midland counties what Trollope did for the Establishment in sleepy cathedral towns, what George Eliot did for Methodism through the countryside, and what Jane Austen and Miss Mitford did for innocuous gentility at large.[22]

Yet, in Mark Rutherford also, we are struck by the element of psychological realism which, although in the tradition of Thackeray, is not merely descriptive, but is consciously probing and analysing itself. It is possible, moreover, to see in the novels of William Hale White, a preview of the naturalism of the late nineteenth-century continental writers, Zola, Maupassant, Dostoevski, and Maeterlinck, where psychological realism shades over into mysticism. William Hale White's wife remarks upon the way in which

> sandwiched in between an apparently trivial story about Mr. and Mrs. Hexton, and an apparently bald description of Mr. Hexton's way of life, is this sentence: "I do not believe there was a single point in Mr. Hexton's character in which he touched the universal". ...I like the way in which the "general" touches the "particular" on either side.[23]

In The Story of An African Farm, this dimension of "the universal" is much more strongly present. The realism of the setting on the African karroo is, from the first, transparent to a religious element -

not religious in the narrow and superficial sense which Mark Rutherford condemns in Cowfold, but as a deep consciousness of an eternal reality.

In The Way of All Flesh we come to the first example of psychological realism in the modern sense, with a fully-developed awareness of the working of self-consciousness and the even more subtle effects of the sub-conscious - an awareness which Olive Schreiner knew and explicitly described[24], but could not use as an integral part of her novel in the way Butler does. There is, moreover, what we might call a genetic realism in Butler's insistence on the interplay of heredity and environment.

With Father and Son we have what is perhaps the highest degree of realism possible in a novel, for the book is also fully autobiographical (Gosse was probably the first to use the now-famous phrase, "slice of life" in his Preface to this novel). Its only discernible departure from documentary realism lies in the selection of material and the psychological interpretation given to events and utterances, but this, as we have seen, is merely another and deeper level of realism.

Originally this thesis included an extensive survey of the autobiographical background of the five novels, but this extended the work beyond the permissable length and the relevant

chapter aws finally excluded. However, in the light of the foregoing discussion of the rise of realism, it is worth noting one interesting factor which emerged from the study, namely the extent to which three of the novelists were able, behind the veil of a protagonist, to work out their own ideas and feelings more clearly than was emotionally possible in propria persona

Thus, in Alton Locke Kingsley proposed and developed ideas about the inter-relation of social circumstances and morality which he himself was not to voice publicly for another twenty years. Behind the screen of Mark Rutherford, Hale White seems to have investigated his own personal problems and arrived at an analysis more penetrating than he himself perhaps rellized. It is in The Story of an African Farm however, that we have one of the clearest examples of this process for, from what we know of Olive Schreiner's life, it appears that she portrayed in Lyndall a character so similar to herself that, as we shall see in chapter IV, she achieves a considerable level of psychological character-analysis - undoubtedly more penetrating than she was aware.

As will become apparent throughout this thesis, however, Butler and Gosse were unable to achieve this added level of character analysis because the design of their novels was too overtly autobiographical and they therefore remained too self-conscious to divulge their inner thoughts and feelings so frankly. Pascal, in his study of

Sons and Lovers, makes an interesting parallel:

> A recent autobiographer, very naïvely, promises us that he will tell the truth, but not the whole truth; of the autobiographical novelist, one might say that he aims at telling us the whole truth but not the truth. Whether he is successful depends on his capacity for discerning the whole truth - like a Rembrandt, who dresses himself up in order to discover and reveal himself. [25.]

Chapter I Notes.

1. Charlotte Brontë, Jane Eyre (Great Britain, 1965), p. 110.
2. George Eliot, "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists", Westminister Review LXVI, (Oct. 1856), 442-461.
3. Charles Reade, Hard Cash, Preface (London, 1898).
4. M.L. Cazamian, Le Roman et les Idees en Angleterre: l'influence de la science, 1860-1890. (Strasbourg, 1923), p. 67.
5. E. Legouis, and L. Cazamian, A History of English Literature (London, 1961), p. 1089.
6. Walter Besant, The Art of Fiction (London, n.d.), pp. 15-16.
7. Matthew Arnold, "Count Leo Tolstoy", Fortnightly Review XLII number 242, (n.s.) (1887), 784.
8. K. Badger, "Christianity and Victorian Religious Confessions", Modern Language Quarterly, XXV, No. I (March 1964), 86.
9. J.H. Buckley, "The Fourth Dimensions of Victorianism", Victorian Newsletter, XXI, (Spring, 1962), 3.
10. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (London, 1896), p. 208.
11. J.H. Buckley, op. cit., p.3.
12. Quoted by H. Peyre, Literature and Sincerity (Yale, 1963), p.168.
13. W.S. Johnson, "Victorian Self-Consciousness", Victorian Newsletter, XXI (Spring 1962), 4.
14. ibid., p. 4.

15. G. Ray, The Buried Life (Massachussetts, 1952).

16. Edmund Gosse, "Biography", Encyclopaedia Britannica, III, Cambridge (1910), pp. 952-4.

17. R. Pascal, Design and Truth in Autobiography (London, 1960), p. 5.

18. G. Meredith, The Adventures of Harry Richmond (London, 1894), pp. 269-270.

19. R. Pascal, op. cit., p. 53.

20. V.S. Pritchett, "All About Ourselves", New Statesman LI number 1315 (May, 26th, 1956), pp. 601-2.

21. e.g. E.S. Merton, "The Autobiographical Novels of Mark Rutherford", Nineteenth Century Fiction, V, n.s. 3 (Dec. 1950), 189-207.

W. Stone, Religion and Art of William Hale White (Stanford, 1954).

A.E. Taylor, "The Novels of Mark Rutherford" Essays and Studies, V. (1914), 51-74.

22. W.L. Sperry, "Mark Rutherford", Harvard Theological Review, VII, (April, 1914), 173.

23. D.V. White, The Groombridge Diary (United Kingdom, 1924) 66-7.

24. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter I, p. 123.

25. R.Pascal, 'The Autobiographical Novel and the Autobiography", Essays in Criticism, IX(]959),]42.

CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH-CENTURY VIEWS OF CHILDREN - THEIR CHARACTER AND UPBRINGING.

We have seen, briefly, how the five novels, with their basic theme of development of the child and the adolescent, arose at least partly in response to the claims of realism which demanded personal experience by the author of his subject matter. We shall now attempt to discover the particular insights into this development which the autobiographical basis contributed. However, it is necessary first to consider the general ideas of childhood and adolescent development current in the nineteenth century so that any innovatory concepts may be the more apparent. The philosophy of the period is therefore basic to any understanding of the place of the child in society. It has been said that:

> The civil war between Roman ticism and Realism... was the central feature of the period. The earlier conflict between neo-classicism and Romanticism had been a war between two visions of life in basic conflict with each other, a war between aliens. But the ensuing conflict between a triumphant Romanticism and a challenging Realism was of a different order, a conflict between two forms of naturism, the one imaginatively emotional, the other endeavouring to be rational in the spirit of modern science, - both, however, inwardly at one in their conception of man as a part of nature rather than separate from nature as in the Christian and classical dispensations.

> ... From "Nature's holy plan" as described by Wordsworth, to Nature's unholy plan as described by Thomas Hardy, is no great distance: either way it is Nature's plan.[1]

In nothing perhaps are these two views of life more at variance than in respect to the nineteenth-century attitude to children. From the time of Blake there had been, allied with the cult of sensibility, a steadily growing body of literature in support of a romantic view of children, but in practice, the prevailing treatment of children owed more to a doctrine of inherent depravity and, amongst the working classes, to the machinations of laissez-faire economics.

The eighteenth century had bred a climate of materialist determinism through the Newtonian tradition from Hartley, Priestly and Godwin - a universe of colliding balls, where knowledge was obtained wholly from the impact of the external world on the individual senses, just as motion was transmitted from one body to another in the Newtonian model, and where intuitive sensibility was in discredit.

Against these rationalist views Rousseau, Blake and Coleridge reacted, and sought to reinstate Feeling as a preeminent force in human life. Hume's Treatise of Human Nature (1738) had rationally limited the scope of reason, and affirmed the alliance of Nature and Feeling, but Rousseau's great contribution was to direct the interest of the new sensibility towards childhood, as being the

period of life when man, like the "noble savage" of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century imagination was closest to the state of nature. His Emile begins with the force of a manifesto:

> Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'Auteur des choses; tout degenère entre les mains de l'homme. [2]

Its underlying postulate, that man is born good but becomes corrupt, is a direct denial of the doctrine of original sin and of the whole Christian tradition of the fallen state, for which Rousseau substitutes an equally dogmatic doctrine of original virtue. Nor is it difficult to see why such a view should have been associated with Nature, especially rural nature, in a generation which firmly believed that "God made the country and man made the town."[3] Thus, by a combination of associations, the figure of the Child and of Childhood, came to be of primary importance for the Romantics as a symbol of innocence and natural goodness.

Blake's Songs of Innocence and of Experience are the first major literary testimony against the fundamentals of English rationalism, and the central image which imparts unity to his work is the symbol of the child, and the innate capacity for the "imaginative vision" which Blake himself had possessed as a child and which he believed inherent in all children.[4] Blake's Songs are concerned with the education of the whole child - his intrinsic natural goodness and the subsequent corruption he undergoes from individuals and from a society which tries to enslave the individual

with its "systems", whether secular or religious.

This is the tradition in which Wordsworth's Prelude was written:

> ... our childhood stis,
> Our simple childhood, sits upon a throne
> That hath more power than all the elements...
> That twilight when we first begin to see
> This dawning earth.

and again, as with Rousseau, the relationship between the Child and Nature was fundamental to his concept of the growth of moral personality. In the later Ode on "Intimations of Immortality", he linked this inherent goodness of the child with a Platonic myth of immortality:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God who is our home:
> Heaven lies about us in our infancy. [5]

Wordsworth's influence on the nineteenth century is undeniable - Mill, Leslie Stephen and Hale White amongst others acknowledged the impact he made on their lives, and his emphasis on the sensuous relation between Man and Nature became a force among a whole generation of intellectuals dissatisfied with the mechanistic sterilities which a perverted Benthamism had popularised, while his assertion of the imaginative life, and especially the imaginative life of a child, became a potent Romantic influence. Coveney[6] notes that George

Eliot heads Silas Marner, the story of regeneration of age through a child, with the lines from Wordsworth:

> A child, more than all other gifts
> That earth can offer to declining man,
> Brings hope with it, and forward-looking thoughts.

Coleridge, also, stressed in the symbol of the child, the power of the intuitive, imaginative quality with its attributes of joy and integrity:

> Two things we may learn from little children from three to six years old; that it is a characteristic, an instinct of our human nature to pass out of self. ... And not to suffer any one form to pass into me and become a usurping self.[7]

These essentially Romantic views of the child developed naturally in poetry, but they are less suited to the novel form. Indeed, the Bildungsroman, which came to be the dominant novel form of the nineteenth century, rests on the implicit theory that the most important feature of the child is not his child-like nature but his development to maturity with a corresponding increase in wisdom gained through experience. Rousseau's Emile, despite its interest as a roman à thèse, is far from brilliant as a novel of character, and no English novel made such extravagant claims for children. This may be partly explained by the universal belief that perfection is basically as uninteresting as it is unreal, but perhaps more importantly by the fact that the nineteenth-century novel was, as we have seen, essentially realist in conception, and no view of the facts, however selective, could regard the actual treatment of children

as consistent with the Romantic view of them. Indeed, the majority of Victorian novels dealing with children use the child for propagandist purposes, by showing the anomaly between the social conditions of so many children and the lingering Romantic ideal whereby society could turn a blind eye to the industrial atrocities revealed in the reports of government commissions. The prevalence of the degrading effects of child labour is too well known to require elaboration. Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton and Disraeli's Sybil, vividly and indignantly portray the condition of the English industrial child and the corrupting influences which beset him from birth,

> About a fortnight after his mother had introduced him into the world, she returned to the factory, and put her infant out to nurse - that is to say, she paid threepence a week to an old woman, who takes charge of these newborn babes for the day.... The expense is not great: laudanum and treacle... affords these innocents a brief taste of the sweets of existence. ... So at two years of age, his mother being lost sight of, ... he was sent out in the street to "play", in order to be run over. ... They gave him no food; he foraged for himself and shared with the dogs the garbage of the streets .... [He slept] with a dung heap at his head, and a cesspool at his feet. [8]

Indeed this description was still relevant half a century later if we may judge from the accounts of baby-farming in George Moore's realistic novel, Esther Waters (1894). Disraeli's descriptions in Sybil[9] of the children employed as trappers in the coal mines are taken almost verbatim from the 1842 Report of the Commission on the

Employment of Young Persons and Children (1842).

It may be said that these instances are the trials of the poor of whatever age, and that although these conditions might result from endorsed economic policies, they were not part of the actual intentions of the national leaders; but although it was less physically rigorous, the plight of the middle-class child was often scarcely more enviable. The mental terrors of childhood to which so many have testified, were no accident, but the deliberate intention of those who believed in the innate depravity of children - a depravity which only conversion could prove to have been assuaged. The Victorian earnestness was never more on the alert than in disciplining its children, for Wesley's injunction that "the wills of the children should be broken"[10], had the force of holy writ, and led to all shades of torment from the sadistic subtleties practised on young Augustus Hare[11], to the more outright disciplines which the young Pontifexes suffered.[12] As early as 1824, James Hogg's psychological novel included a description of the Calvinist precept of election which loomed large over the childhood of Robert Colwan. The Reverend Wringham, Robert's adopted father, speaks with the boy's mother in Robert's presence:

> "My dread is, Madam, ... that he is yet in the bond of iniquity. ... I have struggled with the Almighty long and hard, ... but have as yet no certain token of acceptance on his behalf. I have indeed fought a hard fight, but have been repulsed by Him who hath seldom refused my request."

Whereupon Robert narrates:

> "My heart quaked with terror when I thought of being still living in a state of reprobation, subjected to the awful issues of death, judgment, and eternal misery, by the slightest accident or casualty. ... I prayed three times every day and seven times on the Sabbath; but the more frequently and fervently that I prayed, I sinned still the more.... If I could repent me of all my sins, and shed tears of blood for them, still have I not a load of original transgressions pressing on me that is enough to crush me to the lowest hell. I may be angry with my first parents for having sinned, but how shall I repent me of their sin is beyond what I am able to comprehend.[13]

Alton Locke records the sincere spiritual justification which underlay Mrs. Locke's stern lack of affection for her children:

> She held it ... an absurd and impious thing for those who believe mankind to be children of the devil till they have been consciously "converted", to baptize unconscious infants.... When God had proved by converting them, that they were not reprobate and doomed to hell by His absolute and eternal will, then, and not till then, dare man baptize them in His name. ... She had as yet no right to any "spiritual affection" for us. We were still "children of wrath and of the devil". ... She had no more spiritual bond with us, she thought, than she had with a heathen or a Papist.[14]

Dickens' Mrs. Clennam brings up her son, Arthur, in a way which is a study of the baleful effects of a repressive, guilt-laden childhood, explaining that her own childhood had been one of "Wholesome repression, punishment and fear. ... The corruption of our hearts, the evil of our ways, the curse that is upon us, the terrors that surround us", were its themes.[15] So, too, since

the gloomy theology of the Murdstones saw all children as a swarm of vipers[16], it follows reasonably that what David feels as tyranny is, in the Murdstone canon, merely a salutary "firmness". In this tradition, also, was Mary Bourne, Tennyson's rabidly Calvinist aunt, who used to say to him when he was a child:

> Alfred, Alfred, when I look at you
> I think of the words of Holy Scripture
> - "Depart from me, ye cursed, into
> everlasting fire!" [17]

There is a marked anomaly between the barbarities to which the doctrine of "original sin" and of the child's "fallen nature" had often led, and the peculiar hostility which greeted Freud's ideas of the child's sexual nature. Coveney has attempted to find an explanation for this in the emotional character of the age:

> The concept of childhoods's innocence may in fact have been an emotional convenience to an age decreasingly able to find satisfaction for guilt in the universally-accepted religious forms. The nineteenth century was especially fearful of sexuality. It maintained a strict taboo on its discussion in literature and polite society. Is it entirely fanciful to suppose that a myth of childhood's innocence was a convenient means of emotional absolution from guilt in a society in which natural instinct was an unmentionable vice, and in which the religious means for explanation of guilt were decreasingly sought? Was the romantic symbol of childhood's purity and innocence, which the Victorians held so dearly, and defended, when it came under suspicion, so passionately, a symbol of what one might term secular expiation? Did a sexually-fearful society create a myth of childhood as a period in life when the Devil, in the guise of Sex, could not assail the purity of Man? ...

> In the psychology of sexual repression and its ever-attendant guilt, we may find part of the explanation of the popularity of the myth of innocent childhood and the savagery towards children in practice, which seem to have existed so astonishingly - otherwise - side by side.[18]

Coveney's explanation seems, however, to telescope two separate views and to end by imputing them to the same people, whereas it would be more feasible to see them as being held by different sections of the community. The strongly-held view of the child's essentially fallen nature was a religious one, closely allied with Calvinism and the fundamentalist sects; it was not held by the more intellectual groups of society or, generally, by High- or Broad-Church Anglicans, amongst whom the romantic myth prevailed. There is nothing in Kingsley's writings comparable to the literary tortures produced by the morally-motivated exponents of original sin. Indeed, the child Alton Locke revolts instinctively against the Puritan doctrines of election in his mother's religion, and writes his first hymn:

> Jesus, He loves one and all;
> Jesus, He loves children small;
> Their souls are sitting round His feet,
> On high, before His mercy-seat.[19]

Kingsley, in fact, was not above using the Romantic cult of the perfection of childhood and nature to deter his future wife from thinking too much about the weighty problems of her time:

> You may think too much! ... A child goes straight to its point, and it hardly knows why. ... If you wish to be like a little child, study what a little child could understand, - nature; and do what a little child could do - love.[20]

Thus, although both ideas were undoubtedly co-existent in the same society, we cannot assume that both would be held by any one individual. The anomaly is rather that the greatest opposition of Freud's theories came from the fundamentalist groups who themselves believed most firmly in the child's depravity. A partial explanation may be that original sin was presumed, however implicitly, to be somehow different in kind from the iniquities committed after conversion; but sexuality was very obviously not something washed away in the baptismal waters, and therefore, Freud's ideas, by suggesting a correlation between sexuality and original sin, tended to undermine the efficacy of baptism. I am not suggesting that this view was ever explicitly presented, or even consciously reasoned, for any frank discussion of sexuality was almost impossible amongst these particular groups, but rather that such fragmentary fears as these may have imposed a repression of thought leading to a more vigorous hostility to Freud than any reasoned argument could have generated.

Arising from these two distinct views of the child's essential nature - the Calvinist and the Romantic, - there were two divergent theories of development and education. Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding (1690) and his treatise On Education (1693) had followed in the general tradition of Aristotle, presupposing the concept of the child as a tabula rasa, on which successive impressions were stamped by experience, by parents and teachers, until the

impressions cohered into mature wisdom; there was no knowledge *a priori*, nothing cognizable from intuitive evidence. Locke wrote:

> Let us then suppose the mind to be, as we say, white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas: how comes it to be furnished? Whence comes it by that vast store which the busy and boundless fancy of man has painted on it with an endless variety? Whence has it all the materials of reason and knowledge? To this I answer, in one word, from EXPERIENCE.[21]

This was the tradition in which John Stuart Mill was educated[22] and which Dickens parodies in Thomas Gradgrind's Utilitarian system of bringing up his children by starving their imagination in the model school where the master, M'Choakumchild is exhorted to "teach these boys and girls nothing but facts".[23] There was obviously little appreciation by the would-be educators of the precepts which Freud later formulated:

> The meagre satisfaction that [man] can extract from reality leaves him starving.[24]

Rousseau, on the other hand, asserted the child's intuitive sensibility which, so far from being repressed, or swamped by an external curriculum, should be nourished and encouraged to develop according to its own inclinations, and in a "natural" environment. In *Emile*, such an environment meant a secluded country life with a private tutor as sole companion. Rousseau was thus reviving the Socractic method, exemplied in the *Meno* of "education", of drawing out from the child by skilful questioning what he already, in a

sense, knows, but does not realize that he knows. Rousseau, however, goes much further than this in strictly limiting the area within which the child's consciousness should be allowed to develop at any one stage, and his system is, in the last analysis, virtually a negative one, stemming from an anti-intellectualism: "Our minds", he writes, "have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and sciences have improved."[25] In Rousseau's scheme, infancy and childhood should be devoted to the cultivation of the body and the senses - the education of reason and of the emotions should be deferred to adolescence because Rousseau linked them with sexual maturity. The child, to him, was a mere neuter being, lacking passion, reason, conscience, and every other adult faculty. Until the child was fifteen, words were to be anathema to him - he was to learn by consequences, not by words, and all books except Robinson Crusoe were to be forbidden.

> I destest books. ... Reading is the scrouge of childhood. They [books] merely teach us to talk about things we know nothing about.[26]

Rousseau's followers, who necessarily varied his method while retaining his germinal idea, had enormous effect in Europe and, though less widely at first, in England, where Richard Lovell Edgeworth attempted to produce an almost exact replica of Emile's education for his son, Dick, but apparently with little success in the outcome.[27] Sir Austin Feverel's "system" for Richard's education, although it does contain the belief that human spontaneity should be sacrificed

to scientific principles, appears in part to be based on Rousseau's method, in that Sir Austin attempts to hedge the boy off from various experiences until he believes him ready.

> The youth's progressionary phases were mapped out in sections from Simple Boyhood to the Blossoming Season, the Magnetic Age, the Period of Probation, from which ... he was to emerge into Manhood worthy of Paradise. [28]

The "Blossoming Season" in Sir Austin's scheme apparently corresponds to Rousseau's period when a youth is ready for the faculty of worship to develop, for,

> At this period, when the young savage grows into the higher influences, the faculty of worship is foremost in him. [29]

So Rousseau had stipulated that after the age of fifteen, sentiment and duty appear - "We enter upon the moral order". He wanted to defer, until Emile was eighteen, all mention of God, lest the child form a purely emotional and superstitious idea of God, but at eighteen Emile was immediately to form the concept of an ideal sublimity of spiritual attributes. Sir Austin Feverel's system is, however, less extreme than Rousseau's. He explains it thus:

> Sin is an alien element in our blood. 'Tis the Apple-Disease with which Nature has striven since Adam. To treat Youth as naturally sinful is, therefore, false and bad; as it is bad and false to esteem it radically pure. We must consider that we have forfeited Paradise, but were yet grown there. [30]

Rousseau went too far in his emphasis on the child as he <u>is</u>, rather than on the child as he is-to-be, and this led him to make too

sharp a distinction between the different periods of life and between these and maturity. Because of this, he isolated the child too much from society and therefor his system could scarcely be adopted into the novel form although it was well-suited to introspective poetry.

On the Continent it was Pestalozzi who, though following Rousseau's basic ideas, saw social adjustment as the culmination of a long natural development, which he wished to introduce gradually for every child; but although Pestalozzi institutes were well estaboished in Europe by 1818, it was 1851 before even the first kindergarten was opened in England.[31] Indeed, in England, Wordsworth was perhaps the first to stress the organic nature of development - the continuum from infancy whereby the "Child is father of the Man". For Wordsworth, childhood was the "seed-time" of the soul, and, as with Rousseau, the relationship between the Child and Nature was fundamental to his idea of moral growth; but he did not consider, as Rousseau did, that virtue was innate; rather it had to be inculcated:

> Our eyes have not been fixed upon virtue, which lies apart from human nature, or transcends it,... In Fact, there is no such virtue.[32]

It would seem then, that the "visionary gleam" of "Intimations of Immortality" is not to be identified as moral perception, but rather as a spontaneous <u>rapport</u> with nature, innocence arising from ignorance rather than as the fruits of a moral struggle.

The Prelude, though it probably had less immediate impact than the Ode, is a more thorough educational treatise; like Rousseau, Wordsworth denies the value of formal education which seems to him necessarily to exclude the influence of Nature and fancy, and, like Blake, he mourns for the child imprisoned in school where the school-master has at his disposal so many facts and so little imagination.[33]

This is the image of school which appears with alarming frequency in the nineteenth-century novel. Although he was interested in the Ragged Schools[34] Dickens was essentially an anti-intellectual. Almost all the characters in his novels who are shown obtaining an education, are the worse for it, emotionally and morally, and certainly none of those who have received much education exhibit a richer quality of life and happiness as a result. There is, for example, a repeated reference in Bleak House to the useless and debilitating education which Richard Carstone has received in his eight years at public school:

> I thought it much to be regretted that Richard's education had not counteracted those [deleterious] influences or directed his character. He ... had learnt, I understood, to make Latin verses of several sorts in the most admirable manner, But I never heard that it had been anybody's business to find out what his natural bent was, or where his failings lay, or to adapt any kind of knowledge to him. He had been adapted to the verses, and had learnt the art of making them [but] ... I did doubt whether Richard would not have

> profited by someone studying him a little instead of his studying them quite so much.[35]

Moreover, all the school masters whom Dickens presents, with the doubtful exception of the idealized schoolmaster in The Old Curiosity Shop, neglect entirely the imaginative and (for the two are closely linked) the emotional development of the child, and his need to develop at a natural pace in an atmosphere of encouragement and happiness. They perpetrate instead the "forcing system" decried in Dombey and Son and Hard Times.

Jane Eyre's experience at Lowood under the Brocklehurst regime is not dissimilar; its sole advantage is its relative superiority to Gateshead. (Mr. Brocklehurst was in fact based on the person of Carus Wilson at whose school Charlotte Brontë had suffered as a child, and there is perhaps a touch of masochism in her frequent references to the suffering and distress of childhood). For her the child is too often a sacrificial victim of the horror lurking beneath the smooth domestic surface which adults see as ordinary events. Again, J.A. Froude's thinly-disguised autobiography, Shadows of the Clouds (1847) published under the pseudonym of "Zeta" describes, as the experience of Edward Fowler, Froude's own unhappy years at Westminster school.[36]

In The Story of an African Farm, Lyndall repudiates the whole ethos of her finishing school: (interestingly this description of a school in the colonies is very close to atmosphere of English girls' schools described by Charlotte Brontë).

> I have discovered that of all the cursed places under the sun, where the hungriest soul can hardly pick up a few grains of knowledge, a girls' boarding-school is the worst. They are called finishing-schools, and the name tells accurately what they are. They finish everything but imbecility and weakness, and that they cultivate. They are nicely adapted machines for experimenting on the question "Into how little space a human soul can be crushed?" ... cackling old women, who are without knowledge of life, without love of the beautiful, without strength.... It is suffocation only to breathe the air they breathe.[37]

Later, Butler was to castigate the whole formal education system in his account of the Colleges of Unreason which upheld the Erewhonian educational edifice. These systematically aimed to incapacitate young people for leading useful lives: drilled in "hypothetics" to present a "set of utterly strange and impossible contingencies", the students soon become proficient in Inconsistency and Evasion, and learn a useless hypothetical language into which they "will spend years in learning to translate some of their own good poetry ... when their own civilization presented problems by the hundred which cried aloud for solution".[38]

In these and other nineteenth-century novels where formal education is treated, there is nearly always put forward the contrast (usually exploited by the novelist) between the Romantic ideal of education and the stultifying system which is actually practised and which derives largely from a deeply-ingrained belief in either the natural depravity or the natural vacuity of children.

We can trace the debasement of the former to the latter in one of the most widely-practised forms of education for Victorian children - the moral tale. This began in the tradition of Rousseau but was soon taken over by those whose underlying assumption was a plastic child upon whom a moral education was to be ruthlessly stamped. Maria Edgeworth, daughter of the Sir Richard Edgeworth who had attempted the experiment in Rousseau's educational principles, quickly realized that it was too difficult in a civilized environment to engineer the simple situations with which Emile had been presented, to teach him cause and effect. It was therefore a short step to the "moral tale"; in which imaginary model situations were presented in a strictly realistic world and the consequences to the wise or foolish child heavily underlined. Maria Edgeworth's tales, like those of Rousseau's followers in France, thus arose from a desire to present the same kind of situations as Emile had encountered, but it soon became obvious that such literary devices were not equivalent, even in principle, to the actual experience. When Evangelical Christian groups adopted Maria Edgeworth's method and emphasized the moral, with all the machinery of Heaven and Hell in the balance, the link with nature became even more tenuous. Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Trimmer, (who published the Guardian of Education monthly from 1802-6) perhaps the most notorious perpetrators of the moral tale[39], were ardently committed to a doctrine of original sin, and this

underlay all their harshly moralizing tracts, which were designed to stamp an impression on the minds of their young readers.

Apart from these studies of more formal education which so many of the nineteenth-century novelists included in their discussions of the child's development, it is interesting to see the gradually evolving ideas of the child's general growth to maturity, with the rise of fictional realism. Wordsworth, as we have seen, had stressed the organic nature of this development, but not until much later did this concept appear embodied in a novel. Jane Eyre is perhaps the first novel to present a psychologically consistent growth from the point of view of the child, but it is one of the limitations of the autobiographical novel that Jane cannot comment at length on the influences of her environment and analyse her unconscious reactions and prejudices convincingly if the novel is to maintain her point of view realistically. It is rather in Emily Brontë's grim recapturing of childhood that we have, in contrast to Charlotte's single vision of the lonely child, a study to the effects of heredity and environment fused in the family situation, for the second generation of Heathcliffs and Lintons show markedly the parents' characteristics. But Wuthering Heights had little direct influence on the novelists of the period, being considered something of an embarrassing misfit in the general trend.

Dickens' children hardly ever develop into credible adults; either they remain children at heart (and in mind) or they become

unreal like the adult David Copperfield who never ceases to be, for Dickens, the figure of the poor Romantic child, battered and helpless. Elizabeth Gaskell, in Wives and Daughters[40] does discuss quite fully the factors which she considers most important in the upbringing of children - especially, with Cynthia and Molly Gibson, the effect which lack of a mother's influence or a mother with few strong moral principles herself, has on a daughter's development. Many of her children are not notably realistic (though Jemima Bradshaw is well drawn as the adolescent of mixed feelings scarcely understood by herself)[41], but two exceptions are Edward and Maggie Browne of The Moorland Cottage where, in the dialogue about their dead father, Elizabeth Gaskell presents an example of unpunished rebelliousness rare in Victorian literature of childhood:

> "I wish it would always rain on Sundays," said Edward to Maggie, in a garden conference.
> "Why?" asked she.
> "Because then we bustle out of church and get home as fast as we can to save Mamma's crape; and we have not to go and cry over Papa."
> "I don't cry", said Maggie, "Do you?" [42]

and later Edward confesses:

> "Maggie, sometimes I don't think I'm sorry that Papa is dead. - When I'm naughty, you know; he would have been so angry with me if he had been here; and I think - only sometimes, you know, - that I'm rather glad he is not!" [43]

George Eliot's children in the early novels before Mill on the Floss, are, for the most part, not characters but lisping, toddling

dolls. Chubby, Dickey, Patty and Sophy Barton (their names are all too significant!) are the cherubic infants of Victorian sentimentality and prattle in fluent baby-talk, while Tommy, Marty and Totty Poyser are similar bearers of rosy cheeks, and black eyes, and sentimentally engaging naughtiness. In Tom and Maggie Tulliver, however, there is none of this; instead there are the beginnings of a really serious approach to the child's development. We are shown the inheritance of family traits, and the influence of environment on the family fortunes and on the adolescent Maggie, for George Eliot pays scant respect to the view of the traditional moral imprint of the parents stamped indelibly on the young lives: on the contrary, the moral weaknesses of Mr. and Mrs. Tulliver and of their respective families, are clearly drawn as an inescapable part of the children's environment. (We shall consider this deterministic factor of heredity and environment in a later chapter.)

The other early outstanding rebel against the Victorian belief in the goodness and piety of parents was Charles Dickens. In hardly any of his novels is there anything like a sound and intelligent parent-child relationship; rather, the normal course of nature is usually shown as being tragically perverted: some of the children are orphans, either utterly alone or dominated brutally by parent substitutes of the Murdstone variety; those who are not orphans have parents who are either grotesque and domineering like Dombey, or witless and incompetent. Mrs. Copper-

field virtually ceases to be a mother to David after her remarriage: her change of name is symbolic of an alienation in relationship - indeed almost a complete abdication of responsibility follows, for she herself relapses into a state of child-like dependence and obedience to Murdstone. Scarcely any Dickensian parents provide love or mature guidance for their children, a fact which Bell[44] sees as reflecting the lasting influence of Dickens' own unhappy childhood. His conception of the world is correspondingly disorientated and incoherent, the bleak parent-child relationship being symptomatic of his total vision. For Dickens, the child's situation amounts to a stringent criticism of society, for an orphan who cannot find a parent in society has no cause to believe in the family of man, or the morality which stems from such a belief. Thus, in Great Expectations, there is a strict causal sequence: because Magwitch is an orphan he is abused; because he is abused, he wishes to be avenged; therefore he "adopts" another orphan to remake him into a gentleman and an alter ego; because Pip is an orphan he is an eligible candidate for such treatment and, moreover, is susceptible to remoulding; the rest follows.[45]

For Hardy, too, the bleak and arbitrary nature of the universe is emphasised by the plight of its children - they are aged beyond their years, for man and nature have been against them from their birth. Jude and Arabella's son who, solemnly explains "I should like the flowers very much, if I didn't keep on thinking they'd all

be withered in a few days"[46] is clearly akin to Tess' brother, Abraham, who, with "the furrows of fifty years extemporised on his young face" murmurs after the accident" "Tis because we be on a blighted star, and not on a sound one, isn't it, Tess?"[47]

There had been no lack of examples of foolish mammas and brutal papas in literature, from Jane Austen onwards, but not before Samuel Butler do we have a total and explicit repudiation of the family as such - its whole principle and function. Mrs. Gaskell's weak-minded mothers are balanced by morally admirable specimens and thus, although Mrs. Bradshaw's unfortunate habit of reporting to her husband the confidences she prises out of her children,[48] might be seen as a precursor of Christina Pontifex's systematic betrayal of her sofa chats, in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel these maternal deficiencies are balanced by the calm firmness and regulated indulgence of Ruth's love for Leonard.

There were other stirrings against the pious myth of "the angel in the house" - Mrs. Gatty's priest-like catechism and emotional blackmail of her son, Charles,[49] betokens a considerable rift - but even these scarcely prepare us for the change from Ruskin's classic definition of the virtues of the home to Butler's myth of the unborn in Erewhon, and his overthrow of the entire family system in The Way of All Flesh. Ruskin's panegyric, in Sesame and Lilies, is one of the characteristic idealisations of the place of woman in the home. It is a set piece, and no doubt its moulded

phrases were thought a fitting temple for the beautiful thoughts they enshrined:

> This is the true nature of home - it is the place of peace; the shelter not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; ... it is then only a part of that outer world which you have roofed over and lighted a fire in. But so far as it is a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by Household Gods ... so far as it is this, ... so far it vindicates the name, and fulfils the praise, of Home.[50]

Thus, in Ruskin's ideal, the home was both a "shelter from the anxieties of modern life, ... and a shelter for those moral and spiritual values which the commercial spirit and the critical spirit were threatening to destroy."[51] The extent to which this popular sentiment was a fiction, may perhaps be gauged from Ruskin's account of his own childhood in Praeterita:

> Let me count the equally dominant calamities (of my childhood).
>
> First that I had nothing to love. My parents were - in a sort - visible powers of nature to me, no more loved than the sun and the moon: only I should have been annoyed and puzzled if either of them had gone out. ... I had no companions to quarrel with, neither; nobody to assist, and nobody to thank.[52]

This factual account is where Ruskin is closest to Butler, for The Way of All Flesh is almost a point-by-point repudiation of the ideals expressed in Sesame and Lilies. It is the final erruption to which all the previous rumblings, interspersed with ominous

silences, were leading - the final overthrow of the pious myth of the Victorian family circle. What we shall need to examine later, however, is whether Butler, in his iconoclastic zeal, went so far that his final position is as ludicrously in error as the view he was combatting. When Overton asks rhetorically:

> Why should the generations overlap one another at all? Why cannot we be buried as eggs in neat little cells with ten or twenty thousand pounds each wrapped around us in Bank of England notes, and wake up as the sphex wasp does, to find that its papa and mamma have not only left ample provision at its elbow, but have been eaten by sparrows some weeks before it began to live consciously on its own account?[53]

We can scarcely be expected to take him seriously, but there are many more moderate criticisms which must have been uncomfortably close to realism for the purveyors of the Victorian family dream. Butler marks, in this sense, the end of an era. So influential was his presentation of the deleterious effects of parents on their children that, for nearly a quarter of a century afterwards, as M. Abel Chevally says:

> There was hardly a self-respecting novel in which the father is not execrated.[54]

Pritchett goes even further, calling The Way of All Flesh:

> One of the time-bombs of literature... waiting to blow up the Victorian family and with it the whole great pillared and balustraded edifice of the Victorian novel.[55]

What we shall examine in the next chapters is how, in the five Bildungsromane under consideration, these general

nineteenth-century views which we have been discussing on the upbringing and character-development of children, are shown as taking effect in the ddvelopment of the protagonists or, alternatively, the insights which these five authors, by writing from their own conscious or unconscious experiences, were able to contribute to the understanding of character.

Chapter II. Notes.

1. N. Foerster, "The Critical Study of the Victorian Age", in The Reinterpretation of Victorian Literature, ed. J.E. Baker (New York, 1962), p.60.
2. J.J. Rousseau, Emile, 3v., Paris 1823, book I, p.11.
3. W. Cowper, "The Sofa", in The Task, book I, l.749
4. Quoted in P. Coveney, The Image of Childhood (London, 1967). p.55
5. W. Wordsworth, "The Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood", stanza 5.
6. Coveney, op. cit., p. 83.
7. S.T. Coleridge, Quoted without reference, by Coveney, op. cit., p. 87.
8. B. Disraeli, Sybil (London, 1881) book II, chapter 10, pp. 112-3.
9. Such passages as: "Sea, too, these emerge from the bowels of the earth! Infants of four and five years of age. ... their labour ... is passed in darkness and solitude, ... and all that reminds the infant trappers of the world they have quitted and that which they have joined, is the passage of the coal-waggons for which they open the air-doors of the galleries". ibid, book III, chapter 1, pp.161-2.
10. Quoted by W.E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1850 (Oxford, 1963), p. 235.

11. Quoted ibid., p. 235.

12. S. Butler, The Way of All Flesh (New York, 1965) chapter 5, p. 23.

13. J. Hogg, The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (London, 1964), pp. 91-2.

14. C. Kingsley, Alton Locke (London, 1889), chapter 1, pp. 3-4.

15. C. Dickens, Little Dorritt (London, n.d.) chapter 30.

16. C. Dickens, David Copperfield (London, n.d.) chapter 4, p.58.

17. H. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir (London, 1899), p.12.

18. P. Coveney, op. cit. pp. 301-2.

19. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 11.

20. C. Kingsley, Letters and Memories of his Life, ed. F. Kingsley (London, 1879), volume I, pp.66-7.

21. J. Locke, Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book II, chapter 1, para. 2.

22. J.S. Mill, The Autobiography (London, 1924).

23. C. Dickens, Hard Times (London, n.d.)

24. S. Freud, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (New York, 1938), p. 325.

25. J.J. Rousseau, First Discourse on the Arts and Sciences, quoted by P. Coveney, op. cit., p. 43.

26. ibid, p. 45.

27. ibid. p. 47.

28. G. Meredith, The Ordeal of Richard Feverel (New York, 1950), p. 35.

29. ibid, p. 121.

30. ibid. p. 11.

31. M. Heafford, Pestalozzi (London, 1967).

32. W. Wordsworth, A Letter in The Friend, quoted by P. Coveney, op. cit., p. 75.

33. W. Blake, e.g. "The School Boy" in Songs of Experience.

34. P. Collins, Dickens and Education (London, 1963).

35. C. Dickens, Bleak House (New York, 1964) chapter 13, p. 181.

36. R. Chapman, The Victorian Debate (London, 1968), p. 274.

37. O. Schreiner, The Story of an African Farm (London, 1939) part 2, chapter 4, pp. 168-9.

38. S. Butler, Erewhon (London, 1924) chapter 21.

39. P. Coveney, op. cit. p. 50

40. E. Gaskell, Wives and Daughters (London, 1910)

41. E. Gaskell, Ruth (London, 1967)

42. E. Gaskell, "The Moorland Cottage", in Cranford (London, 1965), p. 265.

43. ibid. p. 266.

44. VM. Bell, "Parents and Children in Great Expectations", Victorian Newsletter, number 27 (Spring, 1965), 21-4.

45. ibid. pp. 22-3.

46. T. Hardy, Jude, the Obscure (London, 1924), chapter V, p. 273.

47. T. Hardy, Tess of the D'Urbervilles (London, 1957) chapter 4, p.42.

48. E. Gaskell, Ruth (London, 1967), chapter 20, p. 220.

49. C. Reade, Christie Johnstone (London, 1893) chapter 8.

50. J. Ruskin, "Of Queen's Gardens", section 68, in Sesame and Lilies (London, 1906).

51. W.E. Houghton, op. cit., p.343.

52. J. Ruskin, Praeterita, volume 35 of The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1908), pp. 44-5.

53. S. Butler, The Way of All Flesh, chapter 18, pp. 78-9.

54. Quoted by C.G. Stillman, Samuel Butler: A Mid-Victorian Modern (London, 1932), p. 196.

55. V.S. Pritchett, "A Victorian Son", in The Living Novel (London, 1960), p. 108.

CHAPTER II.

HEREDITY AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT.

Growth and development are the meeting-place of heredity and environment, and the "nature-nurture" controversy had been raging spasmodically long before Darwin's Origin of the Species gave it new impetus. The needs of animal husbandry gave it more than theoretical urgency and upper class society, for the most part, solicited the aid of both influences in the conception and rearing of its legitimate children so that nothing might be left to chance.

Yet, of the five novelists we are discussing here, only Butler may be said to treat heredity seriously. Alton Locke's father is dead and we are told virtually nothing about him except that he was more scrupulous and less ambitious than his brother. It is not difficult to see a similar contrast in the two cousins, Alton and George, but there is no overt suggestion that this is the result of an inherited character-trait; it might just as plausibly arise from environmental factors, but in fact the contrast is not seriously studied as a biological phenomenon: it is merely a vivid and useful dramatic device. The influence of Mark Rutherford's parents is taken as being exclusively environmental, while in The Story of an African Farm, we are told nothing of the parents of the orphans, Lyndall and Em, and Waldo's father is shown as producing a particular

environment rather than as furnishing hereditry traits. Moreover, in the frontispiece, Olive Schreiner quotes from de Tocqueville a passage stressing the importance of a child's environment on the development towards adulthood and ignoring hereditary factors:

> We must see the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his mind; or must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his first efforts, if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions that will rule his life. The entire man is, so to speak, to be found in the cradle of the child.[1]

In Father and Son, where we know the strong autobiographical content, it is perhaps possible to point to inherited characteristics of which the author is unaware, but this is external to the novel; within the framework of the novel, the influences considered are almost exclusively environmental.

With Samuel Butler, however, we come to perhaps the most serious treatment of heredity in English literature. The Way of All Flesh is intended, from beginning to end, as a practical illustration of the question of inherited identity and the unity of ancestor and offspring, which Butler had expounded in Life and Habit (with which the first section of the novel is contemporary in composition) and Luck or Cunning? In a very real sense, The Way of All Flesh is the story of the Pontifex organism rather than of Ernest and it will help us to understand this if we consider first the basic postulates of Butler's theory of heredity.

In Life and Habit, the most complete elaboration of his theory, Butler's thesis rests on two basic propositions: firstly that a conscious action is a sign of an imperfect mastery of that action by the individual, and secondly, that the individual can remember only those things which he has done in his own person. From this second premise Butler derives the conclusion that unconsciously or instinctively performed actions must arise from our memory of having done them before, and that therefore, by extrapolation, each of us actually is in a sense part of

> the primordial cell which never died or dies, but has differentiated itself into the life of the world, all living beings whatever being one with it and members one of another. [2]

Thus Butler is essentially a vitalist, seeing life as a single, unified force which has split temporarily into a multitude of individuals, and his key axiom is the identity of memory and heredity. Evolution, for Butler, was dependent on the power of memory to pass on acquired characters, together with the ability of the organism to shape or adapt itself according to need or desire. This last postulate has led to Butler's being dismissed with Lamarck as belonging to a reactionary or outmoded group of biologists, but Butler's theory was always intended to have much wider application than the level of physical biology. His opposition to Darwin sprang primarily from a moral objection on the grounds of humanistic values, for unlike Thomas Hardy who accepted and developed in his

novels the Darwinian theory, he distrusted Darwin's emphasis on chance as the basic element in the evolutionary process. Butler held, instead, that a definite directing force produced the varieties which Darwin had taken as data for his theory, but unlike Paley he saw this force as acting within the whole process, not as the cosmic managing-director of the teleogists' conception. Butler's force is the process itself -

> a living tangible person ... who did of his own cunning, after infinite proof of every kind, hazard and experiment, scheme out and fashion each organ of the human body.[3]

The main impetus for Butler's scheme appears to have been his moral revulsion against the current materialism which inevitably underlay the biology popularized by Huxley and Tyndall. At a time when Huxley was divorcing any moral content from evolutionary science, and proclaiming that:

> Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies of man came about; but in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than what we had before.[4]

Butler preferred to think that "life eternal explained more of the phenomena of existence than matter eternal".[5] The Way of All Flesh dramatises his scientific and moral ideas. The four generations of Pontifexes form a segment of the evolutionary line, and are intended to show how the evolutionary process follows a general course which, despite lapses and regressions, proceeds towards a

"higher" kind of life overall, for its goals are "beauty, design, steadfastness of purpose, intelligence and courage". Moreover, this process involves the identity of memory and heredity, the transmission of acquired characters, the essential unity of life, and the absence of any complete break between the generations.

The first hint of the continuity of generations through the family spirit, which may lie dormant for generations and then reappear, is introduced mildly enough, in the guise of an analogy for the business world of George Pontifex:

> It is their children of the first or first and second generation who are in greater danger, for the race can no more repeat its most successful performances suddenly and without its ebbings and flowings of success than the individual can do so, and the more brilliant the success in any one generation, the greater, as a general rule, the subsequent exhaustion until time has been allowed for recovery. ... the spirit that actuated the grandfather having lain fallow in the son and being refreshed by repose so as to be ready for fresh exertion in the grandson. [6]

Ernest later expatiates further on this point with great distaste:

> It seems to me ... that the family is a survival of the principle which is more logically embodied in the compound animal - and the compound animal is a form of life which has been found incompatible with high development. [7]

Usually, however, the expositions of Butler's philosophy of the continuum of the generations appear in the mouth of Overton, as he comments on the passing pageant of Pontifexes. The throes of

Ernest's religious gropings under the dubious guidance of Pryer elicit this comment in Overton's typically dry and uninvolved style:

> Embryo minds, like embryo bodies, pass through a number of strange metamorphoses before they adopt their final shape....Ernest, however, could not be expected to know this; embryos never do. Embryos think with each stage of their development that they have now reached the only condition which really suits them. This, they say, must certainly be the last, inasmuch as its close will be so great a shock that nothing can survive it. Every shock is a pro tanto death. What we call death is only a shock great enough to destroy our power to recognize a past and a present as resembling one another... so that we can no longer call the [latter] of these two in any proper sense a continuation of the [former], but find it less trouble to think of it as something that we choose to call new. [8]

Later Overton affirms the continuity of generations even more openly: (my italics)

> Accidents which happen to a man before he is born, in the persons of his ancestors, will, if he remembers them at all, leave an indelible impression on him; they will have moulded his character so that, do what he will, it is hardly possible for him to escape their consequences. If a man is to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, he must do so, not only as a little child, but as a little embryo, or rather as a little zoosperm - and not only this, but as one that has come of zoosperms which have entered into the Kingdom of Heaven before him for many generations. Accidents which ... belong to the period since a man's last birth, are not, as a general rule, so permanent in their effects. [9]

Sometimes, Butler's zeal to demonstrate the continuity of generations

and the identity of children with their parents, leads him to some less-than-subtle sophistry, but even in this whimsically blatant overplaying of his case, there is a firmly-intended element of seriousness:

> I grant that at first sight it seems very unjust that parents should have the fun and the children be punished for it, but young people should remember that for many years they were part and parcel of their parents and therefore had a good deal of fun in the person of their parents. If they have forgotten the fun now, that is no more than people do who have a headache, after having been tipsy overnight. The man with a headache does not pretend to be a different person from the man who got drunk .. no more should the offspring complain of the headache which it has earned when in the person of its parents, for the continuation of identity, though not so immediately apparent, is just as real in one case as in the other.[10]

Butler had criticized Darwin for permitting regressions in his scheme of evolution,[11] but ironically the Pontifex family demonstrates just this regression: John Pontifex, Ernest's great-gradnfather, represents a Butlerian ideal, for his knowledge is the unconscious wisdom of one who lives "under grace". His son, George, however, is a conspicuous evolutionary failure in Butler's scheme: so far from having an unconscious wisdom, his every action and utterance is carefully calculated for its effect, from his "personal" diary to the most would-be casual but obviously studied entry in a visitors' book abroad. This evolutionary interruption brings its nemesis in the next generation, for George's sons,

particularly Theobald, inherit neither the unconscious wisdom of their grandfather, nor the worldly aplomb of their father. In the fourth generation, however, Butler intends to show the possibilities of redemption with the slow re-emergence of John Pontifex's spirit in Ernest. This is achieved, though, only by complete repudiation of the two intervening generations - a total break with the dismal failures of the immediate past - and by the endurance of his unconscious self in weathering the blunders which his conscious self, conditioned by the regressive Pontifexes, perpetrates. From Ernest's point of view, this unconscious self is more than merely remedial, for its actually leads him much further along the "right" path than he would ever have travelled without it, but even at the end of the novel Ernest has not completely attained to the standard of his great-grandfather, or of his contemporary idol, Towneley, for he has started at such a disadvantage that what he has learnt with so much effort has not yet passed into his unconscious memory:

> A child of ordinary powers learns to walk at a year or two old without knowing much about it; failing ordinary powers he had better learn laboriously than never learn at all. I am sorry I was not stronger, but to do as I did was my only chance. ... I see it all now. The people like Towneley are the only ones who know anything that is worth knowing, and like that, of course, I can never be. But to make the Towneleys of this world possible there must be hewers of wood and drawers of water - men in fact through whom conscious knowledge must pass before it can reach those who can apply it gracefully and instinctively as the Towneleys can. I am

> a hewer of wood, but if I accept the position frankly and do not set up to be a Towneley, it does not matter.[12]

The possibility is suggested that Ernest's children may regain the truly unconscious wisdom of a Towneley or a John Pontifex, but it is never quite clear whether this redemption comes about because they have been isolated, in earliest childhood, from the pernicious influences of a Pontifex upbringing which dogged the youth of Theobald and of Ernest, or because they have inherited the character which their father acquired by an act of will. It is as though Butler is safe-guarding his Lamarckian position with an added environmental prop. This device, however, weakens rather than fortifies his case, for it seems to imply that, given a reasonably propitious environment, heredity can usually be relied upon to produce a viable and sound individual.

