

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

A CRITICAL STUDY OF CHARLOTTE BRONTË'S 'THE PROFESSOR'
WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF ITS RELATION
TO PREVIOUS NOVELS

A Thesis Submitted

by

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for

the Degree of M. A.

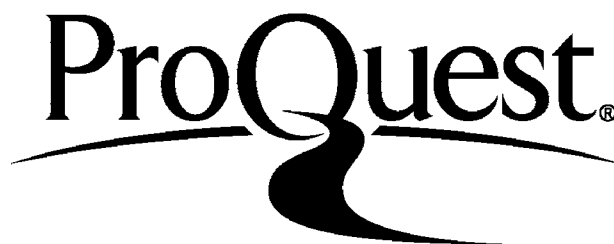
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ABSTRACT.

The first chapter describes early attempts to publish The Professor, and the circumstances of its eventual publication. The preparation and sales of the first edition are described; verbal inaccuracies and misrepresentation of the author's capitalisation are criticised. A list of later editions is given. The MSS of the Preface and novel are studied and interesting cancellations noted. Other alterations are found to illuminate Charlotte Brontë's attitude to characters and themes, and her care to attain accurate expression.

The aim of the second chapter is to analyse the themes and method of The Professor. The statement of major themes is found to be impaired by structural and technical faults in narration, but the use of natural description and of imagery is regarded as a considerable artistic achievement. Social and religious aspects of The Professor are considered, and their contribution to its realism shown.

The Professor is the first of Charlotte Brontë's attempts to escape from the stereotype of the 'standard hero'. The third chapter therefore shows the persistence of the Richardsonian 'gentleman-hero' in the novels of Scott, Lytton, Mrs. Gore and Disraeli and the 'fashionable novels' generally. But the use of working middle-class heroes is noted in the work of Miss Martineau, Thackeray and Dickens. Fictional

(2.)

traditions of the teacher are examined, the recurrence of the master-pupil situation noted, and its use, especially in Sir Charles Grandison and Consuelo, regarded as a possible influence on The Professor.

Chapter Four attempts to explain the differences between The Professor and Villette. Increased skill in narration is attributed mainly to the change in viewpoint. William is compared with Monsieur Paul, and the influence of acquaintance with Thackeray noted. The imagery is analysed and its sombre nature attributed to Charlotte Brontë's experiences and to her editing of Wuthering Heights after the death of Emily. Finally social aspects of Villette are considered.

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Preface.

The aim of this thesis is to show that Charlotte Brontë's novel, The Professor, is interesting not only as the forerunner of the greater Jane Eyre, Shirley and Villette, but in its own right; and that, while it is not a major artistic achievement, it can, as a novel of 1846, claim to be a work of considerable originality, especially in its realistic treatment of middle-class life.

I have attempted to elucidate the somewhat unusual circumstances of the publication of The Professor in 1857, and to indicate the degree of accuracy attained in the first and subsequent editions. I have tried, by a close examination of a microfilm copy of the manuscript of the novel, to discover the kind, and where possible to suggest the cause, of alterations made in the fair copy. I hope by this means to throw some light on Charlotte Brontë's methods of composition.

The critical study which follows does not aim to be exhaustive. Previous studies have dealt with the 'sources', themes, characterisation and to some extent structure of The Professor with varying degrees of thoroughness. Of these, the most valuable and detailed is probably that of Miss Laura Hinkley in The Brontës: Charlotte and Emily. (1947) May Sinclair's The Three Brontës (1912) contains an interesting general study. Phyllis Bentley indicates The Professor's relation to its social and

regional background, and its use of themes common to all novels of Charlotte Brontë. Her criticism is contained in The Brontës (1947) and in her introductions to the 'Heather' and 'Collins' editions of The Professor. (1949 and 1954.) Miss F. Ratchford's The Brontës' Web of Childhood (1941) is an invaluable source-book for the Angrian background of The Professor. To these writers in particular I am indebted; and though my thesis suggests a re-valuation of The Professor it must be regarded as supplementary to their work and not complete in itself.

I have attempted an analysis of certain aspects of Charlotte Brontë's technique, in particular her use of the autobiographical form and of imagery. I have also tried to show to what extent The Professor is a 'novel of the eighteen-forties' and to this end have related it to various social documents of its time.

The third chapter is concerned with The Professor's relation to previous novels. Again, the aim has been to discover how far it is of its period, and to what extent the author was indebted to, or reacted against, previous fiction. My study centres on the hero of The Professor: a study of the heroine would I think demand separate treatment. There is abundant material for comparison in previous novels, notably the 'unfashionable' novels of Maria Edgeworth, the didactic stories of very minor writers like Mrs. Barbara Hofland, and of course

the 'governess-novels' of the 1830's and 1840's; and a complete study would involve detailed treatment of the 'governess problem', already touched on in Patricia Thomson's The Victorian Heroine, and in studies by other writers.

The last chapter deals with the relation of The Professor and Villette; and I have found that a comparative study of the imagery and the narrative method of the two novels is particularly revealing for both the psychological and artistic development of the author.

I have been allowed to consult two collections of letters to George Smith, the publisher of The Professor, - some of them unpublished - from Mrs. Gaskell and from Charlotte Brontë, and I gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of the owner in permitting me to use and quote from them, and the co-operation of the solicitors through whom the necessary arrangements were made. Information on the preparation and sales of The Professor was obtained from the Smith, Elder Publication Ledgers. For permission to examine and quote from the ledgers I am indebted to the present owners, Messrs. John Murray (publishers) Ltd., who took over the business of the Smith Elder firm in 1917.

The manuscript of The Professor is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and my examination of it is based on a microfilm copy. I have to thank the Library for allowing me to use the microfilm, and in particular the Curator of Autograph MSS for his help in providing information about the acquisition of the manuscript.

NOTE.

The first (1857) edition of The Professor has been used throughout the thesis: references in the footnotes are by chapter and page. Quotations from all other Brontë novels are taken from the Haworth edition (Smith, Elder, 1899-1904) which provides a clear and substantially accurate text and is readily available. References to most other eighteenth and nineteenth century novels are to the first edition in volume form, unless otherwise stated: ~~but it has been thought advisable to give only chapter references to the novels of Dickens and Scott.~~

The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

- B.S.T. Brontë Society, Transactions and other publications, Bradford, 1895- .
- Halévy. A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Translated by Watkin, E.I. and Barker, D.A. Vols. III and IV, London, 1950 and 1951.
- Life. Elizabeth C. Gaskell, The Life of Charlotte Brontë. 1857. Edited by C.K. Shorter, 1900.
- S.H.B. The Brontës, their Lives, Friendships, and Correspondence. 4 vols. (Shakespeare Head Brontë, Oxford, 1932.) ■

The manuscript of The Professor is dated at the end 'June 27th. 1846'. The handwriting and arrangement prove it to be 'fair copy', intended for the publisher's reader, and it is not possible to say by what date the original composition was completed. Charlotte Brontë's letters to her publishers give no conclusive evidence. She had begun negotiations with Messrs. Aylott and Jones for the publication of 'a Collection of short poems' on 28 January 1846. The replies to her letters appear to have been prompt and friendly; and on 6 April 1846 she writes to consult the publishers about a work of fiction:

To Messrs. Aylott and Jones.

Gentlemen, - C. E. & A. Bell are now preparing for the Press a work of fiction, consisting of three distinct and unconnected tales which may be published either together as a work of 3 vols. of the ordinary novel size, or separately as single vols. as shall be deemed most advisable.¹

She goes on to inquire whether they would be disposed to undertake publication. But Mr. Aylott was 'rather old-fashioned and had very narrow views regarding light literature'² and undertook only to offer advice. On 11 April, therefore, Charlotte wrote with some feeling

It is evident that unknown authors have great difficulties to contend with before they can succeed in bringing their works before the public; can you give me any hint as to the way in which these difficulties are best met? For instance, in the present case, where a work of fiction is in question, in what form would a publisher be most likely to accept the M.S.? whether offered as a work of three vols. or as tales which

1. S.H.B. ii. 87...

2. S.H.B. ii. 80.

might be published in numbers or as contributions to a periodical?

What publishers would be most likely to receive favourably a proposal of this nature?'

To these queries Aylott and Jones furnished an 'obliging answer': 'the information you give is of value to us and when the M.S. is completed your suggestions shall be acted on.' (Letter of 15 April 1846.)²

The three tales were The Professor, Wuthering Heights, and Agnes Grey. Their length was, apparently, fairly definite, and it seems reasonable to assume that The Professor already existed in some form by 6 April, and that subsequent references are to the completion of the fair copy rather than the original.

Charlotte Brontë's later account, in her Biographical Notice of Ellis and Acton Bell (19 September 1850) is in any case misleading: it implies, if it does not state, that the sisters began to write their novels after the Publication of the Poems (May 1846) and after the realisation of their 'ill-success', whereas we know that the tales were being at least considered as early as April - *

Ill-success failed to crush us: the mere effort to succeed had given a wonderful zest to existence; it must be pursued. We each set to work on a prose tale: Ellis Bell produced 'Wuthering Heights,' Acton Bell 'Agnes Grey', and Currer Bell also wrote a narrative in one volume. These MSS. were perseveringly obtruded upon various publishers for the space of a year and a half; usually, their fate was an ignominious and abrupt dismissal.³

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1. S.H.B. ii. 87. 2. S.H.B. ii. 89.
 3. Wuthering Heights, (Haworth Edition), p. xlvi.
 *. Anne Brontë had begun the 'third volume of Passages in the life of an individual' (Agnes Grey) by 31 July 1845. v S.H.B. ii. 52.

The Preface to The Professor clearly states that Charlotte 'had not indeed published anything' before she commenced The Professor.

The manuscripts of the three tales were, presumably of Mr. Aylott's advice, sent to the publisher Colburn. Charlotte's letter to him is dated 4 July 1846, so it seems likely that he was the first recipient of the MSS:

To HENRY COLBURN.

Sir, - I request permission to send for your inspection the MS. of a work of fiction in 3 vols. It consists of three tales, each occupying a volume and capable of being published together or separately, as thought most advisable. The authors of these tales have already appeared before the public.

Should you consent to examine the work, would you, in your reply, state at what period after transmission of the MS. to you, the authors may expect to receive your decision upon its merits. ...

Colburn, at one time proprietor of a circulating library as well as a number of literary periodicals, had brought out a library of 'modern standard novelists' from 1835 to 1841. His publications catered for, and indeed to some extent dictated, a rather indiscriminating popular taste in fiction. His public was essentially that of the circulating library readers, who wished for a 'taste of high life and sensation—without sex'. All works of 'questionable taste' were excluded. Blackwood's Magazine rarely lost an opportunity of jibing at his 'trash',² and he and Bentley are the chief

1. S.H.B. iv. 315. (Appendix II.)

2. See for example 'Noctes Ambrosianae' (July 1826); 'Modern Novels' (July 1828); and 'The American Library', (Nov. 1847.)

victims of Fraser's denunciation of modern novels in August 1831.¹ Most of the novels of Mrs. Gore and L.L.L. were Colburn's publications. Charlotte Brontë couples his name rather scathingly with that of Bentley in a letter to G. Smith of September 1851:² possibly she had sent The Professor to Bentley also. Almost certainly it went to Newby, the publisher of Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey.³

It is not difficult to understand why The Professor was rejected by such publishers. After Jane Eyre was published, Charlotte Brontë redalled the 'ill-success' of her first novel in a letter to G.H. Lewes:

You warn me to beware of melodrama, and you exhort me to adhere to the real. When I first began to write, so impressed was I with the truth of the principles you advocate, that I determined to take Nature and Truth as my sole guides, and to follow in their very footprints; I restrained imagination, eschewed romance, repressed excitement; over-bright colouring, too, I avoided, and sought to produce something which should be soft, grave, and true.

My work (a tale in one volume) being completed. I offered it to a publisher. He said it was original, faithful to nature, but he did not feel warranted in accepting it; such a work would not sell. I tried six publishers in succession; they all told me it was deficient in 'startling incident' and 'thrilling excitement,' that it would never suit the circulating libraries, and as it was on those libraries the success of works of fiction mainly depended, they could not undertake to publish what would be overlooked there.⁴

Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey were eventually accepted:

but, in Charlotte Brontë's own words

Fraser's, IV.

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1. 'Novels of the Season', p. 11. 2. S.H.B. iii. 274.
 3. On this see K. Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, p. 290n. 4. S.H.B. ii. 152.

Currer Bell's book found acceptance nowhere, nor any acknowledgement of merit, so that something like a chill of despair began to invade her heart. As a forlorn hope, she tried one publishing house more - Mes rs. Smith, and Elder and Co.¹

On 15 July 1847, therefore, after a year (not 'a year and a half') of ignominious dismissals, She wrote to Smith, Elder and Co.:

Gentlemen, - I beg to submit to your consideration the accompanying manuscript. I should be glad to learn whether it be such as you approve, and would undertake to publish at as early a period as possible. ...²

Their reply, which must have arrived some time after 2 August 1847, was a letter of two pages:

It declined, indeed, to publish the tale, for business reasons, but it discussed its merits, ^{and merits} so courteously, so considerately, in a spirit so rational, with a discrimination so enlightened, that this very refusal cheered the author better than a vulgarly expressed acceptance would have done. It was added, that a work in three volumes would meet with careful attention.³

C. Brontë had already begun to write a work 'of a more striking and exciting character', but she still hoped that The Professor might be published: 'The first work might serve as an introduction, and accustom the public to the author's name; the success of the second might thereby be rendered more probable.'⁴ Her publishers, (wisely, as it appeared), advised her not to attempt this plan; and Currer Bell's first published novel was Jane Eyre, which came out on 16 October 1847.

1. Biographical Notice. (Wuthering Heights, p. xlvi.)
2. S.H.B. ii. 139. 3. Wuthering Heights, p. xlvi.
4. Life, Chapter xvi.

~~There follows the account of the publication of Jane Eyre,
Wuthering Heights, and Agnes Grey.~~

One assumes therefore that the manuscript of The Professor was left to rest in peace for a time - in fact until December 1847, when C. Brontë wrote to W. S. Williams about her plans for a second work. She had been looking over The Professor:

My wish is to re/cast 'The Professor', add as well as I can what is deficient, retrench some parts, develop others, and make of it a three-volume work - no easy task, I know, yet I trust not an impracticable one....'

But before taking any steps to execute this plan she asks for Williams's judgment on its wisdom. There is no immediate reference to Williams's response: it is not mentioned in the letter of 21 December 1847, though by that date he had evidently had time to read and comment on Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey, to which she had referred in a postscript to the letter of 14 December. It is, however, sufficiently clear that Williams must have advised against revision - presumably in the eighth of the nine refusals mentioned in her letter to George Smith. (5 February 1851.)

The next book, which was making 'slow progress' by 15 February 1848, was therefore a completely new venture, and we do not hear of The Professor again (apart from a brief reference in November 1848) until February 1851. It was more than a year since the publication of Shirley (November 1849) and C. Brontë was anxious about a third book. Once again she had turned to The Professor,

for a revised version could be more quickly produced than an entirely new work; and, as she wrote to Mr. Williams, 'The fact is ~~what~~ ^{what} goads and tortures me is ... a haunting fear that my dilatoriness disappoints others.'¹ She wrote a preface 'with a view to the publication of The Professor' - Mr. Nicholls says 'shortly after the appearance of "Shirley"', but in any case before February 1851 - and seems also to have begun writing the additions needed for a full-length novel: two short paragraphs occur on the same paper as the rough draft of her preface, along with calculations of the number of words needed to fill 300 printed pages. I think it is possible that the fragment known as The Moores may also have been written about this time, as an attempt at a more thorough re-casting, but the generally accepted date is earlier. ~~Discussion must be reserved until a later stage.~~ One must also consider the possibility that some of the corrections on the existing Professor manuscript are of this period.

On 1 February 1851, however, C. Brontë wrote to express her 'heartfelt satisfaction' that 'Cornhill ungrudgingly counsels me to take my own time'²; and with a somewhat wry acquiescence in the practical if not the literary judgment of her publisher, agreed finally to abandon The Professor. Fortunately she insisted on retaining the manuscript - though George Smith, in what one imagines was despair at The Professor's constant threat of resurrection, had offered to

1. S.H.B. iii. 206.

2. ibid.

take charge of it. Presumably this offer was the extent of his 'acceptance', though the terms on which it was made are not quite clear:

'The Professor' has now had the honour of being rejected nine times by the 'Tr-de' [sic] (three rejections go to your own share); you may affirm that you accepted it this last time, but that cannot be admitted; if it were only for the sake of symmetry and effect I must regard this martyred MS. as repulsed, or at any rate withdrawn for the ninth time! ... Its merits, I plainly perceive, will never be owned by anybody but Mr. Williams and me; very particular and unique must be our penetration, and I think highly of us both accordingly. ...

You kindly propose to take 'The Professor' into custody. Ah, no! His modest merit shrinks at the thought of going alone and unbefriended to a spirited Publisher. Perhaps with slips of him you might light an occasional cigar, or you might remember to lose him some day, and a Cornhill functionary would gather him up and consign him to the repositories of waste paper, and thus he would prematurely find his way to the 'butter man'* and trunkmakers. No, I have put him by and locked him up, not indeed in my desk, where I could not tolerate the monotony of his demure Quaker countenance, but in a cupboard by himself.'

It seems likely that The Professor remained in the cupboard until Charlotte's death: he may have been brought out for reference during the writing of Villette, though the impression given is one of a complete imaginative re-shaping of the material, with very little, if any, direct verbal connection with the earlier novel.² It is unlikely that Charlotte Brontë would return to The Professor after the publication of Villette, when most of the Brussels material at least had been re-used, though the two brothers re-appear in Willie Ellin.³

1. S.H.B. iii. 206-7. 3. v. B.S.T. vol. ix. No.1, p.3f.
 2. The relation of The Professor and Villette is examined in Section Chapter IV. * "butterman" in the M.S.

The manuscript therefore was left among C. Brontë's papers at her death, and was, like these, somewhat jealously guarded by Mr. Nicholls. It was also remembered by George Smith, but publication was not at first contemplated. He suggested, however, that it should be read by Charlotte's biographer: Mrs. Gaskell, at work on the Life in July 1856, wrote to Ellen Nussey that Mr. Smith thought 'it could never be published, nor would it be worth while to give extracts, even if Mr. N. would allow it; but if I might read it, I could give the kind of criticism and opinion upon it that Mr. Brontë was anxious I should give on those published works of hers, on which, (I told him) public opinion had already pronounced her fiat, and set her seal.'

Acting on this suggestion, Mrs. Gaskell visited Haworth later in July, in the company of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. 'I have had a very successful visit to Haworth,' she wrote to Mr. Smith. '[Sir James] was extremely kind in forwarding all my objects; and coolly took actual possession of many things while Mr. Nicholls was saying he could not possibly part with them. I came away with the "Professor", the beginning of her new tale "Emma" ... and by far the most extraordinary of all, a packet about the size of a lady's travelling writing case, full of paper books of different sizes, ...'² But as her September letter to Emily Shaen shows, The Professor was in

1. S.H.E. iv. 201-2.

2. Letter written from Plymouth Grove, Friday, [July 1856.] Extracts from Mrs. Gaskell's letters to Mr. George Smith are quoted by kind permission of the present owner of the correspondence.

fact taken away by Sir James, 'intending to read it first, and then forward to' Mrs. Gaskell.¹

She had not received the manuscript by the 8th. August, but Sir James had written 'praising it extremely - saying it would add to her reputation - objecting to 'certain coarse and objectionable phrases' - but offering to revise it, 'and expunge and make the necessary alterations,' - and begging me to forward his letter to Mr. Smith.' As Mrs. Gaskell says, he evidently wanted to 'appear to the world in intimate connexion with' Charlotte Brontë.² He therefore strongly advocated publication. Mrs. Gaskell had no doubt that The Professor would be a work of genius and would command an 'immense sale'.³ But, though she forwarded Sir James's letter to Mr. Smith, she was very apprehensive about the wisdom of publishing. She had recently returned from Brussels and was most anxious that nothing should be published that would fall on the 'raw' of M. Heger - especially since she had met him: 'Mme Heger ... refused to see me; but I made M. Heger's acquaintance, and very much indeed I both like and respect him.'⁴ Even more important, she had seen Charlotte Brontë's letters to Heger - 'I cannot tell you how I should deprecate anything leading to the publication of those letters of M. Heger's.'⁵

If, as she feared, Sir James insisted on publication, she would at least make sure that he was not allowed to edit The

1. S.H.B. iv. 208. 2. ibid. 3. Unpublished letter from Boughton, Worcester, Friday, [8 August 1856.] See Note 5.
 4. Letter to Ellen Nussey, 9 July 1856. (S.H.B. iv. 201)
 5. Letter from Boughton, 8 August. Extracts from this letter are quoted in Annette Hopkins, Elizabeth Gaskell. pp.195&197.

Professor. She suggested that C. Brontë might have wished Mr. Williams to do so:

I foresee, if Sir James has set his will upon it, it is to be published whatever may be the consequences. He overrides all wishes, feelings, and delicacy. I saw that in his way of carrying everything before him at Haworth, deaf to remonstrance and entreaty. But after all, it may not have so much reference to M. Heger as I dread; yet ever so little, falling on a "raw" in his, and his wife's, mind will be esteemed by them and their friends as much.

I am sure from numerous passages in her private letters that she would not have wished Sir James to edit it. I should not in the least mind saying so to him, if the publication is resolved upon. But also, I could not undertake the editing (which would to a certain degree seem like my sanctioning it), after receiving M. Heger's confidence, and and hearing her letters, if, as I fear, it relates to him.

My own feeling as to any revision would be that Mr. Williams should undertake it, I believe, also from the opinions expressed in her letters, that he would have been the person she would have chosen. She continuously speaks of him in the highest terms, of his admirable taste in literature, &c. &c., for my own part I think, as she had prepared it for the press, the editor should be careful and very scrupulous in making any alterations.'

As will be seen, Mrs. Gaskell's opinions on the need for revision changed after she had read the manuscript.

But Kay-Shuttleworth's letter had apparently convinced George Smith that The Professor should be published. (His chief objection, based probably on a not very clear recollection of the text, ^{had been} ~~was~~ that most of the material had been re-used in Villette.) He asked Mrs. Gaskell to forward to Kay-Shuttleworth a note in which he 'gladly acceded' to the publication.²

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1. Letter from Boughton, 8 August.
 2. Letter from Mrs. Gaskell to George Smith, from 'Dumbleton Hall, Evesham. Augst. 13.' [1856.]

Mrs. Gaskell sent the note, but with an accompanying letter explaining her own views.

When she read The Professor she realised that her fears were groundless, though some omissions were still desirable - for what reason Mrs. Gaskell does not make quite clear. At this stage however she refused to advise either for or against publication - the story itself was not, she thought, very interesting. Mr. Nicholls should decide, though 'This Sir James seems entirely to lose sight of.'¹

I have read the Professor, I don't see the objections to its publication that I apprehended, or at least only such as the omissions of three or four short passages not altogether amounting to a page, would do away with. I don't agree with Sir James that "the publication of this book would add to her literary fame". I think it inferior to all her published works, but I think it a very curious link in her literary history, as showing the promise of much that was afterwards realised. Altogether I decline taking any responsibility as to advising for or against its publication. I think as I have told Sir James, that the decision as to that must entirely rest with Mr. Nicholls. Sir James has written to him by this day's post urging its publication, I have also written to Mr. N. saying pretty much what I have said to you above, but rather expressing my opinion that Miss B. would not have liked Sir J. P. K. Shuttleworth to revise it, if indeed she would have liked any one to do so.²

She goes on to suggest that The Professor should be paid for at 'the same rate as her other works in proportion to its length as compared to theirs.'³

Her letter to Emily Shaen gives her impressions more fully, and makes clear why omissions were desirable. It also shows

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- ¹ quoted by
 1. Annette Hopkins, op. cit., p. 168.
 2. Letter from Dumbleton Hall, 13 August 1856.
 3. C. Brontë received £500 for the copyright of Villette, about 2½ times as long as The Professor, for which Nicholls was paid £220.

that the suggestion of Mr. Williams's editorship had not been taken up:

- there are one or two remarkable portraits - the most charming woman she ever drew, and a glimpse of that woman as a mother - very lovely: otherwise little or no story: and disfigured by more coarseness and profanity in quoting texts of scripture disagreeably than in any of her other works. ... I thought that she herself having prepared it for the press Sir J. P. K. S. ought not to interfere with it - as, although to my mind there certainly were several things that had better be expunged, ... he (Mr./Na) was, it seemed to me, the right person to do it.¹

Mrs. Gaskell herself still refused to edit - 'for several reasons', she told Emily Shaen. One reason was no doubt the pressure of work on the Life: she found that the 'immense deal' of writing it involved brought on sleeplessness and the 'sick wearied feeling of being over-worked'. Acceptance of the editorship would probably have offended Kay-Shuttleworth, for he had literary pretensions (he wrote two novels) as well as a claim to acquaintance with C. Brontë. The suggestion that Nicholls should edit seems to be pure diplomacy on Mrs. Gaskell's part, for she certainly had no confidence in his literary ability.

C. K. Shorter implies that Mrs. Gaskell would have edited if she could, and that it was Nicholls who refused to allow her to do so. Accounting for the unpopularity of Nicholls, for which he blames the Life, he writes:

Mrs. Gaskell, in fact, did not like Mr. Nicholls, and there

1. S.H.B.iv. 208.

were those with whom she came in contact while writing Miss Brontë's Life who were eager to fan that feeling in the usually kindly biographer. Mr. Nicholls himself did not work in the direction of conciliation.... Further, he would not let Mrs. Gaskell 'edit' and change The Professor, and here also he did wisely and well.'

This account appears to be based on conversations with Nicholls, whom Shorter met on 31 March 1895. Possibly by that time Nicholls had forgotten that it was Kay-Shuttleworth to whose editorship he had objected.

Mrs. Gaskell was particularly anxious that Nicholls should alter the 'objectionable' passages, because she wished to vindicate Charlotte Brontë from Lady Eastlake's charges of 'coarseness'. Charlotte herself had called Lady Eastlake's article in the Quarterly too 'silly for solemnity', but Mrs. Gaskell's comments are very serious indeed. Nothing could excuse the 'stabbing cruelty of the judgment'.² Naturally she did not wish The Professor to give further 'proof' to hostile critics that its author, if a woman, must have 'long forfeited the society of her sex.' She wrote to George Smith,

I have heard again from Mr. Nicholls, simply to the effect that I am to send him the "Professor" as soon as we reach home (the 27th.) when he will look it over, and write to you on the subject. I hope he will expunge some expressions and phrases; but that must be left to him. I should like to know that they are expunged before I write my tirade against Lady Eastlake; - still whatever Miss Brontë wrote, Lady E. had no right to make such offensive conjectures as she did.

... The Life will, I think, be ready by Xmas, - 240 (of my pages) are ready now.

... Sir James, I fancy, will write pretty strongly to Mr.

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1. Charlotte Brontë and Her Circle, pp. 464-5.
 2. Life, Chapter xvii.

Nicholls on the desirableness of taking out one or two passages; but he and I rather differed which.'

Mr. Nicholls may still have been reluctant to publish, since Miss Hopkins writes, that Mrs. Gaskell urged the publication 'in spite of Mr. Nicholls' objections'.² But he must have taken some time to read and revise, and his explanatory preface was written little more than three weeks after her received the manuscript; and he must have sent it fairly promptly to the publisher. Mrs. Gaskell thought he should have pruned much more rigorously. (Edward Crimsworth's abusive language in Chapter v, Hunsden's letter in Chapter xxi, and other passages which she may have thought 'coarse' or 'profane', had been left substantially unaltered.) Nevertheless, as she progressed in the Life she had evidently come to approve the publication as a whole; her reasons are interesting since they anticipate the attitude, even the phrasing, of the later reviews of The Professor. George Smith had advised publication of The Professor after the Life; and Mrs. Gaskell replied on 2 October:

Now as to the Memoir &c. I perfectly agree with you. I had more than half come round to your opinion before you sent me your arguments in favour of it - which are very convincing, I believe, if Sir J. P. K. S. had not suggested the publication I should not have done so. ... But oh! I wish Mr. Nicholls would have altered more! I fear from what you say he has left many little things you would and I would have taken out, as neither essential to the characters or the story, and as likely to make her misunderstood. For I would not, if I could help it, have another syllable that could be called coarse to be associated with her name. Yet another woman of her drawing, still more a nice one, still

1. Letter from Dumleton Hall, Tuesday, Aug. 19th [1853.]

2. Annette Hopkins, op. cit. p. 173.

more a married one, ought to be widely interesting.

I think that, placing myself in the position of a reader, instead of a writer, of her life, I should feel my knowledge of her incomplete without seeing the "Professor". I suppose biographers always grow to fancy everything about their subject of importance, but I really think that such is the case about her; that, leaving all authorship on one side, her character as a woman was unusual to the point of being unique. ... I, as my own reader, should not be satisfied after reading the Memoir - (of which I may speak plainly enough for so much of it will consist of extracts from her own letters) - if I did not read her first work, looking upon it as a psychological curiosity, so again I think you are right, and that the Memoir must come first.

1. Letter from 'Plymouth Grove, Oct. 2nd' [1856.]

George Smith had hoped that the Life would be ready by Michaelmas - 'The time of publishing the Prof. would have to be guided by that.'¹ It was no doubt intended that the Life should prepare the public for the novel: but Mrs. Gaskell had six months of hard work before her, re-writing, 'correcting, interweaving' the material of her biography, and The Professor had to wait. It was decided to print C. Brontë's own preface, left by her in a somewhat rough state, and copied out by Nicholls for the publishers. Nicholls also wrote his brief explanatory preface (dated September 22nd, 1856) and possibly made some slight alterations in the text of the novel about the same time. The Life eventually appeared in March 1857, and The Professor followed after a judicious interval on 6th June 1857.²

The manuscript was returned to Nicholls, who kept it until 1892, when C. K. Shorter, acting as agent for T. J. Wise, bought this and various other manuscripts. It formed part of the collection lent by Wise to an exhibition of Brontëana at the Brontë Museum in 1898 (described in B.S.T. vol. i.p.44). Robertson Nicholl probably saw the manuscript at some time, for he mentions the change of title from The Master to The Professor in his 1902 edition of Jane Eyre. But Wise sold the manuscript, probably before 1900, to the elder Mr. Morgan, whose collection now forms part of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York.

L. S.H.B. iv. 209. 2. See the belated advertisement in The Times, Mon. 15 June 1857, p.14, col.2: '... Will be published the 6th inst.,' and The Athenaeum, 5 June^{p.734}, 'This day is published!.. Review copies were sent out on 5 June, according to the Publication Ledger; but I have found no reviews earlier than 13 June.

The Smith, Elder Publication Ledger shows that the First Edition of The Professor was issued on 5 June 1857; but negotiations had begun in 1856. Presumably the 'Author' who received £220 for the copyright was Mr. Nicholls. He had a further £50 'for Foreign Copyright and Sheets to America.'

There was nothing unusual about the make-up of the first volume: apparently the cost of composing one sheet 'Double Post' was two guineas; 'Corrections and Extra for small type' cost one guinea. In the second volume, however, two guineas were paid for 'Corrections, proofs, and Extra for small Type and Cancelled matter.' Since there appear to be no 'cancels' in Volume II, and the signatures are quite regular, it would be tempting to conclude that the additional guinea was the cost of re-setting one half-sheet, and that this was necessitated by a rather late decision to cut, for example, the last third of MS. p. 180 (B4r., xviii. 7.). But the cost may have been that of the proofs and small type, of which much more is used in Volume II - in the poems and in advertisements - than in Volume I.

The First Edition of The Professor consisted of two volumes 8vo., with a sixteen page Smith, Elder Catalogue for June 1857, bound in at the end of the second volume in copies issued after 13 June - the date of the notice of The Professor in the Saturday Review, quoted on p. 2. of the Catalogue.

Volume I contains

pp. [i] -viii, half-title, title-page, and Preface.

pp. [1] -294, chapters I-XVII.

pp. [1] and 2, an advertisement, with quotations from reviews, of 'Mrs. Gaskell's Memoirs of Currer Bell,' 'Just published ...'

Volume II contains

pp. [i] - [iv], half-title and title-page.

pp. [1] -258, chapters XVIII - XXV.

p. [259], Smith, Elder imprint.

p. [260], blank.

pp. [1] -8, Advertisement of the Uniform Edition of the Works of Currer Bell.

2,500 copies were printed, of which 1,700 were bound: this was a larger edition than that of the average novel - the usual figure is from 750 to 1,500 in the Smith, Elder ledger - but The Professor was a rather special case. It was obvious from the sale of the Life (1,950 of the 2,021 copies printed were sold between 25 March and 30 June 1857), that there was a tremendous public interest in C. Brontë.¹ And the Life, as its publishers had anticipated, stimulated other sales. It can hardly be co-incidence that sales of the Poems were more than doubled by June 1857 and that almost four times as many copies were sold between 1 July 1857 and 30 June 1858 as between 1 July 1855 and 30 June 1856.² Jane Eyre had always been a best-

1. Mrs. Gaskell foretold an 'immense sale' for The Professor. See p. 10.

2. See also John Carter, More Binding Variants (1938) pp. 3-4. and Books and Book-Collectors (1956) p. where the binding figures for the Poems are given, and the rise of 1857 noted.

seller: but here too 1857 shows a spectacular rise in sales. 2,475 copies were sold between 1 July 1856 and 30 June 1857 as compared with 836 copies in the preceding year. (Detailed figures are given in ^{the} Appendix .) A new edition printed on 24 July 1857 reached the fantastic figure of 25,000 - eventually 25,000 - copies. The lower price must have assisted sales: the 'new' (1857) Edition cost 2/6, whereas the previous (4th.) Edition cost 6/-. But of course the new price is itself a sign of the publishers' confidence.

2,500 was therefore a fairly moderate estimate for The Professor. 1330 copies were 'sold' by 30 June 1857 (wrongly entered as 1580 but corrected later) and 50 copies given away: five to the copyright libraries, six to Rev. P. Brontë, and thirty-nine to 'Editors and Friends'. The number sold is impressive but rather misleading. It merely means that the libraries and booksellers were willing to accept this number, but, as an entry of 1859 shows, not all the copies had left the shops by that year. The distribution of copies is interesting. 196 went to subscribers, 300 to Mudie's, 55 to Cawthorn's; to 'London Libraries in small numbers' 166 (all of these at the cheap rate of 10/- bound, or to a few subscribers, at 9/- in quires). 863 went to 'The Trade' at 15/- - possibly only 613, but it is not clear to whom the 250 copies had been wrongly attributed. In the following year Mudie's took

an additional 250 copies, as against 30 to 'The Trade', figures which show how important the libraries were.¹ Publishers who had refused The Professor because it would not appeal to the circulating libraries had every justification for their cautious attitude. The sale of only 280 copies in 1857-8 must have been rather disappointing: probably the booksellers had not yet absorbed their first supply. Slow sales may have been responsible for the re-binding of The Professor in 1859, when 719 of the 861 remaining copies were bound 'in Cloth, 2vols. in 1' and sold at 3/6 (probably 5/- retail) instead of 15/- (21/- retail).² This was naturally a much more popular form; 23 copies of the earlier type were 'returned by the trade' for re-binding; and 702 copies were sold by 30 June 1859 - 666 in one volume against 36 in two. After this sales were slower: 134 copies in 1859 - 60, only 7 the following year, and thereafter in very small numbers until 1878, when the one remaining copy of the First Edition was still on hand. The reason was, of course, the production of a cheap 'Yellow Back' version in 1860. 5,000 copies were printed on 10 August 1860, and sold at 2/6. They proved very popular. The volume also contained the Iceni, and its sales are therefore not a completely accurate indicator for the novel, but the figures are impressive. 3,652 copies were sold in the first year, 1,217 in the second, warranting re-prints of 1,000 each in May 1861 and October 1862.

Thus, although The Professor cannot compete with the vast

1. The 'Leivathian Studie' took such large numbers of books that the extra 10% discount which he demanded was usually considered worthwhile. He took for example 500 of Adam Bede, 1,000 of Charles Reade's It's Never Too Late to Mend, and 900 of Charlotte Yonge's Heartsease. v. Haight, G. Eliot's Letters, II. 467n.
2. Secrets of Clerical Life, also in 2 vols, sold slowly. v. Haight, op. cit. III. 212 n (and II. 411.)

sales of the major Brontë novels, Smith, Elder can have had no reason to regret its publication. Carried on the tide of Brontë popularity, mounting the crest of the wave produced by the Life in 1857, The Professor must have reached many thousands of British readers, a large number of whom were willing to buy their own copies.

It was also published in America - by Harper's of New York on 27 June 1857;¹ in translation in France, (Hachette et Cie., translation by H. Loreau, 1858²) in Germany (at Stuttgart, translation by Buchelche, 1858³) and in Holland (Fortsona and Co., Gubbinnen, 1859⁴). Tauchnitz had 'the exclusive right to publish in English on the Continent'⁵ (Leipzig, 1857).

The first English edition of The Professor is a pleasing, unpretentious production, with well-set, widely-spaced clear type, and ample margins. The need to fill two volumes meant that 21, ie. rather less than the usual number of lines per page, were used. The title-page retains the pseudonym 'Currer Bell', and the publicity-value of her famous novels:

THE PROFESSOR, / A Tale. / BY / CURRER BELL, / AUTHOR OF
 "JANE EYRE," "SHIRLEY," "VILLETTE," &c. / IN TWO VOLUMES. /
 VOL. I. / LONDON: / SMITH, ELDER & CO., 65, CORNHILL. /
 [rule] / 1857. / [The right of Translation is reserved.]

The following misprints occur in all the copies examined:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <u>B.S.T.</u> viii. 143. | 2. Butler Wood. <u>Brontë Bibliography</u> |
| (1895). | 3. <u>ibid.</u> |
| 4. <u>B.S.T.</u> viii. 160; Smith, Elder | 5. <u>Ledger</u> , Folio 862. |
| <u>Publication Ledger</u> , Folio 882. | |

- I. ii. 21. foggn ... introductioy
 vi. 98. hinders you?" You (unnecessary quotation
 xi. 188. raptures. mark.)
 (raised period.)
 xii. 203. 1st, The
 220. disclain
 221. part. --"
- II.xix. 28. life, If
 87. overtook him / What (no period.)
 89. disarranged / i deas ('i' slightly displaced.)
 xxi. 99. get me the / lace (= place.)
 116. solve the problen
 xxv. 213. of my judgment."

The copy in the Sterling Library, London University Library, has also lost the 'c' of 'cane' at v. 81; and a copy of the one volume version shows a further deterioration of the type-face in 'six feet o / length' (xxii. 118.) and 'in otherwise / t roubling' ('t' slightly displaced, xxiii. 167.) This copy, like the one volume edition described by Morris L. Parrish,¹ contains a separately paged catalogue dated November 1858.

Charlotte Brontë was well-served by her publishers. They were careful and reliable, and she appreciated their giving her works 'every advantage which good paper, clear type, and a seemly outside can supply;...' ²She also thanked them for punctuating the proof sheets of Jane Eyre, as she thought their 'mode of punctuation a great deal more correct and rational'

1. Victorian Lady Novelists, p. 96. 2. S.H.B. ii. 149. See also, on Shirley, S.H.B. iii. 33.

than her own.¹ Naturally errors crept in - on 23 December 1847, for example, she sent a list of corrections for the second edition of Jane Eyre.²

One would expect then that Smith, Elder's edition of The Professor would be of a good standard: and comparison with the manuscript shows in fact a high degree of accuracy. There are, however, some half-dozen errors that would no doubt have been corrected if the author herself had read the proofs.

1. 'Cup' has been mis-read 'cups' in Chapter ii.³ (An elaborate 'p' is responsible; the correct version is obviously preferable: 'a valley ... held in its cup the great town of X --.')

2. 'Semi-collong?' in Chapter x. should be 'Simi-collong?'.⁴

3. C. Brontë was not responsible for the incorrect use of 'perspicuity' in Chapter x. She wrote 'perspicacity'.⁵

4. 'Look at this little woman ...' should be '... this little real woman ...'.⁶

5. 'worky-day' has been 'corrected' to 'work-day'.⁷

6. It was '"inconvenant"' and not '"inconvenient"' for the professor to overlook his pupils.⁸

7. The Crimsworth's' maid is quite clearly 'Mimie' and not 'Minnie'.⁹

The printed version also gives little idea of the nature and extent of C. Brontë's capitalisation, which is extremely

1. <u>S.H.B.</u> ii. 142.	5. <u>MS.</u> p. 105. (x. 172.)
2. <u>S.H.B.</u> ii. 166.	6. <u>MS.</u> p. 107. (x. 175.)
3. <u>M.S.</u> p. 14. (ii. 22.)	7. <u>MS.</u> p. 120. (xii. 199.)
4. <u>MS.</u> p. 102. (x. 168.)	8. <u>MS.</u> p. 128. (xii. 213.)
9. <u>MS.</u> p. 312. (xxv. 215.)	

idiosyncratic. A certain amount has been retained, but this is sometimes misleading, for it underlines certain passages at the expense of others to which C. Brontë gave an equal emphasis. It is also quite conventional marking, for example, many of the personified abstracts, but reducing to normality words which for the author had a very special kind of life.

Notice, for instance, the inconsistent treatment of two similar passages - both dealing with Mlle. Reuter, who often provokes this kind of analysis. In Chapter xx., capitals are retained: '... I knew her former feeling was unchanged. Decorum now repressed, and Policy masked it, but Opportunity would be too strong for either of these - Temptation would shiver their restraints,...' Yet the personification here is less strongly realised than in Chapter xv, where the capitals are omitted. I give the manuscript version:

... the fact is that as it was her nature to doubt the reality and undervalue the worth of Modesty, Affection, Disinterestedness, to regard these qualities as foibles of character: so it was equally her tendency to consider Pride, Hardness, Selfishness as proofs of strength. She would trample on the neck of Humility, she would kneel at the feet of Disdain; she would meet Tenderness with secret contempt, Indifference she would woo with ceaseless assiduities; Benevolence, Devotedness, Enthusiasm were her Antipathies; for Dissimulation and Self-Interest she had a preference - they were real wisdom in her eyes;— [sic] Moral and physical Degradation, mental and bodily Inferiority she regarded with indulgence ... to Violence, Injustice, Tyranny she succumbed, they were her natural masters -- ...¹

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1. MS. p. 231. (xx. 90.)
 2. MS. p. 155. (xv. 260.)

In Chapter iv. the original capitalization shows that words which now appear to be merely qualifying adjectives should have the force of nouns: '... they two should have been my household gods, from which my Darling, my Cherished-in-secret, Imagination, the tender and the mighty, should never, either by softness or strength, have severed me ...'¹

Capitalized words often occur in the 'visionary' passages: in Chapter v. 'you dare to dream of Congeniality, Repose, Union',² and in Chapter vii. 'Thoughts, Feelings, Memories that slept, are seen by me ascending from the clods ...'³

The capitals mark these qualities as 'visions' - they are not complete personae, but C. Brontë evidently feels, and intends that we should feel, them to have a palpable form. However uncongenial to modern taste, this is undeniably the mode of her imagination. Their absence, too, weakens the affinity with ^eEighteenth century prose and poetry which is an important element in her style. (Compare, for example, Number 44 of The Rambler: '"My name is RELIGION, I am the offspring of TRUTH and LOVE, and the parent of BENEVOLENCE, HOPE and JOY ...'"⁴)

Again, capitals, by their purely mechanical function of arresting the eye, indicate a special emphasis, which would require, if the passage were spoken, a slow enunciation with marked pauses; and it is clearly most important to bring out

1. MS. p. 33. (iv. 52.)

2. MS. p. 46. (v. 73.)

3. MS. p. 65. (vii. 103.)

4. For the resemblance of C. Brontë's capitalization ^{to} that of Carlyle, see pp. 99-100.

the rhythmical qualities in, for example, an evocation of the past like that in Chapter vii, where the 'meaning' is primarily emotional.

There is plainly too much capitalization, and many instances - the characteristic marking of '"The Climax"'¹ and 'The Garden'² and of 'He' (= Hunsden) - were considered by the printers as too eccentric to be acceptable in print. I think nevertheless that a case can be made out for more than occurs in the First Edition. The original 'Master' especially can be justified, for its capitalization is a useful reminder of the centrality of the 'master' theme: at iii. 38, for example, it is Edward Crimsworth who is the 'Master',⁴ whereas later it is of course William to whom Frances turns as the 'Master in all things.'⁵ *

The First Edition also modernises C. Brontë's spelling, which is often rather old-fashioned. 'Embued', 'porteress', 'gulph', 'bason', 'fervor', 'pourtray', and 'sallad' have been brought up to date, though 'tryste', interestingly enough a favourite with Scott, has been retained. The author has made what looks like a pencil correction, 'eat' to 'ate' at viii. 141,⁶ though not at xxiii. 176⁷ - 'ate' in the First Edition. The author rather amusingly betrays familiarity with a typically Yorkshire idiom at xxv. 256: 'She ... sits down to wait while I have finished', which she corrects (in pencil?) to 'till':⁸

1. MS. p. 45. (v. 72.)

2. MS. p. 91. (ix. 149.)

3. MS. p. 248. (xxii. 118.)

4. MS. p. 24. (iii. 38.)

5. MS. p. 318 (xxv. 225)

6. MS. p. 87. (viii. 141.)

7. MS. p. 286.

8. MS. p. 338.

*. of also the spelling 'Master' in Pamela. (eg. in the quotation on p. 199.)

but she failed to notice 'laid' ('Yet I saw him next day laid on the mound ...')¹ which found its way into the First Edition. 'I had voluntary cut off',² probably a slip of the pen, has been corrected.

C. Brontë's incorrect French accents are retained - for example 'dêjá', 'vîte', '~~âtes-vois~~', 'eglise' - though the spelling 'sehlment' was corrected. (The French translation was naturally more/accurate in the matter of accents, but rather surprisingly made several minor emendations of the original French phrases, probably more idiomatic, but usually so slight that one would have thought that, in the interests of accuracy, they were hardly worth making. Typical examples are '... elle est ~~jeune~~ encore jeune, plus âgée que toi peutêtre, mais juste assez pour unir la tendresse ...'³ which becomes '... elle est jeune encore; un peu plus âgée que toi il est vrai, mais juste assez ...'⁴ and '"Je les connais!" exclaimed M. Pelet. "Elles sont toujours au premier rang à l'eglise et à la promenade; une blonde superbe, une jolie espiègle, une belle brune,"'⁵ This becomes '-- Je les connais parfaitement, s'écria M. Pelet. Elles sont toujours au premier rang à la promenade comme à l'église: une blonde superbe, une charmante espiègle et une belle brune.'⁶)

The French translation and the Tauchnitz edition perpetuate the errors of the First Edition. The Tauchnitz edition corrects some, but not all, of the French accent errors. There is no

1. MS. p. 336 (xxv. 252.)
3. xi. 182.
5. xi. 186.

2. MS. p. 222. (xx. 74-5.)
4. French edition, p. 101-2.
6. French edition, p. 104.

division into volumes. The first American edition we know from the Publication Ledger to have been based on sheets supplied by Smith, Elder and Company.

