24-
30
THE BEGINNINGS OF NATURALISM IN THE ENGLISH NOVEL

by

Eula James, A. B.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the
GRADUATE SCHOOL
of the

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

1918

Approved -
Robert L. Ramsay

The initial idea for this thesis came from the work done in the course given under the name "Current Literature" by Dr. Ramsay. So suggestive was the course for this particular study that I find it impossible to acknowledge the indebtedness in each instance.

I am also indebted to Dr. Ramsay for helpful suggestions in the arrangement and presentation of the material in hand.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

Chapter		Page
I	INTRODUCTION Naturalism - Definitions Relation of naturalism to other literary types. (1) The Five Principles of Naturalism (8) (A) Aim (8) (B) Philosophy (8) (C) Morality (10) (D) Subject-Matter (11) (E) Method (12) Sources of Naturalism other than Realism (13) (A) The French Influence (13) (B) Influence of Ibsen and Hauptmann (15) (C) Influence of Science (15) Conclusion (15)	1-16
II	GEORGE GISSING AND THE INFLUENCE OF REALISM Life of Gissing (17) Gissing Compared with Dickens (19) Gissing's Use of the Five Principles of Naturalism (20) (A) Subject-Matter (21) (B) Aim (24) (C) Method (24) (D) Morality (27) (E) Philosophy (28) Conclusion (30)	17-32
III	SAMUEL BUTLER AND THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE Life of Butler (32) Scientific Views of Butler (35) <u>The Way of All Flesh</u> (36) (A) Aim (38) (B) Subject-Matter (40) (C) Morality (41) (D) Philosophy (42) (E) Method (44) Conclusion (45)	32-46

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Continued

Chapter	Page
IV GEORGE MOORE AND THE FRENCH INFLUENCE	47-58
Sources of Moore's Work (47)	
<u>Esther Waters</u> (49) (A) Aim (50)	
(B) Method (50) (C) Subject-Matter	
(53) (D) Morality (54) (E) Philoso-	
phy (55)	
Conclusion (57)	
V THE COMBINATION OF NATURALISM AND	58-77
REGIONALISM: HARDY AND BROWN ✓	
Introduction (58)	
Thomas Hardy (61)	
<u>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</u> (64) (A) Choice	
of Subject-Matter (65) (B) Aim (66) (C)	
Method (66) (D) Morality (67) (E) Philoso-	
phy (69) (F) Use of Regionalism (70)	
George Douglas Brown (71)	
<u>The House with the Green Shutters</u> (72)	
Conclusion (75)	
VI CONCLUSION	77-86
Limitations of Naturalism as the English	
see it. (77)	
Influence of present war (80)	
Permanent contributions to literature (81)	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	86-92
Primary Sources (86) Novels studied (86)	
Books used for comparison - Predecessors (86)	
Other books by authors studied (87)	
Books by contemporaries (88)	
Secondary Sources (89) General Books and	
Articles (89) Articles and books on par-	
ticular authors (90) (A) Gissing (90)	
(B) Moore (90) (C) Butler (91) (D) Hardy (91)	
(E) Brown (92)	

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

NATURALISM

The term "naturalism" has been so variously construed that it seems necessary for each person who seeks to use the term in a scholarly way to make his own definition of it; otherwise he is constantly halted by critics who insist that naturalism means something entirely different, and applies to other literary types. Thus realism is commonly confused with naturalism, and other forms more essentially unlike it than realism are classed by indiscriminating thinkers under the same caption.

The relation of naturalism to other literary types may be shown by a circle. The area of the circle is divided into five parts by lines radiating from its center. By judiciously naming these sectors, one has before the eye in tangible form the relation of one literary type to another. By the nature of the thing these lines of division cannot be very sharply drawn, for one variety shades more or less into another. Nevertheless, except for very nice distinctions, the circle suffices.

I
Relation of
Naturalism
to Other Lit-
erary Types

In one sector of the circle should be written romanticism, the realm of the imagination. On one side of romanticism is classicism, determined by intellectual elements and like romanticism beginning with an idea or an ideal. On the other side of romanticism symbolism is placed because it is the romantic element pushed to the extreme; it has gone so far that facts do not enter at all, for it is concerned only with the inner life. The sector next to classicism is named realism; like classicism it is intellectual, and takes an intellectual view of life; it pieces out the facts observed by the author's reaction to them. The fifth and last sector, just between symbolism and realism, is named naturalism. It, too, depends on facts gathered by scientific observation.

By the words "scientific observation" a picture of the laboratory is called up. However, life cannot be reduced to the small limits of a scientist's workshop; thus the naturalistic writer uses the statistical and case method of research: he makes a study of cases as he sees them and carefully tabulates results. The true naturalist just as cheerfully accepts all the factors and just as carefully keeps himself out of the final results as does the physicist or chemist. It is life, and not his own feeling for it, that he aims to present.

The refusal of the naturalists to choose and sift their material has given rise to the phrase, "a slice of life", or as Zola called it in his *Experimental Novel* "a scrap of life".¹ Most people will admit that life proceeds uneventfully: there are moments of intense dramatic interest it is true; but as moments their cumulative effect is hardly enough to produce any strong dramatic climaxes such as the older writers delighted in. The naturalist has, therefore, little or no introduction; he abhors a "strong curtain". One day is as good as another in the life of his hero; and one hour of that day is as good as another from which to proceed or at which to end. It is true that many naturalists have very carefully worked out plots: Hardy's equal in plot-making is seldom found. He chooses the interesting events in the lives of his characters; and he carefully selects the time for opening and closing the story. In this he differs

1. Experimental Novel, Zola, p. 212.

from most of the other members of the school. Hauptmann's plays, Moore's novels - these are examples of the literature which offers "a slice of life". George Moore's The Lake begins on a fine day, and runs through many more such, introduces us to a parson and a girl, and allows us to read their rather long letters, bandied back and forth for several months. At the last we know little or nothing of the real feeling between the two; we know nothing of their subsequent relations, altho this would have been good for a chapter or two in the case of the romantic novelists - and we sigh for a sequel chapter or volume to explain the mystery and to round out the story. Nevertheless, this rather monotonous succeeding of one event by another without building up to a climax is not without parallel in the average person's life. Since this is true to fact, the naturalist must show it thus; for this reason the terms scientific and impersonal are kept in the critic's vocabulary for the naturalistic type of work.

This suggests at once the fundamental difference between symbolism, naturalism, and realism. It may appear strange that such dissimilar types as realism and symbolism should have naturalism for their connecting link. A comparison of examples of the two will afford no explanation. It is only by tracing the growth that produced each that one may come to understand their kinship.

The writer interested in facts begins as a producer of realistic work. Such a writer was Dickens, and a typical

realistic novel is his Oliver Twist.

The story of Oliver Twist is concerned with the lives of the lowest class of human beings - thieves and pick-pockets of a certain slum section in London. The people of the slums are described just as they exist, with all the vices engendered by their unwholesome environment. Their physical beings are not glorified in the least; many details are given to show their degraded conditions. For example, the description of the Jew, as he went out into the street one night, is not in the least romantic:

"The mud lay thick upon the stones; and a black mist hung over the streets; the rain fell sluggishly down: and everything felt cold and clammy to the touch. It seemed just the night when it befitted the Jew to be abroad. As he glided stealthily along, creeping beneath the shelter of the walls and doorways, the hideous old man seemed like some loathsome reptile, engendered in the slime and darkness through which he moved: crawling forth by night in search of some rich offal for a meal." ¹

The description of the murder of Nancy by her lover Sykes is given with almost too many revolting details:

"The house-breaker freed one arm and grasped his pistol. The certainty of immediate detection if he fired flashed across his mind even in the midst of his fury; and he beat it twice with all the force he could summon, upon the upturned face that almost touched his own.

"She staggered and fell: nearly blinded with the blood that rained down from a deep gash in her forehead.

"It was a ghastly figure to look upon. The murderer staggering backward to the wall, and shutting out the sight with his hand, seized a heavy club and struck her down." ²

These descriptions are sufficiently depressing and brutal to merit the praise of Zola. But in other ways Oliver Twist

1. Oliver Twist, p. 154. (Complete Works, etc.)

2. Ibid. p. 404.

departs from the canons of naturalism.

Throughout, Dickens takes a personal interest in his characters. At the very outset he declares his concern for Oliver, and never once does he renounce it. Of course he sometimes laughs at him, as he laughs at most of his creations; but after all he is plainly well pleased in Oliver. After describing the infant clothes that ticketed him as a parish child - the orphan of a work-house - the humble half-starved drudge - to be cuffed and buffeted through the world - despised by all and pitied by none, Dickens closes his first chapter with this paragraph:

"Oliver cried lustily. If he could have known that he was an orphan, left to the tender mercies of church wardens and overseers, perhaps he would have cried the louder." ¹

The true naturalist would be too disgusted to more than sniff at such flagrant sentimentality.

Because he loved Oliver, Dickens could not tolerate his tormentors. He tolerated Nancy because she was to be the instrument of Oliver's escape. Each of the other outlaws comes in for his just deserts in an unquiet death. Nancy died quickly, aware of her coming death only a few minutes before ^{deed} ~~the~~ was accomplished. But Fagin, the founder of the school for pick-pockets and the most disgusting of the vicious characters, had incurred the dislike of Dickens in greatest measure. For eight or ten pages ^{Dickens} depicts him in his death agony, mixing the details concerning his misery of body with details of his agonies

1. Ibid. p. 4.

of conscience.¹

Moore, Zola, or Hauptmann would probably have allowed ~~Fagin's~~ ^{Fagin's} contortions of body to suggest the anguish of his soul. Dickens was interested in what Fagin thought and felt - therefore he gave a most complete description of his mental processes.

To most readers, Dickens' comments on the facts are quite as interesting as the facts themselves. But however admirable the personally conducted method may be it is not the way of the naturalist.

From the horrors of slum life to a consideration of the essence of soul may seem a long way. It comes about through a rather violent reactionary process. Where one studies life as the realist does one is apt to grow disgusted with sentiment and personal opinion, and to come to feel that facts are the vital things - the elements that cannot be ignored. But when glutted with facts - when driven by their brutality to seek a refuge from life - the ~~naturalist~~ ^{REALIST} is apt to begin to rely wholly on the inner life. Thus it is often noted that realists become naturalists; and it is equally true that many naturalists become symbolists. Ibsen has written typical dramas of each class; more common still are the authors who produce at least two of the three forms.

Oliver's dream is set in the midst of realistic descriptions of a very matter-of-fact life. The ^{dream} however, is not commonplace; it is a vivid picture of one of those moments that

1. Ibid. p. 450.

symbolists love to describe - a moment when the spirit is seemingly free from the body, and, unhampered by physical laws, goes on an expedition of its own. Oliver was vaguely conscious of his external environment, and he knew that he did not sleep; but he was held by a vision that made it impossible for him to renew his usual relationship to his environment at will.¹

Thus in the work of a man commonly called a realist there are traces of both naturalism and symbolism. Oliver Twist is only one of many novels that show why naturalism is logically the intermediary type.

As we have established the position of naturalism with reference to its sister-types, we may well notice the things that naturalism stands for. It has five cardinal principles: in its aim naturalism is truth-loving; in its philosophy it is fatalistic, or, to be more exact, deterministic; in its ideas of morality it is fleshly; in its choice of material, it is democratic; and in its method it is scientific. Many of its followers neglect one or more of these, at times; in fact, seldom are all five of them combined in one work. But a combination of them is the ideal of the naturalist; enough of them to give the characteristic flavor is necessary.

II
The Five
Principles
of
Naturalism

As has already been said, naturalism in its

A.
Aim

1. Ibid., p. 288.

aim is truth-loving and truth-seeking. Beauty is ignored. If it come naturally, well and good; but facts must never be twisted to secure it. Moreover, the discerning eye of the naturalist is apt to see the false in seeming beauty; and seeing it, he does not hesitate to expose it. Such books as Samuel Butler's The Way of All Flesh (to be discussed at length in another chapter) are not popular because they hold up to ridicule relations and institutions that have always been revered and admired by the race. The lover of truth scorns such incidental things as success and a large audience; and in ignoring these thumb-screws of the public, naturalistic novels have rather consistently been failures on their initial appearances. It is safe to say that, if the romanticists hunt for the sentimentally beautiful in every situation, the naturalists are equally diligent in hunting for the ugly and sordid. This search may lead to a rather one-sided presentation of truth; and such books must prove their worth before they win public favor.

In the next place, the philosophy of the B
 naturalist is deterministic. As a means of broad classifica- Philosophy
 tion it is often said that romantic work is improbable, if not impossible; realistic work is probable; and naturalistic is inevitable. In this respect, naturalism resembles the old Greek tragedy. The heroes of the classical tragedy were driven by a resistless force which they called Fate, and they were powerless to change the course of a chain of events. Likewise, the naturalist absolves his characters from any moral responsibility for their

acts. But he does not call the determining force Fate: he renames it heredity and environment.

Ibsen's Ghosts shows this modern belief in the horrible effects of a tainted heredity. Any one of a number of novels, George Moore's The Mummer's Wife, for instance, shows the moulding power of environment. There is no escape from these two forces: the victims may writhe as they please, their writhings are the stuff that modern novels are made of, but the case is hopeless - like Oedipus of the Greeks they are doomed from the beginning. Naturally it is not cheerful to feel that I am not "the captain of my soul"; there is little zest for a struggle so one-sided. This accounts for the pessimism and gloom that is so characteristic of the school.

In the third place, naturalism is frankly C
Morality fleshly in its conceptions of moral laws. Since man's instincts are so deep-seated that he cannot hope to root them out, naturalists depict them in great detail. In portraying the animal side of man's nature they forget or neglect the soul almost altogether. They cannot understand the older novelists' plan of showing the mental and spiritual to the utter neglect of the physical. George Moore could never comprehend the aim or philosophy that allowed Thackeray to depict a moral profligate, Becky Sharp, without mentioning her sensuality.