Throughout the novel, Butler's case for heredity is predominantly Lamarckian in its reliance on the inheritance of acquired characters, but the anomaly between this and Butler's equally firm conviction of a family spirit re-emergent in each generation, is never conclusively settled, in the novel. We know what Butler intended from Life and Habit and Luck or Cunning?, but it could scarcely be derived from The Way of All Flesh alone. Thus George Pontifex, despite his excellent ancestry, becomes such a dismal evolutionary failure, presumably through contamination from his uncle's business world, with its artificial and unnatural values. Then again, there is

the anomaly of Alethea, the only member of the family since old John Pontifex to win Butler's approval - yet she has had the same heredity and environmental assets as her objectionable brothers, John and Theobald, and her insipid sisters, Eliza and Maria. She is virtually a throw-back, a "sport" in the family. Even with Ernest himself Butler has occasional lapses and implies that environmental influences, particularly those of childhood, may be more important than heredity; he writes of Ernest:

> He had now been a year and a half at Roughborough and was nearly fourteen years old, so that his character had begun to shape.[13]

There is a further inconsistency in Butler's treatment of Ernest's wife, Ellen. As a servant in the Pontifex household she is highly endorsed, and Butler still considers her a favourable match for Ernest at the time of their meeting in London. Indeed, Overton's disapproval of the marriage detracts from our sympathy for him, since there is a hint of homosexual jealousy in his reactions. However, when Ellen relapses into alcoholism, she suddenly becomes persona non grata in Butler's eyes and a highly unsuitable influence on her children. Yet, according to Butler's theoretical code of behaviour, there is nothing to mark alcoholism as a crime for it has not impaired her viability; on the contrary, it identifies her even more closely with the Cockneys whom Butler professes to admire.[14] After this fall from grace, moreover, Butler conveniently ignores her share in the heredity of her

children; henceforth they are Ernest's children.

Again, in the cases of Alethea, Ernest and Ernest's children, salvation seems to depend on making a complete break from one's parental environment; yet, at the same time, in Butler's theory, too sudden a break always leads to disaster. The "crossing" must be prepared for gradually, as Ernest's doctor explains:

> This is crossing - shaking yourself into something else and something else into you. ... However, Mr. Pontifex is not well enough to stand so great a change as going abroad yet; from what you tell me, I should think he had had as much change lately as is good for him. If he were to go abroad now he would probably be taken seriously ill within a week. I will begin by ringing my London changes on him.[15]

and it is plain from the context that it is not the ardours of travel which the doctor is wary of, but the very concept of change itself.

This leads us to a discussion of the environmental influences on development as posed in the five novels under consideration. The first of these influences to be examined, the family situation, is difficult to separate from heredity, in fiction as in life. It is thus hardly surprising that The Way of All Flesh, with its elaborate theory of heredity contains also the most complete study of the family and family relations as affecting character - development in children, for the family influence in Butler's scheme extends, as we have seen, prenatally for several generations. Nevertheless, the family environment is shown as being important

in the other novels as well.

In The Story of An African Farm, the family situation, such as it is, is composed of extremes. Lyndall and Em, as orphans, are officially the charges of Em's step-mother, who is incapable of any maternal affection or even the pretence of it. Her household is run on the principles of reasonable cleanliness and little else. The children's only home is the cabin of the farm overseer, Uncle Otto, whose nature and religion impart an atmosphere of cheerful gentleness and kindness, as he tells them the tales of his own youth, or sings and plays with the children:

> This place was the one home the girls had known for many a year. The house where Tant' Sannie lived and ruled was a place to sleep in, to eat in, not to be happy in. ... Were there not too many golden memories hanging about [Uncle Otto's] ... old place for them to leave it? [16]

When this home is wrenched away from them by Otto's death, they are left to create their own homes to fill the void. Of their efforts, only Em's might be said to be in any way successful and even that success is very limited. She indeed creates the warmth and comfort necessary but, ironically, there is no one to share her home; at the end of the novel, all she looks forward to is marriage with a man who feels no more than duty towards her and whom she herself has ceased to love. Nor is it difficult to see in Lyndall and Waldo's rootless wanderings, the influence of a childhood spent within reach of the capricious Tant' Sannie and

surrounded by the vastness of the karoo, a vastness which is stylistically stressed by the Biblical simplicity of the language and expression. This childhood insecurity and the dwarfing effect of the environment are major causes of Lyndall's lack of feeling - both as a child and as an adult. Her remoteness from the other two children and her coldness are symbolized by the leaves of the ice-plant which she wears, andher refusal to be involved in defending Waldo against Blenkins past the point where her dignity and isolation might be prejudiced prefigures her refusal to become involved in any adult relationship in which she thinks her "freedom" (and for this we must often read "caprice") might be threatened. All are expressions of her strong sense of aloneness. She herself realizes something of this, for even the question of women's rights cannot touch her really deeply; she qualifies her assertion of feeling for it:

> "... - if, indeed, I have any feelings about anything", she added flippantly.... "When I was a baby, I fancy my parents left me out in the frost one night, and I got nipped internally - it feels so." [17]

After this distinctively South African setting, it is inevitably diminishing to turn to the environment of nineteenth-century London slums, and the Locke household is doubly cramping in its influence on children. We have noted previously that Alton's mother is a rigid adherent of the original sin school of thought, and she brings her children up accordingly, for the

environment which she and her sect provide is basically negative and prohibitive.. In the novel this is artistically emphasised by the unattractive and repressive environment where escapist day-dreams are almost the only outlet permitted to the boy:

> Italy and the Tropics, the Highlands and Devonshire, I knew only in dreams. Even the Surrey Hills ... are to me a distant fairyland.[18]

There is a starkness in the descriptions of Alton's environment - not the starkness of language so effective in recreating the atmosphere of the karoo, but a visual starkness which depends less on simplicity of language (indeed Kingsley's descriptions sometimes border ironically on the prolix as in the evocation of Jem Downe's dwelling and the sewerin which he drowns) than on association of words and on contrast: - the juxtaposition of Alton's daydreams of the Pacific islands with the "little garrets reeking with human breath. ... kitchens and areas with noisesome sewers"[19] and his pathetic delight in "every cabbage and rhubarb plant in Battersea fields".[20] So too, because Mrs. Locke believed all children to be"of the devil tillthey have been consciously 'converted'" and to be "reprobate and doomed to hell" unless it were proved otherwise, she consequently treated her children with a joyless severity, not because they had done wrong, but because they were not yet in her sense, capable of doing right.

> My mother moved by rule and method; by God's law, as she considered, and that only. She seldom smiled. Her word was absolute. She never commanded

> twice without punishing. And yet there were abysses of unspoken tenderness in her, as well as clear, sound womanly sense and insight. But she thought herself as much bound to keep down all tenderness as if she had been some ascetic of the middle ages. ... It was "carnal", she considered.[21]

Characteristically, she employed fear as the mainstay of her repressive system:

> She kept the strictest watch over our morality. Fear, of course, was the only motive she employed; for how could our still carnal understanding be affected with love to God. And love to herself was too paltry and temporary to be urged. ... So our God, or gods, rather, till we were twelve years old, were hell, the rod, the ten commandments and public opinion.[22]

Perhaps no other work in English fiction gives us a glimpse of such a logically consistent scheme of treatment as Mrs. Locke's, for while many parents held the same Calvinist doctrines, they rarely considered seriously the possibility that their children should not prove to be of the elect. Thus, although in the Gosse home "the advent of a child was not welcomed but was borne with resignation"[23], it was barely six weeks after Edmund's birth that, as he records:

> around my tender and unconscious spirit was flung the luminous web ... which, it was hoped, would keep me "unspotted from the world".

and when he was two months old, his mother wrote:

> We have given him to the Lord; and we trust that he will really manifest

> him to be His own if he grow up; and if the Lord take him early, we will not doubt that he is taken to Himself.[24]

This confidence which the Gosses had in their "guidance of the Divine Will" as revealed to them by direct answer to prayer",[25] produced a lightness of atmosphere, which is all the more striking when compared to Mrs. Locke's rigid principles. Edmund Gosse writes:

> In these early days of my childhood ... we were always cheerfyl and often gay. My parents were playful with one another, and there were certain stock family jests which seldom failed to enliven the breakfast table. My Father and Mother lived so completely in the atmosphere of faith, and were so utterly convinced of their intercourse with God, that ... they could afford to take the passing hour lightly. ... My Mother was sometimes extremely gay, laughing with a soft, merry sound.[26]

However preferable this attitude of gaiety may seem compared with the repression of the Locke household, a closer examination of the reasons behind it reveals a basic inconsistency of principle. Mrs. Locke believed that only God could know the number of the elect, and though He might reveal His grace towards any chosen individual through the mechanism of conscious conversion, it was safer to assume the worst unless such proof were forthcoming, for, as one of the Baptist ministers exults:

> How delightful to think of the narrow way of discriminating grace! How it enhances the believer's view of his own exceeding privileges, to remember that there be

few that be saved.[27]

In principle, the Gosses believed this too, as Philip Gosse's attitude to prospective candidates for baptism at the Devonshire Meeting clearly shows, but he and his wife were, perhaps naturally, over-eager to believe and act on the unstated premise that the child of two such devout parents could hardly be other than blameless.

A similar assumption apparently cheered the thoughts of Mark Rutherford's parents, for he writes:

> Nothing particular happened to me until I was about fourteen, when I was told it was time I became converted.[28]

The underlying assumption seems to be again that the child of such parents must of necessity evince the proper signs of grace.

It was of course unlikely that such motives of parental pride would be recognized publicly - or even privately - by those who acted on them; nor would criticism from "outside" have been taken seriously - it would have been considered but another sign of the critic's non-election. Thus it is hardly surprising that Butler should have been the first to set so vigorously about unmasking the pious assumptions of religious parents. Already, in Erewhon, the myth of the unborn showed the strange metaphysic which religious and family assumptions implied for him. The child, according to this myth, is held responsible for his birth (There is the hint of a similar surprise for Theobald and Christina at the advent of

Ernest,[29] as though the blame rested anywhere but with the parents!) and his nature is essentially corrupt and perverted - these are the truths declared by the child's sponsors a few days after his birth in the Erewhonian ceremony analogous to baptism, and the child must repeat this declaration himself upon reaching adolescence.[30] Butler, in The Way of All Flesh, starts with an ironically objective observation and then proceeds with apparent approval to analyse the actual motives which seem to him to underlie these parental strictures. The sheer matter-of-factness, almost flippancy of tone, are important aspects of Butler's ability to make convincing generalizations from the particular. Thus in the passage quoted below, the general implication is stressed by the opening sentence, for the "universally admitted" dictum is taken tacitly as extending the Pontifex situation equally with itself.

> At that time it was universally admitted that to spare the rod was to spoil the child, and St. Paul had placed disobedience to parents in very ugly company. If his children did anything which Mr. Pontifex disliked, they were clearly disobedient to their father. ... If their wills were "well-broken" in childhood, to use an expression then much in vogue, they would acquire habits of obedience which they would not venture to break through till they were over twenty-one years old.[31]

and again, in the passage:

> The absence of a genial mental atmosphere is not commonly recognized by children who have never known it. ... Even if they are unhappy - very unhappy- it is astonishing how easily they can be prevented ... from attributing it to any other cause than their

> own sinfulness.
>
> To parents who wish to lead a quiet life I would say: Tell your children that they are very naughty - much naughtier than most children. ... This is called moral influence.... They will not yet have caught you lying often enough to suspect that you are not the unworldly and scrupulously truthful person which you represent yourself to be.... Harp upon such brimstone and treacle as the late Bishop of Winchester's Sunday stories. You hold all the trump cards.... if you play them with anything like judgment you will find yourselves heads of happy, united, God-fearing families, even as did my old friend, Mr. Pontifex. [32]

The general and the particular are cunningly interwoven for mutual support.

The outcome of this is that children, ostensibly for their own good, and, more importantly, for the peace of mind of their parents, should be brought up with suitable severity from earliest infancy. Ernest, therefore is taught the outward rituals of piety long before he can understand what he is doing:

> If his attention flagged, or his memory failed him, here was an ill-weed which would grow apace.... and the only way to pluck it out was to whip him, or shut him up in a dark cupbaord, or dock him of some of the small pleasures of childhood. [33]

Even Christina, Theobald's echo, manages at last to destroy Ernest's native affection for her, not, Butler hastens to add, intentionally. On the contrary, she has the highest aspirations for him. Whereas Mrs. Locke had not dared to hope that Alton might be one of the elect, and Edmund Gosse's parents had trusted that their child

might indeed be a child of God, Christina Pintifex apotheosises all maternal ambitions. Ruskin had tacitly noted the unconscious hypocrisy of his own mother:

> My mother had, as she afterwards told me, solemnly "devoted me to God" before I was born, in imitation of Hannah.
>
> Very good women are remarkably apt to make away with their children prematurely in this manner; the real meaning of the pious act being that, as the sons of Zebedee are not (at least they hope not) to sit on the right and left of Christ in His Kingdom, their own sons may perhaps, they think, in time be advanced to that respectable position in eternal life; especially if they ask Christ very humbly for it every day.[34]

But this pales into the utmost modesty beside the fantastic day-dreams of Christina, which in her gushing stream of consciousness, flow without pause from the flask of less-than-pure Jordan water with which Ernest has been baptised, to the conviction that her son is to be the modern Elias, ready for a conveniently imminent millenium[35] and even Ernest's hypothetical "natural" son is destined for a career as Archbishop of Canterbury.[36] This is surely the most ruthless exposé of religious pretension in mothers, and all the more telling because Christina is radiantly unaware of any hypocrisy or even of self-delusion; she is devoutly convinced of the validity of every phase of her daydreams, especially since she has ceased to be worldly by refraining from the eating of black puddings.

Butler, then, apparently does not believe that the wretchedness

of childhood is the result of religious motivation in the parents, though we have seen that this was the overt reason popular in Victorian times as a warrant for not sparing the rod. The whole family situation per se was anathema to Butler, for it juxtaposed people of different generations who had nothing in common and could therefore be nothing but miserable with each other. In his Note-books there is this entry under "the family":

> I believe that more unhappiness comes from this source than from any other - I mean from the attempt to prolong the family connection unduly, and to make people hang together artificially who would never naturally do so.... And the old people do not really like it any better than the young.[37]

Ernest's feelings towards his family crystallize during his imprisonment and culminate in his outburst:

> "There are orphanages", he exclaimed to himself, "for children who have lost their parents - oh! why, why, why, are there no harbours of refuge for grown men who have not yet lost them?" And he brooded over the bliss of Melchizedek, who had been born an orphan, without father, without mother, and without descent.[38]

The Pontifex family is almost a point-by-point mockery of Charlotte Yonge's happy scenes of domesticity, where all generations live in harmony and mutual affection; Butler's family is a jungle of submerged hatreds and power struggles, in which the dreaded weapon of will-shaking accords nominal victory to the father. The Victorian assumption of the merits of large families is attacked mercilessly in the vignettes of the Allaby family, for Butler

accuses the Rev. and Mrs. Allaby of nothing less than immorality in producing (or, in Erewhonian mythology, agreeing to accept) nine children. In the birth-formulae of Erewhon, Butler had stressed the arbitrariness and ill-matching of offspring to parents:

> The unborn are perpetually plaguing and tormenting the married of both sexes... and giving them no peace either of mind or of body until they have consented to take them under their protection.[39]

whereupon,

> They must draw lots for their dispositions before they go, and take them, such as they are, for better or worse; ... they are simply allotted by chance, and without appeal to two people whom it is their business to find and pester until they adopt them.[40]

But in The Way of All Flesh, a treatise on heredity, Butler could not very well stress the arbitrary nature of offspring, so he dwells instead on the generation-gap as a main cause of incompatibility, and the futility of expecting one generation to have anything in common with another:

> Theobald have never liked children. He had always got away from them as soon as he could, and so had they from him; oh, why, he was inclined to ask himself, could not children be born into the world grown-up? If Christina could have given birth to a few full-grown clergymen in priests' orders - of moderate views ... and in all respect facsimiles of Theobald himself - why, there might have been more sense in it.[41]

Ernest, for his part, has similar reservations about the adults

of his family:

> He did not know why, but there was always something that kept him from loving any grown-up people very much - except one or two of the servants.[42]

Karl points out that Butler's particular genius lies in <u>not</u> making Theobald intentionally malicious, but rather the average man, giving his children what he thinks is excellent advice for getting along in the world. Butler's point, ~~however~~, is that such parents completely destroy their offspring unless checked:

> A truly malicious and evil father would evoke immediate rebellion... but a Theobald is more gruesome, for he supplies no apparent substance to rebel against.... Theobald has no understanding of Ernest, makes no allowance for individual behaviour, provides no leeway for what Ernest is: he treats him merely as a father treats a child, any child.[43]

Thus, although at first sight, Bradley's dictum that "the Victorian family is the greatest imaginative creation of Georgian literature",[44] seems to apply supremely to Butler, a closer analysis of Butler's family reveals not so much the vindictiveness of an alienated, bachelor son as a realization that the family, even a clergyman's family, is merely a microcosm of the society as a whole, mouthing the approved theoretical values of that society while acting on the <u>real</u> guiding principles of its age. Ernest's passage from the portals of the Pontifex family on his way to Roughborough, is only a partial victory; Roughborough, Cambridge, and London in turn try to impose the same values on him, and not

until he has shaken off all these father-figures is he, in Butler's sense, free, for, until then, as he had previously realized,

> He had duties towards everybody, lying in wait for him on every side, but ... nobody had any duties towards him.[45]

Such is the pitiful cri de coeur from the repressed Victorian child, suitably indoctrinated with a deep sense of guilt, and a super-ego uncomfortably aware of duties to every conceivable level of society, but exacting homage from no one in return.

Butler's criticism of the family is not intended to be entirely negative, however. He does present model parents, as he thinks, even though these models seem to be, in effect, a denial of parenthood. Thus, in Erewhon Revisited Higgs turns out to be the perfect father, for the simple reason that he was unaware of the existence of his child, and had been absent until the child had reached adulthood. Similarly, in The Way of All Flesh, the reformed Ernest does the best he can for his children[46] - in Butler's scheme this involves having them adopted by someone else, giving them whatever pecuniary help is necessary to ensure their doing what they like, and keeping out of their way as much as possible. Thus Ernest's "solution" to the problem of parenthood is virtually an opting out of any personal responsibility. It is the farthest practical length which Butler can go towards attaining to the "ideal" situation of the baby sphex wasp.[47]

Chapter II Notes.

1. The Story of An African Farm, p. 10.
2. Samuel Butler, Life and Habit (London, 1923), p. 70.
3. Samuel Butler, Evolution, Old and New (London, 1923), p.298.
4. Thomas Henry Huxley, and Julian Huxley, Evolution and Ethics (London, 1947), p. 80.
5. Quoted by C.T. Bissell, "A Study of The Way of All Flesh", in Nineteenth-Century Studies, ed. H. Davies, W.C. Devane and R.C. Bald (New York, 1940) p.288.
6. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 5, p. 21.
7. ibid., chapter 24, p. 101.
8. ibid., chapter 53, p. 232.
9. ibid., chapter 63, p. 270.
10. ibid., chapter 6, p. 24.
11. Samuel Butler, Luck or Cunning? (London, 1923), p.67.
12. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 73, p. 322.
13. ibid., chapter 32, p. 132.
14. J.H. Raleigh, "Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel", Partisan Review, XXV, number 2 (1958), 241-164.
15. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 79, pp. 343-4.
16. The Story of An African Farm, part I, chapter 3, p. 40.
17. ibid., part II, chapter 4, p. 170.
18. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 1.
19. ibid., chapter 1, p. 2.

20. ibid., chapter 1, p. 4.

21. ibid, chapter 1, p. 3.

22. ibid, chapter 1, p.4.

23. Father and Son, chapter 1, p. 9.

24. ibid., chapter 1, pp. 10-11.

25. ibid., chapter 1, p. 14

26. ibid., chapter 2, p. 22.

27. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 12.

28. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, chapter 1, p. 9.

29. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 20, p. 85.

30. Samuel Butler, Erewhon (London, 1924), chapter 18.

31. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 4, p. 23.

32. ibid., chapter 6, pp. 27-8.

33. ibid., chapter 20, p. 87.

34. John Ruskin. Praeterita, in volume 35 of The Works of Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1908), p. 24.

35. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 21, p. 88, et passim.

36. ibid., chapter 38, p. 161.

37. Samuel Butler, The Note Books of Samuel Butler, ed. H.F.Jones (London, 1918), chapter 2, p. 31.

38. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 67, p. 289.

39. Samuel Butler, Erewhon (London 1924), chapter 18, p. 183.

40. ibid., chapter 19, pp. 193-4.

41. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 20, pp. 85-6.

42. ibid., chapter 29, p. 119.

43. F.R. Karl, "The Way of All Flesh", in The Nineteenth-Century British Novel (New York 1964) p. 330.

44. Quoted by F.W. Knickerbocker, Free Minds: John Morley and His Friends (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p.11.

45. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 29, p. 123.

46. ibid., chapter 84.

47. ibid., chapter 18, pp. 78-9.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AS DEVELOPMENT.

As the child develops, the next environmental influence to be encountered after the family is that of formal schooling, although it is obvious that there is considerable temporal overlap between these two. We have already seen that much of the Victorian educational system derived, at least implicitly, from one of the two prevailing ideas about the nature of children - as being either intrinsically wicked or intrinsically good. In the five novels we are considering, there is scant appreciation for formal education as an end in itself, but a very real emphasis instead on the idea of education in the broadest sense, as apprenticeship for life, a process which develops largely after formal schooling has finished, and may indeed be seen as a complete repudiation of that schooling, as in The Way of All Flesh.

In Kingsley's novel however, we see the reverence for education of an educated man, one of the few university-educated nineteenth-century English novelists,[1] - indeed, it is known that, having been appointed to the Chair of History at Cambridge after the first edition of Alton Locke, with its derogatory remarks about that institution, had been published, Kingsley hastened to amend these inferences in the second edition and added the placatory "Preface to the Undergraduates of Cambridge". It is perhaps

significant, however, that having this attitude towards the value of education - not primarily for the utilitarian purpose of social advancement, but rather for its own intrinsic value to the individual - he shows his characters attaining it less through schools than through the gradual realization of values and principles from people of high moral character, whatever their formal educational achievements.

Alton's early education is rudimentary - the day school curriculum stops at reading, writing and sums - but we are shown the child's native curiosity and desire to understand the principles of natural history from the few wildflowers, beetles and butterflies he happens to encounter. This, together with his lively imagination, which creates from the drab and repressive surroundings daydreams of exotic Pacific islands, are his two assets - assets which are gradually refined to produce the sensitive and questioning poet who supposedly writes the novel. The mother's influence, as we have seen, is chiefly repressive - she and her sect forbid the reading of any but religious books, which cramps the boy's development and understanding of the more humane emotions, for his reading of The Pilgrim's Progress involves mainly a geographical transposition of the London area, and " as for the Bible. I knew nothing of it really, beyond the Old Testament. Indeed, the life of Christ had little chance of becoming interesting to me. My mother had given me formally to understand that it spoke of matters too deep for me.[2]

There is also a certain lively spirit of enquiry evident in the young Alton's desire to ascertain by experiment what the everlasting fire would feel like.[3] His moral education might almost be said to be self-taught also, despite the blanket of religious atmosphere surrounding him, for his instinctive interpretation of the Old Testament stories is significantly different from that intended by the purveyors of sectarianism. His whole heart inclines towards the conviction that

> God's love shines out in every tree and flower and hedge-side bird... in the smiles of innocent children.[4]

and that the stories of the old Jewish heroes demonstrate the delivery of men from tyranny and injustice. In this, Kingsley has clear indications of following Rousseau's approach, the child's inherent wisdom being set over against the subtleties and basic ignorance of adults. His character-reading of "the squat, red-faced, pig-eyed, low-browed" missionary is apparently based on aversion to his facial characteristics, but his verdict of "sensuality, conceit and cunning" proves to be more valid than the trust of the older, guileless minister and of Alton's own respectful mother. In this scene it is difficult to separate the boy, Alton, from the adult who writes in retrospect, but obviously it is the latter who comments that:

> many of those who go abroad as missionaries, go simply because they are men of such inferior powers and attainments that, if they stayed in England, they would starve.[5]

After this there is a sudden break in Alton's education when he goes to work at the tailor's shop, but his apprenticeship leaves his intellect unsatisfied, and he craves again for knowledge:

> My great desire now was to get knowledge. By getting that I fancied, as most self-educated men are apt to do, I should surely get wisdom. Books, I thought, would tell me all I needed. [6]

There is obviously heavily implied irony beneath this naïveté and Alton embarks on a course of real education which takes him nearly all the rest of the book. The lessons come thick and fast, for every encounter with Sandy Mackaye, the self-taught, homespun philosopher of the bookshop involves potentially a better understanding if the boy would only heed it. This is to become the general pattern of Alton's education: books are merely the tools for self-discipline; true wisdom comes from people and experience. Thus Mackaye drills Alton in Latin to steer him away from his random, thoughtless devouring of all books indiscriminately:

> Desultory reading is the bane o' lads. Ye maun begin with self-restraint and method, my man, gin ye intend to gie yoursel' a liberal education. [7]

and when Alton protests that there is no one to teach him Latin, he evokes this didactic tirade from Mackaye who goes far towards defining the moral of the book:

> Hoot, man! Whdll teach a man anything except himself? It's only gentlefolks and puir aristocrat bodies that go to be spoilt wi' tutors and pedagogues, cramming and loading them wi' knowledge, as ye'd load a gun, to shoot it all out again,

> just as it went down, in a college examination, and forget all about it after. [8]

The boy learns this lesson quickly; he masters his Latin under the most prohibitive circumstances, but these very hardships breed a pride in his achievement, a defensiveness bordering on arrogance, which takes much longer to unlearn. It colours his attitude so much when he visits his cousin in Cambridge that he is incapable of deriving anything from this opportunity because of his shrill championing of the working classes against the aristocracy, without reference to other qualifications of merit. The only exception he permits his hostility is the frivolous Lillian; in his infatuation with her, he completely misjudges her cousin and Lord Lynedale, and finds solace in a rather adolescent pertness towards Dean Winnstay and Eleanor. Thus he passes over or ignores the lessons which he might have learnt from the Dean's stress on thoroughness and self-discipline, or from Eleanor's injunction to him to be himself.

It is a long and bitter stretch before Alton comes to realize what Eleanor and the Dean try to teach him, for his pride leads him again and again to exalt the working classes and vilify and mistrust all others. When Eleanor tells him (in a style too precisely that of Kingsley's own polemic):

> The day will come when you will find that the clergy are the only class who can help you ... you will find them the only bulwark against the modern tyranny of Mammon, [9]

he is interested but incredulous. He continues to marvel that

the Dean and Lord Lynedale should treat him as an equal, because he has imputed his own snobbery, much magnified to them:

> Were not these men more experienced, more learned, older than myself? They were my superiors ... but the wonder was that they themselves were the ones to appear utterly unconscious of it. They treated me as an equal, they welcomed me - the young viscount and the learned Dean - on the broad ground of a common humanity. [10]

Only the mature Alton adds in comment:

> ... as I believe hundreds more of their class would do if we did not ourselves take pride in estranging them from us. [11]

In Alton Locke too, Kingsley shows the anomaly which results from the education of a youth "beyond his class". Alton despises the upper classes, whose intellectual equal he has become, firstly because he thinks they have gained their education at too little cost, and secondly because he feels they must despise his working-class origins; his inverted snobbery is rampant long before any provocation is intended. But he also, and Kingsley censures this equally, despises the working classes - not in theory, but in practice, when he recurrently prides himself on his intellectual superiority to the majority of this class. He forgets that Sandy Mackaye and Crossthwaite have also fought for, and achieved, an education, and tends to see himself as the grand and sole example of the working-class poet:

> Perhaps, alas! to confess the truth, I was beginning to despise [tailoring]. I

> could bear to think of myself as a poor genius, in connection with my new wealthy and high-bred patrons; for there was precedent for the thing. Penniless bards and squires of low degree, low-born artists, ennobled by their pictures - there was something grand in the notion of mind triumphant over the inequalities of rank, and association with the great and wealthy as their spiritual equal, on the mere footing of its own innate nobility.[12]

In this he is a precursor of Gissing's Godwin Peak of Born in Exile (1892), another egoist who belongs properly to no class of society and delights in his isolation. Later Locke writes in a similar vein of his term in prison as a political prisoner:

> I never, during those three years, exchanged as many sentences with any of my fellow-prisoners. What had I to say to them? Poachers and petty thieves - the scum of misery, ignorance and rascality. ... If my heart yearned toward them at times, it was generally shut close by the exclusive pride of superior intellect and knowledge. ... Oh! there is in the intellectual workman's heart, as in all others, the root of Pharisaism - the lust after self-glorifying superiority, on the ground of genius.[13]

and Alton proceeds to enjoy a feast of petty superiority over the prison chaplain whose arguments he easily subverts and whose moral excellence he chooses to ignore.[14]

Perhaps the most interesting part of Alton's education, because it is the most unusual, is his feverish dream, during which he, in imagination, repeats his evolutionary ancestry, striving and failing at each successive phase, until he hears the words of

the mystic woman:

> "You have learned what it is to be a man." [15]

In this weird and beautiful dream sequence which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, Kingsley again stresses the necessity for experience in learning and development - in this case, the experience of the whole of human history, in order to learn the bond of oneness between all creatures. It is a similar kind of experience to that which Kingsley portrays in The Water Babies, where Tom learns to understand the point of view of the various creatures by living among them, and through his encounters with Mrs. Do-As-You-Would-Be-Done-By, nor is it dissimilar in tone and in meaning from the experience of the Ancient Mariner, learning from the water snakes the bond between all living things.

Kingsley's ideal system of education, then, derives from his belief in the intrinsic goodness of the child, as we have seen when discussing the confrontation of Alton with his mother. Coveney notes that:

> Alton Locke is an interesting fusion of Wordsworthian naturalism with Christian humanitarianism, a fusion of the secular romantic tradition about the child with Anglican compassion for human nature; a fusion which Kingsley perhaps best expressed in his Water Babies. [16]

Like Rousseau, who also started with the postulate of the child's innate innocence and goodness, Kingsley stressed experience as the only means of coming to true understanding. He also stressed the

importance of personal encounters and relationships in the learning process - indeed Alton Locke might almost be seen as an illustration of the text, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Thus his desire to believe in the dream of the missionary fields dies hard, but it does so through his disenchantment with the character of its representative:

> He bawled and contradicted, and laid down the law, and spoke to my mother in a fondling, patronizing way, ... he filled his teacup half full of the white sugar ... he drained the few remaining drops of the threepennyworth of cream.... Three parts of his conversation ... was made up of abuse of the missionaries of the Church of England. [17]

This experience is a prefiguring of Alton's later disenchantments - with the original Chartist movement because of the way its adherents sacrifice means to an end which they thereby destroy, and because they themselves become brutalized in the process; with Lillian, whose behaviour and general superficiality of nature eventually show themselves despite her beautiful appearance. On the other hand, Mackaye's generous actions continually belie his crabbed words, and it is Eleanor's deed s which proclaim her a saint at the end of the novel. Kingsley was himself an activist, and therefore these criteria are hardly surprising, coming from his pen; what is interesting in Alton Locke is that through Alton's growing recognition of the values which Eleanor and the Dean finally expound, Kingsley shows how these values derive from his own basic assumptions.

There is another educational aspect stressed in Alton Locke, again one which Kingsley himself emphasised in his own encounters with working men - that is the importance of beauty in surroundings. Like Blake and Wordsworth, he shows the iniquity of imprisoning an innocent child in an urban prison, thereby depriving him of most of the raw materials for joy and wonder and the healthy curiosity which revels in natural surroundings; but Kingsley also urged the need for aesthetic stimulation in other forms. Alton's experience at the Dulwich Gallery is revelatory, not only because he meets Lillian, who is, at this stage, an object of his aesthetic adoration, but because his emotional response to the paintings jolts him from "the narrow dullness of Puritanism".[18] Little development is made from this visual experience, through most of the novel, though it is re-echoed in Alton's love of music, poetry, and the classical architecture of Cambridge, but it re-emerges triumphantly as an important part of Eleanor's restorative programme for Alton:

> Exquisite prints from the history of our Lord's life and death were hung one by one, each for a few days, opposite my bed, where they might catch my eye the moment that I woke, the moment before I fell asleep.[19]

until, gazing at "Raffaelle's cartoon of the Miraculous Draught of Fishes", Alton exclaims, (in Kingsley's voice):

> Truly, pictures are the books of the unlearned, and of the mislearned too. Glorious Raffaelle! Shakespeare of the South! Mighty preacher, to whose intuition it was given to know all human hearts, to embody in form and colour all

> spiritual truths.... that one picture, in which thou didst reveal to me, in a single glance, every step of my own spiritual history![20]

What Alton has had to learn is to combine his instinctive emotional and aesthetic impulses with an intellectual and moral discrimination; - to see that poetry may have, indeed should have, a higher and more serious aim than pleasing and musical phrases; that Lillian's beauty is insufficient unless it is allied with an inner beauty such as shines from the scarred and cough-racked frame of Ellen.[21] This, of course, was the moral problem which troubled many of Kingsley's contemporaries also, as Tennyson's Palace of Art, and many of Ruskin's writings indicate, and it may be that even in Alton Locke, unlikely as its main theme appears for such an exercise, Kingsley cannot resist a certain didacticism on this subject also, in the moral example of Eleanor's use of art.

In Alton Locke all the phases of the boy's education which we have discussed are clearly intended as such - indeed Kingsley stresses the lesson to be derived from each encounter, but the novel is saved as has been seen in regard to its political thesis,[22] from a too-obvious didacticism by the device of having the mature and enlightened Alton as narrator. As a character, he is prone to moralism - this is his avowed purpose in writing,[23] - and therefore Kingsley's own similar intent is suitably concealed behind his narrator's.

When we turn to the Autobiography and Deliverance of Mark Rutherford, the educational aspect is much less marked. His

formal education is dismissed with scant appreciation:

> During the week-day I went to the public school, where I learned little or nothing that did me much good. The discipline of the school was admirable, and the head-master was penetrated with a most lofty sense of duty, but the methods of teaching were very imperfect.... Much of our time was wasted on the merest trifles.[24]

His experiencesat the Dissenting College continue in the same vein:

> About the Greek and Latin, and the secular part of the college discipline I will say nothing except that it was generally inefficient.[25]

Only in his third year at College, does he make a discovery which is, in the widest sense, educational. He himself has difficulty in analysing the effect which Wordsowrth's Lyrical Ballads has on him:

> It conveyed to me no new doctrine... I can hardly see what it was which stirred me so powerfully, nor do I believe that it communicated much to me which could be put in words. But it excited a movement and a growth which went on.[26]

The movement and growth is slow. At first it inspires in Mark Rutherford a "habit of inner reference",[27] but unfortunately this, for many years, results in a narrowness of outlook, so that he tends to look down on those who are not patently spiritually-minded. This is the religious equivalent of Alton Locke's arrogance about his educational background. Thus again, what should have been a broadening experience inhibits the youth's growth to maturity by

breeding an almost chronic intolerance and consequent loneliness which in turn leads to hypochondria. Nevertheless, the inner reference is valuable in a negative sense at least, in freeing his mind and conscience from a great weight of dead wood in the form of fundamentalist doctrines which have no meaning for him and no contact with his own experience. This freedom, however, produces a vacuum which is not easily filled. Only after years of unhappiness does he, in the Deliverance, discover his own version of Carlyle's doctrine of hard work, - effort spent in the cause of others - but he never finds work which stimulates him for its own sake. The best he achieves is a schizophrenic stability which involves rigid separation of his working hours from those of his home life, so that the latter becomes almost an escapism. Only after seven o'clock does he live again; only then does he become himself:

> I was [then] on equal terms with my friends; I was Ellen's husband; I was, in short, a man.[28]

Stock has suggested that the theme which underlies most of the experiences recorded in the novel is that of a conflict between reality and the human dream. Mark Rutherford's youthful dream of a meaning which would confer importance on the individual and lift experience from the drab confines of reality, is repeatedly shattered by the forced realization of his commonplace value and of the intractable nature of reality. Stock sees this dream as

a result of Rutherford's conversion through the Lyrical Ballads, for it was this which aroused his individualism, and replaced the old Calvinist orthodoxy with a more satisfying religious idea, but not with a more realistic approach to life. Thereafter follows the series of disappointments when people and situations fail to match his expectations - fellow students at theological college, his congregation at Water Lane, his fiancée, the ministry per se, potential friends, and, most seriously, his own estimate of himself. All must disappoint him, for, matching everyone against his own unreal standards, he often failed to see the real worth and affection available to him in other spheres of human experience. Such a train of thought can lead only to despair, and it is to the brink of such a state that Rutherford comes before he is delivered. His deliverance comes through a realization which has the force of a revelation, that idealism must be tempered by, without succumbing to, reality, and that the willingness to achieve this compromise is derived from a basic humility or resignation which does not demand the perfection of the idealized world of the imagination. Having once come to the position of saying, as it were, "Who am I that I should expect a better life?", he is free to see and accept the value of what he has, and to realise that many of his fears are founded on nothing more substantial than his own imagination.[29] Of this rapport between the real and the ideal, Rutherford's relationship to Ellen is symbolic. In his youthful idealism

which demanded a relationship immediately perfect he had cast her aside because she did not conform to his dream; now he rediscovers her as a real woman, imperfect by the standards of his dream, but offering him treasures of humble devotion which he had not dreamt of:

> If I were to think that my wife's devotion to me is nothing more than the simple expression of a necessity to love somebody, that there is nothing in me which justifies such devotion, I should be miserable. Rather, I take it, is the love of woman to man a revelation of the relationship in which God stands to him - of what ought to be, in fact. In the love of a woman to the man who is of no account God has provided us with a true testimony of what is in his own heart.... The love of woman is, in other words, a living witness never failing of an actuality in God which otherwise we should never know.[30]

But these qualities, even when recognized and valued, must not be thought to constitute, ipso facto, a perfect marriage. Rutherford's realistic approach to marriage swiftly dispels the romantic ideals of Victorian sentimentality:

> My love for Ellen was great, but I discovered that even such love as this could not be left to itself. It wanted perpetual cherishing. The lamp, if it was to burn brightly, required daily trimming, for people become estranged and indifferent, not so much by open quarrel or serious difference, as by the intervention of trifles which need but the smallest, although continuous effort for their removal.... Love, too, requires that the two persons who love one another shall constantly present to one another

> what is best in them, and to accomplish this, deliberate purpose, and even struggle, are necessary.[31]

The essence of Rutherford's educative experience in the Autobiography and the Deliverance was in fact voiced by Hale White in a later work, when he wrote:

> We ought to endeavour to give our dreams reality, but in reality we should preserve the dream.[32]

This conflict between reality and the human dream is perhaps the most reminiscent of Beauchamp's Career, amongst the fiction of Hale White's contemporaries or, in this century, of the mainstream of the American novel, but one feels instinctively, that Rutherford's dream is intrinsically less noble than Neville Beauchamp's; in the Autobiography at least it smacks too much of self-glorification often, without even the grace of self-delusion or of a worthy social objective as cover. Even at the end of the novel there are indications that Rutherford has not fully faced up to reality any more than Neville Beauchamp has at the time of his death, for, as we have seen, he is living consciously only in that part of the world which approximates to his ideal and relegating the thirteen hours he is away from home, to an intellectual limbo. Yet even the partial realization is better than none; he has begun to learn the worth of characters whose intellect is less developed than his own, and consequently to find something of the love and friendship which he has hitherto sought in an idealized form, and therefore failed

to find.

> The long conflict died away gradually into a peace not formally concluded, and with no specific stipulations, but nevertheless definite.[33]

In The Story of An African Farm, we have what, at first seems one of the strongest denials of heredity as a force in character-development, for from the first page to the last, Olive Schreiner seems intent on showing how the harsh and terrible circumstances of the children's lives induced the particular intellectual growth of the characters. Yet, when we consider that the children are brought up in almost identical circumstances and yet arrive at adulthood with such different characters, we might equally well consider the novel a denial of the force of environment. Moreover, the persons and events which, it seems at any one moment should be having the most intense effect on the children, are afterwards apparently shrugged off and almost forgotten. Thus the grotesque episodes with Bonaparte Blenkins, which, at the time seem as though they will sear a permanent scar on the children, have been criticized by some critics[34] as fading completely with his departure, and leaving no apparent effect in the second part of the novel. This, however, is a superficial reading, as we shall see if we consider the development of Waldo.

Our first introduction to the child reveals already some of the traits which will mark the mature Waldo - intensity of feeling for others, desire to know beyond all doubt, to know even the

unknowable, the sorrow of lost hope, and capacity for deep suffering; such are the characteristics which we see being developed or crushed by his subsequent encounters with life. Unlike Lyndall, Waldo pursues knowledge objectively and for its own sake. He marvels at Lyndall's reconstruction of Napoleon's thoughts and feelings from the bald facts of the history book, just as he is later to marvel at the parable of the Stranger, but he himself worries at a problem until he finds an answer - whether it be the reliability of God's promises or the principles underlying aesthetics, he must ask "why?". Lyndall describes him thus to himself:

> Why, why, why? What is the reason? it is enough for me ... if I find out what is beautiful and what is ugly, what is real and what is not .... [but] you must sniff after everything. [35]

Even as a boy he had puzzled over the origin of the <u>kopje</u>:

> "When I was little", said the boy, "I always looked at it and wondered, and I thought a great giant was buried under it. But now I know the water must have done it; but how?" [36]

Waldo combines this scientific approach to life with an intensely artistic longing for beauty and the meaning behind it. His search for wisdom is indeed that selfless desire for perfection described by the Stranger but, noble as it is, this desire is to be all but crushed by the cruel circumstances which he is to encounter. It is here that we see the relevance of the Blenkins episodes in the overall structure of the novel.

At first the connection with Waldo's subsequent development

seems slight. He meets the brutality of Blenkins with a resignation which is close to fatalism, even to nihilism, yet in the second part when he encounters the cruelty of the waggon-owner, flogging an ox to death, he reacts with violence and has to be restrained forcibly from killing the man. Nevertheless there are similar situations in the second part of the book, where Waldo's stoicism, painfully acquired through the Blenkins régime, recurs, and if it cannot be called victorious, it is nevertheless not utterly defeated. The unintended insult from his Stranger and the ladies in the chance encounter at the city park and the incident with the man spuriously collecting pew rents all try his mettle progressively until he reaches the climatic test of his resignation to the force of circumstances, the fact of Lyndall's death. In the sequences of attitudes[37] which precede this he retraces, as it were, the steps of his own philosophical wanderings, seeking a hope to preserve him from the despair of a life whence Lyndall has gone. The voices of the "true Bible Christian", the "nineteenth-century Christian", and the "Transcendentalist" offer partial hope and are rejected, just as the hunter in the parable cast aside the false birds however sweet their song or beautiful their plumage. Finally he comes to the peace of full acceptance in the belief that not an individual, but the Universal Unity, will survive:

> For the soul that cries aloud for
> continued personal existence for itself

> and its beloved, there is no help. For the soul which knows itself no more as a unit, but as part of the Universal Unity of which the Beloved is also a part; which feels within itself the throb of the Universal Life; for that soul there is no death. [38]

Ironically, the resignation which Waldo achieves appears, from the outside, very similar to his father's, although they spring from very different principles. Otto gives Blenkins everything he has of value because he gives in charity and love; Waldo gives Blenkins shelter, food, his only hat and his last few shillings, not for love, but because he no longer feels even hate for the man - he is merely indifferent.[39] The scene is so similar to that in which Blenkins wheedled everything he wanted from Otto that a parallel is clearly intended, but whether we are meant to endorse Otto or Waldo more is never finally resolved. The parallel recurs in the scene of Waldo's tortured thoughts after Lyndall's death. Here Waldo, like Otto, comes to a belief in immortality, though it is of a very different kind from his father's. Whereas Otto's faith, like his charity, was centred in the value of the individual in the sight of God, Waldo's belief in an immortality is based on a virtual denial of the individual.

> It is but the individual that perishes, the whole remains. It is the organism that vanishes, the atoms are there. It is but the man that dies, the Universal Whole, of which he is part, re-works him into its innermost self. ... For the soul which knows itself no more as a unit but as a part of the Universal Unity ... for

that soul there is no death.[40]

Again, however, the similarity is stressed, as though the author has herself chosen a relativism of judgment:

> The son's knowledge was not as the father's, therefore the dream was new-tinted, but the sweetness was all there, the infinite peace.... So age succeeds age, and dream succeeds dream.... Our fathers had their dreams; we have ours; the generation that follows will have its own.[41]

Lyndall's character, by contrast, shows much less development or change. The outstanding traits of her childhood perhaps permit of fewer changes: her voluntary self-isolation, her ready scorn of others, her fantasy world of the self, her desire for superiority, and possessions, and an emotional coldness, indifferent to the hurt it causes, are all characteristics which stunt development for they preclude the formation of personal relationships. The Lyndall who returns to the farm is more self-assured and more disillusioned than the child who left to go to school, but otherwise there is little change.

Unlike the cheerfully domestic Em, Lyndall and Waldo both realize from the outset the potential of learning, - they read gladly and carefully all the books available to them, yet even here there is a difference in their attitudes. Lyndall, somewhat like Alton Locke in this, sees knowledge as a means to an end - for her it means power and therefore freedom:

> There is nothing helps in this world...
> but to be very wise, and to know everything
> - to be clever. [42]

and even this, in the plan she outlines to the wondering Em, is inextricably mixed with that hankering for possessions which characterises much of her childhood:

> I want things of my own, When I am
> grown up ... there will be nothing
> that I do not know. I shall be
> rich, very rich. [43]

Thus her experience of school, in which she had placed so much hope, is the first of her major disillusionments recorded in the novel,[44] although her whole personality seems to have been formed by successive disappointments. When as a child, she relates the story of Napoleon as she imagines an heroic figure, we see already her subjectivity and her imagination in full force; - her idealistic desire for a cause, a person, nobler and stronger than herself:

> He was the greatest man who ever lived...
> the man I like best.... He was one man,
> only one, ... yet all the world feared him.[45]

Like Olive Schreiner herself[46], Lyndall drives herself to maximum achievement, only to despise those men whom she has surpassed, and still desires to find one beyond her capacity. Towards the end of her life, she write to her Stranger:

> I am not afraid of the world - I will
> fight the world. One day - perhaps
> it may be far off - I shall find what
> I have wanted all my life; something
> nobler, stronger than I, before which

> I can kneel down.... One day I
> shall find something to worship,
> and then I shall be...[47]

It is surely an intentional irony, prefiguring her destined disappointment, that Blenkins, the man whom she despises most in her childhood, should share a name with Napoleon, her unattainable hero. We shall discuss this point in more detail in the next chapter.

The only education in which Olive Schreiner places any faith is that of experience, of encounters with people. The chapter entitled, "Waldo goes out to taste life and Em stays at home and tastes it", underlines this process. It also underlines her belief that education is, almost by definition, a process of diminished returns, of successive disillusionments, the process which the hunter of the parable undergoes; but for Lyndall, Em and Waldo, there is little suggestion that they attain to even the bare reward of one falling feather from the bird of truth. As children, their hopes had promised so much; at death, they have achieved so little. Lyndall has discovered the emptiness of knowledge, and of power, which can never be more than comparative, and the unspeakable disadvantage of having been born a woman in such a society; Em, so eager to trust and love everyone, and to spend herself for others, finds no one who wants her love or her self-giving; Waldo, the simply good, finds no one with whom to share his thoughts, and only animals who will love him.

This pattern of the children's development, which has more of the qualities of a regression in the pessimistic succession of non-achievements recorded, seems to spring from a belief that the innate wisdom and goodness of childhood are such that they can only be crushed or tarnished by further contact with the world. Almost none of the adults who people the world of the three children is admirable - all are at least shallow and weak, at worst demonically sadistic like Blenkins. The single and outstanding exception is Uncle Otto - but then Uncle Otto, with his simple, pleased gestures, is himself childlike in his goodness and his vulnerable but unquenchable faith in all people. The question remains open whether he is a Peter Pan figure, who simply refuses to grow up, or whether he is endorsed as showing the only valid and Christ-like way of life.

Of all the novels being studied, however, the fullest treatment of educational influence is in The Way of All Flesh, for Butler undoubtedly considers the British system as one of the most destructive components in the whole ill-designed process devised for a genteel upbringing. We have seen that Butler sets little store on the conscious self, which he sees as a sign of imperfection, for he holds that only those actions which are performed instinctively have been perfected. It is therefore hardly surprising that he placed scant emphasis on the value of the intellect, for in the most advanced spheres of human activity, it was, in his scheme, irrelevant, being merely an evolutionary makeshift until

the unconscious should have mastered everything by instinct.

As might be expected, Ernest's parents, and grandparents, having endowed him with the worst possible heredity, proceed to compound the felony by an unbringing and education designed to insulate him from life by inculcating only those "virtues convenient for parents". Thus, from his earliest years, every phase of his education is distorted and unnatural:

> Before Ernest could well crawl he was taught to kneel; before he could well speak he was taught to lisp the Lord's prayer and the general confession.... Before he was three years old, he could read and, after a fashion, write. Before he was four, he was learning Latin, and could do rule-of-three sums. [48]

all these accomplishments being supremely useless to a child of Ernest's age but providing an outlet for parental discipline, such as ensues when the child is unable to pronounce "come" in the conventional way, - this, Theobald considers as "self-willed and naughty." [49]

In due course, Ernest is sent to Roughborough Grammar School, where Dr. Skinner presides as an elevated Theobald. Again, his formula for his pupils, like Theobald's, is the "imprinting" one:

> He moulded their minds after the model of his own, and stamped an impression upon them which was indelible in after life.... Some boys, of course, were incapable of appreciating the beauty and loftiness of Dr. Skinner's nature. ... upon them Dr. Skinner's hand was very properly a heavy one. [50]

After this mock justification of Dr. Skinner, Butler passes on to give his true estimate of the respected school (which, it has been seen, bears a strong resemblance to Butler's impressions of his own school, for Dr. Skinner seems a vivid personification of the influence of Dr. Samuel Butler, which still longered at Shrewsbury when his grandson attended the school.