Later English and American editions were set up without further reference to the manuscript. The cheap 'Yellow-back' of 1860 is perhaps the most interesting. The author's real name appears on the title-page: probably Miss Brontë was as well known as 'Currer Bell' by 1860. The title-page reads as follows:

THE PROFESSOR. / BY/CURRER BELL. / (CHARLOTTE BRONTË,) /
 AUTHOR OF "JANE EYRE," "SHIRLEY," AND "VILLETTE." / TO WHICH
 ARE ADDED / THE POEMS / OF / CURRER, ELLIS AND ACTON BELL:/
 NOW FIRST COLLECTED. / LONDON: / SMITH, ELDER AND CO., 65,
 CORNHILL. / rule] / M.DCCC.LX.

This edition was the first to link The Professor with the Poems, a combination which has persisted for obvious reasons of convenience, especially in the Collected or 'Uniform' editions of the Brontë works. The volume contains an 8-page advertisement of the first of these, 'In Seven Volumes. Price 17s. 6d., cloth.' with extensive quotations from reviews for each volume except The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. The Professor has five quotations, from The Saturday Review, The Economist, The Eclectic Review, The Press, and The Literary Gazette, most

of them to the effect that it is worth reading as the 'germ' of the great novels. The extensive quotation from The Economist is justified, for this review was the most whole-hearted in its praise;¹ but the somewhat lukewarm appreciation of The Press is perhaps more representative of contemporary criticism: 'The idea is original, and we every here and there detect germs of that power which took the world by storm in Jane Eyre.' (The Press in fact had also written, 'it has an attenuated air throughout, and smacks of the soupe maigre of the Belgian boarding school.')²

Typographical errors of the First Edition are corrected, but the mis-readings remain. Some of the French is corrected ^{or modernised} - for example 'église', but 'dites-moi'.

Most of the later English editions follow this pattern. None retains the two-volume form; none (apparently) goes back to the manuscript, and none differs substantially from the First Edition. As far as I know, the following is a complete list of the English editions.

1857.	Smith, Elder.	First Edition.	2 vols.
1860.	Smith, Elder.	Cheap Edition.	1 vol. With <u>Poems</u> .
1873.	Smith, Elder.	Library Edition, Vol. IV. 5 illustrations. With <u>Poems</u> . <u>Emma</u> ; and <u>Cottage Poems</u> by Rev. P. Brontë. Corrects French errors.	
1885.	Smith, Elder.		1 vol.
1888.	Smith, Elder.		1 vol.
1889.	Smith, Elder.	18 th Edition with frontispiece.	1 vol. (in Bodleian Library)
1894.	Smith, Elder.	Popular Edition, Vol. IV.	

1. See The Economist, 27 June 1857.

2. The Press, 13 June 1857.

1894. Smith, Elder. Pocket Edition, Vol. IV. With Frontispiece.
1893. J.M.Dent. One vol. of a twelve volume edition of the Brontë works. 3 illustrations and appendix containing translation of French phrases. Short introductory note signed F. J. S. Retains many French errors as in First Edition, but corrects "inconvenient" to "inconvenant". Other mis-readings retained.
1899. Downey. Thornton Edition. With Frontispiece and short note by Temple-Scott recalling circumstances of first attempt at publication and repeating Shorter's statements on revision of text. French errors corrected.
1900. Smith, Elder. Haworth Edition. Vol. IV. 8 illustrations. Introduction by Mrs. H. Ward. Contains also Emma, Poems, and Cottage Poems, and 3 facsimiles of title-pages, of 1st. Editions. French errors corrected.
1901. J.M.Dent. 1 vol. Text as 1893 edition.
1905. Gresham. 1 vol. Illustrated. Contains Poems and Emma. French errors corrected.
1905. Nelson. 1 vol., in which The Professor is printed after The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. French errors corrected.
1905. J.M.Dent. 1 vol. Text as 1893 edition.
1906. World's Classics. 1 vol. With Poems. Introduction by T. Watts-Dunton recalls discussions of The Professor with W. S. Williams, eg. on use of the autobiographical form. Some French errors as in First edition.
1910. J.M.Dent. Everyman edition. Text as 1893 edition.
1922. J.M.Dent. 1 vol. Text as 1893 edition.
1929. Nelson. 1 vol. Text as 1905 edition.
1931. Blackwell. Shakespeare Head edition. 1 vol. Typographically attractive, but no improve

ment in text. Retains some French errors as in First Edition.

1947. Temple Edition. 1 vol. French errors corrected.
1948. Penguin Edition. 1 vol. Some French errors corrected.
1954. J. M. Dent. Everyman Edition. 1 vol. Reprint of 1910 edition, but with short introduction by Margaret Lane: a good brief account of background of publication, but contains error 'Edward' for 'William' Crimsworth in critical remarks.
1954. Collins. 1 vol., containing also a selection of Tales from Angria, Emma, and a selection from Poems. Edited by P. Bentley. Short but illuminating section on Professor in a good general introduction, linking Professor with C. Brontë's other novels. Some French errors as in First Edition.
1949. Allan Wingate. Heather Edition. 1 vol. The Brontës.
 Charlotte Brontë: Stories from Angria.
The Professor. Emma. Poems.
 Emily Brontë: Poems.
 Anne Brontë: Poems.
 Introduction by P. Bentley.

Translations of The Professor exist in Italian (1890) and Portuguese (1943:), both in cheap 'popular' series - 'os melhores romances dos melhores romancistas'. The Italian version, 'Il Professore' by 'Miss Currer Bell', re-issued in 1892 as 'L'Istitutrice', contains a short Italian novella as makeweight and has evidently been considerably abridged.

The Preface to The Professor exists in two, or possibly three, manuscript versions. The first is an original pencil draft by C. Brontë herself, written on the first two sides of a folded piece of notepaper.¹ On the third and fourth sides are two interesting short paragraphs which appear to be unused Professor material. They may be briefly considered here as ^{possible} indications of the nature of Charlotte Brontë's proposed expansion of The Professor. ~~The arithmetical calculations which cover the fourth side of the paper are described in Appendix .~~

The passage on the third side reads as follows:

C'est possible -" and he lipped his cigar in a peculiar manner that he had when he was a little posed and puzzled without being displeased "And can I marry or not?" he pursued. "Mademoiselle I don't dislike to put the question to myself - I am an egoist and like to linger over points important to myself

The passage might easily apply to Hunsden, who, like Rochester, favours the cigar (cf. The Professor, iv. 56.), who speaks French fluently, has certainly a 'peculiar manner', and discusses ⁱⁿ Marriage in conversation with Frances - whom he addresses as 'Mademoiselle' in Chapter xxiv. Perhaps Charlotte Brontë intended to develop this aspect of his character: certainly the question of his marriage recurs often enough, though inconclusively, in the existing version.

1. In the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, which supplied a photostat copy.

The second paragraph, which is crossed through and is rather more difficult to decipher, is even more clearly related to The Professor:

About this time ^{befel} ~~occurred~~ that grand event - the fête-day of
 M^dlle Pauline. ^{And now it was upon} ~~All-the-masters~~ this occasion I ^{enjoyd} ~~felt~~ in all
 its fullness the ^{advantage} ~~value~~ of my privileged position as professee^r
 a pensionnat de demoiselles - I received a note of invitation
 Not indifferent to me was the small document- nor unattracti^v
 the scene to which it offered admission

(One or two letters are missing, possibly cut off, at the end of the second, third, and fifth lines.)

This fragment seems to show that C. Brontë already had in mind one method of expansion used in Villette - the elaboration of the fête-day. But whether the invitation attracted the 'professeur' because he had not yet been disillusioned^e about Mlle. Reuter or her equivalent, or because he had seen 'Frances' it is impossible to tell. The name Pauline is new - the teachers in The Professor were Zéphyrine, Pélagie and Suzette. One recalls the Paulina, but also the M. Paul, of Villette: might Mdlle. Pauline be his feminine equivalent? Such speculations are no doubt hazardous; but one or two observations may be made: two different strands of The Professor were apparently to be extended; the masculine narrator was retained; and finally, a technical point - C. Brontë evidently revised and re-wrote phrases in her pencil drafts, as she did in her fair copy.

The Preface was twice copied out by Nicholls. In 1914 a Mrs. Chadwick bought at Sotheby's 'Rev. A. B. Nicholls's "Auto. draft in pencil of the Preface written by his wife for The Professor 4pp. 8vo, not quite complete, and differs slightly from the printed version."'¹ This I have not seen; but his fair copy, now prefixed to the Pierpont Morgan manuscript of the novel, also differs very slightly from the printed version, and in one or two minor details, chiefly in punctuation, from the author's rough draft. Presumably this transcript would be that furnished to Smith, Elder and Company by Nicholls in his capacity as editor of the novel. It may be based on a fair copy by Charlotte Brontë, but as this has not, as far as I know, survived, I have attributed to 'Nicholls' such slight differences as exist between his version and the draft.

The printed version, though not identical with his transcript, follows his punctuation rather than that of Charlotte - which, as usual in her rough drafts and in much of her fair copy, is rather too light. For example, C. Brontë wrote 'that whatever small competency he might gain should he won by the sweat of his brow - that before he could find so much of as an arbour to sit down in - he should master at least half the ascent of the hill of Difficulty - ' Nicholls, followed by the printer, makes this rather more formal by inserting commas after 'gain' and the second 'that'; his unnecessary comma

1. Sotheby's Catalogue, 19 June 1914.

after 'competency' was understandably ignored; and the dash after 'brow', which he retained, is replaced by the heavier semi-colon. The printers also follow Nicholls and not C. Brontë in enclosing 'the hill of difficulty' in inverted commas, though the capitalisation is not his.

Similarly Charlotte wrote 'that he should not even marry a beautiful wife nor a lady of rank'; the phrase 'nor a girl' is faintly discernible above 'wife', though 'wife' is not cancelled: the printed version is based on Nicholls's transcript. Both Nicholls and the First Edition ignore the word before 'taste for pathos' (illegible on the photostat - possibly 'native'.)

This throws some light on the first paragraph of the Preface. The printed version of the third and fourth sentences reads as follows:

I had not indeed published anything before I commenced "The Professor", but in many a crude effort, destroyed almost as soon as composed, I had got over any such taste as I might once have had for ornamented and redundant composition, and come to prefer what was plain and homely. At the same time I had adopted a set of principles on the subject of incident, &c., such as would be generally approved in theory, but the result of which, when carried out into practice, often procures for an author more surprise than pleasure.¹

Nicholls and the printers, not C. Brontë, are responsible for the rather irregular use of 'redundant'. Where Charlotte Brontë wrote of her 'taste ... for the ornamented and redundant

1. The Professor, pp. v-vi.

in composition' (inserting 'the' and 'in' above the line,) Nicholls saw 'the', but not 'in', so that his version makes 'composition' equivalent to a 'composed work' - a misrepresentation which the First Edition corrects to a certain extent by omitting 'the'. The rough draft makes plain that the primary idea concerned the style or manner of composition, its substance or genre being secondary. ('plain and homely' are probably also attributes of style, as the original version, 'plain, simple and direct' indicates.) Consequently there is a real distinction between this and the following sentence: 'At the same time ... on the subject of incident....'

There are several alterations made by the author herself in the rough draft. One rather complicated cancellation may be considered as an example of the care with which she strove to express her meaning as accurately as possible. The suggested order of the cancellations is the one which seems most likely, but examination of the original might show other possibilities. The printed version of the second sentence reads:

A first attempt it certainly was not, as the pen which wrote it had been previously worn a good deal in a practice of some years.

C. Brontë originally wrote;

A first attempt it certainly was not as the pen which wrote it had been worn and hackneyed in a secret practice of some years.

The unusual 'hackneyed' illuminates Charlotte's attitude to this early work. The pen was not only 'habituated by much practice' in writing; the usual overtones of 'hackneyed' - triteness in the material, 'disgust or weariness' in the reader - are implied. Unfortunately its use in this sense was not quite idiomatic: the pen itself could not be hackneyed. 'And hackneyed' was therefore cancelled, and 'down' written above 'and'. This was evidently not satisfactory: 'worn' and 'down' are cancelled, and replaced by a word that may be 'exercised' - a colourless term which fails to indicate the extent of the 'secret practice'. 'Worn down' was therefore re-inserted and 'a good deal' written on top of the cancelled 'exercised'. At some stage 'previously' was inserted between 'been' and 'worn'; and 'secret' was struck out, possibly because it was implied in the following sentence ('I had not indeed published anything ... many a crude effort, destroyed almost as soon as composed, ...'), possibly because 'secret' was too revealing: she did not wish the nature of her Juvenilia to be suspected, and is indeed deliberately misleading about its survival. Nichols's version is therefore correct, except that 'down' should be retained. The phrase 'worn down a good deal' is still rather clumsy, but perhaps better than the printed version.

Mrs. Gaskell's famous description of C. Bronë's method of writing would seem therefore to need some qualification. She

praised Charlotte's 'singular felicity in the choice of words': 'One set of words was the truthful mirror of her thoughts; no others, however identical in meaning, would do ... She never wrote down a sentence until she clearly understood what she wanted to say, had deliberately chosen the words, and arranged them in their right order. Hence it comes that, in the scraps of paper covered with her pencil writing which I have seen, there will occasionally be a sentence scored out, but seldom, if ever, a word or an expression.'¹ This is clearly untrue of the Preface; but a reasoned apologia of this kind probably involves a different kind of composition from that of the novels - though one does not, of course, know which 'scraps of paper' Mrs. Gaskell saw in 1856. But the manuscripts of The Professor and the other novels, as well as the fragments written on the paper of the Preface draft, show that the finished style that Mrs. Gaskell admires was not obtained without revision of individual words and phrases.

Of the 47 words which are cancelled and replaced in the Preface, a few occur singly; most occur in short phrases. There are no radical changes of meaning. The one alteration of any length is however fairly interesting. '... more surprise than pleasure.' is followed by 'The strictest resolutions to eschew what was unreal - improbable - startling - were made - the most religious determination' These words are scored through, and the sentence 'I said to myself that my

¹1. Life, Chapter xv.

The 340 pages of The Professor manuscript (approximately 24,000 words)¹ contain between 270 and 280 alterations of various kinds. Most pages contain only one alteration: few have more than two or three; and of these most affect only one or two words or very short phrases. The manuscript is evidently 'fair copy'² and few radical changes can be expected. Nevertheless an author's second thoughts, even at this late stage of composition, are interesting: perhaps especially so in the case of The Professor, a first novel which C. Brontë hoped to present to an unknown and therefore formidable reading public. The alterations show, I think, the results of a very careful re-reading of the manuscript by an author anxious for the greatest possible precision of expression, and scrupulous - almost too much so - in the elimination of slight stylistic or grammatical faults.

About 50 of the 'alterations' mentioned are actually insertions of words or phrases above the line of writing - most of them in ink, three apparently in pencil. Many are single word insertions, (typically, the addition of an adjective to a descriptive phrase,) and only about half a dozen are longer phrases of any great significance. It is, however, interesting that comparatively few of these insertions seem to be the result of skips in copying: most appear to be genuine afterthoughts or improvements.

(Conclusive proof is not possible in every case, but the phrases concerned almost always make good sense without the addition.)

1. I am informed by The Pierpont Morgan Library that the size of the MS. pages is 9" x 7 1/2".

2. Mrs. Gaskell wrote to F. Smith, 'Her writing is so beautifully even and regular that from this, ^[the number of pages] I think you could make a good calculation - (of the size of the printed volumes). Unpublished letter, Rembert Hall 19 August 1850.

The author made most of her alterations by crossing out a word or phrase with a single horizontal stroke of the pen, and writing the new phrase above the line. Thus the original words are usually legible. But one alteration, on MS. p.48, is in a handwriting which one may fairly assume to be that of Nicholls - since he is the acknowledged editor and since there is a close similarity between the writing of the alteration and that of his transcript of the Preface. The heavy, black obliteration of the rejected words on p.48 is almost certainly his doing: and it would seem reasonable to assume that he was responsible for similar cancellations elsewhere in the manuscript. One passage, heavily inked out, has been replaced by a phrase in Charlotte Brontë's handwriting (MS. p.47); on MS. p. 248 light diagonal strokes in her faded brownish ink are clearly visible as well as the darker cancellations of Nicholls. In both cases the original was probably of a type that Nicholls wished to cancel much more thoroughly than the author had done.

Mrs. Gaskell thought The Professor more disfigured by blasphemy than any of C. Brontë's other books. Mr. Nicholls probably agreed: and as he had the job of cleaning up the text and preserving his wife's respectability,¹ I assume that it was he who so carefully inked out the word 'God' in the following passages:

MS.p.48.(v. 76) God damn your insolence! (Altered to 'Confound...')

MS.p.141(xiv.235) God! How the repeater of the prayer...

MS.p. 247(xxii.117) God confound his impudence!

MS.p. 30_v(xxiv.206)Oh God! And I pitied the fellow...

1. See pages 13-15.

These exclamations are provoked by themes or characters which produced a violent reaction in the author's mind. They are also part of The Professor's realism: an Edward Crimsworth would have said 'God damn' rather than the petulant 'Confound'. Hunsden, delighting in provocative speech and excited by his battle of wits with Frances, would have spoken more emphatically than Nicholls allows him to do (and after all, Frances is allowed her 'Mon Dieu'). On the other hand it might be argued that the characters in question are throughout unnecessarily violent, and that C. Brontë, in her attempt to portray masculine characters and to assume the character of a man as narrator, mistook coarseness for masculinity. 'God confound his impudence!', the professor's reflection on Hunsden's cool manner of making himself at home, is disproportionately strong; his earlier exclamation, provoked by the gabbled prayers of the Roman Catholic scholars, is hardly well-chosen in a diatribe against irreverence.

Nicholls presumably cut out the blasphemy on very understandable grounds - after all, the book came before the public on his authorisation. But even artistically, his editing is perhaps not deeply regrettable. Experience taught Charlotte Brontë that force and energy of character could not be conveyed by a superficial emphasis of style: her mature taste might very well have approved some at least of her husband's editing.

Nicholls also appears to have cancelled, or to have confirmed the author's cancellation of, two longer passages. On MS.p.129 (xii.215) the phrase 'but when passion cooled' is followed by

Footnote to p. 44. The Pierpont Morgan library kindly undertook to examine the passages by means of ultra-violet and infra-red photography, but the experiments were unsuccessful. The Curator writes:

"In addition to being out the passages very heavily [? the Rev. Nichols] also scraped through the lines (probably fitted them with a small pen knife). I fear that they are not recoverable."

three very heavily cancelled lines. On MS. p. 248 (xii.118) after the sentence 'There is no use in attempting to describe what is indescribable' occur four heavily cancelled lines. The first passage is unfortunately quite illegible: but the ascenders and descenders of letters in the second are clear and most words decipherable with a fair degree of certainty. In the following version the words underlined are dubious: those bracketed are ~~illegible~~ MS: *the conjectural reading, is based on the apparent length and spacing of the words.*

'... describe what is indescribable. I can only say that the form and countenance of Hunsden Yorke Hunsden Esq re/sembled more the result (of an amour) between Oliver Cromwell and a French grisette than anything else in Heaven above or in the Earth beneath.'

The author's cancellation must have left the original text plainly legible: Nicholls therefore inked out each word so that the passage should not be read by publisher or printer.¹

C. Brontë may have cancelled the sentence before sending the manuscript to any publisher at all, but it is conceivable that, looking over The Professor after the publication of Jane Eyre, and knowing the public reaction to her daring account of Rochester's amours (though the objection was principally to the manner of their recital), she decided to cut out the passage at this later stage. It should perhaps be noticed that the cancellation on MS. p.129 occurs in a context where the word 'passion' is already a danger signal; and that on MS. p. 180 (xviii.6-7), where the words 'a warm, cherishing touch of the hand' have been altered, about one third of the page seems to have been cut away - a

1. See opposite page

method of excision frequently used by the author in. for example, the manuscript of Villette, and not necessarily to be attributed. therefore, to Mr. Nicholls.

The Cromwell passage is, I think, rather amusing: an odd quirk of Charlotte's imagination which adds one more piquant association to the already bizarre collection of associations surrounding the character of Hunsden. One regrets the loss of any detail which throws light on the way in which she imagined him. 'Oliver Cromwell and a French grisette' help to define her previous description: Hunsden has a tall figure, but his lineaments are 'small, and even feminine'; 'character had set a stamp upon each of his 'plastic features'; 'expression recast them at her pleasure, and strange metamorphoses she wrought, giving him now that of a morose bull, and anon that of an arch and mischievous girl; more frequently the two semblances were blent, and a queer, composite countenance they made'. (iv.61-62). Again, the exotic comparison shows Hunsden's affinity with Zamorna; and in another sense 'Cromwell' links him with Angria, where romantic liaisons of the great Ruler with lesser mortals had been a major theme. In fact reaction against Angria and all it symbolised, rather ^{than} a desire for literary decorum. may have been the more or less conscious motive of Charlotte's cancellation.

One other cancellation is probably by Nicholls. It occurs on MS. p.47 (v.74) where three or four words are obliterated after 'I may work', and 'it will do no good' is inserted above the line. It is not written directly above the cancelled phrase: it begins towards the end of the cancellation and extends to the word 'but' in the following clause.

The original words are by no means clear, but they may have been '(I may work) and toil and sweat!' 'It will do no good' may replace the cancelled phrase: it may be an addition to it - no comma appears after 'work' in the manuscript, though some punctuation is obviously required. It is not unusual for the author to omit commas, and the placing of the new phrase is not very important by itself, but other considerations support the idea that she may have retained the old phrase, and that it was Nicholls who objected to it. 'and toil and sweat' might have offended Nicholls's sensibility, but C. Brontë's was surely more robust: the phrase 'I may work, it will do no good' sounds jerky, yet other alterations show that the author was sensitive to rhythm, and made slight changes for the sake of euphony and balance, not in order to avoid it. The words are appropriate in an emphatic context, picking up the idea of 'toiling like a slave', and anticipating the Israelites 'crawling over the sun-baked fields of Egypt.' It seems unlikely that C. Brontë would reject the phrase because 'sweat' is not strictly appropriate - in any case the idea of physical as well as mental fatigue is clearly present. If the author was responsible for the deletion, then one can only regret that in this instance her second thoughts entailed the loss of an apt and vigorous phrase.

It remains to consider the alterations for which the author alone was responsible. It is of course impossible to make categorical statements about the reasons for such alterations. C. Brontë's own experience of life and writing, her reading, her own literary taste and the taste and linguistic usage of the

England of 1846 - any or all of these may form the background to a preference for one word rather than another. All one can do is to make very tentative suggestions, and hope that some of them may contribute to the appreciation of C. Brontë's art.

The alterations may be conveniently considered in four main groups: Meaning, Style, Grammar, Correction of Graphic errors. There is no clear borderline between the first and second groups, but since they include most of the alterations, a subdivision seems useful. In fact most alterations seem to be caused by a stylistic preference, and this is of course what one would expect at a late stage of composition. The third and fourth groups contain only a small percentage of the alterations, and will be more briefly considered.

Some of the meaning changes are very minor ones. For example, 'letters' becomes the more accurate 'words' in 'my nature was not his nature, and its signs were to him like the words of an unknown tongue.'¹ 'Lies' becomes 'rests' in the phrase 'a stranger who rests half-reclined on a bed of rushes'.² 'luminous shadows' become 'luminous phantoms'.³ The phrase 'connexion as employer and employed ...' replaces the original 'conexion (sic) (was certainly dissolved)'.⁴ Charlotte realised that 'connexion' required more precise definition if it were not to contradict the rest of the sentence - 'she hoped still to retain the pleasure of my acquaintance;'. More interesting, and possibly more illuminating, is the substitution of 'visions' for 'romance' in the following passage: 'your aspirations spread eager wings towards a land

1. MS. p. 22. (ii. 34.)

3. MS. p. 65. (vii. 104.)

2. MS. p. 159. (xvi. 266.)

4. MS. p. 209. (xix. 54.)

of visions where, now in advancing daylight, - in X-- daylight- you dare to dream of congeniality, repose, union.' The contrast is one of 'Romance and Reality': but perhaps a 'land of romance' would have been misleading - implying a world of the imagination which the dreamer would recognise to be unreal, not 'in this world': whereas ~~as~~ his 'visions' are potentially realisable. But the original shows clearly that the passage is in the main stream of C. Brontë's thought in The Professor. All these, and many similar corrections, show the author's scrupulous concern for accuracy.

Other alterations are more fundamental. Very revealing, for instance, is an insertion in Chapter iii (p. 39). where the last sentence of the first paragraph originally ended. 'I looked weary, solitary, kept down like some desolate governess; he was satisfied.'² The phrase 'tutor or' is inserted, apparently as an afterthought, above the line, before 'governess:'. It looks as if C. Brontë had not realised the unsuitability of her first phrase until a very late stage of revision - showing at the same time how closely the professor's experiences were identified with her own, and, as many critics have said how inadequately she realised his masculinity. (The use of 'she' at xxii. 116 is probably no more than a slip of the pen: the sentence in the manuscript reads: 'Hearing a step ascending the common stair I wondered whether the "locataire", now mounting to his apartments, were as unsettled in mind and condition as I was, or whether she

1. MS. p. 46. (v. 73.)

2. MS. p. 28.

he lived in the calm of certain resources ...' 'she' is cancelled. The preceding paragraphs concern Frances, so that the slip is natural: and the other pronouns are all in order.)

Another hardly disguised allusion to personal experience differs rather curiously from its first version. Charlotte originally wrote: 'Amidst this assemblage of all that was insignificant and defective, much that was vicious and repulsive. (I except the two or three stiff, silent, decently behaved, ill-dressed British girls), the sensible, sagacious, affable directress shone like a steady star ...'.¹ The alteration ('by that last epithet many would have described') is inserted above the line before 'the two or three ...'. The reason for the clumsiness of expression is now clear: C. Brontë wished to change her parenthesis without re-modelling the entire sentence, and the result is an awkward compromise. The main sentence expresses, very emphatically, C. Brontë's own point of view: the parenthesis suddenly twists round to the opinion of the 'many', undefined, yet presumably of the class of the 'insignificant and defective' or the 'vicious'. 'Repulsive', too, is inapt - not because it is too strong, (compare the previous description of the 'daughters of Albion' and the phrase '[meeting] hate with mute disdain:')³ but because it carries physical connotations, appropriate to the unwashed Amelia or 'swinish' Flamandes, and obviously, as the manuscript makes clear, originally intended for them and not for the 'clean and decent' English girls. Why then

1. MS. p. 247.

2. MS. p. 123. (xii. 206.)

3. (xii. 204.)

did C. Brontë make the alteration? Partly, I think, because she wished Mlle. Reuter's superiority to have its full value. The whole chapter is cleverly constructed: the charm of the 'sensible, sagacious, affable directress' is developed by contrast with her pupils and later by the romantic garden scene, only to be cruelly dispelled by her conversation with Pelet. The exception of the British girls blurs the black and white contrast which the author desired to produce, and makes the professor's infatuation less pardonable. It is possible that C. Brontë realised that her first phrase was an unusually blatant example of insular prejudice: but similar opinions elsewhere in the novel remain unmodified. From a stylistic point of view the parenthesis in any case spoils the structure of its sentence, but less perhaps in its present form than as the original exception.

A third example occurs in the very important opening paragraphs of Chapter vii. The manuscript reads as follows:

... for the present it must hang undisturbed. Belgium! I repeat the name, now as I sit alone near midnight - it stirs my world of the Past like a summons to resurrection. Belgium! name unromantic and unpoetic ...'

The sentence, 'Belgium! I repeat ...' to 'resurrection.' is cancelled, but re-written as in the printed text, after the words 'can produce.'

Various explanations are possible. The simplest would appear to be that we have an instance of haplography, caused by the repeated 'Belgium!'; and that the passage was re-written as the

clearest means of rectifying the error. In this case the original full-stop after 'resurrection' and possibly the slight difference in phrasing, ('I repeat the name') require some explanation. Or the sentence which now stands first may have been an afterthought - a rhetorical expansion which C. Brontë realised would be better placed for its cumulative effect before the climax, the grand crescendo-diminuendo of the final sentence. The third possibility, which may be the most probable, is that the cancelled sentence existed in its first (manuscript) position in the original draft, and that the paragraph ended with the words 'can produce'. The manuscript punctuation supports this theory, and the 'I repeat' is still appropriate - the paragraph opens with the words 'Third, Belgium ...' We must then assume that the whole of the existing paragraph from 'the graves unclose' to the end is an afterthought, a flight of the imagination irresistibly aroused by the memories crowding into Charlotte Brontë's mind: partly, no doubt, carried away by her delight in the purple passage for its style's sake, but much more powerfully moved in spirit by the still vivid recollection of her life in Brussels. Her words have a poignancy more in keeping with the sad autumnal memories of Lucy Snowe than the tranquil 'sweet summer evening' of the professor.

One other instance may show C. Brontë's consciousness of the difficulties of first person technique. In the sentence, 'Her mission was upstairs; I have followed her sometimes and watched

her.', 'I have followed' replaces a cancelled, unfinished phrase, 'there she entered[d]' - as if C. Brontë suddenly remembered that the 'I' of the story was not an omnipresent narrator. The scene is conceived as a drama or mime (cf. 'in low soliloquy',) and the numerous parentheses are, I think, rather awkward: notice too the slight discrepancies in tense and time: 'I have followed her sometimes ...'; 'the night I followed ...'; 'that evening at least, and usually I believe ...'.³ This clumsiness is understandable if the interpolations were in fact introduced at a late stage in composition.³

It is noticeable that passages dealing with Hunsden often contain an especially large number of alterations, and though these may not individually be very significant, they show perhaps some of the difficulty C. Brontë found in presenting this character. For example, pages 326 to 333 of the manuscript (xxv. 237-247.), which are concerned with Hunsden and the Lucia affair, contain 17 alterations or insertions, some of appreciable length and importance; whereas a random selection of non-Hunsden passages yields results like the following:

- MS. PP 47 to 54 (v. 75- vi. 85) 6 alterations - 1 by Nicholls.
(Last interview with Edward.)
- MS. pp 79 to 85 (vii. 128 - 38) 7 alterations. (Pelet and his pupils; Madame Pelet.)
- MS. pp. 144 to 9 (xiv. 240 - 50) 4 alterations - 1 important. (Pupils and 1st. lesson at Mlle. Reuter's.)
- MS. pp. 212 to 18 (xix. 58 - 68) 4 small alterations. (Professor's first visit to Frances's room.)

1. MS. P. 320. (xxv. 228.)

2. (xxv. 228 - 9.)

3. The episode derives from Mary Percy's visit to her children's nursery in History of Angria Part III (29 April 1836: Miscellaneous Writings, II. 148.) where the narrator is an impersonal observer.

Even the carefully revised opening of Chapter vii yields only 10 alterations in MS. pp 64 to 70 (vii. 103 - 13.), though these are admittedly fairly substantial.

The Hunsden alterations, I think, indicate that his character had not completely crystallised in the author's mind - that she was still shaping it as she revised her fair copy. Hunsden originally had a 'tall figure' and 'dark locks': the final version reads, 'a tall figure, long and dark locks ...' - an addition not very appropriate to the rest of the sentence, where 'figure, voice and general bearing' 'impressed me with the notion of something powerful and massive' in contrast to the 'small, and even feminine' lineaments. But the Byronic (indeed Angrian) 'long locks' accentuate the essential romanticism of the character - even the diction is revealing: contrast Hunsden's 'locks' with the 'hair' of Mrs. Crimsworth, or William's own 'tufts' of dun hair,) - a romanticism partly intentional. but possibly, as here, acting more powerfully on C. Brontë's imagination than was consistent with the nature and dimensions of the character of book.

In Chapter xxv. C. Brontë originally wrote 'Hunsden would dwell on Past^[sic] times, on his family history...'.¹ This was altered to '... would dwell~~l~~ on the past times of his house, on his family history'. - a very minor change; but it is possible that the original phrase implies an older man than the Hunsden of The Professor - a man more like Mr. Yorke of Shirley, or the presumed model for both characters, the real Mr. Taylor.

1. MS. p 39. (iv. 61.)

2. MS. p. 329. (xxv. 242.)

Possibly it was the character of Hunsden which determined the alteration of a simile in Chapter xxv, where Frances at first 'hovers with restless movement round, like a dove guarding its young from a suspicious cat...'.¹ Certainly the 'hovering hawk' of the final version is more appropriate to him, and incidentally avoids any association with the pre-eminently cat-like Mlle. Reuter.

Two or three omissions affect the character of the professor. In Chapter xiv C. Brontë at first wrote, 'Once I laid my hand on her [Sylvie's] head and stroked her hair gently in token of approbation,'² '... and stroked her hair gently...' is cancelled. In Chapter xviii, '... a rare glance of interest, or a warm, cherishing touch of the hand; deep respect...' becomes '... a rare glance of interest, or a cordial and gentle word: real respect...'.³ In both cases the final version deliberately avoids the warmth and physical intimacy of the original; in the first case understandably enough - contemporary readers found the professor's descriptions of his pupils unpleasant: and Charlotte Brontë herself must have realised that caresses between master and pupil were in somewhat dubious taste. In the second instance, she wishes to make physical attraction between William and Frances secondary; and there is considerable artistic value in the reserve and remoteness maintained right up to the climax of the uncontrollable 'tiger-leap' impulse in Chapter xxii. (Compare, '... her hand shrunk away...', xxii. 155.) That such exclusion is intentional seems conclusively proved by a third

1. MS. p. 338. (xxv. 256.) 2. MS. p. 145. (xiv. 242.)
 3. MS. p. 180. (xviii. 6.)

deletion, this time almost immediately before the 'tiger-leap'. The passage which now reads, '... no child, but a girl of nineteen; and she might be mine...' was originally, '... a girl of nineteen, and I stole a look at Jane's face and shape: they pleased, they suited me, the well-formed head, the expressive lineaments, and she might be mine...'.¹ The passage which follows makes it quite clear that C. Brontë was not being coy or prudish in this omission. She is merely underlining a theme important in this and in her better-known novels: the primacy of spiritual affinity. The professor's feeling is strong because it is an 'inward glow', and remains so until its 'revelation' can be expressed fully and without reserve. (On the other hand C. Brontë has been careful not to exclude physical attraction entirely. In Chapter xiv 'chiefly' replaces 'but' in '... the toil-worn, fagged, probably irritable tutor, blind almost to beauty, insensible to airs and graces, glories chiefly in certain mental qualities.'²)

After the climax of course there need be no restraint: there is therefore nothing inconsistent in the insertion in Chapter xxv. where '... my own little lace-mender was magically restored to me.' becomes '... restored to my arms.'³

The stylistic alterations are varied in character, but a very high proportion of them (about one third) arise from the writer's desire to avoid repetition of a word or phrase.

1. MS. p. 277. (xxiii. 162.)
 2. MS. p. 144. (xiv. 240.)
 3. MS. p. 318. (xxv. 225.)

For example:

1. MS. p. 6. (i. 7.) 'determined hostility' becomes 'persevering hostility'.
(cf. 'determined race' (top of p. 7.) and 'determined enmity' (previous sentence.)
2. MS. p. 9. (i. 13) 'further intercourse' becomes 'further communication'.
(cf. 'future intercourse' later in the same sentence.)
3. MS. p.9. (i. 13.) 'will i think operate' becomes 'will I fancy operate'.
(cf. 'I do not think', beginning the same sentence.)
4. MS. P.17. (ii.26) 'that was passing' becomes 'that was going on'.
(cf. 'we passed' and 'Workpeople were passing' on the same page.)
5. MS. p.19. (ii.28) 'drew out' becomes 'took out'.
(cf. 'drawer' in the same sentence.)
6. MS. p.23.(iii.35) 'small fund' becomes 'slender fund'.
(cf. 'small lodgings'. earlier in the same sentence.)
7. MS. p.46. (v. 73) 'be found in' becomes 'be derived from (his society)'.
cf. 'find pleasure in', p. 72.)

These may be taken as typical. Similar examples occur throughout The Professor at irregular intervals, but with no very noticeable concentration in any one part: ie., the book seems to have undergone a fairly systematic pruning at this level. Both the tendency to repetition and the conscious avoidance of it are common to many writers. The examples given therefore need little comment. What follows will apply to all C. Brontë's deliberate variation in The Professor.

One notices that in C. Brontë's writing the iterative habit is unusually strong, and that it was so natural to her style that it persisted at a very late stage of composition. Often the repeated words are the key to a character or situation, for C. Brontë's attitudes are usually strongly defined. Details are firmly held in the magnetic field of a powerful central idea, and involuntary verbal repetition (strikingly illustrated in the 'determined' of Example 1) is a natural consequence.

It is significant that C. Brontë did not invariably alter the second of a pair of words. Each sentence has been carefully considered, and, as in Example 2, the first element may be changed. This seems to point to a later rather than a concurrent re-reading.

Sometimes C. Brontë was unnecessarily eager to avoid recurrence. The repeated 'think' of Example 3 was natural and emphatic, more appropriate to spoken words than 'I fancy', though the whole speech is of course intentionally rather stilted. But one would not quarrel with most of the alterations: 'slender' and 'derived' are satisfactory, possibly preferable to the original. (The latter may indeed be purely stylistic preference: the connection with 'find' is rather slight.) Sometimes the change is a definite improvement: the 'persevering hostility' of Example 1 is a total variation of the previous 'determined enmity'; in this, in its rhythmic quality and its formality, it is entirely in keeping with the peculiar mannered rhetoric of

the whole passage.

Finally one should remember that C. Brontë by no means eschewed deliberate rhetorical repetition: a device reasonably well-used, for example, in the passage immediately following Example 7:

Yet he is a talented, an original-minded man. and even he does not like you; your self-respect defies you to like him: he has always seen you to disadvantage: he always will see you to disadvantage;...

The Preface to The Professor leads one to expect that stylistic changes will be away from the 'ornamented and redundant' and towards the 'plain and homely'. But one or two instances of an opposite tendency occur, and it is interesting to speculate on the motives for these. In Chapter i. the sentence 'I began to think of old times: to run over the events which have transpired since we separated' originally read, 'I began to think of old times, of what had happened since we separated.'² At the end of the same chapter the sentence now ending '... will find in my experience frequent reflections of their own.' was at first '... have gone through an experience similar to mine.'³ In both cases a more literary, formal phrasing replaces the earlier simplicity. This is very interesting, as it may show that the stiffness of the opening chapter is the result not so much of awkward immaturity as of deliberate technique: as if the author were to state her themes in a formal exposition from which they

1. v. 73.

2. MS. p. 2. (i. 2.)

3. MS. p. 13. (i. 20.)

will later develop into free-flowing movement. But one should perhaps note that the first example occurs within the letter, and that C. Brontë seems to have had somewhat conventional views of 'epistolary style'.

The opening chapter of the Brussels section, already in an 'ornamented' and poetic strain, has been even more refined in revision. 'My happiness possessed an edge whetted to the finest...' becomes 'My sense of enjoyment...'; '...he shall see a glorious sunrise...' becomes '...he shall behold...'; 'over a mountain horizon...' becomes '...over the eastern horizon...'; and 'I mounted now a hill...', '...the hill...'.¹ The very minuteness of the alterations is revealing. The author wishes to give her picture the greatest possible definition, her mood the greatest possible exaltation.

Other examples of heightened style can be found in Frances Henri's Devoir, where the phrase, '...my throne is usurped, my crown presses the brow of an invader...' is a later insertion:² and in Chapter xxv, where '... than food for thought in her own heart...' becomes '...than subjects for communion with her own heart.'³ In both passages the changes conform to the prevailing mood.

Early critics remarked on the 'unchecked naturalness'⁴ of expression in The Professor: or if they were less favourably disposed, its 'rough, bold, coarse truthfulness of expression,...

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1. MS. p. 65. (vii. 104-105.)
 2. MS. p. 160. (xvi. 268.)
 3. MS. p. 319. (xxv. 226.)
 4. The Critic, 15 June 1857.

compressed style.* The manuscript shows how often C. Brontë intensified her already 'bold' style: adding a defining adverb or adjective, choosing a stronger noun or verb. 'Always' is inserted in 'Edward's letters had been such as to prevent the engendering or harbouring of delusions of this sort.'¹ 'continual' in 'I will place my cup under this dropping.'² 'many' replaces 'some' in '... many called me miser at the time.'³ 'Pittance' replaces 'salary' in '... the master grudged every penny of that hard-earned pittance.'⁴ 'An inch of' is added to 'If ever I hear of your setting foot on ground belonging to me...'.⁵ It is noticeable that most of these serve to bring out the harshness of Edward Crimsworth or the keen resentment of William against Edward. Pelet's character is similarly underlined in Chapter xx ('...of his love...' becomes '...of his selfish love...'⁶). Sometimes a complete sentence is inserted: Frances's speech in Chapter xxiv originally ended, '...what he had lost in hell.' The addition is, 'Yes, in the very hell from which he turned 'with retorted scorn!'⁷ which more fully justifies the comment on her marked tone and language.

This kind of intensification is closely linked with character, and, like the more general heightening of style, occurs in clearly defined areas rather than in general diffusion throughout the novel. Study of the manuscript therefore helps to distinguish such special areas and may possibly direct the attention to their specific quality or value.

* Athenaeum, 13 June 1857. (p. 75) 1. MS. p. 8. (i. 11.)
 2. MS. p. 21. (ii. 32.) 3. MS. p. 23. (iii. 36.)
 4. MS. p. 35. (iv. 54.) 5. MS. p. 51. (v. 81.)
 6. MS. p. 222. (xx. 75.) 7. MS. p. 298. (xxiv. 194.)

There is however a more general tendency to add descriptive details: X-- becomes a 'mushroom place,' Vanderkelkov not only 'moon-faced' but 'thick-set';⁴ Caroline's teeth are 'sparkling' though her hair is no longer 'jetty'); and the fact that the professor 'crossed the Place royale' is a later addition.⁵ The impression given is one of vivid recollection of reality: C. Brontë described things clearly because they were in every detail clear to her inward eye.

Examples of the opposite process - lowering of style, reduction of emphasis - are comparatively rare, and not very significant. 'Thousands' has replaced 'millions' in 'Frances would not have been worse off than thousands of her sex';⁵ 'the doom preparing for old northern despotisms' becomes the tamer 'sentiments entertained by resolute minds respecting old northern despotisms.'⁶ The most interesting alteration of this type occurs in Chapter xii, where an ornately developed metaphor is simplified. 'She laid her hand on the jewel within;' was originally, 'she laid her hand on the brooch of the cornelian heart within;'.⁷ Some chastening of style was evidently called for; but the particularity of the 'cornelian heart' is interesting - one wonders what associations it had for C. Brontë;⁸ and the passage reveals how concretely she conceived her images.

Minor stylistic changes abound: they are of various kinds. but on the whole show Charlotte Brontë's concern for le mot juste, for the mot closely defined as opposed to the

1. MS. p. 31. (ii. 48.)

2. MS. p. 74. (vii. 120.)

3. MS. p. 101. (x. 166.)

4. MS. p. 201. (xix. 41.)

5. MS. p. 270. (xxiii. 153.)

6. MS. p. 327. (xxv. 239.)

7. MS. p. 125. (xii. 208.)

8. Possibly she remembered that Harry Squeens displayed a 'cornelian heart' in *Archives* ^{1861 Edition} *Archives!* (Chapman) II. vii. 90.

general term. 'Observing' replaces 'seeing': and 'perceived' 'saw' ?; 're-cast' for 'sported with' maintains a figure of speech in Chapter iv; a tautology is eliminated in Chapter xix, where 'perfection of fit etc... supplied the place of decoration' becomes '...agreeably supplied their place...' and a 'large fine shape' is more elegantly described as a 'handsome figure'. Such changes are more noticeable towards the end of the novel.

Some alterations are made for the sake of euphony. 'evidently' is cancelled in 'defects that were evidently scrupulously withdrawn..'; 'innate' was a rejected first term in 'redolent of native and ineradicable vulgarity..'; sound may have been an influencing, if not a primary factor, in the change 'heath' to 'moorland' in Chapter xxv: '... whose waters still run pure, whose swells of moorland preserve in some ferny glens, that lie between them, the very primal wildness of nature...', and in the change 'still' to 'hushed' in 'The north was hushed, the south silent...' ¹ 'Livid and vivid sparks' become merely 'ominous' in Chapter xxv.¹⁰

Study of the manuscript has therefore revealed Charlotte Brontë's care in refining that 'graphic' style which was so often praised. We have convincing evidence of her minute and thorough revision; and we are fortunate that in The Professor (Louisa Villetta, where many phrases are literally cut out) so many of the alterations still permit the author's first thoughts to be examined.

1. MS. p. 117. (xii. 195.)
 3. MS. p. 40. (iv. 63.)
 5. MS. p. 100. (x. 165.)
 7. MS. p. 143. (xiv. 239.)
 9. MS. p. 204. (xix. 45.)

2. MS. p. 39. (iv. 60.)
 4. MS. p. 212. (xix. 58.)
 6. MS. p. 82. (viii. 133.)
 8. MS. p. 325. (xxv. 236.)
 10. MS. p. 327. (xxv. 254.)

CHAPTER II. A Critical Study of Themes, Technique,
and Imagery in 'The Professor'.

Although early reviewers of The Professor were divided on the wisdom of its publication, they were practically unanimous on its 'curious interest'. The Leader thought it had but a 'feeble interest' for the novel reader, but was 'suggestive' for those curious about the development of genius.¹ It was generally agreed that the publication of Mrs Gaskell's Life inspired a much greater interest in the story than such a work would normally arouse: The Professor threw more light on the 'trials of an original genius'. The Blackwood's reviewer thought it 'the poorest of ^{all} Charlotte Brontë's ^{productions} ~~novels~~', and 'deficient in dramatic interest'; yet, when read in connection with Villette, it was 'one of the most curious works that have ever been printed.' The interest excited was 'rather curious than deep,' the impression given one of 'pain and incompleteness'. Yet 'as a psychological study alone it was well worthy of preservation'. The name of the author alone would 'no doubt secure for it an extensive circulation'.⁴ On the whole The Professor has remained a 'curious psychological study', inviting unfavourable comparison with the admittedly greater Jane Eyre, Shirley, and Villette. I wish at this stage to consider it primarily as an independent achievement.