Moore and his associates are guilty of no such oversight. Most of their books depend on illicit love, in

some one of its manifestations for the chief episode: Hardy showed Tess in Tess of the D'Urbervilles as a fallen woman; likewise Esther Waters in Moore's book of that name, and Kate, his heroine of The Mummer's Wife, knew sin and vice at first hand. As an offshoot from this comes the book wherein the common harlot is a major character. Such a woman is Ida Starr in Gissing's book, The Unclassed. Again, a character with the most irregular notions concerning the marriage relation may be presented. An example of this type of story is Hardy's Jude the Obscure. The significant thing about such characters ^{as} presented by the naturalists is that they are neither condemned nor condoned - they are presented in the most matter-of-fact way, and to the reader is left the task of moral judgment.

This leveling tendency of naturalism brings one to its typical subject matter. In its democratic selection of human material is found the fourth leading characteristic of naturalism. All classes are, theoretically, equal to this school. But since the poor have been most neglected in literature, since their passions are most primitive because less bound by conventions, the naturalist usually seeks his material among the submerged portion of humanity. Thus Gissing chose the London slums; the characters of Moore's Esther Waters were mostly servants to a horse-racing master; and Hardy's Tess was a peasant girl supposed to be descended far back from some noble old family. However, altho the humble classes are the favorite subjects, many classes heretofore thought sacred are dragged into books of this class. The Way of All Flesh

D
Subject
Matter

'shamelessly exposes the failings of a parson's family; many of Shaw's plays poke fun at the highly respectable upper middle class.

This democratic method of dealing with people shows itself in another way - the refusal to set one or two characters up for hero or heroine as the case may be. Naturalists do not have heroes and heroines; rather they have major characters chosen to bear the burden of the story. These major characters are too human to be perfect in any way, and they do not perform heroic deeds after the manner of the usual principal characters. Occasionally this tying of characters to the earth is ludicrous or disgusting. As William was making his great appeal to Esther, Moore stops to mention his small discolored teeth.¹

The attention paid to such details is a part of the scientific method used by the naturalists - and this is the fifth and last article of their faith. Their use of the case-method instead of the laboratory method has already been commented on. They must give not a part of what they see but all, and this plan makes many of their books monotonous and discursive in style. Too often they naturalists give a mass of details, unrelieved by any comments of the author who seeks to have the same relation to his book as the chemist has to any of his products. This is the ideal; none of the English naturalists (unless it be George Moore) succeeds in gaining the detached, impersonal attitude of the scientist. They gain it in a greater degree, no doubt, than the

E
Method

1. Esther Waters, George Moore, p. 72.

realists do; but from the French standpoint not at all.

Most English writers "take sides" before they have gone far;

and in this^{respect} they are decidedly more realistic than naturalistic.

Was English naturalism, therefore, a direct outgrowth of realism? It was not, altho many realists directly influenced individual naturalists. The most notable example of this^{influence} is the influence of Dickens on Gissing. But of the many elements blended in the English school, the greatest and most important is the French influence exerted in greatest measure by Zola.

III

Sources
of
Naturalism
other than
Realism

In the preface to Therese Raquin Zola implies that naturalism means any artistic movement

A
The French
Influence

based on a return to reality. In his book of essays,

The Experimental Novel, he sets forth explicitly his ideas of what a modern novel should be. In general, he thinks that novel writing, like medicine, should change from an art to a science; and he would base this science, as all others, on scientific observation. He says:

"To give your readers a scrap of human life - that is the whole purpose of naturalism." 1

And again:

"One thing is certain, that any piece of work will be always only a corner of nature as seen through a certain temperament." 2

And:

"The great thing is to set up living creatures playing before the readers the human comedy in the most natural manner possible." 3

1. The Experimental Novel, Zola, p. 212.

2. Ibid., p. iii

3. Ibid., p. 210.

Thus it appears that the principles formulated by Zola are those followed by the English school; at least two of the members, Moore and Bennett, have admitted their indebtedness.

Perhaps in no other way did he influence them more than by his exaltation of background as a determining factor in life. In the work already quoted he states his view of man's relations to his invironment:

"Man is a thinking beast who forms a part of nature and who is subject to the multiplicity of influences of the soil on which he grows and where he lives." 2

With Zola stressing the soil on which he grew as a determinant of man's life it is no wonder that Hardy, Moore, Bennett, and many of the lesser English disciples should attach so much importance to it. Arnold's Five Towns, Hardy's Egdon Heath or College Town of Christminster, and Brown's House with the Green Shutters - these are the great forces that grind and crush characters into a certain mould.

This use of regionalism has become entangled with the "Heimat Kunst" Movement, which may manifest itself either in a naturalistic or a highly romantic type. The House with the Green Shutters is a naturalistic novel of region; Barrie's collection of stories, A Window in Thrums, is a romantic example of the spirit of home literature.

1. Letter to M. M. Oliver by Arnold Bennett copy in The Influence of French Naturalism on English Fiction.
Confessions of a Young Man. Moore.
2. Experimental Novel, p. 151.

Other famous exponents of naturalism on the continent were Ibsen and Hauptmann. Altho they worked primarily with the drama and exerted their influence in England chiefly through such dramatists as Shaw and Galsworthy, by a sort of "literary osmosis" their influence spread to the novel and poetry. ^{ever}How¹, Ibsen's influence began in the 90's with the first translation of his work into English; Hauptmann's began even later. Therefore since this study is concerned with the beginnings of naturalism their work is too late for its purposes.

B
Influence
of Ibsen
and
Hauptmann

An influence that may deservedly rank with Zola's is the revolution in scientific thought generally credited to Charles Darwin. His distinctive ideas in science had some influence on at least one literary man - Samuel Butler, one of the earliest and most distinctive of the English naturalists. As will be shown later, Butler was both an opponent and a follower of Darwin.

C
Influence
of
Science

The definition and conclusion derived from this discussion and to be adhered to in the succeeding pages follow:

IV
Conclusion

(1) Naturalism is that form of literary art that aims to portray life with cold, scientific exactness.

(2) Naturalism on the one hand shades into realism, and on the other into symbolism.

(3) Naturalism has five working principles, altho English writers seldom incorporated all of them in the same work.

(4) In addition to the influence exerted by realism, English naturalism was influenced by:

(a) Zola and his Experimental Novel.

(b) A little by Ibsen and Hauptmann.

(c) The scientific movement known as

Darwinism

(d) The "spirit of home" with which it has,
in some instances, blended.

In Chapter II, I intend to show the kinship of naturalism and realism through a comparison of the work of Gissing and Dickens.

In Chapter III, I propose to show the influence of Darwinism on Samuel Butler, a naturalist, as it is brought out in his The Way of All Flesh.

In Chapter IV will be discussed the influence of the French in instigating naturalism through such writers as George Moore.

In Chapter V the new form resulting from a combination of naturalism and regionalism with special reference to the work of Thomas Hardy and George Douglas Brown will be studied.

In conclusion, the growth of these beginnings will be briefly noted, and the present trend of naturalism will be discussed.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE GISSING AND THE INFLUENCE OF REALISM

I
Introduction

George Gissing is one of the most pathetic figures in the history of English naturalism. Altho he loved the comforts of home, that being an almost universal theme in his novels, he lived for most of his life in a disorderly household, with a drunken prostitute as his first wife and a scolding shrew as his second; passionate lover of beauty as Gissing was, he spent the greater part of his life in the dirty, "unwashed", ill-smelling sections of London; and altho one of the most ambitious of men, he saw others with talents much inferior to his constantly exceeding him in accomplishment.

The story of his life reads about the same in essentials as the stories that he told of his major characters. His own life - in his relations to women, his constant defeats, his gloomy outlook on the world - would furnish the material for a typical study in naturalism.

A
The Life
of
Gissing

Gissing very early acquired a love for Dickens; this led him to read other writers altho Dickens always remained his favorite. When comparatively young he was sent to college; there he acquired the reputation of being a promising student. He was expelled from college when the authorities proved that he was responsible for a series of petty thefts. No doubt he was sustained in this trouble by the knowledge that the money taken had been used to save a poor girl of the streets from despair. But it ruined Gissing's chance for academic success, and closed

to him the work for which he was best fitted. Soon afterward, Gissing came to America, where he spent a miserable period as a tutor in Boston and a hackwriter in Chicago.

After his return to England, he married the prostitute who had indirectly caused him to leave college. The union was the worst possible for a man of Gissing's temperament. The wife became a hopeless drunkard, and after a time Gissing was obliged to leave her. But he regularly gave her a part of his small income until her death. Out of this experience came his vivid pictures of homes ruined by the drink habit. But the vivid, these descriptions are so in a dull gray way, and despair is the key-note. Gissing knew this despair at first hand. His first experience, however, did not teach him a lesson, for not long after the death of his first wife he married a woman whom he scarcely knew. Tho she was frugal and orderly, her shrewish temper made his life just as unhappy as the irregular habits of the other wife had done. When worn out, he left her and went to France. There he met a French girl, refined and intelligent. As a divorce from his wife seemed impossible, the two decided to ignore conventions and laws. They entered into an irregular union that lasted until his death. This was the only satisfactory period of Gissing's life; and the sternest moralist can hardly deny that the temptation to live thus must have been almost irresistible to such a weak, unfortunate man as Gissing. Doubtless he would have thrown the blame for his unhappy life on Fate. To an impartial observer, less neurotic and less fatalistic in belief, it would seem that he might have avoided many of his troubles

by applying the homely old adage, "Look before you leap".

Many of these sordid details find their equal in the life of another and greater genius - Dickens. But Dickens could laugh at life and find enjoyment in an imaginary world inhabited by the characters that he created; Gissing hated life, and one of his greatest trials was the need for spending hours each day in creative work. Dickens wrote easily and found real pleasure in putting his images on paper; to Gissing such work was drudgery, and he said that he literally tore his characters from his brain. Dickens was the typical optimist, always sure that the world was going to be better; Gissing was too bitter to be called either a cynic or a pessimist - he was Despair personified.

Altho he did not accept the cheery philosophy of Dickens, Gissing considered the great Victorian his master. Of his many tributes to Dickens the most beautiful, perhaps, is the one wherein he credits Old Curiosity Shop (which he had read when he was ten years old) with giving him his love for nature.

In a comparison of the work of the two, one finds some obvious similarities. Both purposed, apparently, to reform the world. But Dickens was hopeful - rich and bountiful people in his books sometimes better the condition of the poor - as for example in the rescue of Oliver Twist. But in Thyrza, Demos, and other of his books, Gissing sneers at such work as a kind of glorified meddling. No good comes of it. Gissing ardently desired something better for those who, year after year, live below the poverty line; but he failed to work out any constructive program. He thought the task a hopeless one, and his

attitude is deadening. Few persons would be inspired to give themselves to social service by a reading of Gissing. Therefore, as a reformer, Dickens was more successful than his follower.

In other ways Gissing surpassed his model. For one thing he had better taste than Dickens and did not descend to his maudlin sentimentality. The death-bed scene of Little Nell in Old Curiosity Shop is the classic example of tiresome sentimentality; the death of Dora in David Copperfield, coming in conjunction with the death of her absurd little dog, is ludicrous. Gissing, at such times, has the rare gift of suggesting instead of telling; he made the death of Thyrza a thing solemnly beautiful. Moreover, this refusal to digress so often to depict emotion gives more unity to Gissing's work, and thus he technically surpassed Dickens.

The kinship of these two is an almost perfect illustration of the kinship of naturalism and realism; and thus it deserves a place in the discussion of the beginnings of naturalism. How the realism of Dickens is deepened into the grimmer and more tragic type in Gissing is our next concern.

To begin with, Gissing aimed to depict slum life just as he saw it, leaving out no individual or class to be found there. He had actually experienced the life and was well able to record data, altho his own views had a way of coloring the result. He firmly believed that the misfortunes of the poor or even of the world were determined by forces beyond individual control. He depicted the sins and vices of the submerged classes, but he did it seriously

II
Gissing's
Use of
the Five
Principles
of
Naturalism

and never in a flippant spirit.

All of his novels show these principles at work; none of them so much, perhaps, as The Nether World. For one thing, in most of the others he did not concern himself entirely with the proletariat. In certain others, too (as The Unclassed and Demos), Gissing sometimes twisted the conclusion to a rather conventional "happy ending". One cannot help but rejoice when Richard Mutimer (in Demos) died and thereby freed his wife to marry one of her own class. But the author begged the question by such a solution - such a thing might happen in life, but usually it does not, and at any rate it furnishes no general solution of the problem confronting those unequally mated.

In The Nether World, the poor are shown, A
Subject
Matter unmolested by interference from the class above. In few other novels do events follow each other so inevitably; and the deterministic view of life and morals is given in all of its baldness.

The major characters are Jane Snowdon and Sydney Kirkwood. Sydney befriended Jane when she was beaten and abused by the Peckovers in whose house she had lived as a domestic slave since her father deserted her. In the same house with the Peckovers lived the Hewitt family, of which one daughter, Clara, was strangely beautiful. She was idolized by her father, altho she annoyed him by her persistent refusal of Sydney Kirkwood. Finally, in a fit of anger she left home to work in a bar-room, scorning the advice of her father and Sydney.

About this time, the grandfather of Jane Snowdon returned from Australia. He had inherited a large sum of money through the death of his son (Jane's uncle). He planned to give this money to the poor, and he began the work of training Jane to administer it. Sydney Kirkwood frequently came to see the old man, and he finally confided the news of his love for Jane to the grandfather, who in turn told it to Jane. Jane had loved him since she was the poor little drudge of the Peckovers, and her joy was complete.

Meantime her father had returned from his wanderings and married Clem Peckover. Since his daughter was to receive all of the elder Snowdon's money, he made friends with her and posed as the contrite father and son.

Clara Hewett had not worked in the bar-room long. Through an alliance with an actor she became a member of a poor theatrical company. Just as she had secured the star part her chances were ruined and her beauty destroyed by acid thrown in her face by a jealous rival. She returned to her home, to the joy of her father, and once more brought Sydney Kirkwood under her spell - tho it is not clear whether he loved her again or merely pitied her.

After their marriage Jane was heartbroken, and lost her interest in becoming the good angel to the poor. Her grandfather was angry, and on his death, soon after, he left everything to Jane's worthless father. The happy heir deserted his wife, Clem Peckover, and went to America; from there, in a few years, word came back of the loss of his fortune and his death.