> Could it be expected to enter into the head of such a man as this [Dr. Skinner] that in reality he was making his money by corrupting youth; that it was his paid profession to make the worse appear the better reason in the eyes of those who were too young and inexperienced to be able to find him out; that he kept out of sight of those whom he professed to teach, material points of the argument, for the production of which they had a right to rely upon the honour of anyone who made professions of sincerity. [51]

The similarity to the professors of the Colleges of Unreason in Erewhon is striking, for Butler, like Dickens in Bleak House cannot resist recurring to this point of the useless nature of formal education and the moral harm it engenders.

Naturally Ernest does not thrive in this environment any more than he had done at home, for the whole school is orientated against what Butler sees as the natural principles of survival. Nor can he resist a further moral in regard to Ernest's physical handicaps at sport and his consequent urge to shirk games:

> All this made him very unhappy, for it never occurred to him that the instinct which made him keep out of games for which he was ill-adapted was more reasonable

> than the reason which would have driven him into them. Nevertheless he followed his instinct for the most part, rather than his reason. *sapiens suam si sapientiam norit.*[52]

It is while he is at school that Ernest's unconscious self begins to develop and provide a further educational dimension; it instructs him in the futility of the school syllabus:

> Latin and Greek had nothing in them which commended them to his instinct as likely to bring him peace even at the last; still less did they hold out any hope of doing so within some more reasonable time.... Besides, Latin and Greek are great humbug; the more people know of them, the more odious they generally are; the nice people whom you delight in either never knew any at all or forgot what they had learned as soon as they could; ... therefore they are nonsense, all very well in their own time and country, but out of place here.[53]

Here, the criterion being held up as the aim of education is the production of charming and well-adapted people - a principle which Butler advocated in all fields, moral and religious, as well as educational. Sometimes this criterion is allied with an aesthetic one, as in the following comment on the merits of Christianity:

> Christianity is true insofar as it has fostered beauty, and false insofar as it has fostered ugliness. It is therefore not a little true and not a little false.[54]

In due course, Ernest arrives at Cambridge, but the university wins little more approval from Butler than did Dr. Skinner's régime, for the parallel with the Colleges of Unreason is again too precise to be accidental. At first Ernest is overcome with the joy of

comparative freedom, which Cambridge offers after the rigorous prying authoritarianism of home and Roughborough, but soon it appears that the university is the cradle of mediocrity or worse - the pious Simeonite group comprises the dregs of Butler's scheme. (Typically, their unprepossessing looks and general lack of aplomb, match their morally reprehensible character in Butler's eyes.)

During this period we are shown an aspect of education which, being virtually neglected by Ernest's parents, is one of the direct causes of his later imprisonment. This is the Victorian family's taboo on sex education. Theobald and Christina share a completely unrealistic and confused attitude towards this facet of life. Ellen is hastily dismissed when she is found to be pregnant, but Christina's prudish shock is tempered by a secret fear (which imperceptibly lapses into a secret hope) that Ernest may be the father of the child. However, this imagined catastrophe is effortlessly accommodated into her daydreams and even provides the raw material for hopes of further vicarious grandeur as the hypothetical illegitimate child is speedily promoted to the position of Archbishop of Canterbury.[55] Yet when, in one of the inevitable sofa chats, she tries to elicit a confession from Ernest, her religiosity is so circuitous that the boy is left oblivious of her meaning.[56] The scene is related with much Butlerian delight, but the underlying seriousness of the situation, and Christina and Theobald's irresponsibility is brought out in the sequel with Pryer's

celibate acquaintances and the encounter with Miss Maitland.[57]

Side by side with this systematic exposé of the upper class British educational process, Butler does put forward his own positive views on the aims and method of a truly beneficial education. As might be expected from one so conscious of the evolutionary process, Butler's scheme is centred around what he considers as the survival factors, and, if necessary, lessons must yield place to bodily growth. Thus Ernest's unconscious counsels him:

> Never learn anything until you find you have been made uncomfortable by not knowing it; when you have occasion for this or that knowledge, or foresee that you will have occasion for it shortly, the sooner you learn it the better, but till then spend your time in growing bone and muscle.[58]

The other spokesman for Butler's views is Alethea Pontifex, the chief agent in Ernest's redemption. She sees at once that he needs to grow physically in order to be happy, and that "the German custom which gives every boy a handicraft of some sort"[59] might be used to answer two purposes at once, - the physical development of his arms and chest, and the simultaneous encouragement of his native love of music. She therefore leads him on to make an organ for her - and here we see the first trend back towards Ernest's great-grandfather, the pure Pontifex stock. Alethea also recognizes and encourages the need for friends of the upper class - that is, friends who have mastered their environment and are therefore, in

the evolutionary sense, successful.

The other chief component of Alethea's educational endowment to Ernest is money - indeed, for Butler, this requirement is primary. We are given an indication of this very early in the novel, for Old John Pontifex knows the value of money instinctively, unlike his son, George, who has to learn this:

> Like his father [George] knew the value of money, but he was at once more ostentatious and less liberal than his father; ... [he] did well rather upon principles which he had tested by personal experiment, and recognized as principles, than from those profounder convictions which in his father were so instinctive that he could give no account concerning them. [60]

Alethea realizes that it is necessary to teach Ernest the value of money but her hopes of success are not sanguine:

> I think he will have to lose the greater part of all of what he has, before he will know how to keep what he will get from me. [61]

Overton later expounds this idea further:

> No man is safe from losing every penny he has in the world, unless he has had his facer.... It is only on having actually lost money that one realises what an awful thing the loss of it is.... So strongly do I feel on this subject that if I had my way I would have a speculation master attached to every school. [62]

and Ernest himself steers a similar course with his own children:

> Ernest, I believe, went on with a homily upon education generally and upon the way in which young people should go through the

> embryonic stages with their money as much as with their limbs, beginning life at a much lower social position than that in which their parents were. ... [63]

In Ernest's own experience, however, it is only after trying the whole gamut of the approved educational procedures for the production of clergymen, and finding them sadly wanting, that like a Butlerian Prodigal Son, he comes to himself and begins his education in what his author considers the only valid manner. He finds his goals in a species of utilitarianism, in that pleasure becomes his criterion of choice amongst several courses of action and amongst the many people he encounters. He learns that to "seek the truest and most lasting happiness" is to "seek Christ". This course involves him in a fairly systematic repudiation of all the most cherished beliefs and platitudes of his parents and of their society. Commitment in any form becomes anathema to him, and an "amiable indifferentism" becomes the cheerful expression of his policy of inconsistency, which is an important part of his accommodation process:

> All our lives long, every day and every hour, we are engaged in a process of accommodating our changed and unchanged selves to changed and unchanged surroundings; living, in fact, is nothing else than this process of accommodation.... [This involves inconsistency and compromise which] is illogical, but extremes are alone logical; and they are always absurd; the mean is alone practicable and it is always illogical. It is faith, and not logic, which is the supreme arbiter. [64]

However, even though he accepts Bentham's and Mill's principle of

the ultimate worth of happiness, Butler's approach is fundamentally different in being aggressively anti-intellectual; instinct supplies the only true wisdom for the decision as to which of several courses will, in fact, produce most happiness. We shall consider Butler's concept of this unconscious instinct in the next chapter.

In The Way of All Flesh, Butler, like Kingsley and White, sees the importance of the personal encounter as one of the main forces in development, but Butler has stylized Ernest's hero, Towneley, far beyond the representations of Alton Locke's Mackaye or Rutherford's Mardon and M'Kay yet he is also significantly different from Waldo's Stranger who is also stylized, but more as a symbolic figure. Towneley's exaggerated merits may at first be seen as precisely those which an eager adolescent would be prone to confer on a potential idol to disguise its clay-footed ordinariness and thus, in one sense are not incompatible with realism, nevertheless, the attributes which Ernest ascribes to Towneley do prevent our seeing his reality, and Butler has thereby artistically blurred the impact of this hero as a force in Ernest's education, for Towneley's real function is reduced to that of providing a mere contrast to the Ernest produced by the Pontifex family creed. This is perhaps another instance of the wider charge against Butler, that he is always more successful in his negative criticism than in his positive recommendations. Towneley

almost certainly based on Butler's idealized view of his friend, Pauli, and it seems not unlikely that Butler's own emotions towards him involved a considerable element of hero-worship. The more pernicious aspects of the relationship, which Butler came to recognize much later, are here divorced from Towneley and ascribed instead to Pryer.

The four novelists thus far considered have all, for varying reasons, supported a policy of education from experience and especially from personal contacts, rather than the traditional pattern of formal education from books and institutes of learning; and all have portrayed education in the widest sense as an apprenticeship for living. When we turn to Father and Son, this latter condition still holds but the means of education are surprisingly different: the progression is, in some ways, in almost the opposite direction - away from the experimental approach and towards a more literary and formalized one; but in a wider sense, the movement is still away from external methods and towards an "education" from within.

Philip Gosse was, in many ways, a model teacher by the standards of modern methods. Indeed Gilbert Highet, on the evidence from Father and Son alone, includes him in the chapter, "Great Teachers and their Pupils" of his book, The Art of Teaching.[65] Edmund Gosse writes:

> My father... taught cheerfully by fits and starts, In particular, he had a

> scheme of rationalizing geography, which I think was admirable. I was to climb upon a chair, while, standing at my side, with a pencil and a piece of paper, he was to draw a chart of the markings on the carpet. Then when I understood the system, another chart on a smaller scale of the furniture in the room, then of the floor of the house, then of the back-garden, then of a section of the street. The result of this was that geography came to me of itself, as a perfectly natural miniature arrangement of objects. [66]

This practical demonstration of the sciences became an important part of the child's life, for his father, a zoologist, was the first to construct the popularize the aquarium[67] and therefore the father and son spent hours every day collecting and sketching specimens of natural history. Yet, although this system of education was an ideal one in Rousseau's scheme, orientated as it was to the objective and the factual, and to the stimulation of the child's interest in his surroundings, (one compares Alton Locke's own painful efforts to do the same for himself in his drab and underprivileged environment) it leaves unsatisfied a very real need in the child - the craving for fantasy and fiction. Rousseau's aim had been to eliminate these elements of the imagination for as long as possible (hence the prohibition on fairy stories in Emile's education), and Sir Austin Feverel had favoured a similar system for Richard, - for reasons similar to Rousseau's - but in the Gosse's case, the underlying intention is totally different. Here the prohibition stems from a religious scruple:

> I found my greatest pleasure in the pages of books. The range of these was limited for story-books of every description were sternly excluded. No fiction of any kind was admitted into the house. In this it was to my Mother, not to my Father, that the prohibition was due. She had a remarkable ... impression that to "tell a story", that is, to compose fictitious narrative of any kind, was a sin. [68]
>
> In consequence ... not a sin gle fiction was read or told to me during my infancy.... Never, in all my childhood, did anyone address to me the affecting preamble, "Once upon a time"! [69]

The child's natural desire to give full rein to fantasy and imagination is thus cramped into a mould of literalness, until he is dangerously unable to distinguish fact from fiction. When he stumbles upon the fragment of a sensational novel, he assumes it is true and revels in the "delicious fears" it produces.[70] A later episode shows the extent to which the child's literalness has been developed: - his experiment in idolatry, when he addresses his daily prayers to an elevated chair to determine whether God will punish him for bowing down to a thing of wood. These instances are prefigurings of the effect that such a system is to have on Edmund later in life, and which he describes briefly:

> So far as my "dedication" was concerned, I cannot but think that my parents were in error thus to exclude the imaginary from my outlook upon facts. They desired to make me truthful; the tendency was to make me positive and sceptical. Had they wrapped me in the soft folds of supernatural fancy, my mind might have been longer content to follow their traditions in an unquestioning spirit. [71]

Much later, when the boy goes to school, his earliest interest in the world about him fades and he recalls only the dreary sterility of school. His reactions are similar to Lyndall's disillusionment with school:

> They did not destroy, but they cooped up, and rendered slow and inefficient, that internal life which continued... to live on unseen. This took the form of dreams and speculations. I would say that in my schooldays, without possessing thoughts, I yet prepared my mind for thinking and learned how to think.[72]

Once again, it is in spite of school that the child develops to his most important potential maturity, - not the careful exactitude of copying, or accuracy of description, which the Father desires to promote, but the spur to the imagination and the development of the inner life. Alton Locke had woven subsidiary fantasies out of the Old Testament and missionary stories when denied other material for his imagination, and began his real education only with the discovery of the wealth of books in Mackaye's shop, and Mark Rutherford's revelation from the reading of Lyrical Ballads, inspired the discovery of an inner consciousness.

For the children in The Story of An African Farm: their inner thoughts and aspirations are the landmarks of development, not their formal education, while for Butler, the whole system of formal education, from nursery to university, was a farce for it hindered and cramped, rather than developed, the child's inner

consciousness. For the child in Father and Son, the important experiences were those which occurred in isolation, when the mind grappled with its inner thoughts, and evolved from within itself the fantasies which were more real than the petrified specimens of the scientific world. As in the experience of Alton Locke, an important part of his education is his reaction against the sparseness of his Puritan upbringing. Like the young Alton in tears before the painting of St. Sebastian's martyrdom, Edmund's response to art - whether Greek sculpture or English literature - is highly emotional, arising almost entirely from within himself and unschooled by tutelage or critical reasoning.

Thus, all five of the novelists we are considering clearly express only slowly what became a growing conviction amongst educators - that the primary aim of parents and teachers should be that of encouraging the inner development of the child. This is directly in the line of Rousseau's thought in one sense, but the very converse of it in another aspect, for whereas Rousseau's plan for Emile involved the child's virtual isolation, in company only with his tutor, from society at large, these authors stressed the vital importance of personal relationships and encounters in the formation of character and attitudes to life. Again, while Rousseau and his followers stressed the need for more direct experience of the environment, for physical encounters and object lessons, for, in short, a scientific method in education, these

five authors demanded a return to a more Romantic concept of the child, with greater emphasis on the need for encouraging fantasy and intrinsic imaginative faculty to the full. In this context, it is important to consider next the ways in which these authors tried to portray this inner consciousness and its development, in a century which produced, only at its close, the major contribution of Sigmund Freud.

Chapter III Notes.

1. M.R. Proctor, The English University Novel (California, 1957).
2. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 5.
3. ibid., chapter 1, p.6.
4. ibid., chapter 1, p. 7.
5. ibid., chapter 1. p.10.
6. ibid., chapter 2, p.21.
7. ibid., chapter 3, p.25.
8. ibid., chapter 3, p.25.
9. ibid., chapter 17, p. 137.
10. ibid., chapter 14, p. 126.
11. ibid., chapter 14, p. 126.
12. ibid., chapter 20, p. 147.
13. ibid., chapter 30, pp. 224-5.
14. ibid., chapter 30, p. 226.
15. ibid., chapter 36, p. 276.
16. P. Coveney, The Image of Childhood (London, 1967), p.103.
17. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 9
18. ibid., chapter 6, p. 53.
19. ibid., chapter 37, p. 278.
20. ibid., chapter 37, pp. 179-280.
21. ibid., chapter 8, pp. 69-72.
22. L. Cazamian, Le Roman Social en Angleterre (Paris, 1903), p.487,
23. Alton Locke, chapter 41, p. 305.

24. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, chapter 1, pp. 3-4.

25. ibid., chapter 2, p. 13.

26. ibid., chapter 2, p. 18.

27. ibid., chapter 2, p. 19.

28. The Deliverance, chapter 8, p. 106.

29. ibid., chapter 1, p. 111.

30. ibid., chapter 8, pp. 108-9.

31. ibid., chapter 1, p. 113.

32. William Hale White, More Pages from a Journal (London, 1910), p. 247.

33. The Autobiography, chapter 9, p. 139.

34. e.g. M. Nathan, South African Literature: A General Survey (Cape Town, 1925), pp. 204-210.

35. The Story of An African Farm, chapter 4, p. 179.

36. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, p. 35.

37. ibid., part 2, chapter 13.

38. ibid., part 2, chapter 13, p. 269.

39. ibid., part 1, chapter 13.

40. ibid., part 2, chapter 13, p. 269

41. ibid., part 2, chapter 13, pp. 269-270.

42. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, p. 31.

43. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, p. 32.

44. ibid., part 2, chapter 4, pp. 168-9.

45. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, p. 33.

46. See, e.g. D.L. Hobman, Olive Schreiner, Her Friends and Times (London, 1955).

47. The Story of An African Farm, part 2, chapter 12, pp. 257-8.

48. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 20, p. 87.

49. ibid., chapter 22, p. 94,

50. ibid., chapter 27, p. 110.

51. ibid., chapter 27, p. 113.

52. ibid., chapter 30, p. 127.

53. ibid., chapter 31, pp. 127-8.

54. S. Butler, The Notebooks of Samuel Butler, ed. H.F. Jones (London, 1918), chapter 21, p. 335.

55. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 38, p. 161.

56. ibid., chapter 40, pp. 170-171.

57. ibid., chapter 61, p. 262.

58. ibid., chapter 31, p. 128.

59. ibid., chapter 34, p. 140.

60. ibid., chapter 2, p. 10.

61. ibid., chapter 35, p. 147.

62. ibid., chapter 77, pp. 338-9.

63. ibid., chapter 84, p. 382.

64. ibid., chapter 69, pp. 297-8.

65. G. Highet, The Art of Teaching (London, 1953), chapter 4.

66. Father and Son, chapter 2, p. 18.

67. Edmund Gosse, The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. (London, 1890), p. 229.

68. Father and Son, chapter 2, pp. 18-9.

69. ibid., chapter 2, p. 20.

70. ibid., chapter 2, p. 28.

71. ibid., chapter 2, p. 20.

72. ibid., chapter 12, pp. 164-5.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTER AND THE INNER SELF.

A comparison of the novels from Kingsley through to Butler shows an increasing effort to understand and explain exactly what the inner consciousness, or consciousness of self entails. Blake, Wordsworth and Coleridge had stressed the importance of Imagination and Fancy in the child's personality, and castigated the systematic crushing of these which usually accompanied growth to maturity. By the time when Freud was writing, however, the unconscious came to have entirely different connotations until the element of Fancy, as Coleridge intended the term, was of relatively minor importance in the overall scheme. Something of this gradual change in meaning and emphasis can be traced in the novels we are discussing.

Perhaps the earliest novel to grapple with the unconscious, albeit rather ambiguously, is James Hogg's Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner, (1824), which seems in many ways a somewhat refined version of the Gothic horror novel, but in fact is better seen as a precursor of Stevenson's Strange Case of Dr.Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (1886). When we compare these two novels with Butler's concept of the unconscious, however, a striking difference emerges. Hogg and Stevenson regard the unconscious as something extraordinary - a spectacular break from the norm of life - and, possibly because of its strangeness, deck it in all the trappings

of the gruesome, as an unspeakable evil to be dreaded and repressed. For Butler, however, the idea of an unconscious self is far from extraordinary - on the contrary, it is the most basic part of life and experience, and so far from being evil, is intrinsically good, for it is that part of a man's character which is best geared to survival, and therefore, in Butler's scheme, it is endowed with a moral dimension. Butler however, shows a marked development from Kingsley, both in the concept of the unconscious self, and in the way this can be expressed in the novel, and it will be more helpful to consider the contribution which each of the five novelists made, chronologically, to the general development of ideas of this inner self in the nineteenth-century literature, rudimentary though these were when compared with the fully-developed stream-of-consciousness novel of the twentieth century.

Kingsley is best known for his physical descriptions, for the "adventure stories" Westward Ho! and Hereward the Wake, rather than for descriptions of the inner self, and even in Alton Locke, where he is concerned to show the development of a boy's understanding, his means of expression is largely through physical encounters. This, of course, is hardly surprising in an activist like Kingsley, who saw bodily exercise as "at once a religious duty and a means of grace",[1] and who considered drainage and housing problems an integral part of a clergyman's duty. In Alton Locke however, Kingsley endeavours to show the close connection between physical

and spiritual welfare - physical abuses cannot be overcome by purely physical means, but neither are they irrelevant as a causal factor. Only when Alton and his fellow Chartists learn that Jesus is the true "People's Friend", and that only Christian principles can root out economic and political evils, will their efforts by successful. Alton, like the hero of Yeast comes to his first real understanding of Christianity through experiencing the "condition-of-the-poor" question. Maison[2] notes that this emphasis gives a certain narrowness to Kingsley's notions of spirituality - his characters look down and out, rather than inwards and up, and there is an impression that the highest spiritual development comes only through intense, even belligerent, humanitarianism, or a welter of hectic bodily activity, and in several sequences of the novel, this didacticism undoubtedly does restrict Kingsley's interest.

In the young Alton, there are hints of an emergent consciousness of self, the experience of an inner rebelliousness against the accepted mores and particularly against the ideas of his mother's sect. It is "natural character, conformation of the brain, if you like",[3] which moves him to dispute the doctrines of original sin and "particular redemption", as they are presented to him, and later leads to the growth of his appreciation for art and poetry. But overall, the element of the subconscious would be more conspicuous for its omission than for its inclusion were it not for the interesting dream sequence which we have already mentioned as a means of

Alton's education. In this feverish dream,[4] the deeply impressed desires, fears and hatreds of his subconscious come to the surface in pre-human evolutionary situations which must be overcome before he can regain the full humanity he has lost. Again and again, at every stage of created life, the same triangle of relationships is played out between Lillian, George and himself, - the same passions which assailed him before his imprisonment.

> that knowledge that I was in a rival's power, rising up like a black wall before me, to cripple, and render hopeless for aught I knew, the very exertions to which it compelled me.[5]

are relived, until eventually he is purged of his lust and jealous rivalry, as Eleanor, at the beginning of his dream had foretold:

> He who tears himself in pieces by his lusts, ages only can make him one again.[6]

In this remarkable "Dreamland" sequence, Kingsley has tried to analyse the various elements of Alton's feelings towards Lillian and George. In the crab phase, he relives his feelings of inferiority which he has previously suffered because of his working-class origins and poor clothes, when meeting members of the upper class. As a remora, he feels again his desire to protect Lillian from what he considers the predatory lust and cold ambition of George. In the ostrich phase he suffers Lillian's scorn, as he had formerly felt it at his trial, and her deliberate and proud cruelty, while George is again the deadly pursuer. The mylodon phase is more complex; first he experiences and revels in the knowledge of his physical

strength and power, just as the human Alton had come to delight in his intellectual strength and superiority over the other members of his class; then the strength turns to wanton destruction and exercise of the mere sense of power - the equivalent of the scene in which he was swept along to the rick-burning and of his reckless participation in the more violent phases of the Chartist movement, even against the counsel of Mackaye. This lust for power merges imperceptibly with a lust for the flower beauties in the tree - the point is emphasised by the mention of the harems of the Indian kings - and raises the question as to whether Alton's love for Lillian has always been the pure worship of beauty which it had been at the Dulwich Gallery, or whether it has gradually been adulterated with worldly ambition when it became obvious that marriage to Lillian would furnish the quickest route to social acceptability in the upper class. This latter element is typified also in George, here seen characteristically as a gold-digger, for whom Lillian is no more than a souvenir, "a charming titbit" to be pressed in his cigar-case. In the ape phase, Alton watches first the slow degradation from the intelligent, near-human child form, to the brutalized adult form, with its "wild frenzies, agonies of lust and aimless ferocity".[7] A similar, though less extreme degradation has occurred in Alton, as the child's innocence and wonder, his honest desire for knowledge and his childhood love for all people, have become swallowed up in class hatred and intellectual pride. Again he is the outsider, seeing George and Lillian together, the object of their disgust

and hatred.

In this sequence of dream phases, Alton's rivalry with his cousin has been analysed into its component parts, - hatred, healousy, pride and lust, - and in each of these forms has been ritualistically killed as Alton has suffered humiliation in a sacrificial penance. Now he is again fit to be tried as a man. Then come the child-dreams, with human aspirations making their presence felt in the pure snow peaks; and, coupled with this, the feeling of being a child again upon a maternal breast - "Was she my mother, or Eleanor, or Lillian? Or was she neither, and yet all?"[8] (Kingsley seems here to suggest a certain element of mother-fixation in Alton's love for Lillian, and perhaps for any woman, since the loss of his own mother's love, first through disaffection, and finally through her death.) Imperceptibly this merges with Alton's consciousness of his God-given mission, and the temptations to forsake it which have beset him, both from his comrades and, more especially, from Lillian:

> Come! I will be your bride, and you shall
> be rich and powerful; and all men shall
> speak well of you, and you shall write
> songs, and we will sing them together,
> and feast and play from dawn to dawn.[9]

In this sequence, George is not present as the hated rival; his place is taken by another complicating element - the poet's destiny. The conflict now is between Alton's desire for Lillian and all she stands for, and his consciousness of a social mission, a vocation

to use his poetry in a social cause - the vocation which Lillian and her uncle have tried to curb and censor until it could offend no one, and hence became innocuous. But in the dream, Alton remains firm, and his nobler instincts are triumphant; it is the beginning of his regeneration for, as the prophetess tells him (with all the force of biblical phrase supporting her):

> Your penance is accomplished. You have learned what it is to be a man. You have lost your life and saved it. He that gives up house or land, or wife, or child, for God's sake, it shall be repaid him a hundredfold.[10]

In this chapter, Kingsley has used the dream sequence with a threefold purpose: he has analysed the subconscious motives beneath Alton's progress and development, leading to his utter degradation, both physical and spiritual, and therefore as a therapeutic experience arising from full realization and acceptance of the darkest places of his self; and he has also used the dream as a prophetic pointing to a deliberately didactic "answer", a foretelling of what Eleanor is to teach him in his recuperated state. Here, however, the element of didacticism is more subtle than in much of the rest of the novel, for dreamsin literature have traditionally been assumed to have this aspect of premonition, and thus a certain level of realism is maintained. Kingsley, moreover, has implicit in his description the retrospective element of dreams. Whereas dreams, from the time of the ancient Greeks onwards, had been seen as prognosticatory, as sent from outside the dreamer's consciousness to convey a

message, Kingsley anchors this dream firmly within the deepest levels of Alton's personality and shows it as arising from his past in a way which was not to be fully developed until Freud's essay on "The Interpretation of Dreams" (1900) half a century later. The most interesting aspect for consideration here, however, is the use of the dream as a means of describing subconscious motives, in a way which was to become very familiar after Freud's work, and as a therapeutic experience. It is important to note that Kingsley's delving into the sub-conscious, weird, even mystical, as it is, has none of the bizarre and horrifying elements which we have noted in Hogg and Stevenson's novels. Rather, Kingsley relates it in an almost scientific tone, made more vivid and beautiful, but no less objective by his descriptions of the varying environments in which the scenes are set and by the simplicity of style which renders it not unlike a parable. The nearest parallel is Kingsley's own Water Babies, where Tom also moves upwards, working out the beast, until he becomes perfected as a new species. The similarity is underlined if we compare these fundamentally optimistic expressions of Kingsley's perfectibilarian belief with the dream sequence in Hardy's A Pair of Blue Eyes, where Henry Knight, hanging over a cliff, also relives the whole evolutionary sweep of development.[11] Hardy's view is deterministic and utterly pessimistic, stressing man's similarities with the ancestral Trilobite rather than, like Kingsley, emphasising man's progress.

Alton Locke's feverish dream is thus mid-way between, on the one hand, the supernatural aberrations of Hogg's Wringham and Jekyll's alchemist dabblings in evil, and the full acceptance by Butler of the sub-conscious as an integral part of the healthy and mature human being.

In discussing the Autobiography and Deliverance of Mark Rutherford we have already mentioned in the last chapter the conflict between dream and reality which haunts Rutherford at every stage; it is this continual knocking against reality that forces on him the question of identity which is the beginning of self-awareness. Whenever he encounters conflict, Rutherford returns to the habit of inner reference derived from Wordsworth, but, finding no positive solution to his problems within himself, he embarks on a course of masochistic self-laceration assuaged by self-pity. On the other hand, this confession of spiritual bankruptcy so saps his self-confidence that when he does meet someone of a sympathetic turn of mind and interest, like Edward Mardon, he is too weak to resist his influence and becomes engulfed by Mardon's stronger personality. This inward-turning trait seems to have arisen in the first instance from a kind of pride in being one of a small group of the "elect", for the first mention of any such inclination occurs early in the book:

> I went to the prayer meeting on week-days, and also to private prayer meetings. These services were not interesting to me for their own sake. I thought they were, but what I really liked was the clanship and the satisfaction of belonging to a society marked off from the great world. [12]

When, at a later stage, he finds no "clan" to which he could feel satisfaction in belonging, it is the next natural step to form his own clan of one, and to find self-aggrandisement in excluding others from it. Other motives inevitably become entangled in this - an excessive desire to communicate at depth, which repelled any trivial conversation, cynicism at not finding a perfect friendship, and a consequent rejection of any relationship less than perfect, by his own standards.

The prototype of Rutherford's introspection and self-preoccupation, is undoubtedly Senancour, the European figure who came to symbolize for the Victorians the man torn between the increase of knowledge and the increase of sorrowful doubt, bereft of the consolation of action, and even of the eloquence to express his inner torments. Senancour became well-known in England chiefly through Arnold's Obermann, but his successor Amiel, the Swiss mystic, of similar introspective preoccupation, was also known through Mary Ward's translation and discussion of his Journal Intime in Macmillan's Magazine. The character of Langham in Robert Elsmere is closely based on Amiel[13] and though set in more academic environment, he is not dissimilar from Rutherford, particularly as a study of paralysed will.

The character of Mark Rutherford then, has all the prerequisites for a fully-developed consciousness of self— a bent for solitude, and self-communing, an introspective turn of mind, which tries to

analyse all his own motives, even to the point of mental hypochondria,[14] and an ideal which he strives for but always fails to attain. Yet, despite his self-enquiring tendencies, and the hours he spends in intellectualizing, there is no suggestion of a full awareness of an inner self in Butler's sense. The nearest approach to it is perhaps the bout of acute melancholia which Rutherford suffers after his high hopes have been crushed by the cold indifference of his congregation, and he has the sensation of "sinking into a bottomless abyss". Obviously this is closer to Alton Locke's dream, or even to Jekyll's schizophrenia, than to a view of the subconscious as fundamentally healthy.

The reason for Rutherford's failure to discover any deep sense of an alter ego may perhaps be found in the peculiar circumstances of his adolescence and early manhood, when the religious atmosphere of his surrounding became so integral a part of his thought that all his problems, whether psychological, moral, or mundane, were diverted into theological channels and pondered as philosophical complexities to which his mind was incapable of finding a solution, but which he was unable to leave alone. Thus, in the episode with Mardon, the basic problem for Rutherford is his sense of encountering a stronger personality than his own, and one highly endowed with the qualities he respects; but instead of merely accepting Mardon's friendship, he reinterprets his influence in terms of a theological difference and feels that he must capitulate entirely to Mardon's

views, imperfect though these are.

"Reuben Shapcott", in the introduction, sternly underlines the moral to be derived from Rutherford's fruitless brooding:

> Metaphysics and theology, including all speculations on the why and the wherefore, optimism, pessimism, freedom, necessity, causality, and so forth, are not only for the most part loss of time, but frequently ruinous.... there are multitudes of burning questions which we must do our best to ignore, to forget their existence. [15]

It is obvious then, from the start, that Hale White is not intending to show these inner questionings in a favourable light, however much he may (and does) pity the person who indulges in them. Rutherford is, for the most part, capable of self-understanding to a considerable degree - both explicitly, and because, by implication, "he" is writing the novel autobiographically, but he is over-aware of his failings in human sympathy, and in intellectual strength; what he lacks is not self-knowledge, but self-acceptance, and, above all, the act of will necessary to overcome those self-failings, or, alternatively, to change his circumstances and environment sufficiently - for this, as we shall see in a later chapter, was responsible to a large extent for his state of mind. Rutherford is a character whose life was bound to come to grief - if not through religion, then from some other ostensible cause, for the real cause lies deep in his personality. Even his stress on himself as "commonplace" is itself a form of escapism, for by hiding behind this screen of mediocrity, as it were, he avoids the obligation of making use of

his peculiar talents and thereby risking failure and frustration.

A similar desire to avoid responsibility underlies his behaviour when confronted with the need to make a decision about marrying Ellen; typically he intellectualizes his feelings and emotions, rendering them powerless, and is then incapable of deciding between them:

> So it has always been with me. When there has been the sternest need of promptitude, I have seen such multitudes of arguments for and against every course that I have despaired. I have at my command any number of maxims, all of them good, but I am powerless to select the one which ought to be applied.[16]

The psycholigical "unknown" within himself is continually being transferred to a universal or eternal dimension, which may arise from the mundane at any point whenever circumstances seem to necessitate an honest realization and acceptance of self. Then, once the psychological problem has been safely shifted to a transcendental level there is a valid excuse for refusing to face up to it for it appears too difficult, too complex for a "commonplace" mind to grasp, and can therefore be shelved without any additional loss of self-esteem. The transfer is thus in one sense an escape mechanism to avoid self-realization, but there are other factors as well which tend to mask the more dangerous aspects of this process. Rutherford fully realizes the vital importance of this universal dimension if the personality is to achieve wholeness, and it is not unnatural that such an awareness should have arisen in the first

instance from a reading of the Lyrical Ballads at an impressionable period of his life - at the very period, in fact, when he might have been expected to encounter his sub-conscious self as an entity. Moreover, the exaltation which he experiences in isolated moments of contemplation of natural beauty, particularly of the stars, is analogous to moments of deeper understanding of self and of the meaning of life such as a sensitive and lonely man might discover, and these moments too are seen as expressions of the universal dimension impinging on commonplace existence. He tends to see the experience as being related to, though subtly different from the voice of conscience, and, like conscience, it is chiefly negative. When Rutherford contemplates proposing marriage to Theresa, he is held back by the feeling of some power outside himself:

> I felt as I have often felt before in great crises, a restraint which was gentle and incomprehensible, but nevertheless unmistakeable. I suppose it is not what would be called conscience, as conscience is supposed to decide solely between right and wrong, but it was none the less peremptory, although its voice was so soft and low that it might easily have been overlooked. Over and over again, when I have purposed doing a thing have I been impeded or arrested by this same silent monitor, and never have I known its warnings to be the mere false alarms of fancy.[17]

This seems not unlike the "Divine voice", belief in which Hale White derived from his aunt, Elizabeth Street.[18] However, it is precisely this linking of the inner self with a transcendental awareness

(heavily strengthened as the link is by emotional and aesthetic ties) which prevents its being satisfactorily explored as a psychological phenomenon in the realistic novel. Rutherford's personality has all the qualities necessary for a study of existential loneliness, such as is not found in the novel (although Browning hinted at it in several poems) until well into the twentieth century; but it has first to be integrated into the purely human psychological situation, and this Hale White, except in tantalizing flashes, seems unable - or perhaps, if we remember the autobiographical content, unwilling - to do. He has betrayed a similar tendency earlier in the novel when he bursts out in uncontrollable abuse to Mr. Snale, and later reflects:

> I was distinctly conscious that the I had not said those words. They had been spoken by some other power working in me which was beyond my reach.[19]

The responsibility is passed on to a hypothetical doppel-gänger and once again Rutherford is absolved.

When first we turn to The Story of An African Farm, the sudden surge of introspection is almost overwhelming in an apparently factual novel; it is aggressively inward-looking, as though the stark loneliness of the African veldt is stamped on every page. The autobiographical form, in itself, tends to create a sense of an isolated psyche, at the mercy of an unsympathetic or even actively hostile environment, such as we have in Jane Eyre, but in The Story of An African Farm, this sense of isolation is set irrevocably

on the first page, in the description of the deserted karoo and and the solitary kopje in the moonlight. Nor is any time lost in making us aware of the eternal dimension which Hale White introduced somewhat hesitantly; here it bursts upon us, as it does on Waldo's consciousness, with the relentless ticking of the watch marking out "Eternity, eternity, eternity!"[20]

The three incidents of the first chapter all reinforce the impression of Waldo's loneliness, and the contrasting tumult in his heart. Already there are seeds of the later awareness of an inner self, making itself known in rebellion, for it is only when the inner self sets itself over against the prevailing mores which have fashioned the outer and conforming self, that it discovers fully its own separate identity. In Waldo's case, as in Mark Rutherford's the first rebellion is a theological one:

> There was a secret he had carried in his heart for a year. He had not dared to look at it; he had not whispered it to himself; but for a year he had carried it. "I hate God!" he said.... "I love Jesus Christ, but I hate God!" [21]

In Lyndall, too, because of her sensitive and refined nature, and the strongly-conveyed sense of her superior understanding, we suspect the same kind of process - in contrast with the placid Em who rebels against nothing - but it is not made apparent until much later in the novel, and even then it is a general, explanatory dissertation, rather than a dramatic demonstration through character. Chapter I of the second part of the book contains an extraordinarily

sensitive description and analysis of the phases of growth and the development of self-awareness, and this reflects back retrospectively on the descriptions of the children in the first part. So, in this general chapter we have a description of this first awareness of self:

> [We] look up at the sky, and down at our little fat knees; and suddenly it strikes us, who are we? This I, what is it? We try to look in upon ourself, and ourself beats back upon ourself. Then we get up in great fear and run home as hard as we can. We can't tell anyone what frightened us. We never lose that feeling of self again.[22]

Later this inner self appears characteristically in rebellion, as it has been shown to do for Waldo: In the general description:

> unpleasantly shrewd question begin to be asked by someone, we know hot who, who sits somewhere behind our shoulder. We get to know him better afterwards.[23]

Here we see the full significance intended by Lyndall's scepticism, her questioning of the values imposed by adults, and her need to find her own answers, her own interpretation of everything, from the story of Napoleon to the learning found in the world of books and travestied by Bonaparte's lessons. This is a fuller and more understanding account of the process which Kingsley also perceived in Alton Locke's desire to re-write his own theology as a child. Indeed, there is a parallel to Alton's test of the everlasting fire in Waldo's experimental sacrifice, as there is in their common doubt of the doctrine of special election and less-

than-universal salvation.

Olive Schreiner suggest strongly that the awareness of an inner self, like the awareness of an eternal dimension always present, may reach maximum development in children and degenerate thereafter (as it did in Alton Locke) when the cares of the world become uppermost. Typically, the adults counsel forgetfulness of these questions which torture the children's minds; but the children reply in words which might well be the anguished cry of a Mark Rutherford before he has come to accept the need for some compromise with reality:

> Oh God! do they not understand that
> the material world is but a film through
> every pore of which God's awful spirit-
> world is shining through on us? [24]

Yet, vivid as these statements are in this remarkable chapter of general comment, there is perhaps only one instance when this conviction of an inner self is fully dramatised in the novel: that is the scene where Lyndall, preparing to leave the farm for the last time, sees her reflection in a mirror and begins to speak to her mirror image, gradually centring down upon the reflected eyes, and, through them, as it were, into her inner self: there is not the smallest hint of narcissism in the obvious sense, in this scene; rather the mirror image introduces the introspection in the most natural manner:

> Presently she looked up. The large dark
> eyes from the glass looked back at her.
> She looked deep into them.
> "We are all alone, you and I," she whispered;
> "no one helps us, no one understands us;

> but we will help ourselves." The eyes looked back at her. There was a world of assurance in their still depths.... "We shall always be together as we were when we were little."
>
> The beautiful eyes looked into the depths of her soul.
>
> "We are not afraid; we will help ourselves!" she said. She stretched out her hand and pressed it over them on the glass. "Dear eyes! we will never be quite alone till they part us - till then." [25]

Nevertheless, at a deeper level, there is a more subtle self-worship implicit in her words. In contrast with the inner-self of Alton Locke, Waldo, and, as we shall see, Ernest Pontifex, Lyndall's inner self is not in rebellion against her outer self, but rather reinforces it, or at least directs it without hindrance. In the main, this is because Lyndall, having such innate contempt for her surroundings and companions, has scarcely developed anything corresponding to a super ego and therefore her inner self meets no resistance from a conventionalized self. But it may also be seen as a sign of her integrity that no such division of self is apparent.

Having established the close icentity of Lyndall's two selves, it becomes relevant to consider their characteristics. In the passage quoted above the dominant impression is one of assurance, even defiance of the world, and also a strong suggestion that Lyndall finds her own inner self more attractive than any potential rival for her devotion: - "The beautiful eyes ... dear eyes".

There is also a strong suggestion of regressiveness in this

passage - "We shall always be together as we were when we were little" - and a defensive awareness of being set against the world: "We are all alone ... no one helps us, no one understands us". This impression, when seen with Lyndall's eulogy of her hero-figure, Napoleon, as the man alone against the world:

> He was one man, only one ... He was one and they were many" [26]

provides some indication as to why she has failed to find a viable relationship with anyone, and therefore falls back on an introspection which cannot bring fulfilment. There is, for her, a sense of identification between Napoleon and her inner self; both are seen as lone figures set over against, and in conflict with, the world. Lyndall <u>thinks</u> that she craves for a man who will master her own will, and that she has failed to achieve such a relationship in her travels only because she has not found a hero-figure. However, there is a strong suggestion, implicit in this passage, that only one hero-figure would satisfy here - not a Napoleon, but herself, and that basically her unacknowledged desire is not, as she supposes, to be mastered, but to master others, to delight in her assumed superiority, to be, as it were, in love with her own inner self and to be united with it in some private world apart from mundane reality. It is the converse delusion from that of Gregory Rose who imagines that he desires to dominate women - hence his high-handed treatment of Em[27] and his elaborate compalints about Lyndall's arrogance[28] - when in fact he is only fascinated by a woman who despises him.[29]

If this interpretation is valid, then Olive Schreiner would seem to have portrayed a figure new in literature, with considerable depth of psychological realism, but in fact there are indications that she, like Lyndall, is unaware of the full implications of her words. the biographies indicate that Lyndall's character is based to a considerable degree on her author's - Olive Schreiner, the feminist, at war with a man's world - and it therefore seems probable that Lyndall has been drawn with a depth greater than her author was aware of, or would have wished to recognize. This is perhaps why there seems at first to be no hint of narcissism in the mirror passage - the author was not aware of any; yet, at a deeper level, we can validly find it, even though the whole tone of the passage is one of approbation of Lyndall. At times she seems almost to recognize this herself. Before leaving the farm for the last time Lyndall visits old Otto's grave:

> "Dear old man, good old man, I am so tired!" she said (for we will come to the dead to tell secrets we could never have told to the living). "I am so tired. There is light, there is warmth." she wailed; "why am I alone so hard, so cold? I am so weary of myself! It is eating my soul to its core - self, self, self! ... Will nothing free me from myself?" [30]

This same deep sense of an inner self, separate from, but in alliance with the outer self, is continued and concluded in the scene of Lyndall's death. The parallel is made stronger by the recurrence of the mirror imagery:

> The dying eyes on the pillow looked into the dying eyes in the glass; they knew that their hour had come.... She tried to speak to it (the glass), but she would never speak again. Only the wonderful yearning light was in the eyes still. The body was dead now, but the soul, clear and unclouded, looked forth.[31]

So strong is the identification of Lyndall's two selves that their separation is synonymous with death, but the fate of the inner self thereafter is left to speculation:

> Had she ceased from being? Who shall tell us? There is a veil of terrible mist over the face of the Hereafter.[32]

From the bridging chapter, "Times and Seasons", it is apparent that Olive Schreiner was fully aware of the force of an inner consciousness which seemed at times to exist apart from, and even in opposition to, the outer self, though only in death was there complete divorce between them, and her outline of the development of this consciousness as part of the process of maturation, is one of the most sensitive and explicit in all nineteenth-century literature; yet she seems much less successful in portraying this <u>dramatically</u> in the characters ofher novel; only in flashes can we see the relation of the generalized description to the characters and incidents of the story - as we do in the mirror scenes with Lyndall. This apparent deficiency would seem to imply that either Olive Schreiner was unable to draw her characters in words as clearly as she conceived them in her mind, or else that she failed to realize fully the implications in everyday life of the self-awareness which

she had come to recognise as a principle within her own experience. It is not possible to make any definite choice between these postulates, - perhaps both are involved - but one partial explanation may be that in the portrayal of Waldo there is an added factor which makes for reticence about his inner self, except in the spasmodic incidents we have discussed. Waldo is basically inarticulate: he can and does respond when someone (either in the books he finds in the attic, or in the words of his Stranger) formulates his thoughts for him and gives them cohesion, but he is, for the most part, unable to do this for himself. Even his burst of eloquence to Lyndall and Em about the origins of the kopje[33] is fragmented - full of dashes and juxtaposed questions, lacking any progression. Therefore Waldo's thoughts and sensitivity, both of which are far more highly developed than his companions suspect, cannot be expressed through his own utterances, and an omniscient author who intruded too frequently to underline the meaning of his silences and lack of eloquence, would destroy the delicate thread of self-revelation by the characters. This is surely a new technique in literature - the attempt to portray realistically the thoughts and feelings of a relatively inarticulate character who nevertheless has considerable depths of awareness and sensibility. It is interesting to compare Olive Schreiner's pioneer attempt with Faulkner's pyrotechnics in The Sound and the Fury where there is much greater reliance on ambiguous symbolism and on the modern reader's conditioned tendency to attribute profundities to a

character whose words seem otherwise to have little significance.

For the portrayal of Waldo, therefore, the "Times and Seasons" chapter is vital to our understanding. Without fragmenting the novel itself, it explains or points to the significance to be seen in the story of the children. Its separateness from the mainstream of development is emphasized by the language which creates a dream-like atmosphere, a feeling of la recherche du temps perdu, and by the change of person and tense in the narration to "we".

A further factor contributing to the comparative lack of discussion about the psychological depths in the story itself may be that Olive Schreiner viewed this inner self in a semi-mystical light - it is, for her, part of the awareness of another timeless dimension, more personalized than it had been for Mark Rutherford, but nevertheless outside the realm of "ordinary experience". This is why she can suggest it for Lyndall and Waldo, who both, as characters, partake of some of the qualities of a mystic, but not in the practical Em. The limiting effect of this close association of a psychological truth with a mystical or religious one, becomes even more obvious when we compare The Story of An African Farm with The Way of All Flesh. In the former, the psychological truth may be appropriately described in terms of poetry and myth, as it is in the bridging chapter discussed above, which is outside the time scheme of the novel's events, and in the parable of Waldo's Stranger, but it cannot easily be integrated into a factual story. With Waldo and Lyndall it is possible in

flashes because of their particular characters, but although Olive Schreiner claims it as a general principle, she does not attempt to suggest it in the other characters. Thus the potential "usefulness" of her awareness was severely limited in the novel form until someone could reinterpret it and apply it as a universal trait, in all the multifarious situations of life with which the novel traditionally deals.

The person who did this was Samuel Butler. For him, the subconscious, or the awareness of an inner self, was not something extraordinary and remote from mundane affairs, but a part of the most ordinary experiences of life. It was Butler who introduced it as a characteristic part of the novel of everyday life, outside, and even opposed to, any mystical overtones, and who therefore paved the way for the work of James, Virginia Woolf, Lawrence and Joyce. In the case of Olive Schreiner's work, the awareness of an inner consciousness almost certainly arose from her own experiences in the loneliness peculiar to South Africa, but for Butler, it seems to have risen less from experience than from theory. In the brief discussion above of Butler's theories of evolution, as outlined in Life and Habit and Luck or Cunning?, it was seen that "race memory" (which, for Butler, was equivalent to heredity) played a vital part in guiding the individual through the maze of situations and conflicting sociological patterns which he encountered during his development. It is this race-memory, basically, which Butler has formalized as his concept of

the unconscious or subconscious voice of Ernest in The Way of All Flesh. Despite its words: "I, Ernest, am the God who made you", there is none of the traditional religious dimension such as we have seen encrusting this awareness in the novels of Hale White and Olive Schreiner. It is true that for Butler, this inner awareness does become associated with his own religious ideas, but these rather grow out of the former than follow any conventional pattern. In this, Butler is the direct precursor of D.H. Lawrence's stress on the "blood consciousness" - "My great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect,"[34] and ultimately of the proponents of religionless Christianity. Butler supplies every character potentially with an alter ego; the reason why some fail to be aware of it is that they have crushed it by ceasing to heed it, just as many of Lawrence's characters have failed to achieve their full stature because they have continually repressed their inner instincts to the point where these are no longer audible. The process is entirely analogous to the traditional "sin against the Holy Ghost", as Butler may well have realized.

For Butler, this universal quality, the sub-conscious, is a powerful weapon of satire, for, given his premise that the subconscious represents the true character of the person, there exists an endless source of humour in the juxtaposition of the two selves, the outer, conventional self being continually judged by the promptings of the inner self. This situation appears quite early in the novel, in

the description of George Pontifex's treatment of his children. In his own estimation, - and probably the world's, - he is acting from laudible, even religious motives in chastening his children, but Overton delves beneath this façade, and discovers George's "real", subconscious motives, which are pecuniary and selfish:

> How little do we know our thoughts - our reflex actions indeed, yes; but our reflections! Man, forsooth, prides himself on his consciousness! ... We know so well what we are doing ourselves and why we do it, do we not? I fancy that there is some truth in the view which is being put forward nowadays, that it is our less conscious thoughts, and our less conscious actions which mainly mould our lives and the lives of those who spring from us. [35]

Besides the overt statements about the subconscious self, and the satirical juxtapositions of real and avowed motives, Butler also finds a third means of expressing this subconscious element, for it is this which underlies Christina's daydreams and produces the stream-of-consciousness which gushes from her all her waking hours, - indeed,

> the dreams she had dreamed in sleep were sober realities in comparison with those she indulged in while awake. [36]

Christina might be seen as a non-verbalized form of Jane Austen's Miss Bates, but she is more appropriately seen as a precursor of the stream-of-consciousness novel, for her function is not merely comic, but also intentionally revelatory of Butler's belief in the force of unacknowledged motives as a part of the subconscious.

Thus Butler, by applying his theory of the sub-conscious self to many, and potentially all, characters, has shown that some or all of the three aspects mentioned above are an integral part of all characters, and not some imposed aura of religious awareness or philosophical sensitivity. For him, the subconscious is related to all the normal affairs of social life, providing additional motives beyond those admitted as valid by society, and indeed, often in conflict with them.

Like that of Waldo and Mark Rutherford, Ernest's awareness of an inner self arises out of rebellion against the conditioned self, formed by the social, religious and parental mores surrounding him, as we have already seen in the preceding chapter when dealing with the subconscious as a factor in Butler's scheme of education. It must be remembered that Butler was writing The Way of All Flesh, and indeed completed it, fifteen years before Freud had published his work on the unconscious, and its effects on the conscious self[37]; therefore he had at his disposal none of the scientific terms which we take for granted in clarifying our theories today, but it is clear that he nevertheless recognized the elements which Freud designated as the id and the superego, as distinct from the ego. It would therefore be interesting to see how much Butler may have influenced general ideas of personality, particularly of development, outside the spheres of the novel and of scientific theory.