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1. 4 July 1857.
 2. The Sun, 23 June 1857. See also, for example, The Spectator, 20 June; The Observer, 21 June; The Lady's Newspaper, 18 July; Dublin University Magazine, July; The Guardian, 26 August.
 3. July 1857. See also The Globe, 18 June; The Examiner, 20 June.
 4. The Athenaeum, 13 June 1857.
 5. Littell's Living Age, Vol. cxviii. (1873.)
 6. The Morning Post, 7 September 1857.

Dr. Bentley regards The Professor as a variation on the theme common to all Charlotte Brontë's novels, that of 'integrity versus worldliness'. This is clearly demonstrated in the condemnation of Edward Crimsworth, Pelet, and Mlle. Reuter, and in William's acts of resistance to or avoidance of the evil they represent. Charlotte Brontë also makes her hero scrupulously honest in lesser things - his economy at Eton and refusal to get into debt, his return of Frances's money, contrasted with Edward's 'compounding with his creditors' at 'Tenpence in the pound';⁴ William's hard work contrasted with Edward's railway speculations. Idealism and worldliness are warring and unreconciled elements in the character of Hunsden.

A related theme is the opposition of imagination and cold common sense. This opposition is present in Jane Eyre, but the central conflict is rather that of reason and feeling - worked out for example in Jane's life, and to a certain extent in St. John Rivers' ('Reason, and not Feeling, is my guide'.)⁵ But imagination is a complex quality, strongly present in the mutual attraction of Jane and Rochester, yet influencing Jane's decision to leave him. St. John is not without imagination, but it is that of a lofty, yet narrow, nature: concentrated on the things of the spirit, deficient in humanity. Passages in Shirley assert the value of the imagination,[†] perhaps because Charlotte Brontë was angered by Lewes's insistence on restraint:

1. The Brontës 1947, p. 11.

2. The Professor, xxii. 133.

3. Jane Eyre, xxxii. 458.

4.

5. See for example letters of January 1848. (S.H.B. ii. 178f.)

and the conflict of Imagination and common sense is touched on in the relationship of Caroline and Robert Moore. Its treatment in Villette is complex: few of the characters can be simply ranged on one side or the other. But in The Professor the theme is stated at the outset, and is quite straightforward. William 'retains 'some vague love of an excellent or beautiful object' unmoved by Charles's 'sardonic coldness'.¹ Edward, like his wife, shows no glimpse of 'soul': 'Business-like habits, feelings, and ideas suit me best.'² William does not reveal to him 'my darling, my cherished-in-secret, Imagination.'³ At first Belgium seems to promise satisfaction: 'my eyes were fixed on the crimson peak above'; 'my imagination was with the refulgent firmament beyond';⁴ but he finds his ideals rudely shattered. Mlle. Reuter's eyes have the cool glitter of sense, not the fiery glow of imagination. By this touchstone William judges his pupils. Most are heavy, sensible, cold - but "As to the substance of your devoir, Mdlle. Henri, it has surprised me; I perused it with pleasure, because I saw in it some proofs of taste and fancy."⁵ Later he realises that 'those qualities in her I had termed taste and fancy ought rather to have been denominated judgment and imagination.'⁶ The books enjoyed by Frances (and incidentally most of those belonging to Hunsden) are those which most strongly appealed to Charlotte's own imagination. 'Her instinct instantly penetrated and possessed the meaning of more ardent and imagin-

1. i. 2. 2. ii. 29. 3. iv. 52. 4. vii. 105.
5. xvi. 274. 6. xviii. 2.

ative writers' (than Wordsworth - a curious comment, especially as Wordsworth's influence is, I think, evident in the conception of Frances herself.) Victor inherits his mother's enthusiasm, and 'knits... a formidable brow ... while listening to tales of adventure, peril, or wonder,.' Thus C. Brontë's insistence on real life in her preface does not exclude the life of imagination; but it does perhaps explain why The Professor is often found unsatisfying and dull. C. Brontë was trying to contain within a framework of actuality a power essentially expansive; to state the value of imagination without demonstrating it. The result is that the 'imaginative' passages - the Vision, the two devoirs, the Hypochondria episode³, are distressingly incongruous.

An autobiographical novel must establish the authority of the first-person narrator, more especially if, as is usually the case, the reader is intended to identify himself with the narrator, to share his point of view. Many of C. Brontë's Angrian stories are written in the first person, but they are not autobiographical. Charles Townshend is the cynical observer: sometimes indeed, he disclaims responsibility altogether⁴ and, as in A Leaf from an Unopened Volume, pretends to write at the dictation of a mysterious and compelling author. But 'C.T.' is real enough; and one reason for his reality is the fullness of his past life as it existed in C. Brontë's imagination. She did not need to re-create his background in each

1. xxv. 227. 2. xxv. 247. 3. xix. 72-3; xvi. 266; xviii. 7
 xxiii. 176-8.

story of the cycle. One of the faults in the characterisation of William Crimsworth is that he is given such a hazy past life: yet C. Bronte is reluctant to present him by direct description - 'My own portrait I will not attempt to draw,!' His impulsive actions are therefore the outcome of a past which we never really understand, and whose unreality is emphasised by the formal style in which it is described: 'Then did I conceive shame of the dependence in which I lived, and form a resolution no more to take bread from hands which had refused to minister to the necessities of my dying mother.'² One may compare the direct, dramatic opening of Jane Eyre, where the little that has to be told about Jane's past is naturally introduced in conversation: 'You are a dependent, mamma says; you have no money; your father left you none; you ought to beg, and not to live here with gentlemen's children like us, ...'³ Nor does the opening of The Professor have the appeal of childhood: an appeal successfully used in Villette. Charlotte Bronte evidently realised its importance, especially perhaps after the much criticised opening of Shirley, for her discarded attempts at writing Villette, like the final version, begin with the child Polly (or Rosa, as she is called in the second fragment): 'I was a little child at the time - perhaps four years old, or between that and five.'⁴ Willie Ellin, the unfinished novel begun after Villette,

1. The Professor, i. 1.

2. *ibid.*, i. 8.

3. Jane Eyre, i. 5.

4. B.S.T. vol. vii, pt. 6, p. 277.

develops the two brothers theme of The Professor; and its third section shows William as a child, escaping from his cruel elder brother Edward. 'At this moment the shadow fell not on the path only, but on a small wayfarer - a child's figure - ... This seems to be a gentleman schoolboy, perhaps ten years old. He must have walked far to-day; he is footsore, pale, and with a few more miles of pilgrimage would become exhausted. He carries a knapsack, a light burden, but his weary shoulder aches under it.'¹ The very evident similarities to David Copperfield (the escaping child, grieving for his mother; the sympathetic housekeeper; the sadistic tyrant - step-father or step-brother; the child's reluctance to be an apprentice: 'I don't want to live with shop-boys and stand behind a counter'-² point to a possible source for Charlotte Brontë's exploitation of the pathos of childhood. Her deliberate avoidance of any appeal to 'romance and sensibility' in The Professor, her attempt to depart from the conventions of fiction, may have influenced her choice of a starting point for the life of her hero.

Charlotte Brontë does not at first give William enough positive qualities to make his conflict with the Seacombes and Edward come to life. There are hints of 'some sentiment of affection', some longing for response, but on the whole this first person is defined by negatives. 'I never experienced ...'² 'I declined both the Church and matrimony....'³ 'not a charm

1. B.S.T. vol. ix. pt. 1, p. 9.

2. The Professor, i. 2.

3. ibid., i. 3.

of theirs, touches a chord in my bosom;¹ his most definite action does not proceed from inclination on his part. One feels that Charlotte Bronte should develop William's idealism and affection more fully - as Jane's capacity for love is demonstrated just as strongly as her passionate resentment. The series of rejections which precede ultimate acceptance and fulfilment are an important part of the theme of The Professor. But sympathy with the central character who makes these rejections should be more quickly established.

William Crimsworth takes himself rather too seriously, though perhaps C. Bronte tries to counter this by occasional self-criticism: 'I cannot recollect that it [my portrait] was a strikingly attractive one, ...²'; 'like a shy noodle as I was,³'; 'my amour-propre was propitiated;⁴' But the 'I' of The Professor is always right, and most unattractively so when condemnatory - 'I suspect the root of this precocious impurity, so obvious, so general in Popish countries, is to be found in the discipline, if not the doctrines of the Church of Rome.'⁵

Charlotte Brontë's attitude to the reader is rarely intimate. It is true that climactic points in Jane Eyre are marked by a kind of confessional tone, in which the address to the reader is seen as both release and control for the feeling aroused. Yet the reader is impersonal - valuable to the writer because he is abstract and unknown: 'Reader, it was

1. i. 4. 2. i. 1-2. 3. iii. 41. 4. iii. 42.
5. xii. 193.

on Monday night - near midnight - that I too had received the mysterious summons: those were the very words by which I ~~had~~ replied to it. ... The coincidence struck me as too awful and inexplicable to be communicated or discussed.'¹ 'Reader, I married him.'² Shirley marks a change, for the reader is now a real person, part of the great audience created by Jane Eyre: it is imperative that his sympathies should be controlled, conditioned to a different kind of story: 'If you think, from this prelude, that anything like a romance is preparing for you, reader, you never were more mistaken. ... Calm your expectations; reduce them to a lowly standard.'³ But there is nothing like Thackeray's 'my good madam' or 'dear friend', although the last fragment, Emma, attempts something like it: 'Look at it, reader. Come into my parlour and judge for yourself.'

Charlotte Brontë had been on very good terms with her private audience in the early writings: it was an imaginary one. (She does not address Branwell directly, though he no doubt read most of her stories.) She therefore felt no responsibility towards it. Her appeals to the 'Reader' are enjoyable flourishes, like the elaborate publishing details on the 'title-pages':

There Reader you see how prettily I have worked myself up to a Sydneyan, a St. Dairian or an Ardrahian passion, the fact is I care not a fig for the matter ...⁵

Sorry I am reader to announce that I can give no further description of the Presentation ... Excuse this hiatus.⁶

1. Jane Eyre, xxxvii. 549. 2. *ibid.*, xxxviii. 550.

3. Shirley, i. 1. 4. Emma, i. 284. 5. S.H.B. Miscellaneous Writings, ii. p. 5.

6. S.H.B. Miscellaneous Writings, ii. p. 5.

Reader, pass to the next chapter, if you are not asleep.'

The early chapters of The Professor show C. Brontë over-conscious of her reader. The letter itself is an evasion, showing her reluctance to address an unknown public; a falling back on an old and safe mode of novel-writing. Yet the tone is hardly conciliatory: 'The leisure time I have at command, and which I intended to employ for his private benefit, I shall now dedicate to that of the public at large. My narrative is not exciting, and above all, not marvellous; but it may interest some individuals,...' ² Anne Brontë, making equally modest claims for her story, is perhaps more tactful - 'shielded by my own obscurity ... I do not fear to venture, and will candidly lay before the public what I would not disclose to ~~my~~ ^{the} most intimate friend.'

Other references to the reader are infrequent in the early chapters, but they continue to be arbitrary in tone: 'as I am not disposed to paint his portrait in detail, the reader must be content with the silhouette I have just thrown off;...' ⁴ The first mention of Belgium seems to mark a change: there is more warmth, more enthusiasm in 'Reader, perhaps you never were in Belgium?' and 'This is Belgium, reader, Look! don't call the picture a flat or ^adull one...' ⁵ But the cold, indifferent tone tends to recur.

Thereafter the reader is addressed when C. Brontë wishes

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| 1. <u>The Spell</u> , end of chapter vi. | 3. <u>The Professor</u> , p. 103. |
| 2. <u>The Professor</u> , i. 20. | 4. <u>Ibid.</u> , iii. 40-41. |
| 3. <u>Agnes Grey</u> , i. 355 | 5. <u>The Professor</u> , vii. 102, 104. |

to emphasise a point of view: 'Know, O incredulous reader!';
 'Do not mistake me, reader. It was no amorous influence
 she wished to gain-...' ². The author is stressing her prin-
 ciples, insisting on the real and unromantic. Occasional
 rhetorical questions also show a consciousness of the reader:
 'And Pelet himself? How did I continue to like him? Oh,
 extremely well!...' ³ This device, which recurs in the later
 novels, shows the author consciously interpreting her char-
 acters to her readers; as she interprets more directly for
 Frances Henri: 'Now, reader. . . I know well enough that I
 have left on your mind's eye no distinct picture of her;...' ⁴

The first chapter of The Professor gives, I think, a mis-
 leading impression of the time at which the events are supp-
 osed to take place. The present tense in the paragraph on the
 Seacombe daughters seems on first reading to imply that
 William is not yet married: 'Oh how like a nightmare is the
 thought of being bound for life to one of my cousins!' ⁵ The
 concluding paragraph of the letter is awkward: 'in closing
 my chamber-door, I shut out all intruders - you, Charles, as
 well as the rest.' ⁶ Clumsy handling of doubly-removed time is
 noticeable in the use of the word 'ago': 'I still retained
 some confused recollection of Edward as he was ten years
 ago-... now,... I saw a fine-looking and powerful man,' ⁷ and
 '... a lady and a gentleman, both costumed in the fashion

1. xiv. 237.

2. x. 174.

3. viii. 131.

4. xiv. 245-6.

5. i. 3.

6. i. 19.

7. i. 12.

of twenty years ago. ¹ It is not clear whether the point of reference is present or past time. Yet the relation of different points in time is an important part of William's consciousness; C. Brontë emphasises it by her italics. 'I felt myself superior to that check then as I do now;² then I did not understand it; now I knew how rare that class of face is in the world.'³

The Brussels episodes are much more firmly linked than the English section to the writer's 'now', and this contributes to their greater reality - as indeed ^{they are} ~~it is~~ ^{more} derived from the real, and less from the purely imaginary world of the writer.

'Belgium! I repeat the word, now as I sit alone near midnight. It stirs my world of the past like a summons to resurrection.'⁴ Phrases of remembering are frequent and are naturally introduced: 'I well recollect that my eye rested on the green door of a rather large house opposite.'⁵ 'I remember I was very much amused when I first heard her Christian name.'⁶ Different stages in past experience are related to each other, producing the texture of real life: '... it was my first experience of that skill in living languages I afterwards found to be so general in Brussels.'⁷ The resulting sense of extended time is important in a novel whose hero is to 'work his way through life as I had seen real living men work theirs.'

Charlotte Brontë is especially careful in her treatment of

1. i. 18. 2. i. 2. 3. i. 19. 4. vii. 103.
5. vii. 115. 6. vii. 127. 7. vii. 110.

time in relation to Frances Henri (and perhaps somewhat careless with less interesting characters - 'It is some time since I made any reference to M. Pelet.'¹). But our interest in Frances is increased by the careful documentation. 'You cannot tell ... nor could I the first day, and it is not my intention to communicate to you at once a knowledge I myself gained by little and little ...'² - a technique markedly different from that of the sketch book vignettes of the other pupils. From the moment Frances is introduced, time references become precise. 'So long a time', 'often', 'then', 'afterwards'³ give place to 'In the course of another fortnight', 'I sought her for four weeks', 'It was ten weeks since I had seen her, six since I had heard from her'. A diary marks the new importance of time: 'At the date of a fortnight after the little incident noted above, I find it recorded in my diary that a hiatus occurred ...'³

The change from an incompletely realised past to a vividly felt present is also mirrored in the tenses used: the pluperfects of the Seacombe period, the simple past of the Brussels episodes, and, with the coming of Frances Henri, a gradually increasing use of the present: 'Many a punishment she has had for her wilfulness'; 'we also go frequently to Hunsden Wood'; and finally, producing the illusion of immediate reality - 'I have a word to say of Victor ere I shut this manuscript in my desk - but it

1. xx. 75.

2. xiv. 246.

3. xviii. 12.

must be a brief one, for I hear the tinkle of silver on porcelain.¹ The impression is one of fulfilment - a completion which is not final but continuing; and it is closely parallel to the last chapter of Jane Eyre: 'My tale draws to its close ... I have now been married ten years.'² William ends the story of his life in Belgium with the words, 'Behold us now at the close of the ten years, ...'³

The use of present time as a contribution to realism, especially at the end of a book, is of course not new. Mr. Pickwick may still frequently be seen 'contemplating the pictures in the Dulwich Gallery, or enjoying a walk about the pleasant neighbourhood on a fine day.'⁴ Thackeray met 'poor Frank in Bond Street only yesterday; ... He had on galoshes and is grown very fat and pale.'⁵ Jane Austen on the other hand, though we know she gossiped in her letters and conversation about the later careers of her characters, left them, in the novels, within their fictional frame. Charlotte's affinity with Thackeray and instinctive antipathy to Jane Austen are in keeping with this distinction between the real and the 'artificial'.

Bulwer Lytton considered that his Eugene Aram excelled all his later works in 'the minuteness and fidelity of its descriptions of external nature'; 'the time occupied by the events of the story is conveyed through the medium of such descriptions. Each description is introduced, not for its own sake, but to serve as a calendar marking the gradual changes of the seasons as they bear on to his doom the guilty worshipper of Nature.'⁶

1. xxv. 247. 2. Jane Eyre, xxxvii. 552. 3. xxv. 234.
 4. II. xxx. 419. 5. Men's Wives. (Fraser's, March 1843. LXXVII. 361.)
 6. Lytton, Preface to the Edition of 1851.

Charlotte Brontë

^ knew Eugene Aram; but probably her ~~own~~ use of nature as a significant background is attributable to her own artistic instinct. Lytton's natural descriptions are too often over-written and have the artificial appropriateness of stage effects. Aram's second meeting with the 'mysterious stranger' is followed by a description of autumn: 'Along the sere and melancholy woods the autumnal winds crept with a lowly but gathering moan ... The owl ... came heavily from the trees, like a guilty thought that deserts its shade ... Nature seemed restless and instiⁿct with change.'¹ The affinities here are with melodrama, whereas C. Brontë's use of nature in The Professor is sensitive, poetic.

She begins, however, conventionally enough. William arrives at Edward's house 'one wet October afternoon'; 'dark gloomy mists' deepen the shades of twilight'.² Later, the dense, permanent vapour' over Edward's concern spoils the otherwise 'cheerful, active, fertile, countryside'; the autumn sun has a 'somewhat cold gleam'.³ But in Chapter iv William, feeling Edward's tyranny intolerable, goes out into the 'cold, frosty night' of January, with its 'crescent curve of moonlight'; and 'hundreds of stars shone keenly bright in all quarters of the sky'.⁴ Again, when William has at last shaken off his brother's oppression, a 'chill frost-mist' 'dimmed the earth, but did not obscure the clear, icy blue of

1. Eugene Aram, Book III, Chapter ii.

2. The Professor, i. 9. 3. ii. 21. 4. iv. 55.

the January sky.¹ For Charlotte Brontë the sky is especially a symbol of freedom and purity; it opens out sudden clear vistas for the imagination, releasing or putting into proportion the pent-up emotions of the human world. In Jane Eyre, for example, 'both my eyes and spirit seemed drawn from the gloomy house - from the grey hollow filled with rayless cells, as it appeared to me - to that sky expanded before me, - a blue sea absolved from taint of cloud; the moon ascending it in solemn march; ... and for those trembling stars that followed her course; they made my heart tremble, my veins glow when I viewed them.'² As so often, C. Brontë has brought out in Jane Eyre the symbolic meaning which is only implicit in The Professor.

It is at X---, too, that William notes, 'There was a great stillness near and far; ... a sound of full-flowing water adone pervaded the air, ...'³ So in Jane, 'my ear too felt the flow of currents';⁴ and in Shirley, Caroline hears the sound of the stream rushing down the Hollow - in every case the suggestion is of the distant flow of life.* In The Professor the stream contrasts with the 'narrow canals, gliding slow by the roadside; in Belgium;⁵ and it recurs in the well-loved landscape of William's English home at the end of the book - a region 'whose waters still run pure;⁶ a 'certain stream, hid in alders',⁷ flows through Hunsden Wood.

1. v. 83. 2. Jane Eyre, xii. 138. 3. The Professor, v. 84.
 4. Jane Eyre, xii. 132. 5. The Professor, vii. 106.
 6. The Professor, xxv. 236. 7. ibid., xxv. 241.

* of the 'swift life-like waves' of the River in Ly Hugia and the Lagians (Miscellaneous Writings B. 14.)

Charlotte Brontë's love of flowing water, and in particular her delight in its sound were no doubt part of her own life at Haworth; but she must ~~tee~~ have observed and loved Wordsworth's sensitivity to the sound of water. Like him, she noticed too the steam or mist marking the path of a stream. William Crimsworth, liberated from his brother's tyranny, rejoicing in the 'wider and clearer boundaries' of his ~~new~~ life, fills his mind with the tranquillity of evening: scene, mood, and expression mark the affinity with Wordsworth:

The short winter day, as I perceived from the far-declined sun, was already approaching its close; a chill frost-mist was rising from the river on which X--- stands and along whose banks the road I had taken lay; it dimmed the earth, but did not obscure the clear, icy blue of the January sky. There was a great stillness near and far; the time of the day favoured tranquillity, as the people were all employed within doors, the hour of evening release from the factories not being yet arrived; a sound of full-flowing water alone pervaded the air, for the river was deep and abundant, swelled by the melting of a late snow. ... Grovetown church clock struck four; looking up, I beheld the last of that day's sun, glinting red through the leafless boughs of some very old oak trees surrounding the church - its light coloured and characterized the picture as I wished. I paused yet a moment, till the sweet, slow sound of the bell had quite died out of the air; then ear, eye, and feeling satisfied, I quitted the wall and once more turned my face towards X---.

Is it possible that C. Brontë recalled, not quite unconsciously, the close of Wordsworth's 'An Evening Walk'?

The song of mountain-streams, unheard by day,
 Now hardly heard, beguiles my homeward way.
 Air listens, like the sleeping water, still,
 To catch the spiritual music of the hill,
 Broke only by the slow clock tolling deep, ...²

The Brussels section opens with a series of images drawn from nature, the simile of the morning traveller again being peculiarly Wordsworthian in feeling:

Liberty I clasped in my arms for the first time, and the influence of her smile and embrace revived my life like the sun and the west wind. Yes, at that epoch I felt like a morning traveller who doubts not that from the hill he is ascending he shall behold a glorious sunrise; what if the track be strait, steep and stony? he sees it not; his eyes are fixed on that summit, flushed already, flushed and gilded, and having gained it he is certain of the scene beyond. ... my eyes were fixed on the crimson peak above; ..

The imaginary distant peak performs a similar function to the real blue peaks which Jane Eyre longed to surmount:

I ... looked out afar over sequestered field and hill, and along dim sky-line - ... I longed for a power of vision which might overpass that limit; which might reach the busy world, towns, regions full of life I had heard of but never seen: ...²

Charlotte Brontë admits that the actual scenery of Belgium is unromantic - 'yet to me, all was beautiful, all was more than picturesque'.³ The realism of the 'Green reedy swamps; fields fertile but flat', is greater than that in Villette, which omits the 'very dirty hovels' and is more imaginative about the canals - 'like ^{half} torpid green snakes'.⁴ Belgium in The Professor is seen under a 'grey, dead sky', and the 'moisture of many preceding damp days had sodden the whole country'; yet as in Villette, C. Brontë's enthusiasm gives life to the scene:

1. The Professor, vii. 104-5. 3. The Professor, vii. 105-6.
 2. Jane Eyre, xii. 129. 4. Villette, vii. 67.

'I gazed often, and always with delight, from the window of the diligence ...' The extent to which landscape is emotionally realised in Charlotte Brontë's novels is seen by comparing this with the desolation, felt in the very rhythm of the sentences, at the beginning of Jane Eyre:

... The cold winter wind had brought with it clouds so sombre, and a rain so penetrating, that further outdoor exercise was^{now} out of the question.

I was glad of it: I never liked long walks, especially on chilly afternoons: dreadful to me was the coming home in the raw twilight, ...'

The new beginning at Mlle. Reuter's is made in Spring; and at first it seems as if the 'mild Spring evenings' of April, the bright and fragrant May are going to be the conventional background to a love idyll. But the natural descriptions are associated with the closed-in garden; they are confined, cultivated, appropriate to the outwardly smooth, narrow character of Mlle. Reuter. In Chapter ix, 'I saw shrubs and a grass-plot, looking pleasant in the sunshine of the mild ^{ie.} Spring evening ... This then was my first glimpse of the garden; ...' it appeared as if some cheerful, eventful, upward-tending career were even then opening to me, on that self-same mild, still April night.² The 'romance' progresses, and it is now May: 'I and the directress were walking side by side down the alley bordered with fruit-trees, whose white blossoms were then in full blow ... It seemed as if the romantic visions my imagin-

L. i. 1. 2. The Professor, ix. 149, 156.

ation had suggested of this garden,... were more than realised.¹ But Mlle. Reuter's treachery is revealed in the garden under the May moonlight. And the images of enclosure with which she is associated are repeated in nature: 'the foliage of shrubs and trees,... closing behind and around us';² her ideal farmhouse would be 'tout entourée de champs et de bois';³ the garden-chair is beneath the 'embowering branch of a huge laburnum'.⁴ So the feeling of imprisonment is delicately suggested, and our response to Mlle. Reuter controlled.

At first sight William's meeting with Frances Henri in the enclosed cemetery on a sultry, heavy afternoon would seem out of keeping with the freshness and freedom usually associated with her.⁵ But I think the choice of setting was deliberate, and consistent in its symbolic values. For the cemetery is trebly removed from Brussels - literally removed in space from the scene of Mlle. Reuter's manoeuvrings; removed because it is Protestant, cut off from the spying Catholicism of the town; and finally, because it is the place of the dead, cut off from the petty claims of Brussels life, and associated, for William, with the memory of his mother - a mother whose pure affection is to be re-discovered in Frances. At the same time there is in the cemetery an atmosphere of waiting, of stillness and heaviness - a 'warm breathless gloom' which typifies the oppressive mental atmosphere about to be broken by the meeting with Frances: 'the flowers, as languid as fair, waited listless

1. xii. 211. 2. xviii. 17. 3. xviii. 18. 4. xviii. 20. (cf. also 'screened', 'amphitheatre-like', xii. 211.)
5. xix. 43f.

for night-dew or thunder-shower'; Frances's tears and the thunder-shower come naturally as a relief from the long tension. After the storm William's new tranquillity is reflected in the tranquil evening: 'the thunder-clouds were broken and scattered, and the setting August sun sent a gleam like the reflection of rubies through the lattice.'¹ '... a balmy and fresh breeze stirred the air, purified by lightning: ...'²

So the courtship of William and Frances has a freshness and delicacy which is increased by the cool, open air atmosphere of the natural descriptions. In Chapter xxiii, 'the chill of latter Autumn, breathing in a fitful wind from the north-west, met me as a refreshing coolness. Still I saw it was cold to others ...'³ William and Frances are married on a 'cold, bright, frosty morning'⁴; the 'nook, so rural, green, and secluded'⁵ which they visit together is out of Brussels; it 'might have been a spot in some pastoral English province', and there are 'some English-looking wild-flowers'⁶. The whole scene is as different as possible from the 'amphitheatre-like' foreign garden of the Pensionnat, with its heavy lilac and laburnum. Finally, the 'primal wildness' of the moors surrounding William's English home,⁷ has the distinctive note of the Brontë novels, refreshingly different, as early critics noted, from the conventional scenery of most fiction of the time. It is also different from the usual setting of Charlotte's own Angrian

1. xix. 45.	2. xix. 65.	3. xix. 71.	4. xxiii. 148.
5. xxv. 209.	6. xxv. 216.	7. xxv. 236.	

There are, however, signs that Charlotte Brontë was consciously trying to connect her old and new material. Apart from the re-appearance of Hunsden and the arrival of the picture, there are several unobtrusive verbal links. Unfortunately they remain verbal and therefore superficial. The first reference is promising: 'I awoke from prolonged and sound repose with the impression that I was yet in X--- ... The momentary and painful sense of restraint vanished before the ^{reviving} consciousness of freedom ...' The Flemish housemaid brings into William's mind memories of paintings at Seacombe Hall.² The interview with Pelet is briefly compared to that with Edward.³ Pelet himself is an absolute contrast to 'my late master' and in Chapter viii the 'calmer regions' of existence are compared with the brutality and insolence at X---.⁵ Significantly, 'Edward ~~himself~~ could not have shown himself more practical' than Mlle. Reuter.⁶ William eventually decides to 'dissolve the connection' with Pelet as he did that with Edward.⁷ A more fully developed English section would have given greater force to these comparisons. Like the Reed family in Jane Eyre, also recollected at significant intervals, Edward is a symbol of tyranny and harsh materialism; unlike them he is too exaggerated to be entirely credible as a human being, and the symbolism is therefore weakened.

1. vii. 107. 2. vii. 108-9. 3. vii. 116. 4. vii. 118.
5. viii. 133. 6. ix. 154. 7. xiii. 223.

The imagery of The Professor is characteristic of Charlotte Brontë's writing; and I think that its use in this first novel shows more than the 'germs of future power'. In its organic relation to character and theme, in its structural and emotional values, it shows already a considerable technical achievement.

Those characters which possess Charlotte Brontë's imagination are often associated with a special series of images, which make a valuable contribution to unity of impression, and sometimes indicate otherwise unexpressed associations ^{between} with different characters. The pillar and stone images connected with Mr. Brocklehurst and St. John Rivers in Jane Eyre are a case in point.

In The Professor, Mlle. Reuter is continually associated with images of ensnaring and entangling. For example, 'she prolonged her talk, I went on following its many little windings'; 'the wish of her heart, the design of her brain, was to lure back the game she had scared'; 'Pelet was already in her nets';³ and 'she pursued the trail of her old suitor, M. Pelet ... What arts she employed to soothe and blind him I know not, but she succeeded both in allaying his wrath, and hoodwinking his discernment.'⁴ The comedy of her infatuation for William is indicated by a reversal of the image: 'The very circumstance of her hovering round me like a fascinated bird, seemed to

1. x. 173. 2. xiii. 229. 3. xv. 259. 4. xx. 87.

transform me into a rigid pillar of stone'; 'she ... had fallen into a snare of her own laying - was herself caught in the meshes of the very passion with which she wished to entangle me.'²

Frances also has her accompanying images. Metaphors of a nestling bird recur: 'A sweeter secret nestled deeper in my heart';³ 'Over such feeble fledglings the directress spread a wing of kindest protection';⁴ she is 'happy as a bird with its mate';⁵ and is seen guarding Victor 'like a dove guarding its young'.⁶ Thus Frances's gentle protectiveness is contrasted with the cunning of Zoraïde.

Though Frances has modern ideas on education and the position of women, she has a charm which derives partly from a frequent association with old-fashioned things - an association which has the force of imagery. Frances's room and her china are 'like the England of a hundred years ago';⁷ one recalls in contrast the modern, foreign, 'somewhat chilling' salon of Mlle. Reuter, with its 'very well-painted, highly varnished floor', its gilt pendule and fine furniture.⁸ Frances also sings an 'old, Scotch ballad';⁹ she has a 'recluse, rather conventual' look;¹⁰ she recalls the ancient heroism of Switzerland and values its traditions: 'If your world is a world without associations, Mr. Hunsden, I no longer wonder that you hate England so'.¹¹ She inspires even Hunsden to an old-

1. xv. 261. 2. xx. 80. 3. xxii. 129. 4. xxv. 222-3.
 5. xxv. 226. 6. xxv. 256. 7. xix. 60. 8. ix. 149.
 9. xxiii. 151. 10. xxiv. 187.. 11. xxiv. 193.

fashioned courtesy: 'He bowed on her hand, absolutely like Sir Charles Grandison on that of Harriet Byron.'¹ Paulina de Bassompierre has a similar aura of remote time.

Hunsden's associations are rough, violent and material, and show the effect of an idealism frustrated in a materialistic world. Food images predominate. William's 'bread is 'dirty'² and his hands 'soiled with the grease of a wool-warehouse'. Hunsden is like a 'draught of Peruvian bark';³ in his letter to William, Flanders is greasy, and he thinks William is 'living probably on the fat of the unctuous land'.⁴ He gives a child sweets so that ~~it~~^{he} can 'besmear ~~its~~^{his} face with sugar'.⁵ These show his repulsion and disgust: other images of physical violence reveal his urge to rebel. 'Bad luck crushes bulls as easily as bullaces';⁶ a 'pioneer' hews down 'rough difficulties';⁷ some people 'will run their neck into a noose';⁸ 'let Juggernaut ride well over you'.⁹ The unnecessary violence seems to indicate that Charlotte Brontë was too strongly conscious of Hunsden as a physical being, and failed to subdue him to the proportions of her art. One notices his curious 'overflowing' quality: he infects other characters with a similar violence of speech. William Crimsworth in particular becomes unnaturally abrupt and over-forceful when speaking with Hunsden. Hunsden is a kind of Zamorna with the fiery and spiritual qualities left out or suppressed, and the sordid residue all too obvious -

1. xxiv. 205. 2. vi. 92, 94. 3. xxii. 135. 4. xxi. 101.
 5. xxii. 138. 6. xxii. 131. 7. vi. 99 8. *ibid.*
 9. iv. 66.

a sign of the painful effort it cost Charlotte Brontë to de-romanticise her beloved hero.

The pattern of imagery associated with William Crimsworth is particularly interesting because it reflects his search for the ideal, and because its similarity to images used in the letters and poems shows how far C. Brontë identified herself with her hero. Images of secrecy express the continual rejection of worldly values which precedes William's discovery of Frances. Images of locked treasure recur: 'I kept the padlock of silence on mental wealth in which he was no sharer'; 'Mlle. Reuter's 'finger, essaying, proving every atom of the casket, touched its secret spring, ... she laid her hand on the jewel within; whether she stole and broke it, or whether the lid shut again with a snap of her fingers, read on, and you shall know.'² In Chapter xviii 'she had determined at last to try a new key, and see if the lock of my heart would yield to that.'³ Other images - the smothered coal, the secret nook, the body protected by armour or buckler, reinforce the idea. It is entirely fitting that Frances should be 'my ideal of the shrine in which to seal my stores of love';⁴ and she is contrasted with Mlle. Reuter, whose 'hollow heart' was 'emptied of his image.'⁵ The detail and consistency with which the images, essentially poetic and romantic, are used, show that they were felt as more than a conventional figure. A similar image, used

2. xii. 208-9. 3. xviii. 21. 4. xix. 50. 5. xx. 81.
1. iv. 53.

of Munsden, although much more prosaically expressed, shows the affinity of his nature and William's: 'he prepared to act the real gentleman, having in fact the kernel of that character, under the harsh husk it pleased him to wear by way of mental mackintosh.'¹

The 'shrine' images are those of an active enclosure on William's part. But images of enclosure in the sense of imprisonment are equally powerful, and most noticeable at the beginning of the book. William, oppressed by Edward, feels excluded from 'every glimpse of the sunshine of life'. He 'began to feel like a plant growing in humid darkness out of the slimy walls of a well.'² Leaving X--- 'I leave a prison, I leave a tyrant' and an 'horizon limited by the high, black wall surrounding Crimsworth's mill'.³ In the same way Gateshead and Lowood are symbols of an enclosed world to Jane Eyre: 'there was the garden; there were the skirts of Lowood; there was the hilly horizon. My eye passed all other objects to rest on those most remote, the blue peaks: it was those I longed to surmount; all within their boundary of rock and heath seemed prison-ground, exile limits.'⁴ In The Professor the feeling of imprisonment passes almost into that of entombment, of death in life: 'I seemed like one sealed in a subterranean vault, who gazes at utter blackness; at blackness ensured by yard-thick stone walls around, and by piles of building above ...'⁵ Frances too feels imprisoned, and compares her life to that of a mole:⁶

1. xxiv. 186.
x. 98.

2. iv. 52.

3. v. 81, 83.

4. Jane Eyre,

5. xxi. 107-8.

6. xvii. 289.

The images of 'épanouissement' which reverse those of imprisonment are chiefly those of light in various forms: of kindling flame, of sun emerging from clouds, of dawn, and of the growth of a plant in sunshine.

It is this series of images which most clearly illuminates the structure of The Professor. Its pattern is not entirely the simple antithesis of restraint and liberation. The story begins with enclosure and ends with freedom, but there are within this framework lesser fluctuations, repeating the major pattern.

'Light' images are used for both William and Frances, and for the latter they are fairly straightforward. The professor released Frances from the cloud of her depression: as she awaited his comments on her 'Devoir' he 'saw her moved, and, as it were, kindled; her depression beamed as a cloud might behind which the sun is burning!'.¹ Encouraged by his praise, she has a 'glow' and 'radiance' of aspect: 'I saw the sun had dissevered its screening cloud, her countenance was transformed, ...'² The image is most fully developed at the beginning of Chapter xviii, underlining her growing happiness, so soon to be checked by Mlle. Reuter:

When I first saw her, her countenance was sunless, her complexion colourless; she looked like one who had no source of enjoyment, no store of bliss anywhere in the world; now the cloud had passed from her mien, leaving space for the dawn of hope and interest, and those feelings rose like a clear morning, animating what had been depressed, tinting what had been pale.³

1. xvi. 273.

2. xvi. 275.

3. xviii. 44.

The image recurs when William finds Frances after his long search:

I had hardly time to observe that she was wasted and pale, ere call'd to feel a responsive inward pleasure by the sense of most full and exquisite pleasure glowing in the animated flush, and shining in the expansive light, now diffused over my pupil's face. It was the summer sun flashing out after the heavy summer shower; and what fertilizes more rapidly than that beam, burning almost like fire in its ardour?'

Here most clearly image and symbolic setting are in harmony. The light of the August sun, 'glorious in Tyrian tints', shines out after the thunder-shower.² And so finally setting and image become one in the last scene: 'her presence is as pleasant to my mind as the perfume of the fresh hay and spicy flowers, as the glow of the westering sun, as the repose of the midsummer eve are to my senses.'³

For William himself the pattern is slightly more complex. His first visions of 'sunrise' in Belgium are dispelled by the harsh reality: Mlle. Reuter seemed to shine 'like a steady star over a marsh full of Jack-o'-lanthorns!'⁴ but the cold light of her charm fails to penetrate William's heart. 'She had greeted me with a charming smile - it fell on my heart like light on stone.'⁵ And in Chapter xxi, though light breaks in to the 'cavernous cell' of his despair, it is 'only a glimmer, 'and in truth, though the cold light roused, it did not cheer me'.⁶ William also follows the 'illusive lamp' of

1. xix. 49. 2. xix. 71. 3. xxv. 256. 4. xii. 206.
5. xiii. 225. 6. xxi. 111.

Hypochondria, who showed him 'shores unequal with mound, monument and tablet, standing up in a glimmer more hoary than moonlight.'¹ The warm yet mild light associated with Frances contrasts therefore with these cold, illusory or artificial lights: Hunsden compares Frances with Lucia -

"... don't you feel your little lamp of a spirit wax very pale beside such a girandole as Lucia's?"

"Yes."

"Candid, at least; and the Professor will soon be dissatisfied with the dim light you give?"

"Will you, monsieur?"

"My sight was always too weak to endure a blaze, Frances,"²

The imagery thus emphasises Charlotte Brontë's preference for the natural and genuine, and her insistence on keeping The Professor within the bounds of reality and moderation.

The theme of growth and expansion is also expressed in images of a growing plant. William, it will be remembered, had felt at X--- like a plant 'growing in humid darkness'³. The metaphor is later used for Frances: the professor wishes to foster her growth, as a gardener that of a precious plant, to 'induce the outward manifestation of that inward vigour which sunless drought and blighting-blast had hitherto forbidden to expand.'⁴ After her marriage, new faculties 'shot up strong, branched out broad, and quite altered the external character of the plant.'⁵ Finally William describes his son: 'I saw in the soil of his heart healthy and swelling germs of ⁶compassion,

1. xxiii. 176. 2. xxv. 245. 3. iv. 52. 4. xviii. 6.
5. xxv. 220.

affection, fidelity. I discovered in the garden of his intellect a rich growth of wholesome principles - reason, justice, moral courage, promised, if not blighted, a fertile bearing.'¹

'These images of fruitful life contrast with those of hard, barren marble or stone associated with Mlle. Reuter. 'Stony' herself, she induces hardness in others - William was 'calm in [his] demeanour to her though, stony cold and hard.'²

Images therefore emphasise the theme of fruition and fulfilment, for growth begins when Mlle. Reuter is rejected. The theme is appropriate to the hopeful beginning of Charlotte Brontë's career. It is maintained in Jane Eyre, where metaphors of light and of plant-growth underline the renewed life and happiness of Rochester and Jane. Jane brings with her light and joy, and kindles on his face 'the lustre of animated expression'. He is no ruin, 'no lightning struck tree', but 'green and vigorous'. 'Plants will grow about your roots, whether you ask them or not, because they take delight in your bountiful shadow; ...'³ Shirley marks a change. The sterility of material progress counterbalances the apparent fruition in the lives of the main characters. Plant images are not used, but the scenery has clearly a symbolic value. It is true that Hollow's Mill will employ the 'houseless and the starving'; yet Caroline regrets that the 'green natural terrace shall be a paved street', the green and wild Hollow covered with 'substantial stone and brick and ashes'⁴. The story ends on an elegiac
 1. xxv. 252. 2. xix. 32. 3. xxxvii. 538, 545.
 4. Shirley, xxxvii. 663-4.

note: 'A lonesome spot it was - and a bonnie spot - full of oak-trees and nut-trees. It is altered now.' The deepening sadness of Charlotte Brontë's own life, the impossibility of the fulfilment hoped for at the time of The Professor, is reflected in Shirley to a certain extent, but in Villette fully and without mitigation. Images of blight, canker and fungus set the tone instead of images of healthy growth; and Lucy's happiness comes to an end in the barrenness of winter - not for her the 'fruition' of Paul Emanuel's return.

Thus images, perhaps unremarkable in themselves, often taken from the common stock of literary metaphors, become significant by their relation to the structure of each novel, and to the larger pattern of Charlotte Brontë's whole life and work. The 'sea of life' cliché, for example, is used to mark emotional crises in The Professor. As in her poems, the sea is at first a symbol of life, and should be distinguished from that of the destroying or overwhelming torrent. In the early chapters of The Professor, William is at odds with life, rowing 'against wind and tide',² or 'wrecked and stranded on the shores of commerce';³ but after his discovery of Frances he has a vision of a vast sea, 'spread to the horizon'.⁴ At the beginning of Chapter xxiii his fate is uncertain: 'my bark hung on the topmost curl of a wave of fate';⁵ after the proposal, 'my heart was measuring its own content; it sounded and sounded, and found the depth fathomless.'⁶

Shirley
 1. xxxvii. 666. 2. iv. 51. 3. iv. 68. 4. xix. 72.
 5. xxiii. 149. 6. xxiii. 168.

To say that the style of The Professor moves from the restrained and prosaic to the free and poetic would be to oversimplify, since either style may occur when it is required by situation or feeling. But in general the tone is set lower than that of the later novels, so that the departures from the prosaic norm, which become more frequent towards the end of the book, are more noticeable.

The first chapter is probably intended to set the tone of casual matter-of-factness which the author imagined was appropriate to an account of 'real life', and to establish the masculinity of the writer. Colloquial, unpretentious idioms are used: 'The other day', 'a year since', 'you shall hear, if you choose to listen, how the world has wagged with me.'² But Charlotte Brontë is evidently not at ease, and her phrases tend to become stilted and formal: 'It was late in the evening when I alighted at the gates of the habitation designated to me as my brother's.'³

The style of the early Brussels period is adequate, if unremarkable; but the last few chapters are written with a fluent pen. Sometimes the cadences are dignified and enriched by Biblical or liturgical echoes: sometimes Charlotte Brontë attains the grace and simplicity which are peculiarly her own in the later novels. William's proposal is prefaced by a lovely rhythmical passage in which Biblical and liturgical phrases

1. i. 1. 2. i. 3. 3. i. 9.

are perfectly assimilated: 'Envy and Jealousy were far away, and unapprised of this our quiet meeting;'

... it was now permitted to suffer the outward revelation of the inward glow - to seek, demand, elicit an answering ardour. While musing thus, I thought that the grass on Hermon never drank the fresh dews of sunset more gratefully than my feelings drank the bliss of this hour.'

Afterwards William delights to become 'the providence of what he loves - feeding and clothing it, as God does the lilies of the field.' A serene, almost holy, air surrounds the courtship, as it surrounds the final reunion of Rochester and Jane in the wood 'still as a church', when Rochester's heart 'swells with gratitude to the beneficent God of this earth.'

The style of the conversations in The Professor is interesting. The Angrian stories, even those of very early date, show a conscious attempt to differentiate personality through speech. Patrick Benjamin Wiggins (Branwell Bronte) is characterised by his ludicrous exaggerations and breathless, jerky manner: 'indeed it's more than forty, nearer fifty, I believe. O yes, and above sixty I daresay, or sixty-five'.³ Thornton speaks a broad Doric', Zamorna sometimes has a lofty, oratorical style presumably modelled on Parliamentary speeches. So in The Professor Hunsden uses the familiar 'lad', the abrupt, rough manner of Thornton and Hiram Yorke - probably also of Hunsden's 'original', Mr. Taylor. Pelet's cynical smoothness has an appropriate foreign flavour: 'you played the austere, the insensible in

1. xxiii. 162. 2. Jane Eyre, xxxvii. 547.
3. S.H.B. Miscellaneous Writings, ii. 8.

the presence of an Aphrodite so exquisite? Mlle. Reuter's flow of seemingly ingenuous chatter is entirely characteristic: its insincerity delicately implied by the conventionality of idiom - the smooth and neatly balanced text-book phrases, the professional clichés echoing perhaps the testimonial or prospectus: 'perhaps her natural talents are not of the highest order, but I can assure you of the excellence of her intentions, and even of the amiability of her disposition.'

One of the most remarkable things about Charlotte Brontë's narrative style is its combination of speed and shapeliness. Her early stories were written with great rapidity, as we know from her occasional notes and from the internal evidence of the lightly stopped, hurrying sentences. She may begin her chapters with an elaborately moulded 'set piece', but once she is absorbed by her story, her phrases impetuously accumulate, keeping pace with the fiery passions of her Angrian heroes:

Great Genii, to die now, to go down, in the first burst of existence to a cold and obscure grave, to leave all my glory ungathered, all my hopes spread like a golden harvest ... it would breathe insane life into the lungs of a corpse, and warm the red ice stagnating in its veins to the heat of the boiling flood now rushing through mine.²

Very different in imagery from the quietness of The Professor, but similar in the swift, cumulative pattern of the sentence. Even allowing for the many changes made by the printer, her mature works are more heavily punctuated than the Angrian

1. xiii. 231. 2.