Jane returned to her old place in a factory; Sydney did his best to be a good husband to the soured and petulant Clara, and to keep together the little Hewett family who struggled against increasing poverty.

The two visited the grave of Jane's grandfather each year on the anniversary of his death; they managed to be there at the same hour - and this meeting made them strong for the trials of the coming year.

A reviewer, writing for The Nation, said some things about Gissing's work in general that apply particularly to The Nether World.

"Gissing", he wrote, "told of the underworld with a passionate understanding of its tragic, and, at times, idyllic aspects with alternating disgust and compassion for the life he knew."¹

Passages like the following show both the love and the contempt that Gissing felt for the slums:

"It was the sculptured counterfeit of a human face, that of a man distraught with agony. The eyes stared wildly from their sockets, the hair straggled in maniac disorder, the forehead was wrung with torture, the cheeks sunken, the throat fearsomely wasted, and from the wide lips there seemed to be issuing a horrible cry. Above this hideous effigy was carved the legend "Middlesex House of Detention." 2

And again:

"The cellar in which John Hewitt and his family were housed was underneath a milkshop; Amy led the way down stone steps from the pavement of the street into an area where more than two people would have had difficulty in standing together. Sydney saw that the window which looked upon this space was draped with a sheet.To poor homes Sydney Kirkwood was no stranger, but a poorer than this disclosed to him now he had never seen. The first view of it made him

1. Nation, V. 96, p. 257.
2. The Nether World, p. 6.

draw in his breath as tho a pang went through him." 1

All of his books, and especially this one, B
Aim
are concerned with such people and such scenes. Therefore, in his choice of subject matter and ⁱⁿ his aim, Gissing was certainly a naturalist. He told of the slum classes as he saw them, in an effort to make the upper classes understand.

He saw many less obvious things in slum life C
Method
too. Times that many eye-witnesses would call seasons of joy to the poor, Gissing called shams because they were efforts to be satisfied with mean substitutes for the better things that man desires. Instances of this may be found in The Nether World (the description of Pennyloaf's wedding day with its drunken fights for example)², and one passage from Thyrza is a good expression of the sorrow that he found in even the cheeriest incidents of London slums:

"Do you know that music of the obscure ways to which children dance? Not if you have only heard it ground to your ears' affliction beneath your window in the square. To hear it aright you must stand in the darkness of such a bystreet as this, and for a moment be at one with those who dwell around in the blear-eyed houses, in the dim burrows of poverty, in the unmapped haunts of the semi-human. Then you will know the significance of that vulgar clanging of melody; a pathos of which you did not dream will touch you, and therein the secret of hidden London will be half revealed. The life of men who toil without hope, yet with the hunger of an unshaped desire, of women in whom the sweetness of their sex is perishing under labour and misery; the laugh, the song of the girl who strives to enjoy her year or two of youthful vigor, knowing the darkness of the years to come; the careless defiance of the youth who feels his blood and revolts against the lot that would tame it; all that is purely human in these darkened multitudes speaks to you as you listen. It is the half-conscious striving of a nature that knows not what it would attain, which deforms a true thought by gross expression, which clutches at the beautiful and soils it with foul hands.

1. Ibid., p. 184.
2. Ibid., pp. 105-6.

"The children were dirty and ragged but they danced with noisy merriment." 1

Perhaps Gissing may be criticized for such an interpretation. There is a certain pathos in nearly every situation, whether it be connected with rich or poor, altho only the very thoughtful may see it. Something may be said for the person who refuses to go below the surface. Gissing could not do this. He must evaluate his material - and the reader gets so much of Gissing out of his books that he can hardly be called an impartial or scientific writer.

Altho he evaluates his situations, he is rather impartial to all characters that make any pretense of being upright. Sydney Kirkwood was one of a large class of characters, whom he seemed to love especially, doubtless because like himself they were bound in marriage to inferiors. 2

One can never be sure that any class of society was approved by Gissing. He was not impersonal; one is almost forced to conclude that he hated all classes: the rich because they oppressed the poor, and the poor because they were so dirty, vulgar, and ignorant. Temperamentally he did not belong to the proletariat. He belonged to the ambitious class of the poor; and he hated either the contented poor or the vulgar, social-climbing set among them. He did not blame the rich for their peculiar vices, engendered by luxury and leisure; he pointed out that the same vices existed in the poor in rudimentary form merely because the poor had lacked

1. Thyrza, p. 110

2; Julian Casti in The Unclassed and Adele Waltham in Demos are other examples.

the means for developing them.

John Hewitt, himself so poor that he could hardly feed his family, disowned his son for marrying beneath him.¹ That same son "forbade his wife to associate with a girl who had been the Peckover's dirty little servant.. And Pennyloaf, in spite of the keenest distress, felt that there was something in the objection thus framed. She herself had never been a servant - never; she had never sunk below working with her needle sixteen hours a day for a payment of nine pence. The working-girl regards the domestic slave as very distinctly her inferior." ²

Happily, Gissing believed that the rich and poor had certain virtues in common. Jane Snowdon is as refined as any gentlewoman; Thyrza is quite as lovely as her wealthy rival.³ Nevertheless, Gissing does not explain these characters in a convincing way. Time and again he assures the reader that grinding poverty has the effect of brutalizing and coarsening the finest nature. If that is true, Clem Peckover, the terror of her associates, is easily explained; but how explain Jane Snowdon, Clem's servant and drudge, who managed to keep herself unspotted and unsoured through adversity? As many critics have pointed out, Dickens could never give a satisfactory picture of the upper classes; it is equally true that Gissing could not depict the lower classes; his respectable slum dwellers are gentle folk living in an alien environment. He stressed environment as a social factor; he seldom mentioned heredity. His characters might possess more scientific verity

1. The Nether World, p. 104.

2. Ibid., 208.

3. Thyrza.

had he explained them oftener by heredity.

Clem Peckover, mentioned above, is per-
D
Morality
 haps the study that best illustrates Gissing's in-
 difference to problems of sex. Illicit love sometimes has
 its part in his stories; and one harlot, Ida Starr, (in The
Unclassed) he used as a major character. But following Dickens
 and the Victorian school in this^{respect} he never stressed sex emo-
 tions. Clem Peckover was possessed of every other vice, sin,
 and crime, and one feels that she must have been sensual. She
 might be called a grimmer Becky Sharp; like Thackeray in his
 portrayal of Becky Sharp, Gissing laid no emphasis on the
 morally lewd in Clem's nature.

A critic sums up Gissing's method by saying:

"It was no doubt a fault of his art that he emphasized things evil unduly; but he did not fail to see the soul of goodness in them. He was not morbid and he was not indecent.....One feels that Zola gloated over his repulsive details, that Flaubert depicted vice with cold contempt, that Mr. Moore attempts to discover in a spirit of bravado how much his public will stand.....With them it is the fact and the fact only that counts. But it is the fact transfigured by the imagination that one seeks in a work of art: Gissing was a realist controlled by an ideal." 1

The one sentence - "He was not indecent" - sums up his moral ideals. He often showed physical ugliness, especially when aided by such things as ragged clothes, squalid houses, dirt, and disease. But one never feels that he glories in depicting repulsive sexual traits. His lewd characters receive his disapproval through the characters associated with them. In this^{regard}, Gissing is a typical moral-minded Englishman. In no other way, perhaps, does he show so well how much he was indebted to the Victorian realists.

1. Atlantic, V. 98, p. 280. 1904.

As has been hinted already, one essential E
Philosophy difference between Dickens and Gissing existed in their philosophies of life. Dickens generally held to the doctrine of free will; Gissing was a thorough determinist. A quotation from The Nether World shows the hopelessness of life as Gissing saw it:

"Bob did not find his life particularly pleasant; he was in perpetual fear; many a time he said to himself that he would turn back. Impossible to do; for a thousand reasons impossible; yet he still believed that the choice lay with him." ¹

This fatalistic philosophy places Gissing indisputably with the naturalists. It is the out-standing feature of his work - the thing that impresses the reader first and stays with him longest. Zola, the founder of the school, was not more pessimistic in his outlook than Gissing. The Greek Fate was never more inexorable than his fate, composed principally of environment with a little of heredity. Most naturalists use these in about equal measure as life's determining factors. Gissing does not turn to the thing far back to explain character. He seeks the reasons in the poverty, dirt, and disease of the present. They have a distinct personality - they are not inanimate somethings, but great resistless forces that seem to plan their attacks on their helpless victims. His fate determines the course of his stories just as surely as the Greek Fate determined the Greek tragedy.

Heredity is important in giving the weakness through which environment strikes. Bob might have won out in the struggle had his weakness for flattery and "good times" not overcome him;

1. The Nether World, p. 257.

the fascination that bound him to Clem supplied the motive and his own skill in earning a means for his ruin as a counterfeiter. Jane Snowdon had inherited a weak character that made her a negative thing to allow herself to be over-awed by Sydney, her grandfather, Clem, and the others. Through this inability to make decisions her life was ruined. In a sheltered home her gentleness would have won everything for her. In the rough, cruel underworld it meant only misery. Thus heredity and environment work together to remove all chance for a tragedy of will.

The inexorable sadness of Gissing's books gives them their unity. Gissing was not consistent enough to unify them; he has a bewildering way of demonstrating a truth, and immediately afterward presenting its complementary truth. But the whole process tends inevitably towards one conclusion. Gissing's characters have "the dignity of misery nobly borne", and it would be an insult to that dignity to twist the final scenes in the manner of many writers to secure a happy ending.

At this point it seems permissible to present three quotations from Gissing. They are given not so much because they present Gissing's philosophy, but because they show so well the pessimism of the entire naturalistic school.

"Mad Jack was haranguing the crowd.

"There was a light such as none of you ever saw, and the angel stood in the midst of it..... Then the angel said, 'You are passing through a state of punishment. You, all the poor among whom you live; all those who are in suffering of body and darkness of mind were once rich people---- Because you made an ill use of your wealth..... After death you received the reward of wickedness. This life you are now

leading is that of the damned; this place in which you are confined is hell! There is no escape for you. From poor you shall become poorer, the older you grow the lower shall you sink in want and misery. At the end there is waiting for you one and all, a death in abandonment and despair. This is hell - hell - hell!" 1

The description of Thyrza's death is followed by these paragraphs:

"The heart that had ached so wearily would ache no more; for the tired brain there was no more doubt. Had existence been to her but one song of Thanksgiving, even then to lie thus is more desirable. For to sleep is better than to wake, and how should we who live bear the day's burden but for the promise of death?"

"Annabel rose murmuring old words:

"Therefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive. Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun." 2

From the discussion above we may conclude: III
Conclusion

- (1) That Gissing, the avowed follower of Dickens, was a naturalist.
- (2) That this relationship shows the kinship of naturalism and realism.
- (3) That Gissing did not consistently apply all of the five rules of naturalism.
 - (a) He was truth-loving in his aim, but he sometimes saw truth in a one-sided way.
 - (b) He was too personal in his method to be strictly scientific.
 - (c) He depicted many classes, but he did not sympathize with all equally.
 - (d) He seldom or never stressed sex and illicit love.

1. The Nether World, p. 334.
 2. Thyrza, p. 478.

(e) His philosophy was deterministic or fatalistic; Fate, as he pictured it, was made up of the two forces, heredity and environment; but he always stressed environment as the more important element of the two.

CHAPTER III

SAMUEL BUTLER AND THE INFLUENCE OF SCIENCE

I
Introduction

In that motley of ideas that has been given to the public under the name of The Note Books of Samuel Butler one may find Butler's own frank statement of his position: "I am the infant terrible of literature and science. If I cannot, and I know I cannot, get the literary and scientific big-wigs to give me a shilling, I can, and I know I can, heave bricks into the middle of them."

Most of Butler's life was spent in the pleasant occupation of heaving bricks into the middle of something - chiefly institutions or ideas that he thought were becoming rigid and fixed. For a long time Butler was considered an anarchist; time has proved that in many of his ideas he was merely unfortunate in living beyond his generation; others of his ideas have disappeared into the limbo reserved for the fantastic.

The causes of his radicalism (in so far as they may be determined) will be set forth in this chapter: especially the part that science had in giving the peculiar bent to his mind will be discussed. Altho an opponent of many phases of Darwinism, Butler, nevertheless, was influenced by many of its tenets; and many of these he set forth in his one novel, The Way of All Flesh. In this book naturalism is exemplified and deepened by the author's interest in certain principles suggested to the mind by the words Darwinism and Evolution.

The strange inconsistencies of the different periods

of Butler's life are comparable to the paradoxes in the life of Ernest, the major character in The Way of All Flesh. The book is distinctly autobiographical in character throughout.

Samuel Butler was born at Langar Rectory, Nottingham, on December fourth, 1835. His father was Reverend Thomas Butler; and his grandfather was Dr. Samuel Butler, famous first as the headmaster of Shrewsbury School and later as the Bishop of Lichfield. As a boy the younger Samuel had the advantages of travel, and a thorough preparation for college. The headmaster of Shrewsbury was Benjamin Hall Kennedy, the original of the despicable Dr. Skinner in The Way of All Flesh. Few school-boys are so cleverly revenged on their unloved teachers as Butler was on the stern Dr. Kennedy.

In 1854 Butler entered St. John's College, Cambridge. During the four years that he spent at Cambridge, Butler wrote a great deal. Even this early work shows the irony and biting satire that distinguished his later work.

During the years spent at college Butler was preparing for ordination. He identified himself in a rather cursory way with a group of religious fanatics known as the Simeonites. His slight interest in them did not prevent his writing satires on their religious tracts; and their fanaticism may have been one of the things that convinced him that he could not conscientiously take orders.

To prevent his being a painter his family sent him to New Zealand in 1859. He remained there for five years as a herder of sheep. There, during the long days spent in the

open, he thought through all the problems that troubled him, and when he returned he promptly began to ignore all conventions that did not please him. The remainder of his life was devoted to laughing at the public; the public repaid him by dislike or indifference.