When we consider Father and Son as a "true" account of a child's

growth to maturity (with all the reservations about "truth" which we have discussed in the first two chapters), we find a confession of an early awareness of another self - again discovered through an emotion of rebellion, or at least of dissent. Edmund Gosse's discovery is not a theoretical one, but rather, like Olive Schreiner's arises from direct experience. The child has his father's unsuspected fallibility bourne in upon him when a childish transgression is wrongly imputed to someone else, and communes within himself:

> But of all the thoughts which rushed upon my savage and undeveloped little brain at this crisis, the most curious was that I had found a companion and a confidant in myself. There was a secret in this world and it belonged to me and to a somebody who lived in the same body with me. There were two of us, and we could talk with one another. It is difficult to define impressions so rudimentary but it is certain that it was in this dual form that the sense of my individuality now suddenly descended upon me, and it is equally certain that it was a great solace to me to find a sympathiser in my own breast.[38]

This inner self becomes identified as the most precious part of his individuality, and although, for much of his recorded childhood, it remains dormant, it is still there, re-emergent when the need to assert his individuality returns. Its dormancy is due perhaps to another trait of the child's personality, which the father had encouraged by his scientific training for the illustration of specimens, - that is his passion for imitation which has been apparent in his

sedulous copying of his father's scientific monographs and drawings, and his mimicking of the sentiments and phraseology of the saints. It is therefore not surprising that the assertive and rebellious self lay unexpressed for so long, but there came a time when the father's assumption of the boy's future vocation as a minister evoked a passionate resistance in the eleven-year-old boy:

> Through thick and thin I clung to a hard nut of individuality, deep down in my childish nature. To the pressure from without, I resigned everything else, my thoughts, my words, my anticipations, but there was something which I never resigned, my innate and persistent self. Meek as I seemed, and gently respondent, I was always conscious of that innermost quality which I had learned to recognize in my earlier days in Islington, that existence of two in the depths who could speak to one another in inviolable secrecy.[39]

As the pressures to conform to a religion in which he does not fully believe, become more acute, so the boy's sense of individuality becomes more defined. At the end of the novel, when the author has felt the full pressure from emotional and filial ties as well as that of his upbringing, to conform to the wishes expressed in his father's letter, he summarises:

> All I need further say is to point out that when such defiance is offered to the intelligence of a thoughtful and honest young man with the normal impulses of his twenty-one years, there are but two alternatives. Either he must cease to think for himself; or his individualism must be instantly confirmed and the necessity of religious independence must be emphasized. ... thus desperately challenged the young man's conscience threw off once for all the

> Yoke of his "dedication" and ... he took a human being's privilege to fashion his inner life for himself.[40]

In this concept of the inner self as the most vital part of individuality, Gosse has introduced a new element into autobiography - the tense psychological struggle involved in the achievement of selfhood, and in so doing, he has shown, perhaps without realizing it, the gradual development from the characteristically childlike idea of "a companion and confidant" with whom he could hold converse, to the adult's idea of "Conscience" and of the "inner life".

There has been a similar overall trend in the novels we have been discussing. The earlier novelists who acknowledged the presence of an inner self saw it in the way a child views such a discovery, as another person for whom they do not feel fully responsible but whose behaviour is to be imputed to them. Stevenson's novel presents the extreme form of this separation into two identities. In Alton Locke, the subconscious self is so far divorced as to assume pre-human form for most of the dream. For Mark Rutherford, there is a progression from his earlier disclaimer of responsibility for the "I" who turns upon Mr. Snale,[41] to a more mature awareness of an inner voice which, although he does not completely identify it with the "conscience", is nevertheless closely akin to what is generally meant by that term. In The Story of An African Farm, these two kinds of awareness are presented through the two protagonists, Lyndall's inner self is a clearly-defined separate person, a companion to whom she

can speak; but unlike the earlier portrayers of such a self, Olive Schreiner shows no conflict between Lyndall and her alter ego. In Waldo the presentation is more complex, for while at first he seems to lack any such awareness, his progressive reactions on hearing of Lyndall's death show a sense of inner identification with some supra-personal soul, the "Universal Unity" or "Universal Life"[42] and this identification is, in the widest sense, religious. Butler also seems to have been aware of the religious nature of this experience for he speaks of the "god within" Ernest and this is no longer merely another person, similar to Ernest, as Lyndall's alter ego was, but something at once more diffuse and more akin to what we mighe call a collective unconscious, common to the whole race of humanity in Butler's scheme of heredity.

In Father and Son then, we have, recapitulated in the autobiographical account of the child's developing awareness, a parallel to the changing concept of self through the nineteenth century. The very fact that these novelists thought in terms of an inner self as a vital part of their identity marks them off as individualists. Erich Fromm writes of our own generation:

> The average individual does not permit himself to be aware of thoughts or feelings which are incompatible with the patterns of culture, and hence he is forced to repress them.... The unconscious is the whole man - minus that part of him which corresponds to his society.[43]

We have noted that Freud's work was first published 1900-1901, while Father and Son did not appear until 1907; but there appears to be little if any Freudian influence on the novel for the passages which have been quoted as showing the gradual development of the child's individuality through the assertion of his inner self, arise intimately from Gosse's personal experiences; there is no suggestion of their having been imposed anachronistically by a later theory of psychoanalysis. Indeed the very simplicity and lack of familiarity, with which Gosse describes his experiences, almost certainly precludes any acquaintance with the closely-reasoned vocabulary which Freud evolved.

In his stress on the importance of the inner personality as being of vital importance in autobiography, Gosse initiated a new trend which we have since seen perfected in the autobiographical novels of Lawrence and Joyce. Johnson comments, in respect to Father and Son that:

> Not until twenty years later, in Strachey's Elizabeth and Essex, was anything like this conflict of two entangled, devoted, and yet antagonistic personalities to command the whole attention of a biography. [44]

Perhaps the introduction of the Freudian concepts of unmotivated actions and reactions, subject to the inscrutable arbitrariness of subconscious influences must, in its extreme form, destroy that part of a novel's structure which is based on the relationship between the character's intentions and their achievements. Mendilow writes that

in the twentieth century the novel has passed:

> to the foreconscious which can still be reconstructed in verbal notation, even if language must be stretched to the limit to compass it. It has even reached down to the dark undertow of the subconscious, where not notation, but only evocation is possible.... and thence perhaps to the unintelligible and unimaginable unconscious itself; but the logical expression of this should be simply silence. [45]

Chapter IV Notes.

1. Quoted by M. Maison, Search Your Soul, Eustace (London, 1961), p. 126.
2. ibid., p. 130.
3. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 4.
4. ibid., chapter 36.
5. ibid., chapter 24, p. 179.
6. ibid., chapter 36, p. 265.
7. ibid., chapter 36, p. 269.
8. ibid., chapter 36, p. 270.
9. ibid., chapter 36, p. 272.
10. ibid., chapter 36, p. 276.
11. Thomas Hardy, A Pair of Blue Eyes (London, 1960), chapter 22, pp. 241-2.
12. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, chapter 1, p.11
13. M.A. Ward, A Writer's Recollections (London, 1918), chapter 10, p. 197.
14. The Autobiography, chapter 1, pp. 23-4.
15. ibid., Preface to the second edition, p. ix.
16. ibid., chapter 5. p. 58.
17. ibid., chapter 9, p. 132.
18. C.M. Maclean, Mark Rutherford (London, 1955), p. 289.
19. The Autobiography, chapter 6, p. 83.
20. The Story of An African Farm, chapter 1, p. 23.

21. ibid., chapter 1. p. 28.

22. ibid., part 2, chapter 1, p. 123.

23. ibid., part 2, chapter 1, p. 123.

24. ibid., part 2, chapter 1, p. 126.

25. ibid., part 2, chapter 9, pp. 222-3.

26. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, pp. 33-4.

27. ibid., part 2, chapter 6.

28. ibid., part 2, chapter 5, pp. 188-9.

29. ibid., part 2, chapter 5, p. 189.

30. ibid., part 2, chapter 9, p. 221.

31. ibid., part 2, chapter 12, p. 262.

32. ibid., part 2, chapter 12, p. 263.

33. ibid., part 1, chapter 2, pp. 34-5.

34. D.H. Lawrence, Letter to Ernest Collings, 1913 in The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, ed. A. Huxley (London, 1934), p. 94.

35. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 5, p. 23.

36. ibid.,chapter 21, p. 89.

37. The Interpretation of Dreams was published in 1900, and The Psychopathology of Everyday Life in 1901.

38. Father and Son, chapter 2, pp. 26-7.

39. ibid., chapter 9, p.120.

40. ibid., "Epilogue", p. 192.

41. The Autobiography, chapter 6, p. 83.

42. The Story of An African Farm, part 2, chapter 13, p. 269.

43. Erich Fromm, Beyond the Chains of Illusion (New York, 1963), pp. 138-9.

44. E. Johnson, One Mighty Torrent (New York, 1955), p. 461.

45. A.A. Mendilow, Time and The Novel (London, 1952), p. 206.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON DEVELOPMENT.

When we come to examine religious affiliation as a force in character determination, the effect in all the five novels we are considering is startling, and its magnitude can scarcely be understood except against the background of religious turbulence which beset the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the face of such turmoil, the need to cling dogmatically to old beliefs became imperative for many people, especially those of the more fundamentalist sects who considered that their faith depended on acceptance of a rigidly literal interpretation of the Bible as the only guide to truth, and that therefore any questioning of Biblical authority was at best irrelevant and at worst infamous blasphemy.

It is a striking fact that of the nineteenth-century Bildungsromane which take seriously the religious dimension, almost all show a child in revolt against the cramping and repressive influence of a doctrinal religion; indeed, parental religion seems to have been one of the major causes for such adolescent revolutions, - almost as though some such restriction were a necessary prerequisite for alienation from the family, and thus for the growth of an individual personality. In the case of Maggie Tulliver, religion is not a major cause of her revolt, nor is it for David Copperfield, Arthur Pendennis, or Jane

Eyre, but in a great number of novels it is, and certainly it is in the five novels we are studying.

Maison[1] quotes from R.E. Welsh, a Victorian clerical critic who ascribed religious doubt in the period to three main causes - the hypocrisy and cruelty of many orthodox Christians, the misfortunes of life which produced a waste land of despair that religious orthodoxy could not cure; and the enlightenment of those who denied orthodoxy compared with the often irrational supporters of faith. The five protagonists we are considering in detail are all affected by at least one of these causes of the epidemic of doubt, and Mark Rutherford by all three.

We have already mentioned the force of the religious background in Alton Locke, for it forms an integral part of the parental situation, particularly of Mrs. Locke's ideas of the nature of children, and therefore colours her views on education and upbringing, but there are some other aspects of the religious background which require mention.

The first and most marked impression of the child, Alton, is the horror of the sabbatarian Sunday, weighed down by "the two unintelligible dreary sermons" delivered in "the stifling gallery and glaring windows and gas lights". Lest the children's minds should be diverted from suitably religious thoughts on Sunday, all potential interests were put aside,

> " and there was nothing to fill up the long vacuity but books of which I could not understand a single word: when play, laughter, or even a stare out of the window... were all forbidden, as if the commandment had run, "In it thou shalt take no manner of amusement, thou nor thy son, nor thy daughter". [2]

These two impressions of the stifling church services and the utter boredom of Sunday generally had a lasting effect on the children of all the novels we are discussing, and indeed this is hardly surprising in the case of children who were just at an age to be awakening to the perpetual interest of all facets of the world which awaited their exploration. This Sunday ritual seems to have been the rule rather than the exception in the period. Ruskin records a similar experience:

> I found the bottom of the pew so extremely dull a place to keep quiet in, (my best story-books being also taken away from me in the morning,) that ... the horror of Sunday used even to cast its prescient gloom as far back in the week as Friday - and all the glory of Monday, with church seven days removed again, was no equivalent for it. [3]

In Alton's case, the infamy is compounded by two other considerations: He has, first, a strong conviction that the doctrinal basis of his mother's sectarian religion runs directly counter to his own experience of the love of God:

> What was the use of a child's hearing of "God's great love manifested in the scheme of redemption", when he heard in the same breath, that the effects of that redemption were practically confined only to one human being out of a thousand, and

> that the other nine hundred and ninety-nine were lost and damned from their birth hour to all eternity.[4]

and secondly, a very real obstacle in the path of Alton's acceptance of his mother's faith is his opinion of the people who professionally represent that sect - notably Mr. Wigginton and the missionary from New Zealand - for their personalities argue more eloquently against their doctrine than their words could ever do in its favour. Alton's revulsion is complete and the rift widened when he learns from his sanctimonious sister of her coming marriage with "that dear man of God, Mr. Wigginton".[5]

It is many years before Alton can throw off his distrust, even hatred, of the clergy. He is civil to Dean Winnstay only, one suspects, for the sake of Lillian, and is soon involved in an irrational and highly emotional argument with Eleanor about the iniquities of the clergy in general. Discrimination is a lesson which comes only with difficulty to him, and only at the end of his life is he able to distinguish between those individuals whom he has labelled all together, and to see that those whose deeds are Christ-like are indeed members of the true religion, bringing peace and love to humanity. This emotional acceptance, it must be noted, precedes his intellectual conversion under the tuition of the Dean, important though this latter is to him, just as his rebellion had been first, and primarily, a matter of feeling and instinct. We have seen how important this element of instinct is in Kingsley's conception of the child's judgment,

and how it derives from his belief in the innate goodness of the child, so it is entirely consistent that full acceptance of the faith he is finally to adopt should begin with an instinctive response of the will to the example of Eleanor; only then is it followed by a conversion of the intellect. This pattern, which is typical of the activist approach, is present in several other novels of the same period - and achieved its greatest popularity in Robert Elsmere[6] which became, for a long time, the prototype of this kind of religious novel. Robert's own "conversion" is an intellectual one, following from his own historical researches, but the "New Brotherhood of Christ", which he initiates, prepares man's minds for an intellectual acceptance of the Gospel by active social work in the district, so that most of the members of the Brotherhood have been attracted through gratitude for Robert's welfare work.

In Mark Rutherford's Deliverance there is a similar pattern of the re-emergence of faith. The Autobiography, however, describes only Mark Rutherford's falling away from traditional patterns of faith, a progress which echoes the experiences of Francis Newman, J.A. Froude, Matthew Arnold, Clough, and many others who sought a new truth outside the pale of orthodoxy, but found at best an uneasy support in a vague spirituality. Again, as with Alton Locke, the scars of Sunday take long to heal. Sunday was

> a season of unmixed gloom. My father and mother were rigid Calvinistic Independents, and on that day no newspaper, nor any book more secular

> than the Evangelical Magazine was tolerated. Every preparation for the Sabbath had been made on the Saturday, to avoid as much as possible any work.... Not a letter was opened unless it was clearly evident that it was not on business, and for opening these an apology was always offered that it was possible they might contain some announcement of sickness.[7]

The Sunday ritual was exhaustive: Sunday School at nine, followed by three services with intermitting prayer-meetings, but the worst ordeal was the "long prayer" of each service, and the sermon with its preordained themes -- the scheme of redemption in the morning and the doom of the lost in the evening. The gloom and stuffiness of the chapel is not merely mental but is reinforced by physical conditions not unlike those described in Browning's "Christmas Eve":

> The atmosphere of the chapel on hot nights was most foul.... Often times in winter, when no doors or windows were open, I have seen the glass panes streaming with wet inside, and the women carried out fainting.[8]

As with Alton Locke, the children of the "Times and Seasons" chapter of <u>The Story of An African Farm</u> and Ernest Pontifex, Rutherford's disillusionment with Christianity is preceded by disillusionment with the Christians he knows. The theological college he attends is characterized by its shallow approach to life and to vocation, and its utter oblivion to any of the contemporary objections to Christianity:

> It was a time in which the world outside was seething with the ferment which had been cast into it by Germany and by those

> in England whom Germany had influenced, but not a fragment of it had dropped within our walls. I cannot call to mind a single conversation upon any but the most trivial topics, nor did our talk turn even upon our religion, so far as it was a thing affecting the soul, but only upon it as something subsidiary to chapels, "causes", deacons and the like. The emptiness of some of my colleagues, and their worldliness, too, were almost incredible.[9]

This picture of Mark Rutherford's student experiences is followed by an even more distasteful one of the congregation of Water Lane, for their rank indifference and hypocrisy are added to the cramping and meaningless ritual. The vividness and intrinsic sincerity of Hale White's descriptions of provincial Dissent has stirred some critics to compare him with George Eliot and Trollope,[10] but the autobiographical imprint upon his work makes the comparison more complex. There is an underlying animosity even in the most seemingly objective passages, so that, despite the very real abuses he uncovers, and the credibility of his descriptions which is enhanced by his simplicity of style and language, there is always a suspicion that his reaction is at least partly due to his own psychology. On the other hand it is not difficulty to see how his peculiar psychological problems of adjustment in later life, have arisen in part from the particular circumstances of his religious upbringing - the preoccupation with gloomy thoughts, especially those of a religious nature; his inability to find intellectual satisfaction in any religion when this latter had become so irrevocably identified with

one exclusive form which ignored any rational grounds for faith. It is true that he makes two very real concessions to the Independents' upbringing:- namely that it did inculcate in him a "rigid regard for truthfulness" and "purity of life" (which, presumably, in the context, means sexual purity). Unfortunately, in Mark Rutherford's own psychological development, these two assets become magnified to increase his lonely introspective tendencies and thus to produce the very converse of that state of well-being which they are intended to foster. Failing to find any intellectual, or emotional satisfaction with the more extreme sect of his upbringing, he turns to Unitarianism, that "featherbed to catch a falling Christian" as it had been called[11]; but here he is assailed with negativity, and finds negative doctrine even less satisfying than its positive counterpart. The sheer formalism of the Unitarian congregation is symbolized by the funeral sermon left in the pulpit bible. It praised in detail the virtues of the deceased but the illusion of particularity is swiftly destroyed by the changed pronouns throughout indicating its promiscuous usage.[12] But again it is a nice point to decide how much of this negativity is a reflection of Rutherford's own lack of will. Certainly the Unitarian record in and around Manchester, where the emphasis was on Christianity as a way of life rather than a system of doctrine and where the Unitarians were the guiding force and spearhead of humanitarianism and social reform,[13] bears little relation to the congregation at D———. Similarly his acceptance of Christ as the

perfect exemplar of human experience leads him to reverse the usual chain of reasoning and to assume that because the innocent Jesus suffered, therefore a man cannot be innocent unless he suffers. It is hardly surprising that Rutherford feels compelled to seek suffering and self-denial as a mark of religious acceptability. Thus a further link is forged in the chain of psychological bondage.

The whole upbringing of the boy has been so geared towards religious hypochondria that his life has become orientated around his religious "pulse" as it were. However dissatisfied he might be with his old creed, he cannot merely discard it and fling himself into a social or political cause without scars of regret, for his whole personality has been conditioned towards the need for religious self-approbation. For Rutherford the loss of faith is a tragedy; he feels that with the loss of his faith in an historical Jesus, he has lost his closest friend. This feeling, not uncharacteristic of many expressed in the period, recalls a similar outburst by Markham Sutherland in Froude's Nemesis of Faith, in reply to those who think that the doubter has a life of self-indulgence:

> Ah! could you see down below his heart's surface, could you countthe tears streaming down his cheeks, as out through some church door into the street come pealing the old familiar notes, and the old psalms which he cannot sing, the chanted creed which is no longer his creed, and yet to part with which was worse agony than to lose his dearest friend.[14]

Rutherford's phases of rebellion and reconciliation with life are

interpreted in religious terms and, as we have seen, his own awareness of an inner self, rudimentary as it is, is so heavily overlaid with a religious dimension as to be largely inapplicable in the usual commonplace situations of a novel. Thus, when he tries to apply it to his relationship with Ellen, he is more confused than before, for the issue becomes one of religious sympathy as a criterion for personal compatibility. (One cannot imagine Butler allowing Ernest to be led astray by his inner self).

Religious discontent was a powerful agent in Mark Rutherford's psychological breakdown. It is therefore necessary that his rehabilitation should have a religious accompaniment also. In the Deliverance, while not allying himself with any formal religious sect, he nevertheless sees the social work on which he and M'Kay embark, as a religious enterprise in the deepest sense of the word, for intellectually satisfying as he finds the philosophy of Spinoza which he adopts (the replacement of a cosmological eternity by a psychological one, and the removal of the Mediaeval Christian antithesis between mind and matter), he still requires some humanitarian interest to justify his beliefs. Thus, he, like Robert Elsmere, turns to a new activism, a religion of duty less vigorous than Eleanor's in Alton Locke, certainly, but doubly beneficial to him, for it serves both to justify his "religion" to himself, and also to draw him out of his introspective moods in the consideration of the problems of others. The former is what he himself sees as his own need: the

latter is closer to his real and most basic need. As Miller, writing of the general Victorian scene, states:

> When God vanishes, man turns to interpersonal relations as the only remaining arena of the search for authentic selfhood. Only in his fellowman can he find any longer a presence in the world which might replace the lost divine presence.... As Victorian fiction develops, there is an increasing focus on intersubjective relations to the exclusion of man's relation to physical nature or to any supernatural power.[15]

There is, as we have seen, a further instance of this in Rutherford's response to his wife's love and devotion which he comes to see as a sign or guarantee of the love of God which would otherwise be unknown to man.[16] The boldness of this statement becomes fully apparent only when we consider the strongly fundamentalist background from which it emerged.

It is interesting that Hale White here seems to capitulate to the Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley, (although in actuality he repudiated it), but it is not difficult to see why, in an age when the intellectual grounds for faith seemed so uncertain, men should turn to activism as a necessary, and often sufficient, condition for religious trust. In the reaction against fundamentalism (and Alton Locke, Mark Rutherford and Robert Elsmere were all, to a greater or lesser extent, nursed in the rigorous cradle of fundamentalism), "good works" overcame the increasingly modified claims of "faith", and it was long before any viable reconciliation was achieved between them.

The links between Mark Rutherford's social work and his Spinozan philosophy are, to say the least, tenuous and like the intellectual and ritual connections of Elsmere's "New Brotherhood" have always been considered the least satisfying part of the book. Nevertheless, ironically, Rutherford proceeds further in the reconstruction of his religion than does the eager and extroverted Elsmere. Rutherford's formulations have none of the ritualism of the "New Brotherhood")and perhaps for this reason appear less trite in retrospect), but they do grapple with the psychological bases for religious experiences: Jesus is reassessed as the great examplar of the moral laws of the universe, and the incentive to all compassionate concern for the poor and lonely, and to the supreme value of love. Rutherford also comes to see the practical necessity for many of the philosophical tenets he has dabbled with for so long in theory - especially the ultimate distinction between right and wrong,[18] and for the duty of resignation in the face of hardship. His approach contains obvious echoes of the thoughts of Spinoza, Hegel, Carlyle and Emerson, but it is characteristic of Hale White's thesis that they come to mean anything only in reference to particular situations involving particular human beings. This is the test of the value of the common-place which Rutherford has been seeking throughout the two novels.

Davies defines the religious novel as follows:

> By giving the human scene the eschatological

> backcloth of Heaven and Hell, the religious writer sees that apparently trivial actions of men and women have abiding consequences unperceived by the humanist. ... Unless a novel includes these dimensions of sin and grace, time and eternity, it cannot be considered a religious novel of any significance.[19]

Clearly Hale White's novels do have these dimensions implicit in their intention, and they are never fully relinquished, yet Davies goes on to state that

> The Mark Rutherford novels are indeed concerned with a profoundly religious theme, but [are not] ... distinguished religious novels because ... the ultimate answer is anthropocentric not theocentric.[20]

Ironically, on this judgment, The Story of An African Farm, written by a convinced humanist, may be closer to the religious novel, for here we encounter from the start a strongly religious element in the upbringing of the children. Where it derives from is harder to see, for Waldo's father, Otto, the most devout member of the household, certainly does not embody the harsh principles of Calvinism in his own actions; on the contrary, his whole life is motivated by the most Christ-like love for all humanity. The picture of him and the children in

> the warm, dark, starlight nights, when they sat together on the doorstep, holding each other's hands, singing German hymns, ...[21]

is far removed from the pictures of religious childhoods we have been considering. It seems, therefore that his readings from the Bible

without comment, have produced an effect which was not outweighed by his own example, and that what Waldo particularly remembers is an inexorable, omnipotent God, so entirely separable from the character of Jesus as to evoke his passionate confession: "I love Jesus Christ, but I hate God!"[22] Deep as this religious awareness is in Waldo, Olive Schreiner's portrayal of it is fragmented in the first part, and almost non-existent in the second.

Bonaparte's religious hypocrisy is too obviously a travesty of belief and Otto's religion too genuine to account for the repression and wholesale lack of genuineness which is imputed by the children in the "Times and Seasons" chapter, to all adults. What is described there is closer to a universalized account of the Mark Rutherford situation than to any actual experiences described in the novel, but it is true that Waldo, like Rutherford and Alton Locke before, passes along the well-worn road from Evangelical religion to pantheistic rationalism. It is, however, strange that all three should have been able to find a humane and loving God immanent in nature, in the very period when the prestige of natural theology was at its lowest ebb, and the popular concept of "nature red in tooth and claw"[23] seemed to have routed a benevolent Creator from the scene. Waldo's pantheism, however, is less philosophical and more intuitive than Mark Rutherford's, despite his desire for intellectual truth. It is best seen in the parable which his Stranger tells and to which his whole being passionately assents, but, having achieved this

halfway house of formulated ideals, he does not seem to act consciously upon it, and it does not conspicuously seem to enter into his life thereafter. Even his eventual delight in the sea is not suggested as being a revelation of any aspect of God, as are Mark Rutherford's experiences of nature. His hard-won pantheism does recur however at the end of the novel when he strives to find some hope of immortality after Lyndall's death, and finally resigns himself to accepting a belief in a "Universal Life" to which the individual can only surrender and merge himself as a part of this unity. Such an acceptance requires a measure of selflessness reminiscent of the Hunter in the Stranger's parable, when he no longer strives to find Truth for himself as a personal possession, but is content to be part of mankind's never-ending search, making the path a fraction easier for those who follow, through his own experience.

Thus, in the three novels considered so far in this chapter, Kingsley and Hale White found a reply to fundamentalism in a social activism, while Olive Schreiner found it, at least theoretically, in an almost mystical absorption in nature and an immanent God; but in The Way of All Flesh we find a repudiation of both these courses. Whereas the Autobiography is a spiritual pilgrimage like Marius the Epicurean, the Apologia pro vita sua, and the Nemesis of Faith, The Way of All Flesh is almost a direct satire of the spiritual autobiography. Baldly stated, Ernest's religious progress is from a childhood of imposed fundamentalism (though less extreme than the kind described

in the earlier novels) to an initiation into Simeonite Evangelism at Cambridge, followed by a period of High Churchmanship under the guidance of Pryer, until finally, after a rather strident opposition to all forms of religion, he comes to embrace a sophisticated indifferentism, communicating once a year - "in case" there is something in it - and takes as his ideal the Church of Laodicea where "each individual member should only be hot in striving to be as lukewarm as possible".[24]

In order to understand these religious peregrinations, it is necessary to understand Butler's own views on the subject, for, unlike the protagonists of the other novels, Ernest is not really closely identified with his religious background, nor does his character seem to have been formed by it. This is what we might expect, when we remember that for Butler, heredity played so large a role in the determination of character. The chief function of formal religion seems, to Butler's critical eye, to be that of thwarting the expression of the inner self, - which is the true self, - and the substitution of meaningless and usually hypocritical codes of behaviour in the place of common sense and natural enjoyment. There are two vivid illustrations of these travesties of religion in The Way of All Flesh; one is Overton's comparison of the Pontifex family prayers to the mindless insistence of the bees swarming vainly over the floral wallpaper:

> As I thought of the family prayers being repeated night and morning ... year by

> year, I could not help thinking how like it was to the way in which the bees went up the wall and down the wall, bunch by bunch, without ever suspecting that so many associated ideas could be present, and yet the main idea be wanting, hopelessly, and forever.[25]

The other is the cramping of the honest, lusty enjoyment of Theobald's rustic parishioners by the advent of High Church respectability; they have been edged out of Theobald's congregation by its new ritualism and betaken themselves elsewhere when Overton encounters them again:

> I saw three very old men come chuckling out of a dissenting chapel, and surely enough they were my old friends the blacksmith, the carpenter, and the shepherd. There was a look of content upon their faces which made me feel certain they had been singing; not doubtless with the old glory of the violincello, the clarinet, and the trombone, but still songs of Sion and no newfangled Papistry.[26]

The sabbath rigour of the Pontifex household is similar to what we have seen in the other novels, but whereas the previous accounts were given as objective descriptions, albeit seasoned with criticism, Butler's disapproval is voiced even more tellingly in his satiric technique which, as so often in Erewhon, undercuts these supposedly serious intention by juxtaposing with equal solemnity the petty prohibitions in which they are clothed. He thus holds up to ridicule the hypocrisy, pomposity and general displacement of values, beneath the apparently religious motives:

> The young people were taught to observe the Sabbath; they might not cut out things, nor use their paintbox on a Sunday, ... their cousins might play with their toy train on Sunday, but though they promised they would run none but Sunday trains, all traffic had been prohibited. One treat only was allowed them - on Sunday evenings they might choose their own hymns. [27]

Finally, it seems that Ernest, like Butler, chooses his religion according to its supporters. Disliking his parents and Dr. Skinner as he did, there was little chance that he would follow their pious protestations; his brief excursion into Evangelicalism is motivated rather by awkward feelings of duty towards his supposed vocation, than by any real belief in its efficacy, and knowing Butler's own predilections, we can hardly doubt that the unfortunate physical liabilities of the Simeonites are intended to bear moral implications also. Ernest's brief attendance in the steps of Pryer is occasioned by the force of the latter's personality rather than by any deep conviction, as Butler makes clear in the superb satire of Ernest's letter to Overton. Here again Butler lets the character expose himself to ridicule by his earnestness about something which, Butler stresses, is both unoriginal and transient:

> I sent you a rough copy of a letter I sent to the Times. ... It embodies pretty fully my ideas on the parochial visitation scheme, and Pryer fully approves of the letter. Think it carefully over and send it back to me when read, for it is so exactly my present creed that I cannot afford to lose it. [28]

Finally, the influence of Towneley, Ernest's real and abiding hero, combined with his own experience of the pitfalls of proselytising, lead Ernest to Butler's (and thus also to Overton's) position of the graceful, uninvolved agnostic. We have already seen Butler's own criterion for religious affiliation:

> Is there any religion whose followers can be pointed to as distinctly more amiable and trustworthy than those of any other? If so, this should be enough. I find the nicest and best people generally profess no religion at all, but are ready to like the best men of all religions.[29]

In The Way of All Flesh, Towneley is the obvious candidate for Ernest's allegiance, for he embodies all these ideals, together with the gracious savoir-faire which Butler so envied Pauli. In Butler's own life, it appears to have been his fear of the power which the new science was achieving that drove him back towards orthodox religion; he found, during his prolonged controversy with Darwin that scientists were more pontifical than the Church had ever been and, if a choice had to be made between the rival dogmatisms, Butler decided to support a priesthood which was gradually losing power rather than a science which was rapidly gaining it. He wrote to his sister:

> It is not the bishops and archbishops I am afraid of. Men like Huxley and Tyndall are my natural enemies, and I am always glad when I find Church people recognizing that the differences between them and me are, as I believe myself, more of words than of things.[30]

Butler's ideal of Laodicea obviously precludes the activism which Alton Locke[31], Mark Rutherford and Robert Elsmere came to see as the road to salvation, and it may be asked what satisfaction Ernest, Overton or Butler could find in so entirely an individualistic preoccupation as the saving of their own souls (in their sense of the word), while ignoring everyone else's. Butler, writing elsewhere about "swells" explains the trend which his individualism was taking:

> People ask complainingly what swells have done for society that they should be able to live without working. The good swell is the creature towards which all nature has been groaning and travailing together until now. He is an ideal. He shows what may be done in the way of good breeding, health, looks, temper and fortune. He realizes men's dreams of themselves, at any rate vicariously. He preaches the gospel of grace.[32]

In fact, however, the novel fails to demonstrate even this partial fulfilment in Ernest; he becomes a rather more feeble copy of his god-father, his life, for all its pretensions, being almost as crabbed as Theobald's and as fruitless. Willey writes of Butler's God:

> This God lacks the numinous quality ... he has no power to inspire reverence or demand service. In Butler there is, as far as I can discover, little or no sense of the holy, and (in spite of his praise of I Corinthians xiii) very little love.[33]

It is noteworthy that unlike Rutherford who mourns for his lost faith, Ernest rejoices in his freedom from something harmful and fraudulent and has no regrets. Butler himself could not understand the mood of sadness and malaise which dogged those who had left behind their

traditional faith. In his Notebooks he wrote:

> There is an article on [Renan] in the Times ... of the worst Times kind.... It appears he whines about his lost faith and professes to wish that he could believe as he believed when young. No sincere man will regret having attained a truer view concerning a thing which he has ever believed, and then he talks about the difficulties of coming to disbelieve the Christian miracles as though it were a great intellectual feat. This is very childish. I hope no one will say I was sorry when I found out that there was no reason for believing in heaven and hell. My contempt for Renan has no limits.[34]

This change in attitude from Hale White to Butler is not merely the result of defiance, as though Butler is a perennial adolescent, for we have seen that he came to a personal compromise with Christianity in his own sense of the word; rather it seems that Butler, like the twentieth-century proponents of religionless Christianity, believed strongly that religion should appeal to man-come-of-age, not to man-in-bondage to fear and superstition, and that following Christ, as he conceived it, was a glorious adventure. Thus, despite the paucity of Ernest's ideals, Butler's views on religion cannot be dismissed as entirely flippant. Clothed in an apparently perverse epigrammatic style with characteristically Butlerian paradox, they nevertheless express a sincere conviction:

> He was trying to give up father and mother for Christ's sake. He would have said he was giving them up because he thought they

> hindered him in the pursuit of his truest and most lasting happiness. Granted, but what is this if it is not Christ? What is Christ if He is not this? He who takes the highest and most self-respecting view of his own welfare which it is in his power to conceive, and adheres to it in spite of conventionality, is a Christian whether he knows it and calls himself one or whether he does not.[35]

This is very similar to the conclusions reached by John Pickard Owen in The Fair Haven, and, despite the apparent flippancy, it proves to be not unlike, in our century, Erich Fromm's exposition of the concept of the duty to love one's neighbour as oneself.[36]

With Father and Son, we come to a religious atmosphere which is both more noble and potentially more dangerous, it is suggested, to the child than Ernest's childhood religion. The members of the Brethren sect to which Philip Gosse and his wife belong, are as devout as they seem, and certainly there can be no suspicion of hypocrisy attaching to the child's parents. The rules of sabbath-observance are equally as strict in form as in the other families we have been considering, but the atmosphere behind them is totally different. Edmund Gosse records the way in which Sundays were spent, with family prayers, private meditation and study, morning service at the Room for two hours, Sunday School, for most of the afternoon, evening service, and finally Believers' Prayer Meeting for forty minutes or more. Again it is the exclusiveness of pre-occupation which is most daunting to a child's varied and spasmodic interests:

> I might not open a scientific book, nor make a drawing, nor examine a specimen. I was not allowed to go into the road except to proceed with my parents to the Room, nor to discuss worldly subjects at meals, nor to enter the little chamber where I kept my treasures. I was hotly and tightly dressed in black, all day long, as though ready at any moment to attend a funeral with decorum. Sometimes, towards evening, I used to feel the monotony and weariness of my position to be almost unendurable.[37]

Yet, what makes these shackles so strong, is the child's inevitable and deeply-felt respect and admiration for his parents, particularly his father; their concern for their son springs from a genuine religious devotion and a growing love for the child, and not from the hidden motives of a Theobald and Christina. Whereas Theobald's religion is a matter of conforming to the world and resolutely shutting his eyes to any possible disturbances to his outlook, the Gosses' religious convictions were forged from their own mental battles, and the father's faith has all the strength of one hardly won: Of the father's beliefs, the son writes:

> They were peculiar to himself, they were subject throughout his life to practically no modifications, and they were remarkable for their logical precision and independence. I have never met with a man, of any creed, of any school of religious speculation, who was so invulherably cased in fully-developed conviction upon every side. His faith was an intellectual system of mental armour,... without a joint or an aperture discoverable anywhere.[38]

The child's religious future seems appointed for him from the

age of six weeks when he is dedicated to the Lord's service, an act which, in the family circle, was never forgotten but rather grew in significance each year and was sanctified emotionally by his dying mother's charge to the father:

> "Won't you take your lamb and walk with me?" Thus was my dedication, that had begun in my cradle, sealed with the most solemn, the most poignant and irresistable insistence, at the death-bed of the holiest and purest of women. But what a weight, intolerable as the burden of Atlas, to lay upon the shoulders of a little fragile child. [39]

Through the years, the burden increases as the father's conviction of the boy's election grows stronger, and with it, his desire for instant spiritual efflorescence, until the boy's conversion, so long awaited, is finally assumed to have happened in early childhood.

This period of the boy's youth involves a playing upon his nerves to produce a strongly conditional attitude; the Christmas pudding incident[40] is typical of this psychosomatic association. There is no corner of life into which revealed religion does not penetrate until the boy, in self-defence, learns to manipulate this state of affairs, sometimes to his own advantage.[41] Yet, the other side of this coin, and one which is often forgotten both by Edmund Gosse and his critics, is the peace and security which this certitude of God's blessing brought with it - the lightness and joy in the household as revealed so delicately in the episode of the moth which intrudes upon morning prayers: it is not considered an interruption,

for it is momentarily included, and the whole incident is thereby sanctified for the parents. Only later does the self-discipline and sense of duty underlying such freedom, become apparent to the boy; then there comes the terrible burden of the injunction to testify in and out of season on neighbourhood visits, and, even more devastating, the father's assumption that the boy is destined for the ministry. These stages all lead up to the climatic event of the boy's public baptism, just as surely as the boy's aspirations and development afterwards led down and away from it. His whole religious upbringing had developed in him a deep sense of duty, and originally a credulity which, when shaken, hardened slowly to a scepticism which was only strengthened by scientific training. Its repressive effects, in screening him from "secular" literature and from art, are completely overthrown when he finally does encounter these treasures, and transfers his wholehearted allegiance to them. Then the Calvinist prohibitions must suffer, and their very rigidity renders them unable to survive in his esteem. Susan Flood's parasol smashes more than the naked statuary[42]: it destroys Edmund's faith in the values of his father and of the Brethren who can approve the destruction of his "mysterious friends, the Greek gods". His father is only slightly more sympathetic when a speaker at the Evangelical Conference reviles the boy's beloved Shakespeare as "a lost soul now suffering for his sins in hell".[43]

Thus, at the age of fifteen, he was not consciously in revolt

against the doctrine of his father's faith,

> but I could not fail to be aware of the fact that literature tempted me to stray up innumerable paths which meandered in directions at right angles to that direct strait way which leadeth to salvation.[44]

Edmund's break from this religion of his upbringing is slow but sure. Gradually the father's inconsistencies become magnified, - the same inconsistencies which had distressed Alton Locke:

> He who was so tender-hearted that he could not bear to witness the pain or distress of any person, however disagreeable, or deserving, was quite acquiescent in believing that God would punish human beings, in millions, for ever, for a purely intellectual error of comprehension.[45]

There is, however, another peak of pious expectation in the boy's experience before the final parting of the ways. It is similar to the experiences of intense religious devotion described by Olive Schreiner for a much earlier age, but surprisingly rare in the mass of religious novels of the period when everything was done to encourage such spiritual crises. Edmund, filled with confused ideas of poetry and religion, and in the full flush of religious enthusiasm kindled by a scene of natural beauty, reverts to the test. In his childhood he had tested God's wrath by worshipping a thing of wood; now he tests the promises of the imminent Apocalypse, which his father daily expects:

> "Come now, Lord Jesus!" I cried, "Come now and take me to be ever with Thee in They Paradise...." And I raised myself on the sofa, and leaned upon the windowsill,

> and waited for the glorious apparition.
>
> This was the highest moment of my religious life, the apex of my striving after holiness.... then I felt a faint shame at the theatrical attitude I had adopted.... "The Lord has not come, the Lord will never come", I muttered, and in my heart the artificial edifice of extravagent faith began to totter and crumble. [46]

The scene is very similar to Waldo's sacrifice, which is also a test of God's presence and ability, and with the failure of the test, the whole theology of a God who acts through talismanic materialism collapses. After this, revolution is swift and cumulative until Edmund comes to the final position outlined in the Epilogue, one which is almost directly contrary to his father's; yet from his own experience as described in the novel, there is hardly sufficient evidence to sustain the vehenemence of his repudiation, even though there is support for most of the claims in a milder form. The thoughts of the Epilogue seem really to be those of a twenty-one year-old justifying his rebellion to himself, and in the full impetus of a delayed adolescent anarchy, unmitigated by the later serenities of maturity to which the other protagonists we have considered attain. Yet Edmund Gosse was writing this forty years later. His recapturing of the emotions he felt then is perhaps the high-peak of realistic writing in the book, for in recounting the incidents of his childhood there was a definite alienation from the child's point of view - a certain avuncular tone which was all too indicative of an older writer looking indulgently back on experiences safely beyond recall.

In the Epilogue however, there is all the fire of immediacy. It may well be that here the autobiographical nature of the work prompts even the mature Gosse to greater efforts of self-justification lest the story should reflect upon him with discredit. He returns with genuine fervour to the emotional reactions of his youth, attaining in consequence to a greater degree of realism than was possible for Butler or Olive Schreiner.

For Edmund Gosse and Mark Rutherford, their religious background is one of the most important environmental effects of their external surroundings, but only in Mark Rutherford's case is any attempt made to show how this influence is prolonged into adulthood: the alleged reason in his case is that it dictates the profession of his early adult years, but the deeper reason, as we have seen, is a psychological one, his personality having been so deeply conditioned by his upbringing. Hale White's success in showing such a development and emergence of personality from the religious influences of childhood may well be a consequence of the particular form he adopts, for as Pascal has shown in other cases, - the autobiographical exploration which is veiled, even from the author, and therefore provides the anonymity necessary for a fully objective probing of human experience.

Chapter V. Notes.

1. M.M. Maison, Search Your Soul, Eustace (London, 1961), pp. 254-5.
2. Alton Locke, chapter 1, pp. 5-6.
3. John Ruskin, "Praeterita" in The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1908), volume 35, p. 25.
4. Alton Locke, chapter 1, pp. 6-7.
5. ibid., chapter 19, p. 146.
6. Mary Ward, Robert Elsmere (London, 1889).
7. The Autobiography, chapter 1, p. 5.
8. ibid., chapter 1, p. 8.
9. ibid., chapter 2, p. 17.
10. e.g. W.L. Sperry, "Mark Rutherford", Harvard Theological Review, VII (April, 1914), 173, and A.E. Taylor, "The Novels of Mark Rutherford", Essays and Studies, V (1914), 51-74.
11. E. Darwin, quoted by F. Darwin, in The Autobiography of Charles Darwin (New York, 1958), p. 213.
12. The Autobiography, chapter 7, pp. 93-4.
13. K.S. Latourette, and R.V. Holt, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (London, 1960) volume II.
14. J.A. Froude, Nemesis of Faith (London, n.d.), pp. 116-7.
15. J.H. Miller, The Form of Victorian Fiction (Indiana, 1968) p. 33.

16. The Deliverance, chapter 8, pp. 108-9.

17. See, e.g. Basil Willey, "How Robert Elsmere Struck Some Contemporaries", Essays and Studies, new series, X (1957), 53-68.

18. The Deliverance, chapter 6, pp. 90-1.

19. H. Davies, A Mirror of the Ministry in Modern Novels (New York, 1959), p. 178.

20. ibid., p. 179.

21. The Story of An African Farm, part 1, chapter 3, p. 40

22. ibid., part 1, chapter 1, p. 28.

23. Alfred Lord Tennyson, In Memoriam. lvi.

24. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 85, p. 385.

25. ibid., chapter 23, p. 97.

26. ibid., chapter 14, pp. 63-4.

27. ibid., chapter 22, p. 93.

28. ibid., chapter 53, p. 235.

29. Samuel Butler, The Notebooks, ed. H.F. Jones (London, 1918), chapter 2, p. 35.

30. Samuel Butler, Letter to Miss Butler, March 29th., 1883. quoted by H.F. Jones, in Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon: A Memoir (London, 1920), volume I, p.385.

31. Overton's (and Butler's) view of Alton Locke is explicit:

> "I think he got this notion [of living among the poor] from Kingsley's Alton Locke, which ... he devoured as he had devoured Stanley's Life of Arnold, Dickens' novels, and whatever other literary garbage of the day was most like to do

him harm." The Way of All Flesh, chapter 53, p. 235.

32. Samuel Butler, The Notebooks, chapter 2, pp. 35-6.

33. Basil Willey, Darwin and Butler - Two Versions of Evolution (London, 1960), p. 109.

34. Samuel Butler, The Notebooks, chapter 21, p. 337.

35. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 68, p. 289.

36. Erich Fromme, The Art of Loving (London, 1966)

37. Father and Son, chapter 10, p. 143.

38. Edmund Gosse, The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. (London, 1890), p. 324.

39. Father and Son, chapter 3, p. 46.

40. ibid., chapter 5, p. 71.

41. ibid., chapter 11, p.146-7.

42. ibid., chapter 11, pp. 152-3.

43. ibid., chapter 12, p. 168.

44. ibid., chapter 12, p. 168.

45. ibid., chapter 12, p. 175.

46. ibid., chapter 12, pp. 177-8.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INFLUENCE OF CAREER.

We have seen that the career on which Mark Rutherford embarks has an unnaturally deep effect on him in that it prolongs into adulthood the religious environment of his childhood and therefore becomes for some time emotionally linked to his religious experience. The other protagonists we are studying are less deeply involved at the religious level in their careers, but even for them the choice of career is an important factor in their development.

I wish now to consider how four of the novelists treat the effect of a profession on their protagonists, for although, ideally, a vocation should be dictated by the character's own interests and talents relatively seldom was this the case in the nineteenth century. Nietzsche wrote:

> The need to provide for subsistence forces on all male Europeans today, a particular role, their so-called profession, ... The outcome is strange enough: almost all Europeans, with advancing years, confuse themselves with their role, they themselves are the victims of their good performance; they themselves have forgotten how very much chance, mood, caprice once disposed over them when their profession was decided - and how many parts they might have played.[1]

Froude describes a similar situation in The Nemesis of Faith, when Markham Sutherland, well educated but feeling no call to any of the professions then considered genteel, is virtually drafted into the ministry. He laments:

> Surely it were kinder far to train us out from our cradles into a course which should be chosen for us, and make us begin our crawling on the road we are to travel....

> All would be so easy then; we should form each about our proper centre, and revolve calmly and surely in the orbit into which we were projected. It is a frightful business to bring us up to be only men, and then bid us choose for ourselves one of the three roads which are to take us down again. [2]

Alton Locke has no choice in his first apprenticeship to a tailor: it is dictated by financial necessity and the arbitrary decision of his uncle faced with, as he thinks, only two alternatives:- tailoring or shoemaking. Kingsley's purpose, as we have seen, in writing the novel, was to expose the conditions and abuses of the tailoring trade, so it is hardly surprising that he concentrates for such a large part of the book on describing the workrooms of the sweat shops; but although the tone of these descriptions is often declamatory and moralistic beyond the level appropriate for non-didactic literature, he does also show how the conditions and associates which confront a young apprentice, can mould his thoughts as well as warp his body. The boy's first impressions of the workroom repel him physically through all his cringing senses, and morally through the ribaldry and drunken squabbling of the men, but his revulsion, which is the consequence of his careful upbringing, is gradually deadened by familiarity:

> With the delicacy of an innocent boy, I almost imputed the very witnessing of it [the wickedness which I saw and heard] as a sin to myself; and soon I began to be ashamed of more than the mere sitting by and hearing. I found myself gradually learning slang-insolence, laughing at coarse jokes, taking part in angry conversations; my moral tone was gradually becoming lower.... altogether, I felt myself in a most distracted, rudderless state. [3]

The sheer boredom of the occupation, moreover, provides ample scope

for self-pitying and anarchic reflections, as well as a morbidity which had been quite foreign to the younger Alton:

> With most of us, sedentary and monotonous occupations ... create of themselves a morbidly meditative and fantastic turn of mind. [4]

There are, however, good influences as well - Crossthwaite, the temperate, self-disciplined, educated Chartist who "alone was untainted with the sin around him". It is Crossthwaite who introduces him to the Chartist Movement, but it is the influence of the more reckless members which induces the arrogance that Alton soon comes to adopt towards the upper classes, and which we have already noted. Yet he still retains, in a sense, his original revulsion from the drunken and more degraded members of the lower class, and it is this ambivalent attitude which, at its best can potentially increase his understanding of all sections of the community, but can also, as is frequently the case, give rise to his peculiar self-chosen alienation from all classes - he berates the upper classes for their treatment of the poor, yet is unwilling and usually ashamed, to identify himself with these poorer classes. After his week at Cambridge, when, having lost his former job, he needs to look for new employment, he confesses:

> Even if I could have gotten employment as a tailor in the honourable trade, I loathed the business utterly - perhaps, alas! to confess the truth, I was beginning to despise it. I could bear to think of myself as a poor genius, in connection with my new, wealthy and high-bred patrons ... but to go back daily from the drawing-room and the publisher's to the goose and the shopboard, was too much for my weakness. [5]

Therefore he chooses the mean course of hack-writing for an inflammatory newspaper, The Weekly Warwhoop. This involves a

further, but more subtle degradation than the conditions of the tailoring trade, for it involves compromising those principles of morality and education which he has striven so hard to attain; he beings gradually to sacrifice "what was true" to "what would pay". So despite the bigotry, prurience and ferocity of O'Flynn, the editor, which Alton fully recognizes, he succumbs to this environment because it still retains a kind of snob value for him, compared with what he considers a more menial occupation:

> Unhealthy and noisesome as was the literary atmosphere in which I now found myself, it was one to my taste. ... In bitterness, in sheer envy, I threw my whole soul into it, and spoke evil, and rejoiced in evil. It was so easy to find fault! It pampered my own self-conceit, my own discontent, while it saved me the trouble of inventing remedies.... And thus I became daily more and more cynical, fierce, reckless. My mouth was filled with cursing. [6]

In this section, Alton 's career foreshadows Reardon's in Gissing's New Grub Street, - the author endeavouring to succeed as a writer and, in order to do so, compromising those very principles which had originally motivated him.