* xi. 67.

tales, probably because she felt the need for greater care in a published work. Semi-colons take the place of commas; the dash, over-used in her letters and frequent in her early works, has also largely disappeared. The manuscript shows several passages where the dash is the sole means of punctuation, but there are also signs that C. Broné herself inserted heavier stops on revision. But however long her sentences are, and some are very long, the basic unit is usually of simple structure, is often one of a series of parallels, and gives an effect of lightness and speed. Her long sentences are in fact sentence-groups; the semi-colons are therefore a light and not a heavy stopping. Well managed cumulative sentence-groups such as the three or four very long ones describing Mlle. Reuter's teaching-methods¹ seem particularly appropriate to the smooth, efficient manner of that 'maîtresse-femme'. At the same time the sub-paragraphs formed by the sentences distinguish and concentrate the different aspects of character analysed:

Her pupils she managed with such indulgence and address, taking always on herself the office of recompenser and eulogist, and abandoning to her subalterns every invidious task of blame and punishment, that they all regarded her with deference, if not with affection; her teachers did not love her, but they submitted because they were her inferiors in everything; the various masters who attended her school were each and all in some way or other under her influence: over one she had acquired power by her skilful management of his bad temper; over another by little attentions to his petty caprices; a third she had subdued by flattery; a fourth - a timid man - she kept in awe by a sort of

austere decision of mien; me, she still watched, still tried by the most ingenious tests - she roved round me, baffled, yet persevering; I believe she thought I was like a smooth and bare precipice, which offered neither jutting stone nor tree-root, nor tuft of grass to aid the climber.'

To a certain extent I think the style of Carlyle's writing may have been influential. He too piles phrase on phrase, clause on clause. But Charlotte Brontë's writing lacks the hammering insistence of Carlyle's: she tends to avoid repetition, he uses it as a major device for driving his points home. Charlotte Brontë more than once expressed her dislike of his style:

I duly received Mirabeau from Mr Smith. ... One thing a little annoyed me - as I glanced over the pages I fancied I detected a savour of Carlyle's peculiarities of style. Now Carlyle is a great man, but I always wish he would write plain English; and to imitate his Germanisms is, I think, to imitate his faults.²

Clearly she was very conscious of his style; and she may have been influenced more than she realised. Certainly the Angrian tales show nothing like the number of accumulated personifications that appear in The Professor.³ And Carlyle uses extensive capitalisation not only for personifications but for abstract and common nouns, not personified, but marked because they are central to the theme. (He was of course deliberately 'imitating' Herr Teufelsdröckh's German prose in Sartor, but such 'Germanism' is in fact essential Carlylism.) Indeed he goes much further than Charlotte Brontë: her capitalised

1. The Professor, xii. 207-8.

2. Letter to W.S. Williams, 15 June 1848. (S.H.B. ii. 222.)

3. *But C. Brontë may also have been influenced by Eighteenth Century style. (See p. 26.)*

'Reason' and 'Imagination' look pale beside passages in, for example, Sartor Resartus:

On the other hand, all Emblematic things are properly Clothes, thought-woven or hand-woven: must not the Imagination weave Garments, visible Bodies, wherein the else invisible creations and inspirations of our Reason are, like Spirits, revealed, and first become all-powerful; ...¹

Charlotte's fondness for a group of three such capitalised words, especially at the end of a phrase or clause, is also characteristic of Carlyle: Herr Teufelsdröckh finds in all things 'Prose, Decay, Contemptibility; ...'²; he comments on 'Education, Polity, Religion, ...'³

Carlyle's abundant imagery may also have accentuated C. Brontë's natural tendency to express her meaning in vivid concrete metaphors. Compare, for example, the following passage with a typical developed image in Sartor Resartus:

Where there is cunning but not energy, dissimulation, falsehood, a thousand schemes and tricks are put in play to evade the necessity of application; in short, to the tutor, female youth, female charms are like tapestry hangings, of which the wrong side is continually turned towards him; and even when he sees the smooth, neat, external surface he so well knows what knots, long stitches, and jagged ends are behind that he has scarce a temptation to admire too fondly the seemly forms and bright colours exposed to general view.⁴

And from Carlyle's exposition of the 'Philosophy of Clothes':⁵

Nevertheless, it is impossible to hate Professor Teufels-

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. <u>Sartor Resartus</u> , Chapter xi. | 2. <u>ibid.</u> , Chapter x. |
| 3. <u>ibid.</u> , Book II, Chapter iii. | 4. <u>The Professor</u> , xiv. 239-40 |
| 5. <u>Sartor Resartus</u> Book I, Chapter x | |

dröckh; at worst, one knows not whether to hate or to love him. For though, in looking at the fair tapestry of human Life, with its royal and even sacred figures, he dwells not on the obverse alone, but here chiefly on the reverse; and indeed turns out the rough seams, tatters, and manifold thrums of that unsightly wrong-side, with an almost diabolic patience and indifference, which must have sunk him in the estimation of most readers, - there is that within which unspeakably distinguishes him from all other past and present Sansculottists.

I have noted elsewhere that certain aspects of Carlyle's thought may also be reflected in The Professor.¹ In this, as in so much else, Charlotte Brontë's first novel is essentially a 'Novel of the Eighteen-Forties'.²

1. See K. Tillotson, Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, (1954) pp. 150-6.

2. See p. 131, and p. 119.

Charlotte Brontë is not absolutely consistent in her indications of chronological time in The Professor. In the first chapter 'Railroads were not then in existence';¹ and in chapter vii the narrator again reminds us that 'these ... were not the days of trains and railroads.' In England the Stockton and Darlington line had been opened in 1824, the Manchester and Liverpool in 1825; though it was true that one could not travel by train from London to Birmingham until 1838. In Belgium the first railways were begun in 1835. In Chapter iv, however, Hunsden's library includes works by George Sand, whose first novel was published in 1831, and Eugène Sue (~~first novel 1837~~.) Neither writer was well-known in England until the later 30's, and Sue's most famous (or notorious) work, Les Mystères de Paris, did not appear until 1842-3. In Chapter vii, William goes to Belgium - and Belgium did not exist as an independent nation until 1830.

The trouble arises, of course, from C. Brontë's attempt to link her own experiences of 1842-4 with imaginary events in William's early life: this would obviously have to be pushed further back into the past so that he could complete his ten or eleven years of teaching, and retire to England in what is clearly meant to be the present time of the writer, ie. 1845-6. (The progress of time is marked by Edward's return to prosperity through 'railway speculations'.) Possibly her

1. p.9. 2. p. 105. 3. xxv. 257.

insistence on William's coach-travelling springs from a desire to distance the Angrian portion of his experiences; possibly it is an echo of the story-teller's 'once upon a time' which had not been properly related to more modern material.

If however one interprets the remarks on railways somewhat broadly to mean 'before railway travel became general', the rest of the events in the main story fall quite naturally into the mid-thirties: and as will be seen, the social background is essentially of this period.

I shall consider first the religious, and then the more general social implications of The Professor.

Charlotte Brontë's observation of Roman Catholicism in Brussels appears in contemporary letters and in The Professor with much the same kind of emphasis. During her first visit there in 1842, she wrote to Ellen Nussey:

All in the house are Catholics except ourselves. one other girl, and the gouvernante of Madame's children, an English-woman, in rank something between a lady's-maid and nursery governess. The difference in country and religion makes a broad line of demarcation between us and all the rest. We are completely isolated in the midst of numbers. Yet I think I am never unhappy; my present life is so delightful, so congenial to my own nature, compared with that of a governess.¹

It was not until October of her second visit that solitude oppressed her 'to an excess' and she felt she could bear it no longer; but she was less happy in her isolation throughout that second year: '... - the Protestant the Foreigner is a solitary being whether as teacher or pupil - I do not say this by way of complaining of my own lot - ... whenever I turn back to compare what I am with what I was-... I am thankful.'² Frances too feels isolated, for she too is a 'heretic', and her influence with her Catholic pupils lessened in consequence.³ She longed⁴ to leave the pensionnat and go to Protestant England:⁴

"Besides, monsieur, I long to live once more among Protestants; they are more honest than Catholics; a Romish school is a building with porous walls, a hollow floor, a false ceiling; every room in this house, monsieur, has eye-holes and ear-holes, and what the house is, the inhabitants are, very treacherous; they all think it lawful to tell lies; they all call it

1. S.H.B. i. 260. 2. *ibid.*, 295.

3. The Professor, xvii. 291.

4. *ibid.*, 292.

politeness to profess friendship where they feel hatred." Charlotte Brontë told Emily that one of the teachers - Mdlle. Blanche - was 'the regular spy of Mme. Heger, ... Also she invents - which I should not have thought.'¹ Madame herself, though polite, was a 'plausible and interested person'.² To Charlotte such behaviour seemed characteristic of 'Romanism', and so they are linked together in The Professor.

The degraded character of the pupils is not specifically attributed to Roman Catholicism in the letters, but the association is implied clearly enough:

If the national character of the Belgians is to be measured by the character of most of the girls in the school, it is a character singularly cold, selfish, animal and inferior. They are besides very mutinous and difficult for the teachers to manage - and their principles are rotten to the core - we avoid them - which is not difficult to do - as we have the brand of Protestantism and Anglicism upon us.³

The professor, commenting on the 'bold impudent flirtation, or . . . loose, silly, leer' of girls supposedly 'reared in utter unconsciousness of vice,' attributes them to Catholicism:

I know nothing of the arcana of the Roman Catholic religion, and I am not a bigot in matters of theology, but I suspect the root of this precocious impurity, so obvious, so general in Popish countries, is to be found in the discipline, if not the doctrines of the Church of Rome.⁴

Other aspects of what was to her essentially a 'foreign' church helped to convince ^{Charlotte} her that there was little danger of conversion for any right-minded Protestant:

1. S.H.B. i. 299.
3. ibid., 267.

2. ibid., 306.
4. The Professor, xii. 193.

People talk of the danger which protestants expose themselves to in going to reside in Catholic countries - and thereby running the chance of changing their faith - my advice to all protestants who are tempted to anything so besotted as turn Catholic - is to walk over the sea on to the continent - to attend mass regularly for a time to note well the mummeries thereof - also the idiotic, mercenary aspect of all the priests, and then if they are still disposed to consider Papistry in any other light than a most feeble childish piece of humbug let them turn papists at once that's all - I consider Methodism, Dissenterism, Quakerism and the extremes of high and low Churchism foolish but Roman Catholicism beats them all.

At the same time allow me to tell you that there are some Catholics - who are as good as any Christians can be to whom the bible is a sealed book and much better than scores of Protestants.'

The Catholic 'mummeries' do not appear directly in The Professor; but William satirically describes the 'solemn(?) rite' of the "prière du midi", its prayers enounced with 'steam-engine haste.'² The priest is a sinister off-stage character, a corrupter of innocence: kindness to Sylvie would have been 'misinterpreted' and 'poisoned' by her confessor.³

There is no sign in The Professor of the fascination that Catholicism had for Charlotte Brontë in the extremity of her depression and loneliness. In September 1843 she described to Emily Brontë her visit to the cathedral of Ste. Gudule: 'I took a fancy to change myself into a Catholic and go and make a real confession to see what it was like. Knowing me as you do, you will think this odd, but when people are by themselves they have singular fancies.'⁴ The episode is used in Villette, where Charlotte admitted that her heroine

1. S.H.B. i. 267. 2. The Professor, xiv. 235.
 3. The Professor, xiv. 242.
 4. S.H.B. i. 303.

was sometimes 'morbid and weak'. But Charlotte had excluded weakness from the character of the professor: he conquers depression primarily by reason and strength of will, as she herself wished but failed to do; and in her first reaction against her unhappy Brussels experiences, she had made the professor's strictures of Catholicism even harsher than her own; he makes no reservations about 'some Catholics - who are as good as any Christians can be ...' Confession would have been out of keeping with his character and with the general tone of The Professor.

But William is not content with destructive criticism of 'Papisty'. He is staunchly Protestant, and equates Protestantism with decency, morality, honesty. The 'continental English' had not known 'an honest Protestant education' and had lost all notions of religion and morals as they passed from one Catholic school to another: the British English were distinguishable as Protestants by their native 'propriety and decency.'¹ A Protestant education would have corrected, William imagines, Zoraïde Reuter's deficiency in principle: and even now an English Protestant husband might lead her to acknowledge, 'rational, sensible as she is' the 'superiority of right over expediency, honesty over policy...'²

Frances's father too had been a Protestant, a Swiss pastor; she longs to be among Protestants again. William seeks her at

1. The Professor, xii. 203.

2. *ibid.*, 216.

at the Protestant services and finds her mourning 'tante Julienne' at the Protestant cemetery. She and William are married at a Protestant chapel. Their common faith is a bond of union between them, and William loses no chance of reminding the reader of its nature.

For the professor religion is primarily a moral question. He will not be a clergyman, because he has not the 'peculiar points which go to make a good clergyman': 'A singular regeneration must take place in my whole inner and outer man before I do that. A good clergyman is one of the best of men.'¹ But his landlady believed he 'was a very religious man' - '... she had had young curates to lodge in her house who were nothing equal to me for steadiness and quietness.'² His avoidance of Monsieur Pelet and Mlle. Reuter after their marriage is based on a moral decision, in which a religious sense aids that 'stubborn monitor, Conscience.' - The 'Deity of Love, the Friend of all that exists' smiles 'well-pleased' when the professor chooses the stait and narrow path.³ The hope of Eternity is for the rational and controlled man: sensual indulgence will 'break 'the spring of our powers; life must be all suffering - too feeble to conceive faith - death must be darkness - God, spirits, religion can have no place in our collapsed minds.'⁴

For Frances religion is perhaps more emotional, though the

1. The Professor, vi. 97.
2. ibid., xx. 92.

2. ibid., iii. 36.
4. ibid., xix. 29.

indications are slight. Her gratitude to God for relief from poverty is spontaneous and sincere. Her Devoirs speak of religious faith, and contain more specific references to the central Christian doctrine than anything in William's narrative. 'Fate - thou hast done thy worst ... My God, whose Son, as on this night, took on him the form of man, and for man vouchsafed to suffer and bleed, controls thy hand, ... My God is sinless, eternal, all-wise - in Him is my trust: ...' But she is also concerned for religious toleration and asserts the value of the free conscience. Both she and William insist of the God-given nature of man's faculties and his consequent duty to use them fully and well. William advises Frances to 'cultivate the faculties that God and nature have bestowed on her'¹ and she in turn opposes Hunsden's cynical arguments against patriotic feeling with the words "Right! as if it were right to crush any pleasurable sentiment that God has given to man, especially any sentiment that, like patriotism, spreads man's selfishness in wider circles"³.

As far as it goes then The Professor equates true, spiritual Christianity with Protestantism, and false, materialistic, formal religion with Roman Catholicism. 'Romanism' has no redeeming feature, and the two principal objections to it, according to C. Brontë, are fundamental: it condones deceit and immorality, and it subjugates the individual conscience.

1. The Professor, xvi. 268. 2. *ibid.*, xvi. 274.
 3. *ibid.*, xxiv. 199.

The independence of mind of the Protestant is set against the passivity of the Catholic Sylvie: 'in the tame, trained, subjection of her manner, one read that she had already prepared herself for her future course of life, by giving up her independence of thought and action into the hands of some despotic confessor. ... With a pale, passive, automaton air, she went about all day long doing what she was bid; never what she liked, or what, from innate conviction, she thought it right to do. The poor little future religieuse had been early taught to make the dictates of her own reason and conscience quite subordinate to the will of her spiritual director.'

Catholicism in The Professor has no redeeming feature. Passing references are always derogatory - the professor was 'no pope' - he 'could not boast infallibility';² the English are more 'slaves to custom' than Italians to priestcraft'.³ European progress is prevented by the tyranny of 'Russia, Austria, and the Pope.'⁴

Personal experience was undoubtedly the main cause of this attitude. Her isolation at the pensionnat had thrown Charlotte back on a proud insistence on liberty of conscience; national and religious feeling had re-inforced each other. Branwell's experience intensified her concern for personal morality. But she was not alone in her distrust of Catholicism. Her initial prejudice is part of the background of moderate,

1. The Professor, xii. 202.
3. ibid., xxi. 105.

2. ibid., xx. 90.
4. ibid., xxv. 239.

Church of Englandism which many Englishmen regarded as a bulwark against the extremes of Romanism on the one hand and fanatic Dissent on the other. The Oxford Movement had led to an acute searching of hearts, and roused the Church of England not only to the need for reform within its ranks, but to a new concern for the preservation of the Protestant faith.

The newspapers and magazines taken at Haworth parsonage reflected this lively distrust of Catholicism; they show too a complete trust in the future of Protestantism, a conviction that it is the true faith. Fraser's Magazine for 1842, the year of Charlotte Brontë's first visit to Brussels, has a long and detailed article on 'The Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century' - a review of a history of the Reformation by J.H. Merle d'Aubigné. Charlotte Brontë, as a letter of March 1846 shows, was interested enough to read an article by him, and agreed with his views -

I read D'Aubigné's letter - it is clever and in what he says about catholicism very good - the evangelical alliance part is not very practicable yet ^{it is} it is more in accordance with the spirit of the Gospel to preach unity amongst Christians than to inculcate mutual intolerance and hatred.

She was later very impressed by his preaching in London in 1851. She would therefore share the Protestant enthusiasm of the Fraser's review: 'In that same chapel was laid the first stone of the Reformation. Those who listened to the outpourings

of a full heart and a fervid oratory must have felt deeply. It must have looked like Nature breaking forth amid the hard lines and tame shapes of Art.'* Materialism, impious deceit and immorality are the sins of Romanism which are particularly stressed: Luther was compelled to beg for food and money instead of studying: 'This was to teach him what is the slavery of superstition - what was the curse that clave to the terrible apostasy...!' 'The awful crimes of the priesthood, the venal traffic of the popes, the universal debauchery and corruption of the whole of that fearful apostasy, ... appeared more distinctly as the rays of truth and holiness broke in, ...'² The review ends with a lyrical prophecy of the future greatness of Protestantism and the downfall of Rome which is more akin to the fervours of Villette than the critical tone of The Professor. But it shows how important the maintenance of the reformed faith was felt to be at this time; and its confidence that England is the natural defender of true religion is like that of The Professor.

Popery may strive, and here and there appear to be winning back for a time a portion of the influence of which Luther and his contemporaries deprived her; but there is a power superior to hers which shall yet prevail, and her ultimate downfall is certain. Neither is it too much to hope that from England, the cradle of Divine Truth throughout ages, when elsewhere it had fallen well^{ly} into decay, this power is to go forth. ... There may be controversies and disputations for a brief season; ^{which have been much} in some instances painful to witness: nevertheless we do think that all that has recently occurred will be over-ruled for good.³

1. Fraser's, July 1842, p. 3. * *ibid.*, p. 4.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 11. 3. *ibid.*, p. 14.

An article on 'Movements in the Church' in the December issue comments on the new importance attached to the words and actions of the higher clergy since the Oxford Movement began: 'their bitterest enemies must concede to the Tractarians that they have given a new turn to men's habits of speculating concerning Church doctrines and Church discipline.'¹ but the High church trend towards Rome is unequivocally condemned, and Tract 90 is 'beyond all question one of the most jesuitical and mischievous productions of modern times.'² Interest in the Church is not confined to the religious articles: in 'The Conservatives in Power' in the March number, the government is praised for making Dr. Gilbert Bishop of Chichester, The appointment was regarded as a clear sign of opposition to the Tractarians: 'Now, considering that never, since the ~~da~~ days of Mary, the "she-wolf of Rome," has the Church of England been exposed to the like peril which now besets her, we can scarcely be too thankful to the premier for the ^{manly} firmness with which he has at once declared himself on her side.'³

Tractarianism, with its Catholic affinities, was seen as a threat to individual freedom of conscience.. The Edinburgh Review for January 1843 has a long and closely reasoned article on the 'Right of Private Judgment', which condemns the 'High Church doctrines recently propounded' on the subject of the 'Right of Private Judgment'. 'Of all the peculiarities of this modern-antique School, none, in our opinion, is of graver

1. Fraser's, December 1842, p. 716. 2. *ibid.*, p. 717.
 3. Fraser's, March 1842, p. 366.

import or of darker omen, than its hatred, more or less disguised, of this great principle.'¹ Admitting the difficulty of defining the 'Right' and of recognising the truth, the Edinburgh Review yet sees very clearly whither the High Church doctrines are tending: 'Nothing, indeed, short of the Popish doctrine of the Church's infallibility, will suffice to annul or limit the 'Right of Private Judgment'. That, and that alone, will.' Charlotte Brontë's insistence on the full development of man's natural powers is reflected in an Edinburgh article of July 1842, 'Ignatius Loyola and his Associates'. Acknowledging Loyola's greatness and reminding English people that Jesuitry had in the beginning ~~power~~ power that was 'moral as much as intellectual, or much more so', the reviewer thinks that Protestantism allows man to develop God-given powers more freely: 'Heart and soul we are for the Protestant, [Luther]...He who will deaden one-half of his nature to invigorate the other half, will become at best a distorted prodigy.'²

But the influence of the Tractarians was increasing. They were not 'starved out', as Fraser's in 1842 foretold they would be. They were becoming more and more favourable to Rome and ritual, and gaining a reputation, as Halévy says, for 'Jesuitry and dishonesty.'⁴ Yet 'although they were so unpopular they had made undeniable progress in particular parishes. The reaction produced by the conversion of the clergy of Saint Saviour's, Leeds, and Newman's ^{spontaneous} conversion [9 October 1845] might halt

1. January 1843. p. 383. 4. Halévy, IV (1841-95), p. 354.
 2. *ibid.*, p. 397.
 3. July 1842, p. 341.

this progress - it could not undo it. ¹ Fraser's Magazine for 1846 (the year in which The Professor was completed) has an article on 'National Education', deploring the effects of bigotry in religion, and witnessing to the powerful emotions aroused by the educational projects of rival sects: 'If the Roman Catholics move, and seem to prevail in ever so slight a degree, a Protestant howl is raised; and we hear everywhere of the successful proselytism of the Lady in the scarlet robe.'² Other articles, however, are confident of the continuing strength and virtue of the Church of England. The writer of 'Will the Whig Government Stand?' admits that the country is in an age of transition, and that 'the Church is not the religion of the whole' nation; but there is 'no just cause to assume that our course is necessarily one of deterioration'. English steadiness is optimistically, not to say smugly, contrasted with foreign violence:

'... never surely was revolution-... carried forward with greater moderation than among us. Nobody makes an attack upon property. ... Nobody seriously meditates an attack upon the House of Lords. ... In like manner, we have no fear for the Church. The Establishment may be still more shaken than it already (has) been, and in Ireland it will probably cease to hold its ground altogether. But as to the Church, as we believe it to be founded on a rock, so we are confident that there does not exist the smallest inclination, where there is power, to molest it. On the contrary, we believe that sound Church principles were never more respected by the great body of the middle classes, the real strength of the Empire, than they are now; and we are confident that there needs but common prudence, mixed with increasing zeal in the clergy, to confirm this feeling.'³

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1. Halevy, IV. p. 355
 2. Sept. 1846, XXXIV. p. 373.
 3. August 1846, XXXIV. 246.

The Professor therefore reflects the general opinions of English Protestantism in the 1840's. It also reflects certain aspects of English society which were especially characteristic of its period; and these, I think, were consciously exploited by the author as part of The Professor's realism.

'My hero should work his way through life as I had seen real living men work theirs.'¹ Charlotte Brontë knew ^{well} two kinds of work, apart from the work of her father as a clergyman. One she knew from the inside - the work of teaching, by which she herself had earned her living. The other kind was the work she had seen in Haworth and Keighley, Bradford and Leeds - the woollen industry whose factories darkened the valley-towns with their smoke. Probably she knew parishioners who worked in one of the great red brick mills; she knew Mary Taylor's father, a progressive manufacturer. She did not know the factories from the inside: but she could not avoid some knowledge of their organisation and the effect of commercial enterprise on the people and the countryside concerned with it.

She might reasonably expect that a novel with an industrial setting should arouse some interest in 1845-6: industry - the 'industrial problem', the 'Condition of England question', the state of the manufacturing towns of the North, the relation of employer and employed - all these were burning topics in an England whose social conscience had been newly aroused

1. Preface to The Professor, p. vi.

to the distress of the English working classes. The Reform Acts, the 10 Hours Bill, Reports on the conditions in factories and mines, Reports on sanitation in towns, on the one hand: on the other continual Chartist meetings and disturbances, Free Trade and Corn Law agitation, had all brought to light the various and widespread evils at the root of the social system.

The realism of the first section of The Professor, (Chapters i - vi) consists partly in the authentic details of Edward's trade - introduced with apparent casualness, or rather with the ease of one to whom they were familiar. The outward details of Edward's life are typical of a certain kind of wealthy manufacturer of the period. A social climber, he has married a 'rich millowner's daughter', and is proud of his 'fashionable' wife.¹ His 'residence' is a mansion in the country, away from the smoky atmosphere of X---. It is on the grand scale, with a park round it and handsomely appointed rooms within; and Edward entertains there the 'gentlemen' whom he has to see on business matters. He is a thorough snob, and instructs his wife to treat her inferiors with 'coolness and restraint': 'her husband had tutored her; she was not to be too familiar with his clerk.'² He is irreligious, 'frequented no place of worship, and owned no God but Mammon.'³ He is, as Hunsden says, 'a tyrant to his workpeople, a tyrant to his clerks, and will some day be a tyrant to his wife.'⁴ Personal feeling sharpens

1. i. 5. 2. ii. 25. 3. iii. 37. 4. vi. 92.

William's dislike of him, and the consensus of opinion among early critics of The Professor was that the character was unnatural and exaggerated: The Press for example thought that Edward was the 'crowning blunder' of The Professor: 'such excess of wanton malignity is not in nature.'¹ But others were perhaps conscious of the basis of reality, and they objected, rather uneasily, on artistic grounds:

What purpose either of morality or of intellectual enjoyment is served by the representation of such scenes as these? Surely it is bad enough that they should obtrude themselves on the public notice in those columns of the daily newspapers which record the proceedings of the police-courts. A work of fiction should either delight the fancy, enrich the mind, or improve the heart of the reader.²

And The Guardian, while it objected to C. Brontë's occasional coarseness, admitted her 'stern reality', and thought it was true that the 'commercial principle' had the brutalising effects shown in Edward.³

In fact such employers were recognised to be a factor in the social distress of the 30's and 40's. Blackwood's Magazine, which was on the whole unsympathetic to the Chartist movement, yet realised that the Chartists' complaints were not without foundation: There must be employer and employed, but it by no means follows that the rich should be ignorant of the poor—the employere of the employed. It is precisely this state of things which renders the artificial condition of society so dangerous to society itself.⁴ Employers should feel themselves

1. op. cit., 13 June 1857.
3. 26 August 1857.

2. Morning Post, 7 Sept. 1857.
4. November 1842, p 442.

responsible for the moral and religious training of their workers, and should aim at personal knowledge. Carlyle, recognising the failings of the old aristocracy, yet sees the dangers of the new social system:

Yet we do say that the old Aristocracy were **the** governors of the Lower Classes, the guides of the **Lower** Classes .. For in one word, Cash Payment had not then grown to be the universal sole nexus of man to man.'

One recalls Edward's ultimatum to William:

"I shall give you a good salary - 90l. a year - and now," he continued, raising his voice, "hear once for all what I have to say about our relationship, and all that sort of humbug! ... Ninety pounds a year are good wages, and I expect to have the full value of my money out of you; remember, too, that things are on a practical footing in my establishment - business-like habits, feelings, and ideas, suit me best."²

Edward then represented a peculiarly modern type of 'villainy'. And the question of employer and employed was still agitating men's minds in 1845. The Edinburgh Review for April of that year, reviewing 'The Claims of Labour: an Essay on the Duties of the Employers to the Employed ... 1844', gives a perceptive if somewhat cynical statement of the causes of contemporary interest in the condition of the labouring people:

To its claims upon the conscience and philanthropy of the more favoured classes; to its ever-strengthening demands upon their sense of self-interest, this cause now adds the more ephemeral attractions of the last new fashion.³

1. Chartism (1840) v. 58. 2. The Professor, ii. 29.
3. Edinburgh Review, lxxxi. 498.

Edward's separate residence is a sign of his separation from the lives of his workers: again it is based on reality. Charlotte herself had lived at Rawdon 'a village, six miles from Bradford, consisting largely of the residences of wealthy Bradford merchants'¹ - of whom her employer, Mr. White, was one. She liked Mr. White, and clearly he was not the original of Edward: but Mrs. White may well have contributed to the sketch of Edward's wife. Charlotte stresses her 'nouveau-riche' snobbery:

We^{W.} can I believe that Mrs. ~~White~~ has been an exciseman's daughter - and I am convinced also that Mr. W.'s extraction is very low - yet Mrs W. talks in an amusing strain of pomposity about his and her family and connexions and affects to look down with wondrous hauteur on the whole race of 'Tradesfolk' as she terms men of business - ...²

Other details help to build up a picture of the manufacturing district round X---. The smoky atmosphere of the town itself is repeatedly mentioned, but the surrounding landscape is described as not unpleasant:

The autumn sun, rising over the ---shire hills, disclosed a pleasant country; woods brown and mellow varied the fields from which the harvest had been lately carried: a river, gliding between the woods, caught on its surface the somewhat cold gleam of the October sun and sky; at frequent intervals along the banks of the river, tall, cylindrical chimneys, almost like slender, round towers, indicated the factories which the trees half concealed; here and there mansions, similar to Crimsworth Hall, occupied agreeable sites on the hill-side; the country wor^d, on the whole, a cheerful, active, fertile look. Steam, trade, machinery, had long banished from it all romance and seclusion. At a distance of five miles, a valley, opening between the low hills, held in its cup[s]³ the great town of X---. A dense,

1. v. S.H.B. i. 225. 2. Letter to E. Nussey. S.H.B. i. 23D-1.

3. v. p. 24.

permanent vapour brooded over this locality -- there lay Edward's "Concern."

Other writers had been appalled by the smoke of the Northern manufacturing towns: Lavergne described Manchester as continually under 'thick smoke, shutting out what little light penetrates the foggy atmosphere; ... the ground, the inhabitants, and their dwellings completely covered with a coating of black dust.'¹ It seems likely that X-- is based on recollections of Bradford (though it has Leeds' Cloth- or Piece-Hall), which lies in a 'basin-shaped formation' between low hills, and is drained by the Bradford beck. But whether she was thinking of Leeds or Bradford, Charlotte Brontë must have seen over it the black smoke-pail of X--, for it was not until the 1850's and 60's that any effective measures were taken to ~~prevent~~ ^{reduce} the smoke-nuisance.

The 'stir and bustle' of a manufacturing district are well-conveyed, and are evidently based on personal observation, if not intimate knowledge:

X--- was all stir and bustle when we entered it; we left the clean streets where there were dwelling-houses and shops, churches and public buildings; we left all these, and turned down to a region of mills and warehouses; thence we passed through two massive gates into a great paved yard, and we were in Bigben Close, and the mill was before us, vomiting soot from its long chimney, and quivering through its thick brick walls with the commotion of its iron boweels. Workpeople were passing to and fro; a waggon was being laden with pieces. (H. 25-26.)

Edward attends the market and the Piece-Hall, and 'scores of market-gigs and carts' return from X--- on a Tuesday eve-

1. The Professor, ii. 21-2. 2. Quoted in G.M. Young, Early Victorian England, §1. 35. See also, on Leeds, §1, 243.

ning. The factory people work long hours. William rises in the cold dawn to start his work - 'at last the factory bells rang, and I sprang from my bed with other slaves.' 'When he arrived just before 8 am., the 'factory-workpeople' had preceded him by nearly an hour. The bell rings for dinner at 12; at 4pm. the town is still quiet, for the workers are not yet 'released' from the factories. William's own feeling of spiritual imprisonment in the world of Trade is accompanied by signs of wider sympathy with the 'other slaves' in the 'closeness, smoke, monotony and joyless tumult' of X---

How readily such descriptions would be accepted is shown by the newspaper and pamphlet controversies of the 30's - notably those over the 10 Hour Bill, which naturally aroused violent feelings in the Leeds-Bradford manufacturing district. The 'public meeting in the Down-hall' of X---, at which Edward hears himself denounced as a 'family despot' was typical of the time. It would not have been difficult for the 'filthy mob', as Edward calls them, to believe that such a millowner, a 'tyrant to his workpeople', should give his clerk 'low wages' and knock him about 'like a dog'.² Such things had a more than local notoriety, and men like Richard Castler had done much to bring them to the attention of the public. It was emotionally fitting that The Professor should begin in the early 30's.

A report of a meeting of 9 January 1831 gives a vivid

1. iv. 70.

2. v. 79.

impression of humanitarian enthusiasm:

At Bradford the battle was waged against the strength of the Factory System. And Leeds has nobly responded, and secured the triumph of JUSTICE and HUMANITY by a victory more glorious than the deeds of heroes -

"They fight but to destroy: we to save and elevate."

Castler described the avarice and tyranny of the manufacturers who desired to extend their foreign trade at all costs:

The factory system itself has made the kind and benevolent mill-owner into an avaricious and covetous tyrant. ... the whole system now is a cut-throat system: and for the sake of meeting those demands which this system has created, in many instances the children and workpeople are absolutely worked against time.⁴

The British Labourer's Protector and Factory Child's Friend was begun in 1832 to bring the facts of this 'white slavery' to public notice. The avarice and cruelty of many mill-owners are exposed with indignant rhetoric:

Lady Avarice has been stripped of her stage dress and her blood-stained garments are now discovered. No longer able to play her part she now flourishes her straps, and billy-rollers, and horse-whips, on high, and is determined to die hard.⁵

Edward's threatened use of his horse-whip was not merely a figment of Charlotte's imagination: a footnote to the passage quoted above notes that 'In a certain Worsted Mill, within ten miles of Leeds, a horse-whip was used a few weeks ago.'

Richard Castler, Reports and Pamphlets collected under the title White Slavery, Vol. iv. Report of Leeds meeting on Sadler's 10 Hour Bill. 2. *ibid.*, p. 11.
3. *op. cit.*, 21 September 1832., p. 3.

Charlotte Brontë may have heard of this. Almost certainly she would have heard of or read Castler's letter to the Leeds Mercury of 16 October 1830¹ in which he stigmatised 'those magazines of British Infantile Slavery - the Worsted Mills in the town and neighbourhood of Bradford', where children of 7 - 14 years old worked for 13 hours, sometimes as much as 17 hours per day:

Thousands of our fellow-creatures and fellow-subjects, both male and female, the miserable inhabitants of a Yorkshire town ... are this very moment existing in a state of slavery, more horrid than are the victims of that hellish system - "Colonial Slavery".²

One may also have read the reply to Castler, a letter from a Mr. Townend, a Worsted Mill owner, in the Leeds Intelligencer. Its complacent inhumanity, though more mealy-mouthed than Edward's speeches, has all Edward's disregard of the lives of others. Mr. Townend points out the 'advantages' of 'regular hours':

... so far from being "horrid slavery in worsted mills", ... it is rendered a comfort by the regular hours of rising from and retiring to bed; and the almost systematic regulation by which refreshments are brought to them the children and other workers.³

The comparison with colonial slavery is, he says, 'monstrous'.

On the other hand Charlotte Brontë's Hunsden was an exceptional, but not entirely unheard of, type of manufacturer. Three Bradford employers had agreed, before the 10 Hour Bill

1. The Leeds Mercury and Leeds Intelligencer were both taken at Haworth Parsonage. v. Life Chapter v.
2. Quoted in British Labourer's Protector, 21 September 1832.
3. *ibid.*, pp. 7 and 8.

was mooted, that 10 hours was a reasonable limit to working time; and one of these men, a Mr. John Wood, described as an 'humane and enlightened Bradford worsted spinner', wrote a public letter admitting the general truth of Castler's accusations, and supporting the plea for reform.'

The fluctuations of industry, represented by Edward's bankruptcy and re-establishment, have also a background of contemporary fact. Hunsden laconically described Edward's failure:

"... you know, of course, that your brother failed three months ago"

"What! Edward Grimsworth? ... what is become of him?"

"Nothing extraordinary - don't be alarmed: he put himself under the protection of the court, compounded with his creditors - tenpence in the pound; in six weeks set up again, coaxed back his wife, and is flourishing like a green bay-tree."

The woollen industry was never so precarious as the cotton; and machinery was introduced with less disturbance - though C. Brontë dealt with one period of disturbance in Shirley. There was however a period of marked instability in the 30's and 40's. The Eclectic Review gives the statistics for Leeds:

From 1838 to 1841, twenty-nine woollen houses in the township became insolvent, with liabilities of 515,000l. Ten houses of another department failed, owing 38,100l. Eighteen firms of the flax and tow trade failed whose debts were reckoned at 217,800l. Sixteen machine makers, whose capital amounted to 47,600l., have also failed. Nine stuff houses and worsted spinners failed, whose liabilities were 457,800l., making 1,451,000l., which did not pay a dividend of 6s. 8d. in the pound.

The Eclectic gives tables showing the fall in wages -¹ from

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1. v. British Labourer's Protector, 5 October 1832.
 2. The Professor, xxii. 133. 3. op. cit.(1842). xii. 219.

30 to 45% since 1835 - and pleads strongly for effective government action to redress flagrant social injustice.

Thus C. Brontë is again drawing with apparent casualness on a contemporary situation: and Edward is appropriately seen in the harsh daylight world of industry and commerce.

Edward's return to prosperity brought The Professor completely up to date in 1845-6. for this was the period of the second great wave of railway speculations. Edward had set up in business again six weeks after his bankruptcy: at the end of the book he is 'getting richer than Croesus by railway speculations; they call him in the Piece-Hall a stag of ten....'

The first wave of speculation, that of 1836-7, had subsided; but the 'Railway Mania' of 1844-7 was at its height. In 1845 9,400 more 'miles of line were sanctioned by Act of Parliament' and 'Far into 1846 the pace was kept up without a check orⁿ fall'. It was not until 1847 that many lines and shareholdings came to an abrupt and disastrous end. Railway news dominated the newspapers; writers satirised, or praised the railways as a sign of material progress. Charlotte Brontë may have read Thackeray's James de la Pluche (Punch, 1845-6), a lively 'autobiography' of a speculating footman: his meteoric rise to wealth and even more sudden fall to bankruptcy in the 'panic week' are described. 'That I've one thirty thousand lb, and praps more, I don't deny ... I hentered the market

1. The Professor, xxv. 257.
England, i. 66.

2. G.M.Young, Early Victorian
3. ibid., i. 68.

with 20lb. speckled jewdicious, and ham what I ham.' He is at one time 'director of forty-seven hadvantageous lines' - 'Railway Spec is going on phamusly. You should see how polite they are at my bankers now!' When the crash came his pocket book was found to contain 'forty-nine allotments in different companies, twenty-six thousand seven hundred shares in all, of which the market value we take, on an average, to be $\frac{1}{4}$ discount;'.¹

But Charlotte Brontë had personal, and bitter, experience of the fluctuations of railway shares. Her letters to George Smith in 1849, when there was an excessive depression in the railway stock market, recount the rise and fall of her own investments. 'My Shares are in the York and Midland Railway,' she wrote. 'It was one of Mr. Hudson's pet lines and had the full benefit of his peculiar management - or Mis-management. The original price of shares in this Railway was £50. At one time they rose to 120; and for some years gave a dividend of 10 per cent; they are now down at 20, and it is doubtful whether any dividend will be declared this half-year.'²

One imagines that William's own investments were not in the railways: they were recommended by Hunsden and Vandenhuten:

The suggestion made was judicious; and, being promptly acted on, the result proved gainful - I need not say how gainful; ...³

But it is both appropriate and satisfying that the precarious railway speculations were reserved for Edward.

1. Punch, (1846)

2. Unpublished letter of 27 Sept. 49.

3. The Professor, xxv. 234.

Hunsden calls himself a 'radical reformer'. In rescuing William from the tyranny of Edward Crimsworth he says 'I only consider the brutal injustice with which he violated your natural claim to equality)'.¹ He is indignant at the injustice of a social system which preserves the 'rotten order' of the aristocracy,² while it allows poverty and misery to increase at the other end of the social scale:

"Come to Birmingham and Manchester; come to St. Giles in London, and get a practical notion of how our system works. Examine the footprints of our august aristocracy; see how they walk in blood, crushing hearts as they go. Just put your head in at English cottage doors; get a glimpse of Famine crouching torpid on black hearth-stones; of Disease lying bare on beds without coverlets; of Infamy wantoning viciously with Ignorance, though indeed Luxury is her favourite paramour, and princely halls are dearer to her than thatched hovels --"

And Hunsden's guests are 'all either men of Birmingham or Manchester - hard men, seemingly knit up in one thought, whose talk is of free trade. The foreign visitors, too, are politicians; they take a wider theme - European progress - the spread of liberal sentiments over the Continent: ...'³

Charlotte Brontë's sympathies were clearly with Liberalism and Reform: but she does not give them an unqualified approval. In The Professor she uses the gentler voice of Frances to counter Hunsden's extreme⁴ by reminding him of 'historical and poetical associations'.⁵ And William remains curiously neutral. He is an interested but detached listener to the

1. vi. 90.

2. See iv. 68.

3. xxiv. 191.

4. xxv. 238

5. xxiv. 192.

reformers: he is not, like Hunsden 'leagued hand and heart' with them. As Gitley shows, Charlotte Brontë saw too clearly both sides of the question to commit herself absolutely to one side or the other. Yet no thoughtful person could disregard the condition of society: Hunsden allows C. Brontë to express her concern, and at the same time to indicate her critical reservations.

What then was the background of Hunsden's radicalism? The New Poor Law of 1834, itself an attempt at reform, had created new and urgent problems: and the wretched condition of England's paupers under the 'system' was exposed in newspaper, novel and poem. A new impetus to reform had been given by the movements of the late 30's and early 40's. 'Chartists and members of the [Anti-Corn Law] League vied in eloquent descriptions, supported by abundant evidence, of the squalid destitution in which the poor of the manufacturing towns were plunged.' Charlotte Brontë could hardly be unconscious of these movements: The Leeds Reform Association was active and its meetings were reported in the Leeds Mercury. Free Trade was debated at public meetings in Keighley, Bradford and Leeds - at meetings of the Mechanics' Institutes, or in the Town Hall; on 3 December 1842 the Chartist newspaper, The Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser, reported a meeting at Haworth:

On Wednesday evening last, Mr Ross, of Manchester, delivered a lecture, in the Forester's Hall, at this place, on

1. Halévy, History, IV. 14.

the various evils which have been, and still afflict^{ed} the working classes.'

The National Chartist Association had been formed in Manchester in 1840, when also Carlyle's Chartism was published: and there were widespread Chartist risings in the North in 1842.

The Northern Star shows very clearly the anti-aristocratic prejudice of the reformers:

The Honourable member for Finsbury is one of the few who prefer the approval of the people to the follies of party. Spurning to soil his hands with the misdeeds of the aristocracy, he has left their ranks, in which by birth he was placed, and he is now the pride and the hope of democracy.

But the Northern Star is often shrill and emotional: it exploits for example the death of a clothedresser, who on his wife's evidence would very seldom go to work even if it was offered him, as an excuse for a violent tirade against the whole social system:

Death from want! Aye, from absolute want! In the nineteenth century, in a Christian country, in enlightened Leeds, famed for its bible societies, its missionary societies, its conversion-of-the-Jews societies, its spread-of-the-gospel in foreign parts societies, its clothing societies, and its soup kitchen establishment, - a jury of Englishmen are compelled to return a verdict at a coroner's inquest, of "Died from starvation, and the want of the common necessaries of life." And poor Halstead is not the only victim to the system.

... there are thousands now in this same town of Leeds who are suffering from the same cause, .. Livid lips, pallid faces, shrunken limbs, skeletonized forms, with scarcely rags to screen them from the winter's wind, are to be seen at every corner of our streets, ...

1. op. cit., 3 Dec 1842. 2. ibid., 19 November 1842.
3. ibid., p.3, 'Local and General Intelligence.'

Poverty and starvation nevertheless were only too painfully real, as the statistics of the various reports show (The Eclectic Review noted that in Bolton the average worker had from 1/2 to 1/2¹/₂ per week for 'food, fire and clothing, etc.': in 950 families '466 blankets were found, or about 10¹/₂ persons to each blanket'.¹) And it seems likely that C. Brontë's attitude was influenced by her reading of Carlyle. As the Athenaeum reviewer observed, Hunsden 'talks a language that partly recalls Mephistopheles and partly Mr. Carlyle.' We know that she admired his ideas, though she disliked his style:

I like Carlyle better and better. His style I do not like, nor do I always concur in his opinions, nor quite fall in with his hero-worship; but there is a manly love of truth, an honest recognition and fearless vindication of intrinsic greatness, of intellectual and moral worth, considered apart from birth, rank, or wealth, which commands my sincere admiration.²

Probably she had read Sartor Resartus when it appeared in Fraser's in 1834³; she may also have known his Chartism (1840) and Past and Present (1843) before she wrote The Professor. Compare for example, Hunsden's speech on tyranny and injustice with the words of Carlyle:

It is not what a man outwardly has or wants that constitutes the happiness or misery of him. Nakedness, hunger, distress of all kinds, death itself have been cheerfully suffered, when the heart was right. It is the feeling of Injustice that is insupportable to all men.³

1. op. cit., (1842), xii. 220. 2. Letter of 16 April, 1849. (S.H.B. II. 326.) 3. Chartism, Chapter v.

And with Hunsden's Description of 'Famine crouching torpid on black hearthstones ...' compare Carlyle's ironic comment on the Poor Law Reports:

England lay in sick discontent, writhing powerless on its fever-bed, dark, nigh desperate, in wastefulness, want, improvidence and eating care, till like Hyperion down the eastern steeps, the Poor-Law Commissioners arose, and said, Let there be workhouses, and bread of affliction and water of affliction there!

Finally, The Professor is set firmly in its period by C. Brontë's reference to European affairs. One of Hunsden's guests was 'a dissatisfied and savage-looking Italian, who neither sang nor played, and of whom Frances affirmed that he had "tout l'air d'un conspirateur". His foreign visitors talked of 'European progress - the spread of liberal sentiments over the Continent; on their mental tablets, the names of Russia, Austria, and the Pope, are inscribed in red ink.'³ In 1830 A Russian army had invaded Poland, and Nicholas I established there complete Russian control; in the same year Austria had helped to re-establish Papal authority in the rebelling Italian states. English opinion was on the side of the liberals: and in London Mazzini was to work unceasingly for the Italian cause. In 1846 Europe was seething with the discontent which eventually came to a head in 1848: in that 'year of revolutions' the fall of Louis Philippe in France touched off nationalist risings in Italy and Hungary. Char-

1. xxiv. 191. 2. Chartism, Chapter iii.
3. The Professor, xxv. 238.

lotte Brontë, who showed scant sympathy for the Catholic Belgian revolutionaries,¹ clearly approved of rebellion against 'old northern despotisms, and older southern superstitions.' As the first version of this sentence shows, the signs of the times pointed unmistakably to the events of 1848, for Hunsden's guests spoke of the 'doom preparing for old Northern despotisms'.²

The Professor is deliberately modern in setting and outlook, and in this it is unique among C. Brontë's novels. All the others are set in a 'time gone by': and the striking difference in mood between The Professor and Villette owes not a little to the distancing of events in the latter novel. Its topicality is an important part of The Professor's uncompromising realism; and in its forward-looking, optimistic nature it reflects the more hopeful outlook of a comparatively young, still idealistic writer, unembittered by the suffering and disillusion of later life.