At the suggestion of a French woman he collected and published some sketches that had already appeared in New Zealand papers. One or two of these (as Darwin among the Machines) suggested a story to him, and thus he compiled those strange books Erewhon (1872) and Erewhon Revisited (1901) which are an unusual mixture of satire and Utopia. He also wrote several books concerned with science, such as Life and Habits (1877) and Luck or Cunning (1886). He likewise attained a certain amount of fame as a critic, but his ideas were so unusual that he was not taken seriously in this field. For instance, he declared that the Odyssey was the work of a woman; and in a volume on the sonnets of Shakspeare he undertook to tear down all the conventional ideas that had been held concerning them.

All this was a mere preliminary to the unusual novel, The Way of All Flesh. Perhaps Butler appreciated the sensibilities of his contemporaries and wished to escape the storm - at any rate he did not consent to have his novel published until he lay on his deathbed (1902). It finally appeared in 1903. According to Streatfield,¹ who has made a careful study of the chronological order of events in Butler's life, the novel was begun about 1872 and finished about 1884. It, therefore, belongs to the period with Life and Habits. Altho published so late, by the early

1. Introductory note to The way of All flesh taken from R. A. Streatfield's Samuel Butler: Records and Memories. (1903).

date of its composition The Way of All Flesh has the right to be known as a pioneer in the naturalistic movement. Had Mr. George Bernard Shaw, the best of all advertisers, not called attention to Butler's influence on him in this field the world might never have recognized him as one who blazed the way. Shaw said that the English did not deserve great men - because, as he explains, "When I produce plays in which Butler's extraordinarily fresh, free, and future-piercing suggestions have an obvious share, I am met with nothing but vague cackling about Ibsen and Nietzsche." ² 1

Altho we are chiefly concerned with the one novel II that Butler wrote, it was only a small part of his Scientific Views of Butler work, either in bulk or importance. Throughout his life he was writing or thinking along scientific lines, and he wrote The Way of All Flesh to illustrate the line that a narrative might take if its author understood science well enough to write Life and Habit, already mentioned as contemporaneous in composition with the novel.

The scientific views that he held will be stated very briefly as a working basis for the analysis of his novel.²

(1) He believed in purposive evolution as against what he called the mindless universe of Darwin.

1. B. Shaw in Preface to Major Barbara.

2. The statement of these views was derived from a study of the Chapter "Darwin and the Scientific Books" in John F. Harris' Samuel Butler, rather than from a careful study of Butler's scientific books.

(2) He accounted for evolution by a theory of unconscious cell memory and a sense of need felt within the organism.

(3) There is little or no sympathy between generations; progress is ruthless, he said.

(4) He refused to believe that chance variation could bring about such great changes.

(5) He admitted that physical evolution had practically ceased.

Thus, Butler's views are a strange and (at times) a contradictory mixture of Lamarck's, Erasmus Darwin's, Charles Darwin's and his own ideas. (1) and (2) he got from Lamarck; (3) is neo-Darwinian (the Darwin pointed out that at times nature is altruistic rather than ruthless); (4) is the contribution of Lamarck and Erasmus Darwin, altho the generally accepted theory of change by mutation was given by DeVriess; (5) is Darwinian.

A comparison of the facts given in the biography and in the statement of Butler's scientific views with the story of his novel will demonstrate its autobiographical character. It is peculiarly modern in that it tells the entire story of a life, going back into the inheritance of the major character to find sufficient explanation for some of his traits. His heredity is established; then the effects of such a heredity on a character placed in the midst of a pious parson's family ~~are~~ carefully worked out. This explanation of character by a consideration of heredity and

III
The Way
of
All Flesh

environment shows the influence of science on Butler, and it separates him from those writers of "pretty stories" who have the most impossibly beautiful girls coming from a long line of underfed mountaineers. Beautiful faces and lovely characters sometimes develop in the midst of a stunting environment, it is true; but as a scientist and a naturalistic artist Butler could not present such apparent exceptions - he must trace the causes leading up to them.

The story begins with Ernest's grandfather, who was the son of a day laborer. Old Mr. Pontifex was a gentle soul, who could draw fairly well, and play passably on the two organs that he had built. Having married a "Gothic woman" with a little money, he got along well altho his wife was master of the house. His son became a business man; by careful management and a prudent marriage he increased his store of worldly goods. His five children feared him; and his son Theobald, who felt that he could not conscientiously take orders, was so hectorated by his father that he finally decided to do so. He married Christina, the daughter of another clergyman - and by a coup d'etat on the wedding day Theobald once for all gained the ascendancy. Hectorated by Theobald as Theobald had been by his father, Ernest went to college where he spent his time preparing to take orders. After he left college he went to live in a poor district, in order that as a minister of the gospel he might come into close contact with the needy. For an indiscretion on his part he was dragged from his poor lodgings to jail; thereupon he was cast off by his family. As he had never

had any real friends save his Aunt Alethea and Mr. Overton, who tells the story, this break with his family was a welcome relief. After his release from jail he married Ellen, a former housemaid of his mother. She turned out to be a common drunkard, but Ernest was not aware of this until she suffered an attack of delirium tremens. Through another old servant of the Pontifex family, Ernest learned that Ellen had been married before and was not legally his wife. He took his two children from her, gave her an allowance, and thought no more about her.

About the time that he was rid of Ellen, Mr. Overton turned over to Ernest the fortune that his Aunt Alethea had left in secret trust for him at her death. Ernest was much surprised to find himself a wealthy man. Soon after, he was summoned to the deathbed of his mother, where he disconcerted the entire family by telling them of his lately acquired wealth. Altho very jealous, they forgave him his offense against the family pride.

Ernest turned his children over to a fisherman and his wife, who were to rear them as their own. Unless they showed a real desire for it, he did not propose to force an education on them. His daughter finally married the son of the fisherman; Ernest's son became a bargeman.

Ernest settled into a pleasant groove. He spent his time in writing books that nobody read, and in trying to spend or give away his income.

Butler certainly presented what he thought was a truthful picture of life in the average family - or in

A
Aim

the average clergyman's family at any rate. He had no private views at variance with his public expression. In his note-books he time and again ridicules the idea of a son having any reverence for an old father; and he frankly says that he was relieved when his father died and left him to enjoy the money that was rightfully his. Having made up his mind to this innate antagonism between the generations and the ruthlessness of life's demands, he tells a story to prove it. Ernest hates his father and openly admits it. His brother and sister have the same feeling altho they conceal it from the world at large. Christians may be (and usually are) of a nobler type than the Christians of Butler's books; clergymen and their wives are not usually so narrow and mean as Christina and Theobald; parents are not usually so cruel, nor children so anxious to be rid of them as in The Way of All Flesh - but such cases are not at all so exceptional as to preclude their use in a book that aims to portray life. Often the complementary expression is quite as valuable as a statement of the truth itself; and in showing the horrible effects of family life when stunted by narrowness and fanaticism. Butler only emphasized the possibilities of the ideal family life. Many statements of his might suggest that he believed the ideal condition only a creation of some one's fancy; Darwin might have found a splendid illustration of the ruthless doctrine of the survival of the fittest in the Pontifex family; nevertheless, Butler's little sketch of Alethea, the aunt, in her relations to Ernest

1. The Way of All Flesh, p. 456.

seems to show that he thought a satisfying association between relatives possible. Butler had the courage to show a side of life that most novelists have ignored, and by his courage he merits the tribute - truth-loving.

As has been said already, Butler, through his courageous violation of public sentiment in choosing a clergyman's family as the material for his art, achieved the right to be called a lover of truth. In this he did not use, as the naturalists usually do, the proletariat. Nevertheless, although Christina and Theobald with their son Ernest are the chief figures of the book, they are made to rub elbows with members of the lower classes in the most democratic way. The first Mr. Pontifex was the son of a day laborer; Mrs. Jupp, an unreformed old sinner from the streets, is a welcome contrast to most of the other characters because she has no worries and no problems to solve; Ellen, ex-housemaid, is married to Ernest regardless of family pride; and their children are reared in the home of a fisherman because Ernest would rather see them happy in primitive surroundings than unhappy in a situation more advantageous from a social standpoint. William Lyon Phelps says that "The foundation of Butler's style is the paradox; moral dynamics are reversed; the unpardonable sin is conventionality: Butler rubs our thoughts the wrong way."¹ Probably in no other way does he rub so many people's thoughts the wrong way as by this indiscriminate mixing of characters - most of us are a little hurt by Ernest's refusal to take his children from the fisherman's home after he had become wealthy and could have

1. The Advance of the English Novel, Phelps, p. 235

done so much for them; and it is more than a little disconcerting^t to see the way that Ernest scorns the little talks with his mother and how eagerly he welcomes a conversation on any known subject with Mrs. Jupp. He is relieved when he has fallen as far as he can fall through the sentence to jail; most readers, like his Father Theobald, wish that he would take his trouble a little more after the conventional manner of prodigals; there is no use to give sympathy to a man who is apparently satisfied for the first time in his life. Although not concerned chiefly with the lowest classes, as German naturalists are, Butler, unlike Gissing, saw no fixed gulf between classes, and in this general attitude he was democratic.

Butler is no easier on the usual standard of morals than he is on the accepted standards of social values. Whether consciously hedonistic or not, he holds up happiness and content as the chief ends of life. If the life at the parsonage had made for happiness in the life of his major character no doubt he would have kept him there. Since it did not, Butler implied that no artificial bonds of sentiment or sentimentality should bind him to it. Moreover, his ideas of happiness seem to include only material well-being. If the immoral Ellen could keep a quiet, orderly home and help Ernest in his business, she was as good as another for his wife. The fact that she was hopelessly vulgar and ignorant, whereas Ernest was of a literary turn, did not disqualify her. Ernest chose her with about the same amount of forethought that most people would give to the choosing of a housekeeper. Indeed, she was that primarily, and

and when she was no longer able to be that, because of her intemperance, Mr. Overton (Butler's mouthpiece), demanded that he turn her out, and he said that Ernest talked nonsense about dying at his post, till he was tired of him.¹ Unconscious cell memory urged the evolution of the organism, according to Butler. Doubtless he would have said, too, that in casting off any impediment to his progress Ernest was only answering the need ^{of his cells} and was thus helping along his own development or evolution to a higher type.

Neither Mrs. Jupp nor Ellen is condemned for her low tendencies in sex relations. Since Mrs. Jupp had lived to a ripe old age remaining "the same gay, irresponsible creature, direct and graphic in everything she said, a picturesque, unrepentant ex-member of the oldest profession in the world."² Butler implied that her course had not been immoral. Ernest, the chief of all blunderers, is blamed no more for the blunder concerning the innocent Miss Maitland³ than he was for saying "tum" as a child when he should have said "come".⁴ Most impartial observers would blame him more for the affair with Miss Maitland; as a whipping to a child is about as terrible as jail to a grown man, they are made of about equal importance in the story. One may safely say that to Butler there was no positive right or wrong; the expedient thing, rather than the thing ideally right, would be his choice always.

In his philosophy the author of The Way of ^DPhilosophy all Flesh was true to the naturalistic type. Heredity and environment he combined into a powerful molding force that left

1. The Way of All Flesh.
2. Samuel Butler, Harris, p. 233.
3. The Way of All Flesh, p. 300.
4. Ibid., p. 108.

little or no chance for the will of the individual. Ernest, from the standpoint of his inheritance, was not a chance variation; he was the child of his great-Grandfather, a good-natured, easy-going carpenter, who could build organs, draw a little, and play a little, and who had theories about sunsets. Thus, gifted in a small way, possessing a gentle and sensitive rather than a brilliant mind, Ernest was put in an environment of narrow-minded evangelicalism, family prayers, and supposedly profound intellects. Life for him was a conflict between these forces. Had he been in the direct line with Theobald he would have submitted as Joey did and sullenly lived up to his fate. Along with his gentleness, however, he had a certain amount of obstinacy. His environment only helped to strengthen this; and when he had gained the physical courage of a man he dared to break with his environment to follow the line of action indicated by his heredity. This heredity eventually triumphed over environment; but the struggle was so long and so stunting in its effect on Ernest, and the final victory was so doubtful in its significance that one can hardly be justified in saying that Butler valued one above the other. At any rate Ernest was powerless to change his life - he was continually being veered about, first by his inherited tendencies, and next by the acquired traits for which environment was responsible. Likewise, Theobald can hardly be blamed - his marriage to Christina taught him a vicarious means of ridding himself of the rage inspired by the treatment of his father. Thus the character is never to blame for his own

acts - he has the tendency, and something in his surroundings furnishes the opportunity. Ernest himself feared that he would revenge himself on his children for the indignities placed on him by Theobald. Thereupon he promptly put the children where he would see them only at rare intervals. Whether this shirking of temptation made him any better than his father is a question; certainly it did not offer a general solution for similar problems.

Butler is not an exponent of naturalism in his methods. His own views are given quite as thoroughly as Hardy and Gissing gave theirs. The views show themselves in the ironical and satirical thrusts at society and the characters portrayed.

E
Method

Frequently these bits of irony or satire come about through a twist given to some familiar proverb or quotation from the Bible. For example: "They were stupid in little things; and he that is stupid in little will be stupid also in much." 1

"It (the hymn) was to the effect that if you did not pay attention to the voice of conscience it would soon leave off speaking. 'My mamma's conscience has not left off speaking', said Ernest to one of his chums; 'it's always jabbering.'" 2

"Paul had fought with wild beasts at Ephesus - that must indeed have been awful - but perhaps they were not very wild beasts; a rabbit and a canary are wild beasts." 3

"Freely you have received; freely take as much more as you can get." 4

Nevertheless, altho these quotations would suggest that Butler was very unscientific in allowing his own personal

1. The Way of All Flesh, p. 103.
2. Ibid., 195.
3. Ibid., 290.
4. Notebooks of Samuel Butler.

views to color his narrative, he secured a certain false air of impersonality and indifference through the clever device of allowing a friend of the family to tell the story. As in all autobiographical studies the author tells his own story, and at the same time tries to comment on it as an outsider might. Since Mr. Overton instead of Ernest tells the story, the egotism so often associated with the first person narratives is eliminated. Likewise the insufficient knowledge of the usual minor character does not limit Mr. Overton, who is not only the confidant of Ernest, but the lover of his aunt and the childhood friend of his father as well.