In passages such as those quoted above, Kingsley has genuinely tried to trace the effects of a job - albeit a particular and menial job - on a youth of impressionable age, especially one coming from so sheltered a background as does Alton; and although, generally, he is less successful in showing a psychological effect on his characters than in his physical descriptions, it seems to me that he succeeds here in both fields, for he is fully aware of the close causal connection between them. Twenty years later Kingsley was, in propria persona displaying an eagerness to promulgate the view that moral degradation may arise directly from physical conditions:

> The social state of a city depends directly on its moral state, and ... the moral state

> of a city depends ..., on the physical state of that city.[7]

Here he is equally firm about the effects of companions and their interests. Crosthwaite discourses upon the evils of the Victoria Theatre, and its degrading influence on the youth of the slums[8] and Kingsley himself wrote, in reply to Ludlow's charge that the character of Alton was not consistent throughout the novel:

> How do you know, dearest man, that I was not right in making the Alton of the second volume different from the first? In showing the individuality of the man swamped and warped by the routine of misery and discontent?[9]

In Mark Rutherford's Autobiography we encounter another profession which, Hale White believed, could scar the soul, perhaps even more deeply than the physical hardships of a menial occupation, and the loose-living companions who might be encountered there. Mark Rutherford's morbidity, which we have seen to be so strong a cause for his emotional and intellectual near-breakdown, is directly aggravated by his ill-chosen occupation, which he entered upon, not because of any inner conviction, but because it is forced upon him, in default of any other suggestion, by his parents. He, like Sutherland,[10] is virtually conscripted into the ministry - the reasons for the "choice" being entirely negative:

> I was thought to be as good as most of the young men who professed to have a mission to regenerate mankind.[11]

At no stage of his formal training for the ministry is there any outward stimulation to enthusiasm, and that zeal which is kindled in him by the Lyrical Ballads, is systematically crushed by the College Principal on the grounds that it is unfitting and presumptuous. His first congregation confirms this estimate in every way, for the Calvinism he encounters had lost the fire of an earlier century's conviction and

substituted a complacency arising from continued material prosperity. (The close connection is unwittingly emphasised by the inhabitants in their choice of tradesmen according to their religious profession[12]). Moreoever, the sheer technical routine of the ministry provides maximum scope for the development of all the most destructive elements of Rutherford's personality. The long period between Sundays, with no physical work to induce a healthy tiredness, brings no viable personal relationships to break its monotony because the prosperity of the Water Lane congregation has discouraged its members from feeling the need for any spiritual assistance or pastoral visits. This situation makes Rutherford feel in every way redundant. For him there are none of the opportunities for physical work, or mingling with the parish youth to inspire a delight in nature and the world of books - a niche which Robert Elsmere created for himself. Partly this is a reflection of Rutherford's own personality, which precludes his making any overtures where he has once been rebuffed, and partly because the general atmosphere of complacency precludes the need for any such stimulation. Indeed, his first abortive attempts to become involved in local drainage problems, such as Elsmere and Kingsley revelled in, are rudely curtailed by the extreme disapproval of his parishioners.

The worst disadvantage, however, is that his original sense of mission and the duty of preaching two sermons each Sunday drives him to ponder and examine the doctrines of his faith until he is utterly confused and beyond his intellectual depth in theological propositions which he cannot solve and yet is chronically unable to put aside. He plunges helplessly in the waves of doubt which attacked Sutherland, and Robert Elsmere, but he lacks their clarity of mind to formulate the problems which torment him, and his paralysis of will is deeper than theirs; nor has he an Arthur[13] or a Gray,[14] to whom he can turn.

When finally, he has the courage to break away formally from his religious position, which has long ceased to be a sincere one,

he finds himself adrift without any trade or training to support himself, and comes to realize that:

> There is no more helpless person in this world than a minister who is thrown out of work.[15]

The subsequent work he undertakes in the Deliverance - gruelling work in the office of a country newspaper, - brings physical exhaustion, but this in itself has a therapeutic effect, for it takes his mind off the morbid brooding he had indulged in for so long. Perhaps because he is by this time older than Alton Locke, his character is not influenced by the oaths and curses of the deputy manager, but he indulges instead in a scarcely more healthy protective escapism, involving almost total amnesia about his office work when he returns home, and an equally strict segregation of family thoughts from his working hours:

> Another strategem of defence which I adopted at the office was never to betray to a soul anything about myself.... I cut off my office life in this way from my life at home so completely that I was two selves, and my true self was not stained by contact with my other self.[16]

This is a poor substitute for his former ideals of a vocation which should be a vigorous exercise of the talents and interests, but at least it provides a bearable subsistence while leaving his mind free from the duty to delve into complex theological problems. It is as though his well-developed sense of responsibility for everything he undertakes, combined with his conviction of inferiority in the face of a challenge, render him unfit for any job which could be construed as requiring responsibility. Thus he moves in a sequence of decreasingly responsible jobs - the ministry, school-teaching, and journalism all prove too much for him, for, ironically, his very sensitivity and desire to please, make any job except the most mundane and routine, a mental torture for him.[17]

Such an extreme case, which is, I think, unique in the novel form (for although there are countless cases of dissatisfied clergy peopling the pages of the later nineteenth-century novel, there are none who seem so completely ill-suited to any alternative), could be related sympathetically and credibly only in the autobiographical form. Its nearest equivalent is perhaps Thomson's poem, "The City of Dreadful Night",[18] which also describes a man haunted by the horror of living and the dread of futility in a life which would finish without any tangible achievement. Cazamian[19] suggests that White was influenced by Thomson's poem, especially in describing his monomania and depression after Mary Mardon's rejection of his proposal.[20]

In a sense, Rutherford, through the social work he and M'Kay undertake, achieves outside the ministry what he had hoped to find within it, and in this he joins the vast number of honest doubters so characteristic of late nineteenth-century fiction (there is a full and sympathetic account of one group, the Comtists, in Robert Elsmere for example).[21] White differs from the other writers chiefly in his strongly psychological, as distinct from theoretical, approach to the problem, and in the depths of human despair which he recreates in the novel. It seems certain, however, that White was intentionally criticizing the whole structure of the ministry per se; it cannot be accidental that no character of moral worth in the novel is able to survive in this profession (the only other clergymen with whom Rutherford feels any sympathy, is also forced to abandon the ministry[22]) while those who do thrive are shallow, complacent, materialistic and hypocritical. White, like Mrs. Ward, leaves no room even for those who squared their consciences by concentrating upon a particular (though valid) interpretation behind their orthodox words, while knowing that their congregations construed a quite different meaning.[23] This practice, for Mark Rutherford, as for Robert Elsmere, is nothing less than dishonesty, and doubtless underlies White's intense dislike of Charles Kingsley.[24]

When we turn to The Story of An African Farm, there is almost nothing shown to us of Lyndall's career as an actress - we are not even sure whether she ever actually embarks on it; Em's "career" as a housewife is so clearly an extension of her personality as to be virtually imperceptible; one feels that she has always been so, from her childhood. It is with Waldo that Olive Schreiner attempts to show the effects which a job may have; again these effects are adverse, and the job uncongenial in the extreme. Waldo's unfinished letter to Lyndall is a saga of disillusionment, of gratuitous brutalizations and successive disappointments. At first these disappointments arise from the character of the people Waldo encounters - the smirking clerks, the lascivious "friend" who rides Waldo's horse into the ground, the self-interested collector of pew-rents and finally the transport-waggon employer. But as well as the strong level of realism in the descriptions of Waldo's work, there is an equally strong level of symbolism. Waldo has embarked upon a journey through life, as did the hunter of the Stranger's parable, and Olive Schreiner emphasises this in the episodes with the bullock team which undertakes abortive journeys and fails to reach a goal. Alton Locke was not without at least a hint of symbolism in the boy's apprenticeship as a tailor for after Sartor Resartus it was virtually impossible to discuss clothes without tacit acknowledgment of Carlyle's allegory (in fact Alton mentions this explicitly to the Dean at Cambridge[25]), but in The Story of An African Farm the symbolism of the waggon team has a deeper dimension which is almost mythic in effect. It is in this last job that Waldo's disillusionment spreads to himself. Previously he had begun to realize that the need for friends had become more important to him than his once-precious books; now the physical labour exhausts him until his mind is dead:

> If you have not felt it, Lyndall, you cannot understand it. You may work, and work, and work till you have only a body and not a soul.... Work is good, I have worked at the old farm from the sun's

> rising till its setting, but I have had time to think, and time to feel. You may work a man so that all but the animal in him is gone; and that grows stronger with physical labour. You may work a man till he is a devil. I know it because I have felt it.[26]

This physical exhaustion drives him to seek oblivion in brandy until he reaches the depths of self-disgust and foresweats it thereafter. Yet his feelings of compassion for animals are not dead, for the spectacle of his master's brutality to an ox failing from exhaustion, leads him almost to kill the man. Nor is his sense of beauty dead; he comes to feel for and love the sea and its moods. Tantalizingly brief as is this glimpse of Waldo's working life, its insights nevertheless ring more honestly than does Butler's facile glorification of hard work as being essentially uplifting in itself. Waldo's situation is not unlike that of Alton Locke in the tailor's den, but his response to this environment is characteristically different. Whereas Alton is stirred to thoughts of revolt against his masters, and scorn for his companions, Waldo accepts his lot with a resignation which is basically fatalistic, and which h as been foreshadowed, in his boyhood, by his tolerance and forgiveness of Bonaparte's atrocities. Characteristically his last employment is the simple but useful one of carving a table for Em at the farm where he had begun his journey.

Butler's attitude to work is ambivalent in <u>The Way of All Flesh</u>. In theory, Old John Pontifex demonstrates the perfect vocation - a combination of handicraft skill and aesthetic pleasure is the dual reward of the carpenter who makes organs for his own satisfaction; at the opposite extreme is George Pontifex, whose career as a publisher, like his own character, stands for hypocrisy, opportunism, and a general remoteness from the springs of real life and feeling, being as second-hand as his impressions of Europe. Theobald, as might be expected, is a pale shadow of George, but even less effectual; his ambitions are less strong (and therefore less unscrupulous) than

his father's, though Christina exerts considerable pressure, and he is as conscientious as he knows how to be amongst parishioners who "would have been equally horrified at hearing the Christian religion doubted and at seeing it practised". [27] After his initial hesitance about a clergyman's vocation, Theobald is not plagued by doubts like Mark Rutherford, but he does experience a similar ennui, occasioned by the very circumstances of the minister's routine:

> He knows that he is doing his duty. Every day convinces him of this more firmly; but then there is not much duty for him to do. He is sadly in want of occupation. He has no taste for any of those field sports which were not considered unbecoming for a clergyman forty years ago.... Study, to do him justice, he had never really liked, and what inducement was there for him to study at Battersby? ... True, he writes his own sermons, but even his wife considers that his forte lies rather in the example of his life (which is one long act of self-devotion) than in his utterances from the pulpit. [28]

The depths of futility which Theobald's life plumbs, are displayed in his morning occupation - as pathetic, and as potentially deadening, as Mr. Casaubon's very similar life's work on the key to all mythologies - for

> he cuts little bits out of the Bible and gums them with exquisite neatness by the side of other little bits; this he calls making a Harmony of the Old and New Testaments. Alongside the extracts he copies, in the very perfection of handwriting, extracts from Hede... Patrick, and other old divines. [29]

Theobald's seriousness, pretension and derivativeness lose nothing in Butler's matter-of-fact relating (a style which emphasises the sheer irrelevance of Theobald's occupation by the stress on his "exquisite neatness" and "perfection of handwriting". Yet all would be harmless

enough, were it not for the effect on Theobald's relationship with his family - something of which we have already seen in discussing Ernest's upbringing. In practical terms the worst effect is the simple fact that, having nothing else to do all the week, he is seldom out of the house; this is the other side of the coin from Mark Rutherford's days of monotonous introspection. Then there is also the habitual bad temper on Sunday evenings:

> Whether it is that they are as much bored with the day as their neighbours, or whether they are tired, or whatever the cause may be, clergymen are seldom at their best on Sunday evening...[30]

Hale White's picture of the ministry so heavily overlaid with personal and emotional experience that, although we may see, with reasonable clarity, that Rutherford's unfortunate experiences in that profession arose almost entirely from a combination of the particular circumstances of the clergyman's calling, and his own psychological makeup, the analysis is never as clear and decisive as Butler's - because Butler's observations of the ministry were from the outside and therefore more detached. Butler was not ordained because he chose not to be; Hale White was not permitted to be, and his consequent bitterness is apparent, while Butler's cynicism and satire of the ministry lacks any such personal animosity.

With his father's pernicious example before him, reinforced by his own unfortunate experiences of proselytising, Ernest renounces the clergyman's vocation without a backward glance and proceeds, exulting in his new freedom. The time he spends as a clothes dealer teaches him more about life and the process of earning a living, but in Overton's eyes it scarcely offers him fulfilment. Ideally he should, as his aunt Alethea had hoped, return to carpentry, with particular emphasis on organs, but he finally admits that such an apotheosis is not for him, "drawer of water" as he is; the most

creative undertaking he dare hoped for is writing, meanwhile endeavouring to confer higher advantages upon his children, who may aspire to be bargemen.

This sequence, of Ernest's sojourn in the second-hand shop is one of the weakest in the book, partly because Butler's didactic glorification of the intrinsic value of hard work lacks conviction, and partly because we see the deus ex machina, Overton, hovering ready with Alethea's money to put an end to this formative experience whenever it should become too uncomfortably dull, and give Ernest all the advantages of a baby Sphex wasp. Moreover, there is still Towneley's decisive "No!" to Ernest's smug question whether he does not prefer poor people,[31] Overall, Butler gives us little reason for eulogising the work of the poorer classes, unless it be the fact that they are forced to display ingenuity in the mere struggle for survival. Ernest, in this situation, at least learns the value of money and how to use it to maximum effect - a lesson which, as we have seen, he considers the cornerstone of a good education. Apart from this, all he learns is to relax those moral standards which have been inculcated during his childhood and without his comprehension, and to espouse a pragmatic relativism which is, as Raleigh has shown, not very different from the life of the nineteenth-century costers described by Mayhew:

> ...freedom, or neglect, for children, an early exodus from the parental domain, no tie to formal religion, or formal education, impudence, in general, about the sacred cows of the middle class, a wholesale rejection of the idea of "respectability", an overall anarchism, and a belief in the instincts.[32]

With The Way of All Flesh, the question arises whether Butler is not sacrificing truth to wit; whether his undoubted insights into the fading functions of the clergy in a materialistic age, and the need for a craft allied with aesthetic potential and self-respect,

such as he shows briefly in old John Pontifex, have not become clouded over by his shifting point of view, and his desire for avant-garde satire in his criticism of society. He is more successful in showing the negative value to George and Theobald of their professions, than in elaborating any positive scheme for Ernest. Here, too, Overton, languid and Butlerian ideal as he is, is a liability to the theoretical code Butler wishes to promulgate, for he too is a writer, graceful and at ease, almost a Towneley, yet he does no real work and faces no real difficulties in life. This is another case where Butler's positive ideas succeed, when they do succeed, not on their own merits but because the contrary values are shown to be conspicuously bad, for, characteristically, in all his books Butler decries more effectively than he affirms.

Chapter VI: Notes.

1. Frederick Nietzsche, The Joyful Wisdom #356, quoted by R. Pascal, in Design and Truth in Autobiography (London, 1960), p. 15.
2. J.A. Froude, The Nemesis of Faith (London, n.d.), p. 5.
3. Alton Locke, chapter 2, p. 20.
4. ibid., chapter 7, p. 63.
5. ibid., chapter 20, p. 147.
6. ibid., chapter 20, p. 150.
7. Charles Kingsley, Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays (London, 1889), chapter viii, p. 91.
8. Alton Locke, chapter 10, p. 84.
9. T. Hughes, "Prefatory Memoirs", quoted by L. Cazamian, Le Roman Social en Angleterre (1830-1850) (Paris, 1903), p. 502.
10. See J.A. Froude, op. cit., p. 5.
11. The Autobiography, chapter 2, p. 12.
12. ibid., chapter 7, p. 103.
13. J.A. Froude, op. cit.
14. Mary Ward, Robert Elsmere (London, 1889)
15. The Autobiography, chapter 7, p. 96.
16. The Deliverance, chapter 8, p. 106.
17. See, e.g. The Autobiography, chapter 9, pp. 129-131.
18. James Thomson, "The City of Dreadful Night", first published 1874.

19. M.L. Cazamian, Le Roman et les Idees en Angleterre: l'influence de la Science, 1860-1890 (Strasbourg, 1923), p. 268.

20. The Autobiography, chapter 7, p. 97.

21. Mary Ward, op. cit. pp. 470 and 510.

22. The Autobiography, chapter 2, p. 20.

23. ibid., chapter 4, pp. 41-2.

24. William Hale White, The Aberdeen Herald April 4th., 1863.

25. Alton Locke, chapter 17, pp. 138-9.

26. The Story of An African Farm, chapter 11, pp.234-5.

27. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 15, p. 64.

28. ibid., chapter 16, p. 67.

29. ibid., chapter 16, p. 67.

30. ibid., chapter 22, p. 94.

31. ibid., chapter 57, p. 248.

32. J.H. Raleigh, "Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel", Partisan Review, XXV, number 2 (1958), p. 252.

CHAPTER VII.

FREE WILL AND DETERMINISM IN THE NOVELS.

In the last five chapters we have discussed some of the main formative principles which the novelist showed as influencing the lives of their characters, and which were therefore, with the exception of the inner self, deterministic in their effect on those characters. What we now need to examine is how far this may have been intended by the authors to imply a kind of determinism at work shaping the wills of people, and whether the changes in character are brought about in a linear progression, like the lessons which Jane Austen's heroines learn, or through moments of multiple choice which produce a radiating web of consequences.

E.M.W. Tillyard remarks that:

> For the Elizabethans, the moving forces of history were Providence, fortune, and human character. [1]

but whereas in the Gothic novel the last element was overshadowed by a stress on chance and the supernatural in the creation of the macabre, by the later half of the nineteenth century Providence and fortune were being elbowed out of existence by the claims of mechanism and "human character" was being interpreted in increasingly deterministic terms. It is natural therefore that the novelists of this period should have been concerned with this question of free will which the

claims of scientific determinism seemed to be undermining. Knoepflmacher writes:

> The Victorian clash of science and religion rekindled the age-old dispute over man's free will. Natural science pointed to a uniformity of cause and effect, and questioned the spontaneity of human will in a world seemingly dominated by the mechanistic forces of evolution.... Victorian thinkers could no longer echo Dr. Johnson's forceful assertion, "Sir, we know our will is free, and there's an end on't!" ... One of the first acts of the newly-founded Metaphysical Society was to poll its members on their individual definitions of "Will" .... To one camp, Will remained synonymous with conscious choice; to the extremists in the other, it became a function of matter, and thus wholly resolvable into psychological phenomena. [2]

Yet the clash of science and religion tended to obscure the fact that the issue was more complex than it seemed. The Darwinian theory, by making the chief mechanism of evolution a series of random variations, seemed to propose a universe which was dependent solely on chance, as distinct from the religious view of a universe governed by design - if not the mechanistic plan proposed by Paley and the teleologists, then at least a definite order of progression, watched over by a benevolent God. This dispute concerning the nature of the universe (whether governed by chance or design) led to another more specialized debate which greatly confused the issue and produced the chaotic and emotional inconsistencies apparent amongst even some of the best minds of the period. This new field of battle was the question of man's

freedom to choose. Free will and determinism in human affairs, are the correlatives of chance and design on the universal plane (since free will presupposes an element of chance, and determinism an overall design), but when we consider the assumptions on which the major novelists of the later nineteenth century worked, it seems that they very often tended to hold together the non-related pairs of the relationship; Hardy, for instance, presupposes a universe of chance and accident yet in it he sets characters who have little or no free will, being constantly thwarted and controlled by circumstances. The more usual situation in fiction, however, was a group of characters who were to a large degree free, situated in a universe which was not arbitrary, but progressing according to an overall plan (most often assumed to be "good", that is, "in man's interests").

The most probable reason for this anomaly lies in the implications of Darwin's theory, for while the original chance variations, which were the raw material for the Darwinian process, were inexplicable before the establishment of the study of genetics in the twentieth century and therefore seemed completely arbitrary, they were acted upon by the rigorous laws of natural selection governed by the joint arbiters of heredity and environment. It was this second stage of the process which, extrapolated to the human realm, seemed to many people to deprive man of the freedom of choice, and therefore, if this were held with rigorous consistency, of any moral responsibility.

It would, indeed, hardly be an exaggeration to say that the

problem of free will and determinism, arising from the claims of the physical sciences, and later supported by the trend of the biological sciences, was responsible for the emergence of psychology as a science at the end of the century. The problem was, however, discussed and illustrated by many of the novelists of the period long before any definite attempts towards a formulation of the problem were made by the psychologists. Thus G.H. Lewes, in his Study of Psychology (1879) comes to a wishful compromise between circumstances and choice, seeing human volition as "the abstract expression of the product of Experience; it is educable and becomes amenable to the Moral Law"[3], but he ignores completely any discussion of the nature of personality. George Eliot, on the other hand, throughout her novels, is searching for an expression of her concept of human life, in which the interplay of deterministic forces should not be allowed to eliminate the need for human responsibility and the sense of duty. Her "solution" was certainly more extensive than the conclusion of the Metaphysical Society that "if free will does not exist, we must and do act as if it did"[4] and since she, of all nineteenth-century novelists, came to the fullest and most explicit understanding of the principal issues involved, it will be a helpful standard of comparison to examine briefly her analysis and then see how far the other major nineteenth-century novelists, and in particular the five whom we are studying, approached her depth of understanding in this field or, for other reasons, repudiated her conclusions.

George Eliot was concerned primarily with problems relating to the conduct of the individual and its consequences, and with the criteria for right action. For her, determinism or destiny was an implacable system of consequences, and her novels show this again and again in different circumstances. In Adam Bede this is made explicit:

> Our deeds determine us, as much as we determine our deeds; and until we know what has been or will be the peculiar combination of outward with inward facts, which constitutes a man's critical actions, it will be better not to think ourselves wise about his character. There is a terrible coercion in our deeds which may first turn the honest man into a deceiver, and then reconcile him to the change. [5]

Projected from the individual to the social scene, it follows that the consequences of one action form part of the causes of another and that no centre of individual experience is isolated, but is rather a node in a network of relations involving the whole community. The universe is thus a complex unit of which all the parts are intricately related, and nothing is really isolable.

> There is no private life which has not been determined by a wider public life. [6]

So, too, past and future are implicit in the present, and any attempts by a character to break away from his past are an indication of moral weakness or even stupidity. Of all her novels Middlemarch, with its images of the scratches in the mirror aligned by the candle flame [7] to seem concentric, exemplifies this most explicitly, but the web

is there in the other novels also - Hetty and Arthur, Mrs. Transome, Bulstrode and Gwendolen Harleth all learn the impossibility of confining the consequences of their actions to themselves.

It is not a little ironical that George Eliot, who, like many other sensitive contemporaries, had turned away in disgust from the predestination doctrines of Calvinism, affronted by the injustice and "immorality" of a system which appeared to impute laissez-faire indifference to the Almighty, should have embraced a psychological determinism which seemed at first at least as amoral. This new determinism is, however, different in kind from the old. In Felix Holt, Middlemarch and Daniel Deronda, character has become destiny but, like J.S. Mill,[8] George Eliot refuses to make the step from determinism to necessitarianism - no character of hers is ever compelled to make a particular moral choice, for the "self" of the character is one of the factors determining that choice, and it is this "freedom", however small, which constitutes the element of human responsibility and duty. This is most apparent in The Mill on the Floss, where "duty" for Maggie has an almost Evangelical connotation, but it is no less true in Middlemarch where Dorothea's duty has come to mean not only duty to others but also the responsibility for the fullest development of her self. Yet in George Eliot's later novels there is always an uneasy compromise between happiness and discipline for her heroic characters, as epitomised in Dorothea's final happiness and the author's concomitant sense of the failure of an ideal.

While for many people determinism and the removal of supernatural intervention and sanctions, seemed to betoken an era of amorality, for George Eliot a deterministic universe was the only one consistent with morality. Iris Murdoch has described George Eliot's world as revealing that:

> The exercise of our freedom is a small piecemeal business which goes on all the time and not a grandiose leaping about unimpeded at important moments. The moral life, in this view, is something that goes on continually, not something that is switched off in between the occurrence of explicit moral choices. [9]

To present such a view, the novelist needs to show a dense web of circumstances which demand small, unconscious decisions whose effect is irreversible. Only if chance and coincidence are removed, therefore, is there any possibility of calculting infallibly the effects of one's actions, and hence of acting responsibly, that is, morally (for to George Eliot, as to Mill, the morality of an action depended on the consequences of that action, and a code was justified by its results). To believe in a capricious universe, where one's actions would not produce the most probable consequences, was a sign of delusion and of moral weakness - Arthur Donnithorne, Lydgate and Gwendolen Harleth all expect the improbable to occur in their own cases, and all are disappointed. Hence self-knowledge and intelligent action are vital if a character is to avoid committing thoughtless actions, each with its own train of dire consequences for himself and others. Her characters therefore, are shown as being in the process of attaining

self-knowledge and realization of their involvement with others (so Dorothea passes from the isolation of Casaubon's environment to a fuller involvement in the life of Middlemarch, and eventually to an awareness of the world beyond). For George Eliot then, free will, and moral responsibility in man actually presupposes a considerable element of determinism acting throughout the universe.

Whereas, in George Eliot's novels, this web of circumstances could sometimes become a strait-jacket, - it certainly is so for Lydgate and Bulstrode and even for Dorothea in Middlemarch, - for George Meredith determinism represents more the ebb and flow of possibilities, a chance to participate in one's own development. Darwin's theory seemed to inspire rather than depress him - man alone of the animals could use his powers of intellect and will to rule his senses and emotions. Thus man had the exhilarating possibility of allying himself with a total creative purpose, effective at all levels of development.

Hardy, on the other hand, came to see the universe as moved by blind chance, neither good nor evil, but amoral. Man is tossed helplessly in the sheer struggle for survival, in which resistance to the elemental forces brings only annihilation. Whereas Meredith exhorts man to co-operate with the Life Force, Hardy finds no such alliance possible, for although he asserts that chance is impartial, his novels clearly load the odds against his protagonists. His chains of coincidence do not merely trace the evil consequences of

thoughtless actions, as in George Eliot's novels, but thwart even the most reasonable of human plans. As Stevenson expresses it: "In Hardy, the deus ex machina has become a diabolus ex machina"[10]. Hardy's characters are no longer like the puppets of Vanity Fair, watched by an interested but helpless puppeteer; they are the pawns of "the President of the Immortals" who sports with impotent beings.

With the exception of Hardy whose characters are most often seen against the background of elemental nature, rather than the social group (Michael Henchard is unusual amongst Hardy's protagonists in this respect), the major nineteenth-century novelists saw determinism as operating for the most part in the inter-relation of character and society, and this clearly involves a psychological concept. It has, moreover, far more obvious implications for morality than a sheerly physical determinism, for it directly involves the element of will which, except in the scheme of a rigid Calvinist predeterminism, was traditionally the basis of Christian morality. It is particularly in relation to this factor of moral choice that it seems most relevant to consider the element of determinism involved in the five novels we are examining in detail.

In Kingsley's novels there is little discussion of psychological determinism as such, though in Yeast and Alton Locke the element of social determinism was, as we have seen, one of the important points in Kingsley's campaign for social reform. In this he was something of an innovator, but his strong Christian framework never wavered on

the question of the moral responsibility of the individual. It was for breaching this responsibility that he attacked Dickens, for he believed that Dickens's novels supported "a false ethical theorem", namely that:

> The man is not responsible for his faults. They are to be imputed to his circumstances. But he is responsible for, and therefore to be valued solely by, his virtues. They are to be imputed to himself. [11]

In fact this is an exaggerated view of Dickens' work.

In Bleak House, Dickens does not approve of those who are unwilling to help themselves where this is possible (Richard Carstone, who relies on his Chancery prospects rather than attempting to mend his own circumstances, is by no means endorsed), and always distinguishes between those who, like Jo of the same novel, are truly helpless and those who, though capable of self-help, are merely weak-willed.

This is very close to Kingsley's own position. His original, whole-hearted support of the working men's cause and of the Chartist Movement, became sharply modified during the 1850's, when he found that the workers were not prepared to co-operate with those who brought in legislation in their favour. Their appalling circumstances may have been thrust upon them, but Kingsley believed that they were not exercising the initiative and will which were in their power. Hence the stern reprimand in the preface "To the Working Men of Great Britain" (1854) appended to the 1861 edition of Alton Locke.

Within the novel, the young Alton gains little sympathy when he

begins to see himself as the pawn of circumstances, for there is a sound chain of moral consequences described by Kingsley in Alton's progressive degradation once he has given himself up to the impulses of social hatred. Thereupon Chartism becomes for him a violent force, an end in itself,[12] because his moral character is correspondingly weakened and he is thus unable to resist the temptations of vanity and of his senses.

This distinction between the pity, even sympathy, which Kingsley feels for the working men and the judgment which must nevertheless be passed on them, whatever their circumstances, is prefigured in the small vignette of Ellen's two companions in the garret room. Every sympathy is extended to the girl who prostitutes herself for survival and for feeding her helpless friend, but her means of doing so are equally firmly condemned through the mouth of the helpless Ellen herself.[13] Thus, for Kingsley, social determinism - a matter of one's circumstances - although acknowledged as a powerful influence which must have allowances made for it, can never be the primary consideration in morality, for there is always room for determination of the will to find a way which shall be consistent with Christian principles. Crossthwaite and his wife support themselves in circumstances of extreme poverty and degradation, without tarnishing their moral record, and Sandy Mackaye, like his model, Carlyle, never ceases to stress the importance of the individual's will. Only when the will becomes weakened by corruption, does the force of circumstances become over-

whelming and sweep the individual along, as the vacillating Alton is swept along to the rick-burning.[14]

Kingsley takes little or no account of psychological determinism, partly, perhaps, because he himself lacked the quality of introspection necessary to consider such a factor but partly, too, because, as Blinderman[15] has shown, his Christian principles were more orthodox than Huxley and others suspected, and he believed firmly that human welfare was founded on conscience, in a universe operated by the Christian God. A transcendentalist at heart, Kingsley repudiated the Darwinian stress on accident, and proclaimed instead the doctrine of an immanent ever-working God. It is undoubtedly an intended illustration of this divine justice ever at work in the affairs of men, that George should die from a fever contracted through the medium of his expensive clothes from the disease-ridden tailors he has chosen to ignore.[16] It is also typical of Kingsley's ambivalence that, while holding firmly to the importance of material welfare for the fullest development of the personality, and being himself so deeply involved in the movements of contemporary science and the wonders they revealed, he nevertheless found it necessary to write to Huxley repudiating the primacy of matter:

> If you won't believe my great new doctrine (which, by the bye, is as old as the Greeks,) that souls secrete their bodies as snails do their shells, you will remain in outer darkness.[17]

Perhaps Kingsley himself was aware of this ambivalence, for he described

himself as "a mystic in theory, and an ultra-materialist in practice."[18]

The three decades from the publication of Alton Locke to the Autobiography of Mark Rutherford showed a growing preoccupation with introspection and self-analysis which is immediately apparent in any comparison of the two novels. The battleground of determinism, as it were, has moved from the physical to the psychological, the former having been tacitly ceded to the deterministe. In the Autobiography, the force of physical conditions is not questioned; rather, it is irrelevant, for the main points at issue are those of the mental state. Like George Eliot, Hale White has concentrated on the question of psychological determinism - the individual in relation to his social environment - but while the web of circumstances is undoubtedly suggested, it is much less convincingly portrayed than in George Eliot's novels for the plot mechanics lean rather too heavily on chance. Hale White thereby destroys the impact of a gradually built-up sequence of inevitable consequences, by which George Eliot demonstrates, in the very technique and structure of her novels, the philosophy which she is expounding. Thus, in the Autobiography and the Deliverance, characters made disconcertingly neat appearances when required to illustrate a point - the advents of the Misses Arbour, Miss Leroy, Clem Butts, and even Ellen herself, have no convincing place in a scheme of causation, and at times give the appearance of having been dropped there by some deus ex machina when they are required to furnish a moral lesson.

Despite these unfortunate and misleading impressions, however, Hale White is concerned to stress the importance of human will in the choice of action and in the resultant formation of character. This is part of his doctrine of the value of the commonplace and the dignity of the common man. In Hale White's conception of life, character is formed by action (which is ultimately the result of free choice), and not merely by the imprint of circumstances. Therefore his characters are shown as striving to attain some end, even if this is only integration into the peaceful round of the community, and their continued striving after this end is the cause of their development. In this connection Hale White himself wrote that a novel "ought to have movement. I do not mean movement to a catastrophe, but that the portrait of the heroine ought to develop and gradually complete itself".[19]

This is obviously the view which Shapcott also endorses, for his chief criticism of Rutherford is the latter's lack of will and decisive action. He is blamed for not escaping from his situation, yet ironically, our previous discussion of some of the factors intellectual and moral, which influence character-development in the novel has pointed to a psychological determinism more extensive than Hale White himself seems to have realized. The force of Rutherford's religious upbringing at home and at theological college, and the consequent environment which his profession as a minister involves, reinforce, even if they do not cause, the peculiarities of character which make for enervation of the will and isolation from society; his morbidity and self-torments

arise in a large measure from a causal network of conditions which he could not well have modified by his own efforts. Rutherford himself blames his lack of decision and of will-power:

> I have at my command any number of maxims, all of them good, but I am powerless to select the one which ought to be applied. A general principle, a fine saying, is nothing but a tool, and the wit of man is shown not in his possession of a well-furnished tool-chest, but in the ability to pick out the proper instrument and use it. [20]

but we have already seen how much this same will-power has been weakened by circumstances. It is as though Hale White, like his creation, Rutherford, is unable or unwilling to acknowledge the real forces which his contemporaries understood as signifying a psychological determinism, and side-stepped the real issue by blaming a character for his lack of will without asking <u>why</u> his will was weak. Like Shapcott, White seems to want to accept what is, without asking too many questions. Shapcott moralizes fatalistically:

> One fourth of life is intelligible, the other three-fourths is unintelligible darkness; and our earliest duty is to cultivate the habit of not looking round the corner. [21]

Ironically this is the exact opposite of the advice which Grey gives to Robert Elsmere at a similar stage of his pilgrimage from orthodoxy to a hard-won liberalism; Grey affirms his trust in the pursuit of the Truth wherever this may lead, in St. Augustine's words:

> Commend to the keeping of the Truth whatever the Truth hath given thee and thou shalt lose nothing.

and again:

> God is not wisely trusted when declared unintelligible.[22]

Unfortunately, Hale White has too much of "Rutherford" in his own personality, and the Autobiography, however little it is acknowledged as such by its author, is in fact a vivid illustration of the forces of psychological determinism shaping a character. Only once is this stated explicitly in the novel, when Rutherford tries to define the attraction he feels for Mary Marden:

> I thought I chose Mary, but there was no choice. The feeblest iron filing which is drawn to a magnet would think, if it had consciousness, that it went of its own free will. My soul rushed to hers as if dragged by the force of a loadstone.[23]

We are told repeatedly both explicitly and by implication that Rutherford should have acted differently; but at hardly any point are we shown him confronted with a number of real possibilities. Always one of the "choices" is closed to him: - Mary rejects his proposal, the congregation rejects his overtures of friendship and social concern - and our overall impression of him is one of passivity in the face of circumstances.

In The Story of an African Farm there is a great deal of implied determinism surrounding the characters, a determinism which, like that of Hardy's chance-governed universe, is artistically stressed by the immensity of the elemental background against which the characters are described. Unlike Rutherford, they do not lack will and

aspiration, but their spirits beat helplessly against the barriers imposed by society. This is particularly so for Lyndall, who, like her author, suffers from the additional disadvantage of having been born a woman in a man's world - a disadvantage which she did not choose and cannot surmount (unless we think that if she is unable to accept and vindicate her womanhood, she might, like Gregory Rose, virtually change her sex at will) and for which she bitterly uses the image of branding, so vivid and terrible does it seem to her:

> One thought stands, never goes - if
> I might but be one of those born in
> the future then, perhaps, to be born
> a woman will not be to be born branded.[24]

Waldo too, strives and is crushed - by the superior power of Blenkins, or by the succession of soul-destroying jobs he takes; but hardly ever does Olive Schreiner seem to see her characters as being responsible for their actions, in the sense of choosing one course from among several possibilities. There are no great moments of moral choice, but rather an ebb and flow of circumstance and opportunity, an arbitrary relativism. Characters appear and disappear as though in a dream, bringing, like Waldo's and Lyndall's Strangers, a sudden flicker of illumination which comes to nothing decisive, or bringing, like Blenkins, a passage of horror equally abortive. Olive Schreiner explicitly discusses this in the preface to the second edition of the novel, in relation to the arbitrary appearance of characters as distinct from an orderly stage presentation:

> There is another method - the method of the life we all lead. Here nothing can be prophesied. There is a strange coming and going of feet. Men appear, act and re-act upon each other, and pass away. When the crisis comes, the man who would fit it does not return. When the curtain falls no one is ready. When the footlights are brightest, they are blown out; and what the name of the play is no one knows.[25]

This is unmistakeable a poetic expression of an arbitrary universe, not itself determined by any apparent plan but, it seems in the novel, acting deterministically on the lives of the characters. The anomaly is perhaps less obvious than in the novels of Hardy, where the supposedly arbitrary system seems disproportionately adverse to the characters, for in The Story of an African Farm chance encounters are not always destructive of the protagonists' aspirations - thus Waldo's Stranger forms as valuable a step in the boy's development as Blenkins's equally chance arrival marks a thwarting of the boy's hopes for his invention. So too, the meeting of Rose and Lyndall before the former's marriage to Em, brings sorrow for Em but comfort, of a sort, for Lyndall. This is far more consistent with a thorough-going belief in chance than Hardy's relentlessly diabolic system.

On the level of the individual character however, Olive Schreiner is closer to Hardy and Tolstoy than to George Eliot or Henry James, who rely on central moments of moral decision. Barbara Hardy has described Tolstoy's characters as:

> Moving inevitably on their course, without being solicited by clear alternatives.... There is the implication of choice, of course,

> but it is given no emphasis. Anna could choose to renounce Vronsky... but we do not see her in conflict. We see her choosing unconsciously, with little debate.... Tolstoy is a marvellous recorder of this kind of drifting where the uneventful moment, not the spotlit crisis of choice, determines the future. We see a slow accumulation of events, not a succession of moral crises. [26]

In The Story of an African Farm there is a similar "slow accumulation of events" without anyone's appearing consciously to have chosen them, a sense of inevitability. There is no one moment when Lyndall might choose to set out on her quest or not: she has "always" been determined to go; there is no one event which drives Waldo to leave the farm (although the Stranger's parable might be seen as an added incentive, it is not shown as being decisive); Lyndall's attitude to marriage - whether with her Stranger or with Rose - is typical of her avoidance of binding decisions, and of her unwillingness to become involved deeply in any situation, physical or emotional.

There is, however, another side of determinism, apart from the terrible and the constricting, and Olive Schreiner recognizes this too - the beauty and reassurance of an underlying order in the world. It is not spelt out closely in the story, but it is emphasised in the bridging chapter, "Times and Seasons", as the one ground left for belief - and sanity - in a God-less world:

> Whether a man believes in a human-like God or no is a small thing. Whether he looks into the mental and physical world and sees no relation between cause and effect, no order but a blind chance sporting,

> this is the mightiest fact that can be recorded in any spiritual existence. It were almost a mercy to cut his throat, if indeed he does not do it for himself.[27]

And again, when the representative children first discover the similarity of branching pattern in blood vessels, tree, mineral vein and water course, they ask:

> How are these things related that such deep union should exist between them all? Is it chance? Or are they not all the fine branches of one trunk, whose sap flows through us all? ... This thing we call existence; is it not something which has its roots far down below in the dark, and its branches stretching out into the immensity above, which we among the branches cannot see? Not a chance jumble; a living thing, a One.... Nothing is despicable, all is meaning-full; nothing is small - all is part of a whole whose beginnings and end we know not ... and we begin to live again.[28]

Clearly this view of life and the universe is not consistent with the view, previously quoted from the preface, of an arbitrary system which lacks any apparent meaning. It may be that Olive Schreiner's own pessimism led her to the ambivalent view of an arbitrary and meaningless universe which nevertheless seemed bent on frustrating the aspirations of helpless individuals, while her aesthetic appreciation of natural beauty led her to complicate the inconsistency with the concept of an underlying order at work in the universe. When we examine the implied argument in the passage just quoted, we find that it is basically illogical. The hypothetical children argue from a similarity of appearance to a similarity of cause and function

which is not a valid extrapolation. The examples of inanimate branching (the metal veins in the rocks, and the water flow from the dam) result from the principle of an energy flow taking the line of least resistance, while the organic examples, (the blood vessels, the beetle's antlers, and the tree) result from the system most efficient for rapid diffusion, irrespective of the resistance of the medium. It is, of course, possible that Olive Schreiner herself is aware of the children's inconsistency, and this would lead to an additional level of irony - the children's naïveté in imagining an order ("the thought gives us intense satisfaction, we cannot tell why"[29]) - where none exists; but there is little evidence to support this possibility for the chapter does not go on to show a subsequent disillusion with this idea, such as the children experience when they outgrow earlier beliefs. It seems more reasonable to assume that Olive Schreiner was not aware of the extent of her inconsistencies and that they arose and were expressed rather as an emotional response to the world. In her later novel, From Man to Man (1926), she portrays a girl, Rebekah, a student of botany and geology, who, having studied Darwinism as fully as possible repudiates the law of natural selection as the governing principle of the development of life, and asserts instead the law of love:

> Through all Nature, life and growth and evolution are possible only because of mother love. [30]

Rebekah's is a similar non-sequitur to that of the children in The Story

of an African Farm (though it may not be untrue merely because it is irrational) and seems to imply a corresponding response in Olive Schreiner herself - so overwhelming a desire to see an order and design that order and design seem in fact to exist.

In Butler's novel, as we have seen in the preceding chapters, there is an extremely comprehensive awareness of the potentially deterininstic factors brought to bear upon the individual, both pre-natally and during his development to adulthood. There is scarcely an aspect of heredity or environment which Butler leaves unexplored in his relentless efforts to incriminate the human agents of this determinism. Yet, despite this thoroughness, Butler was not a complete and rigid determinist. He had, as we have noted, repudiated the Darwinian theory chiefly for its reliance on chance as a universal principle, and this he considered immoral (it is quite probable that the card-playing in which Christina and her sisters indulge as a means of deciding Theobald's fate amongst them[31], is intended as a veiled satire on the Darwinian system of selection); but hisalternative was never a rigid determinism. Rather, he believed that there was an order and progression in creation because every entity was part of a whole, a One, which was itself the process. In his Notebooks he wrote:

> By religion I mean a living sense that man proposes and God disposes.... To be at all is to be religious, more or less. There never was any man who did not feel that behind this world and above it and about it there is an unseen world

> greater and more incomprehensible than any he can conceive. [32]

This system he apparently thought compatible with a considerable degree of freedom, for the whole moral of The Way of All Flesh resides in the fact that Ernest can and does choose to break through the bonds of a deterministic heredity and upbringing and exercise his own will.

It may be argued that there are some crudely-tailored coincidences in the novel: John appears fortuitously to free Ernest from his supposed marriage-bond with Ellen, and Overton hovers like a benevolent puppeteer ready with Alethea's money to extricate Ernest from any major difficulties. Undoubtedly these are weaknesses in the construction of the novel, but they are not intended to reflect a vacillation on Butler's part towards the question of chance, and, overall, they do not have such an effect in the novel.

Thus Butler, believing like the Romantics in individual freedom and consequently hating all false forms of authority and restraint, particularly when they masquerade as father figures (fathers, schoolmasters, priests and judges), adopts a position in the controversy which is not unlike that of George Eliot - determinism or design on the universal scale, but considerable freedom for the individual to choose how he will act in the human scene. There is, however, a vast difference in their attitudes to the morality which is contingent on the fact of free will, for whereas George Eliot, like Arnold and Pater amongst her contemporaries, appeals to consciousness and self-

knowledge as the responsible person's guide to right action, Butler professes to by-pass knowledge and appeal to the irrational unconscious as a moral arbiter. In fact, although Butler almost certainly did not intend it, he thereby introduced yet another strand of determinism into the web already enmeshing Ernest, for, in twentieth-century psychology, the debate over free will and determinism has tended to centre upon the unconscious as the one stronghold of freedom still possible in a world where physics, genetics, biology, education and sociology seem to disclose an ever-increasing number of deterministic forces. Butler, however, was blind to this implication, probably because he held that the unconscious self was unfailingly "good" and right, while believing with equal fervour that determinism in any form was wrong, and therefore that any similarity between them was unthinkable. Moreover, as the "Book of the Machines" in Erewhon[33] shows, he thought of determinism as a mechanistic and inorganic force[34] which could only degrade humanity, while he conceived of the unconscious as part of a thoroughly elevating and essentially vitalist process.

In Edmund Gosse's novel, there is little real account taken by the author of determinism as a universal system. We are shown the forces which can mould a child, but we are also shown that they can be repudiated if the child's will is sufficiently strong. There seems to be little recognition of the possibility that such strength of will may itself be the product of environment and upbringing. Rather, the child's rebellion is shown as arising from within himself,

and as being alien to the background. Nevertheless, the reader is tempted to see the boy's revolt as not inconsistent with the Father's character - the latter's dogmatic literalism and tenacious following of the course he has set himself differ in content, but not markedly in kind, from the boy's equally firm departure from the ways mapped out for him by others. Something of this the son does realize in his parents' efforts to preclude fantasy from his childhood lest it encourage untruth:

> They desired to make me truthful; the tendency was to make me positive and sceptical. Had they wrapped me in the soft folds of supernatural fancy, my mind might have been longer content to follow their traditions in an unquestioning spirit. [35]

However, apart from this minor comment early in the novel, there seems to be very little realization by Edmund Gosse of any determining influences which might have become part of the adult's character and which cannot be broken. This is partly responsible for the sense of rather superficial superiority in the author which alienated early reviewers[36] and still detracts from the novel today, even for sympathetic readers. In the "Epilogue" there is a tone of resentment, as of one who has been much injured while being unable to retaliate and also, ironically, a tone of self-satisfaction, even pride, in having been able to overthrow the forces which might otherwise have been so binding. The combined effect of these self-pitying and self-congratulatory tones is, for some readers, an overplaying of the case which can only decrease their potential sympathy.

It would seem, then, that none of the five authors holds consistently and rigorously to either side of the chance/determinism debate. With the exception of Olive Schreiner, they tend, like George Eliot, to see an overall order or universal plan at the same time as they wish to assert the fact of free will as a necessary basis for morality, but although none of them comes near the level of perception and analysis in George Eliot's novels, their apparent anomalies, albeit emotional in origin, may not be as great as they at first seem. They are, for example, not wholly inconsistent with Whitehead's formulation:

> I think that although in the final act we are so conditioned by unconscious previous thought that it looks automatic, as a matter of fact we have been determining that act by an enormous amount of rejection and selection. It all depends on what ideas are entertained and how we entertain them; some may be dismissed at once as horrible and repugnant, others dwelt upon as pleasant. After this rejection and selection has gone on for a sufficiently long period, the final act <u>is</u> conditioned, but we have had a large share in doing it.... The area of choice seems to exist between these antecedent determinants (economic situation, heredity) and the final, seemingly automatic act. But you can catch yourself entertaining habitually certain types of ideas, and setting others aside; and that, I think, is where our personal destinies are largely decided. [37]

Clearly none of the novelists we are considering has analysed his assumptions with such precision; one suspects that they merely wrote of life as they saw it in their own experience - an apparent mixture

of freedom and determinism - without George Eliot's analytic curiosity; Olive Schreiner, as we have seen, accepts both chance and determinism on the larger scale without any apparent awareness of the inconsistency, and all assume different principles at work on the universal plane from those operating in human affairs. But their very inconsistencies have made their novels more enduring than a wholly logical extremist position could have been. Perhaps, as Overton in a particularly Butlerian moment says:

> Extremes are alone logical; and they are always absurd; the mean is alone practicable and it is always illogical. [38]

Chapter VII Notes.

1. E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (London, 1943), p. 68.
2. U.C. Knoepflmacher, Religious Humanism and the Victorian Novel (New Jersey, 1965), pp. 106-7.
3. Quoted ibid., p. 108.
4. Quoted ibid., p. 113.
5. G. Eliot, Adam Bede (London, n.d.) chapter 29, p. 92
6. G. Eliot, Felix Holt (Edinburgh, 1901), chapter 3, p. 72.
7. G. Eliot, Middlemarch (London, 1959), Book III, chapter 27.
8. J.S. Mill, Utilitarianism (London, 1948).
9. I. Murdoch, "The Idea of Perfection", Yale Review LIII (1964), 373.
10. L. Stevenson, The English Novel (London, 1960), p. 388.
11. Quoted by A. Cruse, The Victorians and Their Books (London, 1936), p. 154.
12. Alton Locke, chapter 10, p. 85.
13. ibid., chapter 8, p. 69,
14. ibid., chapter 28, pp. 212-4.
15. CS. Blindermann, "Huxley and Kingsley", Victorian Newsletter, number 2 (Fall 1961), 25-8.
16. Alton Locke, chapter 39, p. 293.
17. C. Kingsley, Letters and Memories of the Life of Charles Kingsley, ed. F. Kingsley (London, 1879) volume II, p. 172.

18. ibid., p. 19

19. Quoted from the Letters by E.S. Merton, in "The Autobiographical Novels of Mark Rutherford", Nineteenth-Century Fiction, V, number 3 (December, 1950), 253.

20. The Autobiography, chapter 5, p. 58.

21. ibid., Introduction, p. x.

22. M.A. Ward, Robert Elsmere (London, 1889), p. 342.

23. The Autobiography, chapter 7, p. 97.

24. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter 4, p. 171.

25. ibid., Preface, p. 7.

26. B. Hardy, The Appropriate Form (London, 1964), p. 189.

27. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter 1, p. 133.

28. ibid., part II, chapter 1, pp. 136-9.

29. ibid., part II, chapter 1, p. 137.

30. O. Schreiner, From Man to Man (London, 1927), p. 210.

31. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 11, p.43.

32. S. Butler, The Notebooks, ed. H.F. Jones (London, 1918), chapter 22, pp. 346-7.

33. S. Butler, Erewhon (London, 1924), chapters 13 - 16.

34. In this he was not exaggerating very greatly Huxley's view of a mechanistic consciousness as expressed in Evolution and Ethics (London, 1947).

35. Father and Son, chapter 2, p. 20.

36. e.g., E. Cecil, "The Book on the Table", Cornhill Magazine (new series) XCVII (Jan. - June 1908), and the reviewers

quoted by E. Charteris, in The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse (London, 1931), pp. 305-6.

37. L. Price, Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead (New York, 1956), chapter 26, pp. 158-9.

38. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 69, p. 298.

CHAPTER VIII.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE CRITERIA OF MATURITY.

In the light of the preceding discussion of free will and determinism as forces implicit in the novels, it will be helpful next to consider the effect which the authors' views on this matter have upon their portrayal of character - that is, whether the protagonist appears to be basically active in his affairs or the passive pawn of circumstances. The most useful approach to this question would seem to be through a summarized study of the stages of development of the characters.