1. v. The Professor, vii. 130, and Villette, xxxviii. 543.
2. MS. p. 327.

In September 1848 C. Brontë wrote to W.S. Williams,

Defects there are both in 'Jane Eyre' and 'Wildfell Hall' which it will be the authors' wisdom and duty to endeavour to avoid in future. Other points there are to which they deem it incumbent on them firmly to adhere, whether such adherence bring popularity or unpopularity, praise or blame. The standard heroes and heroines of novels are personages in whom I could never from childhood upwards take an interest, believe to be natural, or wish to imitate. Were I obliged to copy these characters I would simply not write at all. Were I obliged to copy any former novelist, even the greatest, even Scott, in anything, I would not write. Unless I have something of my own to say, and a way of my own to say it in, I have no business to publish. Unless I can look beyond the greatest Masters, and study Nature herself, I have no right to paint. Unless I can have the courage to use the language of Truth in preference to the jargon of Conventionality, I ought to be silent.¹

The Professor is the first of C. Brontë's attempts to escape from the stereotype of the 'standard hero'; and it is perhaps the most extreme in its avoidance of their 'standard appeal. 'I said to myself that my hero should work his way through life as I had seen real living men work theirs...' she wrote in the Preface to The Professor; and in Chapter xix, 'Novelists should never allow themselves to weary of the study of real life, If they observed this duty conscientiously, they would give us fewer pictures chequered with vivid contrasts of light and shade; they would seldom elevate their heroes and heroines to the heights of rapture - still seldomer sink them to the depths of despair...' But was there in fact a 'standard Hero'? Does any one type emerge from the thousands of

1. S.H.B. ii. 255.

2. xix. 23.

English novels written in more than a hundred very prolific years? Obviously the question is too big to be answered simply: there must have been changes of emphasis, modifications, variations according to the individuality of the writer. Indeed some heroes, especially those of the philosophical novelists such as Godwin and Holcroft, diverge sharply from previous conventions; and such novelists must be considered in so far as they anticipated C. Brontë's aims in The Professor. Their influence was not however strong enough to make a radical change in the 'ordinary conception' of a hero. There is no proof that C. Brontë knew their writings in 1846, and it is certain that she did not know Godwin's novels, though it is interesting that she wished to do so: 'I may (say) however, with reference to works of fiction, that I should much like to see one of Godwin's works, never having hitherto had that pleasure - 'Caleb Williams' or 'Fleetwood', or which you thought best ^{with} reading....'¹ she wrote to Williams on ¹⁶ April 1849.

If therefore one attempts a portrait of 'the hero in the English novel' one is bound to exclude so much that the stereotype will undoubtedly be a false one. Yet the task of finding out at least what C. Brontë took to be the standard hero must be attempted if her aim and achievement in The Professor are to be evaluated.

1. S.H.B. ii. 526-7.

Fortunately interpretation of C. Brontë's phrase does not require a completely exhaustive study of all previous novels. She could only react to what she knew, and though one must take her statement that she had read comparatively few novels¹ with some reservations, it is probably true that one may set limits on her reading with out undue falsifications

'... any former novelist, even the greatest, even Scott, ...'¹ she wrote in 1848, as in 1834 she had written to Ellen Nussey, 'For fiction - read Scott alone; all novels after his are worthless.'² Scott then was her criterion, even if she refused to copy him. But Richardson too was important, as her letter of 1840 shows. She was replying to Hartley Coleridge's criticism on the opening chapter or chapters of a novel she had sent him in manuscript, and though her comments are flippant, they show a fairly detailed acquaintance with Richardson's work:

... You say the affair is begun on the scale of a three-volume novel. I assure you, Sir, you calculate very modestly, for I had materials in my head, I dare say, for half-a-dozen. No doubt, if I had gone on, I should have made quite a Richardsonian concern of it. Mr. West should have been my Sir Charles Grandison, Percy my Mr. B---, and the ladies should have represented Pamela, Clarissa, Harriet Byron, &c. Of course, it is with considerable regret that I relinquish any scheme so charming as the one I have sketched.³

'Grandisonian politeness' was no doubt a term more readily understood in the 1840's than it is to-day, but the tone of

1. S.H.B. ii. 255.
3. B.S.T. X. 16.

2. S.H.B. i. 122.
4. S.H.B. ii. 150.

her comparison in Chapter xxiv, ('He bowed on her hand, absolutely like Sir Charles Grandison on that of Harriet Byron; ...''), which assumes a considerable degree of familiarity on the reader's part, shows that Richardson was a well-established member of her literary hierarchy.

Knowledge of some other 'classics' may be assumed: of Robinson Crusoe, for example, which she mentions in her letter to Emily of 29 May 1843: '... I get on from day to day in a Robinson-Crusoe-like condition - very lonely.'² She knew some of Fielding's novels, probably Tom Jones and Jonathan Wild, which she mentions in her letters.³ Smollett is not referred to, though evidently Branwell knew and admired both Smollett and Fielding:^x but if Charlotte also knew the former, as she may have done through the Keighley Mechanics' Institute Library,⁴ it is probable, from the nature of his work, that she disliked him as much as she did Fielding.

Mrs. Radcliffe she probably knew quite well: The Italian is mentioned in Shirley and was evidently thoroughly familiar: 'Long since, when I read it as a child, I was wonderfully taken with it,' says Caroline, and she and Rose Yorke discuss their reactions to it.⁵

The Keighley Institute could supply, among others, the novels of Fenimore Cooper, whose influence is, I think,

1. xxiv. 205.

2. S.H.B. i. 299.

3. See letters to G. Smith, 11 March 1852, (S.H.B. iii. 322.) and to G.H.Lewes, 12 January 1848, (S.H.B. ii. 179.)

4. See B.S.T. Vol. XI. no. 5. p. 357.

5. Shirley, xxiii. 409-410.

*. Letter to J.B. Heyland, 10. Sept. '45. (S.H.B. ii. 61.)

tradeable at least in the early writings of the Brontës; novels by Captain Marryat; 'Edgworth's Tales' [sic]¹ in four volumes; 28 novels by the then popular writer of highly moral and improving fiction, Mrs. Barbara Hofland; and the earlier writings of Bulwer Lytton. (Pilgrims of the Rhine; Eugene Aram; Disowned; Paul Clifford; and Pelham - as well as his England and the English.) Indeed Lytton was an unavoidable influence in an age which placed him among the greatest of English novelists. C. Brontë must have known Eugene Aram, at least, for Branwell was reading it aloud to her in 1837, as Emily says in her diary for 26 June of that year.²

Charlotte also knew Miss Martineau's Deerbrook and Mrs. Trollope's Michael Armstrong, though it is not certainly known when she read these.³

Much more difficult to assess is the extent of her knowledge of minor writers, gained from the Lady's Magazine, from Blackwood's, and from Fraser's, which was taken at the Parsonage from 1831 onwards.⁴ And she may of course have read other Magazines supplied by the Keighley Institute. Fraser's however was probably very important, because it would introduce Charlotte to the writings of Thackeray. As we know, she admired him 'this side idolatry', and he was clearly already well known to her in 1847: she wrote to W.S. Williams that she had 'long recognised in his writings genuine talent,⁵...

1. B.S.T. Vol. XI. no. 5. p. 356. 2. B.S.T. Vol. XII. no. 1. p. 15
and Frontispiece. 3. S.H.B. iii. 56. and ii. 184.
4. S.H.B. i. 88. 5. S.H.B. ii. 150.

Of the ^{other} major Nineteenth Century novelists, apart from Scott, Jane Austen was for a long time unknown to her.¹ Dickens she knew and admired, though we do not know how soon she began to read his early novels.

Among all these writers Scott and Richardson have pre-eminence, not only from their known importance to Charlotte Brontë, but from their pervasive influence on the mass of novel-writing: known perhaps only in a few examples to the Brontës, but forming the main subject of the criticism which they read in Blackwood's, Fraser's and the newspapers.

The so-called 'fashionable novel' against which C. Brontë reacted was criticised in reviews and articles which often included lengthy extracts from the works in question. The Quarterly Review for 1832 has an article on 'Novels of Fashionable Life',² criticising their themes - they do not furnish 'insight into human nature', and pointing out that their appeal derives from their snob-value: their readers like to know minutely how the great behave. But fashionable novels show vanity as the mainspring of aristocratic society, thus 'lowering it in the estimation of the middle classes.' Such novels should justify their existence by showing, for example, the relationship of the fashionable world with others - with that of trade, for instance - on which it impinges, for employers are often guilty of their servants' vices: 'It is rarely that they are considered in any other light than as

1. See S.H.B. ii. 179.

2. ~~p.~~ 165 - Review of Arlington and The Contrast.

mechanical instruments. It unfortunately belongs very little to our national character to feel what the common brotherhood of humanity requires of us in a relation with our fellow-creatures, which, however unequal, is so close as that of master and servant.'

But when novelists went to the other extreme and wrote 'novels of low life', they were criticised on both moral and artistic grounds. The 'habits and slang of the very lowest' were portrayed with 'prurient minuteness'. Paul Clifford (1830) and Jack Sheppard (1837) endowed low life with an unjustified glamour; Oliver Twist, (1837-1) though its moral tendency was better, was in-artistic in its over-realistic detail. It was admitted that such novels had the merit of fidelity in painting middle class manners, showed occasional pathos and power, and often a 'graphic delineation of English character'. But

We protest against the doctrine, that the lofty art of romance is to be lowered to the delineating the manners of cheesemongers and grocers, of crop-head charity boys and smart haberdashers' and milliners' apprentices of doubtful reputation ... Still more solemnly do we ... protest against the slang of thieves or prostitutes, the flash words of receivers of stolen goods and criminal officers, the haunts of murderers and burglars, being the proper subject for the amusement and edification of the other classes of society.'

Thackeray's aim was to undermine the pretensions of both 'high' and 'low' novels - in for example the Yellowplush Papers (Fraser's, 1838 and 1840) and in the much more serious Catherine (Fraser's, 1839-40), directed especially against

1. Blackwood's Magazine, (September 1845.) viii. 343.

the romanticising of criminal life. His ~~sympathetic, yet~~ balanced and realistic treatment of middle-class characters in the Fraser's stories of 1840-43 showed the potentialities of a fiction dealing with an apparently unexciting milieu. and these early writings probably had not a little influence on Charlotte Brontë's attitude to the contemporary novel.

At the same time it seems that a traditional novel-hero survived even into the 1850's as a stock character in spite of all the vicissitudes of fashion. His character is summed up by a writer in Chambers's Journal for 1857:

It seems specially the delight of fiction to take up merit in lowliness and distress, and exhibit it pressing on through all difficulties to brilliant results. An obscure and nameless adventurer, who can sketch, and has no letters of introduction, that is the type of a novelist's favourite. He becomes prescriptively interesting in appearance, and by right of ancient usage, obtains, at a first and chance interview, the affections of the nasty rich gentleman's daughter. ... I have sometimes thought of making a collection of all the Belvilles, Altamonts, and Delacours who have been the heroes of novelists from first to last, in order to see if there was a single quality or circumstance about any of them such as a decent father might, could, or should have approved of. My belief is they would all have been wanting in the first elements of ~~fiction~~ eligibility. If such be the case, it is a mere mockery to ask gravely, if fiction can be considered as representing human life.'

In The Professor C. Brontë attempted to counteract, especially in the character and career of her hero, the artificial and the extreme in novel-writing; and even in 1857, when the moderate realism of the domestic novel was well-established, the originality of her achievement was recognised:

l. vii. 242, 'The Fictionist's World'.

The Professor has great psychological interest as the coup d'essai of a genius -

How far the interest we felt in it from this point of view may have warped our judgment, we cannot tell; but, after reading it, we could hardly account for the fact that such a book should have been rejected by the publishers, while our library table is groaning under a load of fashionable novels. 'The Professor' wants incident, it is true; its subject is uninviting - it is the romance of school-keeping; we have grave objections to many of the sentiments and the general tone of thought. But Miss Brontë's homeliest productions with all their hardness and all their coarseness, and all their want of striking incident, are better than their fashionable and sentimental congeners, though these have the advantages of hair-breadth escapes, rescues ... There is a stern reality, a force and vigour about her characters, her sentiments, and her style, which dispel all inclination to yawn, and make 'skipping' ... an impossibility.'

C. Brontë's own comments on The Professor stress its reality, and the novelty of its point of view:

... the middle and latter portion of the work, all that relates to Brussels, the Belgian school, etc., is as good as I can write: it contains more pith, more substance, more reality, in my judgment, than much of 'Jane Eyre.' It gives, I think, a new view of a grade, an occupation, and a class of characters - all very commonplace, very insignificant in themselves, but not more so than the materials composing that portion of 'Jane Eyre' which seems to please most generally.¹

1. The Guardian, 26 August 1857. See also The Spectator, 20 June, and The Lady's Newspaper, 18 July. For the opposite view, see The Leader, 4 July.
2. Letter to Williams, 14 December 1847. (S.H.B. ii. 161.)

The hypothetical 'English novel', then, was the story of a hero or heroine (for the 'novel without a hero' was yet unwritten when C. Brontë planned The Professor). The theme might be, and often was, an exposé of contemporary society, but from the point of view of plot, the unifying factor is the progress of a central character. It was expected of the hero, not merely that he should be nominally the central character, the 'male lead', as so many titles show, but that he should have at least some heroic qualities: he should have courage, magnanimity, integrity, the ability to overcome, for the sake of an adored heroine, all the obstacles that Fate placed in his way - how otherwise should he gain the sympathy of the 'fair reader'? More insidious perhaps is the assumption that the hero should be a gentleman, not necessarily by birth, but by nature. He may be romantically poor, but he must have a gentlemanly appearance and manner, so that the lower classes instinctively respect him. He should conform to certain standards of polite behaviour; if he has to work (which he may do, in order to deserve the heroine), it is very unlikely that his eventual position will depend on anything so prosaic as the money he can earn. His antagonists too must be worthy of him in the sense that they will call into play his loftier virtues.

C. Brontë did not dispense with the idea of moral heroism. Her hero has faults, but he is in no sense intended to be a

study of weakness. So far C. Brontë acquiesced in the pre-suppositions of her age. The Professor is no revolutionary document, but it does differ in several important ways from the 'standard novel'. Its hero has been deliberately stripped of his conventional glamour, his heroic qualities translated into prosaic virtues, and his heroic deeds confined to the sphere of real, everyday, middle-class life.

The professor is the son of a tradesman who 'became bankrupt a short time previous to his death'¹; he is educated by his wealthy uncles, but chooses to follow in his 'father's footsteps and engage in trade'; he becomes a clerk in his brother's office. When this becomes intolerable, there is no 'sudden turn': as Hunsden succinctly puts it. 'You won't be a tradesman or a parson; you can't be a lawyer or a doctor, or a gentleman, because you've no money.'² The professor agrees; as he told Mr. Brown, he 'was not a gentleman of fortune ... but an ex-counting-house clerk, who wanted employment of some kind.'³ And so Crimsworth becomes a teacher, works hard for his living, marries a teacher - a poor lace-mender; they continue to work after they are married, and their work is described in some detail. In other words, the fact that the professor's social status is distinctly middle-class is important; for it is in relation to the environment which this status imposes on him that his character is developed. This was not a complete

1. i.5.
2. vi.97.
3. vii.112.

innovation, but it was certainly unusual.

Contrast, for example, that ideal gentleman and hero. Sir Charles Grandison: 'What, my dear grandnamma,' says Harriet Byron, 'is the boasted character of most of those who are called HEROES, to the unostentatious merit of a TRULY GOOD MAN!'¹ But though there is some sentimentalising over virtuous plebeians, Sir Charles's attraction arises from his being a 'truly good' gentleman. He is the chevalier, the ^bemodiment of courtly virtues: he is the benefactor of the poor, the master for whom all the servants line up in the hall. the gentleman whose most arduous duty is merely to plan the 'prudent management of his estate'. He is the man who provides for the poor widow in Book I, for his father's mistress, Mrs. Oldham, in Book II, who gives the money he inherits from Mr. Danby to Danby's nieces and nephews who gets rid of his uncle's mistress by paying the money she demands. More important is the fact that the whole of society is seen in a perspective based on Sir Charles's gentlemanly view: '... I could be glad,' he says 'that only such children of the poor, as shew a peculiar ingenuity. have any great pains taken with them in their books. Husbandry and labour are what are ^smost wanting to be encouraged among the lower class of people. Providence has given to men different genius's [sic] and capacities. for different ends: and that all might become useful links of the same great chain.'²

1. Samuel Richardson, Sir Charles Grandison, (1754) VII. lxi. 29⁹
 2. Ibid., V. ii. 16-17.

Richardson's influence is evident in later novels - in, for example, those of Fanny Burney. Miss Burney, like Charlotte Brontë, recognised her own limited knowledge of the world: 'I have not pretended to show the world what it actually is, but what it appears to a girl of seventeen.' ^{But} ~~Again~~, like C. Brontë, she insists that the reader should not expect to be 'transported to the fantastic regions of Romance, where Fiction is coloured by all the gay tints of luxurious Imagination, where Reason is an outcast ...'² But her 'reality' was that of a world seen exclusively from an upper-class point of view. Charlotte Brontë may have read her first novel, Evelina (1778), which was in the Keighley Library. Lord Orville, patently Grandsonian in rank, manners, character and actions, is the model hero par excellence - a gentleman unblemished by human failings; he illuminates by contrast Charlotte Brontë's identification of 'reality' and the middle-class hero. He has no more reality than the Prince in the Cinderella story; and for the heroine his charm lies in his noble condescension towards her. The vulgar lower classes will intrude, of course - a source of comedy to the genteel author and reader. Their speeches are realistic enough: what is unreal is the identification of the lower or middle class with complete lack of 'sensibility'. They are unfeeling, harsh, stupid, whereas the noble hero has by right an 'exquisite delicacy' of feeling.

1. Diary (1842), I. 38. (Entry for the year 1778.)
 2. Author's Preface to Evelina.

Fielding's heroes are, it may be said, no gentlemen. Tom Jones is of obscure birth. Joseph Andrews a footman. But the mystery of Tom's birth is exploited as plot-interest, and in the end of course he is shown to be by birth as well as nature a gentleman. His career, as far as it can be called 'work', is a pretext for adventure, amorous and otherwise, rather than a vehicle for character development. In any case C. Brontë objected strongly to Fielding and to his novels on moral grounds and would be unlikely to model her heroes on his. She could not understand Thackeray's admiration for 'his Baal... his false god of a Fielding';¹ and as Thackeray was to say, 'He is himself the hero of his books: he is wild Tom Jones, he is wild Captain Booth.'²

But Scott's heroes are well within the Richardsonian tradition. Consider for example Guy Mannering, which C. Brontë almost certainly read. (See for instance the 'wild maniacal' appearance of Lady Ellrington to Douro in The Bridal,³ a story of 1832, and her supernatural warning, clearly recalling Meg Merrilies' famous curse in Mannering.) Mannering himself is not technically the 'hero' and in fact becomes almost the 'heavy father'; but as the central character he sets the standard of gentlemanliness for the others, and particularly for the 'true' hero, Harry Bertram. Introduced as a 'young English gentleman, who had just left the university of Oxford...' he is immediate-

1. Letter to G. Smith, 11 March 1852. (S.H.B. iii. 322.)
2. The English Humanists of the Eighteenth Century: Hogarth, Smollett, and Fielding.
3. in The Professor, Tales from the Past, ed. by P. Bradley. (Oxford, 1954. p. 85.)

ly recognisable as a member of the 'gentry' seventeen years later: witness his effect on the peasantry: 'Every point of his appearance and address bespoke the gentleman. Long habit had given Mrs. MacCandlish an acute tact in ascertaining the quality of her visitors, and proportioning her reception accordingly: -- on the present occasion, she was low in her curtsey, and profuse in her apologies.' 'Mannering is a kind of hero-in-retrospect, and there is a fairly close parallel with The Professor in his account of his early career. Like Grimsworth, he writes to an old friend, a mere lay-figure, the story of his early life, in an oddly placed letter which is almost as clumsy a device as C. Bronte's: 'Let me recall to you... the odd and wayward fates of my youth, and the misfortunes of my manhood... My father, the eldest son of an ancient but reduced family, left me with little, save the name of the head of the house, to the protection of his more fortunate brothers. They were so fond of me that they almost quarrelled about me. My uncle, the bishop, would have had me in orders, and offered me a living - my uncle, the merchant, would have put me in a counting-house, and proposed to give me a share in the thriving concern of Mannering and Marshall in Lombard Street - So, between these two stools, or rather these two soft, easy, well-stuffed chairs of divinity and commerce, my unfortunate person slipped down, and pitched upon

a dragoon saddle. Again, the bishop wished me to marry the niece and heiress of the Dean of Lincoln, and my uncle, the alderman, proposed to me the only daughter of old Sloethorn, the great wine-merchant ... and somehow I slipped my head out of both nooses, and married - poor - poor Sophia Wellwood.'

This 'gentleman's choice' is not of course confined to Scott: it is practically a ritual in hundreds of the novels, especially the 'fashionable novels', written after his. But The Professor is curiously close in tone and phrasing. The difference is apparent in the final choice. William becomes a tradesman: Mannering becomes a soldier. But his career is passed over so that the real story may proceed - its length is determined by the need for the hero to grow up and fulfil the prophecies made at his birth. Again, there is a superficial resemblance to The Professor. 'Vanbeest Brown' is an orphan educated by 'relations', living in Holland, 'bred to commerce' and with 'no other resource than to offer himself as a clerk to a counting-house'.¹ Fortunately for the hero's prestige, war breaks out, and 'Brown, whose genius had a strong military tendency, was the first to leave what might have been the road to wealth, and to choose that of fame.' The attraction of his adventures is essentially the romantic one of the heir deprived of his inheritance, the man of gentle blood temporarily undergoing hardships, but fated to return to the house of his fathers; and the piquancy of many scenes, as Scott wishes us to view them, lies in the ironic contrast between the gentlemanly hero he really is and the ruffianly,

1. Guy Mannering, Chapter xii.

2. Idem, Chapter xviii.

or even scoundrelly, adventurer he appears to be. In the hero of The Professor, on the other hand, the real and the seeming coincide, so that C. Brent¹ was deliberately cutting herself off from a major source of romantic interest. Scott's point of view, we feel, is very close to that of Manning: '...Julia, while she pondered on her father's words, could not help entertaining hopes, that the independent spirit which had seemed to her father ^spre_Asumption in the humble and plebeian Brown, would have the grace of courage, noble bearing, and high blood, in the far-descended heir of Ellangowan.'¹ For the degree of detachment indicated by the use of Julia here, though it perhaps shows Scott to be conscious of the limitations of this standard of gentility, does not really affect the scale of values held in his novels: there is no intentional irony. For example, in the welcome to Harry Bertram: '"Bertram for ever!" - "Long life to Ellangowan!" - "God send him his ain, and to live among us as his forebears did of yore!"'²

The gentleman-hero was given added prestige by the novels of the 'silver-fork school': for as Matthew Rosa says, the new middle-classes of the twenties and thirties wished to read not of their own society, but of high life. ~~as-~~The young heroes, the Pelhams and Vivian Greys, affecting a pose of disdain for the trivial world of fashion, are nevertheless unequivocally gentlemen. They are younger sons, but they are

1. Guy Manning, Chapter xxiii.

2. ibid., Chapter xxvi.

born to inherit social privilege: their 'work' is limited to the gentlemanly occupations of politics and literary dilettantism: their view-point is upper-class. However poverty-stricken the aspiring hero may be, he is never one of the masses.

Lytton, for example, criticises the 'fashionable novel' in Pelham (1828): 'most of the writers upon our little, great world have seen nothing of it: - A very few are, it is true, gentlemen; but gentlemen, who are not writers, are as bad as writers who are not gentlemen.'¹ But there is no doubt at all that Pelham himself is a gentleman. And if there was a good deal of criticism of the effete silver-fork writers, their vogue was still strong enough in the early forties: Mrs. Gore published the immensely popular Cecil in 1841. Cecil, like Pelham, ingeniously combines the snob-appeal of society with lively satire upon its members. The hero, like William Crimsworth, is faced with the usual gentleman's choice: but his mother is horrified at the idea of his becoming a clergyman -

... as I held the salts-bottle to her nose, she faintly ejaculated, "Cecil! were I to see you in a shovel-hat, I would not survive it!" - The idea of the cockade of my infancy ... giving place to a shovel, was too much for her! --

It would have been far too much for me! I, Cecil Danby, whose name was already whispered in St. James's Street, as having taxed my bill at the Christopher on account of a semi-tone too much in the complexion of the oeil de perdrix, at my last dinner-party, - I, to be swamped in a country-parsonage!²

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1. Pelham; or, The Adventures of a Gentleman, (1828), III.iii.48.
 2. CECIL: or The Adventures of a Coxcomb, (1841), I.i.25.

Of course Mrs. Gore is satirical. Cecil is a puppy, a coxcomb; his mother a caricatured fine lady. There is some insistence on the fact that Cecil is not a model hero:

Biographers are fond of attributing the dispositions of their heroes to heroic sources. Since it is my fate to tell my own story, I choose to tell it in my own way; and am free to confess that the leading trait of my character has its origin in the first glimpse I caught of myself, at twelve months old, in the swing-glass of my mother's dressing room. I looked, and became a coxcomb for life!¹

Nor is he a military hero à la Scott: 'I have no ambition to pass for a fighting man. I do not want to impose myself on the world as a hero.'² What Cecil does impose on the world - as contemporary critics readily acknowledged - was the glamour of high society. Satire of high society after all implies even an excess of familiarity with its way of life.

Disraeli's heroes are always gentlemen. Social snobbery, it is true, is satirised -

One of the first principles of the new theory introduced ... by Mr. Vivian Grey, was, that ushers were to be considered by the boys as a species of upper servants; were to be treated with civility, certainly, as all servants are by gentlemen; but that no further attention was to be paid them, and that any fellow voluntarily conversing with an usher, was to be cut dead by the whole school.³

But in Vivian Grey, as in the later novels, the point of view is always upper class. Coningsby (1844) and Sybil (1845) point to one possible cause of the persistence of the gentleman-hero: Young Englandism looked to its young aristocrats for a

1. Cecil: or The Adventures of a Coxcomb. (1841) I. i. 1.

2. ibid., II. iii. 80.

3. Vivian Grey. (1826) I. iv. 24.

~~For~~ a regenerated society. Its adherents declared war upon the 'middle classes, the merchants and manufacturers' who profited from the ascendancy of the 'cold-blooded Whigs' with their 'political radicalism and utilitarian philosophy.' Disraeli's heroes, Coningsby and Egremont, are 'enlightened' aristocrats. Their vogue, with that of Young England, was at its height in 1844 and the early part of 1845, the formative period for The Professor. Its impractical outlook was however ridiculed by Thackeray and others in Punch; Lord Southdown regrets the passing of the ancient splendour and heroism of the Bareacres -

Our ancient castles echo to the clumsy feet of churls,
 The spinning Jenny houses in the mansion of our Earls.
 Sing not, sing not, my ANGELINE! in days so base and vile,
 'Twere sinful to be happy, 'twere sacrilege to smile.
 I'll hie me to my lonely hall, and by its cheerless hob
 I'll muse on other days, and wish - and wish I were -
 A SNOB .²

And James comments, 'All young Hengland, I'm told, considers the poem bewtifle. They're always writing about battleaxis and shivvlery, these young chaps; ...' Charlotte Brontë's comments on Disraeli are hardly favourable:

I trust the Press and the Public show themselves disposed to give the book the reception it merits, and that is a very cordial one; far beyond anything due to a Bulwer or D'Israeli production.³

The democratic ideals of The Professor would gain in point if

1. See the Cambridge History of Literature, xiii. 348.
2. The Diary of C. James de la Pluche, Esq. (Punch, (1846) p.30.)
3. Letter to Williams, 26 April 1848, on G. H. Lewes's Rose, Blanche, and Violet. (S.H.B. ii. 207.)

they were in fact Charlotte's reaction against a high falutin' Young Englandism. The professor, it will be remembered, 'cuts' his aristocratic relatives. Her knowledge of and interest in the movement is I think shown by the discussion between Hunsden and Frances in Chapter xxiv:

"Why, mademoiselle, is it possible that anybody with a grain of rationality should feel enthusiasm about a mere name, and that name England? I thought you were a lady-abbess five minutes ago, and respected you accordingly: and now I see you are a sort of Swiss sybil, with high Tory and high Church principles!"

In such a context the 'Swiss sybil' might well be a punning allusion to Disraeli's heroine. (But this, and the later comments on the value of association, probably show that Charlotte Brontë had some sympathy for the patriotism, if not the aristocratic ideals of the Young Englanders.)

The 'standard heroes' were gentlemen: could C. Brontë have found models for her hard-working, middle-class professor, had her acquaintance with fiction been more extensive? And surely there must have been some unconventional heroes well-known even to her. From certain points of view the association of realism with the middle-class hero had already been established; ~~in~~ Robinson Crusoe is a merchant and sailor, and as Ian Watt so clearly shows in his book, The Rise of the Novel, has an essentially mercantile outlook on life: Crusoe is an individualist, egocentric and utilitarian in his philosophy

of life, his personal relationships subordinated to economic motives.¹ In this he is clearly distinct from the professor: but they do have something in common. Professor Watt points out that Robinson Crusoe appealed to the Protestant idea of work as an honourable stewardship:

It is therefore likely that the Puritan conception of the dignity of labour helped to bring into being the novel's general premise that the individual's daily life is of sufficient importance and interest to be the proper subject of literature.²

So in The Professor the stress is on ordinary daily life and work in a middle-class milieu:

My narrative is not exciting, and above all, not marvellous; but it may interest some individuals, who, having toiled in the same vocation as myself, will find in my experience frequent reflections of their own.³

Charlotte Brontë's description of her life at Brussels as a 'Robinson-Crusoe-like ~~state of existence~~^{condition}'⁴ shows that the story had attained for her a kind of symbolic value; so that there is a further link with Defoe inasmuch as The Professor is also in part a study of isolation.

Nevertheless, in spite of these rather general affinities, the difference between the scales of value of the two books is fundamental. Whereas Crusoe's voyage takes him unwillingly from the world of trade, only to transfer its material values,

1. The Rise of the Novel (1957) p.65 et seq.

2. *ibid.*, p. 74.

3. The Professor, i. 20.

4. Letter to Emily Brontë, 29 May 1843. (S.H.B. i. 299.)

its profit and loss, stock-piling and stock-taking, to the solitude of the island, Crimsworth's life and ideals transcend his material surroundings. His voyage is a symbolic rejection of a world dominated by material values in favour of one in which the material, though important, is subordinate to spiritual fulfilment. Crusoe suffers isolation when he is away from the mercantile world; William is isolated in the midst of it.

Robinson Crusoe lies apart from the main stream of the English novel; and like Defoe's other novels, seems to demonstrate the limitations rather than the potentialities of realism in general and the middle-class protagonist in particular. When these re-appeared together they did so in the service of social criticism - in the philosophical novels of the late Eighteenth Century and early Nineteenth Century.

Godwin's Caleb Williams, first published in May 1794 and frequently re-published since then (Bentley's produced an edition 'Revised and corrected' in 1841) was highly - and deservedly - praised by Nineteenth Century critics. In Blackwood's Magazine for July 1826, Godwin's novels are defined as 'novels of character': 'Few there are who do not enter into and understand the workings of the mind of Caleb Williams.'¹ Charlotte Brontë had evidently heard of it,² and may have gathered from reviews and critical articles some indications of

1. Review of The Omen, p. 53.

2. Letter to Williams, 16 April, 1849. (S.H.B. ii. 327.)

of its nature. One imagines she would have sympathised with the aims and methods of Godwin. The full title is 'The Adventures of Caleb Williams, or, Things as they are, and on the whole Godwin justifies his claim to realism. His exposure of the very real evils of social injustice does not flinch from the unpleasant or revolting either in material conditions or in the nature of man. Yet his realism is combined with an intense imaginative sympathy for both Williams, victim of circumstance, and Falkland, victim of his own passions. Godwin's affinity with Charlotte Brontë is most clearly shown in the choice of a protagonist. Caleb Williams is a 'son of the people', 'of humble parents', who becomes secretary to the gentleman Falkland. Williams is the narrator, so that society is seen from below. He is persecuted by the upper classes, represented by Falkland and his brother, who though not fundamentally corrupt have social prejudice on their side. 'Low' characters like Gines and the jailors are corrupted by a corrupt society, and their false values are exposed. Thus although Caleb and the steward Collins retain something of the 'faithful retainer' character seen from above in Richardson, the reversal of the usual point of view in the novel is clear.

(1792)

The hero of Anna St. Ives,^A by Thomas Holcroft, is Frank Henley, son of a steward, and the plot turns on the problems

arising from his social status. He resembles the professor in a defiant independence which is closely related to his position. He offends the prejudiced Coke Clifton, who complains, 'He has no sense of inferiority. He stands as erect, and speaks with as little embarrassment, ^{and} as ~~the~~ loudly as the best of us: nay boldly asserts that neither riches, rank, nor birth have any claim.'¹ So the professor resists his patrician uncles and his wealthy brother; he takes part in liberal discussions at Hunsden Wood: he notes with approval that Frances does not favour her aristocratic pupils. Frank Henley asserts his love for the 'lady of rank', Anna: 'I claim relationship to your mind; and again declare I think my claims have a right, which none of the false distinctions of men can supersede.'² (The professor marries his leech-mender, and is contrasted with the less admirable Hunsden who allows the 'false distinctions' of society to prevent marriage with Lucia.) Yet these similarities only throw into relief the tremendous difference between Charlotte Brontë and the 'philosophical novelists'. For Holcroft, as to a certain extent for Godwin and Bage, the hero tends to be a stalking horse for revolutionary theory. Frank is of working class, not middle class stock. The point of view in the novel is not really his, but that of the author; nor does the main interest lie in his development. He is also given a Grandisonian perfection which detracts from his real-

1. Anna St. Ives (1792) II, 147, xxviii, 115.

2. ibid., III. xli. 23.

ity. He has the importance of a fulcrum, but he has also its immobility.

Lower-class heroes became more frequent in the Nineteenth Century, but it was not until the late 1830's that middle-class heroes made their appearance. The romantic appeal of a wronged 'son of the people' was increasingly exploited, especially by the Irish writers. John Doe, in Banim's Peep O' Day has the appeal of a Robin Hood. He is the ~~returned~~ out-cast, returned in disguise to redress the grievances of his family and the oppressed peasantry to which they belong. He raves Byronically about his blighted life and the villainy of the oppressor, Purcell:

Lights in your house? And in hell, tyrant! - a shadow of the flame that shall soon, and for ever, swathe you! Look again! 'tis brighter and redder than the midnight blaze that shone over your costly feasts, and on the worms that crawled around to share them!'

The heroes of Blackwood's are numerous and not easily classifiable. The strong admiration for Scott is probably reflected in the 'high-born heroes' of the historical romances in the earlier numbers, for example the story Clifford the Astrologer in 1829; and the Radcliffean influence is plain in the Italian cloak-and-dagger tales, for example The Carbonaro of September 1826. Wilson and the 'Ettrick Shepherd' were probably responsible for many of the pastoral stories, in which the heroes are young squires or faithful shepherds -

1. The Peep O' Day; or, John Doe (1825) Chapter xv.

the high and the low being equally romantic. Atypical example of this genre is Mary Melrose (March, 1829.) The hero of The First and Last Kiss, which anticipates in plot though not in mood Great Expectations, is a son educated in ignorance of his father's crime, who meets him as a returned and newly condemned convict. On the whole therefore the early Blackwood's represents the romantic style of narrative, with romantic and adventurous heroes, rejected by Charlotte when she began to write The Professor.

On the other hand the tone of Blackwood's critical articles is closer to that of C. Brontë. Dissatisfaction with the general run of novels is perhaps the prerogative of the critic in any day: but the stress on trite incident and narrow social range is interesting. In July 1828, reviewing The Kuzzilbash, a Blackwood's writer deploras the 'dull rifacciamento of old incidents' in modern novels: 'They describe not men but manners; the manners, too, not of large bodies of society, but of a particular coterie, insignificant in everything but the rank and wealth of its members.'²

There was however a development towards greater realism in the Blackwood's stories of the 1830's and 40's. From October 1839 to August 1841, Samuel Warren's Ten Thousand a Year appeared in Blackwood's in monthly instalments. It was afterwards published in book-form in 1841 and 1845. Charlotte Brontë was at home from July 1839 to March 1841, and could therefore have

1. May 1829.

2. xxiv. 52. 'They' are 'Lord Normanby, Mr. Lister, and Mr. Robert Ward'.

read most of the book when it first came out. Warren's hero is a poor assistant, and the details of his life in cheap lodgings are given with almost nauseating realism in the opening chapters. He inherits a fortune, and Warren's purpose is evidently to show the far-reaching effects of wealth misused - corrupting not only the hero but those with whom he comes into contact. The hero's character, which is in fact petty, shallow, and in all respects an un-heroic, is analysed with considerable penetration. Unfortunately Warren departs from realism in his treatment of the upper classes: and the total effect is to make the lower and middle classes seem despicable and vulgar, while the dispossessed 'gentry' are noble and enlightened. Charlotte Brontë in any case disliked Warren's novels: she wrote to Ellen Nussey in December 1851, 'You ask me about the 'Lily and the Bee'. If you have read it, dear Ellen, you have effected an exploit beyond me.... But then I never liked Warren's writings.' Yet she may have had his novel in mind as a point of departure in the early chapters of The Professor: for there are close parallels of situation and dialogue in Ten Thousand a Year. In the first chapter, the vulgar but pathetic dandy Titmouse, 'no more than an average sample of his kind', has been absent from the draper's shop for a whole hour. His employer shouts at him:

Impudence!
 "You low puppy! - do you suppose I don't see your impertinence?" I insist, sir, on knowing what all this gossiping with that fellow has been about?"

"Then you won't know, sir, ~~that's flat!~~" replied Titmouse
 loggishly; returning to his usual station behind the counter.
 ... "Do you know whom you're talking to, sir? Do you really
 know in whose presence you are, sir?" enquired Mr. Tag-rag,
 nearly trembling with rage. *who I am, sir? - whom you are speaking to, sir?*
 "Mr. Tag-rag, I presume, of the firm of ^{Tag-rag} Tag-rag and Co." ...
 replied Titmouse, looking him full in the face.
 ... "This day month you leave, sir!" said Mr. Tag-rag
 solemnly...
 "You've given me warning; and if you haven't, now I give
you warning," said Titmouse.
replies

Later, Mr. Tag-rag 'dogged him about all day, setting him
 about the most menial and troublesome offices he could, and
 constantly saying mortifying thing to him before customers.'
 To his employees, Mr. Tag-rag is their 'common tyrant'.

Warren, like Thackeray, uses his 'hero' as a vehicle for
 criticism of society: and he does so by showing the snobbety
 of the nouveau-riche, and the corrupting influence of wealth,
 and consequent distortion of moral values, arising from Tit-
 mouse's inheritance. In other words the middle-class hero is
 again a stalking horse - a touchstone of social values rather
 than a person interesting in his own right.

In this respect Mrs. Trolope's novels are like Warren's:
 Michael Armstrong, one of the half-starved children in a
 Derbyshire factory, is interesting only as a victim of the
 Millocrats and their tyranny.² He is not even a representative
 victim, for after his escape and subsequent work as a shepherd,
 the usual 'turn of Fortune' brings him a Continental education
 and a 'respectable' position in society. The central character
 in the novel is not Michael, but the distinguished heiress,

1. Blackwood's Magazine, (~~July~~^{Oct} 1839.). *XVI*. 521-2.

2. Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy, (1839-40.) Read by C. Brant,
 who called it a 'ridiculous mess'. *S.H.B.* ii. 184.)

Mary Brotherton. Mrs. Trollope's novels are nevertheless interesting, because although difference in rank is almost always exploited for romantic or pathetic effect the author's declared intention was to avoid such appeal. One Fault (1840) begins with a declaration of realism which closely anticipates Charlotte Brontë's Preface:

The persons of the story I am about to tell were neither of high rank, nor of distinguished fashion, and worse still, the narrative cannot by possibility be forced to become one of romantic interest. Ordinary everyday human beings and ordinary everyday events are my theme. ... That they shall be such men and women as I have seen and known, is the only fact ... that can be urged as an apology for introducing them at all.'

(The everyday events prove to be attempted murder, intended seduction, sudden death in a duel, and the highly co-incidental meeting of two long-parted lovers on storm-swept cliffs where they are 'cut off by the tide'.) The characters are limited to the 'genteel' middle class - squire, rector, and colonel and their families. Nevertheless the social range has at least been lowered from the aristocracy to the village squirearchy.

It was in 1839 ~~see~~ that Miss Martineau wrote Dæderbrook. Here the milieu is middle class, but not narrowly so: the life of the hero is closely related to those of the poor among whom he works: society is seen as a complex whole, in which the units must necessarily interact. There is no romanticising of one class at the expense of another; snobbery is exposed wherever it occurs. The romantic interest too is closely int-

egrated with the vicissitudes of Philip's work as a doctor: and there is a most sympathetic but unsentimental treatment of the life of a governess. But Deerbrook was not a popular novel. The publisher to whom it was first offered declined it,

the scene being laid in middle life. ... People liked high life in novels, and low life, and ancient life; and life of any rank presented by Dickens, in his peculiar artistic light ... but it was not supposed that they would bear a presentment of the familiar life of every day.'

When Charlotte Brontë sent a copy of Shirley to Miss Martineau, she acknowledged the 'Pleasure and profit' she had received from Miss Martineau's works:

When C.B. first read Deerbrook he tasted a new and keen pleasure, and experienced a genuine benefit. In his mind Deerbrook ranks with the writings that have really done him good, added to his stock of ideas and rectified his views of life.⁴

Primarily I think Deerbrook's analysis of unrequited love may have had a cathartic effect on Charlotte's feeling for Heger: Miss Martineau describes ~~the~~^{agony preceding the attainment of} ~~that~~ rational control which seems to come so easily to the usual heroine - for 'there is no power of faith by which a woman can attain resignation under the agony of unrequited passion otherwise than by conflict, long and terrible.'³ Certainly the degree of resignation which Charlotte seems to have reached by the time she wrote The Professor, contrasted with the agony of her letters in the previous year, seems to show that some

1. Harriet Martineau, Autobiography, II. 115. See also Novels of the Eighteen-Forties, p. 84.
2. Autobiography, II. 323.
3. Deerbrook, ii. 91.

strong 'rectifying' influence had been at work. If she had read Deerbrook before 1846, it may well have encouraged her own presentation of a middle-class hero who should 'work his way through life' and 'drain ... a mixed and moderate cup of enjoyment.'

But while the public was reluctant to welcome a full-length middle-class novel, it was gradually becoming accustomed to a rather special kind of middle-class short story: Dickens's Sketches by Boz had begun to appear in 1833; Thackeray's stories of the shabby-genteel in 1838. On 28 October 1847 C. Brontë wrote to Smith Williams,

I feel honoured in being approved by Mr. Thackeray, because I approve Mr. Thackeray. This may sound presumptuous perhaps, but I mean that I have long recognised in his writings genuine talent, such as I admired, such as I wondered at and delighted in. No author seems to distinguish so exquisitely as he does dross from ore, the real from the counterfeit.

She had not read Vanity Fair before she wrote Jane Eyre, so one must assume that her 'long' acquaintance with his writings was based on the tales in Fraser's. Had the 'real' that she recognised in them any relation to the 'real life' which was her aim in The Professor?

'A Shabby-Genteel Story' appeared in Fraser's in 1840. The setting is middle-class; the heroine's father, Mr. Gann, has a 'mysterious business' in a shabby office in the city. His wife however insists on their 'gentility': she does not

keep a lodging house, but receives 'two inmates into her family'. 'She respected and loved her elder daughters, the stately heiresses of ~~£25,000~~ ^{fifteen hundred pounds} and scorned poor Caroline, who was likewise scorned (like Cinderella in the sweetest of all stories) by her brace of haughty, thoughtless sisters.' So Thackeray exposes the false distinctions based on wealth: he also undermines the tradition of the gentleman-hero by reversing the usual social status of hero and villain. Caroline's seducer is George Brandon, a dissolute young ex-tutor, and product of 'that accursed system, which is called in England "the education of a gentleman."' Thackeray indicates the source of Caroline's romantic fancies about him: 'Had Caroline read of Valancourt and Emily for nothing, or gathered no good example from those five tear-fraught volumes which describe the loves of Miss Helen Mar and Sir William Wallace?' Thackeray is compassionate but clear-sighted: he does not condemn the sentimental novels, but he sees how completely they are divorced from reality. He refuses to romanticise or to attribute 'innate nobility' to the aristocracy. Lord Cinqbars is a stupid, rich, dissipated, lisping lordling. Thackeray's comment is characteristically ironic - 'We pardon stupidity in lords: nature or instinct, however sarcastic a man may be among ordinary persons, renders him towards men of quality benevolently blind.' Apart from its function of social criticism, 'A Shabby Genteel Story' convinces one of the reality of its middle-class setting. The servant Becky is scrubbing the passage as

Andrea Fitch goes out for the fuel; and he has 'regulated his little property' and 'found that he had enough money to pay his washerwomen'.¹

Other stories - the Mitford Papers in 1842-3. Men's Wives in 1843 (notably The Ravenswing), where the rival suitors are a perfumer and tailor. 'trudging round in their little circle of loves, fears and vanities') helped to establish the middle-class story as a genre in its own right. But of all Thackeray's tales, the one which comes nearest to The Professor in setting and characters is The History of Samuel Titmarsh and the Great Hoggarty Diamond.² Like The Professor, the story begins in a realistic world of commerce, not too far removed in time, and very close in mood, to that of the 1840's: Titmarsh, like William, is a subordinate clerk.

The circumstances recorded in this story took place ~~some score~~ ^{some score} of years ago, when, as the reader may remember, there was a great mania in the City of London for establishing companies of all sorts; by which many people made pretty fortunes.