In effect, then, The Way of All Flesh is an impersonal narrative from the author's standpoint; in reality it embodies his most personal sentiments and convictions.

From this discussion we conclude:

IV Conclusion

(1) That in general outline and even in many details the life of Butler was similar to the life of Ernest in The Way of All Flesh.

(2) That in his scientific views Butler was an eclectic, and his scientific views had a great influence on his novel.

(3) The Way of All Flesh is a study in naturalism.

A. In its aim it is truth-loving - altho it emphasizes a truth not usually recognized.

B. In its choice of subject matter it is only partially democratic.

C. In its morality it is fleshly and materialistic.

D. In its philosophy it is deterministic - heredity and environment are of equal importance.

E. In its method it is not impersonal, altho a certain impersonal effect is secured by its narrative device.

CHAPTER IV

GEORGE MOORE AND THE FRENCH INFLUENCE

When studying the workmanship of Gissing, Hardy, I
Brown, or even Butler, one feels their sincerity as Introduction
craftsmen and as men. Their ideas may outrage conventional stand-
ards; but the honest statement of their distinctive beliefs in-
variably inspires respect. With George Moore and his work there
is a difference. In the brilliant, epigrammatic style of Mr.
George Bernard Shaw he attempts to startle the world. He is more
superficial than Shaw and less clever. In his novels he appar-
ently forgets this pose of his, and, with gratifying results, allows
his instincts as an artist to lead him. In his Confessions
of a Young Man and his Memoirs of My Dead Life he is obviously bent
on shocking England, whom he regards in the light of a rather
stupid old maid. He will credit no revered English writer with
being his own equal; Meredith's books he finds "noisy"¹; Hardy's
Far from the Madding Crowd he calls "one of George Eliot's mis-
carriages"²; Iorna Doone "as stupidly prolix";³ Stevenson's style
is "over smart"⁴; even Shakspeare was ruined by an excess of ideas.⁵
Pater alone he liked exteavagantly, doubtless because of the
pagan element in his works.⁶

Thus in France and not in England we must seek
the source of Moore's inspiration. At first, he tells
us, he began a series of stories; in these efforts one
merit alone was to be a distinguishing feature: they were

A
sources
of
Moore's
work

1. Confessions of a Young Man, Moore, p. 198.

2. Ibid., p. 199.

3. Ibid., p. 201.

4. Ibid., p. 209.

5. Ibid., p. 211.

6. Ibid., p. 215.

all to be perfectly constructed. But he was not pleased with his work; and when thoroughly disheartened he happened on an article by M. Zola in the Voltaire. Moore's own words best convey the significance of this:

"Naturalism, la verité, la science, were repeated some half-dozen times. Hardly able to believe my eyes, I read that you should write, with as little imagination as possible, that plot in a novel or in a play was illiterate and puerile; and that the art of M. Scribe was an art of strings and wires, etc.

".....Naturalism, truth, the "new art", impressed me with a sudden sense of light. I was dazzled, and I vaguely understood that my Roses of Midnight (the collection referred to above) were sterile eccentricities, dead flowers - passionless in all their passion.

"....The idea of a new art based upon science, in opposition to the art of the old world that was based on imagination, an art that should explain all things and embrace modern life in its entirety.....filled me with wonder..... In my fevered fancy I saw a new race of writers that would arise." 1

And to Moore belongs the position of the leader among the members of this new race in England. For a time he was deceived by the work of the Decadents; he was identified in an unsatisfactory way with the Irish movement; and his The Lake shows a certain understanding of symbolism. But his best work was done according to the rules of naturalism, and with that work this chapter is concerned.

Moore's life among the French deepened his admiration for their pastimes, their follies, their literature, and their great men. On his return to England he was no longer able to understand the English. As he admits in the Confessions, if he wrote a short story he was obliged to return to Montmartre or the Champs Elysées for his characters. His first books were

1. The Confessions of a Young Man, p. 90.

feeble attempts to give French stories and French characters to the English public in a way that would make them seem English. His work met with little success; but in 1894 he proved that, taking true English characters, the French methods of Zola might be applied in telling their stories. Esther Waters is the result of this contribution.

II
Esther
Waters

The scene of Esther Waters, in the opening chapters, is the country home of a horse-racing master. Esther enters the home as a servant girl; and soon along with the rest she is centering all her thoughts on the races. Esther becomes friendly with William Latch, the son of the cook; after her seduction she refuses to discuss the situation with him and goes to her own home. The birth of her child at the hospital is described in great detail. After that event life is a hard struggle for Esther who loves her child too much to neglect it. She meets William in the streets just after she had promised to marry a book-dealer. William persuades her to break her engagement; and after securing a divorce from the wife that he has in the meantime married he marries Esther. Together they manage a public house.

William risks more and more money on the races, generally losing. He is a sufferer from consumption, and dies of the disease after losing the last of his money on a race. Esther goes back to the old home in the country; and there with her first mistress, Mrs. Barfield, she begins once more to plan and work for her son. The story ends when he comes to visit her

in his soldier's uniform.

The aim of Moore's art in Esther Waters is to present a true picture of the life of a servant girl. To do this he merely reports her story - not as he or the reader might wish it to be, but as it was. He carefully avoids the chances for strong crises. Hardy could not resist the temptation to show the death of Tess's child in a highly dramatic chapter. Moore allows Esther's son to live, and not only misses a chance for a tragic and dramatic picture, but he also prepares the way for an important episode of Esther's later history. At least one critic considers Moore's artistry superior to Hardy's in disposing of the unfortunate child in each case:

A
Aim

"Mr. Hardy by killing Tess's child takes away the one means by which his heroine could have been led to return to D'Urberville without any loss of the reader's sympathy. Mr. Moore allows Esther's child to live, and thus has at hand the material for one of the most beautiful stories of maternal love imagined by a writer." 1

As is noted in another chapter, Tess's second fall is the thing that many readers object to in Hardy's book. Hardy tried to explain this by showing that the break with Clare had made Tess indifferent to life and its physical phases. Certainly mother love is a more plausible and less repulsive explanation of such a step. Moore's story is nearer life - and thus he approaches the ideal of the naturalist school more nearly than Hardy does.

To achieve the true picture of life Moore resorts to the use of details, commonplace and ugly often - or even unnecessary according to the judgment of the layman. Besides, he refused to work out a plot according to the time-

B
Methods

1. Adventures in Criticism, Quiller Couch, p. 343.

honored custom of novelists; and he keeps himself out of the work, assuming a cold, scientific attitude, following the traditions of the French school. At times the English fault or virtue of personal evaluation enters; usually Moore keeps himself out of the equation to a remarkable degree.

The science of medicine suggested to Zola that literature should be an exact process; and realists and naturalists have found much of their material in hospitals. Some of Henley's poetry chooses this subject, long considered very unpoetical. The hospital scene in Esther Waters is given with scientific exactness - nothing is over-looked, from the brutal indifference of the nurses to the odor of chloroform in Esther's nostrils.¹ Moore does not always give long and labored descriptions, He has the ability to suggest much by a simple well-chosen word or phrase. The trains screeched along the rails; ² the tramcars tinkled through a slacker tide of humanity than the Londoners were accustomed to; ³ the courts and alleys had vomited their population into the Lane ⁴ - these sentences illustrate Moore's ability to describe scenes accurately, and they suggest that he might have been equal to Hardy or Bennett in his descriptions of region if he had undertaken such work.

Certain technical scenes (for example the discussions of music in Evelyn Innes) cause the uninitiated to wonder if George Moore was always accurate. A critic writing in the Bookman said he referred the question to the late Madame Nordica, who said that the remarks on music were of no value, and that they revealed appalling ignorance. To the same question a distinguished

1. Esther Waters, pp. 157-163.

2. Ibid., p. 279.

3. Ibid., p. 280.

4. Ibid., p. 400.

composer of operas answered that the musical knowledge displayed was very remarkable, and that the discussions were valuable and interesting.¹

The plot of Esther Waters is "imperfectly perfect". It would be impossible to choose any particular passage in the book as the point where the action begins to rise, or where the crisis is evident, or the untangling certain. Especially is the conclusion disappointing to one trained in the old romantic school. Esther Waters' story never arrives; at the last, gray, dull days without number lie before her and without The End, added by obliging publishers, many readers would turn the page, hoping that at last something is about to happen. The birth of the child, the second meeting with William, and the death of William are interesting enough in themselves, but they do not build up to a climax - the first is given the same position by the author as the last, and indeed it seems that it makes little difference whether events are given in their logical order or not. In other words, the book truly presents a slice of life.

Certain moralists have seen in Esther Waters the purpose of ruining the profession of gambling and betting. In the 1906 edition Moore says in the preface that the teaching of Esther Waters is as non-combative as that of the Beatitudes. Many critics have noted that Esther is of the poor in spirit and is therefore blessed. But her creator never says that she is blessed; aside from a very few sentiments delivered against Fate, the author gives no personal views, no creed, no rules for life. The reader may praise or blame her according to his own moral bias.

1. Bookman, V. 43. p. 408.

In Evelyn Innes Moore was concerned with people of a higher social stratum than those in Esther Waters; in The Mummer's Wife he was telling the story of small tradesmen and players of the wandering order. He treats all impartially. The selfish Evelyn gets just as fair treatment as the gentle Esther; William Latch is depicted as just such a man as the lover of Evelyn, altho doubtless the aristocratic Owen would have found William disgustingly vulgar. But altho Moore does not personally value one character above another, Evelyn is far less convincing than Esther because of the artificial conditions surrounding her life. On the surface, the environment of sensual music plus an inherited love of fame might seem sufficient explanation for the prima donna; when studied more carefully her selfish, irresponsible attitude towards her father or even her lover seems impossible. Esther Waters, because of her position as a servant, has only to be judged by a standard of physical values, and by such she is a perfectly normal mother and wife. We expect more of Evelyn because of her superior endowments; we get pitifully less from her than we do from the lowly Esther. In one thing Moore shows his artistic taste: he does not persist in making a tragedy of lives through the device of mixing different social classes and temperaments. Tess and Jude might have been happy together; Sue Brightwell and Angel Clare would coldly have enjoyed life together. Moore makes no such mistake: Esther is of much the same fiber as William, altho he has an added masculine coarseness and ruthlessness. Therefore their story is more inevitable than Tess's or Jude's. From a fashionable French salon, such as Moore loved to describe in his Memoirs, to a

C
Choice of
Subject Matter

cheap public house in London is a long way; but Moore is equal to the task of describing either.

Moore is quite as democratic in his ideas of morals and morality as he is in his choice of material. In his Confessions he admits that he has enjoyed life merely because he was not dull and good;¹ and in a most affected way he juggles the words vices and virtues about to try to demonstrate that his virtues are what the ordinary person calls vices.² His women, accordingly, are creatures of instinct; as thoroughly sweet as Esther is, it is largely a matter of innate goodness with her - one questions whether she would have fought against temper or passion or any other weakness. Tess was a victim of circumstances; Esther freely admitted to her mistress that she was not a victim - that she loved William and realized the probable outcome of the affair. When she thought that Jack was being won from her by his father she was like a wild animal; but her wrath was gone almost as soon as she saw that she had broken the child's boat.³ Likewise, William is a strange mixture (or maybe a natural mixture) of good and bad. He accepted his early relations with Esther with indifference as to the probable misery that would result to her. When he saw her love for his child he began to repent; when he had enjoyed the same care that she bestowed on the child he was not too mean to appreciate her rare devotion.⁴

Moore's characters have the pragmatic view of life.

1.2. Confessions of a Young Man, pp. 251,-54,-55.

3. Esther Waters, p. 482.

4. Ibid., p.

Mrs. Barfield, who was a thoroughly good and religious woman, did not blame Esther for her misfortune; and rather than risk the calamity that may come to the unemployed dismissed without a "character", she gave her a letter at the risk of perjuring her own soul. Miss Rice advised Esther to live with William; since it seemed best for the child to have a home with his own father. Wicked as Esther thought betting, she calmly accepted it when she understood that to object would mean endless quarrels with William. The characters in Esther Waters do not kick against the goads: they say little about their likes or dislikes, but they make the adjustments that seem necessary. Thus they admit the power of the flesh over the spirit.

Since the flesh and not the spirit inter-
E
Philosophy
 ested Moore, it is not strange that he believed in material forces as the determinants of life. Stuart P. Sherman felicitously states the great naturalist's views:

"The notion of self-determinism, of an intelligible destiny guiding man like a star to ideal ends - this is an illusion.

"We..... can do nothing but what is pre-determined by the blind push in the darkness below and behind us of that vital energy which we share with the beasts of the field..... The mind to drift is the thing." 1

Moore would not punish Esther as she merely followed the path that blind instinct led. She is less forced than Tess - she is a mere drifter.

This drifting is really the result of certain aspects of Esther's character - the quality in her composition that has made men call her the concrete embodiment of the Beatitudes. It

1. Nation, Sherman, V. 94, p. 385. '12.

is her hesitancy in setting herself squarely against any other personality - perhaps from timidity and weakness, or maybe from gentleness of spirit. Moore may think that there is a patterning force in the universe; but he ignores it largely and accepts diametric circumstances - with or without any significant force behind it - as the shaping influence. Thus he has no violent denunciations of Fate or Justice such as Hardy delighted in; his general spirit of indifference has caused him to be named a coldly selfish writer, without church or creed or school - perhaps even without conviction of his own or high sincerity.¹

Nevertheless, he is sometimes mildly sarcastic towards Fate or Society. Esther's struggle, Moore said, was "a mother's fight for the life of her child against all the forces that civilization arrays against the lowly and the illegitimate."² Esther questions again and again the right that sends her innocent child to the workhouse. The description of the court and his Lordship when Sarah is tried for stealing contains more biting sarcasm against life and the classes in power than any other passage in the book. His Lordship, whose betting transactions were matters of public comment, insisted that poverty, despair, idleness, and every other vice sprang from gambling. Then "a certain dryness in his Lordship's throat reminded him of the pint of excellent claret that lordship always drank with his lunch, and the thought enabled lordship to roll out some excellent invectives against the evils of beer and spirits."³ For her drunkenness and thieving he then condemned poor Sarah

1. Independent, Irish Byways. V. II, p. 1405.
2. Esther Waters, p. 221.
3. Ibid, p. 427.

to eighteen months' hard labor.