It is now almost universally recognized that the development of a child to adulthood follows approximately a three-step pattern. The first stage of dependence and acquiescence gives way to a period of rebellion and withdrawal from the society and it is in this phase, which coincides roughly with adolescence, that the generation-gap is most apparent. In most cases, this is followed by a synthetic stage of compromise, when the ideals which motivated the rebellious phase have become tempered by experience; those which retain their value are then welded into the conventional patterns of the social group, so that, ideally, the individual and his society are mutually benefited. This does not mean that the development follows a neat

pattern; on the contrary, there are false starts and regressions, so that the stages are not clearly separated for any individual.

We have already seen that the prevailing eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century opinion regarded stages one and two as having no validity in themselves, but rather as obstacles to be hastened over in the minimum time necessary to produce an adult. In general, as J.H. Miller observes,

> The Victorian novelists tend to assume that each man finds himself, from his birth, surrounded by a transindividual mind, identical with the words he learns. This mind surrounds him, permeates him, from the first day of his life to the end.[1]

That is to say it can only be a matter of time before, in this concept, the individual becomes smoothly integrated into his natural environment, the social consciousness. It was, as we have seen, Rousseau's contribution to stress the inherent value of every period of life for its own sake; however, we have seen too, that he tended to separate too rigidly the phases of development which he descried, and even to hold children back from their own impulsive progression until they had reached the chronological age he considered appropriate. It was George Meredith who first explicitly portrayed the folly of such rigid segregation into stages of development - Sir Austin Feverel's system breaks down at the point where he refuses to see that Richard has reached the stage of romantic affection and determination to achieve his object, although his father has not sanctioned it.

What we wish to examine now is how the five authors we are studying conceived of the spectrum of development, and what they considered as the motivating forces in the process - whether it was determined externally, or arose from within the child's and the adolescent's nature, for this will be a valuable means of assessing the realistic characterization of their developing protagonists.

Hans Sachs[2] has suggested that the basic matter of all fiction is the struggle between impulse and inhibition, and this is especially apparent in the struggle of the individual to attain a selfhood which shall include both independence from, and integration into, his society. Therefore, in examining the processes by which the five protagonists under consideration develop, we shall of necessity, be discussing also the criteria of maturity which the novelists, either explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously, are advancing.

The most obvious means of putting forward such an ideal is through the protagonist himself - by allowing him to reach a state of acknowledged perfection - but by the nineteenth century this method was largely rejected as being basically unrealistic. Perfection in the protagonist was replaced by the perfection of the protagonist's chosen hero, who was usually sufficiently remote not to endanger the realism and who, being seen through the credulous and hero-worshipping eyes of youth, retained the possibility of having sufficient undisclosed flaws to render him at least partly human if need should arise.

In Kingsley's novel, although the rebellious stage of Alton Locke's

development occupies the greatest section of the novel, the final ideal is obviously intended by the author as the climactic purpose of the book. Cazamian subtly implies this in remarking upon Alton's religious and social conversion «vers laquelle Kingsley l'a conduit.»[3] This however is not to imply that Kingsley treated the other stages lightly, as merely preparatory to a final Christian consummation. We are shown comparatively little of Alton in the stage of early childhood docility and acceptance, but there is a markedly realistic effect in the few vignettes through which Kingsley does present this period of the boy's life. Most striking, because it is also highly symbolic of the childhood state, is the picture of the boy walking through the London streets with his mother:

> ... a London walk, with my mother holding my hand tight the whole way. She would have hoodwinked me, stopped my ears with cotton, and led me in a string - kind, careful soul! if it had been reasonably safe on a crowded pavement, so fearful was she lest I should be polluted by some chance sight or sound of the Babylon which she feared and hated.[4]

Yet even in this early phase, when the boy's devotion to his mother and sister are paramount, there are already seeds of rebellion. At this stage Kingsley views them with remarkable insight, as emerging from the boy's own native impulse to find out and form his own decisions about whatever objects his curiosity alights upon. His own studies of the wildflowers and insects he finds are shown as leading him to moral decisions not imposed from without:

> At last I made up my mind, in the simple

> tenderness of a child's conscience, that it was wrong to rob them of the liberty for which I pined, ... and I used to keep them a day or two, and then, regretfully, carry them back, and set them loose on the first opportunity. [5]

It is from this habit of reaching independent conclusions that Alton questions the morality of the missionaries, the tenets of his mother's sect, and even the stipulations which his mother has issued regarding "print shops" and secular books. His rebellion is not a sudden thing, though it rushes to full force when caught up in the wider social rebellion of the Chartist Movement; on the contrary, Kingsley shows it as arising from within the boy and - an important emancipatory concept - even from impulses which are generally considered as beneficial and intrinsically good.

Just as the seeds of revolt are already present in the first stage, so Kingsley shows the foreshadowing of maturity throughout the long period of adolescent rebelliousness. From the start of Alton's career, Crossthwaite has been an indication of the goal - silent, serious, preoccupied, with a singular authority in quelling blasphemy and grossness by his own stern self-discipline. Set beside him, Alton's faults are all too manifest - impulsiveness, lack of self-control, lack of endurance which makes him prone to self-pity and to the wooing of luxury in the person of Lillian, and a certain anomalous pride in his background and in his supposed transcendence of that background. Yet Crossthwaite is too much part of the story to be endowed with

perfection; he, in turn, is countered and corrected by the figure of Sandy Mackaye, who sees the futility of mere political and institutional reform - "the possession of one-tenthousandth part of a talker in the national palaver"[6] - when it is unaccompanied by internal and moral reform.

Thus Kingsley produces a convincingly realistic hero-figure by the simple expedient of dividing the "hero-concept" amongst a number of characters. Mackaye and Crossthwaite are in turn reinforced by aspects of Dean Winnstay and Lord Lynedale and are eventually apotheosized in Eleanor, who does indeed come dangerously close to being the saint which Katie calls her, with a corresponding loss of realism. But even this is consistent with Kingsley's basic belief, symbolized in the "Dreamland" sequence, that man is perfectible.

In contrast to the popular concept of the adolescent as alienated from society, Kingsley uses the Chartist Movement as the very symbol for Alton's rebellious phase. It is because he becomes caught up in this political and social revolt that the boy's own personal rebellion proceeds so far. By this expedient Kingsley misses altogether the emergence of self-awareness and recognition of an inner self as the result of enforced loneliness (a causal relationship which we have remarked in the other four novels under discussion), but he gains a valuable expansion in the novel to a more universal level. While retaining the central interest of a single figure's development, he implicitly shows a similar development in the society of the period -

the parallel is emphasised by the defeat of the Chartist Movement contemporaneously with the subsidence of Alton's own antagonism - with the added suggestion that the Chartist Movement, in its militant form, was basically immature and adolescent in concept and tactics.

It is in the third stage, the synthetic, that Kingsley attempts to show the knitting together of all the different threads of the previous rebellion. Alton's initial religious revolt against a narrow sect had widened to political revolt, and insidiously the means of attaining an end had been shown to move towards force as the quickest, and perhaps the only, method of reaching the goal. The boy's shamefaced and regretful defiance of his mother's wishes had progressed to scarcely-veiled incitation of a mob to commit destruction, and eventually to willingness to participate in a violent armed rebellion.

In the synthesis proposed at the end, then, Kingsley puts forward the alternative of moral persuasion as being the only valid means of attaining a moral end - for it has been emphasised that the violent methods of the Chartists had desecrated their original purpose until it was unrecognizable. This principle of moral persuasion is then shown as producing its synthetic effect in both the religious and socio-political spheres - the areas where Alton has been most overtly antithetical. Basically it is the example of Eleanor which renders him receptive to the reasoned and persuasive logic of the Dean's theology, and to Eleanor's scheme of social reform.

Kingsley, however, is not satisfied with synthesis at this level of realism alone. His vision strives to embrace a cosmic dimension, and Alton's feverish dream sequence is both the symbol and the epitome of his synthetic aspirations. The dream, indeed, has a function in the novel not unlike the Palinode of Troilus and Criseyde in linking the individual and social with a universal thread of purposeful development. We have noted, in Chapter IV, that the dream sequence is introduced realistically and serves several functions already discussed in the development of character. But as a symbol of the synthetic view, and as herald of Alton's arrival at maturity - this intention is explicit in the words of the prophetess:

> "You went forth in unconscious infancy -
> you shall return in thoughtful manhood. ...
> You have learned what it is to be a man." [7]

- it is disappointingly neat, too all-inclusive for realism. We are not thoroughly convinced that the "solution" which Alton accepts has actually emerged from his own intrinsic development; rather, it seems imposed by a benignly propagandist author who now feels free at last to make explicit the real purpose behind his compositionary labours. Thus, however unintentionally Kingsley writes within the pre-Rousseauan tradition, seeing the phases of childhood and adolescence as meaningful only in relation to their final culmination in the adult. Like the Chartist Movement, whose value is shown as being less in itself than in the awareness of social responsibility which it elicits in others, Alton's adolescent period, extended though it is even into

nominal adulthood, is, in the author's intention, chiefly interesting as a prelude to propaganda. It is difficult to define why this is so; indeed the transition is admirably prepared for by Alton's illness which would naturally render him more susceptible to persuasion from his "saviour" Eleanor, Even the tone in which the novel is written, somewhat patronizing in many places where the young Alton's follies are described, can be realistically accounted for by the fact that it is supposedly written by the enlightened Alton, whose values are credibly those of Kingsley. Nevertheless, the impression remains that the conclusion is altogether too simple, and Alton's conversion too complete, for the open-ended realism which we have come to expect from the novel.

The contrast with Mark Rutherford's Autobiography strengthens this impression, for if Kingsley seems to propose too neat a solution, Hale White may be thought to indicate no solution at all, and to leave Rutherford in a state of abnormally-prolonged adolescence.

We have already seen that in Rutherford's case religion is the central motivating and formative force, and his development is portrayed in terms of the religious medium also. In the first or acquiescent phase, he accepts the religious influence which pervades his environment, prepared to abide by its criteria of approbation or disapproval. As with Alton Locke's childhood, this period is passed over briefly. The stimulus for transition comes, immediately, from outside the youth - his reading of Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads - but it quickly becomes

an integral part of his thought and ideology. Characteristically, its chief impetus is in the realm of religion. Even at this stage, the boy desires to effect some synthetic compromise between the new revelation and the old orthodoxy, but his efforts are repulsed and he is branded as a heretic. Thus in his case the isolation which we have come to think of as characteristic of adolescence is enforced in the first instance from without, though, as we have seen, its repercussions on his own psychology prolong and reinforce the alienation from within his own personality as well.

The period of alienation is, for Mark Rutherford, extended well into adult life, partly because it begins late, but also because the intensity of this period invades every aspect of his life, mental, physical and spiritual until it has become so much part of his personality that it is impossible for him, by a mère act of will, to rid himself of it. Instead, what we are shown are his own futile efforts to reach some synthetic and satisfying world-view as a basis for living, and the spasmodic and equally abortive efforts of a handful of other people to help him.

His rebellious phase, unlike Alton Locke's, is never decisive or vigorous. Although he lapses from Dissent and from Unitarianism, he never whole-heartedly joins the agnostics, never sinks into "absolute denial"[8] even under the attractive influence of Mardon, but retains a Puritanism of outlook, and a determination to continue seeking for a God in whom he can believe. His retention of his early

Calvinist ideas is seen particularly in his rigorous emphasis on a moral dichotomy pervading the whole universe, a dichotomy which is almost Manichaean in its intensity and in its acceptance of a devil-figure of evil.

Part of Rutherford's difficulty in coming to any satisfactory synthesis, arises from his basic distrust, even hatred, of compromise. We have noted already that Hale White himself despised Kingsley and the Broad Church Movement for what he considered their dishonesty in compromise. In the Deliverance, Rutherford, commenting on political differences, makes explicit his general hatred of compromise which he sees as basically a failure to face issues and to live at depth.

> What a mockery controversy was in the House! How often I have seen members, who were furious at one another across the floor, quietly shaking hands outside and inviting one another to dinner! ... Men who are totally at variance ought not to be friends, and if Radical and Tory are not totally, but merely superficially at variance, so much the worse for their Radicalism and Toryism.
>
> It is possible and even probable, that the public fury and the subsequent amity were equally absurd. Most of us have no real loves and no real hatreds. Blessed is love, less blessed is hatred, but thrice accursed is that indifference which is neither one thing nor the other, the muddy mess which men call friendship.

Ironically, the change which makes him finally open to a synthetic stage of development again, is a sudden realization that he has no right to expect happiness or fulfilment from life. Having once accepted this, he becomes aware of small joys and satisfactions

previously unnoticed because he had been expecting far greater rewards from life. Simultaneously his personality begins to change from the predominantly passivetowards the initiatory, for even though he never becomes fully and spontaneously original, he does become strong enough to undertake the measure of responsibility obligatory for a husband and father. This is the psychological change of mood which is basic to his transformation, but it has to be interpreted also in terms of his mental, religious, and sociological habits. His ultimate deliverance has already been foreshadowed in the Autobiography by the encounters with Mrs. Lane and the butterfly-collector, both of whom had tried to teach him (she implicitly and he explicitly) the danger of unanchored dreaming and speculation which cripples effort, and the acceptance of reality; but this, like Mardon's final words to him, "Learn not to be over-anxious about meeting troubles and solving difficulties which time will meet and solve for you"[10], has no real meaning for him until his own psychological resistance is overcome.

If we now consider the "solution" to life which he discovers, we find that it is primarily due to a psychological change, because although it must necessarily have a religious dimension in order to be acceptable in the life of one so religiously orientated, the theological insight attainted is comparatively slight - almost non-existent. It is summarised in the "Notes on the Book of Job", appended to the Deliverance, and involves basically a stoic submission as the only answer to his previous self-torment over insoluble problems. It

might be taken as deriving from Spinoza's Ethics - which Hale White himself translated, and certainly Spinoza's influence on him was strong, - but Rutherford's philosophy is far less positive than Spinoza's; it is hardly more than a grudging acceptance of the limitations of knowledge in the face of a transcendent God and a largely unknowable world.

This is not to suggest that he capitulates entirely to a world lacking in the ideals which he has been seeking for so long, but rather that, out ofhis acceptance of reality, he comes to see how the original dreams may be modified by reality while still retaining their validity, and so make some contribution, albeit more curtailed than he had previously hoped. This rethinking of his position comes, as we have seen, in Chapter III, as a result of his education in the face of the harsh reality of Victorian London, so that the stimulus is both external, as Drury Lane impinges upon him, and internal, as he realizes through this, the futility of his original idealistic impulses to transform life.

He comes to a Hegelian view of Christ as the perfect exemplar of human experience, and although this "human" religion produces no spectacular results, it nevertheless does lead to some small results in the lives of some inhabitants of Drury Lane.

In his career too, as we have seen, this stage produces no great orator or intellectual giant, but his new Stoic resignation, although at times bordering on escapism, nevertheless allows him to earn

sufficient to support his wife and her child.

An interesting facet of his changed attitude is shown in the "solution" of his marriage. The three stages of development have been repeated with respect to Ellen - at first it is a relationship of thoughtless acceptance on his part, followed by a repudiation of the girl for reasons which h e himself thinks theological but which are more basically psychological, since they result partly from his pride in alienation from the religious community, and partly from delight in his supposed intellectual superiority:

> I saw before me the long days of wedded
> life with no sympathy, and I shuddered when
> I thought what I should do with such a wife.
> How could I take her to Mardon? How could
> I ask him to come to me? Strange to say,
> my pride suffered most. I could have endured,
> I believe, even discord at home, if only I
> could have had a woman whom I could present
> to my friends and whom they would admire. [11]

This psychological factor in his rejection of Ellen becomes even more apparent when we consider the women to whom he does turn. They are all, in some way, more mature than he. Miss Arbour and Mrs. Lane are obviously mother-figures, but Mary Mardon with her calm self-possession, and Theresa, with her generosity and ready sympathy and, most importantly, one suspects, her ability to set right his mistakes, are hardly less so. Having repudiated Ellen with whom he would have had to form a relationship of equality, he turns hastily to Mary and Theresa, with whom he can retain a position of dependence. Now, in his new phase of compromise with reality and acceptance of limitation,

he is able to achieve a constructive relationship with Ellen. Hale White here preaches the salvation of married love as an acquired art, not as the Victorian romantic ideal of ready-made perfection.

> The two persons who love one another shall constantly present to one another what is best in them, and to accomplish this, deliberate purpose, and even struggle are necessary.[12]

It involves the emotions but, even more, the will. Rutherford had assumed that the failure of Miss Arbour's marriage with Hexton was due simply to a lack of emotional and intellectual compatibility, but in retrospect, it may equally well be seen as a lack of will by either partner, or both, to reach a viable relationship. A similar situation, which nevertheless evolves into a valuable state of rapport, is described in a later novel by Hale White, Miriam's Schooling. By marrying Ellen, Rutherford accepts the responsibility of supporting a wife - a role involving equality, or, as he tends still to think of it, superiority, rather than dependence.

Thus the passage of Rutherford's relationship with Ellen serves as an indication of his psychological maturity, however much this may be veiled behind theological scruples. There is a parallel development in the sequence of Hale White's own novels, for the change to female title characters in his last two novels represents a rephrasing of the author's basic question. The search for God has become a search for a human relationship which shall embody a divine element. Rutherford has trodden this same path:

> The love of woman is, in other words, a living witness never failing of an actuality in God which otherwise we should never know.[13]

Nevertheless, as Stock[14] has pointed out, Ellen complicates the "solution", and even opposes the philosophical results which Rutherford has so painstakingly reached, for her literal but sincere faith cannot be shrugged off with the blatant hypocrisy of the Water Lane congregation, and its results are at least as practical as his Stoic acceptance of a cheerless life.

The most important facet of Rutherford's deliverance, however, lies in his new urge to act, to do something however slight, in the face of need. Previously he had been a theorist, scarcely considering the need for action. Indeed, an interesting example of this, however unintended by Hale White himself, is the frequent use of literary taste as a criterion of character. Miss Arbour, who is highly endorsed by the author, is "a reader of all sorts of books", while her husband prefers a stuffed dog to books.[15] So, too, Mardon's room has a wall of books[16] and Theresa is involved in a publishing business[17]. But there is, later, an abrogation of this criterion and M'Kay is criticized for his intellectual gibes at his wife's lack of understanding[18]. Rutherford's new criterion of activism, although not of the same forcefulness as that of Kingsley and the Christian Socialists, finds expression in helping the others, few though they be, who come to M'Kay's Room. Stock[19] has pointed out that all these victims of society described in detail, resemble Rutherford himself,

as though he embodied his characteristic troubles in order to make them the test of his final affirmation. If we accept this interpretation of Stock, it provides an additional level of meaning in the novel, for, in a symbolic as well as in a very real sense, Rutherford, by helping these unfortunates, is helping to rehabilitate himself.

In discussing the goals towards which Alton Locke proceeded, we saw the importance of the hero-figure as a forerunner of the desired maturity. In the Autobiography and the Deliverance this is no less so. The figure of Mardon is taken by Rutherford as a standard, because he embodies several of Rutherford's cherished ideals; but his chief effect turns out to be iconoclastic rather than constructive. He is the morally-upright and aesthetically attractive figure of nineteenth-century intelligence, the intellectual counterpart of Squire Wendover in Robert Elsemere but infinitely more admirable; yet he is shown as emphasizing what cannot be believed rather than what can. In the Deliverance he is parallelled and countered by the figure of M'Kay who stands for the permanently valid inner meaning of those religious symbols which Mardon had rejected because of their offensive literal interpretation. It is M'Kay who introduces Rutherford to Drury Lane, where the inner meaning of religion is tested against grim reality and refined to its essence. He demonstrates pragmatically that Mardon's extremist scepticism is as invalid as Rutherford's former untried idealism, for although

> M'Kay's dreams were ... not realized, ...
> yet it would be a mistake to say that they

> ended in nothing, ... He did not convert Drury Lane, but he saved two or three.[20]

M'Kay is not idealized, however. He is not held up as a person of superior intellect, nor is he even as admirable morally, as Mardon, for Rutherford exposes in some detail M'Kay's attitude towards his wife, whom he treats in every way as inferior, his bearing towards her ranging from a patronizing determination to tolerate her, to bursts of exasperatjon when he feels tried beyond endurance. Thus his "heroic" qualities reside chiefly in his determination of will - the will to put into practice those ideals which he has retained as valid in the face of reality; but this is precisely the quality which Rutherford most lacks and thus, in however small a measure, he does gain some help from his experiences with M'Kay. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that Rutherford's "hero" should not be heroic; it is only to be expected that this would be the case in a book which stresses the value of the commonplace.

It has been suggested that Rutherford's "solution" is not a solution at all - merely an evasion of issues, a passivity in the face of circumstances and an escapism bordering on obscurantism, such as we have noted underlying the attitude of "Shapcott's" preface. If the story were left at the end of the <u>Autobiography</u> this would indeed be true, for as Shapcott comments:

> I find it very difficult to describe what the change was, because it was nothing positive into no sect, party, nor special mode.... Still, these things in a measure

> ceased to worry him, and the long conflict died away gradually into a peace not formally concluded, and with no specific stipulations, but nevertheless definite. [22]

However, the "Notes on the Book of Job" appended to the Deliverance tell us more about Rutherford's final position. The theme of the essay is the need for the acceptance of reality, (As with Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, and the Rutherford of Drury Lane) and this acceptance includes a proper appraisal of the place of reason in human life. The nineteenth century had tended to deify the power of reason, and in this light Rutherford's attitude seems to lack respect for the claims of the intellect; but both the Autobiography and the Deliverance are a testimony to the fallibility of reasoning. Rutherford's tortuous mental interrogations are, as we have seen, largely the result of his psychological state; Mardon's exclusive emphasis on rationalism is shown to be both a poor comfort and, in the light of M'Kay's experiment, only partially true. Rutherford's scepticism of reason, then, is not, like the theological college principals an affirmation of unreason, and anarchy, but results from a reasoned approach to reality in all its aspects and a consequent realization that not all experience is knowable and explicable, and that much of what passes for rationality is in fact only rationalization.

This much is obvious to the reader of the novels; the interesting thing is that it should have been obvious to Rutherford (or Hale White) for, as we have seen, there has been little hint in either the Autobio-

graphy or the Deliverance that Rutherford was aware of the psychological basis of his "decisions" and personal difficulties. Even after reading the "Notes on the Book of Job", it is problematic how much we are justified in reading back into the two novels this acceptance of a reality of which only one-fourth is knowable. If we do read the "Notes" as an integral part of Rutherford's development - and from Shapcott's introductory remarks it seems intended that we should - then Rutherford did in fact reach a level of self-understanding rare in nineteenth-century experience and certainly in the literature of the period. His resignation in the face of life may seem far removed from Carlyle's resounding "Yea", but it may be even more realistic and, if acceptance of reality be a criterion of maturity, even more mature.

Rutherford's development then, is much less an imposed thing than Alton Locke's; his maturity which, one suspects, would hardly be considered maturity at all by Kingsley, evolves much more from within himself for the sparks of his deliverance appear in flashes from the beginning of the Autobiography, needing only a suitable frame of mind to fan them into life.

When we turn to The Story of An African Farm, we feel the dissatis- of an unfinished story. Certainly the two principal characters have died by the end of the novel, but their lives remain unfulfilled and, for the most part, without enlightenment. Nor does Em's future hold out much hope for further development. What she learns in the chapter, "Waldo goes out to taste life and Em stays at home and tastes it", has

little basic effect on her. For most of the book she is frozen in the childhood state of acceptance and although she is practical and responsible, she never fully undergoes a stage of rebellion or a later synthetic understanding. She feels, before it is admitted, that Gregory no longer loves her; she understands and she suffers, but she suffers dumbly and helplessly like the child she wishes she could remain:

> I wish I could have been a little child always. You are good then. You are never selfish, you like every one to have everything; but when you are grown-up there are some things you like to have all to yourself, you do not like anyone else to have any of them.[23]

Despite this confession to Waldo, we never do see Em as other than the little child she longs to be. The epithet most frequently applied to her is "little", and even in the sequence describing her reactions to Gregory's proposal, when a girl should be expected to reach a degree of maturity, she is still "little Em", and her treasures are "little", eighteen times in six pages.[24] She remains gregarious in an uncritical acceptance of everyone, so that no relationship in depth is possible.

Lyndall, on the other hand, is shown exclusively in the mood of rebellion. Characteristically, when the children are first introduced, Em is asleep, and Lyndall is restlessly awake. We are never shown her in a state of childlike acquiescence, only one of scepticism and the rebellion associated with the adolescent phase and the concommitant preoccupation with self which, as we have seen, becomes for her almost a worship of self. This association of self-awareness with rebellion

and loneliness, which has been suggested in the Autobiography is here made fully explicit as a mutual cause-and-effect relationship. Yet although Lyndall seems never to have been a child she, together with Waldo, embodies an important feature of childhood, and one which was only rarely acknowledged in Victorian fiction. That is the grotesque distorted horror of the adult world as it appears to a child. Only Charlotte and Emily Brontë, and perhaps less subtly, Dickens, fully realized what barbarities lurked beneath the apparently smooth surface of Victorian domesticity for the child not as yet insulated from them by custom and the conventions of polite society. Lyndall and Waldo however suffer in full the sadistic tortures of Blenkins and the dealings of Tant' Sannie, against whom as is characteristic of the arbitrary world of a child, there is no court of appeal.

Lyndall never truly reaches the third stage of development, for she never learns the need for involvement with others in a relationship of mutual respect; she must either dominate or be dominated and she refuses to divulge her real self to others, even the one person whom she might have trusted, Waldo. In her scheme of values, where one partner of a relationship must be superior, she thinks Waldo less intelligent than he is; because he is comparatively inarticulate about his deepest experiences, she who places so high a value on verbal expression, considers him comparatively insensitive and merely derivative in his thinking.

Lyndall indeed does have a vision of a wider understanding - a

glimmering of what fulness of life might mean. Among her last words are these:

> I see the vision of a poor weak soul striving after good. It was not cut short; and in the end, it learnt, through tears and much pain, that holiness is an infinite compassion for others; that greatness is to take the common things of life and walk truly among them. That ... happiness is a great love and much serving. It was not cut short; and it loved what it had learnt. 25

But for her the vision is cut short; her soul never learns that infinite compassion. This is very similar to the story of Undine, whose whole life is one of quest but who also achieves nothing. Apparently Undine's aim is to serve others, and in so doing, to become a better person, but she, like Lyndall, finds solace only in death and is not perceptibly ennobled by her succour of others. It is again perhaps a result of the masochistic tendencies of the author who could herself see no possible solution to such a life except in death; but this point will be considered in more detail below.

Only in Waldo, then, do we see anything like a full maturity being attained after the experience of the earlier stages of development. We are shown very little of Waldo's childhood acceptance, but it is implied in the fact that his own questioning and testing of accepted truths shocks and surprises him, whereas for Lyndall such scepticism is the norm. Waldo's goals in life remain largely inexplicit even to himself, until they are voiced by others, whereupon he can see, with the force of a revelation, that these are his ideals

too. This is a new and complex concept which Olive Schreiner is endeavouring to express in the episodes of the books in the attic and of the Stranger's parable:

> All he read he did not fully understand; the thoughts were new to him; but this was the fellow's startled joy in the book - the thoughts were his, they belonged to him. He had never thought them before, but they were his.... So he was not alone, not alone.[26]

And, as the Stranger unfolds his parable,

> At every word the Stranger spoke the fellow's eyes flashed back on him - yes and yes, and yes![27]

Margarey has criticised Olive Schreiner's failure to effect a marriage between Lyndall and Waldo, implying that such a marriage would have achieved some consummation otherwise lacking in the novel:

> Where The Story of An African Farm does suggest, however, a lack of self-recognition in its author, is in its strange omission ever to explore what is very plainly, to the most unsophisticated reader, the principal tragedy of the book - the fact that Waldo does not marry Lyndall.[28]

This is a strangely superficial view to be put forward by a critic who, on the same page, states the obvious truth that Olive Schreiner

> recognized, to be sure, the German and English elements in her make-up, and projected them as Waldo and Lyndall.[29]

If this were so, and there is sufficient evidence that it is, then to effect a marriage between them could produce no real or satisfying solution. In none of Olive Schreiner's books is there a realized solution - only frustration. She was obsessed by the idea of a life-

long striving whereby the seeker would be ennobled and rewarded - Undine, the Hunter of the Stranger's parable, and Lyndall's vision quoted above are three obvious expressions of this quest, - but none of her characters achieves any such rewards, only frustration or death. Margarey seems to ignore the convictions which Lyndall herself has about marriage. Her refusal to marry her stranger is allegedly based on her high ideals about the married state, and Olive Schreiner was apparently annoyed when readers ignored this, for in later years she wrote to Cronwright:

> Because poor Lyndall who died when she was a child of seventeen, found out that she had made a mistake in her relationship with that man, and saved herself from turning into a life-long fornication and prostitution - therefore people seem to suppose that I was opposed to life-long and deathless marriage between the man and the woman. Because that poor little child of seventeen tried to make right her terrible mistake, and nobly refused to marry a man she did not absolutely love, I have had women of six-and-twenty write to me as if I could feel it right that they should form temporary unions. It was because Lyndall, small child that she was, felt what a sacred and deathless thing true marriage should be that she refused to save her reputation by binding herself forever to that man.[30]

Such are Olive Schreiner's alleged reasons for her treatment of Lyndall and they are, to a certain extent, a valid answer to Margarey's objections. Nevertheless, as we have seen previously in Chapter IV above, Olive Schreiner seems unaware of her excess of special pleading. Here the continual stress on the "small child" arouses our suspicions that the author is in fact deluded about Lyndall's nature because it

too closely resembles her own. Basically, it would seem that the real reason why Lyndall cannot, or will not, marry is not, as she thinks, her dedication to a high ideal of marriage, not even her imprisonment in self-preoccupation - these are merely rationalizations - but rather her inability to accept herself fully as a woman with all the limitations this involves, and particularly with the implications it has for an adult heterosexual relationship. She seems unable to accept any role other than that of the dominant partner, and therefore is unable to come to terms with any man other than one who, like Rose (the name is undoubtedly significant) unconsciously wishes to be dominated. Lyndall's relationship with Waldo is deep and intuitive, but it does not approach her ideals of marriage. Even when she outlines to him her ideals and he, wondering but agreeing, asks, "Why do you not try to bring about that time?", she feels that his devotion is not sufficient to sweep her out of the prison of self:

> I will do nothing good for myself, nothing for the world, till someone wakes me. I am asleep, swathed, shut up in self; till I have been delivered I will deliver no one. [31]

Therefore the only consolation offered to her and Waldo, if they are not to forsake their ideals is their awareness of an indestructible universal life of which they form a part. This is the same consolation as is offered to the mourners at Hardon's funeral in the Autobiography of Mark Rutherford:

> He then passed on to say that about immortality, as usually understood, he knew nothing; but that Hardon would live as every force in nature lives -

> for ever; transmuted into a thousand different forms, the original form utterly forgotten but never perishing. [32]

but it is peculiarly unacceptable in a novel the whole purpose of which has been to emphasize the importance of the individual life and to follow that individual's development from childhood to maturity.

Meintjes[33] suggests that Olive Schreiner's early rejection of her parents and religious environment fostered an over-whelming awareness of sin and consequent inclination to self-punishment which bordered on, and indeed lapsed into, masochism, both in her own life and in her novels, where the sadistic treatment accorded Waldo by Blenkins, and the scene of the tortured ox are as much directed against the author herself as against her characters. If this analysis of Meintjes is accurate, as indeed it seems to be, then it is more than possible that the abortive attempts of her characters to reach fulfilment and maturity, may be the author's punishment of her own obsession with the idea of a life of striving which should, ipso facto, ennoble the individual. It would seem then that the very autobiographical framework of the novel is what prevents its characters from reaching maturity. Their fulfilment can never be more than a fragmentary vision, a dream, a parable, because their author at the time of writing, was no further advanced, and her characters are not moulded upon mature, "heroic" figures, but upon herself. Thus the precondition for so much of the sensitivity and "truth" of the novel, is also the underlying cause of its frustration and failure. It is not open-ended, in

Forster's sense, holding out the possibility of a future development; rather, such a development is quite deliberately precluded by the unnecessary (to the plot) deaths of Lyndall and Waldo.

Before examining The Way of All Flesh which is so confessedly an autobiographical novel, it will be helpful to consider briefly the stages of Butler's own intellectual development. Of his early childhood we can only speculate that he was perhaps unusually eager to accept things at their face value, for his alarm and feelings of deepest dismay upon finding that all things were not as they seemed have been recorded by Festing Jones, who wrote of Butler's "expecting insides to correspond with outsides and feeling cheated when they don't".[34] Disillusioned by these youthful experiences, Butler embarked upon his adolescent phase by impugning religion, ethics, feelings, irrational traditions, and all habits which supported the social edifice; but then the fear of conforming with the growing body of scientific orthodoxy over-whelmed him, and he turned against the scientists and proponents of the new truth, until he finally evolved a new faith in which almost mystical elements were superadded to the findings of reason. Yet he was careful to ensure that this position should not align him with the Broad Church group, however much his own trend of thought might seem to place him there, and The Fair Haven is a bewildering series of disappearing fronts behind which Butler's real position (if there is one) is hidden.

Ernest's career follows a similar path. He begins with a whole-

hearted acceptance of his father and mother - he even tries, against all provocation, to love them; but Butler goes further than this - he posits the complete identity of the unborn child with its parents,[35] a degree of dependence previously unknown in literature.

Ernest then passes, as we have seen, to a stage of rebellion against his immediate past. This rebellion is not a sudden change, but the gradual hardening of an attitude which has appeared spasmodically, under duress, - as when his mother betrayed a forced confession and his father consequently caused trouble for Ernest's school-fellows; but already before this, there are signs of which even Theobald is aware:

> He is not fond of me, I'm sure he is not.... It is an unnatural thing for a boy not to be fond of his own father.... He shrinks out of my way whenever he sees me coming near him. He will not stay five minutes in the same room with me if he can help it. [36]

Ernest himself, however, does not yet realize his own antipathy towards his parents; in this Butler's insight is considerable. Not until much later, after his efforts to befriend Ellen and his father's discovery of the deceit, is Ernest aware of his own steadily chilling attitude towards his parents:

> Ernest, however, tells me that he looks back upon this as the time when he began to know that he had a cordial and active dislike for both his parents, which I suppose means that he was now beginning to be aware that he was reaching man's estate. [37]

For most Victorian authors this degree of alienation would be sufficient, but Butler is satisfied with nothing less than Ernest's

complete repudiation of his parents. This coincides appropriately with his rejection of his whole former life; it is his crossing of the Rubicon as he leaves prison:

> "Tell them," said Ernest, "from me that they must think of me as one dead, for I am dead to them.... say also that if they write to me I will return their letters unopened, and that if they come and see me I will protect myself in whatever way I can." [38]

This is the zenith of Ernest's revolt. Henceforth he treads the smoother path towards compromise and the Butlerian ideal of maturity. We have seen that, for Kingsley and Hale White, maturity involved a synthesis of dream and reality, but although this might mean a realignment of ideals, neither author would have admitted that the ideal should be seriously compromised. For Butler, however, the synthesis is, almost by definition, inconsistency, the ruthless slaying of all former ideals and values. Whereas in the traditional Bildungsroman the hero proceeds towards a final harmony with the world around him, all Ernest's experiences lead him towards a state of isolation. All the events which are intended to stabilize a youth in society - christening, public school, confirmation, university, ordination and marriage - are shown as leading progressively to Ernest's alienation from society until the experience of imprisonment, conventionally the nadir of any social curriculum and the ultimate condition for ostracism from the community, becomes the turning point in his inverted career. It is during his imprisonment that this Prodigal Son comes to himself in Butler's sense and begins to learn the Butlerian way of life.

Characteristically Ernest refues to accept that definitive position of responsibility, fatherhood. His ideal concerning this state consists, as we have seen, in the repudiation of all traditional paternal attitudes, even to the point of anonymity towards his children. By the end of the novel he has systematically abrogated all the Victorian implications of his name.

The ideal which Butler professes is non-involvement - a graceful alienation from all enthusiasms and a relativism of thought which precludes any participation. Ernest's heroes leave us in no doubt of this ideal. His self-selected hero, Townsley, is the epitome of those who have the grace to act by instinct - a criterion which, it is soon obvious, means primarily the elimination of effort from their lives.

This absence of effort underlies also Ernest's espousal of a Laodicean ideal in churchmanship, for he thereby avoids both the necessity to join any faction and the necessity to oppose anyone too vigorously. Ernest

> takes the sacrament duly once a year as a sop to Nemesis lest he should again feel strongly upon any subject. It rather fatigues him, but "no man's opinions", he sometimes says "can be worth holding unless he knows how to deny them easily and gracefully upon occasion in the cause of charity." [39]

Similarly, in politics,

> he is conservative as far as his vote and interest are concerned. In all other respects he is an advanced radical. [40]

This principle of non-involvement, then, coupled with the

Butlerian stress on physical attractiveness (Alethea, Ernest's children and Towneley, like the Erewhonians, are handsome, while Christina, Charlotte, Pryer, Badcock are not) constitutes the goal of maturity which Butler depicts Ernest as attaining. Karl[41] has criticised this end, maintaining that Ernest never does reach any real maturity, for he never supports himself - he is forever being rescued from any difficulties he incurs, and has his future assured through no merits of his own. This, however, is a value judgment imposed on the novel by Karl, for within his own schema Butler is, for the most part, consistent. His chief lapse is the unfortunate stress on the virtues of manual labour for its own sake throughout the book (through John Pontifex and Alethea), for as a criterion of maturity (Ernest's venture in the second-hand clothes shop) this proves to be unworkable and sheer romanticism. It is conveniently forgotten when Ernest acquires the means to support himself in unlimited leisure. We have already quoted Butler's remarks in vindication of "swells"[42] and this is the ideal held out to Ernest. What is important in this study of development is Butler's continual stress on development as the process of becoming. The Way of All Flesh is perhaps the first great Gestalt novel in the modern sense, for all Ernest's false starts, unconscious progressions, and conscious regressions, are fully intended as an expression of Butler's thesis that development is basically subconscious and can therefore only be hindered by the impositions of the super ego. This is why Ernest's revolt, which is an obligatory part of his development, being a throwing off of social values and traditions, is shown as

arising directly from his subconscious self, and for some time is not recognized at all by the conscious Ernest who tries to counter it.

The criterion of inconsistency, so shocking to the Victorian ethos of dedication and earnestness and almost equally distasteful to the twentieth-century with its stress on the need for social involvement, is not merely Butlerian wilfulness, but arises directly from his concept of growth and development as a process of continual accommodation to the situation:

> All our lives long, every day, and every hour, we are engaged in the process of accommodating our changed and unchanged selves to changed and unchanged surroundings; living, in fact, is nothing else than this process of accommodation; when we fail in it a little we are stupid, when we fail flagrantly we are mad, when we suspend it temporarily we sleep, when we give up the attempt altogether we die.[43]

Ernest's career may be seen, also, as exemplifying a whole period or, on a wider scale, as symbolic of the whole process of creative evolution, but while this wider context is undoubtedly present as part of the authorial intention, and adds solidarity to what might otherwise be considered merely the individual tale of a somewhat objectionable youth, it does not intrude on the realism of the novel, or detract from the story of Ernest the individual. This indeed, is one of Butler's innovations in the history of the Bildungsroman - that he is able to show us a person who develops through the usual phases of dependence, alienation and partial conformity, but who is also an integral part of the family and social organism. In most of the great English

Bildungsromane, - Wuthering Heights is the most noteworthy exception - the individual is characteristically considered in comparative isolation from his family, but Ernest and his background continually merge, interact, and repulse each other in what is, however unintentionally, a brilliant transposition to the social setting of the uncertainty principle of modern physics - that one cannot measure the existence of an object independently of its medium. "Unintentionally", however, is an assumption we are scarcely justified in making, for Butler himself was certainly not unaware of the implication of his thought. Indeed, he develops them explicitly in the novel after the passage, already quoted above, about accommodation:

> The trouble is that in the end we shall be driven to admit the unity of the universe so completely as to be compelled to deny that there is either an external or an internal, but must see everything both as external and internal at one and the same time, subject and object - external and internal - being unified as much as everything else. This will knock our whole system over, but then every system has got to be knocked over by something.[44]

Yet this passage contains also a hint of the novel's main flaw - its excessive neatness and delicately-balanced antithesis. It becomes a controlled experiment, more in the line of the educational novels of the eighteenth century than those which stressed realism of characterization as a primary aim of the novel. As the expression of a philosophical and scientific viewpoint, its brilliance is undeniable, but this is all too often at the expense (perhaps necessarily) of emotional realism of characterization.

To turn from The Way of All Flesh to Father and Son in this consideration is somewhat anticlimactic, for Gosse does not aim to achieve the scale of reference which Butler requires for his examination. The family is virtually telescoped, as the title suggests, into one figure, the Father, but within the scope which Gosse takes, there is a fine study of the stages of development. In comparing this novel with The Way of All Flesh, however, it becomes apparent that Gosse depends for his effects on a series of small, detailed vignettes which, strung together, imply the links between them, whereas for Butler, specific scenes are rather the excuse for the causal and philosophical linkages which are his main interest.

The son's early phase of dependence is best seen in his slavish imitation of his father - the scientific monographs he "composes" and the illustrations he painstakingly produces, and, most completely perhaps, in his adoption of his father's religious language, as he censoriously catechizes his father about the theological standing of his prospective step-mother.[45] His imitation becomes almost an unintentional parody, like his invented illustrations of new species of marine life accompanied by laboriously-composed and entirely fictitious data.[46]

In another sense, however, he has never been a child in the home of his parents; although he is devoted to them, his emotional development towards society is strangely retarded until he stays with his young cousins[47] and samples that state of irresponsibility normally

associated with childhood, but which in his own home has been banished by the scriptural injunctions to duty "in and out of season". The period spent with the cousins is brief but it has repercussions later in a different strand of development. The overall result of these influences is a somewhat unattractive child, capable of considerable mental cruelty towards those he considers inferiors[48] and generally infected with an unfortunate smugness at his apparent success in an adult world. This attitude comes to a peak at his baptism, towards which all his childhood seems to have been leading; here he is received formally into an adult world with equal rank, and only after this does he begin to doubt the value of that world and, eventually, to rebel against it.

Ironically, this almost complete submission has been engendered not by force, as in the case of the Pontifex children, but by the sheer loving affection and kindness of his father. It is an emotional slavery only, but no less potent than a submission based on force - indeed it is potentially more dangerous, for it is more impermeable to outside influences. Therefore it is not surprising that the opportunity for conscious rebellion is provided unwittingly by the father himself, for this is perhaps the only avenue by which a flaw could develop in such a self-contained relationship.

Despite the predominantly acquiescent mood of his childhood, we have seen that the desire to test the credentials of the adult world in the episode of the chair-idolatry and in the revelation that his

father is not, as previously supposed, omniscient, led to the first awareness of the self in isolation from, and not merely as part of, the family; but this dissatisfaction is too general to withstand the force of the father's admirable personality. When the real motivating force comes it is allied with literature and thus gains strength as the boy's education proceeds. Ironically his first introduction to this "subversive" literature comes through his father's honest effort to answer the boy's questions about the Antilles, when he gives him Tom Cringle's Log to read:

> He advised me to read the descriptions of the sea and of the mountains of Jamaica, and "skip" the pages which gave imaginary adventures and conversations. But I did not take his counsel; these latter were the flower of the book to me. I had never read, never dreamed of anything like them, and they filled my whole horizon with glory and with joy.
>
> ... It was like giving a glass of brandy neat to someone who had never been weaned from a milk diet.... The long adventures... produced on my inner mind a sort of glimmering hope, very vaguely felt at first, slowly developing, long stationary and faint, but always tending towards a belief that I should escape at last from the narrowness of the life we led at home, from this bondage to the Law and the Prophets. [49]

Like Ernest's, his rebellion billds up slowly during his school years, fed by a number of incidants, small in themselves, which force him to consider his own standards and to see them in isolation from the accepted mores of his family and religious group. In fact, at the end of the autobiography, the son is still in the stage of rebellion;

there is little or no suggestion of a synthesis with his father's views, for there is little or no point of contact. It is interesting that Edmund Gosse, the intellectual, does not claim that the differences between himself and his father were susceptible to an intellectual reconciliation; rather he acknowledges that the intellectual differences are interwoven with a multitude of subjective and traditional values, until it is impossible to consider them separately.

Father and Son, like The Way of All Flesh, can also be seen as figurative of the intellectual and spiritual development of an age, but this is not integral to the story as it is in Butler's intention. Rather, in Gosse's novel, we have the outlines of the two figures cast up by their age, and reflecting the tensions inherent in it, but this without any of the philosophical discussion by which Butler universalizes the Pontifexes. It is largely through this very starkness that Father and Son achieves its aura of verisimilitude which, in turn, vindicates its realism beyond criticism.

So far as the boy's development is described, it does fit in with the general three-stage pattern which has been discussed, but Gosse himself seems hardly to realize that the boy has not, within the scope of the novel, reached even an interim maturity according to the criteria we have been discussing. This may be because Gosse, the author, aged by another forty years, has still not fully accepted the need for a synthetic understanding of two apparently different ways of thinking. Had he done so, the portrait of the father would perhaps have been more

sympathetic and this sympathy have redounded to the author's advantage.

Throughout this chapter it has been apparent that although the development of the protagonists in the five novels follows a roughly similar pattern, the concept of the hero-figure himself undergoes a radical change. Alton Locke, although poor, struggling, imprisoned for rioting, and witnessing the failure of the cause he has espoused, is still heroic in the Romantic sense. His estimate of himself as an individual who matters, with aspirations and rights, is never questioned. If he fails in one sense, politically, he is nevertheless represented as successful in a far greater sense - that of having attained to a true and full understanding of the purpose and meaning of life, and pledging himself to the greatest cause of all; significantly, his last words are not dissimilar from another poem which Kingsley wrote specifically as a hymn, "From Thee All Skill and Science Flow".

Yet with the rise of realism in the novel during the nineteenth century, there came the gradual disappearance of the hero-figure in the traditional sense. Thackeray's Pendennis, Rawdon Crawley, George Osborne, and Captain Dobbin are already major departures from the conventional concept; Trollope had only fractional heroes, while George Eliot seems to have been able to produce a hero of the conventional kind, Daniel Deronda, only at severe cost to realism.

Nevertheless, in the latter half of the century, there was a still greater departure from the romantic-hero concept, and a growing preference for the "second-rate sensitive mind" who should suffer all

the heart-ache and turmoil of the period and, rather than conquering it, remain submerged in the general Zeitgeist. Mark Rutherford is the first of these protagonists, who have faced the depths of despair and never fully risen above it. He cannot claim for himself even the significance of individual selfhood, but seeks refuge in non-entity:

> I cared for nothing... and dwelt upon the conviction which had long possessed me that I was insignificant, that there was nothing much in me, and it was this which destroyed my peace. We may reconcile ourselves to poverty and suffering, but few of us can endure the conviction that there is nothing in us.... It is a bitter experience. And yet there is consolation. The universe is infinite.... and I was at peace, content to be the meanest worm of all the millions that crawl on earth. [50]

It is impossible to see this "consolation" as a comfort to any previous hero in fiction. Olive Schreiner's Waldo is similar. He attains, as we have seen, no external reward; we can scarcely be sure that even a feather from the bird of Truth has fallen upon him at death, for the author makes no such claim for him. Butler, however, does not present his anti-hero with any apologies; characteristically, he flaunts Ernest's "failings" in each of the traditional tests of character - home, school, university, church - in order to assert the validity of his "virtues" which, culminating in irresponsibility and inconsistency, have conventionally been regarded as defects. Butler is thus outside the general pattern of development which proceeds from Rutherford through to Gissing's down-trodden Reardon and Harold Biffen.

The difficulties involved in presenting in the place of a hero a

protagonist who is not intrinsically "interesting" and who achieves no tangible goals, are immediately apparent. In the next two chapters we shall examine some of the techniques which the five novelists of this study have evolved to present their anti-heroes.

Chapter VIII Notes.

1. J.H. Miller, The Form of Victorian Fiction (Indiana, 1968), p.67.
2. Quoted by S.O. Lesser, Fiction and the Unconscious (London, 1960), p. 78.
3. L. Cazamian, Le Roman Social en Angleterre (1830-1850), (Paris, 1903), p. 504.
4. Alton Locke, chapter 1, p. 5.
5. ibid., p. 5.
6. L. Cazamian, op. cit., p. 506, points out that this is a misquotation from Carlyle's "possession of one-twenty-thousandth part....".
7. Alton Locke, chapter 36, pp. 275-6.
8. The Autobiography, chapter 9, p. 136.
9. The Deliverance, chapter 1, p.11.
10. The Autobiography, chapter 9, p. 134.
11. ibid., chapter 5, p. 57.
12. The Deliverance, chapter 8, p. 113.
13. ibid., chapter 8, p. 109.
14. I. Stock, William Hale White (Mark Rutherford) (London, 1956), chapter 6.
15. The Autobiography, chapter 5.
16. ibid., chapter 4.
17. ibid., chapter 9.
18. The Deliverance, chapter 2.

19. Stock, op. cit. chapter 6.

20. The Deliverance, chapter 5, p. 66.

21. M.M. Maison, Search Your Soul, Eustace (London, 1961), p. 254.

22. The Autobiography, chapter 9, pp. 138-9.

23. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter 6, p. 201.

24. ibid., part II, chapter 3, pp. 161-5.

25. ibid., part II, chapter 12, p. 259.

26. ibid., part I, chapter 11, p. 95.

27. ibid., part II, chapter 2, p. 147.

28. K. Margarey, "The South African Novel and Race" Southern Review, I, 1 1963, p. 39.

29. ibid., p. 39.

30. Quoted, without reference, by J. Meintjes, Olive Schreiner, (Johannesburg, 1965), p. 22.

31. The Story of An African Farm, part 2, chapter 4, p. 178

32. The Autobiography, chapter 9, p. 136.

33. J. Meintjes, op. cit., chapter 3, pp. 56-7.

34. H.F. Jones, Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon: A Memoir, (London, 1920), vol. 1, p. 177.

35. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 6, pp. 24-5.

36. ibid., chapter 29, p. 120.

37. ibid., chapter 41, p. 178.

38. ibid., chapter 69, p. 296.

39. ibid., chapter 86, pp. 399-400.

40. ibid., p. 400

41. F.R. Karl, An Age of Fiction - The Nineteenth-Century British Novel (New York, 1964), pp. 327-333.

42. p. above.

43. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 69, p. 297.

44. ibid., chapter 69, p. 298.

45. Father and Son, chapter 10, pp. 130-1.

46. ibid., chapter 8, pp. 102-4.

47. ibid., chapter 4, pp. 48-9.

48. Towards, for example, Miss Marks, ibid., chapter 10, p. 131.

49. ibid., chapter 9, pp. 122-3.

50. The Deliverance, chapter 3, p. 48.

CHAPTER IX.