I was at this period, as the truth must be known, thirteenth clerk of twenty-four young ~~elephant~~ gents who did the immense business of the Independent West Middlesex Fire and Life Insurance Company, at their splendid stone mansion in Cornhill.³

The chairman was 'a great man among the Dissenting connection'. He got a 'premium of four or five hundred pounds with each young gent, whom he made ^{to} slave for ten hours a-day, and to whom in compensation he taught all the mysteries of the Turkish business.'⁴

1; Fraser's, XXI. 409.

2. ibid., Sept.-Dec. 1841. (Vol. XXII)

3. ibid., XXIV. 327.

4. ibid., XXIV. 327.

When the story begins, Fitzmarsh's circumstances and conduct are almost exactly those of William, and are described with a similar attention to practical detail: as his aunt says,

Your employers in London give the best accounts of your regularity and good conduct. Though you have had eighty pounds a year (a liberal salary) you have not spent a shilling more than your income, as other young men would:...

He feels somewhat superior to the other clerks:

You must know that I was rather respected among our gents at the West Middlesex, because I came of a better family than most of them; had received a classical education: and especially because I had a rich aunt, Mrs Hoggarty, about whom, as must be confessed, I used to boast a ~~great~~ ^{good} deal.²

His employer, Mr. Brough, dismisses one of his fellow-clerks, for saying that Brough had the 'lion's share of the business' and his partner none: but the clerk, Swinnery, refuses to be intimidated:

.... "Depart from out of us!
"Not without three months' salary though, Mr. B
that cock won't fight!"³

Brough loses his temper:

"Leave the room!" yelled Mr. Brough, whose face had turned quite blue; and so Bob took his ^{hat} off the peg, and strolled away with his "tile", as he called it, very much on one side.⁴

Brough's wife, like Edward's, is a thorough snob, who said she didn't know where Pentonville was and couldn't call on

1. op. cit., XXIV, 325.

2. *ibid.*, p. 330.

3. *ibid.*, p. 328.

4. *ibid.*, p. 329.

Mrs. Roundhead."

But Titmarsh hates snobbish pretensions: 'though I am but a poor fellow, and hear people cry out how vulgar it is to eat peas with a knife ... ^{there's something} I think, much more vulgar than all this, and that is insolence to one's inferiors. I hate the chap that uses it, as I scorn him of humble rank that affects to be of the fashion; and so I determined to let Mr. Preston know a piece of my mind.'²

Still, rumours of wealth and aristocratic connections are Titmarsh's undoing; and when Brough absconds from the bankrupt 'West Diddlesex', his fall involves Titmarsh, who has persuaded his aunt to invest her money in the company.

In the end, having learnt his lesson by painful experience, he is happy in the loyalty of his unpretentious wife: 'I was proud and happy at being able to think that my dear wife should be able to labour and earn bread for me. now misfortune had put it out of my power to support me and her.'³

Clearly, though Charlotte Brontë is probably indebted to Thackeray for more than one incident in The Professor, she differs from him in plot and style: Thackeray's narrator is jaunty, familiar, not very grammatical, ^{in his speech} and his friends are 'gents' or 'chaps'. But in its sympathetic treatment of a middle-class protagonist, its use of the autobiographical form, and its unconventional insistence on the virtues of work for both hero and heroine, and on the rejection of false social values, The Great Hoggarty Diamond is perhaps The Professor's most important and influential predecessor.

1. *op. cit.* xxiv. 329.

2. *ibid.*, p. 338.

3. *ibid.*, p. 731.

Charlotte Brontë revered Dickens, like Thackeray, as one of the 'giants' of literature. He enjoyed 'facilities for observation' such as she had not, and had 'access to the shrine and image of Truth.'⁴ It is therefore important that Dickens's observation had been primarily of the realities of middle-class life. Sketches by Boz appeared in the Monthly Magazine from 1833 to 1836. Its 'heroes' are petty clerks, shop assistants, 'young gentlemen' in lodgings, with a job in the City, the would-be genteel who debate the respective merits of Gravesend and Ramsgate as holiday resorts. As Forster said, 'Things are painted literally as they are; and whatever the picture, whether of every-day vulgar, shabby genteel, or downright low, with neither the condescending air which is affectation, nor the too familiar one which is slang'. Dickens describes a 'sort of life between the middle-class and the low, which, having few attractions for bookish observers, was quite unhackneyed ground.'³

Nevertheless most of Dickens's early novels still retain the convention of the gentleman hero. *Oliver Twist* is discovered to be of gentle birth; the rather shadowy lover in *Barnaby Rudge* is a gentleman. But *Barnaby* is interesting because the norm by which degrees of rascality or gentility are measured is the honest locksmith Gabriel. Nicholas Nickleby is probably closest to Charlotte Brontë's idea of the

1. Letter to Williams, 4 October 1847. (S.H.B. ii. 146.)

2. *ibid.*, 28 January 1848. (S.H.B. ii. 184.)

3. Forster, J. Life of Charles Dickens. (Memorial Edition) I. v. 47.

working middle class hero. Like William Crimsworth, he determines to earn his own living:

"Are you willing to work, sir?" he, Ralph Nickleby inquired, frowning on his nephew.

"Of course I am," replied Nicholas haughtily.'

His daydreams of travel on the Continent with a noble pupil are speedily dispelled by the painful realities of Dotheboys Hall. Brutality, vice, and ignorance impress themselves on his notice, as they did on that of the professor. His status at the school, as a gentleman usher serving an immoral and drunken master, is not entirely unlike that of William at Pelet's. After his abrupt departure from Dotheboys, he is practically penniless, and eventually becomes a writer of plays for the Crummleses. His friends are the ungentleel - the honest Yorkshireman John Browdie; Ralph's clerk, Newman Noggs; the little portrait painter Miss La Creevy. He is tutor to the Kenwigses, whose great social asset is their relationship to the water-rate collector, Mr. Lillyvick. ('Mrs. Kenwigs, too, was quite a lady in her manners, and of a very genteel family ...'¹) The villains of the story, apart from Ralph, are the aristocratic Sir Mulberry Hawk and his followers. Finally Nicholas himself is established in the firm of Cheeryble Brothers, German Merchants, first as a clerk and then in partnership. The brothers are prosperous, but never forget their humble origin - 'I came here barefoot - I have never forgotten it'³

1861 Edition, Vol. I. I.
 1. Op. cit., Chapter iii. 27. 2. Chapter xiv. 171.
 3. Chapter xxxv. II. iii. 34.

'... education a great thing - a very great thing - I never had any.' William, also clerk and schoolmaster, is helped by the kindness of the manufacturer Hunsden and the merchant Vandenhuten. Unlike Nicholas, he lacks the sudden turns of fortune which detract from the realism of Dickens's novel. Other differences are apparent. Nicholas's point of view is intended to be that of the reader, and he does in fact voice the reader's horror at the atrocities of the Yorkshire school. But, much more than the professor, he is a transparent glass through which the horrors are revealed, rather than a refracting medium, an individual whose opinions are felt to present objects from their own particular angle. The middle-class hero is not now the pawn of the Philosophical novelists - he is so far accepted as adequate in himself. But Nicholas Nickleby is not autobiographical. Its hero still requires the backing of the omniscient author.

Martin Chuzzlewit is significant in that many of the faults of its hero are shown to arise from his pretensions to gentility. The tension between him and the industrious Mark Tapley and the contrast with the hard-working, very firmly middle-class Tom Pinch, is primarily one of character rather than class. Nevertheless the whole milieu is felt to be middle-class, and Dickens castigates its besetting sins in his exposure of the shabby dealings of the Jonas Chuzzlewits,

the false refinement of the Pecksniffs, and the commercial gentility of Mrs. Todger's establishment. The heavy satire of the first Chapter is directed against the current assumption of gentility in reader and novel:

As no lady or gentleman with any claims to polite breeding, can possibly sympathise with the Chuzzlewit Family without being first assured of the extreme antiquity of the race, it is a great satisfaction to know that it undoubtedly descended in a direct line from Adam and Eve; and was, in the very earliest times, closely connected with the agricultural interest.

The middle-class hero appeared in France earlier than in England, most notably in the work of Balzac. C. Brontë did not read Balzac until 1850, when, though she appreciated his skilful analysis of motive, she preferred the more genial George Sand.¹ He was indeed much less generally appreciated in England than even the lesser writers like Paul de Kock. Yet his analysis of bourgeois life, and his insistence on detailed realism closely anticipated the aims of The Professor. Critics recognised in them similar qualities: compare, for example, the Quarterly article on French novels (April 1836) with the Observer review of The Professor (21 June 1857.) Eugénie Grandet 'is, as it were, a Dutch picture of an interior - of the family and society of the penurious merchant of a country town. The details are painted with vivid accuracy, and the characters are worked up with equal originality and truth - but as usual with M. de Balzac, [sic] he too often pushes the minuteness of his local descriptions to tediousness, and the peculiarities of his personages to improbabilities.' Most of The Professor is concerned with what happens at a pensionnat: '... some of it trivial enough, but all of it, even the trivialities, indicate that minute power of observation and that extraordinary detail in description which render Charlotte Brontë's books analogous to a Dutch picture by Denner or Ostade.'

She did however read a considerable number of French novels,

1. Letter to G. H. Lewes, 17 October 1850. (S.H.B. iii. 172.)

and must have recognised in them a tendency towards realistic treatment of middle-class life. This was noted by the Foreign Monthly Review, in an article on Moeurs Parisiennes by Ch. Paul de Kock, (1839). De Kock is praised for his 'masterly and exquisite touches of wit and observation, by which a whole class is embodied and condensed in the individual'. His 'Parisians on the Railroad' is a 'lively and entertaining picture of every-day life,...

But apart from Balzac and de Kock, the milieu was more often lower than middle-class:

Every man in France feels as if he might well be a hero. Every man feels as if he might recreate society ... the poor, the labouring many, stand forth as the prominent object ...

Agreeably to this, the really respectable among the heroes not only of Sand, but of the mere littérateurs, of Janin, of Sue, and others are, almost always men of the people - men of low origin, and philanthropists ...¹

C. Brontë was therefore more indebted to George Sand for her heroines and for their ideas on the 'position of women' question than for her heroes. Sand's early novels may have heroes of low rank, elevated by their education of their sensibility: but the milieu is rarely bourgeois, and the romantic theme of disparity in rank is exploited. Benedict, for example, in Valentine (1832)² thinks that 'la société avait mis entre lui et Mlle de Raimbault des obstacles immenses.' The hero of Simon is the son of an old peasant

¹ Westminster Review, April 1838, 'The Philosophy of Fiction.'
² p. 584. C. Benoit may have taken the name, though not the character, of Zoraïda, from Valentine. Benedict, like the professor, thinks it a rather exotic name, and comments, 'Les nobles ont bien raison de mépriser nos ridicules...' [I.i] of The Professor, vii. 127. There is however a 'Zorayda' in the Arabian tales.

WOMAN, also educated 'above his station' and working as a solicitor. Lelio in La Dernière Aldini is a ragged Venetian urchin, and later gondolier of the rich Bianca. Such heroes are usually characterised by the romantic discontent which is the prevailing mood of George Sand's earlier novels. They resemble the professor not in their rank, but in their search for a life that will satisfy heart and imagination. But the professor also feels something of their troubles as men isolated in an alien society: his outcast position at Crimsworth's party for example is typical of the George Sand hero.

Several of George Sand's more realistic stories, and those which are nearest to The Professor in date, give more details of the actual work of their artisan heroes. ^{as Maîtres mosaïstes.} ~~The Mosaic Masters~~ of 1837 turns on the rivalries of the mosaic workers in Venice and the artistic ideals of the Zuccati family. In the Preface to ~~her~~ ^{le} Compagnon du Tour de France (1840) George Sand described the 'class spirit destructive of equality' which arises in cities, and chooses for theme the secret societies which aim to combat this injustice. She hails the working classes as a new source for literature. The hero, Pierre Hugaenin, is a carpenter who goes on a 'travelling apprenticeship.' He is presented with sympathy as a workman with a love of fine craftsmanship; he expounds lofty ideas of universal brotherhood as the cure for social evils, and his travels,

theories, and romance are linked more closely than usual with his work. George Sand evidently felt the need to justify to her readers the choice of an artisan hero. Regarding herself as the means of communication between two strata of society she writes,

Peut-être, accuseras-tu ce pâle intermédiaire de prêter à ses héros des sentiments et des idées qu'ils ne peuvent avoir. A ce reproche, il n'y a qu'un mot à répondre: Informe-toi. Quitte les sommets où la muse littéraire se tient depuis si longtemps isolée de la grande masse du genre humain ...

Consuelo, influential as I think it was for all C. Brontë's heroines and not least Frances Henri, may also have contributed to the character of the professor.² but the music teacher Porpora is of no class, moving with the freedom of an artist among all ranks of men. It is this unlikeness which throws into relief the ideal of middle-class domesticity in The Professor. Contrast, for example, William's contented retirement with Porpora's words to Consuelo:

Mon bonheur, c'est la gloire ... Je ne suis pas de ces vieux bourgeois allemands qui ne rêvent d'autre félicité que d'avoir leur petite fille auprès d'eux pour charger leur pipe ou pétrir leur gâteau. Je n'ai besoin ni de pantoufles, ni de tisane, Dieu merci ...³

Dumas and Sue preferred to endow their heroes with the glamour of nobility. Rodolphe in Les Mystères de Paris is a prince in disguise who rescues Fleur de Marie (later

1. Chapter ix

2. See pp. 203-206.

3. Chapter xcix.

discovered to be his long lost daughter the Princess Amelia) from the depths of degradation.

But de Kock I think might prove to be of interest in this connection. He is one of the writers included in Hunsden's library. Certainly I think Charlotte Brontë read André le Savoyard, where the name Caroline de Blémont is that of a beautiful Countess, at first introduced as high-spirited and giddy, though later, unlike Charlotte's Caroline,¹ proving to be virtuous and beneficent. The peasant hero also, unlike the professor, has many 'turns of fortune', and is beloved by the Countess's daughter Adolphine: the appeal is largely, as in Sue, that of the condescending noble and the virtuous peasant. In the end however André marries Manette, the daughter of a water-carrier, and not Adolphine.

And de Kock's nouvelles deal with petty clerks, shopkeepers, grisettes: it may be that a more detailed examination of his numerous works would reveal further indebtedness on the part of Charlotte Brontë. But for Charlotte, de Kock's racy, rather vulgar stories must have been tainted with a 'typically French' moral laxity. They may have dealt with working or middle-class life, but not with working, morally serious, middle-class heroes. The French novels that she read may therefore have influenced Charlotte in some ways: may, like Sue, have revealed new areas of experience, or, like Sand, have excited a response to a lofty and poetic imagination: but for the hero of The Professor they remain of secondary importance. The English writers - Dickens, Thackeray, and possibly Miss Martineau, are here the most significant formative influence.

1. See The Professor, x. 165, and xi. 187.

William Crimsworth becomes a teacher because Charlotte Brontë had been a teacher; he dislikes most of his pupils because she disliked hers: one of his pupils falls in love with him, because Charlotte Brontë, as a pupil had idolised, if she had never allowed herself to 'love' Heger; the most obvious interpretation of the marriage between teacher and pupil is that it was the vicarious fulfilment of Charlotte Brontë's own daydreams. In all her novels this kind of master-pupil relationship is seen as the ideal foundation for marriage.

If the author's personal experience sufficiently accounts for her choice of theme, it would seem to be superfluous to seek for literary precedents. But the theme once chosen, its treatment was immediately affected by the ~~fact~~ intention to publish. Because C. Brontë's teacher is the hero of a novel he must approximate to or react against his predecessors. And if she was doing something new in making her hero a teacher, she must adopt a rather special attitude towards him in relation to the public - possibly a defensive one, had she chosen the technique of the omniscient author; but in the autobiographical form actually used in The Professor, rather defiant than apologetic. Thus examination of previous novels will help to explain Charlotte Brontë's attitude to her hero and her audience; and will show to what extent the elevation

of the teacher into a major character had been foreshadowed. It should also illuminate social attitudes to the teacher and thus disclose the pre-suppositions of the reading public.

The professor is not a private tutor, but for most of his life a reasonably prosperous teacher. C. Brontë does not here provide a document for the wrongs of the dependent tutor, as Anne Brontë did for the governess in Agnes Grey. It was as a clerk in Edward's employment that William felt 'weary, solitary, kept down like some desolate tutor or governess; ...' Socially however the ~~status of~~ tutor and schoolteacher were often in much the same position: William, for example, contrasts his own position with that of the wealthy Vandenhuten: 'M. Vandenhuten was rich, respected, and influential; I, poor, despised and powerless; so we stood to the world at large as members of the world's society;' ¹

Eighteenth century fiction, reflecting contemporary society, makes the teacher or tutor a very minor figure. He may play an ignoble part, like Thwackum in Tom Jones; hypocritical, unjust, and a toady, he has been recommended as tutor by a Member of Parliament who is dependent on the favour of Thwackum's family. He is of course a clergyman, but not more respected for that - though he dines at Allworthy's table.

1. The Professor, iii. 39. 2. *ibid.*, xxii. 141.

The tutor, like the schoolmaster, might also be a comic figure. In this case he tended to belong to the tradition of the absent-minded or conceited pedant, probably a stock type in fiction of every age. Of this kind is Dr. Orkborne in Fanny Burney's Camilla, or, in the nineteenth Century. Dominic Sampson of Guy Mannering. Orkborne's labours had been 'seconded by industry, but not enforced by talent'.¹ He was writing a monumental work on philology, and 'deeply engaged in his own undertaking, was perfectly indifferent to whom or to what his occasional attendance might be given'.² Having failed to teach the rudiments of Latin grammar to Sir Hugh, he agreed to instruct Indiana, 'sedately revolving in his mind, that his literary work would not be affected by the ignorance or absurdity of his several pupils.'³ Dominic Sampson is a more attractive figure; but on the whole the type changed little, and would seem to have little relevance to The Professor. William is not notably learned; Pelet, suave and worldly, is at the opposite pole from the traditional pedant. Nevertheless the fact that the character and status of the teacher lent itself readily to comedy throws into relief the straightforward seriousness of Charlotte Brontë's treatment of teaching in The Professor.

There had of course been straightforward studies of tutors, but not often in their capacity as teacher. Camilla in fact provides a direct contrast to Dr. Orkborne in the person of Edger's tutor, Dr. Marchmont. He is quite an important figure,

1. Camilla (1796), I. iv. 74. ^{674k} 2. ibid., I. iv. 86.
 3. ibid., I. v. 95.

a gentleman and a clergyman, 'of the highest intellectual accomplishments, uniting deep learning with general knowledge, and the graceful exterior of a man of the world, with the erudition and science of a fellow of a college.'¹ Orkborne wondered at his urbanity, for he could 'deign to please and ~~to~~ seem pleased where books were not the subject of discourse, and where scholastic attainments were not required to elucidate a single sentence.'² His judgment is taken as the standard on the merits of the three girls: they are 'all charming,' but "Camilla ... seems the most inartificially sweet, the most unobtrusively gay, and the most attractively lovely of almost any young creature I ever beheld."³ He is Edgar's chief confidant and adviser. Yet, partly because the moral of Camilla seems to be that innate qualities are more important than education, the tutor is a secondary figure.

In the same way, Scott's Reuben Butler in The Heart of Midlothian was important, not as a teacher, but as the honest, ordinary man, who is the steady norm by which the other characters can be judged. As usual in Scott, he is not quite free from the pedant-tradition, and is 'labelled' by his manner of speech: 'You'll grant that the nominative case is that by which a person or thing is nominated or designed, and which may be called the primary case ...'⁴ he says to ~~the~~ Saddletree, 'as pedantic in his own department, though with infinitely more

1. Camilla, II. x. 303.

2. ibid., II. x. 303.

3. ibid., II. xiii. 358.

4. The Heart of Midlothian, Ch. v.

judgment and learning, as Bartoline was in his self-assumed profession of the law.'

In the philosophical novels of the late Eighteenth Century the tutor was perhaps more individual, his anomalous position in society providing material for declamation against social evils. C. Brontë's affinity with these writers is evident, and helps to set her novels firmly in a romantic tradition where the summum bonum is an honest independence of thought if not of material circumstance. But the tutor is still seen against a characteristically Eighteenth Century background - as, for example, the companion of a rich young aristocrat on his grand tour. The egalitarian Sir George in Robert Bage's Man as he is (1792) has his own ideas of the qualities desirable in a tutor: '

"Lord Auschamp, my uncle, and Lady Mary Paradyne, my mother, are for sending me on the grand tour; and are looking out for me, one, a guide, who has studied politics under Sir Robert Filmer; the other, who has studied manners under Lord Chesterfield. I am seeking out too - for a gentleman, a scholar, and a friend."'

His choice, Mr. Lindsay, offends Sir George's mother: "'How could such a fellow dare to take offence at the Earl of Auschamp, and presume to ~~offend~~^{affront} a peer of the realm! I have not patience . . .'" But her son retorts, "'I incline to lose my patience also, when I think of a peer of the realm forgetting himself so far as to affront his inferior.'" Mr. Lindsay is a companion rather than a tutor; but his 'declarations of

independence' are made in the same spirit as those of Charlotte Brontë's heroes and heroines. He refuses to write political pamphlets for Lord Auschamp:

"I cannot accept of bread with the condition annexed, of no longer daring to think for myself. I have been in that habit so long, that I should find the labour of divesting myself of it too difficult, and as I cannot hope that all the plans of administration merit the public thanks, I should sometimes be in danger of incurring the imputation of ingratitude, even for the exercise of that common right of man, the saying that [sic] he thinks."

The conflict between social snobbery and individual pride persisted into the nineteenth Century. It was not until the mid-century that educational reform tended to raise the status of the schoolmaster. In the 1840's, the private tutor at least was still socially an 'inferior'. Most revealing on contemporary attitudes to the poor tutor of schoolmaster are the novels of Mrs. Gore. Peers and Parvenus, published in 1846, and therefore written about the same time as The Professor, deals with the contrast between the snobbery of the upper classes, more especially the nouveau-riche, and the poor but honest ^{Philip Fairfax} tutor and the scholar Jervis Cleve, Cleve had been a clever pupil who had been lucky enough to become a 'charity-boy' under a wise headmaster, had been to college and later worked as a teacher. There is evident sympathy for the poorer classes; but Mrs. Gore found it much easier to make her aristocrats lively and witty, and their lives were interesting and eventful. Cleve's teaching career is quickly dismissed, for 'To trace circumstantially

the progress of an unincidental life may be a curious study to the philosopher, but it is sad dull work for the novelist.'¹ The attitude to a tutor as a social outcast is represented by the snobbish George, who attributes Philip's refusal of an invitation to a proper humility - 'I am glad that the gentleman knows his place ... 'Order is Heaven's first law!' and I am the last man in the world to infringe it by degenerating into bad company.'² But Philip, like the professor, maintains his proud independence. He is undismayed by the 'apathetic stares' with which, as part of the family furniture, he was regarded by their [the ladies'] husbands and brothers.'³ (William was less stoical: 'I should have liked well enough to be introduced to some pleasing and intelligent girl, and to have freedom and opportunity to show that I could both feel and communicate the pleasure of social intercourse - that I was not, in short, a block, or a piece of furniture, but an acting, thinking, sentient man.'⁴) As far as the plot is concerned Philip is a secondary figure, the protector and adviser of Jervis Cleve. True, he opportunely rescues the heroine Lucy from the villain Cleveland ('the ruffian became suddenly locked in a powerful embrace'), but he marries Cleve's insignificant sister Jane: not for him to aspire to a heroine.

Equally illuminating, though far from Mrs. Gore in motive and outlook, are the descriptions of schoolmasters in E. G. G. Howard's Rattlin the Reefer (1836). This is especially sign-

1. Peers and Parvenus, I. ix. 154. 2. ibid., I. ix. 164.

3. ibid., I. xi. 208.

4. The Professor, iii. 39.

ificant because the aim and the social range are very close to those of Charlotte Brontë's novel. Rattlin announces his intention to 'adhere rigidly to the truth - this will be bonâ fide an autobiography.'¹ He insists too that the mind can be independent of a 'low environment', and that heroic virtues can be found among the low, whereas 'the evil passions of the vulgar' are as extensive as those of 'any fashionable roué'.² The early part of Rattlin the Reefer resembles Jane Eyre rather than The Professor: its interest lies in the lowering of the social range without a narrowing of moral and emotional scope; and in the further witness it bears to the social prejudice Charlotte Brontë braved when she made her hero a teacher. Howard exposes the failings of the two headmasters: the ignorant tyranny of Root and the conceited pedantry of Cherfeuil. As for the ushers, they are small fry - 'fair game for bumping'. 'It would be an amusing work, to write a biography of some of the most remarkable ushers. They seem to be the bats of the social scheme. Gentlemen will not own them, and the classes beneath reject them. They are generally self-sufficient; the dependency of their situation makes them mean, and the exercise of delegated power tyrannical ...'³

The tyranny of the fictional schoolmaster of the 30's and 40's was too often a reflection of reality. Howard underlines his 'actual fact' in describing the Headmaster Root, 'who received a sensual enjoyment by the act of inflicting punish -

1. Rattlin the Reefer, Chapter i. 2. ibid., Chapter iv.
3. ibid., Chapter xix.

ment.' 'Those were the times of large schools, rods steeped in brine, (actual fact,) intestine insurrections, the bumping of obnoxious ushers, and the "barring out" of tyrannical masters. A school of this description was a complete place of torment for the orphan, the unfriended, and the deserted. Lads then stayed at school till they were eighteen and even twenty, and flogging flourished in all its atrocious oppression.'

In 1831 Trelawny's Adventures of a Younger Son had described the author's sufferings at a prison-like school to which he had been sent by an irate father. As in Jane Eyre, the teacher was warned about his bad disposition: and 'At supper, I remember, I was so choked by my feelings that I could not swallow my dog-like food, arranged in scanty portions'.² The cruelty of the other boys and of the masters is described. But, as Trelawny's novel shows, there was a danger that such accounts might appeal not to the reforming, but to the sadistic instinct: Trelawny delights in bloodthirsty portrayal of killing, cruelty and mutilation. He and his friends flog a tutor: 'I griped him the tighter, till the sweat dropped from his brow like rain from the eaves of a pig's sty'.³ He is eventually expelled for attacking the headmaster and setting fire to his room.

But there can be no question of the integrity of purpose in Dickens's novels. He did a great deal to fan public indignation against the atrocities of Yorkshire schools. As Humphry

1. Rattlin the Reefer, Chapter ix.

2. Adventures of a Younger Son, I. iii. 18.

3. ibid., I. iv. 22.

House points out, Dickens 'never claimed to be a pioneer ... the cruelties of Yorkshire schoolmasters were already fairly well known from newspaper reports of actions against them. ...'¹ But Squeers and Snike impressed themselves vividly on the imagination of Dickens's readers. He insisted on their reality: 'Mr. Squeers and his school are faint and feeble pictures of an existing reality, purposely subdued and kept down, lest they should be deemed impossible -...'² His later preface indignantly recalls the state of affairs which had inspired him to write Nicholas Nickleby in 1838:

Of the monstrous neglect of education in England, and the disregard of it by the State as a means of forming good or bad citizens, and miserable or happy men, this class of schools long afforded a notable example. Although any man who had proved his unfitness for any other occupation in life, was free, without examination of qualification, to open a school anywhere; ... and although schoolmasters, as a race, were the blockheads and impostors that might naturally be expected to arise from such a state of things, and to flourish in it; these Yorkshire schoolmasters were the lowest and most rotten round in the whole ladder.³

Thus Squeers is completely brutal and completely careless of anything but his own interest: '... both Mr. and Mrs. Squeers viewed the boys in the light of their proper and natural enemies: or, in other words, they held and considered that their business and profession was to get as much from every boy as could by possibility be screwed out of him.'⁴

Other writers exploited the melodramatic aspects of the

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1. The Dickens World (1941), Chapter ii.
 2. Preface to Nicholas Nickleby, 1839.
 3. ibid., 1861.
 4. Nicholas Nickleby, Chapter viii. ¶1.

master-pupil situation with less scruple, though ostensibly in the service of reform. The author of Richard Biddulph; or, the life and adventures of a school-boy.¹ published in the Metro-politan Magazine for 1844,¹ draws heavily on Dickensian material and manner. The story is supposed to be based on reality: 'Richard Biddulph is no imaginary character ... He is nothing like a fanciful or visionary hero. Richard Biddulph was a real, living boy, with actual flesh upon his bones, and pure blood circulating through his system.'² In fact Richard is quite impossibly pure, and the writer gives highly coloured and over-dramatised accounts of cruel masters on the one hand and innocent child on the other. The strident rhetorical style hardly helps to convince one of their reality:

"Shame! Shame!" cried a voice in a subdued yet audible accent, as the never-to-be-forgotten Dr. Frampton tore up by the roots a lock of soft white hair from the head of a little pale-faced child ... He beats the child, tears his ear, and strikes him to the floor ... And then the minister of a mild and merciful religion, wiped the blood from off his fingers, lest it should defile the rod he was about to use ...

Poor child! I pity thee! so young! so heroic! so truly virtuous! To have thus early thy purity destroyed, thy goodness violated, by a scholastic tyrant, who has planted a seed within thy being which may blast thy prospects in life, and make thee an outcast from the world.³

This is perhaps an extreme example of unscrupulous exploitation; but writers on the whole were (quite justifiably) sympathetic to the pupil rather than the teacher.

1. Volume xli, p. 243.

2. p. 245.

3. pp. 243-5.

The pupil's point of view is also used in that very charming school-story, Miss Martineau's The Crofton Boys. Here the treatment of teachers and pupils is both sensible and sensitive. The headmaster is wise and humane and understands Hugh's grief - 'it was not the pain. It was the being punished in open school and when he did not feel that he deserved it.' He dismisses the sadistic Mr. Carnaby: 'I ordered them an immediate caning, Mr. Carnaby, and not mental torture.' Miss Martineau's unspectacular kind of realism however was rare; and The Crofton Boys is a 'tale for youth', not primarily for adult readers. It is a quiet backwater apart from the main stream of the three-decker or periodical novel.

C. Brontë's claim that The Professor gave 'a new view of a grade, an occupation, and a class of characters' can therefore, I think, be substantiated. An autobiographical novel with a teacher hero was new, and demanded ~~some~~ not only sympathy but some degree of identification from the reader. It was unusual to give so many details of lessons or teaching. It was, especially since Nicholas Nickleby, had appeared, unusual not to exploit the possibilities of cruelty and tyranny. Physical suffering has no place in the light and healthy Brussels classrooms. The pupils are not at all pitiable; most of them are only realistically stupid or unpleasant.

1. The Crofton Boys, Chapter vi.

If the professor does inherit any quality from his predecessors, it is perhaps his independence. His character and career would make no appeal to those who liked the teacher to recognise his inferior social rank, or at least were flattered by the assumption that they did so.

Nevertheless The Professor is closely related to literary tradition. William is professionally a schoolmaster, but he is also the tutor and guide of Frances; and this aspect of his teaching has an honourable ancestry in fiction. Indeed the intimacy between master and pupil which it involved was early exploited as a possible source of romance. There was also a tendency in for example Scott and the novelists who imitated or derived from him, to mould the relationship between hero and heroine into that of master and pupil: a natural development of the idea of the woman's graceful subordination as a virtue complementing the innate superiority of the masculine mind. It is an especially useful situation for those novelists who wish to demonstrate mental and spiritual rather than physical attraction.

Charlotte's heroes had always been 'masters': in one sense Heger's position as a teacher merely crystallised in the master-pupil form a relationship already elaborated in the Angrian stories; it served also to shift the emphasis from the theme of loyalty divided between father and lover to one wholly concentrated on the lover. Zamorna had been the supreme

master, adored by all women. His wife was completely devoted to him: 'I stood prepared to sacrifice my father's very life, truly as I loved him, to the interests of him I could not help adoring with blind, infatuated, consuming zeal. ... My king, my husband, my very Deity, smile at me once more. ...' For his mistress, Mina Laury, he is always 'My Master':

"You know Sir, my mind is of that limited and tenacious order, it can but contain one idea, and that idea whilst it lasts affords a motive for life, and when it is rent away leaves a vacancy which makes death desirable as a relief. In other words, my master is the world to me and has been for many a long year. You must not hate me for my intense selfishness when I confess to you that during the last half year while Angria's groans have been brought across the sea by every wind, and have shaken even France from end to end, I have been intensely happy. I have been blessed with the continual presence of my master. I have been absorbed in the delicious toil of serving him."²

So later for Charlotte herself Heger was to be the beloved master:

... - tout ce que je sais - c'est que je ne puis pas - que je ne veux pas me résigner à perdre entièrement l'amitié de mon maître - j'aime mieux subir les plus grandes douleurs physiques que d'avoir toujours le coeur lacéré par des regrets cuisants. Si mon maître me retire entièrement son amitié je serai tout à fait sans espoir - s'il en donne un peu - très peu - je serai contente - heureuse, j'aurai un motif pour vivre - pour travailler.³

... Dites-moi enfin ce que vous voulez mon maître, mais dites-moi quelque chose. Écrire à une ci-devant sous-maîtresse (non - je ne veux pas me souvenir de mon emploi de sous-maîtresse je le renie), mais enfin, écrire à une ancienne élève ne peut-être une occupation fort intéressante pour vous - je le sais - mais pour moi c'est la vie. Votre dernière lettre m'a servi de soutiens - de nourriture pendant six mois - ...⁴

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1. My Angria and the Angrians, (14 Oct. 1834. Miscellaneous Writings, ii. 29. op. cit., ii. 298.)
2. The Return of Zamorna, 1836 or 37, ii. 22.
3. Letter to Heger, 8 Jan. 1845. (S.H.F.)
4. ibid., 18 Nov. 1845. (S.H.B. ii. 68.)

Charlotte Brontë's own early daydreams had been fulfilled, though only in part, by Leeger; and they are the background to the emotion of that relationship - for they must have helped to induce it. But the Angrian tales, though based on Charlotte's own desires, had in turn been moulded by her reading; and as we know, she also related to her own experience the books read in maturity. Thus fiction and reality intertwine to form the background to the master-pupil relationship of The Professor.

A summary of the story as far as it concerns William and Frances will show the centrality of this theme, and will make clear its likeness to or difference from the other novels to be considered.

William first remarks Frances's difference from the other pupils: 'I felt assured, at first sight, that she was not a Belgian; her complexion, her countenance, her lineaments, her figure, were all distinct from theirs, ... Yet, having intimated that her appearance was peculiar, as being unlike that of her Flemish companions, I have little more to say respecting it; I can pronounce no encomiums on her beauty, for she was not beautiful; nor offer condolence on her plainness, for neither was she plain; a careworn character of forehead, and a corresponding moulding of the mouth, struck me with a sentiment resembling surprise, but these traits would probably have passed unnoticed by any less crotchety observer.'¹ He perversely disregards her distress during his first lesson, observing her reactions closely,

1. The Professor, xiv. 244.

but finally marks his approval of her work. She reads aloud in a 'full though low voice, ... in clear correct English', unlike the 'stutter and jabber' of the Belgians.¹ William is puzzled by her pure accent, but his 'interrogations' are cut short by Mlle. Reuter's interference. He soon discovers in Frances a capacity for perseverance, and a sense of duty. She delights to learn, and he respects her desire to master difficulties by herself. Meanwhile she suffers as a teacher from the insubordination of her pupils. One of her *devoirs* proves to him that she has an original mind and a vivid imagination, but while he encourages her by moderate praise, he maintains an 'austere and magisterial' manner.² But she realises and responds to his interest and practical kindness.

He discovers that she is an orphan, of Anglo-Swiss parentage, and has become a teacher of lace-mending in order to acquire sufficient knowledge to be a governess and travel to England, her 'promised land'.³ Like him, she suffers from the alien Catholicism of the Brussels school. As he continues to direct her reading, she makes rapid progress: but becomes rather shy: 'I divined her thoughts and should much have liked to have responded to them, had it been expedient so to do. She was not now very ambitious of my admiration - not eagerly desirous of dazzling me; a little affection - ever so little - pleased her better than all the panegyrics in the world.'⁴

1. xv. 252.

2. xvi. 264-70.

3. xvii. 286 et seq.

4. xviii. 3.

Mlle. Reuter, however, jealous of the professor's friendship for Frances, dismisses her. But Frances sends to him the money she owes for her lessons, telling him in her letter how sorry she is that she will never see him again: 'I am afflicted. I am heartbroken to be quite separated from you; soon I shall have no friend on earth.'

When William eventually finds out where she lives, the master-pupil relationship is maintained. As she reads Paradise Lost to him, William delights to listen and watch: '... as long as I dogmatized, I might also gaze, without exciting too warm a flush.'² When he proposes to her, she addresses him as 'Mon maitre ...', and responds, 'Master, I should be glad to live with you always'; 'Master, I consent to pass my life with you.'³ Frances insists however that she must work; and after their marriage both continue to teach. And she asserts the woman's right to freedom: 'Monsieur, if a wife's nature loathes that of the man she is wedded to, marriage must be slavery. Against slavery all right thinkers revolt, ...'⁴ But since Frances submits willingly to her husband, William remains the master: 'Then I made her get a book, and read English to me for an hour by way of penance. I frequently dosed her with Wordsworth in this way, ... His language ... was not facile to her; she had to ask questions, to sue for explanations, to be like a child and a novice, and to acknowledge me as her senior and director.'⁵

1. xix. 35. 2. xix. 65. 3. xxiii. 165, 167.
4. xxv. 231. 5. xxv. 227.

Both master and pupil derive emotional satisfaction from the relationship. But Charlotte herself had been compelled to control her feeling, and to cease correspondence with her 'master'. It is interesting therefore that she recalled Sir Charles Grandison as she wrote The Professor, for the compulsive emotional power of Richardson's novel largely derives from the conflict of love and duty, and especially from the conflict of Clementina's love for Sir Charles, with her devotion to her religion and her duty to her parents. The relationship between Sir Charles and Clementina as master and pupil is not unlike that of Crimsworth and Frances.

Sir Charles taught English to an Italian family. The daughter of the house, the lady Clementina, 'was seldom absent' from his lessons, when Milton was often the theme. 'She also called me her tutor;' said Sir Charles, 'and, though she was not half so often present at the lectures as ~~her brothers~~ ^{two} were, made a greater proficiency than either of ~~them~~ ^{her sisters}.' But Clementina becomes melancholy: like Frances, who first becomes radiant at William's praise, and later shows her growing love by her shy pleasure in working for him, 'It was observed [of Clementina] that she generally assumed a cheerful air while she was with him, but said little; yet seemed pleased with everything he said to her; and the little she did answer, though he spoke in Italian or French, was in her newly-acquired language: **But**, the moment he

was gone, her countenance fell, and she was studious to find opportunities to get from company.¹ Sir Charles's manner to Clementina, though always courteous, and unlike William's 'austerity', assumes a similar air of authority. He thinks Milton's poetry too difficult for her:

But you have heard me often call him a sublime poet, and your ambition (it is a laudable one) leads you to make him your own too soon. Has not your tutor taken the liberty to chide you for your impatience; for your desire of being everything at once?²

Harriet Byron, realising the dangers of this relationship, thinks Clementina's parents should not have allowed her to attend the lessons: 'In every case, the teacher is the obliger. He is called master, you know: and where there is a master, a servant is implied.'³ (So Hunsden sarcastically observes to the professor: "And she treats you with a sort of respect too, and says, 'Monsieur,' and modulates her tone in addressing you, actually as if you were something superior."⁴)

Sir Charles admires Clementina's beauty, but physical passion is subordinated, as in The Professor. Clementina, renouncing his love because she thought she 'would sooner die than be the wife of a man of a religion contrary to my own,' suffers from the taunts of a cousin, jealous of the love of another suitor, Belvedere. But her resolution is unaltered: "Love my MIND," she says to Sir Charles, "as yours ever was the principal object of my love!" "Thy SOUL was ever most

1. *op. cit.*, III. xx. 183.

2. *ibid.*, III. xxii. 315.

3. *ibid.*, III. xxii. 315.

4. The Professor, *ibid.* 206.

5. Sir Charles Grandison, V. xxii. 141.

dear to Clementina: Whenever I meditated the gracefulness of thy person, I restrained my eye, I checked my fancy."¹

Other similarities - the stress on Sir Charles's firm (though not intolerant) Protestantism; the preference for the rational and discreet in matrimony; the numerous discussions of the lot of old maids, and on the propriety of women having enough knowledge to be 'fit companions for men of sense'-support the idea that Charlotte Brontë had Richardson in mind when she wrote The Professor. Her tone is harsher than his, and her style has not his graceful leisureliness; nor does she touch the deeper emotions which he analyses with such delicacy. It was not until she wrote Villette that she dared to treat fully the passions and religious complications which give to that novel a comparable profundity. Nevertheless Frances's charm, her grace, sincerity and independence which remove from her love of her master any hint of abject or slavish adoration, may well show the influence of Richardson's lovely and dignified Clementina.

Jane Eyre's attitude to Rochester has long been recognised as like that of Pamela to Mr. B.--. Parallels are given in detail in Helen Shipton's article, 'Jane Eyre and an Older Novel'.² She notes for example that Jane's comments of Rochester during their courtship are also 'a trait of Pamela's, who is the oddest mixture of profound reverential submission and critic-

1. Sir Charles Grandison, V. xxiv. 142.

2. Monthly Packet, November 1896.

al independence.' The emotional tension produced by this combination of submission and independence is greater than that in The Professor, but it is present in some degree in that novel. A more specific, though minor parallel, is Mr. B's actual tuition of Pamela - described of course from her point of view.

And who, do you think, is my Master? --- Why, the best I could have in the World, your dearest Brother, who is pleased to say, I am no Dunce: how inexcusable should I be, if I was, with such a Master, who teaches me on his Knee, and rewards me with a 'kiss whenever I do well, and says, I have already nearly mastered the Accent and Pronunciation [of French] , which he tells me is a great Difficulty got over.'*

Frances's insistence on answering the professor in French may be an unconscious recollection of Pamela's shyness: Mr. B. asks her questions in French, but she asks to be allowed to reply in English 'for I am not proficient enough to answer you in my new tongue.' A further slight parallel is the fact that this tuition occurs after marriage, as the master-pupil relation continues after marriage in The Professor.

That tutorship had become a desirable quality in the gentleman-hero is shown by its recurrence in later novels, where the Grandisonian quality is sometimes rather incongruous. Godwin's Richardson's hero became an ideal, as a phrase in Mrs. Marsh's Triumphs of Time shows: 'Shall I give you my idea of a Grandison tutor - my model man?'² ~~See in~~ Godwin's Falkland had been English tutor to the beautiful Lucretia Pisani, and incurred the jealousy of her lover Count Malvesi: but, true to the Grandisonian tradition, handed her over courteously, apol-

1. Pamela, (1742), III. xviii. 95. 2. op. cit., II. ii. 45.

*. In the spelling, 'Master', p. 27.

ogising for conduct open to misinterpretation. The Grand-isonian hero of Mrs. Brunton's Self-Control (1810) is a good mathematician, so the heroine begins to study mathematics - without, however, much success:

He offered to give Laura her lesson in mathematics; and before it was half over, having completely bewildered both himself and his pupil, he tossed away the book, declaring that he never in his life was so little fit for thinking.¹

Similarly, Florence S. Dry found a possible analogue for the master-^{a governess}-pupil scenes of Jane Eyre in Scott's Waverley.² Rose Bradwardine's mind is formed by Waverley, who introduces her to the 'beauties of literature'.³ But the relationship is not fully explored, for Rose is too slightly sketched, too external a portrait, for any real analysis of feeling; and it is overshadowed for the most part by Waverley's passion for Flora. The situation had evidently become 'stock', but its use does illuminate the generally accepted relationship of hero and heroine.⁴

C. Brontë's elevation of this motif into a central theme may have been influenced by her acquaintance with the educational theories of Rousseau and St. Pierre. The latter was admired by Leger, who it will be remembered gave Charlotte a copy of his works. She also knew and loved the poems of Wordsworth, who had Rousseau-esque views on the 'Education of Nature', and the virtue of natural as opposed to civilised

1. Forth Edition (Edinburgh, 1812) xxiii. 244.

2. Sources of "Jane Eyre," pp. 22-4.

3. op. cit. Chapter xiv.

4. Cf. for example F.H. Lister's Granby (1826), I. ; L.E.L. Edith Churchill (1837), I. iii. 40f.; Duty and Inclination (edited by L.E.L.) (1838) I. ii. 125f.; The Triumphs of Time, III. ii. 45.

man. Frances remembers with pride the 'blood-earned freedom of Switzerland, and the 'natural glories of' its mountains.' She stresses the importance of natural feeling: '... as if it were right to crush any pleasurable sentiment that God has given to man, especially any sentiment that, like patriotism, spreads man's selfishness in wider circles',² she responds indignantly to Munsden's 'dogmatizing' about the irrationality of sentiment. But her independence and strength of will are attributable neither to her early surroundings, nor to the influence of William, though these provide the freedom and encouragement needed for Frances's full development. And William as her tutor evidently does not concur with St. Pierre's doctrine that Truth is to be found in Nature alone, that 'Les hommes font des livres, mais la nature fait des choses.'³

A similar modification of such educational theories is to be found in other English novels: in particular, those of Maria Edgeworth, with which C. Brontë may have been familiar. The shortcomings of Rousseau's system are most clearly expressed in Belinda (1801.) The hero of this novel, Clarence Hervey, wishes to educate a girl to be his wife (as Mr. Edgeworth's friend Day had tried to do). He finds Virginia - the name is an intentional reminder of St. Pierre's Virginie - in a 'neat but very small cottage, with numerous beehives in the garden, surrounded by a profusion of rose-trees.'³ She has lived

1. xxiv. 196.

2. xxiv. 199.

3. La Chaumière Indienne.

'away from all the world' and is innocence itself. He resolves to educate her and begins by teaching her to write:

He made several attempts, with the greatest skill and patience; and his fair pupil, though she did not by any means equal his hopes, astonished Mrs. Ormond by her comparatively rapid progress ...¹

Yet having educated Virginia, Nervey finds that he does not wish to marry her. Comparing her with Lady Delacour and Belinda, he realises that she is 'so entirely unacquainted with the world, that it was absolutely impossible ~~that~~ she could conduct herself with that discretion, which must be the combined result of reasoning and experience.'² And he himself had excluded even vicarious experience of reality: he did not wish Virginia to read 'common novels', but allowed romances because they were 'favourable to female virtue' and ~~are~~ 'exalted respect for chastity'.³ She is thus contrasted with Belinda, who, though brought up by the worldly matchmaker Mrs. Stanhope, combines an affectionate disposition with a capacity for reason and self-control.