Thus Moore's determinism equals the primal instincts, plus the environment of the individual. He glorifies the instincts and despises the artificial conventions imposed by Society. He mentions God, but as a being who has his influence through the psychology of the individual rather than as a great, independent force. William repented when about to die - but immediately afterward he bemoaned his hard luck in losing on the last race. Doubtless Moore would say, "Believe in God if it comforts you - after all it does not matter."

To summarize:

Conclusion

(1) Moore is the best English representative of the naturalistic school.

(2) According to his own account he began his work under the influence of Zola.

(3) In Esther Waters the excellencies and limitations of the school are exemplified.

(a) It presents the true "slice of life".

(b) It is done in a scientific way: it lacks plot (in the usual sense); it takes cognizance of details, commonplace or ugly; the author effaces himself.

(c) The choice of subject matter is democratic.

(d) In its morality Esther Waters is concerned entirely with the flesh.

(e) In its philosophy Esther Waters is deterministic, and through the philosophy expressed in this book the author satirizes society.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMBINATION OF NATURALISM AND REGIONALISM: HARDY AND BROWN

I

Introduction

In Chapters II, III, and IV, the chief sources of English naturalism have been noted and discussed. We have seen that the Victorian realists had their part in preparing the way for the grimmer type, and Gissing as a follower of Dickens was studied to illustrate this relationship. Likewise, the part that the scientific movement known as Darwinism has had on literature through Samuel Butler was pointed out. Finally, the influence of Zola and other Frenchmen on such English writers as Moore was discussed. It is the present task to note how the naturalism so characteristic of Gissing, Moore, and Butler combined with another type (called the literature of region) to ^{possible} make the peculiar work done by Thomas Hardy in England and George Douglas Brown in Scotland.

Regionalism is at least as old in English literature as the work of George Eliot. She showed region, if not a determining factor, at least a powerful influence on the characters that she created. Thus it is not strange that, when Hardy anonymously published Far from the Madding Crowd in 1874, many readers thought it was the work of George Eliot, who was still living.

It was not only in England that this use of regionalism has flourished. Indeed, the name "Regionalism" was given to the movement by the French. The Germans have known the movement as "Die Heimatkunst". Perhaps the happiest English translation of these terms is the "Spirit of Home", a name suggested by Dr. Ramsay and containing within it a suggestion of the distinctive

attitude of the writers of the school.

Regionalism accentuates and exalts the individuality of a region, a district, section, or province - for example, the Virginia of Thomas Nelson Page, the Wessex of Thomas Hardy, the Provence of Mistral, the Flanders of Verhaeren. It uses for this purpose all the distinctive features of landscape, race, and history that the region offers. It aims merely at literary, artistic, and cultural, sometimes at linguistic, but never at political independence. When the spirit of individuality and corporate distinctiveness grows into that elusive thing known as the feeling of nationality, regionalism becomes nationalism. Here it invariably adds a political annex to its program. Familiar examples will occur in the cases of the recent Irish, Polish, and Czech renaissances. There is one further step to be taken, the step from nationalism to imperialism, a step which transforms the movement almost into its opposite, just as we have seen naturalism at times passing into the literary tendency that apparently lies at the opposite pole, that of symbolism. When a nationality has achieved all of its legitimate national aims, unification, freedom to use its own language and culture and to work out its individuality unhampered, it sometimes unfortunately forgets the lesson of its own earlier struggles for freedom and attempts to impose itself upon weaker and less fortunate nationalities, thus essentially giving the lie to all its own earlier ideals. This is what has happened, of course, in the case of modern Germany. Imperialism may therefore be defined as a cancerous outgrowth of nationalism.¹

1. England's imperialistic policy was quite marked at one time, altho it was never carried to the extreme that Germany has carried hers. Kipling and his glorification of the British Empire was the literary manifestation of England's political imperialistic spirit.

Thus the literature of the nineteenth century contained within itself the marks of the struggle between the different political ideals of the period - and we may call the literary manifestations of the conflict the spirit of imperialism, nationalism, and regionalism, respectively. We are concerned in the work of Hardy and Brown with the earliest of these three stages, the stage of regionalism.

The explanation for the use of regional feeling or "Heimatkunst" lies in the industrial and economic conditions of the time. The industrial revolution has caused a great migration of peoples in late years, - a migration that has been responsible for our great cities with their complex modes of life. City dwellers, as a class, are weary of great buildings and vast crowds, and they seek the literature of villages and open fields. Writers have successfully used distinctive industrial towns as material for local color stories.¹ But the country district is still the chief source of material. Thus the book of "local color" flourishes. As Dr. Ramsay says: "It is all a literature of the disinherited; not so properly to be called Heimatkunst as Heimwehkunst." 2, 3

The homesick spirit has affected writers in two ways. Their books may be either sad or bitter. If the old home district

1. Arnold Bennett, Five Towns Stories.
2. R. L. Ramsay, Reprint from the Journal of English, and Germanic Philology. April 1914, p. 5.
3. For a fuller treatment see The Spirit of Home in the Lower South, 1917. (University of Missouri M. A. Thesis) J. P. Fagin, Foreword.

appears flawless because seen from a distance, a gentle melancholy pervades their stories; and we have the romantic work of the Kailyarders, Barrie, Crockett, and Ian Maclaren. If the authors remember the stones and thorns, and the mean, sordid inhabitants of the home region, the pessimism of Hardy and Brown results.

The pessimism of the latter branch of the Heimatkunst group has merged them with the larger group known as naturalists. Hardy and Brown are so little like the romantic Kailyarders that it would be absurd to class them together, even though they have a similar use of regionalism in common. On the other hand, Hardy and Brown differ from the naturalists, if at all, only in the one particular; since the naturalists are fond of stressing environment as one of the two determining factors in man's life their use of regionalism may be taken as one more reason for calling them naturalists.

Hardy had written other novels of region, and he had written other books that bordered on naturalism before Tess of the D'Urbervilles appeared in 1891. But there is fundamentally a difference between the earlier The Return of the Native or The Mayor of Casterbridge and Tess or Jude the Obscure.

II
Thomas
Hardy

One critic¹ explains that this difference is the difference that distinguishes the drama from the epic. By the very nature of the case a true drama must be bound more or less by the laws of unity. It is true that romantic dramatists depart

1. Thomas Hardy, Lascelles Abercrombie, p. 103.

from them at times; but if a play is to be acted it can only have a limited number of settings. The epic has only the reader's imagination for a stage, and its range is limited only by the limitations of its creator's ability in imaginative power. In the earlier novels Hardy applied this dramatic principle. He chose his setting, and he rarely changed it. Then he set a group of characters on his stage and worked out their appropriate stories. Thus, since one is concerned with a group, there is plot and sub-plot. Naturally, one or two characters interest the reader chiefly, but there is not the domination of the story by one character, just as there rarely is in the well constructed drama.

The epic does not derive its charm from its compactness and unity. Rather it depends on its expanse and bold sweep for its appeal. Since normally a group does not move as a unit from place to place the epic is logically concerned with one character in the main. Thus Tess and Jude are never at rest - and the stories of their wanderings as told by Hardy are distinctly epic in form. Since the earlier novels are concerned with groups, Hardy recognized the absurdity of insisting on uniform unhappiness for all of them. Such a treatment would have rendered a story either fantastic or horrible. But in depicting the life history of one character he might, if he chose, show an unhappy life. Where the author had suggested in earlier books he first openly declared in Tess of the D'Urbervilles, and thus it is best for the purposes of this paper.

With the publication of Tess a great storm of disapproval

broke about Hardy. He had been suspected before - now he was openly proclaimed a "shocking" writer. Chiefly he was attacked because of the supposed immorality and lewdness of *Tess*, and the brutal frankness of his un-Christian views. Therefore it is easy to understand that the book was new and surprising even for Hardy. Most of the novelty came from his frank acceptance of the principles of naturalism, worked out through *Tess's* story.

Hardy's life has been full of surprises for the public. He was born in 1840. From his twenty-second to his twenty-seventh year he wrote poetry and worked as an architect. After that he abandoned both poetry and art to devote himself seriously to the work of writing novels. His first novel, Desperate Remedies, published in 1873, was followed by a long list of books that pleased his readers more or less. Some of them, as Under the Greenwood Tree, were voted delightfully idyllic by those who read for the sake of the story. But the discerning reader might have seen in his books a steadily deepening note of grimness, which in Tess of the D'Urbervilles began to disgust the general public. Tess was followed by Jude the Obscure in 1895 - and the attention paid to this book cured Hardy (by his own account) of any desire to write novels. He published several volumes of verse after this; but it was not until 1904, with the publication of the first part of The Dynasts, that Hardy was recognized as a real and commanding figure in poetry. The Dynasts, since it is an epic-drama, has no legitimate place in this study. However, it may be said that it is the best expression of Hardy's fatalistic and deterministic philosophy - in it the creed of

Tess and Jude is made concrete through the strange spirits of the Over World.

Hardy quarreled constantly with life and "the god of things as they are." Most people appeared to him as pathetic victims of circumstances; the chain of events in which human lives are mere incidents is inevitable and not to be varied by those most concerned. Tess, as he pictured her, was fairly representative of the race as a whole, and her sorrows (as Hardy saw them) were the sorrows of anyone forced to live in this miserable world of chance.

Tess of the house of D'Urberville asked only that she be allowed to live a normal life. By an act of sin for which she was not morally responsible, she was forced into a false position, and the tragedy came because society required her to live in that position as tho it were of her own choosing.

The story begins with the inadvertent telling of the family history of the noble old family of D'Urberville to John Durbeyfield by Parson Tringham. Altho there are no lands to be recovered, Durbeyfield learns that his rightful family name is second to none in England. The father confides the strange news to his little family, and the petty pride inspired in the group prepares the way for Tess's ruin.

Tess goes to work for a wealthy but common family who has adopted her rightful name. The son of the family, Alec D'Urberville, forcibly seduces Tess; and she returns to her

own home where her child is born and later dies. Urged by her foolish mother, Tess secures work on a dairy farm where she meets Angel Clare, the second great personage in her life. Angel is the son of a rector, and he is intending to go to some colony as a farmer after he has learned the work. He secures Tess's promise, and they are married. Altho she has made futile efforts to tell him before, it is only after the wedding that he learns of Tess's sin. He leaves her at once, going to Canada. Tess struggles against poverty and hard luck to no purpose. Alec meantime has been converted and is a wandering preacher. He forgets all his good resolutions when he sees Tess; and after aiding her family he persuades her to live with him. Angel returns and finds her with Alec. Without a question Tess murders Alec so that she may return to her husband. She joins Angel, and they wander about in the Stonehenge district for several days. Officers of the law find them, and after a trial Tess is hanged. And Hardy is most bitter in his denunciation.

The characters concerned are, in large numbers, from the typical country classes. The D'Urberville family, the dairy maids, and the owner of the farm where Tess worked are all peasants. Alec D'Urberville and Angel Clare, destroyer and nemesis in the life of Tess, are of a little higher class socially. Alec is of the sensual type, able to live in comparative luxury. Angel is even more contemptible, because he is a noble soul ruined by the "more-righteous-than thou" attitude. Part of it is due to his early life as a member

A
Choice of
Subject
Matter

of a respectable clergyman's family; part of it comes from the peculiar cast of his mind.

H. C. Duffin, in his book Thomas Hardy, takes many pages to prove that after all Angel Clare is not despicable. He passes over ^{many} instances that show Angel's human weaknesses and says ^{of others} that we must consider them mere slips of the pen on Hardy's part - or else "Clare is bound to become a mere better bred Alec D'Urberville." ¹

He seems to be not merely better bred than Alec but also more dangerous, because supported by the false pride of the egoist. He would crush those who, unlike himself, do not fear conventions. He is, therefore, less likable than Alec, who was at least open enough in his sensuality to warn any but the unsophisticated Tess.

In these two characters only does Hardy depart from the peasant type (unless one includes such unimportant persons as the members of Angel's family). The reason is obvious - Tess, descended from a decayed family, has inherited certain weaknesses engendered by decay. Her life is blighted first by the supposed aristocrat, and later by the "moral man", each enough above her to have a certain appeal to a simple peasant girl. Thus does heredity combine with environment.

There is no doubt that Hardy aimed to pre-
sent a comprehensive picture of human life in his study
of Tess. The bitter epigrams which one finds there, if accepted
at all, apply to the race in general. Whether or not he thought
that his picture was impersonal I am not able to decide. From

A and B
Aim and
Method

the place that he gives to digressions in the form of personal comment it seems probable that he thought truth concerned not only with the facts of life but his own interpretation of them. He shows more or less sympathy for all the characters who are doomed to wander in this unhappy dream called life. Especially does he show understanding where Tess is concerned. He calls her beautiful Tess;¹ the soft and silent Tess²; and Chapter Twenty-two he names "The Woman Pays". Likewise he sympathized with Jude. It is this ability to feel for or against the individual that distinguishes Hardy from Gissing, who liked or disliked his characters as types of certain larger groups. Whether one can ever be dispassionate after taking the individual from the mass for study is a question; certainly Hardy is not.

Hardy, no less than the French naturalists, D
glorifies the flesh. Some critics say that he treats it Morality
in the frank manner of Browning's Rabbi Ben Ezra.² But Browning would have the body recognized because it helps the soul. It is probable that Hardy would consider the growth of the personal soul of no more importance than the development of the physical body. One cannot be too sure of his belief in this matter. The terrible tragedy that follows the yielding to the lower nature in any of his books (notably Tess or Jude) might, in itself, signify that Hardy frowned on such weaknesses. His bitter denunciation of the cruel tragedy, however, makes this view impossible.

Hardy is always perverse. If nature happens to coincide with convention, he scorns nature; if she happens to oppose convention, he lauds her. Where such a steady force as nature

1. p. 117, p. 167.