TECHNIQUES OF CHARACTERIZATION AND THEIR EFFECTIVENESS.

Basically, there are two main modes of characterization in the novel, the methodological and the dramatic. In the former, the novelist describes the environment and circumstances of his characters and then explains their thoughts, and the motives underlying their actions in the novel. In the dramatic mode however, the characters expound their own states of mind and their motives through their words and actions. The first novelist to use this second technique, in the modern sense, to any great extent was George Meredith, and it came to be seen as one of the most important of his fictional innovations for it emphasised the value of character over plot - indeed, in Beauchamp's Career, as Baker states:

> There is no plot .... but there is something better, the mental and moral situation, and that is clearly stated in such a piece of analysis as [e.g.] that of Cecilia's mind, and then of Beauchamp. [1]

Meredith's portrayal of character is essentially poetical in quality - he sees character as being in a state of flux, ebbing and flowing with the emotions and pulsing with some wider living principle with which it is in sympathy.

The five novelists we are considering are all more interested in character explication than in presenting their characters dramatically

but because, as we have seen, all are concerned to show a development of character in time, there is nevertheless the necessity for some dramatized portrayal if a sense of movement in the devloping pattern is to be achieved. Thus they are all somewhere between the older methodological approach and the fully dramatic technique of Meredith and the later writers. In their concern to expound character, they do not fully trust their characters to be self-explanatory, but the demands of realism had already begun to render obsolete the intrusive authorial presence of earlier nineteenth-century novels, reflecting upon the characters and their situation for the benefit of the less perceptive reader. Four of the five novelists have solvéd this problem by the device of an older character who looks back upon the development of a younger character (who may or may not be his own younger self). This technique can be seen as the precursor of the characteristically twentieth-century novel form, which in order to achieve a sustained suspension of disbelief, avoids the omniscient, intrusive author but uses instead a character who is sufficiently similar to the author to present his views and comments without destroying the framework of simulated realism. In the twentieth century, this has tended to result in a series of very similar commenting characters, such as we have in the novels of Hemingway and Fitzgerald. As Geoffrey Tillotson remarks: "How seldom is the nineteenth-ceneury author disguised as a personage in his story; and how often the twentieth-century author."[2] This has led to a spate of autobiographical novels, many in the present

tense, but although these might be expected to convey a greater sense of immediacy, in fact there are strict limits to characterization, which the "I" of the autobiographical novel usually cannot overstep without destroying the illusion of realism. Such an "I", for example, cannot present his own character or analyse his unconscious motives and prejudices convincingly, and this is clearly a disadvantage in the novels we have been considering where the novelists are concerned to show the emergence of the unconscious self as a force in development.

The device of an older person looking back on his own youth, or as in The Way of All Flesh, on the youth of a well-known friend, provides the excuse for intimate knowledge of prior motives and unconscious actions which were previously unsuspected, but have since become apparent, without the cumbersome and artificial expedient of a character researching into his own motives as he goes.

We shall now consider how far the four novelists who use this technique are successful in thus presenting a protagonist who develops during the course of the novel and can be understood at a deeper level of awareness than his actions and words alone could indicate; and how Olive Schreiner attempts to achieve a similar end within the more conventional guise of an omniscient, but for the most part unobtrusive, narrator.

We have already stated that for Kingsley the prime interest is seldom psychological, for his intention is confessedly propagandist, and Alton Locke is essentially a socio-religious tract. Nor was his

public unaware of this; a contemporary reviewer sneered at the new fashion "for writing political pamphlets, ethical treatises and social dissertations in the disguise of novels".[3] Although the requisite descriptions and stages of growth are present, we have seen that these are basically subservient to the overall thesis. Theoretically, the device should succeed, for an older, wiser Alton Locke, looking back on his life from a position of recent conversion, and political idealism, might reasonably be expected to moralize upon his own experiences; nor is it unrealistic that such a person should seem to be a seer and a poet rather than an acute psychological observer; but the coincidence with Kingsley's views remains distressingly obvious. Had Kingsley converted Alton a little less thoroughly to Dean Winnstay's and Eleanor's viewpoint (that is, to Kingsley's own), he might have achieved greater richness and depth of characterization, such as we shall see in Mark Rutherford, for any autobiographical novel which concentrates too heavily on the acquisition of a philosophy frequently tends to replace living experiences by opinion, and thereby to lose much of the human interest. Partly, our expectation for greater depth of analysis arises from the powerful realism of Kingsley's descriptions of Alton's circumstances; we feel that a youth plunged into such conditions should penetrate more deeply into questions of the meaning of life than Alton does. Partly the defects of characterization may be attributable to the circumstances of composition: Kingsley wrote the book in a passion of indignation, after seeing the

cholera-stricken areas of Bermondsey[4]; and the novel reflects this emotional intensity insufficiently balanced by any very clear thinking. Karl claims that Kingsley "thought laxly and loosely"[5], and there is a corresponding lack in those characters who, like Sandy Mackaye, are intended to be thoughtful; they become almost platitudinous or intellectually shallow beneath their tide of emotion. This is particularly evident in Eleanor's extended sermon to Alton and Crossthwaite in the chapter "The True Demagogue", but also, to a lesser extent, in the following chapter, "Miracles and Science" where Dean Winnstay rather facilely refutes Alton's traditional objections to miracles. Clearly, in the last chapters of the novel Eleanor is the impassioned spokesman for the author, and Alton's objections seem to have been made deliberately wide of the mark, raised only so that they can be knocked down. Previously Alton's emotional and unclear outbursts have been taken as part of his character; they are now revealed as an authorial deficiency. Karl's brief comparison with Nevil Beauchamp emphasises the defect:

> Much more lucid and compelling is Meredith's Nevil Beauchamp who, like Locke, tilts at windmills only to find himself beaten by internal and external forces he cannot possibly understand. Alton Locke comes out of the fray perhaps a wiser man, certainly a more religious one, but Nevil Beauchamp has probed into the very complex heart of evil and been partially destroyed by it.[6]

The contrast in the Mark Rutherford novels is startling. Hale White also uses the technique of an older man reflecting upon his

younger self, and thereby transforms the all-too-frequent authorial sermonizing on youth into a more subtle form of character revelation, for here we have a true interaction between the past and present selves of Rutherford the author, with consequent mutual illumination. The older Rutherford's judgment on the younger is in turn a measure and indication of his present mental, emotional and spiritual growth, and this extra dimension is emphasised by the fact that, unlike the mature Alton Locke, the older Rutherford is not presenting the views of the overall authorial presence: this is the function of the fictitious editor, Reuben Shapcott, who, while sympathetic towards Rutherford, is also sufficiently critical of him to throw him into relief for the reader's value judgment. We see the psychological development and the gradual toughening of character in the school of experience, when we identify with Rutherford as he looks back on a less satisfactory youth; but we also see, through Shapcott's eyes, the limitations of even the mature Rutherford's views.

On the other hand "Shapcott" is also ready to correct the impression which Rutherford may have given of himself as an excessively weak personality:

> I am afraid that up to this point he has mis-represented himself, and that those who read his story will think him nothing but a mere egoist, selfish and self-willed. Morbid he may have been, but selfish he was not. A more perfect friend I never knew, nor one more capable of complete abandonment to a person for whom he had any real regard. [7]

There is perhaps a danger that our generation with its stress on existential Angst and the depths of meaninglessness awaiting intrespection, may be predisposed towards Rutherford, rather than towards the more ebullient Alton Locke, for unconfessed emotional reasons which have no real literary justification, but the considerations of technique outlined above may offer some basis for a reasonably objective assessment.

The autobiographical form which, by almost any definition, involves a study of the development in the protagonist, depends for its significance on the interplay between past and present; indeed its significance lies more properly in the revelation of the present situation than in the narrated past, for latency of character can only have its full meaning in retrospect when it has become patent. If this present position is not sufficiently realized, there is a consequent failure to convey a sense of development, a movement in perspective, as the character progressively interacts with the other personalities and circumstances of life. But, equally, the present must be continuous with the past to the extent that we should be able, retrospectively, to see the foreshadowing of the older character in the account of his childhood and youth. One instance of this in the Rutherford novels may be considered:

Rutherford, at the end of the Autobiography, appears as a man whose character mingles great pride and great humility - humility in that he stresses his commonplaceness; pride in that he had expected to be

different, to shine in conversations and dazzle a circle of accomplished friends, and would choose loneliness before accepting what he considers inferior companionship:

> It was amazing to me that I could pour out myself as I did, poor although I knew that self to be, and yet make so little impression. Not one man or woman seemed any different because of anything I had said or done, and not a soul kindled at any word of mine, no matter with what earnestness it might be charged. [8]

Looking back to his youth, we can trace at least a partial cause for these anomalous attitudes of self-pity and worldly ambition in his narrow sectarian background, with its dual stress on grovelling humility and the pride of elect, such as elevates brother Holderness who

> "never prayed without telling all of us that there was no health in him, and that his soul was a mass of putrefying sores; but everyone thought the better of him for his self-humilitation. [9]

By the end of the Deliverance Rutherford's pride has been modified into a confidence which is prepared to accept the responsibilities of marriage, a family, and social welfare commitments; and the humility is also softened into a frank acceptance that though a venture may not end in a great accomplishment, nevertheless it is worth undertaking for the small achievement which may eventuate. Thus, Rutherford is rendered as a changing but consistent character who, unlike Alton Locke, exists not only on the level of speech and action, but also at a deeper level of awareness about which he, like Waldo, finds it difficult, despite his introspection, to be articulate. We are made aware of these depths,

even though they are never described fluently, by the dual illumination thrown upon the developing Rutherford by the mature Rutherford and by Shapcott in somewhat the same way as three-dimensional effects are obtained with a stereoscope. Hale White thereby achieves something of the effect of the later stream-of-consciousness technique in disclosing more about a character than that character can coherently enunciate for himself, without resorting to authorial intrusion.

Olive Schreiner uses a quite different technique to show the development of character and the depths of inner awareness. In some ways she is less experimental in her conception of the novel - it is melodramatic and conventional in form, with its omniscient author, and the narrative and descriptive passages, yet there is a striking originality in <u>what</u> is narrated and described. The inner thoughts of the characters are rendered in the same matter-of-fact prose as the rest of the descriptions, blending with the <u>kopje</u> and the blistering sandy heat. The African background, in fact, is crucial to the characterization; its force is equivalent to the background in <u>Wuthering Heights</u> and in Hardy's novels, for Lyndall's passionate response to life, Em's docility, and Waldo's stoic acceptance of brutality and tragedy, are only fully intelligible against the wild and lonely background, with its overpowering sense of drought, heat and sun, remote from the conventional restraints of civilization. Edward Carpenter wrote of the novel:

> The African sun was in its veins - fire

> and sweetness, intense love of beauty, fierce rebellion against the things that be, passions and pity, and the pride of Lucifer combined.[10]

There is little attempt at philosophical discussion by the author, except in the "Times and Seasons" chapter, and in the Stranger's parable, but this is sufficient to cast its meaning over the whole novel. Meintjes claims that this bridging chapter,

> although extremely interesting, could have been omitted without detriment to the novel as that specific kind of development is already delineated in the characters of Waldo and Lyndall. This section, as well as some others, brings the flow of the novel to a standstill.[11]

but this criticism surely loses sight of the author's need to overcome certain limitations which she has deliberately set for herself in portraying her characters at depth. By inserting this universalized discussion of a sensitive child's developing awareness Olive Schreiner, like Butler, proclaims a degree of "ordinariness" in her characters, forcing us to consider them not merely as exaggerated "fictional" characters, but as representatives of the human condition.

> The most material life is not devoid of [these souls' years]; the story of the most spiritual is told in them.[12]

More importantly, the author also makes use of the reverse process, tacitly extrapolating from the universal to the particular and thereby imputing to her characters qualities and experiences which it would be distracting and cumbersome to include in the actual narrative. Far from bringing "the flow of the novel to a standstill", it facilitates

the fuller expression of the characters without either the necessity for unduly long authorial intrusions or, alternatively, the inclusion of a vast number of incidents portraying dramatically the children's unfolding consciousness.

Lyndall, it is true, is revealed dramatically in her impassioned outbursts to Waldo; she is Olive Schreiner's equivalent of the sensitive twentieth-century character who gives the author's comments on life, and there can be no doubt that very much of her thought - her feminism, her views on marriage, and on the differences between the love of men and of women - is Olive Schreiner's own; but she is not merely an authorial presence, because, like the mature Rutherford, she is in turn commented upon and judged - not by an "editor", but by Em and Waldo, from within the novel. Contrast has become an implicit comment on character - and at a deeper level of consciousness than the more conventional contrast between an Emma and a Jane Fairfax, or between a Becky Sharp and an Amelia.

With Waldo, however, there is the seemingly prohibitive limitation of his inarticulateness. He cannot describe his inner feelings, he cannot isolate and examine them, or capture them, even in his thoughts. Instead, until his last letter to Lyndall, he is dramatized largely through the words and thoughts of others - through the "Times and Seasons" chapter, which retrospectively renders explicit many of his earlier inarticulate gropings and silences.

This intention underlying the bridging chapter is emphasized from

its beginning, for the first paragraph begins:

> Waldo lay on his stomach on the sand.
> Since prayed and howled to his God in
> the fuel-house three years had passed...

and then suddenly widens into the universal:

> They say that in the world to come time
> is not measured out by months and years.
> Neither is it here.[13]

The references from this chapter back to part I of the novel are both explicit enough in incident for us to transfer the additional understanding back to the three children and general enough in tone to be of universal application. Thus the short passage describing the children's reactions to the wax flowers is a retrospective comment on Waldo's apparently inconsistent behaviour in chapter 1, when he seems to hover between deep emotion at the Bushmen's paintings and a coldly scientific detachment about the origins of the <u>kopje</u>. So here:

> We come to one of those white wax flowers
> that lie between their two green leaves
> flat on the sand. We hardly dare pick
> them, but we feel compelled to do so;
> and we smell and smell till the delight
> becomes almost pain. Afterwards we
> pull the green leaves softly to pieces
> to see the silk threads run across.[14]

There is also an explicit reference back to Waldo's midnight vigil in chapter 1, when his father's hunting watch ticked inexorably, "Eternity, eternity, eternity!", for here the general description records:

> At night we are profoundly religious;
> even the ticking watch says, "Eternity,
> eternity! hell, hell, hell!" and the

silence talks of God and the things
that shall be. [15]

The Stranger's parable is another means whereby greater depths of the search for meaning are imputed to the Waldo than he can otherwise express, even to himself. His whole being assents to these parabolic truths, but neither his tongue nor his wood carving could have formulated them. Faulkner has attempted a more extreme feat of this kind in his presentation of the inner thoughts of Benjy, whose mental age is three, using a full stream-of-consciousness technique, but Olive Schreiner's portrayal of the sensitive yet inarticulate Waldo, whom even Lyndall, like Benjy's family, thinks less in telligent than he is, shows the beginnings of this process whereby the dramatic monologue evolved to meet a new requirement and led eventually to the fully-developed stream-of-consciousness method. While it is less complete in rendering the picture of Waldo's thoughts, Olive Schreiner's method is nevertheless in a sense more universal than Faulkner's; for the "Times and Seasons" chapter, and the language of the parable, link Waldo to the whole general tradition of the sensitive seeker after truth, whereas the stream-of-consciousness method, as used by Faulkner and Joyce, chiefly individualises, rather than universalises a character.

We can see the beginning of this process already in <u>The Way of All Flesh</u>, for it was the demand for the portrayal of greater inwardness of character which gave rise to the method of the interior monologue. <u>The Way of All Flesh</u> is in the tradition of <u>Alton Locke</u> and the

Autobiography in using the technique of an older person reflecting upon a younger; here the older person is not the aged Ernest but his godfather. In fact, however, as we have seen, Overton and Ernest are both representatives of Butler himself, so that, despite the fiction, the situation is, in essence, not very different from that of Rutherford looking back on his own life. Nevertheless, by having a narrator who is at least nominally different from himself, and can therefore voice his views dramatically, and, without undue violation of realism, discuss questions which could not have been apparent to Ernest, Butler does contrive to foster an atmosphere of objectivity in his treatment of Ernest - an objectivity which was necessary to his intention of presenting a scientifically relevant piece of evidence for this theories of heredity.[16]

The function of Overton can thus be adequately accounted for, but the question remains whether he successfully fulfils this function, and how he affects the presentation of Ernest's character. Unlike the mature Rutherford, Overton has no correcting factors; there is no editorial friend to judge him and therefore we are required to accept his point of view and morality as the right one within the frame of the novel. Nor are the claims he makes for these views modest; to most readers his statements are frequently outré and therefore require us to have a high level of confidence in him, a confidence which the sketchy characterization scarcely warrants. Overton is not inconsistent as a character - his flippancy, however distasteful at times to the reader, helps to reinforce the impression of his burlesque writings, -

but the character so delineated even when set against the less attractive Theobald, is not a sufficiently sympathetic one for us to accept his view point as whole-heartedly, as was Butler's intention.

Overton's worst fault, however, is that in this novel, allegedly focussed on the Pontifexes, he overshadows Ernest and finally succeeds in making him a muted copy of himself. We have seen already that Ernest is very greatly a victim of circumstances; he is even more the pawn of Overton's assistance, the object of his experiment and thus, ultimately, the treatment of Overton leaves us with an over-riding impression of Ernest's passivity.

Butler has tried to create an objective and truthful narrator; Overton scrupulously admits his inability to describe the feelings of the newly-married Theobald and Christina (although we remember the vivid reconstruction of the carriage scene more than we remember that it <u>is</u> only speculation), and he frequently apologises for his inability to relay to us the whole and precise truth:

> I have ... been unable to give [Ernest's undergraduate essay] in its original form, but when pruned to its redundancies ... it runs as follows... [17]

This all tends to build up an impression of <u>bona fide</u> objectivity in such a scrupulously truthful narrator. More impressive still is Overton's original distaste for the child, Ernest, a distaste which is only slowly overcome. Apparently, yet another credential is intended in Overton's resolute bachelorhood; having passed enigmatically over his youthful love for Alethea, he feels free of all possible romantic

entanglements, and there can be no doubt that Butler shared this feeling. Ironically, however, this very fact makes Overton seem more biased than he would otherwise be, for when he learns of Ernest's supposed marriage to Ellen, he is instantly prejudiced against her on principle and can scarcely contain his joy when the "marriage" founders.

> I don't know why but I never have heard that any young man to whom I had become attached was going to get married without hating his intended instinctively, though I had never seen her.[18]

but,

> As soon as I found that he no longer liked his wife I forgave him at once and was as much interested in him as ever. There is nothing an old bachelor likes better than to find a young married man who wishes he had not got married.[19]

Ernest's passage through the novel, then, is from a state of being cast in Theobald's image to one of being cast in Overton's image, a movement which Marshall[20] has described as being from absolutism to relativism, with the added irony that Overton is an absolute relativist - and therefore more inconsistent than he (and perhaps Butler) is aware.

The characterization of the novel is surprisingly uneven, perhaps as a result of Butler's own irregular perception of character. In his personal life he could be both surprisingly acute, and, on occasions, extremely obtuse, often to his own disadvantage,[21] as in the relationship with Pauli. So, too, in the novel, the protrayal of Theobald and Christina has flashes of brilliance, while Towneley, a Pauli-figure, remains as flat as the hypothesis he represents. Cazamian[22]

and other critics have considered that all the characters are lifeless and artificial, part of a diagram rather than a living picture, and Tilghman, in his introduction to the novel, dismisses Theobald as being

> such an ogre that we find him rather hard to believe in, just as Christina, with her absurd daydreaming, is too preposterous a fool to be quite real.[23]

but this is to ignore completely some of the valuable facets of characterization technique which Butler introduced. We have already mentioned[24] briefly his use of the dramatic monologue as a means of portraying a deeper level of consciousness even where the characters can scarcely be said to be aware of this. One of the most memorable sequences in this respect is the triptych effect obtained by the juxtaposition of the dramatic monologues of Theobald, Christina and Ernest, after the latter has been deposited at Roughborough.[25] This is a precursor of the stream-of-consciousness technique, although, except in the case of Ernest, there is no real attempt to plumb any subconscious depths of awareness. In general, Christina's and Theobald's passages of monologue, here and throughout the novel, have been taken as being exclusively satirical and derogatory - Butler's clever way of discrediting his parents even more than their actions and outward circumstances could be made to do for him, - but this is only partly true. Whether he intended it or not, Butler is close to the point where to know all is to forgive all, and he has shown us too much of Christina's unmarried misery, her need to fight for a husband while

preserving the fiction that she was greatly sought after, and Theobald's down-trodden childhood and agonizing honeymoon, for us to feel completely alienated from them. Even when Christina's vanity goes so far as to muse on her supposed captivation of Dr. Skinner we can see this as the outcome of her need to believe that she graciously selected Theobald from amongst the throng of suitors pressing for her hand:

> "I should not think", muses Christina, "many of the mothers who bring him boys can impress him so favourably, or say such nice things to him as I did. My smile is so sweet when I desire to make it so. I never was perhaps exactly pretty, but I was always admitted to be fascinating. Dr. Skinner is a very handsome man - too good on the whole I should say for Mrs. Skinner....." [26]

Apart from the deeper revelation of character obtained through his use of the dramatic monologue, Butler also introduced a new temporal dimension into characterization in his desire to portray heredity as an integral part of the life process. This concept serves to universalize character through time, in the same way as other Victorian novelists sought to universalize character in a social and spatial dimension, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, it is part of Butler's general satirical technique to extrapolate from the particular to the universal.

The brilliance of these techniques can scarcely be doubted; yet they bring their own nemesis, for Butler's intellectual ballast almost sinks the ship. Whereas Kingsley, motivated by a passionate

indignation, failed on the intellectual level in Alton Locke, Butler even more ruthlessly sacrifices the emotions to prove his academic thesis. He studies and dissects his characters, and tabulates their reactions and manners, like an anthropologist examining the quaint customs of a strange tribe (the parallel with Erewhon forcibly suggests itself) so that his characters lack life and feeling, and, ultimately, the Victorian sense of human dignity which pervaded the novels of Kingsley and Hale White. This is why Butler's characters, for all their brilliance and for all their universality, are never "larger than life". One indication of this is their rootlessness. They exist apart from their background and seem to have been uninfluenced by it to a degree rare even in the most urban of Victorian novels. There is nothing in The Way of All Flesh comparable with the effects on Alton Locke of the tailors' dens and Bermondsey, or of Drury Lane on Rutherford, and certainly nothing equivalent to the African setting of Olive Schreiner's novel, Nor is this only because Butler, in his concern to stress heredity neglects en-vironment as a factor in development; rather, it is primarily because such influences of place and atmosphere are largely emotional, rather than intellectual, and Butler seems therefore to have tacitly acknowledged his inability to present them. For four generations of Pontifixes there is not one incident which could be described as passionate, tender, or deeply felt, unless it is the brief sunset scene of old John Pontifex, where Butler does achieve a sense of quiet dignity through his very taciturnity: "good-bye sun; good-bye sun". [27]

Perhaps the lack of emotional motivation is particularly obvious to a post-Freudian generation, taught to be wary of over-intellectual analyses, but it is hardly less strange in Butler, who, as we have seen, was strikingly aware of sub-conscious levels of motivation as being more powerful than intellectual considerations. His deficiency in portraying this may conveniently be ascribed to his own apparently unsatisfactory emotional adjustments, but such "explanations" tend to beg more questions than they answer. A more appropriate line of approach is through Butler's urgent desire to expound a point of view, for it may be observed that, ironically, those authors who consider themselves prophets of a minority view about life, even when this view involves a partial denigration of mental aspects, tend nearly always to over-intellectualize that opinion in their presentation of it. Ernest's inner self claims to act independently of reason even to oppose what Ernest's rational self might favour, but Butler's presentation of this same inner self is as intellectualized as Lawrence's arguments for the superiority of the blood consciousness over the intellect.

In Father and Son the fault in tone is less marked, but it is nevertheless present. The subject matter may be factually exact, but it is not completely "true" in the emotional sense, for the older Gosse, reminiscing about his younger self, is too benign, too patronizing; he has the complacent avuncular mood, more appropriate to Overton describing Ernest than to a man trying honestly to recapture

the emotional tensions of his own boyhood. In tone he often seems to be deliberately alienating himself from his subject. This is particularly evident in the almost flippant description of the baptismal experience, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter X. This is a case, surely, when an autobiographical novel, with fewer pretensions to factuality might have been more emotionally "true" than literally correct autobiography where the author is diffidently unwilling to participate fully in the emotional experience he is describing, and therefore protects himself from involvement, as it were, by a screen of tonal distancing and wit.

Yet, despite this emotional alienation from the boy, there is, compared with the other four novels, surprisingly little intellectual dislocation. There is almost no authorial judgment implied of the boy; on the contrary, the older Edmund Gosse seems to accept wholeheartedly the boy's assessment without any suggestion of criticism. This in turn leads to a certain shallowness of characterization, because the author never fully enters into the Father's viewpoint, and in his eagerness to justify the boy's repudiation of his father, fails to accord to Philip Gosse the dignity which he was able to portray in the more objective study, The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S.

The characterization of Father and Son, unlike that of Butler's novel, is scarcely ever through discussion of motives. It proceeds almost exclusively by a series of vignetted scenes of confrontation between the two protagonists, a series which shows how this relation-

ship changes subtly with time. Overall, the dominance curves of the relationship might be said to be complementary, the Father's rising until the time of the boy's baptism when the son's willingness to conform has become maximal, and then sharply declining from that climactic point. Every incident described after that point shows the Father's steadily weakening position, his influence being undermined not only by the boy's growing assertiveness but by unwitting, subsidiary agents - his second wife, the boy's departure to school, the new books which begin to invade the house, and even the behaviour of the pious Brethren, for the sanctimonious Dr. Dorimant, formerly trusted by all the Saints, is imprisoned, and Mrs. Paget whose behaviour would normally alienate everyone she encounters, must be borne with because she is under the protection of the Father's

> own peculiar scheme of religion. At every point she was armed with arguments the source of which he knew and the validity of which he recognized. He trembled before Mrs. Paget as a man in a dream may tremble before a parody of his own central self, and he could not blame her without laying himself open somewhere to censure.[28]

However, although a continuity of development is preserved, in the description of the boy's growth, what the novel lacks is the interaction between past and present, for the mutual illumination of both, and the roundness of character which can result from the backward glancing judgment of the writer, such as we have in the <u>Autobiography</u>. Almost by definition, the protagonist of the <u>Bildungsroman</u>

will begin as a potentiality rather than an actuality in the community, but the action usually involves his gradual integration into the community. This initial situation of dissatisfaction with, or alienation from, society makes him relatively introspective. Since the narrator therefore concentrates on his sense of himself as incomplete, and follows his attempts to achieve completeness, it was almost inevitable that such studies should result in the discovery of the nature of selfhood and, equally, of the nature of the community, for the structure and assumptions of a society are invisible to those who are immersed in it and whose view point therefore coincides too closely with that of the majority, just as the foundations of selfhood are invisible to those who can take their identity for granted.

In the novels we have been considering, all the protagonists are, at some stage, alienated from their society, and therefore are potential discoverers of selfhood; but the differing aspects on which the several authors concentrate in characterization has led to a great difference in the awareness (of self and of the community) which the protagonists attain. Alton Locke is the creation of an author who conceives of character primarily as <u>acting</u>, and therefore, as we have seen, his level of inner awareness is not great. Lyndall and Waldo are primarily characters who <u>think</u>, - about themselves and about society. Mark Rutherford and Ernest, and, to a lesser extent, Edmund Gosse, may be described as characters who <u>are</u>. It is their identity which is probed and has to be established, rather than their actions or thoughts.

However, this study has been based on the idea of character as a state of becoming - a movement rather than a stasis - and we must therefore ask how far the five novelists have succeeded in presenting characters who convincingly become, during the course of the novel. Obviously all are intended to do so; equally obviously, all fall short of this. In theory, Ernest is the most successful for Butler's theory of development is fully outlined in the novel and, as intended, Ernest's growth does very largely substantiate this theory; but we have also seen that Butler's success is only partial in that he is unable to overcome the emotional poverty of the novel and its concentration on one aspect of development - cerebration - to the exclusion of another - feeling.

Yet all the novelists we have been considering have been partly successful, chiefly because of their use of the awareness of deeper levels of consciousness than the intellectual and verbal. All recognize, at least in flashes, that the recesses of the unconscious are dark and fluctuating, not ordered and static, and thus all look forward in a measure to the work of Lawrence and Sartre, who strove even more vigorously to demolish the "old stable Ego", the Cartesian ghost in the machine, and to acknowledge the impossibility of capturing and defining the pour-soi.

None of the novelists in this study make the jump to full stream-of-consciousness presentation, with its potentialities for presenting character more accurately and realistically in existential terms, but all do, as we have seen, at least suggest the elements of the interior

monologue, which depends on the concept of inner awareness and thus opens the door to a deeper and more enriched formulation of character and realization of an inner truth. None of the five novelists is prepared to recognize fully the incoherence and the irrational quality which modern writers ascribe to the psychic identity, for although Samuel Butler was, of the five, most aware of the presence of this identity, his own strong desire for order and system at all levels of the universe seems to have prevented him from recognizing (or wanting to recognize) the depths of chaos which Ernest's unconscious self implied. He gives only a passing acknowledgment of this inarticulateness of the subconscious:

> ... that other Ernest that dwelt within him and was so much strong er and more real than the Ernest of which he was conscious. The dumb Ernest persuaded with inarticulate feelings too swift and sure to be translated into such debatable things as words, but practically insisted as follows: ....[29]

Significantly, Butler assigns the cause of the inarticulateness not to confusion in the subconscious but to a higher degree of clarity than mere language can convey.

The change in attitude came with the work of the psychologists and philosophers at the turn of the century, for although the later nineteenth-century novelists from their observations of life and particularly of their own introspective experiences, suggested the possibilities, it was

> William James and Henri Bergson [who] convinced following generations that

> consciousness flows like a stream, and that the mind has its own time and space values apart from the arbitrary and set ones of the external world. Thus flux and durée are aspects of the psychic life for which new methods of narration had to be developed if writers were to depict them.[30]

However, in the five novels we have been considering, it has been possible to see the beginning of this evolution, as awareness of the presence of an inner self slowly added mental functioning and psychic existence to the already established categories of motive and action.

In the next and last chapter I wish to consider how some aspects of style and expression assisted or hindered these writers in the portrayal of their particular insights into character.

Chapter IX. Notes.

1. E.A. Baker, The History of the English Novel (New York, 1964), volume VIII, chapter 7, p. 362.
2. G. Tillotson, "Authorial Presence: Some Observations", in Imagined Worlds; Essays in Honour of John Butt, edited by M. Mack and I. Gregor (London, 1968), pp. 216-7.
3. Frazer's Magazine, November 1850.
4. P. Coveney, The Image of Childhood (London, 1967), p. 101.
5. F.R. Karl, An Age of Fiction, The Nineteenth-Century British Novel (New York, 1964), p. 336.
6. ibid., pp. 336-7.
7. The Autobiography, chapter 9, p. 139.
8. ibid., chapter 4, p. 46.
9. ibid., chapter 1, p. 11.
10. Quoted from E. Carpenter, My Day and Dreams, by D.L. Hobman, in Olive Schreiner, Her Friends and Times (London, 1955), p. 50.
11. J. Maintjes, Olive Schreiner (Johannesburg, 1965), p. 53.
12. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter 1, p. 121.
13. ibid., part II, chapter 1, p. 121.
14. ibid., part II, chapter 1, pp. 122-3.
15. ibid., part II, chapter 1, p. 123.
16. See Chapters II above.

17. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 46, p. 196.

18. ibid., chapter 72, p. 310.

19. ibid., chapter 75, p. 329.

20. W.H. Marshall, "The Way of All Flesh: The Dual Function of Edward Overton", Texas Studies in Literature and Language, LV, number 4, (1963), 583-590.

21. See, e.g. E. Gosse, "Samuel Butler", chapter 3 of Aspects and Impressions (London, 1922), pp. 55 - 76. and M.D. Zabel, "Samuel Butler: The Victorian Insolvency", in Craft and Character (London, 1957), pp. 97-113.

22. M.L. Cazamian, Le Roman et les Idées en Engleterre: l'Influence de la Science, 1860-1890 (Strasbourg, 1923),

23. T.F. Tilghman, in his Introduction to The Way of All Flesh (New York, 1965), p. xii.

24. See Chapter IV above.

25. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 29, pp.120-4.

26. ibid., chapter 29, p. 122

27. ibid., chapter 3, p. 14.

28. Father and Son, chapter 11, pp. 156-7.

29. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 31, p. 128.

30. R. Humphrey, Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel (Berkeley, 1955), p. 120.

CHAPTER XI

STYLE AND STRUCTURE AS CHARACTERIZATION.

In the previous chapters we have examined some of the ways in which the five authors were able to achieve a greater degree of psychological realism by transposing into their novels their own experiences and introspections. There are, however, other aspects, notably their realism of style, whereby they were able to convey more fully the general trend of preoccupation with the commonplace as opposed to the Romantic view of life. In this sense style and structure can become important means of characterization.

In this chapter I shall not attempt an exhaustive study of the style of the five novels under consideration, or questions of symbolism, since such a study is clearly beyond the narrower confines of this thesis. Instead, I shall discuss only those aspects which relate to the means of characterization employed by the authors.

Pascal, in his brief study of autobiographical novels, writes:

> The autobiographical novel cannot dispense with the invention of dramatic climaxes, not out of fear of dullness, but because it needs events which will express the inward and often hidden tensions of the situation. In narrative, as opposed to lyric, the inner capacity, the spiritual resources of a man can only be expressed if they can find an adequate correlative in outward events. [1]

In the traditional style of the autobiographical novel, this is

obviously an important part of the author's intention - it certainly is so in Alton Locke - but in two of the novels we are considering, the author's intention is to show characters (Mark Rutherford and Waldo) whose life does not tangle with great events, and who therefore remain, to all outward appearances, undistinguished and commonplace. George Eliot claimed something of this commonplaceness for Dorothea Brooke, because she was precluded from a destiny befitting a St. Theresa, but within the framework of Middlemarch Dorothea is clearly not a non-entity and no reader ever thinks of her as such. The problem facing Hale White and Olive Schreiner is the portrayal of a character who shall seem to all observers commonplace in the extreme, unvisited by any opportunity to emerge from the mass; yet who will be intrinsically interesting enough to bear the weight of the novel devoted to them:

> There is no deed which I have done;
> There is no love which I have won,
> To make them for a moment grieve
> That I this night their earth must leave. [2]

We are familiar with twentieth-century efforts to solve this problem in the "kitchen-sink" dramas of the 'fifties and 'sixties, but it will be helpful to look back and see the beginnings of this process in the earlier realistic novels of the last century.

Because realism and naturalism in literature have developed so far since the nineteenth century, one is not at first struck by any such qualities in the novels we are studying, but when their predecessors are remembered we can see more clearly the innovatory force of some of their techniques. In the last chapter we have seen how one

of the methods of characterization involved the disappearance of the omniscient and intrusive author and how this was in itself a mark of the general trend towards realism, although, as pointed out, this determination to ostracise the author often became stylized until its original purpose was defeated.

Almost from the time of its introduction into England through the work of the French novelists, realism was popularly associated with a pre-occupation with the "worst" aspects of life and the systematic elimination of all that was formerly considered beautiful and morally edifying, for although, essentially, literary realists intended to emphasise all concrete and factual detail - both the conventionally beautiful and the crude, ugly sides of existence - it was the latter aspect which, being more innovatory, came to be associated with their work.

In Kingsley's novel, the realism is chiefly of a documentary kind, and it is stressed not because of an artistic interest in presenting the seamier side of London, but in the service of Kingsley's blazing zeal to expose sociological abuses in what is almost a continuation of the introductory "Cheap Clothes and Nasty". Kingsley, along with Disraeli and Elizabeth Gaskell thereby gave a larger perspective to fiction by the inclusion of a national background and grave public issues; but these, while they help to explain much of Alton Locke's personality do not, and are not intended to, dwarf his significance as a person. It is not merely the fact that he is telling his own story that renders

him more important as an individual; despite the supra-personal events which seem to move him, there is always retained a moral dimension in which Alton never ceases to be held responsible for his actions, and in which passivity in the face of circumstances is itself the result of a moral choice. While this renders him more frequently "guilty" it nevertheless ascribes more dignity to him than Butler can accord to the blameless, because less responsible, Ernest.

It becomes apparent how closely this decrease in individual stature parallelled the growth of realism during the century when we compare Alton Locke with the novels of Gissing and Moore. Gissing, like Kingsley, and Elizabeth Gaskell, wrote to describe the conditions of the poor and to protest

> against those brute forces of society which fill with wreck the abysses of the nether world. [3]

but whereas the earlier social novelists intended, and indeed expected, to stir their public to reform, Gissing wrote after the period when meliorism still seemed possible, and his work is discoloured with the despair arising from social and political disillusionment, and also from a lack of emotional identification with the workers whose cause he professed to be supporting. Gissing seems, in fact, to have hated the life of the lower middle classes - their lack of gracious living, their low intellectual level and their complacency- and his descriptions have a coldness more symptomatic of disgust than of sympathy. No one of their members is singled out as having importance as an individual:

all are merged in the mass of mediocrity. Amy Cruse writes that, in the later Victorian novels,

> the social questions so prominent in the great works of the previous forty years were almost entirely disregarded. This did not mean that the Victorian no longer took any interest in those questions; it meant that he was beginning to regard them from a different point of view.... Writers no longer appealed to the consciences of their readers and tried to move them to the remedy of particular ills through pity and a sense of the duty they owed to the oppressed. Men's consciences now were to be directed by their intellects. The aim was to formulate a system which should regenerate society as a whole.... The new type of book was meant to appeal to pure reason and presented its arguments in a logical not an emotional fashion.[4]

Thus there is a corresponding decrease in overt didacticism, which normally arises from passionate involvement, and a movement towards the witty and detached analytical style which is characteristic of the work of Butler, Wilde and Shaw.

Hale White is somewhere between these two extremes. His zeal is not of Kingsley's temper, but neither can he accept the analytical objectivity of Gissing and Moore, with its underlying pessimism. Although he voices gloom as deep as any in Hardy and Gissing, his attitude is softened by belief in a purpose, moderate though it may be compared with Kingsley's optimism. Therefore his search was for a style which would do justice to the petty, concrete world of the commonplace, while still rendering its spiritual meanings, exaltations and tortures, and in this he did make a new contribution to English

literature. We have already noted his wife's comment on the way in which in his novels the "general" touches the "particular" on either side; this is an essential feature not only of his philosophical system, but also of his literary style, for it is this tension between the actual, visible, prosaic world, and the Divine, invisible element which he glimpsed behind it, which gives his style much of its vivacity, compared with those novels which, like Gissing's, stress only one of these aspects.

This dualism in turn allows Hale White to portray a character whose apparent achievements are negligible, who is not permitted even the opportunity to fail greatly, but who nevertheless is represented as being potentially touched by the eternal. It is long before this belief becomes an actuality for Rutherford the character of the novel, but the suggestion is present in the style of writing from the earliest parts of the narrative. Even in his discussions with the sceptical Mardon, when his conviction wavers most, he clings to the belief that:

> The man who looks upon the stars or the articulation of a leaf, is irresistably compelled, unless he has been corrupted by philosophy, to say, There is intellect there. ... I believe that mind never worships anything but mind, and that you worship it when you admire the level bars of cloud over the setting sun. [5]

There is, in this passage, the same easy transition between the temporal, material world and the eternal, spiritual world beneath it, which Rutherford himself strives to find. Thus the style of writing looks forward to Rutherford's "Deliverance" and provides something of

that interaction of past and present selves which we have already noted as an important aspect of autobiography.

To a large extent the commonplaceness of Rutherford is kept before us also by the technicalities of Hale White's style. In his evocative accounts of the sombre, hopeless gloom of Sunday afternoons in the poorer areas of London[6], even Gissing does not surpass him, but his descriptions of natural beauty are most striking for their tight emotional control.

This becomes even more apparent when we compare the account of Rutherford's recuperative experience in Devon with another contemporary spiritual pilgrimage - Froude's Nemesis of Faith[7], with its torrents of emotional outpourings at each fresh stage of Markham's disillusionment. By comparison, Hale White's description of the interrelation of nature with his own sense of well-being is remarkable for its restraint:

> On top of one of those Devonshire hills I became aware of a kind of flush in the brain and a momentary relief .... I seemed, far away on the horizon, to see first a rim of olive light low down under the edge of a leaden cloud that hung over my head, a prophecy of a restoration of the sun or at least a witness that somewhere it shone. It was no permanent, and perhaps the gloom was never more profound, nor the agony more intense, than it was for long after my Ilfracombe visit. But the light broadened, and gradually the darkness was mitigated.[8]

Hale White's style of writing was, even by his contemporaries, regarded as "non-literary". W.D. Howells wrote of the Mark Rutherford novels:

> There never were books in which, apparently, the writer cared so little to make literary account of himself, cared so little to shine, to impress, wished so much to speak his heart plainly out to the heart of his reader. There is absolutely no study of attitudes, no appeal to the dramatic or the picturesque, no merely decorative use of words.... We could not give too strong an impression of their incomparable sincerity.[9]

This sincerity arises, as we have seen, from Hale White's purpose in writing, for any exaggeration or inauthenticity would have summarily destroyed his confessed aim of setting down an objective and truthful narrative of the facts of his own experience, recounted with such simplicity as would preclude ambiguity and misunderstanding.[10] It is this concern for the genuine in every sense which dictates the austere reticence of his style, but he has even further emphasised this manifesto within the Autobiography and the Deliverance. Hale White recorded that his own father, also a writer, had instilled into him the virtues of pure expression:

> My boy, if you write anything you consider particularly fine, strike it out.[11]

and this is consistent with his emphasis on experience as opposed to books. Shapcott does not miss the opportunity of criticising those who are over-devoted to scholarly pursuits,[12] and M'Kay's education of his children might almost be a description of Hale White's own criteria for writing:

> He always insisted upon it that there is no training more necessary for children than that of teaching them not merely to

> speak the truth in the ordinary, vulgar sense of the term, but to speak it in a much higher sense, by rigidly compelling, point by point, a correspondence of the words with the fact, external or internal. He never would tolerate in his own children a mere hackneyed, borrowed expression, but demanded exact portraiture; and nothing vexed him more than to hear one of them spoil and make worthless what he or she had seen, by reporting it in some stale phrase which had been used by everybody. This ... was, as he said, nothing but falsehood. [13]

Again, in the Autobiography, Rutherford praises Mary Mardon for her simplicity of speech, and his praise is, itself, correspondingly simple and direct in style:

> There was no sort of effort or strain in anything she said, no attempt by emphasis of words to make up for weakness of thought, and no compliance with that vulgar and most disagreeable habit of using intense language to describe what is not intense in itself. [14]

It was for this unadorned style and underlying balance that D.H. Lawrence came to admire the Rutherford novels:

> How good he is! so just, so harmonious. [15]
> ... I used to think him dull, but now I see he is so just and plucky and sound. [16]
> ... I do think he is jolly good - so thorough, so sound, and so beautiful. [17]

So, in the novels, the emotional scenes are never emphasized, but owe their effect to a sense of proportion which seizes only on the essential features of the situation. This is especially apparent in the sequences dealing with Rutherford's love for Mary Mardon, as in the passage describing his proposal and her gentle rejection:

> To Mary I wrote also, and to her I offered my heart....I thought I chose Mary, but there was no choice.... My soul rushed to hers as if dragged by the force of a loadstone. But she was not to be mine.... My love for Mary increased in intensity, and had a good deal to do with my restoration to health. It was a hopeless love, but to be in love hopelessly is more akin to sanity than careless, melancholy indifference.... I am not going to expand upon the history of my silent relationship with Mary during that time.[18]

There is a similar eloquent simplicity in the passages which describe Theresa's compassion and kindness, compared with Rutherford's feverish exclamations:

> I was beside myself, and I threw myself on my knees, burying my face in Theresa's lap and sobbing con-vulsively. She did not repel me, but she gently passed her fingers through my hair. Oh the transport of that touch! It was as if water lifted me up, and as I rose, I saw her eyes too were wet....[19]

The change in tone from Rutherford to Theresa is indeed like "water poured on a burnt hand".

Yet Hale White's position in time between Kingsley and Butler is reflected in the fact that, despite his deep sincerity and sense of purpose, Hale White's novels have also a certain irony of tone which creates the air of objectivity so different from the almost naive passion of Kingsley's style. It is never the exuberant and cutting wit of Butler; rather, it springs from a sober detachment, a lightness of touch not present in the extremes of either Kingsley or Butler. Psychologically, it seems to issue from Hale White's own unwillingness to commit himself to a point of view or an undertaking which might prove

unsuccessful - a protective mechanism which we have considered above[20] with reference to Mark Rutherford's ambivalence towards M'Kay's Drury Lane project.

Olive Schreiner is more difficult to locate in this general pattern, for in this sense, The Story of An African Farm is outside the mainstream of nineteenth-century literary development. Its style is impassioned whenever the author touches upon those themes which moved her so strongly - the place of women in society, her ideas of marriage, and love between men and women - but these outbursts are given dramatically in the character of Lyndall, as in her outbursts to Waldo about the lot of a woman and her feminist mission:

> "Wisdom never kicks at the iron walls it can't bring down", she said, "But we are cursed, Waldo, born cursed from the time our mothers bring us into the world till the shrouds are put on us." ... We all enter the world little plastic beings with so much natural force, perhaps, but for the rest - blank; and the world tells us what we are to be, and shapes us by the ends it sets before us. To you it says - Work! and to us it says - Seem! ... And so the world makes man and women.[21]

This exclamatory rhetoric continues; as Lyndall passes on to the question of power, which we have seen is one of her ambitions.

> "Power! Did you ever hear of men being asked whether other souls should have power or not? It is born in them. You may dam up the fountain of water, and make it a stagnant marsh, or you may let it run free and do its work; but you cannot say whether it shall be there; it is there.[22]

Overall, however, the narrative has a certain dream quality from the

opening description of the karoo sleeping in the moonlight to the closing picture of Waldo "asleep" in the sunlight. There is an intensity and yearning in the characters, but the scenic background is calm and uninvolved, as though to highlight the utter futility of such passions. Nowhere is this more striking than in the opening chapter where the turbulent vehemence of Waldo's outburst is set against the relentless uncaring ticking of the clock, but the same contrast is repreated in scene after scene throughout the novel, - Waldo's sacrificial faith and the inflexible porcess of the fat melting in the sun[23]; Em's eagerness to show her treasures to Lyndall, and the latter's cold phrases of disinterest.[24] This irony, free from any traces of wit, generates great power in the contrast of the passionate characters and the impersonal background - a contrast which perhaps reflects the author's own metaphysical position, for she denied the existence of a personal God, but believed vehemently in a Divine impersonal force.[25] This leads her to a philosophical strain more reminiscent of the German tradition[26] which also influenced Hale White, but unlike that of the Rutherford novels, her style has all the passion of youth; even her passages of disillusionment are written with a certain zest of discovery; there is none of the measured balance and harmonious simplicity of Hale White's style. She is perhaps closer in exuberance of style to Kingsley, though she lacks his optimism, and by contrast Hale White appears what in fact he is, the mature man looking back on his earlier life, careful in his sincerity, rather than passionate in his affirmation. One might say that his sincerity is expressed through the

mind, while for Kingsley and Olive Schreiner it blazes from the heart.

By contrast, The Way of All Flesh has appeared to many critics to be the most devoid of sincerity and seriousness of any major work of literature. Butler seems deliberately to vanish from behind any point of view which might be ascribed to him; this is particularly apparent in the earlier novels, Erewhon and The Fair Haven, where it is frequently impossible to decide which group, at any one moment, is the butt of the charges levelled, for all sectors of the community seem almost equally implicated, as when the bewildering series of reversed judgments is pronounced by the Erewhonian judge.[27] But even in The Way of All Flesh, where Overton might at first seem a convenient approximation to Butler, the author is not unaware that Overton, also, is being potentially laughed at:

> Every man's work ... is always a portrait of himself.... I may very likely be condemning myself, all the time that I am writing this book, for I know that whether I like it or not, I am portraying myself more surely than I am portraying any of the characters whom I set before the reader. I am sorry that it is so, but I cannot help it.[28]

Yet in fact Butler was writing a thesis novel, and, curiously, his wit is a real part of his sincerity. It is most concentrated in his paradoxes and misquotations which seem perversely to twist accepted truths and invert proverbs for the sheer delight of shocking his readers. Thus:

> In his heart he [Theobald] held with Pope that "the greatest nuisance to mankind is man", or words to that effect - only that women, with the exception perhaps of Christina, were worse.[29]

Again, Overton's exuberance at the failure of Ernest's "marriage" and the discovery that it was never a valid union, issues in the following subtety which has, unfortunately, escaped some editors since they have persisted in correcting the deliberate misquotation.[30] Ernest protests that he was fond of Ellen until she "took to drinking" whereupon Overton replies:

> "Perhaps; but is it not Tennyson who has said: 'Tis better to have loved and lost, than never to have lost at all.[31]

More shocking to Butler's generation than even his parodies of the great poets, was his habit of reinterpreting the Bible. In his Note Books he had written:

> The true laws of God are the laws of our own well-being.[32]

and later:

> To love God is to have good health, good looks, good sense, experience, a kindly nature and a fair balance of cash in hand.[33]

Overton introduces these same sentiments with the characteristic technique of using phrases with biblical associations to emphasize his point. The reader tends momentarily to accept the phraseology as orthodox before realizing that the traditional meaning is being undercuty. Thus Overton writes of Ernest:

> He was trying to give up father and mother for Christ's sake. He would have

> said he was giving them up because he thought they hindered him in the pursuit of his truest and most lasting happiness. Granted, but what is this if it is not Christ? What is Christ if He is not this?[34]

In fact, however, this technique is part of Butler's sincere desire to make people look more closely at their assumptions and see the fallibility behind them; it is very similar to the method which Shaw, no less zealous, was to use in such plays as Arms and the Man and Candida. Butler's technique is to say something which will sound outrageous, but which he sincerely means - or nearly means - as it stands; the appearance is one of cynicism, but the intention, when grasped, is serious and morally sound. As Dyson says:

> What Butler does is simply to give shock treatment to a threadbare platitude. By reversing it, he announces not a universal truth, but at least something more useful and amusing than the original.[35]

Cazamian believes that to this aim Butler's style was totally subservient:

> Tous ses livres ont pour premier but d'exprimer des verités qu'il considère comme méconnues.[36]

but the question remains whether his style - his wit and apparent flippancy - although it may have been expressing a serious purpose, did not overshadow his purpose to the point of damaging it almost beyond recognition. We have already noted that his characterization is defective, chiefly through his lack of feeling. His style, similarly, is the analytical and empirical one appropriate to his scientific works but less happy as the choice for a novel, for he thereby precludes all

the eloquence he might have won by seasoning intellect with emotional appeal. Chapman analyses:

> The lack of depth in much that he wrote is often hidden under the easy style which invites the reader's confidence and glossed by the quality of his best descriptive passages. [37]

but the reader is often somewhat less than willing to be seduced by the Butlerian gloss of wit. F.T. Russell, in her analysis of the Victorian satirical novel, credits Butler with more feeling:

> It might seem at first sight that Butler ran more to head than heart; but in this as in other things he was like Swift, having the faculty of stating in cold logic what he had conceived in hot wrath. In such a temperament, the feelings are more likely to be turned against those responsible for misery than towards the victims, thus producing a negative effect, with the positive side left to our inference. [38]

In The Way of All Flesh this is particularly apparent in that the first two-thirds of the novel, written at the white heat of direct contact with the sources of Butler's anger, are incomparably superior to the attenuated last section, where the touch of reality is distant. We have already seen this in the characterization of Ernest, who is left somewhat passive by default after the denunciation of his parents and society, and in the case of Butler's own motivating ideas which he renders less successfully when he sets them forth directly than when he expounds them obliquely by demolishing their opposites. Stylistically, however, the fault is more serious than Russell implies, for

wit alone cannot generate the sympathy required to enter into Butler's viewpoint, and the usual generator of that sympathy in satire, the character being exploited (Ernest), is singularly weak. The result is, as Muggeridge explains,

> a sort of amateurishness, querulousness ... as though of a man with a perpetual and irritating grievance.[39]

Nevertheless, through the use of Overton, Butler did provide a unifying factor in the tone of what would otherwise be an extremely uneven novel, for Overton allows him to satirize George Theobald and Christina almost mercilessly for their hypocrisy and self-complacency, while retaining a measure of tolerance for Ernest's inherited priggishness. More importantly still, the use of Overton as narrator both justifies Butler's irrepressible wit and perhaps accidentally creates the illusion of an extra depth of characterization. Firstly, Overton's character, as built up through the novel, is sufficiently similar to the author's for Butler's style to be equally appropriate to Overton; secondly, during the course of his development, Ernest becomes, as we have seen, almost a copy of Overton. Therefore, through Overton's narrative, we have an approximation to the effect of an older Ernest looking back on himself, not only in insight, but, also in the style of writing, for the witty manner in which Overton treats the incidents of Ernest's career is virtually equivalent to an interaction of Ernest's past and present selves.