Like Miss Edgeworth, Charlotte Brontë preferred the 'real' 'worky-day' world to one artificially isolated from the possibility of corruption. Her treatment of the Master-pupil theme may also be compared with the Paul-et-Virginie like love scenes in Rattlin the Reefer. There teaching accompanies an idyllic courtship and is contrasted with the harshness of Ralph's early life. Josephine is a Virginie of the New World;

1. Belinda, (3rd. Edition, 1811), III. xxvi. 117. 2. ibid., III. xxvi. 126.

3. ibid., III. xxvi. 129.

Ralph loves her for 'her very ignorance' - 'You have much to unlearn, my sweet one, thought I, and I shall be but too happy in being your preceptor,' But Frances, though equally charming, has not the child-like and passive quality of Josephine:

She sate down tranquilly at my feet, like a good little girl, and began murmuring the task she was committing to memory. And how did the schooling get on? Oh! beautifully; we had such sweet and so many schoolrooms, and interruptions still more sweet and numerous. Sometimes, our hall of study was beneath the cool rock, ... but the most frequent interruptions were when she would close her book, and, bathing me in the lustre of her melancholy eyes, bid me tell her some tale that would make her weep; or, with a pious awe, request me to unfold some of the mysteries of the universe around her, and commune with her of the attributes of their great and beneficent Creator.'

The episode ends in tragedy, and forms only a short interlude in Ralph's eventful life: it is not, as it is in The Professor, the central theme of the book.

But for a nineteenth century treatment of the master-pupil theme that is more than episodic, and in which both characters resemble those of The Professor, one must look to French rather than English novels. Charlotte Brontë thought Consuelo, published in serial form from 1842-3, was George Sand's best work. Comparing Sand with Jane Austen, in a letter to G.H.Lewes, she wrote,

Now I can understand admiration of George Sand; for though I never saw any of her works which I admired throughout (even 'Consuelo', which is the best, or the

best that I have read, appears to me to couple strange extravagance with wondrous excellence), yet she has a grasp of mind which, if I cannot comprehend, I can very deeply respect: she is sagacious and profound: Miss Austen is only shrewd and observant.'

This was written in 1848, and there is no proof that C. Brontë had read Consuelo before 1846. But she does not speak as if her reading of it was recent; and the similarities to The Professor are so close as to make it highly probable that she already knew it in 1846. With her experiences as Heger's pupil at Brussels fresh in her mind, she would have been impressed by the opening scenes of Consuelo, where the maestro Porpora addresses his pupils: he has 'l'air profondément désabusé d'un homme qui, depuis quarante ans, affronte^{*} six heures par jour toutes les agaceries et toutes les mutineries de plusieurs générations d'enfants femelles.'

"Il n'en est pas moins vrai," ajouta-t-il en mettant ses lunettes dans leur étui et sa tabatière dans sa poche, sans lever les yeux sur l'essaim railleur et courroucé, que cette sage, cette docile, cette studieuse, cette attentive, cette bonne enfant, ce n'est pas vous, signora Clorinda; ni vous, Signora Costanza; ni vous non plus, signora Zulietta; et la Rosina pas davantage, et Michela encore moins ...

Enfin ... avançant d'un air grave entre cette double haie de têtes légères, il alla se poser dans le fond de la tribune de l'orgue, en face d'une petite personne accroupie sur un gradin. Elle, les coudes sur les genoux, les doigts dans les oreilles pour n'être pas distraite par le bruit, étudiait sa leçon à demi-voix ... lui, solennel et triomphant, ... semblable au berger Paris adjugeant la pomme, non à la plus belle, mais à la plus sage.'²

When he approaches her, Consuelo is 'non confuse, mais un peu effrayée'; but when he asks her to sing, she does so 'sans

1. Letter of 12 January 1848, (S.H.B. ii. 180.)

2. op. cit., Chapter i.

faire une seule faute de mémoire. sans hasarder un son qui ne fut complètement juste.¹

The other girls are astonished and jealous. Consuelo works hard, but they say spitefully that she is 'un laideron': 'c'est bien malheureux pour elle - point d'argent, et point de beauté'. But like Frances, she is in fact neither beautiful nor ugly: as Crimsworth found beauty in Frances, so Anzoleto sees it in Consuelo.

It is pointed out that 'le professeur' Porpora 'donna des leçons particulières par charité, et plus encore pour l'amour de l'art.'² He is often irritable, not easy to please, but he delights to foster genuine talent. And Consuelo, like Frances, responds willingly. Her love of work is described in Chapter vii: she is 'une de ces rares et bienheureuses organisations pour lesquelles le travail est un jouissance, un repos véritable ... dans une oisiveté apparente, elles travaillent encore; leur rêverie n'est point vague, c'est une méditation.' Porpora is amazed by her ability:

"... je vois bien que je ne puis plus être ton maître.

-- Vous serez toujours mon maître respecté et bien-aimé, s'écria-t-elle en se jetant à son cou et en le serrant à l'étouffer; ...

~~tu~~ O mon maître! ... que Dieu me retire à l'instant même l'amour et la voix, si je porte dans mon coeur le poison de l'orgueil et de l'ingratitude!"³

George Sand stresses her purity and innocence; like Frances she has a 'conventual' appearance, but a warmth and fire of spirit:

1. op. cit., Chapter I. 2.

3. *ibid.*, *Chapitre VII.*

... "cette petite robe noire et cette collerette blanche, cette toilette à demi pauvre et à demi dévote, cette tête pâle, calme, sans éclat au premier regard, ces manières rondes et franches, cette étonnante absence de coquetterie, comme tout cela se transforme et se divinise, lorsqu'elle s'inspire de son propre génie pour chanter! "

Again, Consuelo and Porpora, like William and Frances, are at one in their desire for liberty: Consuelo longs to leave the sombre castle of Count Albert: 'cette enceinte de murailles et de fossés où sa pensée était comme étouffée sous le sentiment de la captivité ...'

It is true that Consuelo never loves Porpora in the romantic sense: her lovers are Anzoleto and Count Albert. But it is to him that she returns, with him that her soul is most in harmony. The master-pupil theme is an essential and unifying element in the story. There are also co-incidences of event which need not be pressed - for example. Anzoleto's visit to Consuelo's neat, tranquil room. Indeed, one need not look for specific 'borrowings': the fact that C. Brontë had seen the master-pupil relationship described, and that the pupil happened to be a character she herself would appreciate, would act as a fertilising agent on her own experience, and would perhaps help to produce the smoother flow of writing evident in the Brussels episodes.

C. Brontë may also have read George Sand's André where there are certain resemblances to The Professor - less pro-

1. Chapter xiv.

2. *ibid.*, Chapter lii.

found perhaps, but interesting because they show by contrast C. Brontë's avoidance of conventional romantic appeal in The Professor. The master-pupil relationship in André is part of a variation on the fairy-tale theme of rich suitor and poor beggar-maid. André is the son of a proud squire, boorish enough, but fanatically proud of his lineage. André however, his imagination nurtured on solitary reading of 'Jean-Jacques ou Grandison', and delighting in the romantic heroines of Scott, Byron and St. Pierre, is enchanted by Geneviève, a poor flower-maker. She is unlike the gay grisettes with whom he sees her: 'elle était petite, et plutôt jolie que belle ... Ses traits étaient délicats et réguliers; et, quoique son nez et sa bouche ne fussent pas d'une forme très distinguée, l'expression de ses yeux et la forme de son front lui donnaient l'air fier et intelligent ...' He is flattered by her desire for learning, and impressed by her quick response:

Malgré la soumission attentive et la curiosité confiante de Geneviève, André fut frappé du bon sens et de la netteté de ses idées. Elle comprenait rapidement; il y avait des instans où André, transporté, lui croyait des facultés extraordinaires, et d'autres où il croyait parler à un enfant.¹²

Like William, he finds fault as well as merit in her work.

As his teaching continues, her love for him increases: there however the resemblance ends. After their marriage, they live in poverty, unrelieved by André's father, André himself 'avait

1. André (1805, Paris) Chapter 1. 2. 1805, ibid. III.

Obtenu, avec bien de la peine, un misérable emploi dans un collège. André était instruit et intelligent, mais il n'était pas industriel ... Ce métier de cuisinier lui était odieux: il le remplissait avec une répugnance qui lui attirait l'inimitié des élèves et des professeurs ... on le renvoya.' Geneviève realises that he is too weak-willed and indolent to make provision for her or their child. George Sand compassionately but inartistically kills her off as the easiest way out of the difficulty. It will be remembered that C. Brontë deliberately refused to exploit disparity of rank; and it may have been with stories like André in mind that she made quiet mockery of Hunsden's class-prejudice:

Hunsden no doubt regarded me as a rash, imprudent man, thus to show my poor little grisette sweetheart, in her poor little unfurnished grenier; but he prepared to act the real gentleman, having, in fact, the kernel of that character, under the harsh husk it pleased him to wear by way of mental mackintosh.'

But the story which most clearly throws into relief the individuality of The Professor is one which C. Brontë presumably had not read. In October 1847 she wrote to Williams,

The 'Weekly Chronicle' seems inclined to identify me with Mrs. Marsh. I never had the pleasure of perusing a line of Mrs. Marsh's in my life, but I wish very much to read her works, and shall profit by the first opportunity of doing so.'

This 'identification' seems to have been based on a similarity of incident in Jane Eyre and The Deformed, and Mrs. Gaskell recalled 'how acutely she (Charlotte Brontë) dreaded a charge

1. The Professor, xxiv. 186. 2. S.H.B. ii. 150.

of plagiarism.' It was then a coincidence that Mrs. Marsh had also written, in 1844, a story of a tutor and a pupil whom he eventually marries. This was The Previsions of Lady Evelyn, one of three short novels collected in the usual three volume form under the title The Triumphs of Time. (The first story incidentally is Sealed Orders, a well-told nouvelle set in Flanders.) Though The Previsions of Lady Evelyn occupies the greater part of two volumes, it is much shorter than the conventional novel of the time: and Mrs. Marsh found the tutor-pupil theme too slight even for a short novel, for she extends it by various melodramatic additions. If therefore The Previsions is to be considered, it is because there was evidently a market for such a story, and it may illuminate the reasons for The Professor's failure to find a publisher. The emotional possibilities of schoolroom scenes were clearly a fertile ground for fiction: but their treatment by the two authors was widely different. The Previsions appeals to the reader's snobbery, it exploits difference in rank, attributes the loftiest virtues to its tutor-hero, and comes to a highly unrealistic and melodramatic conclusion: it confirms the impression that The Professor made so little headway because it lacked these elements of popular appeal.

The following parallels show how far C. Brontë's situations are common to the theme: but they must be set against Mrs. Marsh's background of sentimental Toryism if the superficial-

1. Life, Chapter xxvii.

2. Cf. Brontë's suggestion in the Preface as one of the reasons.

ity of the resemblance is to be appreciated. Her story takes place in a country mansion:

Beyond the lake the hills spread over swelling hills, intersected with the noble woods, and peopled with immense herds of deer. It was a glorious picture - a truly English picture - type of that ancient English nobility, to a member of which it belonged - which though at times, as in this case, obscured by the weakness and errors of some unworthy members - has always appeared to me, take it all in all, as the finest form of human society that has yet appeared in the world.¹

The tutor Gerald, like the professor, insists on his independence and integrity - qualities also recommended by Poyntz: the tutor's first aim should be independence, gained "by such a mastery of his own whims, feelings, passions and imaginations, as shall make him independent of the ^{whims, passions and imaginations} feelings of others."²

He does not submit to rudeness from his aristocratic pupils. The young Lord Canham asks,

"What have I left to learn?"

"Good manners, for one thing," - said Gerald.

"Well said!" said the boy, starting up. "I like you for that."³

But when Gerald reminds him of 'truth and honour' he replies

"Whoever heard of a tutor's honour?"

Gerald is, of course, handsome, and he is dazzled by the beauty of his pupil the Countess; but he is interested in the intelligent Lady Clarinda, who reads a part in Julius Caesar:

She began calmly and quietly; but as the scene proceeded - her voice became animated, and there was more than common

1. op. cit. (1864) II. iii. 42.

2. ibid., II. iii. 46.

3. ibid., II. iii. 49.

feeling in the force she gave to the passages - till at last, warming, as it were, to the theme, she burst passionately forth with,

'I know where I will wear this dagger the_n ...'

Lady Clarinda's nature has been warped by her parents' unreasonable aversion to her: Gerald realises that it is his duty to educate in the true sense, 'to unfold in her the noble moral character which I am certain she possesses.'

His pupils show their character in their compositions:

The theme [of the Italian composition] was rather an imaginative one, and required a greater originality and range of thought, than any they had yet attempted.

The Countess had written hers very ill; the faults of idiom and grammar were such as to show the most negligent inattention; the ideas were trite, shallow, confused, and ill-expressed: it was full of faults; and the rapid pen made score after score, obliteration after obliteration: evidently to the great irritation and mortification of the fair pupil and her governess.

When the Lady Clarinda's came to be looked over Gerald was perfectly astonished at its accuracy and elegance. He turned, and paid her a well-turned compliment upon her attention and proficiency.²

The governess interrupts, resenting compliments to Clarinda instead of the Countess, and Clarinda treads on her foot with vicious violence. The governess, a 'vain, painted tyrant of a Frenchwoman' is jealous of Gerald's influence. When he rescues Clarinda from the water where she has tried to drown herself, the governess makes ugly insinuations:

"Ciel," she began, "M. le Précepteur - d'en est assez - have the goodness to pay some better regard to the proprieties, and leave this young lady before her reputation be again --"

1. op. cit., II. 113.

2. ibid., II. 113. 2-2.

"Madame!" cried Gerald, colouring to the eyes, and at last losing ~~his~~^{his} self-command in indignation, "have done this instant with your wicked insinuations. - This young lady's life I have saved at the peril of my own; and the life I have saved I will protect ... - She shall ~~be~~ no longer the sport of your cruel injustice or of Miss Hughes's vile contempt - I will protect her if no one else will..."¹

... Madame, drawn up to more than her usual height, remained like one petrified at an assurance and opposition she had never expected to encounter in that house....'

Nevertheless it is to the Countess that Gerald reads the Eden scene from Paradise Lost; and it is she who first confesses her love for Gerald:

The scene which ensued we shall not describe, nor dwell upon the humiliating picture of a woman, in defiance of all the ties of duty, urging the offer of her hand upon one, whom every motive of honour and conscience; her father's confidence and ~~her~~^{her} own position, commanded her to reject -².

Finally Gerald actually marries Clarinda, who returns after long absence disguised as a gipsy boy: 'Life tried them both severely - ... But her love was like a heavenly star, shedding light and radiance upon their broken way.'³

The Previsions of Lady Evelyn in fact fulfils all the conditions that C. Brontë intentionally rejected, and it goes far to explain why The Professor would not sell. As Charlotte herself wrote,

... I found that publishers in general ... would have liked something more imaginative and poetical - something more consonant with a highly wrought fancy, with a taste for pathos, with sentiments more tender, elevated, unworldly.³

1. op. cit., II. viii. 110-121.

2. *ibid.*, II. xiv. 171-2.

3. Preface to The Professor, pp. vi-vii.

Charlotte and Emily Brontë first went to Brussels in February 1842, and remained at Madame Heger's school until November of the same year. Charlotte returned to spend a year there alone between January 1843 and January 1844. Whenever The Professor was written, there cannot have been a long interval between Charlotte's experiences at Brussels and her use of those experiences in the novel - even if one assumes that the strictures on 'domestic treachery'¹ and sensual indulgence² cannot have been written before the revelation of the Robinson affair in July 1845. About eight years after she returned from Brussels she began once again to write of her ~~her~~ life at the pensionnat; and in 1853 appeared Villette, by many thought to be the greatest of her novels.

Contemporary reviews praised Villette 'for that masterly delineation of character and analysis of emotion in which the writer excels.'³ 'The incidents may not be very striking, nor the plot very cunningly masked ...' yet 'Brain and heart are both held in suspense by the fascinating power of the writer.'³ 'A burning heart glows through^{out} it, and one brilliantly distinct character keeps it alive.'⁴ '...ce sont des ardeurs d'esprit et de plume qui éclatent à travers

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1. xx.90-91.
 2. xix.28f.
 3. Literary Gazette, 5 Feb. 1853.
 4. Athenaeum, 12 Feb. 1853.

le prosaïsme systématiquement choisi des incidents^(sa) et des situations.' Some indeed were oppressed by Villette: 'Dans Jane Eyre, l'imagination triomphe, et il résulte malgré tout de la lecture de ce livre une impression finale de bonheur et de joie. On sort de la lecture de 'Villette' lassé et abattu comme son héroïne, on en rapporte une impression triste, âpre et fiévreuse, ...'

But for most critics The Professor was the poorest of Charlotte Brontë's novels, a 'natural product of the Low Countries':³ 'Throughout the novel the quietness is unnatural, the level of fact too uniform, the restraint and theory of life too plain. The principles and art of the writer, though true, excite no corresponding sympathy on the part of the reader ...'⁴ Yet though parts of The Professor were admitted to be gloomy and bitter, the 'Placid sunshine'⁵ of the conclusion was noted, and the grace and charm of Frances Henri admired. She is a character 'of fresher, lighter, and more airy grace than any of the somewhat grim series of daguerrotypes which we have been accustomed to see spring so suddenly into living but forbidding outline on the sombre and metallic surface of Miss Brontë's imagination.'⁶

1. Revue des deux Mondes, March 1855. (Review by Eugène Forcade.)

2. Ibid., 1857.

3. Blackwood's Magazine, July, 1857. 4. Athenaeum, 13 June, 1857.

5. Dublin University Magazine, July 1857. 6. Economist, 27 June, 1857.

What had happened in the intervening years? What can explain the difference between the two novels: the realism of the one, the imaginative power which uses but transcends the real in the other; the pervading optimism of The Professor, the profound despair of Villette? For though there is bitterness in The Professor, bitterness is not its final mood. Edward and Mademoiselle Reuter are powerless against the will of the professor; they are finally irrelevant to the happiness of William and Frances. Lucy Snowe does not resent the happiness of other people, but she herself must fight in vain against the powers of darkness.

Before Charlotte Brontë¹¹ went to Brussels her life had been uneventful, secluded, somewhat frustrating, sometimes lonely, especially during her periods of governess-ship, but there was always a background of family intimacy, a shared world of imagination. Brussels meant some widening of horizons, but also intense loneliness and a correspondingly intense concentration of feeling upon Monsieur Heger. Yet though she longed to return home, she found Haworth on her return acutely depressing. She wrote to Ellen Nussey in March 1845:

I can hardly tell you how time gets on here at Haworth - There is no event whatever to mark its progress - one day resembles another - and all have heavy, lifeless physiognomies - Sunday - baking-day and Saturday are the only ones that bear the slightest distinctive mark - meantime life wears away - I shall soon be 30 - and I have done nothing yet -...yet it is wrong and foolish to repine - and undoubtedly my duty

directs me to stay at home for the present.— There was a time when Haworth was a very pleasant place to me; it is not so now.— I feel as if we were all buried here.— I long to travel;— to work: to live a life of action.¹

Her father was almost blind; she herself feared loss of sight; Branwell's degradation inspired intense moral repulsion, coupled with indignation against the woman who she thought was the cause of it; her plans for a school found no success. Charlotte Brontë's most urgent desire at this period was for some positive achievement, some assertion of her own strength of will, which would compensate for her own narrow life and would at the same time prove a kind of moral antidote to the unsavoury Branwell-Robinson entanglement and to her own revulsion from the idea that she loved Monsieur Heger.

The Professor reflects these emotions: revulsion, and desire to achieve. At the same time it provides vicarious satisfaction by uniting two desires incompatible in real life, for the union of master and pupil and for fulfilment as the reward of a steady application to hard work.

Between the writing of The Professor and the writing of Villette, Currer Bell achieved fame as the author of Jane Eyre and Shirley: outwardly her life became fuller and richer. She read more books, expatiated on them in letters to Williams, visited London, gained the friendship of George Smith and his mother, met and talked with

¹ S.H.E. ii. 28.

Thackeray and other famous writers. But for the woman Charlotte Brontë¹ life became sadder and lonelier. Branwell, Emily, Anne died, and Charlotte could share her life with no-one. The bitterness of fame without love, the contrast between the happy fulfilment she could see in other lives and the frustration and narrowness of her own, her own ill health, all pressed ~~he~~ heavily on her mind. She welcomed activity, but shrank from social life. The editing of Wuthering Heights and Agnes Grey, towards the end of 1850, increased her depression:

(September, 1850.)

...- I found the task at first exquisitely painful and depressing - but regarding it in the light of a sacred duty - I went on - and now can bear it better - ...¹

(23 October, 1850.)

I trust you are well - dear Ellen - I am very decent indeed in bodily health and am both angry and surprised at myself for not being better in spirits - for not growing accustomed or at least resigned to the solitude and isolation of my lot - But my late occupation left a result for some days and indeed still, very painful. The reading over of papers, the renewal of remembrances brought back the pang of bereavement and occasioned a depression of spirits well nigh intolerable - for one or two nights I scarcely ~~know~~^{know} how to get on till morning and when morning came I was still haunted with a sense of sickening distress - I tell you these things - because it is absolutely necessary to me to have some relief - ...²

But even without its associations, the actual story and mood of Wuthering Heights in particular must have deeply impressed Charlotte at this time, for she had to concentrate on every word: 'I have been closely engaged in revising,

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1. S.H.B. iii.166.
 2. S.H.B. iii.173.

transcribing - preparing a Preface - Notice, &c.¹ To Williams she described the impression it made on her:

Its power fills me with renewed admiration; but yet I am oppressed: the reader is scarcely ever permitted a taste of unalloyed pleasure; every beam of sunshine is poured down through black bars of threatening cloud; every page is surcharged with a sort of moral electricity; ...

May Sinclair suggested that Charlotte's reading of Wuthering Heights helped to explain the difference between The Professor and Jane Eyre.³ This later reading may well have had a profound effect on the mood and style of Villette, and thus go some way to explain its vast difference from Charlotte's earlier treatment of what is apparently the same theme.

But the most obvious difference - that of length - is clearly important. C. Brontë had to enlarge the material of The Professor in order to fill three volumes. She had already decided that the first chapters were 'deficient in interest', but she had attempted to re-work the 'two brothers' theme in The Moores and Shirley without much success. Miss Hinkley has commented on the development of Hunsden into Mr. Yorke, and the interest of his romantic past already used for Rochester in Jane Eyre.⁴ But the central Brussels experiences - isolation in a foreign country, uncongenial teaching, real or desired

1. SH.B.iii.166.

2. S.H.B.iii.165.

3. The Three Brontës (1912), pp. 125-6.

4. The Brontës (1947), p. 188.

growth of attachment between master and pupil, resentment of the power and position of Madame Reuter-Heger - all these remained to be more fully explored than in The Professor. Louis Moore had loved and won his pupil Shirley Keeldar, but this was to touch the edges merely of the central experience. Even in The Professor, Charlotte had avoided touching the nerve centre, for William is neither wholly herself nor wholly Heger: ^t The narrator should be one into whose feelings Charlotte could most nearly enter. She was therefore further confining her scope: Lucy Snowe could not enter the school of Monsieur Pelet. The characters are thus reduced to narrator, employers and professor; the scenes to lessons in class, conversations with the professor, loneliness during the vacation, repeated spying and interference of the employer, and perhaps a few school activities - a play, an examination, a picnic. However rich in psychological interest (M. Dimnet thought a 'modern' analytical treatment would have been a great improvement) - such a plot was evidently too thin for readers of the 1850's, as rejection of The Professor had shown. C. Brontë expanded her story into a double-triangle plot, adding at least four major and several minor characters, as well as a spice of pseudo-Gothic mystery. Mechanically, as she admitted, the expansion meant some awkward transitions, even some inconsistencies in character development. Yet though Villette may lose some formal unity, it gains in richness and breadth.

1. T. Brontë Sisters, (London, 1927.) xvi. 210-212.

The increasing divergence between the Bretton and Lucy Snowe episodes defines, as no single strand of plot could do, the nature of Lucy and the inevitability of her suffering. Madame Beck, supported by Père Silas and all the power of 'Romanism', is a far more formidable figure than Mlle. Reuter alone. Ginevra, foil to Lucy and to Paulina, does more than provide comic relief: she provides Lucy's contact with reality, and her whole life is an ironic comment on Lucy's emotions and ideals.

The technique of Villette remains to be examined in more detail. It seems clear that one of The Professor's defects is the fundamental one of a mistaken choice of narrator. Yet the character of Lucy was also much criticised.

'You say that she may be thought morbid and weak, unless the history of her life be more fully given. I consider that she is both morbid and weak at times;... I might explain away a few other points, but it would be too much like drawing a picture and then writing underneath the name of the object intended to be represented.'

This response to Williams's commentary is interesting but not adequate. If the reader were given some idea of the original cause of Lucy's 'morbidity and weakness', he could more reasonably be expected to respond with the sympathy

especially necessary in a first person narrative. Comparison with The Professor is instructive: ^{William's} his occasional morbidity is provided with some sort of explanation: a lonely, sensitive childhood, uncongenial relatives about whom we know a little, resentment against their unjust treatment of his parents. But the comparative unreality of this conventional background is clear from its irrelevance to most of the professor's thoughts and feelings. Specific details proved a hindrance - chiefly one imagines because they bore so little relation to the reality of the author's own experience. The contrast with Jane Eyre is complete. C. Brontë had used her own childhood suffering unforgettably - it could not do duty also for Lucy Snowe. Her allusions to unhappiness are therefore deliberately vague: the manuscript shows that she rejected even a slight approach to precision. In Chapter I, her 'residence with kinsfolk' was further qualified: 'I do not call it home; Bretton seemed to me the better home of the two.'¹ A phrase in Chapter 12 seems to refer to a time before the 'residence with kinsfolk': 'Oh my childhood! Oh lost affections! I had feelings ...'² The imagined past had clearly some similarity to that in The Professor. Yet other references - to the three deaths preceded by the 'restless hopeless cry'³ of the east wind, and to 'the well-loved dead who had loved me well in life'⁴ touch a deeper layer of personal experience than anything in The Professor; and the two elements are not satisfactorily fused. It is

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1. MS. of Villette, Vol. I. p. 3. Hawthorne Edition, i. 2.
 2. MS. of Villette, Vol. I. p. 179. Hawthorne Edition, xii. 126.
 3. Hawthorne Edition, iv. 40.
 4. *ibid.*, xv. 187.

possible that The Professor is here rather a handicap; its ready-made past may have helped to prevent the complete re-imagining which was needed for Villette. The late emendations in the latter novel, like the heavy corrections of Hunsden episodes in The Professor, may indicate this incomplete act of imagination.

The introduction of the narrator is however better managed than in The Professor: largely I think because Lucy Snowe is content to be the quiet observer, rational, calm, not without a normal sympathy and sensitivity: a kind of average person readily accepted by the reader as interpreter of events: 'I, Lucy Snowe, plead guiltless of that curse, an overheated and discursive imagination...' She has perhaps little positive character at this stage - her pleasure in the peace and order of Bretton, her restrained, slightly acid sense of humour, her quiet but rather impersonal kindness - these are the rather spare indications of her own personality. But this neutrality is in fact an advantage. It is exploited now and later in the novel, at first as a kind of blank screen against ~~the~~ which the other characters are projected, (Paulina lavished 'her eccentricities regardlessly before me...') then more and more as a façade concealing, and in ironic contrast to, Lucy's turbulent emotional responses.

C. Brontë had attempted to draw a similar character in The Professor, but her method was less skilful. William is

1. Villette, ii. 9.

2. *ibid.*, iii. 23.

made to assert his own character too strongly. The Straightforward self-description, '..we were neither of us what could be called popular characters..' and 'I cannot recollect that it was a strikingly attractive one...' might also apply to Lucy, but we are left to infer these qualities, whereas William appears somewhat unfairly to be humourless, self-absorbed, and unattractive to his real readers as well as his fictional acquaintance. The improvement in Villette arises partly from the greater ease of an experienced writer with a known public; partly from a realisation that a straightforward assumption of the narrative form is a better method of obtaining acceptance for the narrator than a palpably unreal 'letter', especially when this form was so speedily to be discarded.

The narrator is pre-eminently the observer in The Professor as in Villette. Both are connoisseurs of character, both stand apart from those they observe. 'I witnessed', 'I observed', 'I watched', are constantly recurring phrases in both novels. In Villette however the device is used with greater complexity. William Crimsworth watches keenly, yet longs to be involved in society: 'in fact I was fairly isolated, and could but contemplate the shining ones from afar, ... I should have liked well enough to be introduced to some pleasing and intelligent girl, and to have freedom and opportunity to show that I could both feel and communicate the pleasure of social intercourse - ...'¹ But Lucy tends voluntarily to choose the observer's role. She ~~rather~~ retired after the play 'to a quiet nook, whence unobserved I could observe - the ball, its splendours and its pleasures, passed before me as a spectacle.'² Voluntarily too she 'chose solitude': but as 'The Long Vacation' shows the terrifying consequences of compulsory solitude, when life becomes for Lucy a 'hopeless desert', so observation becomes a scourge and an agony for her. She is compelled to observe the progress of Graham's love, first for Ginevra and then for Paulina, but never for herself. The most memorable scenes in Villette convey the frustration of the observer who is powerless to act: Lucy watching M. Paul as the sunlight fades

1. The Professor, iii. 38.

2. Villette, xiv. 165-6.

from the garden of the pensionnat, watching him with Justine Marie and Madame Beck in the park. Observation is made to react on the observer; and the emotional conflict is greater because Lucy is externally passive. In The Professor the movement is from observation to action. Observation of Pelet and Mlle. Reuter results in decisive change of behaviour: like Mlle. Reuter herself, he can 'watch very vigilantly... but every now and then' 'give the rebellious circumstance a little secret push, without noise...'¹ Passages of pure observation - notoriously, of the pupils at Mlle. Reuter's school - tend to be developed without close relation to the plot. Jane Eyre, compelled often to observe and wait, is yet like the professor in that her will to act is the moving force at crises in her life. Shirley is a study of contrasting active and passive natures, and is at its most poignant in dealing with the emotions of the onlooker.

It seems clear that C. Brontë's own experience is responsible in great measure for this change in the function of the observer. Repeatedly, in her letters describing Emily's illness, she expresses the pain of the helpless onlooker. On 2 November 1848 she wrote to W. S. Williams, 'You must look on and see her do what she is unfit to do, and not dare say a word - a painful necessity for those to whom her health and existence are as precious as the life in their

1. The Professor, xviii.24.

veins.'¹ The revival of such memories in an acute form, caused by her work on Wuthering Heights, must have contributed to shape the experiences in Villette. Third person narration would have changed, but not shattered, the structure and mood of The Professor; third person narration in Villette is unthinkable, because personal experience and artistic necessity coincide.

Occasionally C. Brontë uses the traditional narrative device - the assumption that the novelist is the 'faithful historian of events'. In The Professor for example, she marks the realism of a conversation between Frances and William by the parenthesis, 'I am now about to sketch a brief report of the first of these conferences.'² and later, 'I report Mdlle. Henri's phrases literally, and it was thus she translated from the French.'³ Similar assumptions in Villette are less ingenuous: for example, in the rather heavy insistence on Dr. John's faults of character: 'But stop - I must not, from the faithful narrator, degenerate into the partial eulogist. Well, full well, do I know that Dr. John was not perfect,...'⁴ In Villette this pose covers C. Brontë's uneasiness in dealing with a character based, perhaps, too nearly on reality, and is accompanied by a self-conscious attitude towards the reader: 'the reader is requested to note a seeming contradiction in the two views which have been given of Graham Bretton - ...'⁴

1. S.H.B. ii. 269.

2. THE PROFESSOR, xvi. 279.

3. ibid., xvi. 284.

4. Villette, xix. 233.

.. But there can be no doubt that on the whole C. Brontë handles the narration better in Villette than in The Professor. The change in point of view from William to Lucy is probably the chief cause of the improvement. Lucy's situation is like that of Frances, and their characters have much in common, though the parallel cannot be pressed too far. They both have powerful feelings and a vivid imagination, but whereas Lucy's emotions are portrayed from the inside, and the experiences we share with her are coloured throughout by her powerful imagination, we can only observe the effect of Frances's feelings on her appearance and behaviour; rarely, and not always adequately, in her words. Certainly her development is described with charm and delicacy:

When I first saw her, her countenance was sunless, her complexion colourless; she looked like one who had no source of enjoyment, no store of bliss anywhere in the world; now the cloud had passed from her mien, leaving space for the dawn of hope and interest, and those feelings rose like a clear morning, animating what had been depressed, tinting what had been pale.¹

But her reactions to the mood and manner of the professor are only faintly shown. Her imaginative ability is stated, but its manifestations are limited to the 'devoirs' and a not very profound poem. The professor, like M. Paul, should be eccentric, emphatic, attractive - yet in The Professor he must also sustain the burden of the feeling. As the narrator, he runs the risk of losing the reader's sympathy, because he

1. The Professor, xviii.4.

appears brusque in his manner to Frances, priggish in his avoidance of temptation, prejudiced in his general opinions; and, as the narrator, he is not able adequately to show the naïve impulsive generosity which atones for M. Paul's failings. He is much better as an observed character, one whose impact is felt by others.

Once she had made the right choice in Villette, minor details fall naturally into place. The technical difficulties of self-description, of conveying the appearance of the narrator, are more satisfactorily solved in Villette. The insignificance of Lucy's personal appearance is made functional, influencing her own outlook and the attitude of others towards her, an important cause of her isolation: externally shadow-like, she can see other characters in the full blaze of light. During Dr. John's visits to the Pensionnat, 'He laid himself open to my observation, according to my presence in the room just that degree of notice and consequence a person of my exterior habitually expects: that is to say, about what is given to unobtrusive articles of furniture, chairs of ordinary joiner's work, and carpets of no striking pattern.' The burning question of the pink dress forms the theme of lively wordy conflicts with M. Paul.

At first it seems as if William Crimsworth's appearance is going to be equally functional. It affects his relations with Edward and Hunsden and provides an agreeable irony in

the comedy of Mlle. Reuter's infatuation:

"Que le dédain lui sied bien!" I once overheard her say to her mother: "il est beau comme Apollon quand il sourit de son air hautain."

And the jolly old dame laughed, and said she thought her daughter was bewitched, for I had no point of a handsome man about me, except being straight and without deformity. "Pour moi," she continued, "il me fait tout l'effet d'un chat-huant, avec ses bésicles."¹

William's plainness reflects C. Brontë's insistence on the ordinary man as hero, and on the superiority of 'spiritual affinity' to physical attractiveness. It should therefore be emphasised in the relation of William and Frances, as opposed to that of Edward and his wife, and to the 'animal nature' of Mlle. Reuter and the pupils of the pensionnat. C. Brontë does stress Frances's lack of beauty, but William's own plainness must be forgotten if his appreciation of her is not to sound condescending:

For me Frances had physical charms: in her there was no deformity to get over; none of those prominent defects of eyes, teeth, complexion, shape, which hold at bay the admiration of the boldest male champions of intellect (for women can love a downright ugly man if he be but talented);²...

The professor's features are like M. Paul's: but self-description can give little idea of the impression they make on others. William, using the device of mirror-reflection rather too obviously, compares his own appearance with Edward's -

1. xx. 83-4.

2. xxiii. 173.

... I amused myself with comparing the two pictures. In face I resembled him, though I was not so handsome; my features were less regular; I had a darker eye, and a broader brow - in form I was greatly inferior - thinner, slighter, not so tall. As an animal, Edward excelled me far; ...

Lucy describes the same features with much more freedom, and more justification, in her account of M. Paul at the concert:

... nor could I be blind to certain vigorous characteristics of his physiognomy, rendered conspicuous now by the contrast with a throng of tamer faces: the deep, intent keenness of his eye, the power of his forehead, pale, broad, and full - the mobility of his most flexible mouth.

The mirror device is used more skilfully in Villette.

Ginevra characteristically compares her own beauty with Lucy's plainness; Lucy wakes in La Terrasse to see herself reflected in the mirrors of Mrs. Bretton's drawing-room: 'I looked spectral; my eyes larger and more hollow, my hair darker than was natural, by contrast with my thin and ashen face.'³ Less satisfactorily, she sees herself 'as others see her' with the Brettons in the great mirror at the concert ^{hall} house.⁴ Her waking after her illness is not only well-described but well-placed, since appearance is to be an important touchstone in the Bretton episodes. The technical skill gained by practice in novel-writing may well be important here, for the mirror device recurs: in Jane Eyre the red room episode proved how well she could use it when her imagination was intensely aroused: 'All looked colder

1. The Professor, ii. 24.

2. Villette, xx. 260.

3. ibid., xvi. 194.

4. ibid., xx. 247.

and darker in that visionary hollow than in reality: and the strange little figure there gazing at me, with a white face and arms specking the gloom, and glittering eyes of fear moving where all else was still, had the effect of a real spirit: ...'.¹ C. Brontë may also have recalled Catherine Linton's horror at her own reflection in Wuthering Heights: she has become delirious after days of starvation, and lies gazing at her 'wasted face' reflected in a mirror. (There are other parallels in the situation which may have influenced Charlotte's technique: Catherine imagined herself back at Wuthering Heights - 'I thought as I lay there ... that I was enclosed in the oak-panelled bed at home; and my heart ached with some great grief which, just waking, I could not recollect. I pondered, and worried myself to discover what it could be, and, most strangely, the ^{whole} last seven years of my life grew a blank! I did not recall that they had been at all.'² Lucy, seeing again the furniture of Bretton, experiences a similar bewilderment: 'For all these objects were of past days, and of a distant country. Ten years ago I bade them good-by; ...'³ and concludes that she must have 'passed into an abnormal state of mind; in short, that I was very ill and delirious.'⁴)⁺

C. Brontë therefore successfully exploits the narrator's appearance in Villette; her changed viewpoint means that she can also use the professor's appearance in a way only faintly foreshadowed in the earlier novel. Objective description of M. Paul released her sense of humour, and his looks and

1. Jane Eyre, ii. 10. 2. WUTHERING HEIGHTS, xii. 125f.
3. Villette, xvi. 195. 4. Villette, xvi. 198.

behaviour are an abundant source of comedy. aA 'crisis of irritability' covers his face 'with the mask of an intelligent tiger';¹ he is a 'brownie' in an 'ink-stained paletôt';² a 'whirl wind of a man' by whom Lucy is 'shaken or emptied' out of her chair; 'That chair and my desk, seized by the wild paletôt, one under each sleeve, were borne afar; in a second, I followed the furniture.'³ The Professor is not without a dry humour: but William Crimsworth, ^bBecause he shares so much of C. Brontë's own nature, takes himself rather seriously. The lapse of time between Charlotte's life at Brussels and her writing of Villette probably helped to produce the degree of objectivity needed for ^{serious} comic treatment. At the earlier period of The Professor, she was still too emotionally involved for such a method to be possible. ~~One notices that Dr. John, a product of more recent experience in Villette, is essentially a serious character.~~

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1. Villette, xiv. 167.
 2. ibid., xxix. 408.
 3. ibid., xxxv. 477.

Miss Hinkley's perceptive analysis of the character of the professor shows how traits from Angrian characters and from Monsieur Heger were combined with self-portraiture: 'She wanted William for a surrogate ^{of} ~~for~~ herself to feel and express what she had felt. Such characteristics of her own as did not fit in William's story she eliminated and added characters that did fit ...' ¹ Why did this composite character appear to so many critics dull and lifeless? The Press said that the professor was dull, his love-making tame and cold; it was difficult to sympathise with his misfortunes or rejoice with his success. ² The Morning Post, which considered The Professor 'very immature', 'colder and more languid' than C. Brontë's other novels, thought William unamiable and impolite, 'the most hateful character in the book'. But The Morning Post was unsympathetic altogether - 'if this novel gave a faithful picture of society .. it would be better for us all that we were dead.' ³ The Economist made a more serious attempt to diagnose the professor's failure to attract. Comparing The Professor with Villette, the reviewer comments on the greater artistry of the latter and on the 'curious results' produced by the 'masculine impersonation of Miss Brontë herself' in the character of William. He says that the 'brooding mutinousness of spirit - which with great power of will is so characteristic of Lucy Snowe, does not suit well with the temperament intended [in the professor].' William's sullenness is 'that of a woman who is deliberately

1. The Brontës, p. 186f.

2. 13 June, 1857.

3. 7 September, 1857.

conscious of her slowness of temperament, and waits to accumulate sufficient impulse for strong action before she can act.' The professor 'wants 'charging' with causes for bitterness before he can be bitter. Now this is not masculine, ... ' He likes 'far better to receive exciting influences than to put them forth, - a purely feminine species of power.'¹

Comparison with the presentation of Monsieur Paul in Villette helps to illuminate the reasons for the professor's inferior vitality. Villette shows an advance in the technique of character manipulation; it shows the effect of the release, already noted, provided by the change of viewpoint; but there is also an enrichment of the character, mainly attributable, I think, to Charlotte Brontë's acquaintance with Thackeray: her reactions to Heger and to Thackeray had enough in common to allow a satisfactory blend of their characteristics.

Monsieur Paul is unflatteringly introduced, with an irony characteristic of Villette, by the person least able to appreciate him: Ginevra 'esteemed him hideously plain, and used to profess herself frightened almost into hysterics at the sound of his step or voice. A dark little man he certainly was ...'² But the impact - and the interest - is immediate; Monsieur Paul is heard vigorously denouncing the amateur actresses. 'Vous n'êtes donc que des poupées,' I heard him thunder.'³

1. The Economist, 27 June 1857.

2. Villette, xiv. 150

3. ibid., xiv. 150.

Charlotte Brontë had learnt the value of a dramatic first impression. William Crimsworth began his career with determined action, but for the reader its effect is minimised by its distance in time - the pluperfect tense is used - by the use of indirect speech, and by a summary instead of an exposition of the lively feelings which the action might be expected to excite: 'When I had declined my uncles' offers they asked me 'what I intended to do'. I said I should reflect. ... In reviewing this transaction I find that I was quite right to shake off the burden of Tynedale's patronage, but a fool to offer my shoulders instantly for the reception of another burden - one which might be more intolerable, and which certainly was yet untried.'¹ It is significant too that William is not introduced in the central situation, that of the master in relation to his pupils. The impression made when this situation does arise is, one of cool, deliberate firmness; and the professor's abruptness to Frances is self-conscious and deliberate also. But M. Paul, seen objectively, can appear spontaneous, dynamic: 'Moi, je veux que tout^{cela} s'allume, qu'il ait une vie, une âme.'²

Monsieur Paul's appeal is undoubtedly as much in his imperfections as his virtues. He is essentially unreasonable in his anger, and therefore humanly endearing: 'Still there certainly was something in M. Paul's anger - a kind of passion of emotion - that specially tended to draw tears.'³ Charlotte Brontë had

1. The Professor, i. 4-5.

2. Villette, xiv. 150.

3. ibid., xxi. 285.

made William Crimsworth pride himself on his cool, reasonable exterior, his self-control - virtues which she herself most desired at the time of writing, but which lack human appeal.

It has always been recognised that some of M. Paul's traits were taken from Thackeray. Mrs. Gaskell describes the incident at Thackeray's lecture in May 1851: 'When the lecture was ended Mr. Thackeray came down from the platform, and making his way towards her asked her for her opinion.'¹ Fraser's Magazine for May 1857 contains an appreciation of Charlotte Brontë's novels in which the 'rich and genuine' character study of M. Paul is described, and the idea of his connection with Thackeray is repeated.²

It is therefore significant that the change from a rational, controlled hero in The Professor to a faulty, impulsive, but lovable hero in Villette finds a parallel in the change in C. Brontë's attitude to Thackeray. Before she met him in person, she praised his work for its serenity and control - the virtues of the professor:

The more I read Thackeray's works the more certain I am that he stands alone - alone in his sagacity, alone in his truth, alone in his feeling ... alone in his power, alone in his simplicity, alone in his self-control. Thackeray is a Titan, so strong that he can afford to perform with calm the most herculean feats; there is the charm and majesty of repose in his greatest efforts; he borrows nothing from fever, his is never the energy of delirium - his energy is sane

1. Life, Chapter xxiii
2. lv. 581.

energy, deliberate energy, thoughtful energy.'¹ He has faults, but C. Brontë treats them rather solemnly: 'Does he not too much confound benevolence with weakness and wisdom with mere craft?'² This was in 1847. After her meeting with him in November 1849, the emphasis changes from admiration of his great 'Truth' (though this is still praised) to the fascination of his contradictory qualities. Rebecca and Rowena is 'like himself, and all he says and writes; harsh and kindly, wayward and wise, benignant and bitter; its pages are over-shadowed with cynicism, and yet they sparkle with feeling.'³ In 1852, when she was writing Villette, her comments on Thackeray's lectures have the tone of amused indignation she applied to M. Paul: she is aroused, irritated, stimulated into lively feeling:

I should think every one who heard them delivered will like to read them over again at leisure; for my own part I can hardly imagine a greater treat, were it only for the opportunity thereby afforded of fishing for faults and fallacies - and of fuming, fretting and brooding at ease over the passages that excited one's wrath. †

It would be easy to continue quoting Charlotte's descriptions of Thackeray's 'perversity', his unpredictable moods, his 'genuineness' and goodness, his ability to distinguish 'the real from the counterfeit', and perhaps surprisingly, his 'simple and unpretending' mind: all qualities which are combined in that 'Magnificent-minded, grand-hearted, dear, faulty little

1. Letter of 29 March, 1848. (S.H.B. ii. 201.)

2. Letter of 11 Dec. 1847. (S.H.B. ii. 160)

3. Letter of 9 Jan. 1850. (S.H.B. iii. 65.)

4. Letter of 11 March, 1852. (S.H.B. iii. 322.)

man!', the Monsieur Paul of Villette.

Charlotte Brontë's attitude to Thackeray may have been akin to hero-worship, but, based on her admiration for his greatness as an author, it did not have the personal quality of her feeling for Heger. In The Professor, Heger's characteristics are subjectified, subordinated to Charlotte's own feelings. The association with Thackeray in Villette, together with the changed viewpoint, enabled her to objectify him much more freely.

William Crimsworth is like Monsieur Heger in his abruptness, his apparent severity, his real appreciation of the imaginative powers of the isolated Frances, and to a certain extent in his kindness to her - for example in his gifts of books. Like Heger, he teaches in two schools. When C. Brontë expanded her story for Villette, she retained these details, but she made Monsieur Paul older than William, - and had therefore to invent a past for him. Part of this past she adapted from The Professor, part of it she probably based on Monsieur Heger's real life - but it may well be that her shaping of his experience owed something to the novels of Thackeray.