2. Duffin, Thomas Hardy, p. 135.

is concerned it would seem consistent to be either for or against her. In Jude the Obscure, the major character, in grieving for the loss of Sue by her marriage to the commonplace Phillotson, cries:

"If at the estrangement or death of my lost love I could go and see her child - hers solely - there would be comfort in it'. And then he uneasily saw, as he had latterly seen with more and more frequency the scorn of nature for man's finer emotions, and her lack of interest in his aspirations."¹

But in *Tess*, Hardy says:

"So passed away Sorrow the Undesired - that intrusive creature, that bastard gift of shameless nature who respects not the civil law."²

Thus if nature and convention agree, it is not a point for convention but a point against nature; if they disagree, shame and more shame on convention and the society that upholds such a system.

In a sense, *Tess* is a symbol of the struggle between nature and convention. By the beauty of her face and figure she stirs the primitive impulses; but in her own soul she abhors this,[?] and by the device of the veil tries to cover her beauty.³ Many people would deny any morality in *Tess* or her maker Hardy who had the questionable taste to allow her second fall. Of course this idea comes from the Hegelian teaching that by one fall human nature normally gathers strength to avoid a second. Thus temptations may be made a means of salvation. In a book by George Eliot the second transgression would be horrible, both from the artistic and moral standpoint. In *Tess*, a study in naturalism and blind forces, it seems inevitable, and thus by naturalistic logic it is moral, - or at least **not** immoral.

1. Jude the Obscure.

2. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, p. 103.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

The inevitableness of life leads to a consideration of Hardy's philosophy. It is the most important thing in his work; but it may be treated briefly, because through his books and his relationship to such German philosophers as Schopenhauer it has become widely known. It will be noticed only as it connects Hardy with the naturalistic school.

To Hardy, life meant environment plus heredity. Angel Clare expresses his views of heredity: the reader is told that Angel demanded that the "good old family" show "good new resolutions in its representatives." Again, Angel called Tess "the exhausted seed of an effete aristocracy." Perhaps Angel was right in associating certain weaknesses in her character with the decay of her family. What he overlooked was implied by Hardy throughout the book - the eternal temptations that surrounded her. Her mother, Alec D'Urberville, and finally Clare himself constantly tempted the weak willed Tess to follow the line of least resistance.

Whatever the cause, the tragedy it constantly reminded Hardy of the hopelessness of life. Such passages as the following show the futility of life from Hardy's viewpoint.

"In the ill-judged execution of the well-judged plan of things, the comer, the man to love rarely coincides with the hour for loving.....Enough that in the present case, as in millions, the two halves of an approximately perfect whole did not confront each other at the perfect moment; part and counterpart wandered independently about the earth in the stupidest manner, till the late time came." 1

"Sheer experience had taught her, that in some circumstances, there was one thing better than to lead a good life,

and that was to be saved from leading any life whatever." 1

"Justice was done; and the President of the Immortals (in Aeschylean phrase) had ended his sport with Tess." 2

As Miss Garwood points out, this justice was the worst kind of injustice; because, as she notes, in the tragedies which involve such characters as Antigone and the Duchess of Malfi, the characters are permitted to weigh the final punishment against some present gain, and thus they have a certain satisfaction in enduring.³ Tess was not allowed to choose, and is thus the most pitiful of all victims.

Tess is not dominated by some aspect of region as other of Hardy's novels are. Jude is always pursued by the vision of the college town; region as region plays a most important part in such a novel as The Mayor of Casterbridge. In Tess Hardy used region as Ibsen used the stage directions in The Doll's House - to give atmosphere. In Tess's youth she lived in the beautiful and quiet Vale of Blackmoore (p. 8). Then the dark Chase, with its luxuriant foliage and dark shadows, was chosen by the author as the setting for the saddest period in her life. (p. 79). After her return to the home of her father much attention is given to the squalid little house, especially to the crowded bed-rooms where the deep breathing of her little brothers and sisters each night reminded Tess, during her wakeful hours, of their innocence and her own shame. (pp. 92-93)

F
Use of
Regional-
ism

The happiest period of her life was spent at the dairy

1. p. 277. 2.p. 457.

3. Thomas Hardy, Garwood, p. 47.

farm where the green fields and rural sights were in keeping with Angel's idyllic wooing of Tess. After her desertion by her husband, Tess lived at Flint-Comb-Ash. The bitter cold of the days spent at swede-hacking and reed-drawing is vividly described, and especially is the winter landscape described. (p. 325). The bitterness of that period was forgotten in the few days spent in the quiet depths of the New Forest, (p. 444.) And the last night when Tess was sheltered by the heathen temple of Stonehenge (p. 451). The book is full of the strange superstitions of region; the speech of the characters is rich in local idiom. One knows that Hardy understood Wessex, not as a person who had traveled through the region, but as one who had lived and experienced life there.

One critic, Harold Williams, sums up the matter by saying: "In the Wessex novels, the old wisdom, speech, and humor, the older ways, the older thought are reflected by a master mind."¹

The Scotch are normally a sentimental people. III
George
Douglas
Brown
The very fact that such a book as The House with the Green Shutters could be written by a Scotch writer shows the influence exerted by Hardy and the other naturalists during the last years of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries. Whether the picture of Scotland be exactly just or not, it is at least suggestive, and is a rather welcome reaction to the work of the Kailyarders.

Few writers have had such an uneventful life as the author of the book mentioned. A year before his death, George

1. North American Review, V. 199, p. 120.

Douglas Brown was a poor unknown journalist. In one year he gained a place for himself in the literary world and accomplished a work that seems likely to endure.

Brown's early life was uninteresting. Casual acquaintances complained that he had little to say. Nevertheless, a friend said that, on a trip of two weeks, Brown talked potential literature all day and half the night. The things discussed in those days and nights of talk are very significant as told by Mr. Melrose. He says: "Brown thought that the damning fault of most books was that nothing in them seems to leap at you from out the pages. They are as he said 'talky - talky vapid.' He thought that books should be pregnant and packed." ¹ Certainly the persons in The House are impressive enough; and reading it is a mental strain because it is so packed.

The book has all the unity and compactness of the Greek tragedy. Indeed, this is only one of the many ways in which it resembles the work of the Greek artists. The house itself is the great unifying device of the story - it stood, in the first paragraph, imposing and grand; at the very last it overawed with its grim dignity. "Its real grandeur is in the nemesis of the tragedy;" ² pride in it ruined John Gourley and indirectly caused his death.

The plot proceeds rapidly. One is not sure of its progress until near the last. Then one is aware that every incident and detail has contributed something to make the conclusion inevitable. One of the things that Gourley insisted on was that the handle of the poker should be the same size as the rim of the fender on the

1. Bookman, v. 16, p. 340.

2. McClure's v. 20, p. 99.

great stove. At the time it was only one more example of Gourley's stubborn and ignorant pride. But when his son has struck him dead with the poker, when the mother has planned to tell that his death came from striking his head on the fender - then does one understand why Brown made them thus. Their exact likeness made possible the success of the mother's plan. By keeping the cause of Gourlay's death a secret the way is made clear for the torture of the son by the terrible eyes, and finally for the death of the entire family.

For a long time the preacher and the teacher have been characters of great interest, sentimentally and otherwise, to Scotch writers. Brown considered them of little importance in the life of the village. It is true that in the magnificent sentence: "The fault of young Gourlay is a sensory perceptiveness in gross excess of his intellectuality",¹ the teacher expressed precisely the weakness of the boy; nevertheless, he had no sympathy for the lad - immediately "he went back to his stuffy little room to study The Wealth of Nations,"² and young Gourlay was out of his mind. For the beneficent influence that other Scotch writers have seen in dominie and pastor, Brown substituted a malignant control: the chorus of bodies. The bodies were the ones who blighted all good in Barbie, and they gave atmosphere and attitude, as the chorus did in the Greek tragedy. Ibsen and his followers have worked out a substitute for this chorus in their elaborate stage directions. So far as I can determine, it remained for Brown to bring the chorus into the novel. Doubtless he drew the idea from

1. The House with the Green Shutters, p.163.

2. Ibid., p. 164.

plays that have used a minor character or characters as the author's mouthpiece.¹ Some of Brown's best character studies were of the bodies - Deacon Allardyce is the masterpiece among them.

Young Gourlay is the best character study, probably, of any in the book. He is so many things; indeed he seems almost a combination of all weaknesses. With a little more balance he might, with his sensitive nerves and keen sense perceptions, have been a genius. As it was, he exemplified a weak character ruined by a trifling success. One of life's little ironies is that the success, ardently desired, and joyfully received, may be the very thing that ruins one. No doubt young Gourlay's ruin was only a matter of time, but his trifling success in winning a prize certainly hastened it. He is a pathetic character; but Brown does not seem to pity either him or the other people of the book. Hardy partially relieves his own and his reader's feelings by his brilliant thrusts at Fate; Brown never takes a part in the discussion - he merely presents the story.

Brown was a true naturalist, and his ideas of morality are fleshly. He had no women with any degree of nobility; the poor creatures that he depicted are animal wives and mothers. Mrs. Gourlay defended her son as a lioness might her cubs, but her love for him was of the instinctive order. It is easy to understand why the weak son murdered his father, John Gourlay, when one considers the mother. Young Gourlay was weak, hesitating,

1. Gaffer in Masefield's Tragedy of Nan is a modern substitute for the Greek Chorus.

and groveling, just as she was. Goaded by his father, he was capable of the one flash of anger; when it was satisfied by the murder, weakness came back and with it fear and remorse. His life was the inevitable outcome of the union of two such creatures as John Gourlay and his wife.

Brown has been criticized for his plain pictures. When an author belittles mother love as a mere low instinct,¹ or sees in a little child something "innocently selfish" some of his readers are sure to raise an outcry. Unfortunately, many incidents in life prove the author's truthfulness. When someone asked Brown why he put so much "damning" into his book, he said that it was only a faint copy of the swearing done by his devout father.

The House with the Green Shutters is a landmark in Scotch literature--one might almost say in world literature, and it is significant because it varies so greatly from the traditions of the country in which it was produced.

From this discussion we conclude: IV
Conclusion

(1) That naturalism has absorbed one group of the regionalists.

(2) That Hardy is the first and greatest of the new group in England.

A. That he chose a typical peasant girl for his major character, and was therefore democratic in his choice of subject matter.

1. Ibid., p. 130.

B. That he aimed to present a truthful picture of life as he saw it.

C. He ~~was~~ unable to keep his own interpretation out of his books, and thus was not impersonal in his method.

D. He exalted the flesh, altho he showed how self-indulgence destroys the weak.

E. He preached the deterministic view of life.

F. In Tess of the D'Urbervilles he used different aspects of Wessex scenery to give atmosphere.

3. Brown shows the development of the movement in Scotland.

A. He was thus opposed to the traditionally romantic spirit of his country.

B. He employed some of the devices of the Greek tragedy.

C. He was impersonal and even cold in his attitude.

D. In his ideas of morality he was fleshly.

E. He tells "the whole truth" about Scotch life.

F. The course of his story was inevitably fixed by the weaknesses inherited by his characters, and by their environment represented by The House of the Green Shutters.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, naturalism was not a native growth in England, but it flourished there, nevertheless, for a number of years. We have noted: that it was influenced by English realism through Gissing; that the French influence came in through George Moore, who was the greatest, and almost the only, exponent of pure naturalism in England; that Butler, aided by his knowledge of science, achieved a type almost identical with the product of French naturalism; and that naturalism combined with regionalism to produce the distinctive work of Thomas Hardy and George Douglas Brown. Nevertheless, altho there have been many followers of naturalism in England, it has not been popular there and has been regarded as a suspicious, if not a dangerous, innovation. Thus, as was pointed out in another chapter, not so much through the books of Butler as through the advertising genius of Mr. Shaw has Butler become known to his countrymen - and such a fame is two-thirds curiosity, since it is founded on the desire of the public to solve at last, if it may, the riddle of Mr. Shaw's peculiarities. Such superficial reasons as this explain a great deal of the English interest in naturalism.

Since the English as a class have always regarded naturalism as an alien type and have disliked it, it seems wise to name the limitations of the type according to the English mind:

(1) Naturalism is concerned only with facts, and rather mean and commonplace facts at that. The English can hardly understand a fact until it is idealized to a certain extent.

(2) Since facts alone interest the naturalists, psychology (which by its very nature must be treated subjectively) is ignored. The English have always been interested in the analysis of mental processes, and especially during the Victorian age studies in psychology were of paramount interest.

(3) The naturalists have too deliberately kept the author out of the final results. Goethe declared that whatever a man does greatly he must do with his whole soul.¹ No people have so thoroughly believed this as the serious British people. To them the separation of the aesthetic from the ethical element is an absurdity - and moreover, being moral-minded, they would probably call it a wicked absurdity.

(4) The refusal of the naturalists to admit studies of psychology, personal opinions of the authors, or events that form a plot has made their work uninteresting. The English have found it so; and the welcome given by the French to the revival of romance through Rostand suggests that even in the home of naturalism the "hum-drum" in literature has not afforded sufficient relief from the dullness of ordinary life.

1. See Outlook, V. 64, p. 510.

(5) The fleshly morality of the naturalistic school will always be shocking and disgusting to the English public. The English are notoriously reticent about sex and sex relations, and their literature is comparatively free from discussions of such matters. The Victorian era was more prudish than any preceding age; its reticence still colors British thought to a surprising degree, and prevents any great appreciation of such creatures of the flesh as Esther Waters or Tess. The frankness of George Moore concerning sex and illicit love is inexplicable to his countrymen, altho he is not nearly so frank in his discussions as the French Zola or the German Hauptmann.

(6) The English can never agree with the naturalists that man is not a free moral agent. From ~~Shakespeare~~^{Shakespeare} to George Elliot and Dickens, the great English writers have shown their characters as morally responsible. Thus, altho science has demonstrated the power of heredity and environment, and, altho the English have accepted them as factors of science, they have not entirely accepted them in literature.

These, in general, are the limitations that the English have found in naturalism. These, added to one or two other factors, have caused the rapid passing of the movement.