Yet possibly because Overton has bridged the potential unevenness

throughout, the change in tone at the end of the novel is less satisfactory. Butler, as in Life and Habit, tries to change from wit to earnestness with Overton's apologia for the faith on which the novel is allegedly structured, but the change is too abrupt and, like too sudden a "crossing", it debilitates. Butler has, throughout, lacked the maturity of a great satirist to hold in balance the light and the serious dimensions, the tragedy behind the comedy, so he has swung happily towards wit; but his effort to redeem this near-flippancy and to import a dimension of high seriousness fails from self-consciousness. At the conclusion of Life and Habit, Butler introduces his note of gravity by means of the "pebble" allegory which begins as a whimsical, self-mocking anecdote:

> I saw, as it were, a pebble upon the ground, with a sheen that pleased me; taking it up, I turned it over and over for my amusement, found it always grew brighter and brighter the more I examined it. [40]

but the parable ends as a plea for the reader's conversion to a worship of the "pebble" as "a more living faith than either he or I had as yet conceived as possible". In The Way of All Flesh, however, the transition is less successful. Knoepflmacher writes:

> Overton switches from his delight in the success of Ernest the puppet to a spirited praise of Ernest the vitalist convert.... the change is too abrupt. Its effect is not unlike that produced by Chaucer's Pardoner when he caps his witty self-confession by asking the Host to "kisse the relikes". [41]

Butler fails in this transition because he cannot resist the aside which undercuts his moral, even at the end of the novel, and thus the sudden seriousness of his outburst against society cannot be allowed to stand: it must be instantly deflated:

> What culture is comparable to this? What a lie, what a sickening, debilitating debauch did not Ernest's school and university career now seem to him, in comparison with his life in prison and as a tailor in Blackfriars. I have heard him say he would have gone through all he had suffered if it were only for the deeper insight it gave him into the spirit of the Grecian and Surrey pantomimes. [42]

Possibly Butler himself was aware of this inability to bridge comedy and seriousness for he describes Ernest's efforts at musical composition as being thwarted through his "getting into the key of C sharp after beginning in the key of C and being unable to get back again". [43] The underlying reason for this failure is almost certainly an autobiographical one: Butler's tone reflects his characteristic attitude of rebellion, his adolescent revolt against all the authorities which society could erect, and an ultimate failure to put anything positive in their place. Just as Ernest fails to assert anything more serious than the desire to be unbothered by the responsibility of personal ties, so Butler's own style lacks the seriousness of purpose which underlies the great satires of Aristophanes and Juvenal or, in the English tradition, of Swift. It is true that Butler, like Swift, has occasional outbursts of savagery but, by comparison, his savagery

lacks point and expires in the usual, not-to-be-resisted witticism. Thus Overton remarks of Ernest's parents:

> The only thing to do with them was to humour them and make the best of them till they died - and be thankful when they did so. [44]

and Ernest broods bitterly

> over the bliss of Melchizedek, who had been born an orphan, without father, without mother, and without descent. [45]

But such sentiments are rare; they are not what Towneley would approve for they imply an ungentlemanly depth of concern which no circumstances can warrant in the Butlerian moral order where inconsistency is the highest virtue. Far more characteristic is Butler's undercutting of any apparently serious sentiment. The true "Towneley" style approved by Overton is perfectly demonstrated in the comment on Christina which leaves us pondering the depths of its implications:

> If it were not such an awful thing to say of anyone, I should say that she meant well. [46]

In Father and Son there is a similar flaw in the tone. Certainly it has not the exuberant wit and sheer irresponsibility of The Way of All Flesh, but there is a failure to recapture in style the state of dislocation being described. We find a tranquility of utterance which cannot resist the occasional piece of "fine writing", (as in the description of the quiet anguish of the mother's last months and her death[47]) and the indulgent, avuncular tone. If this disparity were the result of a true interaction between the past and present selves

of the author, such as we have noted in the Autobiography, it would lead to a greater depth and richness in description of the child's development, but as we have seen in Chapter VII above, there is little if any such interaction, and therefore the flaw is compounded. The pressures and distortions never appear as real or as sharp as they must have been, not merely because the author is looking back with a more mature understanding, but because he cannot resist the humorous aside. This is the most damaging in the passage describing the boy's solemn baptism into the Brethren community, where there is a continual undercutting of the reported solemnity by the author's interpolated quotation or epithet, an undercutting which could not have been present on the occasion and which therefore introduces a false and distancing note:

> an instance was given of the remark of James Smith that
> "He who, in quest of quiet, 'Silence!' hoots
> Is apt to make the hubbub he imputes." [48]

and again,

> Decorum being again secured... the whole assembly broke forth in a thunder of song. ... So great was the enthusiasm that it could hardly be restrained so as to allow the other candidates, the humdrum adults who followed in my wet and glorious footsteps, to undergo a ritual about which, in their case, no one in the congregation pretended to be able to take even the most languid interest. [49]

This trend which we have noted during the latter part of the nineteenth century, towards greater detachment, analysis and wit than was apparent in the earlier novels, particularly those of social

protest, is parallel to a corresponding increase in emphasis on the planning of the novel as a work of art. By the 1860's, long serialized and three-decker novels were under suspicion, and structure began to be an important consideration in its own right, not merely as subsidiary to plot and character. Even Charles Kingsley, who had long been rather leniently treated in the pages of the National Review, because he had an "aim beyond amusing"[50] the reader, was subjected to a severe examination in January, 1860, and was found wanting:

> His ordinary standard is unfixed and low. ... He has none of the noble, artistic, old, Greek thirst for perfection.... No amount of earnestness, purpose or message can excuse the neglect of the art of the novel. A genius like Mr. Kingsley's not only deserves the most sedulous culture, but demands the most severe control. Nothing can excuse the inconsidered confusion in which the incidents of [his stories] ... jostle one another and the indistinctness with which many of them are told.[51]

In the case of Alton Locke this criticism is not entirely just, but it has elements of truth even here. The book is undoubtedly discursive, even though Alton's own development holds the broad framework together. The long didactic passages on politics, and the overloading of the descriptive passages on social conditions, are held together with some difficulty by the tenuous story of Alton's unsuccessful love for Lillian, so that there is some truth in Cazamian's charge that the whole novel is set out like a lecture:

> Avant d'exposer son programme, Kingsley y prépare l'esprit du lecteur. Une classe est L'adversaire naturelle du socialisme chrétien: la bourgeoisie industrielle

> et commerçante. Ici encore, le «Mammonisme» est vigoureusement dénoncé. Un personnage le symbolise: le cousin d'Alton.... il ne dit, ne fait, ne croit, que ce qui «paie», ce qui rapporte. [52]

This was one of the charges levelled against the novel by contemporary reviewers - that Kingsley had written primarily a roman à thèse, with the implication that structural and artistic considerations were secondary. Nevertheless, the character of Alton, circumstantially involved in the most appalling social conditions, caught up in the Chartist movement, a poet and therefore aware of the importance of beauty for the working man trapped in the more of industrial ugliness, brought up as a Christian but rejecting a conventional and platitudinous creed irrelevant to the life around him, is a strikingly effective means of combining most of Kingsley's urgent themes. Compared with the melodramatic plot of Sybil, Alton Locke is tidily restrained, although it lacks the more delicate art of Elizabeth Gaskell's social novels. However, the novel is basically conventional in form; with the exception of the "Dreamland" chapter discussed above, it introduces no great innovations in style or technique, and since its thesis is now largely outdated, the novel, although one of Kingsley's best, has not worn well. Its interest in this study lies chiefly in the fact that we can see in it the beginnings of a more thorough awareness of the inner self as an essential factor in characterization. Even apart from this, however, the "Dreamland" sequence introduces a valuable innovation in its expression of Kingsley's underlying

synthetic thought which seems to me to foreshadow a remarkably sophisticated approach to the unconscious.

In the Rutherford novels, despite the elegance of language, there is a similar lack of form. Hale White has been arraigned by several critics for his inability to cope with a plot, and the Autobiography, although necessarily in this case there are extenuating circumstances, lacks any strong cohesion apart from the almost episodic thread of Rutherford's experiences. The Deliverance is even less successful, structurally, for it has all the weaknesses of a sequel, picking up threads from the previous novel, and failing to flow smoothly in its own right. In trying to propose a solution to the personal problems of the Autobiography, it enters into some prosy passages of speculation, badly integrated into the story. We have already noted how minor characters drift in and out of the plot, unprepared for, conveniently forgotten, and then perhaps reintroduced equally arbitrarily. This, in one sense, gives the novel an added aspect of sincerity, for it bears out Hale White's determination to avoid the literary image, and to report only the truth; but it necessarily detracts from the book as a work of art. Baker has censored Hale White's lack of artistry in perhaps the most extreme terms:

> [He] had no structural ability whatever. He dispenses with anything of the nature of a plot, and even the outlines of his stories are broken and discrepant.... Hardy was clumsy enough in his transitions; Mark Rutherford ignores the art entirely and rambles on from one striking incident to the next in the most fortuitous way. [53]

This is certainly an exaggeration with respect to the Autobiography and the Deliverance, though there is more justification for the charge in the later novels, Revolution in Tanner's Lane, which falls into two ill-cemented halves, and Clara Hopgood, which is little more than a series of discursions on philosophical, political and literary topics. He himself confessed to his son that "he could never satisfactorily form a plot himself".[54] In the Deliverance there is no effort to round off the story or to speculate on the fate of Rutherford's wife and her child, left, apparently, destitute after his death; the novel is potentially "open-ended", but this is the natural outcome of Hale White's own philosophy and subject matter. Taylor explained this:

> It would run clear counter to our author's philosophy that any picture of a human life should have the satisfactoriness of a well-composed painting or a neatly-articulated philosophical system.[55]

and clearly such a neatness would be particularly anomalous in the two novels we are considering, with their emphasis on the commonplace man, the anti-hero, whose life is, almost by definition, not ordered or aligned with any significant plan.

Another frequent criticism of Hale White's style is his fondness for free comments on the characters and events; but this, again, is less applicable to the Autobiography and Deliverance, for here the comments, clear and reticent as they are, are a valuable part of the novel - they furnish that interaction of the present self with its

past which we have seen to be of unique importance in an autobiographical novel if it is to have a genuinely temporal dimension, that is, an indication of time as passing, and thus of character-development through time. It is an interesting amplification of this, that the later novels of Hale White, which profess to be posthumously published novels by Mark Rutherford are, in theme and tone, precisely of the kind which the Rutherford who develops through the Autobiography and the Deliverance might have written, Moreover, the comments are not merely didactic, as in Alton Locke or, as Taylor claims, in much of George Eliot's work, for they are rigidly pruned by the author's insistence on austerity and directness of style; nevertheless, Taylor's praise is perhaps extreme; when, commenting on the description of the theological college principal in the Autobiography, and of Cowfold in The Revolution in Tanner's Lane, he claims:

> There is much in these descriptions which naturally recalls the manner of George Eliot in her earlier and better days, but such absolute mastery is something she rarely, if ever, reached. Her diction was too latinized, her desire to preach too ill-restrained, and she would probably have thought it her duty not only to moralize on the life of Cowfold, but to dilate the description with forced attempts at facetiousness and "humorous effect". [56]

Clearly there are severe and obvious limitations in Hale White's narrow range of interests. He lacks the vitality and copiousness of George Eliot's sympathies, a liability which dictates his narrow cast of characters, and also, perhaps, the very evenness of his style; but

in a very real sense, these limitations are part of the characterization of the Autobiography and the Deliverance. Had they been written with greater vivacity and range of interests, or even with greater organization, they would undoubtedly gain structurally, but they would also lose something of that dimension of autobiographical sincerity and genuineness which was their author's primary purpose. It is a delicately-held balance, and particularly so in autobiography, between the need for that polished artistry which rescues the protagonist from the mere "cliché of having lived",[57] and the need for a style consistent with the alleged author's character. Kingsley attempted to solve this dilemma by making his protagonist a poet, but Hale White's protagonist is deliberately created as inarticulate on matters of deep philosophical importance, and unable to organize his life along any desired pattern. It would therefore be anomalous if his autobiography were perfectly fluent and classically structured, but it would be equally disastrous if this became an excuse for mere lack of artistry and laxness in workmanship. Hale White has, in the two novels we are studying, managed to walk this precarious tight rope, chiefly through the virtue of his simple and lucid style, which serves both the function of classical elegance and of characterization, and through the depth of his psychological penetration into that narrow range of characters sufficiently similar to himself to exploit his own years of introspective analysis.

In The Story of An African Farm, there is no such necessity for

a characterization of style since no direct autobiographical element is either claimed or intended. Nevertheless we have seen that all three main characters are based, at least in part, on the author's own experience and the style of writing corresponds most clearly with the character of Lyndall - which is perhaps why we feel that we know more of her than of the other two children. The style has the same mixture of fatalism and determined bid for freedom, of coldness and impetuosity, as characterize Lyndall's attitudes to life; but there is also the style of the Stranger's parable which cannot be adequately equated with any of the major characters or even, very appropriately, with the Stranger himself. This however is not merely a flaw in characterization; rather it may be seen as a deliberate anonymity for he is, after all, a Stranger and nameless; it is therefore appropriate that he speaks in a language more akin to the poetry of a timeless truth than to the conversational tones of everyday encounters. The flaw in presentation, if there is one, lies rather in the Stranger's later appearance as an "ordinary person" engaged in the trivia of social discourse, but this situation, too, has its own intrinsic meaning; it provides yet another cruel disappointment in the sequence of Waldo's disillusionment.

The novel has been severely criticised for its lack of structural organization and paucity of plot. Margarey finds in it an artistic incoherence not unlike George Eliot at her worst, and little relation between part 1 and the vastly inferior part 11:

> The book is forced to convey its message in the plain language of long dialogue digressions, and to achieve some sort of artistic finality by subjecting two of the characters to early and unmotivated deaths.[58]

Olive Schreiner's contemporary, George Moore, also found it devoid of art:

> descriptions of sandhills and ostriches, sandwiched with doubts concerning a future state, and convictions regarding the moral and physical superiority of women in plenty, but of art nothing; that is to say, art as I understand it - rhythmical sequence of events described with rhythmical sequence of phrase.[59]

Compared with the novels of Moore, the work is, in a sense, clumsy, disjointed, even incoherent in parts, and lacking in plot construction, but this is to a large degree the necessary concomitant of its passionate intensity and, more importantly, of its total message. When Meintjes rejects even the "Times and Seasons" chapter on the grounds that it:

> could have been omitted without detriment to the novel ... This section as well as some others, brings the flow of the novel to a standstill.[60]

he is losing sight of the fact that we are intended to see these universal statements behind the particular events and characters of the narrative. The plan of the novel is <u>not</u> immediately obvious, but the author herself acknowledges this and explains why this is so, when she discusses the apparently eccentric appearances of characters. This is part of her theory of the novel as a mirror of life where

> nothing can be prophesied. There is a strange coming and going of feet. Man

appear, act and re-act upon each other.
and pass away. [61]

However, even if the lack of obvious plan were admitted as a defect in the novel, the work is by no means as arbitrary, structurally, as most critics have thought. There is a definite parallelism between parts I and II, and the bridging chapter emphasises this by explaining in perspective the incidents of part I. Once we accept this bipartite structure of the novel, there are several aspects, not previously apparent, which become clearer and add to our understanding of the novel. Thus the incident of Waldo's Stranger and the "Hunter Allegory", at the beginning of part II, are structurally parallel to Waldo's two religious experiences at the beginning of part I; this may at first seem coincidental, but if we are prepared to admit that the author's division of the novel into two parts is significant, then it would seem that a new concept of religious experience is being tacitly substituted for the old. The Hunter's quest may be no more "successful" than the sacrifice of the mutton chop but, set beside the childhood experience, it holds promise of the dignity of an adult's search, which is to be the keynote of Waldo's journey through part II, just as his impotence in the face of meaninglessness had characterized part I. We have already noted how the characters of the adult Lyndall and the adult Waldo of part II arise from those of the children in part I; again, this is the result of the author's deliberate division of the novel to show how much she believes an adult character

is the product of childhood environment. Thus Waldo's appreciation of the Bushmen's paintings in part I, chapter 2, when he reconstructs the artist's frame of mind:

> He did not know why, but he wanted to make something, so he made these. ... To us they are only strange things that make us laugh; but to him they were very beautiful. [62]

is reflected in his own poor efforts to carve a memorial post for his father's grave, as described in part II, chapter 2:

> It was by no means lovely. The men and birds were almost grotesque. [63]

but he has worked at it for nine months to create it as a labour of love. If the plan is not rigid enough to make the structural unity apparent throughout, this may be partly a failure in art, but it is also the result of the author's stated views about life, and therefore cannot be lightly dismissed, for it is integral to the meaning. Olive Schreiner's own mind was not clear on the question of chance and design in the affairs of human life, as we have seen in chapter VII above, and although it cannot be denied that some of the stylistic faults are the result of the author's youth and inexperience, this philosophical uncertainty underlies many of the seeming ambivalences of the novel. Here again, the autobiographical element produces its limitations as well as its undeniable assets.

With Butler there can be no such extenuations. His views on life were rigidly developed to the point of dogmatism, and therefore might have been expected to issue in a closely-knit and didactically

structured novel, but in fact this is far from being the case. Partly this is because Butler, writing an autobiographical novel, was plagued by the desire to set down every event of his own childhood and youth, not because it was particularly relevant to his purpose, but simply because it was true. Festing Jones records that:

> There is very little that Butler remembered in his own early life which is not reproduced in The Way of All Flesh.[64]

and at times the mass of detail almost threatens to obliterate the thread of Ernest's development. Thus we are told much about Ernest's book which is entirely unnecessary to the plot, because Butler himself wrote a similar book, The Fair Haven. In the last third of the novel, the inclusion of material is particularly erratic. Ernest launches into long, discursive monologues on most of Butler's favourite theories until the book threatens to become the collection of essays which Butler himself feared.[65] Similarly, Mrs. Jupp's circuitous ramblings are lengthy to the point of boredom, presumably, because they derive from Butler's own conscientious notes of the speech of his cousin's laundry lady.[66]

The other major reason for the lack of clear, artistic structure is Butler's subservience to his own wit. He was unable to resist the delight of the satirical gibe, the humourous incident, even if the train of thought was lost in the process. Thus the incident of George Pontifex's anger at finding the lobster sauce made from a cock, rather than a hen lobster, is as humourous as the preceding one

of his near-loss of the baptismal water, but it is less to the point of the novel; Butler is led to include it simply because it is funny.

Yet these failings should not be allowed to obscure the real value of Butler's style and the structural merits of The Way of All Flesh. F.T. Russell writes that:

> It is the business of the raconteur, romantic as well as realistic, to beguile his audience into acquiescence, even of the incredible. But the romancing satirist has the anomalous task of creating a story good enough to be its own reward, and then not allowing it to be. It must have all the air of being an end in itself while being made the means to another end. This adroit manipulation whereby the idea appears subordinate to the plot although the reverse is the case, is a point in which Butler surpasses [other Victorian satirists] ... and ranks with the highest at large.[67]

It is Butler's genius that he can seize upon an apparently isolated fact, and see its significance for his theory, so that even where a colder analysis might class the relevance as tenuous, and Butler's argument as mere ingenuity, he tends to persuade by the sheer force of his own conviction. The relevance of the bees on the wallpaper at Battersby to the Pontifex family prayers is, on analysis, not particularly clear, but Butler persuades us that it is, possibly through the unspoken premise that Theobald drones through his prayers like the bees; this has no connection with the stated argument that the Pontifex family never suspected

> that so many of the associated ideas could

> be present, and yet the main idea be wanting, hopelessly and forever.[68]

but it adds implicit confirmation to our growing estimate of Theobald, and we swallow the whole humorous anecdote. This trait is related to another characteristic of Butler's style, touched upon briefly earlier in this study - his tendency to extrapolate convincingly from the particular to the universal as a means of presenting his "case". Since it is Theobald who bears the main brunt of the satire, it is he who furnishes many of the traits which Butler cavalierly extends to all fathers and all clergymen. Thus when Theobald is about to chastise Ernest for giving his watch away, we have the tiny vignette of the hapless Ernest furnishing the opportunity for the generalization:

> Long before Ernest reached the dining-room his ill-divining soul had told him that his sin had found him out. What head of a family ever sends for any of its members into the dining-room if his intentions are honourable?[69]

It is Theobald, the clergyman, however, who elicits the most barbed generalizations:

> Theobald was always in a bad temper on Sunday evening. Whether it is that they are as much bored with the day as their neighbours, or whether they are tired, or whatever the cause may be, clergymen are seldom at their best on Sunday evening.[70]

and when Theobald can scarcely fail to mark Ernest's troubled looks betokening his inner conflict, he

> doubtless saw these looks and knew how to interpret them, but it was his profession to know how to shut his eyes to things that were inconvenient - no clergyman could

> keep his benefice for a month if he could not do this.[71]

George Pontifex, as paterfamilias, in chapters 5 to 8, also provides ample material for generalizations, by such devices as the "universally admitted" dictum in the following passage, for this is tacitly taken as referring forward and covering everything regarding Mr. Pontifex. Butler's use of so well-worn an adage also increases the air of universality:

> At that time it was universally admitted that to spare the rod was to spoil the child, and St. Paul had placed disobedience to parents in very ugly company. If his children did anything which Mr. Pontifex disliked, they were clearly disobedient to their father....[72]

Nor is Dr. Skinner without his peers - or at least his potential peers - since Overton adds the injunction:

> O Schoolmasters ... bear in mind when any particularly timid, drivelling urchin is brought by his papa into your study and you treat him with the contempt which he deserves and afterwards make his life a burden to him for years - bear in mind that it is exactly in the disguise of such a boy as this that your future chronicler will appear.[73]

and the apparently inimitable Christina is also, it seems, a prototype of mothers, at least in her letter to Ernest:

> From enquiries I have made, I have satisfied myself that most mothers write letters like this shortly before their confinements, and that fifty per cent keep them afterwards, as Christina did.[74]

The air of statistical exactitude is characteristic of Butler's almost

reckless desire to give his thesis an air of scientific truth and objectivity, while making generalizations which, but for the force of their presentation, would appear wildly subjective.

It is, moreover, no small achievement that Butler has been able to describe five generations of Pontifexes, three of them in detail, showing family similarities yet avoiding repetition even between George and Theobald where the danger of near-duplication was highest. It is here that the wealth of detail becomes important, as a means of differentiating between these father-figures, so that George is always shown as being self-assured in his tyranny while Theobald is partly on the defensive, looking warily over his shoulder, as it were, at the figure of his father behind him.

The chief organizing factor in the novel is Overton who, although as we have seen he has his drawbacks as a narrating device, is sufficiently distinct from the young Ernest, and sufficiently similar to the adult Ernest, to provide a backward-looking perspective linking past and present and also conveniently spans five generations in his acquaintance with the Pontifex family, thus providing a secondary unifying link at the temporal level.

This saga-like dimension which takes the family, rather than the individual, as the unit, is vital to Butler's idealogical purpose of "proving" his genetic theories, and also to the scope of his satire. Each of the points which Butler holds up to ridicule had been attacked after a fashion by previous writers, but Butler's innovation was the sweep of his denunciation. The device of following the iniquities

of society through the generations of a family provides the implied universality which Butler hoped to derive from his individual instances, and which is also an important feature of his style, at the detailed level.

In Father and Son the structural contrast with the preceding novel is extreme. Insofar as the drama played out between the two protagonists reflects the conflict of two generations, and of a whole society, this is subsidiary to the main purpose, for the two figures stand out starkly against the group of minor characters who surround them like a chorus rather than as individual actors. In this sense the deliberate limitation of theme, and particularly of time span, is an innovation previously unknown in biography or autobiography. The whole work is shaped and polished by forty years of literary development since the last recorded incidents occurred. Gosse does not give us, as Butler does, a mass of collaborative data which builds up our conviction by sheer bulk; instead he selects only the most necessary facts which will emphasise the steady logical development of his story. Everything irrelevant is subdued to his dramatic theme, which proceeds as inexorably as a Greek tragedy, and the more so for the detachment with which it is told. In the series of five novels we have been considering, Father and Son shows the greatest emphasis on structure.

James Woolf[75] has compared the novel in some detail to classical tragedy, suggesting that Gosse may have consciously patterned his novel on this form, although the inclusion of an intrinsic comic element may

ally the work with the English rather than the Greek tradition (Woolf draws extensive parallels with King Lear). If this were a part of Gosse's purpose, it illustrates the extent by which the novel had progressed during the latter half of the century towards the criterion of art and design as being of paramount importance. We have noted the increased reticence of authorial emotion, from the impassioned outbursts of Alton Locke to the detachment of Father and Son (a detachment which is all the more singular in a confessed autobiography) and the corresponding increase in emphasis on structure. With many of the minor novels of the period this lack of passionate feeling and the accompanying subservience of theme to structure, led to an attenuated form in literature, corresponding to the more decadent pictorial art of the Aesthetic school, and was only fully justified in the greater novels of Henry James, for whereas in the work of the major nineteenth-century novelists artistry of style and structure were intricately interwoven with the meaning, they were nevertheless secondary to it in the artist's intention. In Father and Son however, structure has become an important part of the material and even, to a certain extent, an integral part of the meaning of that material. We have stated previously that the novel shows little interaction between the character of the author and his own younger self, chiefly because of the detached style of writing, and that Father and Son was in this sense, inferior to the Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, and to The Way of All Flesh, where such interaction gives rise to a richer depth of characterization; however, in Father

<u>and Son</u> this interaction, or dialogue, is to a certain extent supplied by the aesthetic importance of the novel's five-act structure and by all the implications which this entails in Western literary tradition. Such a plan, in itself, implies much about its author; the very organizing of the two protagonists' relationship into such an austere scheme is itself a tacit comment on the author's "present" self, enabling us to draw certain quite specific conclusions about him. Thus, in this sense, structure, as well as style, may be seen as a facet of characterization, not detracting from, but augmenting the autobiographical "truth" about the authorial protagonist.

Chapter X Notes.

1. R. Pascal, "The Autobiographical Novel and the Autobiography", Essays in Criticism, IX (1959), 149.

2. The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford, Introduction, p. xii.

3. G. Gissing, The Nether World, (London, n.d.), chapter 40, p.392.

4. A. Cruse, The Victorians and Their Books (London, 1936), pp. 417-8.

5. The Autobiography, chapter 7, p. 88.

6. The Deliverance, chapter 1.

7. J.A. Froude, The Nemesis of Faith (London, n.d.), pp. 116-7 and pp. 147-8 are by no means typical.

8. The Autobiography, chapter 3, p. 37.

9. W.D. Howells, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXII (February, 1886), 485 - 6.

10. W.H. White, The Early Life of Mark Rutherford (London, n.d.), p.5.

11. Quoted by Basil Willey, More Nineteenth-Century Studies (London, 1956), p. 108.

12. The Autobiography, Preface, p. viii.

13. The Deliverance, chapter 1, pp. 9-10.

14. The Autobiography, chapter 4, p. 50.

15. D.H. Lawrence, The Letters, edited A. Huxley (London, 1934), p. 81.

16. ibid., p. 82.

17. ibid., p. 179.

18. The Autobiography, chapter 7, p. 98.

19. ibid., chapter 9, p. 131.

20. See chapter VIII above.

21. The Story of An African Farm, part II, chapter 4, p. 171.

22. ibid., chapter 4, p. 174.

23. ibid., chapter 1, pp. 26-7.

24. ibid., part II, chapter 4, pp. 166-7.

25. D.L. Hobman. op. cit., pp. 12-3.

26. ibid., p. 65.

27. Samuel Butler, Erewhon (London, 1924), chapter 10.

28. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 14, pp. 61-2.

29. ibid., chapter 16, p.68.

30. See R.B. Daniels, "The Wit and Humour of Samuel Butler", North Dakota Quarterly, XXXIII (1965), 44.

31. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 77, p. 333.

32. Samuel Butler, The Notebooks, chapter 2, p. 26.

33. ibid., chapter 2, p. 33.

34. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 68, p. 289.

35. A.E. Dyson, "Samuel Butler: The Honest Sceptic", in The Crazy Fabric (New York, 1966), p. 135.

36. M.L. Caramian, Le Roman et Les Idées en Angleterre, 1860-1890. (Strasbourg, 1923), p. 173.

37. R. Chapman, The Victorian Debate (London, 1968), p. 317.

38. F.T. Russell, Satire in the Victorian Novel (New York, 1964), pp. 280-1.

39. Malcolm Muggeridge, The Earnest Atheist (London, 1936), p.241.

40. Samuel Butler, Life and Habit, p.249.

41. U.C. Knoepflmacher, "'Ishmael' or Anti-Hero? The Division of Self in The Way of All Flesh", English Fiction in Transition, IV number 4 (1961), p. 31.

42. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 78, p. 338.

43. ibid., chapter 86, p. 396.

44. ibid., chapter 63, p. 269.

45. ibid., chapter 67, p. 289.

46. ibid., chapter 35, p. 145.

47. Father and Son, chapter 3.

48. ibid., chapter 8, p. 112.

49. ibid., chapter 8, p. 114.

50. "Alton Locke", The National Review I (January, 1855), 128.

51. "Charles Kingsley" The National Review, X (January, 1860), 18-9.

52. L. Cazamian, Le Roman Social en Angleterre, 1830-1850. (Paris, 1903), pp. 509-510.

53. E.A. Baker, History of The English Novel, (New York, 1965), volume VIII, pp. 103-4.

54. Quoted by W. Stone, The Religion and Art of William Hale White (Stanford, 1954), p. 123.

55. A.E. Taylor, "The Novels of Mark Rutherford", Essays and Studies, V (1914), 72.

56. ibid., p. 63.

57. V.S. Pritchett, "All About Ourselves", New Statesman LI, number 1315 (May 26th., 1956), 601.

58. K. Maragarey, "The South African Novel and Race", Southern Review, I, number 1 (1963), 30.

59. Quoted by J. Meintjes, Olive Schreiner (Johannesburg, 1965),p.59.

60. ibid., p. 53.

61. The Story of An African Farm, Preface, p. 7.

62. ibid., part I, chapter 2, p. 35.

63. ibid., part II, chapter 2, p. 140.

64. H. Festing Jones, Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon, A Memoir (London, 1920), volume I, p. 25.

65. Butler had written to Miss Savage in 1872:

> "I am very doubtful about a novel at all; I know I should regard it as I did Erewhon, that is, as a mere peg on which to hang anything I had a mind to say".
>
> Letters between Samuel Butler and Miss E.M.A. Savage, ed. G. Keynes and B. Hill (London, 1935), p. 27.

66. H. Festing Jones, op. cit., Volume I, p. 243 and Volume II, pp. 10-11.

67. F.T. Russell, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

68. The Way of All Flesh, chapter 23, p. 97.

69. ibid., chapter 41, p. 173.

70. ibid., chapter 22, p. 94.

71. ibid., chapter 44, p. 188.

72. ibid., chapter 5, p. 23.

73. *ibid.*, chapter 28, p. 118.

74. *ibid.*, chapter 25, p. 105.

75. J.D. Woolf, "Tragedy in Gosse's *Father and Son*", *English Literature in Transition*, IX, number 3, (1966), 137-144.

CONCLUSION.

In this study we have been tracing the way in which five novelists, in response to the demands of literary realism, looked into their own experiences and set them against the sociological background of their time to discover a new concept of character development. In several cases, notably that of The Autobiography and The Story of An African Farm, the depth of perception seems to have been greater than even the authors realized, for by transposing a personal situation into the framework of a novel, they attained sufficient distancing from their subject to permit a clearer and more objective analysis.

In their several ways, and with varying degrees of certainty, all the novelists asserted the importance of an "inner self", whatever form that might take, and they all recognized the stages of development as forming part of a continuous process of growth.

Pascal has eloquently described this process as follows:

> One should speak of autobiography in terms of a type of Gestalt theory. Its truth lies in the building up of a personality through the images it makes of itself, that embody its mode of absorbing and reacting to the outer world, and that are profoundly related to one another at each moment, and in the succession from the past to the present. The value and truth of autobiography - and its value is always linked with its truth - are not dependent on the degree of conscious psychological penetration, on separate flashes of insight; they arise out of the monolithic impact of a personality that,

> out of its own and the world's infinitude, forms around itself, through composition and style, a homogeneous entity both in the sense that it operates consistently on the world, and in the sense that it creates a consistent series of mental images out of its encounters with the world. [1]

This process, then, is not merely descriptive, but creative in the highest sense, not unlike that described by Browning as the culminating human achievement:

> And I know not if, save in this, such a gift be allowed to man,
> That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star. [2]

Conclusion Notes.

1. R. Pascal, Design and Truth in Autobiography (London, 1960) p. 188.

2. Robert Browning, "Abt Vogler", lines 51-2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Abrams, M.H. ed. Literature and Belief (New York, 1958).

"Alton Locke" Anon. Rev. Fraser's Magazine, XLII (November, 1850), 576.

"Alton Locke" Anon. Rev. National Review, I (January, 1855), 128.

Arnold, Matthew, "Count Leo Tolstoy", Fortnightly Review, XLII n.s. no. 242 (1887), 783-799.

Arnold, Matthew, "Stanzas in Memory of the Author of Obermann", in Poems Narrative and Elegiac (London, 1905).

Badger, K., "Christianity and Victorian Religious Confessions". Modern Language Quarterly, XXV, number 1 (March, 1964), 88-101.

Baker, Ernest, A., The History of the English Novel, 10 vols. (London, 1924-67).

Baker, J.E., TheReinterpretation of Victorian Literature (New York, 1962).

Batho, E.C. and B. Dobrée, The Victorians and After, 1830-1914 (London, 1962).

Bell, I.F. and D. Baird, The English Novel, 1578-1956: a checklist of Twentieth-Century Criticism (Denver, 1958).

Bell, V.M., "Parents and Children in Great Expectations", Victorian Newsletter, XXVII (Spring, 1965), 21-24.

Beresford, R., "'Mark Rutherford' and Hero Worship", Review of

English Studies, VI, number 23 (July, 1955). 264-272.

Bissell, C.T., "A Study of The Way of All Flesh" in Nineteenth-Century Studies, ed. H. Davis, W.C. Devane and R.C. Bald (New York, 1940), 277-303.

Blindermann, C.S. "Huxley and Kingsley", Victorian Newsletter, XX (Fall, 1961), 25-28.

Boyd, W., The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau, (London, 1911).

Britt, A., The Great Biographers (New York, 1936).

Brontë, Charlotte, Jane Eyre (London, 1965).

Brown, J.A.C., Freud and the Post-Freudians (London, 1963).

Buckley, J.H., "The Fourth Dimension of Victorianism", Victorian Newsletter, XXI (Spring, 1962), 1-4.

Buckley, J.H., The Victorian Temper (London, 1966).

Butler, Samuel, Erewhon: or Over the Range (London, 1924).

Butler, Samuel, Letters Between Samuel Butler and Miss E.M.A. Savage, ed. G. Keynes and B. Hill (London, 1935).

Butler, Samuel, Life and Habit, volume IV of The Works of Samuel Butler, ed. H.F. Jones and A.T. Bartholomew (London, 1923).

Butler, Samuel Luck or Cunning? Volume VIII of The Works of Samuel Butler, ed. H.F. Jones and A.T. Bartholomew (London, 1924).

Butler, Samuel, The Note-Books, ed. H.F. Jones (London, 1918).

Butler, Samuel, The Way of All Flesh (New York, 1965).

Carlyle, Thomas, Sartor Resartus (London, 1896).

Caws, P., "Evidence and Testimony: Philip Henry Cosse and the Omphalos Theory" in Six Studies in Nineteenth-Century English Literature and Thought, ed. H. Orel and G.J. Worth (Kansas City, 1962), 69-90.

Cazamian, L., Le Roman Social en Angleterre: 1830-1850 (Paris, 1903).

Cazamian, M., Le Roman et Les Idées en Angleterre: l'influence de la Science, 1860-1890 (Strasbourg, 1923).

Cecil, E., "The Book on the Table - Father and Son", Cornhill Magazine XCVII n.s. (1908), 344-348.

Chapman, R., The Victorian Debate: English Literature and Society, 1832-1901 (London, 1968).

"Charles Kingsley", Anon. Rev. National Review, X (January, 1860), 1-20.

Charteris, Evan, ed. The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Cosse (London, 1931).

Cole, G.D.H., Samuel Butler and The Way of All Flesh (London, 1947).

Cole, P.R., Herbart and Froebel - An Attempt at Synthesis (New York, 1907).

Collins, P., Dickens and Education (London, 1963).

Compayre, G., Jean Jacques Rousseau and Education from Nature (London, 1908).

Coveney, P., The Image of Childhood (Harmondsworth, 1967).

Cruse, Amy, The Victorians and Their Books (London, 1936).

Daniels, R.B., "The Wit and Humour of Samuel Butler", North Dakota Quarterly, XXXIII (1965), 44-49.

Davies, H., A Mirror of the Ministry in Modern Novels (New York, 1959).

Davies, W.E., "William Hale White (Mark Rutherford) : An Annotated Bibliography of Writings About Him", English Literature in Transition, X, no. 2 (1967), 97-117.

Dawson, W.J., The Makers of English Fiction (New York, 1905).

Decker, C.R., The Victorian Conscience (New York, 1952).

Dickens, Charles, Bleak House (New York, 1964).

Dickens, Charles, David Copperfield (London, n.d.).

Dickens, Charles, Dombey and Son (London, n.d.).

Dickens, Charles, Great Expectations (London, n.d.).

Dickens, Charles, Hard Times (London, n.d.).

Dickens, Charles, Little Dorrit (London, n.d.).

Disraeli, Benjamin, Sybil or the Two Nations (London, 1881).

Dyson, A.E., "Samuel Butler : The Honest Sceptic", chapter 8 of The Crazy Fabric (New York, 1966), 112-137.

Edel, Leon, The Modern Psychological Novel (New York, 1964).

Eliot, George, Felix Holt (Edinburgh, 1901).

Eliot, George, Middlemarch (London, 1959).

Eliot, George, "Silly Novels by Lady Novelists", Westminster Review, LXVI (October, 1956), 442-461.

Forster, E.M., Aspects of the Novel (London, 1963).

Freud, Sigmund, A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis (New York, 1938).

Fromm, Erich, Beyond the Chains of Illusion (New York, 1963).

Froude, J.A., The Nemesis of Faith (London, n.d.).

Furbank, P.N., Samuel Butler (1835-1902) (Cambridge, 1948).

Gaskell, Elizabeth, "The Moorland Cottage" in Cranford (London, 1965).

Gaskell, Elizabeth, Ruth (London, 1967).

Gaskell, Elizabeth, Wives and Daughters (London, 1910).

Gissing, George, The Nether World, (London, 1927).

Gissing, George, New Grub Street (London, 1927).

Goodwin, M., Nineteenth-Century Opinion (London, 1951).

Gosse, Edmund, Aspects and Impressions (London, 1922).

Gosse, Edmund, "Biography", Encyclopaedia Britannica, III (Cambridge, 1910), 952-954.

Gosse, Edmund, Father and Son (London, 1959).

Gosse, Edmund, The Life of Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. (London, 1890).

Graham, K., English Criticism of the Novel, 1865-1900 (Oxford, 1965).

(Greg, W.R.) "Alton Locke" Edinburgh Review XCIII, no. 189 (January-June, 1851), 1-33.

Hardy, Barbara, The Appropriate Form - An Essay on the Novel (London, 1964).

Hardy, Thomas, Jude the Obscure (London, 1924).

Hardy, Thomas, A Pair of Blue Eyes (London, 1960).

Hardy, Thomas, Tess of the Durbervilles (London, 1957).

Harrison, A.W., "Mark Rutherford and J.A. Froude", London Quarterly and Holborn Review (January, 1939), 40-44.

Harvey, W.J., Character and the Novel (London, 1966).

Henderson, P., Samuel Butler - the Incarnate Bachelor (London, 1953).

Henkin, L.J., Darwinism in the English Novel, 1860-1910. (New York, 1963).

Highet, G., The Art of Teaching (London, 1953).

Hobman, D.L., Olive Schreiner, Her Friends and Times (London, 1955).

Hogg, James, The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (London, 1964).

Holt, L.E., Samuel Butler (New York, 1964).

Holt, R.V., The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England (London, 1938).

Houghton, W.E., The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (Yale University, 1963).

Howard, D.F., "The Critical Significance of Autobiography in The Way of All Flesh" Victorian Newsletter, XVII (Spring, 1960), 1-4.

Howells, W.D., "The Mark Rutherford Novels", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXII (February, 1886), 485-486.

Humphrey, R., Stream of Consciousness in the Modern Novel (Berkeley, 1955).

Huxley, Thomas Henry and Julian Huxley, Evolution and Ethics (London, 1947).

Irvine, W., Apes, Angels and Victorians (New York, 1955).

Jaeger, M., Before Victoria (Harmondsworth, 1967).

James, L., Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1850 (Oxford, 1963).

Johnson, E., One Night Torrent (New York, 1955).

Johnson, W.S., "Victorian Self-Consciousness", Victorian Newsletter XXI (Spring, 1962), 4-6.

Jones, Henry Festing, Samuel Butler, Author of Erewhon : A Memoir (London, 1920).

Karl, F.R., An Age of Fiction - the Nineteenth-Century British Novel (New York, 1964).

Kendall, G., Charles Kingsley and His Ideas (London, 1947).

Kingsley, Charles, Alton Locke - Tailor and Poet : An Autobiography (London, 1889).

Kingsley, Charles, Health and Education (London, 1879).

Kingsley, Charles, Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays (London, 1889).

Kingsley, F., ed. Charles Kingsley : His Letters and Memories of His Life (London, 1879).

Knickerbocker, F.W., Free Minds - John Morley and His Friends (Cambridge, Mass., 1943).

Knoepflmacher, U.C., "'Ishmael' or Anti-Hero? The Division of Self in The Way of All Flesh", English Fiction in

Transition, IV, no. 4., (1961), 28-35.

Knoepflmacher, U.C., Religious Humanism in the Victorian Novel (Princeton, 1965).

Krook, D., Three Traditions of Moral Thought (Cambridge, 1959).

Latourette, K.S., Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, volume II, (London, 1960).

Lawrence, D.H. The Letters, ed. Aldous Huxley (London, 1934).

Legouis, E., and L. Cazamian, A History of English Literature (London, 1961).

Lesser, S.O., Fiction and the Unconscious (London, 1960).

Levine, R.A., ed. Backgrounds to Victorian Literature (San Francisco, 1967).

Lochhead, M., Their First Ten Years (London, 1956).

Mack, M., and I. Gregor, eds. Imagined Worlds : Essays in Honour of John Butt (London, 1968).

Maclean, C.M., Mark Rutherford - a Biography of William Hale White (London, 1955).

Maison, M.M., Search Your Soul, Eustace (London, 1961).

Margarey, K., "The South African Novel and Race" Southern Review, I, no. 1 (1963), 27-45.

Marshall, W.H., "The Way of All Flesh: The Dual Function of Edward Overton", Texas Studies in Literature and Language, IV, no. 4 (1963), 583-590.

Marshall, W.M., "The Use of Symbols in The Way of All Flesh", Tennessee Studies in Literature, X (1965), 109-121.

Martin, R.B., The Dust of Combat - A Life of Charles Kingsley (London, 1959).

Mead, G.H., Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1950).

Meintjes, J., Olive Schreiner (Johannesburg, 1965).

Mendilow, A.A., Time and the Novel (London, 1952).

Meredith, George, Beauchamp's Career (London, 1914).

Meredith, George, The Ordeal of Richard Feverel (New York, 1950).

Merton, E.S., "The Autobiographical Novels of Mark Rutherford", Nineteenth-Century Fiction, V, no. 3 (December 1950), 189-207.

Merton, E.S., "George Eliot and William Hale White", Victorian Newsletter, XXV (Spring, 1964), 13-15.

Merton, E.S., "The Personality of Mark Rutherford", Nineteenth-Century Fiction, VI, no. 1, (June, 1951), 1-20.

Merton, E.S., "Mark Rutherford : The World of His Novels", Bulletin of the New York Public Library, LXVII (1963), 470-478.

Mill, John Stuart, Autobiography (London, 1924).

Mill, John Stuart, Utilitarianism (London, 1959).

Miller, J.H., The Disappearance of God (Harvard, 1963).

Miller, J.H., The Form of Victorian Fiction (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1968).

Moore, George, Esther Waters (London, 1952).

Mowat, R.B., The Victorian Age (London, 1939).

Muggeridge, Malcolm, The Earnest Athiest - A Study of Samuel Butler (London, 1936).

Murdoch, I., "The Idea of Perfection", Yale Review, LIII (1964), 373.

Nathan, M., South African Literature (Cape Town, 1925).

Nicolson, H., The Development of English Biography (London, 1959).

O'Neill, H.L., "Samuel Butler" in The Great Victorians, ed. H.J. Massingham (London, 1932).

Pascal, R., "The Autobiographical Novel and the Autobiography", Essays in Criticism, IX (1959), 134-150.

Pascal, R., Design and Truth in Autobiography (London, 1960).

Peyre, H., Literature and Sincerity (Yale, 1963).

Praz, M., The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction, trans. A. Davidson (Oxford, 1956).

Price, L., ed. Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead (New York, 1956)

Pritchett, V.S., "All About Ourselves", New Statesman, LI, no. 1315 (May, 26th. 1956), 601-2.

Pritchett, V.S., The Living Novel (London, 1960).

Proctor, M.R., The English University Novel (Berkeley, 1957)

Raleigh, J.H., "Victorian Morals and the Modern Novel", Partisan Review, XXV, no. 2 (1958), 241-264.

Ray, Gordon, The Buried Life (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).

Reade, Charles, Peg Woffington and Christie Johnstone (London, 1893).

Roppen, G., Evolution and Poetic Belief (Oslo, 1956).

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, Emile, 3 volumes (Paris, 1823).

Routh, H.V., Towards the Twentieth Century (New York, 1937).

Ruskin, John, "Praeterita", in Volume 35 of The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn (London, 1908).

Russell, F.T., Satire in the Victorian Novel (New York, 1964).

Schilling, B.N., Human Dignity and the Great Victorians (New York, 1947).

Schreiner, Olive From Man to Man (London, 1926).

Schreiner, Olive, The Story of An African Farm (Harmondsworth, 1939).

Schreiner, Olive, Undine (London, 1929).

Schoenberg, R.E., "The Literal-Mindedness of Samuel Butler", Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900, IV (1964), 601-616.

Slack, R.C., ed. Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature (1955-1964) (Illinois, 1967).

Stang, R., The Theory of the Novel in England, 1850-1870 (New York, 1966).

Stevenson, Lionel, The English Novel (London, 1960).

Stevenson, Robert Louis, The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (London, 1905).

Stillman, C.G., Samuel Butler : A Mid-Victorian Modern (London, 1932).

Stock, I., William Hale White (Mark Rutherford) (London, 1956).

Stone, W., Religion and Art of William Hale White (Stanford, 1954).

Taylor, A.E., "The Novels of Mark Rutherford", Essays and Studies, V (1914), 51-74.

Tennyson, Alfred Lord, In Memoriam

Tennyson, Hallam, Alfred Lord Tennyson : A Memoir (London, 1899).

Thackeray, William Makepeace, The History of Pendennis (London,1893).

Thomson, P., "The Novels of Mark Rutherford", Essays in Criticism, XIV, no. 3 (July, 1964), 256-267.

Tillotson, Kathleen, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties (Oxford, 1961).

Ward, Mary Arnold, Robert Elsmere (London, 1889).

Wethered, H.N., The Curious Art of Autobiography from Cellini to Kipling (London, 1956).

White, Dorothy V., The Groombridge Diary (London, 1924).

White, William Hale, The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford (London, n.d.).

White, William Hale, The Deliverance of Mark Rutherford (London, n.d.).

White, William Hale, The Early Life of Mark Rutherford (London, 1913).

White, William Hale, Last Pages from a Journal (London, 1915).

Willey, Basil, Darwin and Butler - Two Versions of Evolution (London, 1960).

Willey, Basil, More Nineteenth-Century Studies (London, 1956).

Williams, Raymond, Culture and Society (Harmondsworth, 1961).

Wilson, Edmund, "The Satire of Samuel Butler" in The Shores of Light (New York, 1952).

Woolf, J.D., "Sir Edmund Gosse : An Annotated Bibliography" English Literature in Transition, XI, no. 3, (1968), 126-172.

Woolf, J.D., "Tragedy in Gosse's Father and Son", English Literature in Transition, IX, no. 3 (1966), 137-144.

Zabel, M.D., Craft and Character (London, 1957)