Monsieur Paul appears as a romantic idealist, not perhaps worshipping the memory of the 'mild Marie' as Père Silas would have Lucy think, but certainly cherishing it, capable of devotion to one 'Who had neither the treachery to be false, nor the force to be quite staunch to her lover...'[†] Lucy has

1. Villette, xli. 586.

little sympathy for such persons: '... there werē girls like her in Madame Beck's school - phlegmatics - pale, slow, inert, but kind-natured, neutral of evil, undistinguished for good.'¹ William's attitude is like Lucy's - no doubt, Charlotte Brontë's also. He describes the 'poor little Sylvie' at Mlle. Reuter's school:

Sylvie was gentle in manners, intelligent in mind; she was even sincere, as far as her religion would permit her to be so, but her physiaal organization was defective; weak health stunted her growth and chilled her spirits, and then, destined as she was for the cloister, her whole soul was warped to a conventual bias, and in the tame, trained subjection of her manner, one read that she had already prepared herself for her future course of life, by giving up her indepedence of thought and action into the hands of some despotic confessor. ... pale, blighted image, where life lingered feebly, but whence the soul had been conjured by Romish wizardcraft.²

Sylvie is later contrasted with Frances, as in Villette we feel the contrast between Lucy and Justine Marie: a piece of detached observation in The Professor, becomes functional in the later novel, for Justine seems to threaten Lucy's happiness, and the reader shares her fear and suspense. But the association of the professor with a Sylvie-like character is something new in Villette. It is known that Monsieur Heger, whose father, like Monsieur Paul's, had been financially ruined ('en secourant financièrement un ami') had married as his first wife 'une demoiselle Noyer', and that 'sa femme mourā avec leur jeune enfant pendant la terrible epidemie de cholera qui ravagea

Bruxelles en août-septembre 1832...³ It may be that Thackeray's

1. Villette, xxxv. 476.

2. The Professor, xii. 201-3.

3. Louis Quiévreux, Bruxelles, les Brontés et la famille Heger.

affection for his mild, gentle women characters - the Caroline of 'A Shabby Genteel Story', 'pale and thin' with 'fair hair and meek grey eyes'; the 'poor little Amelia' so meek and uncomplaining in her suffering; and the 'artless and graceful' Laura of Pendennis, with her 'fair trustful hand' and 'tender tone'. - it may be that this preference influenced the choice of character for Monsieur Paul's early romance.

One major incident from The Professor has been retained as a detail in Monsieur Paul's past life. In the chapter called 'The Dryad' Paul gives Lucy what is virtually a summary of the main events in Chapters ix to xii of The Professor. Lucy had been considering her plans for economical school-keeping very much in the manner of The Professor, and perhaps it was this which reminded C. Brontë of the Reuter episode. In Villette Monsieur Paul finds Lucy asleep in the first classe and covers her with a shawl. Seeing her later in the allée défendue, he confesses to the kind deed, and insists that she needs 'watching, and watching over'. He observes others besides Lucy, he says - 'My book is this garden; its contents are human nature - ... Ah! I know you well - St. Pierre, the Parisienne - cette maîtresse-femme, my cousin Beck herself.' Lucy objects to the system, but he justifies it: she knows 'the St. Pierre' only partially, but he thoroughly. 'She played before me the amiable; offered me patte de velours; caressed, flattered, fawned on me. Now, I am accessible to a woman's flattery - accessible against

1. Villette, xxxi.

my reason. Though never pretty, she was, - when I first knew her - young, or knew how to look young. ' Lucy questions his statement that Zélie's social assurance spared him the pain of embarrassment, but he convinces her of his sincerity and modesty. 'As to the St. Pierre, ... she once intended to be Madame Emanuel; and I don't know whither I might have been led, but for yonder little lattice with the light ... I have witnessed what bucklers me against her arts: I am safe from poor Zélie.' He goes on to comment on the romping 'jeunes filles', on the quiet Lucy, and on the spying of Madame Beck. Lucy sermonises him on the 'wrong done' to his own nature by his spying, and wishes he were a Protestant. The chapter ends with the ominous appearance of the 'nun': probably intended, after Monsieur Paul's remarks on the 'rapport' between himself and Lucy, as a portent of division, in this case religious division - as the rending of the chestnut tree in Jane Eyre portended the separation of Rochester and Jane.

In The Professor William's escape from Zoraïde Reuter's snares is presented dramatically; it is a foil to the main story of his love for Frances, and provides a motive for Mlle. Reuter's dismissal of her. Zélie's ensnaring is made incidental, and less closely related to the present time of the narrative. Yet the whole account is very well done, if one can allow that Monsieur Paul would reveal his past so frankly to Lucy;

and it serves to illustrate the major issues of Villette. The spying is ~~made~~ a part of Monsieur Paul's Jesuitry, and so a reminder of the crucial religious difference in Villette: a source of tension between Paul and Lucy, resolved by their mutual love and understanding. The love of William and Frances has warmth, even passion; but it cannot have the power gained by the conquest of inward and spiritual differences in Villette.

The episode is significant in other ways: Mlle. Reuter's former rôle is transferred not to Madame Beck but to Zélie St. Pierre. This seems to be well-judged: the older, less shallow Madame Beck may have wished to become Madame Emanuel, but her weapons were more formidable than those of Mlle. Reuter. She is not revealed as Lucy's rival until Paul Emanuel seems to have deserted Lucy: a most important change of emphasis. Mlle. Reuter's removal of Frances is a temporary obstacle, conquered after no very long interval by the professor. Madame Beck's 'removal' of Monsieur Paul is reserved for a time when it will produce the greatest possible agony in Lucy; and Lucy herself is completely helpless against her rival.

Again, although the episode is so closely based on The Professor that it is described in words echoing the earlier novel more clearly than any other passage (except perhaps the arrival in Belgium) it is completely adapted to its new purpose. The use of Zélie is entirely in keeping with her character in Villette. The brief sketch of a pensionnat teacher in

The Professor has been successfully developed into a vivid minor character in Villette. Zélie St. Pierre's presence at the play or the fête, her glib lies and her superficial charm, are a perpetual reminder of the worldly corruption at the heart of the pensionnat. Finally the 'Dryad' chapter as a whole sets Monsieur Paul in a new light, It is from this point that we begin to see him as a 'marrying man', in spite of his disowning the idea. The Professor episode has served as a useful transition from the eccentric school-teacher to the man of possible tenderness and susceptibility.

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Much of the power of Villette, 'the very fulness of poetry, of visualising force, that runs through it like a fiery stream bathing and kindling all it touches down to the smallest detail, ...', 'can I think be traced to C. Brontë's use of imagery; and the contrasts and likenesses to The Professor in its nature and function show clearly the direction of her development. Already in The Professor images were used to define and show affinities between characters, to mark the progress of the underlying theme, to underline moments of stress. Settings and natural events were also made to harmonise with and re-inforce the effect of the formal images.

In Jane Eyre a more overt symbolism was used in addition, and character contrasts became almost too clearly marked; for example, the fire and warmth of Jane and Rochester ^set against the glacial cold of St. John Rivers. But an increasingly subtle and powerful symbolic use of setting (place, weather, natural description) is noticeable. Shirley marks a change in the content of the images. They are more sombre, characterised in general by violence and acute physical sensation. More than usual are drawn from the Old Testament. The tone is set in the first chapter: the story will be 'cold lentils and vinegar without oil; it shall be unleavened bread with bitter herbs, and no roast lamb.'² Shirley's description of the 'woman-Titan' Eve in Chapter xviii shows the characteristic violence: 'The

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1. Mrs. Humphry Ward, Introduction to Haworth Edition of Villette, p. xix.
 2. Shirley, i. 1-2.

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first woman's breast ... yielded the daring which could contend with Omnipotence: the strength which could bear a thousand years of bondage, - the vitality which could feed that vulture death through uncounted ages, ...'¹ There are an exceptional number of purple passages in which various figures, particularly personification, are developed. There is an impression of turbulent excess not fully under control: the pressure of immediate experience is breaking the bounds of art.

C. Brontë wrote to W. S. Williams on 6 November 1852, 'Unless I am mistaken the emotion of the book will be found to be kept throughout in tolerable subjection.'² This conscious effort to control feeling in Villette has a twofold effect on the imagery used. In the first place there is, in comparison with The Professor and even with Jane Eyre, an amazing amount of imagery: the emotion to be expressed required the control, and the degree of remoteness from reality, provided by this means. In the second place, although there are even more frequent concentrations of imagery than in Shirley, they are usually closely relevant to the situation and character. The artistry already evident in The Professor is now used to contain and direct a much greater force of emotion.

Character-defining images used in The Professor - enclosure and strategy, for example, continuously associated with Mlle. Reuter - re-appear in Villette, but with greater frequency,

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1. Shirley, xviii. 328-9.
 2. S.H.B. iv. 17-18.

and more closely related to the main theme; and the method is extended to all the characters. Although the central characters are individually more complex than those in The Professor, they are symbolically grouped by means of two contrasting thematic images of storm and sunshine, a method which would perhaps be unsuited to the narrower range of characters in The Professor, and which, I think, can be shown to relate to Emily Brontë's imagery in Wuthering Heights.

The development can best be seen by considering the treatment of one or two significant images occurring in both The Professor and Villette. In The Professor Edward is the 'natural prey' of the Hunsdens, who are 'unrivalled at tracking a rascal';¹ his stare is at once 'bull-like and amazed';² his malignity is 'prowling and ~~prying~~', 'snake-like', while William's 'Caution, Tact, Observation' guard him with their 'lynx-eyes.'³ Later William is the 'prey' of Mlle. Reuter - 'the design of her brain, was to lure back the game she had scared'.⁴ Pelet warns him to 'observe then her eyebrows, et dites-moi [sic] s'il n'y a pas du chat dans l'un et du renard dans l'autre';⁵ like a cat, she has a 'patte de velours'.⁶ At the other extreme, Juanna Trista 'made noises...like a horse'⁷ and 'sustained a swinish tumult';⁸ the pupils at Pelet's 'would have resisted as obstinately ... as desperate swine';

1. The Professor, vi. 90.
 2. ibid., v. 80.
 3. ibid., iv. 53-4.
 4. ibid., xiii. 229.

5. ibid., xi. 184.
 6. ibid., xi. 185.
 7. ibid., xii. 199.
 8. ibid., xii. 200.

'panther-like deceit' is about Adèle's mouth.¹ At the beginning of Chapter xix the professor deplures those who have 'plunged like beasts into sensual indulgence.'² Clearly there is some consistency here: Edward is associated with animal or brutal nature, the pupils with repellent or vicious creatures, Mlle. Reuter is cat-like and stealthy: these are contrasted with the purer images of light and fire associated with the professor and Frances. But in Villette animal images are persistently used for almost all the characters; and they have a much greater range. Graham is most often leonine, but he is also like a cat and a leopard; Paulina is associated with small lovable creatures - a bird, especially a 'nestling' bird (an image also used for Frances); but also a monkey, mouse, chamois, kitten, fawn, lamb, and spaniel. The extreme contrasts of The Professor are thus avoided; ^{yet} ~~and~~ though the partial affinity of Lucy and Paulina is marked by another series of frost and fire images, the fundamental disharmony between the life of Lucy and that of Graham and Paulina remains distinct.³

Charlotte has also learned how to handle her images with amusing effect: Paul Emanuel's face has a 'close and pictures⁴ue resemblance to that of a black and sallow tiger' and he is a 'salamander - for whom no room ever seemed too hot'.⁴

And yet the sense of violence and terror, expressed in terms of animal passion and cruelty, is never far from the

1. The Professor, xii. 197. 3. Villette, xxviii. 387.
 2. ibid., xix. 28. 4. ibid., xxx. 421.

surface. The Vashti chapter, ~~sometimes criticised as not very relevant padding~~, is evidently a means of expression for Charlotte's realisation of the primitive violence underlying the smooth surface of civilised life: 'Swordsmen thrust through, and dying in their blood on the arena sand; bulls goring horses disembowelled, made a meeker vision for the public - ... than Vashti torn by seven devils: ...'¹ Yet it is by his reaction to Vashti that Lucy tests and finds wanting Graham Bretton: '... and then such a strange smile went wandering round his lips, a smile so critical, so almost callous.'² In The Professor Edward Crimsworth had provided some outlet for this combined attraction^{and} and repulsion from brutal violence, but he is set aside in the main story. But the sense of animal cruelty is far from incidental in Villette; the over-riding idea of Lucy as the victim of Fate is continually reflected in the recurrent metaphor of the hunted prey. William Crimsworth was for a time the prey of Mlle. Reuter, but he had the will and power to escape. Lucy's antagonists are inescapable. It is significant that the first unmistakable prey of victim metaphor coincides with Lucy's arrival in Villette.

... my fancy budded fresh and my heart basked in sunshine. These feelings, however, were well kept in check by the secret but ceaseless consciousness of anxiety lying in wait on enjoyment, like a tiger crouched in a jungle. The breathing of that beast of prey was in my ear always; his fierce heart panted close against mine; he never stirred in his lair but I felt him: I knew he waited only for sundown to bound ravenous from his ambush.³

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1. Villette, xxiii. 306.
 2. *ibid.*, xxiii. 309.
 3. *ibid.*, vii. 67.

One recalls Lucy's premonition of suffering, - 'I had wanted ... to escape occasional great agonies ... Fate would not so be pacified',¹ with its suggestion of a victim sacrificed. (The manuscript shows three earlier attempts for 'pacified': 'mollified', 'Propitiated', 'appeased'.²) One remembers also Miss Marchmont's lover dragged to death by the great black horse, and Miss Marchmont left to endure thirty years of suffering. But after the first explicit 'beast of Prey' simile, the images are unequivocal, and, in their cumulative effect, do much to create the tragic atmosphere of Villette.

The ~~complete~~ contrast with the opening of the Brussels epoch in The Professor forces itself on one's notice:

'... I felt like a morning traveller who doubts not that from the hill he is ascending he shall behold a glorious sunrise; what if the track be strait, steep, and stony? he sees it not; his eyes are fixed on that summit, flushed already, flushed and gilded, and having gained it he is certain of the scene beyond ... I thought nothing of the stones turning under my feet, or of the thorns scratching my face and hands.'³

Lucy then is continually the prey of circumstance: her pursuers on the first night in Villette are 'hunters';⁴ she is relieved to be no longer the 'stagnant prey of mould and rust',⁵ but she becomes the prey of Madame Beck, the 'foolish

1. Villette, iv. 40. 4. Villette, vii. 71.
 2. MS. p.56. 5. ibid., x. 93.
 3. The Professor, vii. 104-5. 6.

fly' involved in the cobwebs of her plots.¹ She becomes the 'prey of malady',² and even, less seriously, the 'half-worried prey' of M. Paul,³ and she seems to him like a 'young she wild creature, new-caught, untamed, viewing with a mixture of fire and fear the first entrance of the breaker-in.'⁴ To Père Silas, she seems the 'prey of Heresy'.⁵ If she is temporarily happy it is because 'sadness, for a certain space, was held at bay.' When, deeply hurt by Graham's complete forgetfulness of her, she realises that 'Destiny has designed' her 'to imitate the dormouse' and 'creep into a hole of life's wall,' she knows that spring's softness may not return: 'the frost may get into his heart and never th^aw more; when spring comes, a crow or a pie may pick out of th^aw wall only his dormouse-bones.'⁷

It seems almost impossible to believe that the difference in tone between The Professor and Villette, marked at the beginning of each Brussels section and maintained throughout, is solely one of ~~plot~~ conformity to the plot. The professor's optimism has an air of reality, of harmony with the author's own feeling which would have been, I think, impossible, had her mood been at all akin to that expressed in Villette. C. Brontë seems to recall the uncomplicated emotions of hope and ambition which inspired her first visit to Brussels. But Villette is heavy with foreboding: the return to Brussels, in itself more disturbing to Charlotte and prompted by an 'irresistible impulse',⁸

1. Villette, xii. 133.

2. ibid., xxii. 299.

4. ibid., xxi. 274.

5. ibid., xxxiv. 471.

6. ibid., xxxiii. 300.

7. ibid., xxiv. 317.

8. S.H.B. i. 287.

3. Villette, xxx. 427.

is over-shadowed by later events - by M. Heger's coldness, by the 'passing through the valley of the shadow' endured by the writer of Villette.

Again, Charlotte's close reading of Wuthering Heights probably helps to account for the difference in atmosphere. Brutal cruelty is pervasive in the action, and in a few significant images. It will be remembered that Lockwood enters Wuthering Heights and is attacked¹ by the wolfish hound 'her lips curled up and her white teeth watering for a snatch'; he is watched by the 'ruffianly bitch' and the 'grim shaggy sheep-dogs'. Eventually 'half a dozen four-footed fiends ... issued from hidden dens to the common centre'.¹ They remind Lockwood of the 'herd of Possessed swine': 'you might as well leave a stranger with a brood of tigers.'² When he tries to leave after his second visit, 'two hairy monsters flew at my throat, bearing me down and extinguishing the light.'³ In Chapter viii Edgar had 'no more power to leave Catherine⁴ than a cat to leave a 'mouse half-killed, or a bird half-eaten.'⁴ Closest to C. Brontë's seminal image in Chapter vii of Villette is Nellie's fear for Hindley Earnshaw: Heathcliff seems 'an evil beast' - 'I felt that God had forsaken the stray sheep there to its own wicked wanderings, and an evil beast prowled between it and the fold, waiting his time to spring and destroy.'⁵

One may also compare ^{with} C. Brontë's 'bulls goring horses

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| 1. <u>Wuthering Heights</u> , i. 5. | 4. <i>ibid.</i> , viii. 73. |
| 2. <i>ibid.</i> , i. 6. | 5. <i>ibid.</i> , x. 111 |
| 3. <i>ibid.</i> , ii. 16. | |

disembowelled' (and with her repeated metaphor of 'goadi^g' or 'spurring') the description of Heathcliff after Catherine's death. He 'howled, not like a man, but like a savage beast ~~getting~~^{being} goaded^d to death with knives and spears. I observed several s splashes of blood about the bark of the tree. '¹

More frequently noted is the atmosphere of storm in Villette. Phyllis Bentley, for example, writes that 'Villette has a wonderful climate of stormy night - storm and night as they really are, however, with all their uncomfortable as well as their exciting accompaniments.'² Beside Villette, The Professor appears quiet, almost static. It has one real, though brief, storm, marking a climax in the action. Frances's *devoir* describes a winter forest, with 'flakes of snow falling' and a 'heavy storm' foretold.³ But storm images are almost totally lacking. Such as there are relate to past rather than present time: 'for my childhood was not all sunshine - it had its overcast, its cold, its stormy hours.'⁴ In Villette, ^daprt from the real tempests which provide a background to the action at so many significant points, storms and shipwrecks are used symbolically at least four times, marking a crisis of fate or reflecting Lucy's mood. Metaphors and similes are continually drawn from the same source, and are especially associated with M. Paul.

1. Wuthering Heights, xvi. 174.

2. P. Bentley, Introduction to Collins Edition, 1953, p.15.

3. The Professor, xvi. 266. 4. *ibid.*, vii. 102.

There is nothing heavy or ominous about M. Paul's storms: 'Well might we like him, with all his passions and hurricanes, when he could be so benignant and docile at times, as he was just now.'¹ Almost always they are described humorously, with an affectionate indulgence: he 'fumed like a bottled storm, ... his paletôt...hung dark and menacing; ... his blue eye had a cloud in its glitter.'² Lucy Snowe is glad of the 'good strong partition-wall between her and the gathering storm.'³ 'As usual, he broke upon us like a clap of thunder.'⁴

Yet clearly it is by this stormy nature that Lucy recognises her 'kinship' with him. Choosing seclusion and gloom at the pensionnat, shunning excitement, she dreads 'certain accidents of the weather, ... because they ... stirred up a craving cry I could not satisfy.' But when the storm does come, she must respond: 'As for me, the tempest took hold of me with tyranny: I was roughly roused and obliged to live.' 'I could not go in: too resistless was the delight of staying with the wild hour, black and full of thunder ...'⁵

Storms meant death: four times Lucy had feared the 'tormented, long-lamenting east wind', the 'strange high tides flowing furiously in on low sea-coasts.'⁶ Yet Lucy was drawn towards the storm as she was drawn towards M. Paul: the conclusion was inevitable - in the end 'the destroying angel of tempest ... achieved his perfect work.'⁷

1. *Villette*, xxxiii. 456.

2. *ibid.*, xv. 180.

3. *ibid.*, xxviii. 385.

4. *ibid.*, xxi. 282.

5. xli. 126.

6. iv. 40.

7. xlii. 593.

Storm images underline the essential difference between Lucy and the Brettons: Mrs. Bretton is a 'stately ship cruising safe on smooth seas', Lucy a 'life-boat ... only putting to sea when the billows run high in rough weather'.¹ Lucy is moved by Vashti's acting, but as for Graham 'for what belonged to storm, ... he had no sympathy.'² To ^aPaulina she explains, 'I do not think the sunny youth of either ^[Paulina & Graham] will prove the fore-runner of stormy age.'³ 'Sunshine' is the title of the chapter in which the happy marriage of Graham and Paulina is described: 'I do believe there are some human beings so born, so reared ... that no excessive suffering penetrates their lot, and no tempestuous blackness overcasts their journey.'⁴ Once in her life Lucy too goes back to the 'first fresh days' of Eden and can bathe 'in its sunrise';⁵ but storm brings her brief happiness to an end.

There is hardly a suggestion of this in The Professor. William certainly arouses a responsive feeling in Frances, but the images used are of kindling flame and of the sun emerging from cloud. '... her depression beamed as a cloud might behind which the sun is burning.'⁶ '... now the cloud had passed from her mien, leaving space for the dawn of hope and interest, and those feelings rose like a clear morning, ...'⁷ Frances is also 'a precious plant' whose growth and blossoming is watched by the professor;⁸ and later 'other faculties shot up strong, branched out broad, and quite altered the external character

* 1. Villette, xvii. 212. 6. ivi. The Professor, xvi. 273.
 2. ibid., xxxii. 449. 7. ibid., xviii. 4.
 3. ibid., xxxvii. 523. 8. ibid., xviii. 6.
 4. ibid., xli. 589. *2. Villette, xxiii, 308.

of the plant.'¹ William begins his life in Belgium with a vision of sunrise, and ends it, as far as the novel is concerned, in an idyllic English countryside on a midsummer evening.

When was it that the commonplace image of the 'storms of life' began to have a real significance for C. Bronte? Storm and sunshine are used conventionally enough in the early writings. Jane Eyre, though much more turbulent than The Professor, ends in tranquillity. Fire rather than tempest is the dominant image - the thunderbolt that split the chestnut at Thornfield prefigured only a temporary destruction of Jane's happiness. But in Shirley C. Brontë begins to use storm imagery to distinguish characters and mark crises: Caroline hopes that Robert will have 'a fair wind' for his trading ventures, but he 'dare not dismiss from his mind the expectation of a tempest.' Caroline replies that he is a skilful pilot' and will 'w^hether the storm.'² And in fact though the 'tempest of war' rages in the outside world,³ Robert survives and prospers in the end. Tempests stimulate and excite Shirley, and leave her 'freshness quite unblighted.'⁴ But the almost mortal illness of Caroline is expressed in storm images which between them were to enclose the whole life of Lucy Snowe: 'The future sometimes seems to sob a low warning of the events it is bringing us. Like some gathering though remote storm, which, in tones of the wind, in flushings of the firmament, in clouds strangely torn, announces

1. The Professor, xxv. 220. 4. ibid., xx. 359.
2. Shirley,
3. Shirley, xxii. 395.

a blast strong to strew the sea with wrecks; ...¹ Caroline survives, for the sun returns, as, by a kind of miracle, Mrs. Pryor had returned from the dead past. It was the intolerable loneliness which time could not mitigate that made the stormy East winds and strange 'perturbations of nature' of 1848-9 take on the force of permanent symbols of death.²

But Shirley does not stress, as Villette does, the impassable gulf between creatures of storm and creatures of calm. It seems clear that Charlotte's friendship with George Smith, which really began after the publication of Shirley, precipitated the realisation, that, as she told Mrs. Gaskell, 'it did not fall to the lot of all - ... to have their lines fall in pleasant places.'³ The serenity and sunshine that she could see in his life could not be hers: the mood of The Professor was no longer possible.

Blondel comments on the dual function of nature in Wuthering Heights and notes the association of its characters with the opposing forces of storm and peace.⁴ The distinction in Villette is more absolute than that in Wuthering Heights: even Heathcliff is not all storm, and the first Cathy can fill the house with sunshine. The story begins in the 'bitter whirl of wind and suffocating snow', but it ends with the 'soft wind breathing through the grass'. But the atmosphere of storm must have had a new and painful meaning for Charlotte after Emily's death; and the association of the characters with storm and sun is powerful enough to strengthen Charlotte's growing realisation of its

1. Shirley, xxiv. 427.

3. Life, II. xiii. 302-3.

2. See for example letters of 29 Oct. 1848. (S.H.B. ii. 268.) and 5 April 1849. (S.H.B. ii. 322.)

4. Emily Brontë: Expérience Spirituelle et Création Poétique, (1955) p. 341 f.

truth to life. Catherine Earnshaw's restless longing in life, like the restlessness of her spirit after death, is associated with the tempestuous winds which blow round the Heights. The younger Catherine, though temporarily spoilt by suffering, is by nature sunny: 'She was the most winning thing that ever brought sunshine into a desolate house.'¹ Charlotte Brontë's Paulina is no doubt partly Angrian in derivation, partly based on Fanny Whipp:³ but there are enough similarities to Catherine Linton to strengthen the impression that Charlotte was, perhaps unconsciously, recalling her. 'Her spirit was high, though not rough, and qualified by a heart sensitive and lively to excess in its affections. That capacity for intense attachments reminded me of her mother: still she did not resemble her: for she could be soft and mild as a dove, and she had a gentle voice and pensive expression.... If a servant chanced to vex her, it was always - 'I shall tell papa!' And if he reproved her, even by a look, you would have thought it a heart-breaking business: I don't believe he ever did speak a harsh word to her. He took her education entirely on himself, and made it an amusement.'² One remembers too Catherine's eager welcome of her father on his return with Linton.

Wuthering Heights thus influenced both technique and choice of character in Villette, and helped Charlotte to integrate the material of The Professor with her later experience.

1. Wuthering Heights, xviii. 196.

2. *ibid.* Compare, for example, Villette, ii. 10; iii. 21; xxxii. 449.

3. See S.H.B. i. 190.

It is interesting to trace the development of imagery which was already important in The Professor. Sea-images, for example, used sparingly but with considerable delicacy at significant points in the professor's career, ^{are} ~~is~~ used also to mark crises in Villette, but in each case are more highly elaborated. Lucy's life begins with figurative, and ends with real, shipwreck. Significant, too, is Lucy's s^ojourn at La Terrasse, where the gale sounds 'like a tide retiring from a shore of the upper world - a world so high above that the rush of its largest waves, the dash of its fiercest breakers, could sound down in this submarine home, only like murmurs and a lullaby.'² This follows almost immediately after Lucy's contrast between the 'stately ship' of Mrs. Bretton's life and her own as a 'half-drowned life-boatman': in other words, C. Brontë is again showing the incompatibility of Lucy's existence and that of the Bretton's, the false security of her experiences with them.

The sea-image is thus used suggestively, as the 'enclosed garden' image had been in The Professor. The process of fusing together the real and the imaginary world has become a major technique in Villette. In The Professor, the garden, and possibly the graveyard, have symbolic value. In the later novel the garden is still symbolic, and is in addition linked with very potent conventional associations, which derive from the religious conflict in the plot, a power impossible in The Professor. The Pensionnat itself is, like that in The Professor, realistic in its clear,

1. Villette, xvii. 213.

2. ibid., xvii. 212.

well-remembered detail. But in Villette this too passes easily into symbol. The dormitory is filled with death's heads, the house -roof is 'crushing as the slab of a tomb'.¹ The garden also has heavier associations: the letters are buried there and, like Lucy, seem to be buried alive - 'Sometimes I thought the tomb unquiet, and dreamed strangely of disturbed earth, and of hair, still golden, obtruded through coffin-chinks.'² The house in the Rue des Mages, surrounded by 'eld and decay', and desolate in the 'shadow of a coming storm' seems symbolic of the dead past, and to Lucy the 'cell-like room' is part of an evil fairy tale: 'The wanderer, decoyed into the enchanted castle, heard rising, outside, the spell-wakened tempest.'³ Frances's room in The Professor exists on one plane only: contemporary critics praised the description for its 'graphic delineation' of reality - it is 'charmingly painted' with 'photographic accuracy';⁴ 'Did ever a Dutch painter do his work more honestly and patiently?'⁵

What was it that fully released C. Brontë's power to raise the real on to a symbolic plane?. Partly, I think, the fact that the scheme of Villette allows her to draw on emotions which go much deeper than those needed in The Professor: the knowledge rather than the fear of death, the terrors rather than the ennui of solitude. Their comparative remoteness in time had allowed Charlotte Brontë to give her childhood experiences symbolic as well as realistic value; it was now

1. Villette, xv. 188.
 2. ibid., xxxi. 432.
 3. ibid., xxxiv. 464.

4 & 5. Dublin University Magazine, July 1857.
 5. Eclectic Review, July 1857.

long enough since the Brussels episode for the same imaginative treatment.

It may be too that the books which had most impressed her in the years between The Professor and Villette had some influence: the pervasive sea-imagery for example in Dombey and Son; the dream-like sense of place in the later parts of Consuelo and the power of its death-symbols, (the remote castle of Count Albert, the mysterious subterranean cave); and the haunted room, the real and the spiritual imprisonment, of Wuthering Heights.

Most striking is the development of imagery drawn from battle or weapons. This is abundantly present in The Professor and is diffused throughout the chapters dealing with William's conflicts with Edward, with Mlle. Reuter and the pupils. On the whole it shows William to be on the defensive. For example, he receives Edward's sarcasms 'on a buckler of impenetrable indifference';¹ his 'natural sentinels' are 'Caution, Tact, Observation';² he 'buckled on a breast-plate of steely indifference' against Mlle. Reuter's pupils,³ and was 'proof' against the 'artillery' of Amelia's languishing glances.⁴ C. Brontë's touch is fairly light - Mlle. Reuter for example shows a 'little, red-coloured, piratical pennon of audacity'⁵ - and there is no sense of a mortal struggle. As the story develops, warfare images become less frequent, their last significant appearance being in the amusing combat of words between Frances and Hunsden.⁶

1. The Professor, iii. 37.

2. ibid., iv. 53-4.

3. ibid., x. 167.

4. ibid., xii. 195.

5. ibid., xviii. 27.

6. ibid., xxiv.

In Villette, on the other hand, the warfare is perpetual. There are more images drawn from battle than from any other single source: more than ninety instances, as opposed to about thirty 'storm', fifty-five 'cold' (including snow, ice, and frost), and an average number of about fifteen ('slavery') to twenty-five ('ghost, spectre, phantom'.) Comparable figures for The Professor are thirty-five from warfare, (again the largest number, but not as evenly diffused as in Villette,) thirty 'cold', eleven 'slavery'. Storms and ghosts are virtually non-existent. The average number is from eight to eleven, ie. somewhat less than half the figures for Villette.

Lucy, like the professor, must defend herself against others, and has an 'armoury of defence';¹ but for her the encounter with the pupils must be won by an 'attack' on her part, she must kill her longings, must 'do battle' even with M. Paul. Lucy nerves herself for attack, yet her tragedy is that she must inevitably fail, because the forces against which she is pitted are of more than human power. She undergoes 'single-handed conflict with Life, with Death, with Grief, with Fate';² alone in the Pensionnat, she was convinced that Fate was her 'permanent foe, never to be conciliated'.³

In The Professor warfare was mainly secular, a series of conflicts between well-matched combatants of no more than human stature. Where supernatural forces are invoked, the powers of good prevail: 'Fate--thou hast done thy worst, ... Pagan demon, I credit not thine omnipotence, and so cannot

1. Villette, xxvi. 362.

2. ibid. xvi. 208.

3. ibid. xv. 184.

succumb to thy power. My God ... controls thy hand, and without His behest thou canst not strike a stroke.'¹ So writes Frances, sympathising with Alfred alone among his enemies. The professor's 'strange, inly-felt idea of some Great Being, unseen, but all present' helps him to turn from 'the Spirit of evil.'²

Lucy fights a battle of the spirit. Metaphors from Pilgrim's Progress recur, and Paul Emanuel is Lucy's Greatheart, when 'Apollyon came trailing his Hell behind him.'³ But the final impression is not one of the Christian's battle against the forces of the world. It was John Bretton who was 'well fitted to fight a good fight with the world, and to prevail ultimately.'⁴ For Lucy the battle is a fight against a terrifying pagan Destiny, a grim god with 'stone eyeballs', who can never be placated.

That this conviction reflects Charlotte's own feeling at the time of writing Villette is proved I think not only by her later explanation to Mrs. Gaskell, where it is qualified by a rather vague assertion of the need for 'religious faith', but in her curious interpretation of Thackeray's Henry Esmond. She finished reading it in November 1852, as she was working on the last volume of Villette, and wrote to W. S. Williams:

No character in the book strikes me as more masterly than that of Beatrix; ... It is peculiar; it has impressions of a new kind - new, at least, to me. Beatrix is not, in herself, all bad. So much does she sometimes reveal of what is good and great as to suggest this feeling; you would think she was urged by a Fate. You would think that some antique doom presses on her house, ... At times what is good in her

1. The Professor, xvi. 268.

2. ibid., xx. 92-3.

3. Villette, xxxvii. 534.

4. ibid., xvi. 208.

struggles against this terrible destiny, but the Fate conquers. Beatrix cannot be an honest woman and a good man's wife. She tries and she cannot.

If The Professor was not so closely related to a particular historical period as Shirley, it was nevertheless ~~closely~~ associated with its own times. It was clearly intended that the time of narration should be approximately the real time of writing; the action spans a number of years, from before the coming of the railways, through a period of depression in trade, and up to the time when railway speculation was at its height. Further approximate dating is supplied by the themes of discussion at Hunsden Wood and by the books read by Hunsden. More generally, the latter's consciousness of the wretched state of the poor in England reflects the awakened social conscience of the 30's and 40's, as his acknowledgement of England's scientific achievements reflects Victorian pride in progress. Anti-Catholicism was no new phenomenon, but it had been intensified by the agitation over Catholic emancipation and later by the High Church leanings towards Rome. Frances speaks with feeling on the 'position of women' question, which, though discussed in every age, had a new urgency in this time of public concern for the hardships of governesses, sempstresses and working women generally: she is even in advance of her time in her insistence on a 'working partnership' in marriage. The middle-class pre-occupation with social barriers is reflected in the contrasting stories of William and his 'lace-mender', Hunsden (with his uneasy aristocratic phobia) and the 'actress'

Lucia. The Professor was in 1846 a very up to date piece of realism.

But Charlotte Brontë set the time of Villette in an indefinite past - 'a time gone by'. She never brings the story so nearly up to present time as she does in The Professor: Lucy writes as an old woman, farther removed from the events she relates than C. Brontë was in fact. This is deliberate: Charlotte does not wish Villette to have topical significance. 'You will see that 'Villette' touches on no matter of public interest,' she wrote to George Smith. 'I cannot write books handling the topics of the day; it is of no use trying.' And so her characters are fully enclosed within their fictional framework: partly no doubt because of her apprehension that they would be too clearly recognised by the originals, but also because the sense of a closed past strengthens the feeling of tragedy. Lucy's sorrow can never be changed, M. Emanuel can never return.

On the other hand she used as background the events of 1842-3. The Belgium of that time is only thinly disguised under its somewhat contemptuous pseudonym. The diplomatic relations of England, France and Belgium had been a live issue since 1830; and for the contemporary reader there must have been many overtones in the description of Belgian life which the modern reader cannot so easily re-capture. The Protestant-Catholic conflict, too, had been topical at

1. Letter of 20 October 1852. (S.H.B. iv. 14.)

any time, but especially since 1830: but its treatment as a question of vital personal interest, the suggestion that a Protestant could go to confession or even contemplate conversion, the references to Romanist tracts and to specific doctrines such as that of Purgatory, are I think signs of the times - signs of the great perturbation of the English Protestant conscience aroused by the so-called 'Papal aggression', and accentuated by Wiseman's return from Rome as Cardinal in 1850: ^hHowever flippant Charlotte's letters on Wiseman may seem, they show her vividly conscious of the current fears of 'Romish' supremacy.¹ Her earnest insistence in Villette that 'God is not with Rome'^a has an urgency about it that is not present in the easy dismissive prejudice of the 1846 Professor.

How nearly can one define the 'time gone by' of Villette? Paulina was born in the year 18-- , says Lucy Snowe, and she is six years old in the opening chapters. Mr. Home had 'connections now living in France' and went to live with 'his maternal kinsfolk on the Continent'. He could hardly have done so before 1815, when France was again open to English travellers. In Chapter xxxvii Paulina is eighteen: assuming that she was born not earlier than 1809, we have an ^happroximate date of 1827 for the major events in Villette: and we cannot assume a much later date, for 'Fifty miles were then a day's journey.'⁴

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1. See for example S.H.B. iii. 175r. and 248-9; and on Roman Catholicism generally, IIIi. 268 and iii. 179.
 2. Villette, xxxvi. 503. 3. ibid., i.4. and iii. 29.
 4. ibid., v. 49.

Lucy was at that time 23 or 24. (About a year passed at Villette after Lucy left London, 'not yet 23'.) One can assume I think that the time of Lucy's writing is intended to be the real time of 1852-3, about 25 years after the main events: a lapse of time which would amply justify her phrase. 'At this distance of time, I cannot be sure how far the above conjectures were self-suggested'¹ and her statement that her hair was white. The Professor was intended to begin at about the same time ('railways were not then in existence') but the action leaps forward to the later 30's and to the actual time of writing, presumably 1845-6. M. Paul died when Lucy was about 27: Charlotte Brontë left Belgium and M. Heger at the same age. But Charlotte has pushed her experience further back into the past; she makes the narrator older than herself; and one feels the weight of the unnaturally long and weary years which lay between 1843 and 1853. Frances and the professor had both been much younger than the real Charlotte: the professor not much more than 21, Frances 18 or 19. The imaginative distance between The Professor and Villette is far greater than the number of years between them.

But dating of The Professor was also supplied by public events, names of authors, and various contemporary topics. In fact more public events are used in Villette; but it is clearly absurd to date the events of Labassecour by relating

1. Villette,

them to Belgian history. Belgium did not become an independent state until 1830 and did not have a king until 1831; his sons were not born until 1835 and 1837. All that relates to the king and the royal family evidently applies to the time of Charlotte's stay in Brussels (1842-4) and not to the fictional time. (English caricatures of the unfortunate Louis Philippe, father of Queen Louise, are probably the 'remembered effigies' of 'reigning dynasties and royal lines'.¹) But the clearest indication of her disregard of real time occurs in the description of the festival at Villette. It is unmistakably based on the Belgian revolution of 1830 - 'a kind of struggling in the streets - a bustle - a running to and fro, some rearing of barricades, some burgher-rioting, ...² and the 'buried bones of martyrs' are those of the Place des Martyrs, commemorating the 600 Belgians who were killed in the 'Four days' struggle in the streets of Brussels' in September 1830. The allusion must have been perfectly clear: but Charlotte's (somewhat disparaging!) comments are intended to remove this event also into the vague past: 'In past days there had been, said history, an awful crisis in the fate of Labassecour ...' It is true that the Revolution had been led and inspired by Catholics: but they had been closely allied with the Liberals of the day. The tone could hardly be more different from that of The Professor: 'The foreign visitors, too, are politicians; they take a wider theme -

1. Villette, xx. 252. 2. ibid., xxxviii. 543.

European progress - the spread of liberal sentiments over the continent; ...'¹

Had Charlotte Brontë continued the method of The Professor and brought events up to date, she would have taken some account of the widespread revolutions of 1848, already foreshadowed in the doom foretold by Hunsden's Liberal friends. But she is careful to make clear that 'The times which have since come on Europe had not been foretold yet.'²

The governess question was still topical in the 1850's, but its heyday was over: by about 1848 the problem had been thoroughly aired in pamphlets, magazines and novels; tackled in public meetings, benevolent institutions, and the founding of Ladies' Colleges. Charlotte had made her own contributions in Jane Eyre and Shirley. A 'governess-novel' from her in 1853 would have been superfluous; and in this too Villette shows a change of emphasis from The Professor of 1846. There Charlotte's own resentment, her sympathy with the dependent teacher at the mercy of the employer, is a driving force. This particular bitterness has gone from Villette. Lucy Snowe does not regard herself as one of an oppressed class. She laughs at Ginevra's snobbery and feels it is irrelevant to her life or her feelings:

"But are you anybody?" persevered she ...

"Yes," I said, "I am a rising character: once an old lady's companion, then a nursery-governess, now a school-teacher..."

1. The Professor, xxv. 238. 2 Ibid., xxvii. 371.

As for me, it quite sufficed to my mental tranquillity that I was known where it imported that known I should be; the rest sat on me easily: pedigree, social position, and recondite intellectual acquisition, occupied about the same space and place in my interests and thoughts; they were my third-class lodgers - ...'

Villette, as has been so often said, is a novel of the inner life, a 'spiritual autobiography'; and it is significant that it is most clearly related to its time in its religious conflict - a conflict intimately associated with Lucy's profound searchings of heart during her loneliness. The Professor showed a mind alert to the problems of its day because it still seemed possible to the author to find satisfaction in an active life in the material world, still worth while to resent tyranny and injustice in society. An external realism might therefore have seemed adequate. But in fact The Professor already shows how Charlotte Brontë was to develop: the time framework is clear, and William and Frances live real working lives. Yet in the end they retire to that 'sequestered' and hilly region, not entirely cut off from the world, but hearing only echoes of the world's affairs.

APPENDIXPublication figures for works by the Brontës.

The business of Smith, Elder and Company was taken over in 1917 by the firm of John Murray, and it is by their courtesy that I was allowed to consult the early Smith, Elder publication ledgers. The ledgers that I examined cover the First Editions of Mrs. Gaskell's Life (March 1857) and of The Professor (June 1857). They are a guide to the fluctuations in sales of all the works after the first impetus had subsided. The figures for The Professor have already been dealt with and are not repeated here: but it is intended that they should be compared with those for the other novels and for the poems as a measure of their relative popularity, and that the figures as a whole should give some general impression of the receptivity of the public to which The Professor was presented.

1. The Poems

First published by Aylott and Jones in 1846; a year later C. Brontë wrote that 'our publisher has disposed but of two copies' (Letter of 16 June 1847); taken over by Smith, Elder in 1848.

1853.	July 1	On hand and consigned		684
		Consigned	1	

1854.	June 30	On hand	679	680	
		Leaving sold		<u>4</u>	@ 2/10
	July 1	On hand & consigned		680	
55	June 30	ditto ditto		617	
		Leaving sold		63	as 61 @ 2/10
	July 1	On hand		617	
		To Friends	1		
56	June 30	On hand	556	557	
		Leaving sold		60	as 58 @ 2/10
	July 1	On hand		556	
		To Friends	4		
57	June 30	On hand	425	429	
		Leaving sold		127	as 122 @ 2/10
	July 1	On hand		425	
58	June 30	ditto		<u>190</u>	
		Leaving sold		235	as 226 @ 2/10

2. Jane Eyre

First published by Smith, Elder, 16 October, 1847.
 Second Edition published by 22 January 1848.
 Third Edition published in April 1848.
 Cheap edition considered in May 1849; copy received by C.
 Brontë in May 1850.

4th edition

1853.	July 1	On hand		1345	
54	June 30	On hand		706	
		Leaving sold		639	as 614 @ 4/2
55.	June 30	On hand and consigned	211		
		Leaving sold		490	as 471 @ 4/2
56	June 30	On hand and consigned	- -		
		Leaving sold		204	as 196 @ 4/2

+ 11 copies of the 3 volume edition,
 6 being sold @ 21/3 and 5 @ 9/-.

5th edition

1855.	Oct. 4	Printed		3000	
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1856	June 30	On hand	2476	
		Leaving sold	521	as 501 @ 4/2
				(Total number of copies sold in 1855-56 = 836)
57	June 30	On hand	- -	
		Leaving sold	as under 2469	
			1000 (all round)	@ 1/7
			1469 as 1411	@ 4/2
<u>New edition</u>				
1857.	July 24	Printed	25,000	
		" surplus copies	320	
		Leaving sold	25,208	(@ 1/6 to 1/9)
				(+ 6 remaining copies of 3 volume edition @ 9/-)
1858	Jan. 1	Printed	5,000	
	June 30	On hand	- - -	
1858	July 29	Printed	5,000	
1859	June 30	On hand	380	

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Publication Ledgers from 1853 onwards.
Consulted by permission of the owners, Messrs. John Murray, (Publishers) Ltd.

II. Printed Books.

(Unless otherwise stated all books were published in London.)

1. Works by the Brontes.

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A.B.Nicholls. 2 vol. 1857.
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3 vol. 1847.
- Shirley. A Tale. By Currer Bell.
3 vol. 1849.
- Villette. By Currer Bell.
3 vol. 1853.

(A complete list of editions of The Professor is given on pp. 30-32. of the thesis and is not repeated here.)

Brontë, E. and A.

- Wuthering Heights. A Novel, by Ellis Bell.
3 vol. 1847.
(Vol. III is Agnes Grey. A novel. By Acton Bell.)

Brontë, A.

- The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. By Acton Bell.
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(b) Poems.

Brontë, C.E. and A.

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(All are of 1857.)

<u>Athenaeum</u>	13 June.
<u>Blackwood's Magazine</u> (Edinburgh)	July.
<u>Critic</u>	15 June.
<u>Dublin University Magazine</u>	July.
<u>Eclectic Review</u>	July.
<u>Economist</u>	27 June.
<u>Examiner</u>	20 June.
<u>Globe</u>	18 June.
<u>Guardian</u>	26 August.
<u>Lady's Newspaper</u>	18 July.
<u>Leader</u>	4 July.
<u>Littell's Living Age</u>	2 September.
<u>Morning Herald</u>	18 June.
<u>Morning Post</u>	7 September.
<u>Observer</u>	21 June.
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	<u>The Caxtons.</u>	3 vol.	1849.
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	<u>Deerbrook, A Novel.</u>	3 vol.	1839.
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	<u>Emilia Wyndham.</u>	3 vol.	1846.
Marryat, Capt. F.	<u>Peter Simple.</u>	3 vol.	1834.
<u>Metropolitan Magazine.</u>			1844.
More, H.	<u>Coelebs in Search of a Wife.</u>	2 vol.	1808.
Murray, C.A.	<u>The Prairie Bird.</u>	3 vol.	1844.
Scott, Sir W.	<u>Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since.</u>		
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	<u>The Antiquary.</u>	3 vol.	1816.
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	in <u>Tales of My Landlord</u> , First Series.	4 vol.	1817.
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