As has been noted already, naturalism was not a native product of England, but was superimposed on the native foundation and thus was not deeply rooted. In fact, it lived and grew mainly through the personality of such

great exponents as Hardy, Moore, and Bennett. These men have had followers, it is true; but these followers have been rather half-hearted in their imitation - they have often imitated general or even superficial aspects of the work and have not troubled themselves to follow the five rules of naturalism. And always some romanticist is springing up (for example the Kailyarders of a few years ago) to set the people clamoring for something that will differ as much as possible from the reports in medical and scientific journals.

Another great influence in the passing of naturalism is the present war. The romantic movement that may arise from the great conflict may be of such a modified type that critics will call it realism - the literature that tells of a man in the mud and dirt of a modern trench cannot be like the literature that depicts a conflict between gayly-clad knights. Nevertheless, heroism is the same as it was in olden times, and it seems hardly possible that fatalism and fleshly morality will be proof against the idealism which just now is inspiring men to give their lives for a cause. The facts of the present situation are too ugly - the world reads about them it is true - but immediately after they are transfigured by the power of the imagination, the fact becomes a link in a great cause, and men go out to right the wrongs. Thus psychology, as well as fact, plays a most important part in the struggle, and this is sure to be re-

flected in literature.

Likewise, the war has taught men that it is their right (or even their duty) to evaluate moral situations. Some naturalists, as H. G. Wells, have already shown a change of heart: they not only endeavor to place the blame where it belongs, but they place the outcome of the effort to punish the wrong in the hands of someone who is more than human. If the outcome of the war justifies this belief, symbolism and mysticism on the one hand will replace the fatalism of the naturalists, and modified romanticism and idealism on the other will replace the naturalistic worship of facts. If the war should show that scientific law is the supreme law of the world, it is hard to foresee the line of literary development that would result. In that case it might be that an even more mystic and symbolistic school would arise as a reaction against the sordid facts of life - made necessary in order to maintain mental balance against such odds.

However, altho its limitations are many, naturalism has had certain beneficial effects on the English mind and on English literature. As Ludwig Lewisohn points out, it may be that naturalism will help us to find the happy medium between romanticism, with its glowing extravagances, and classicism, with its cold repression.¹ He further says that it is going to cause an increasing demand for an illusion of reality. Perhaps it will spread, this demand, and we shall have pictures of the upper classes that in truth

1. The Nation. V. 89, p. 568.

to detail will present them not as mere makers of money or oppressors of the poor, but as human beings. Likewise, the refusal of naturalism (to twist events¹ to prove a certain hypothesis) has checked somewhat the English tendency to bend characters and situations in an effort to give a certain view of life. Moreover, it has softened the Anglo-Saxon view of retributive justice. So far as human beings are capable of tabulating results and making generalizations from these statistics, retribution (as Martin Schütze says) is merely an accident in this world.¹ The naturalists have chosen to accept things as they are; too many romanticists have gone to a vast amount of trouble to prove that evil is always punished and good is always rewarded.

This recognition of the fact that so far as may be humanly determined there is no definite law of retribution has given a new impetus to social work and social tolerance. It is one thing to refuse to aid a prostitute who is responsible for her condition, and another to refuse to aid her when you are not sure but that a part of the blame is yours as a member of society. Dickens was logically first in the series of socially-minded literary men. However, he merely depicted the pitiable condition of the poor and unfortunate. It is not too much to say that the naturalists did even a greater work in showing that not the individual but society and unseen

1. See Martin Schutze's very excellent article The Services of Naturalism to Life. Sewanee Review, V. 11, 1903, p. 425.

forces that we as yet know little about should share the blame and the burden of wrong doing. The individual cannot be wholly excused; but before a broad, humanitarian view of life could be. It was necessary to show that such a hard and fast rule as the theory of retribution does not always apply, the naturalists performed this task.

Mr. Schütze, in the article last quoted from, reminds us that the era of naturalism which dominated civilized thought during the latter part of the nineteenth century was not new or unique. "In fact", he says, "with the exception of Hindu civilization, naturalism seems to have been the forerunner and after its assimilation an important factor in every great outburst of vital energy in art, literature, philosophy, and social and political reconstruction." ¹ He shows how it did its work in the literature of the Hebrews, in the Saga literature of the Norse, in the literature of the Golden Age in Greece, and later in the literature of Italy and England that followed the Renaissance. He even traces its influence in literature as essentially unlike ours as that of Egypt or Assyria.

We have seen the beginning of this beneficent work in social reform, and possibly in political reconstruction. There are signs (faint but unmistakable) of a new and vigorous literary era; just what literary type will be favored is ⁱⁿ question; likewise we are not sure of the exact line of development that literary thought will take. At any rate, naturalism

1. Ibid. p. 425.

will have the past with the not inconsiderable naturalistic contribution to the number and quality of English books; moreover, it will have a worthy part, through the contributions noted, in the literature of the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books used have been arranged, not alphabetically, but by topics and groups, and within the groups in order of time. It is believed that this arrangement will be more helpful to any student who desires to investigate the subject.

I. Primary Sources.

(1) Novels studied:

Gissing, George. The Nether World.
1889. Harper and Bro., New York.

Moore, George. Esther Waters.
1906. Duffield and Co., New York.
(First ed., 1894.)

Butler, Samuel. The Way of All Flesh.
1903 (but finished by 1884)
E. P. Cutton and Co., New York.

Hardy, Thomas. Tess of the D'Urbervilles.
1891. Harper and Bro., New York.

Brown, George Douglas. The House with the Green Shutters. 1902. McClure,
Phillips and Co., New York. (First ed.,
1901)

(2) Books used for comparison:

a. Predecessors.

Dickens, Charles. Oliver Twist.
Complete Works of Dickens, 1904.
Thomas Y. Crowell and Co., New York,
(First ed., 1839)

Thackeray, William M. Vanity Fair.
Complete Works of Thackeray, Vol. II,
1890. Houghton, Mifflin and Co.,
New York. (First ed., 1848)

Eliot, George. Mill on Floss.
 Personal ed., 1901.
 Doubleday Page and Co., New York.
 (First ed., 1860)

b. Other books by authors studied:

Gissing, George. The Unclassed.
 1896. Fenno and Co., New York.
 First ed., 1884.

Gissing, George. Demos.
 New ed., 1877. Smith Elder and Co.,
 London. (First ed., 1886)

Gissing, George. Thyrza. New ed.
 1907. Smith, Elder and Co.,
 London. (First ed., 1887)

Moore, George. Confessions of a Young
 Man. Uniform ed., 1917.
 Bretano's, New York. (First ed.,
 1888)

Moore, George. The Mummer's Wife.
 1908. D. Appleton and Co., New York.
 (First ed., 1884)

Moore, George. Evelynn Innes. 1910.
 Revised ed. D. Appleton and Co.,
 New York. (First ed., 1898)

Moore, George. The Lake. 1905.
 D. Appleton and Co., New York.

Butler, Samuel. Erewhon. 1917.
 Second ed., E. P. Dutton and Co.,
 New York. (First ed., 1874)

Butler, Samuel. Erewhon Revisited.
 1901. E. P. Dutton and Co.,
 New York.

Butler, Samuel. Note Books. 1912.
 A. C. Fifield, London.

Hardy, Thomas. Far from the Madding Crowd.
 1895. Harper and Bro., New York.
 (First ed., 1874)

Hardy, Thomas. Jude the Obscure.
1895. A. L. Burt Co., New York.

Hardy, Thomas. The Dynasts. 3 Vols.
1910. Macmillan and Co., London.

c. Books by contemporaries:

Ibsen, Henrik. The Doll's House.
Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen,
Vol. VII. (William Archer trans-
lator) Copyright ed., 1914.
Charles Scribner's Sons,
New York.

Ibsen, Henrik. Ghosts. Collected Works
of Henrik Ibsen, VII. (William
Archer, translator) Copyright ed.,
1914. Charles Scribner's Sons,
New York.

Hauptmann, Gerhart. Before Dawn.
The Dramatic Works of Hauptmann,
Vol. I. (Ludwig Lewisohn translator)
1912. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

Hauptmann, Gerhart. The Weavers.
The Dramatic Works of Hauptmann,
Vol. I. (Ludwig Lewisohn translator)
1912. B. W. Huebsch, New York.

Barrie, J. M. A Window in Thrums.
Cameo Ed., 1897. Scribner's Sons,
New York.

Watson, John. (Ian Maclaren)
Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush.
1895. Dodd, Mead and Co., New York.

Crockett, Samuel. The Stickit Minister.
1895. Macmillan Co., New York.

II. Secondary Sources.

1. General books and articles.

Vizetelly, Ernest A. Emile Zola.
1904. John Lane, London.
A sympathetic account of Zola's
work as a novelist and reformer.

Schutze, Martin. "Services of Naturalism
to Life." Sewanee Review. 1904.
A critical inquiry into the contribu-
tions of naturalism to literature.

Lewisohn, Ludwig. "The Discipline of
Naturalism". 1909. The Nation.
98. p. 568. A brief review of
the passing of naturalism, and a
study of its permanent effects.

Manly, John M. "Literary Forms and the
New Theory of the Origin of Species".
1907. Modern Philology. 4. p. 577.
A discussion of the analogy in the
evolution of Literature to science.

Hoskins, John Preston. "Biological Analogy
in Literary Criticism". 1909. Part
I. Modern Philology. 6. p. 424.
Part II. Modern Philology, 7. p. 61.
An explanation of naturalism as a
literary "mutation".

Oliver, M. M. The French Influence on
Naturalists. 1909. M. A. Disserta-
tion, Chicago University.
A good discussion of the influence of
Zola.

Loose, Fritz. Die Kailyard School. 1912.
Emil Eberung, Berlin. Ph. D. Disserta-
tion, University of Berlin.
A rather uneffectual attempt to ex-
plain this Scotch romantic school.

Ramsay, R. L. "Die Kailyard School:
Ein Beitrag Zur Neueren Englischen
Literaturgeschichte". 1914. Reprint
from The Journal of English and Ger-
manic Philology. XIII, No. 2.
An analysis of the thesis by Loose.

Phelps, W. L. "Advance of the English Novel." 1915. Bookman. 43. p. 408.
The present trend of the novel;
about the same material as the author used in his book of the same name.

Fagin, J. P. Spirit of Home in the Literature of the Lower South. 1917.
M. A. Dissertation. University of Missouri. Very good for definitions of the Spirit of Home, etc.

2. Articles and books on particular writers.

a. Gissing

Review. "An Idealistic Realist." 1904.
Atlantic Monthly. 93. p. 280.
An article discussing the difference between Gissing and the other English naturalists.

Review in The Nation. 1913. 96. p. 256.
A review of two biographies of Gissing.

Swinerton, Frank. George Gissing. A Critical Study. 1913. Mitchell Kennerly, New York.

Middleton, Geo. "New Lights on Gissing".
1913. Bookman. 36. p. 655.
A biographical study.

Editorial Comments. "The Trail of Gissing".
1914. Bookman. 38. p. 590.
Interesting comments on the London of Gissing.

b. Moore

Quiller - Couch, A. Adventures in Criticism.
1896. C. Scribner's Sons, New York.
A rather original book - especially good on Moore.

Article. "Irish Byways".
Independents. 61. p. 1405.
Rather harsh criticism of Moore.

Sherman, Stuart P. "George Moore". 1912.
Nation. 94. p. 385.
An able criticism of Moore - and incidentally of naturalism.

c. Butler.

Cross, Wilbur L. Development of the English Novel. 1906. Macmillan Co., New York. Especially good on The Way of All Flesh.

Mather, Frank J. Jr., Samuel Butler of Erewhon". 1910. Nation. 91. p. 626. An interesting review of Erewhon.

Harris, John F. Samuel Butler. 1916. Dodd, Mead and Co., New York. A rather uncritical study of Butler's work.

Cannon, Gilbert. Satire. Art and Craft of Letters. n. d. Geo. H. Doran Co., New York. This book gives Butler a place in the line of English satirists.

d. Hardy

Sherren, Wilkinson. The Wessex of Romance. Revised ed. 1908. Francis Griffith's London. A rambling discussion of Hardy's region.

Garwood, Helen. Thomas Hardy. 1911. John C. Winston and Co., Philadelphia. A discussion of the relation of Hardy to Schopenhauer.

Abercrombie, Lascelles. Thomas Hardy. 1912. Mitchell Kennerly, New York. An excellent study - especially good on the "epic novels".

Williams, Harold. "The Wessex Novels of Hardy". 1914. North American Review. 199. p. 120. This article outlines Hardy's exact and careful use of region.

Duffin, H. C. Thomas Hardy. 1916. Longman, Green and Co., London. An uncritical study of Hardy's work.

Child, Hardy. Thomas Hardy. Writers of
of the Day Series. 1916. Henry Holt
and Co., New York.
Very good for the facts of Hardy's life.

e. Brown

Whibley, C. "George Douglas". 1902.
McClure's. 20 p. 99.
A brief article on Brown's life.

Melrose, A. "George Douglas Brown".
1903. Bookman. 16. p. 340.
An intimate discussion of the
literary taste of Brown.

University of Missouri - Columbia

010-100742840

378.71177
XJ233

MU Libraries
University of Missouri --Columbia

MU Theses and Dissertations (Pre-1920)

Local identifier Jamese1918

Capture information

Date captured	20170627
Scanner manufacturer	Zeutschel
Scanner model	OS 15000
Scanning system software	Omni scan v. 12.8 SR2 (2675)
Optical resolution	600 dpi
Color settings	grayscale, 8 bit
File types	tiff

Source information

Format	Book
Content type	Text
Source ID	010-100742840
Notes	Pages typed and single-sided. Title page has signature and perforated property stamp. Some pages have handwritten marginalia and corrections. Page 85 is an unnumbered blank page.

Derivatives - Access copy

Compression	Tiff compressed with LZW before conversion to pdf
Editing software	Adobe Photoshop CS5
Resolution	600 dpi
Color	Grayscale
File types	pdf
Notes	Grayscale pages cropped, canvassed, and images brightened. Canvas size: 8" x 11" Blank pages removed.