

The clergyman the schoolmaster and the governess in the novel of the eighteenth century

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THE CLERGYMAN, THE SCHOOLMASTER and THE GOVERNESS

in the NOVEL of the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

(as affording evidence of the actual professional conditions of the time, as illustrating the work of certain novelists, and as showing the reflection in fiction of contemporary fashions of thought.)

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THE CLERGYMAN, THE SCHOOLMASTER and THE GOVERNESS

in the NOVEL of the EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

INTRODUCTION.

The representation of the clergy in the imaginative literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been a subject of interest to many writers, since Jeremy Collier first discussed the chaplain of Restoration Comedy.

Sometimes, by the critic whose purpose is didactic, it is introduced into argument to justify his opinion of the literature itself. By the historian it is frequently referred to in illustration of his account of the social life of the time.

(1)

Thus, Miss Hannah More⁽¹⁾ comments in the spirit of Collier on the clerics of Fielding, Smollett and Le Sage, and gravely regrets that "so many fair occasions have been lost of advancing the interests of religion by personifying her amiable graces in the character of her ministers." The portraits of Thwackum and Supple, she considers, bring discredit on the Order which they represent; not even Sir Roger de Coverley's chaplain, nor the Savoyard Vicaire of Rousseau is satisfactory in all respects, - as for Mr Abraham Adams, "What is meant to be a comical parson is no respectable or prudent exhibition ---- An author may lawfully make his churchman as witty as he pleases, or rather as witty as he ~~possibly~~ can; but he should never make him the butt of wit in other men." In Victorian days, Mr William Forsyth, writes of "The Novels and Novelists of the eighteenth century in illustration of the Morals and Manners of the Age", estimating the merit of each writer mainly by the test of his own standard of "delicacy".⁽²⁾ In the portraits of the clergy he is interested chiefly in so far as they illustrate the coarseness he is attacking and, supporting the attacks of Eachard and of Macaulay on the body as a whole, he brushes aside as

(1) "Coelebs in Search of a Wife". Hannah More. Chap. XXVII. Mr Adams is not actually named, but the reference to him is clear. pp 280-1.

(2) "Novels and Novelists of the Eighteenth Century" - cf. Chap. IV. pp 121 - 132.

as unrepresentative the more pleasing figures of Dr Bartlett and Dr Harrison. Among the historians, Macaulay, in support of his well-known attack on the clergy of the seventeenth century, quotes not only the chaplains of Fletcher, Vanbrugh and Shadwell, but a passage from "Tom Jones" in which he considers that Fielding corroborates the testimony of the earlier dramatists. (1)

(2)
Mr W.C. Sydney, who considers that the eighteenth century saw no improvement from the moral or religious point of view upon the seventeenth, as to which he accepts Macaulay's verdict, calls both Fielding and Smollett to his aid, and urges that such portraits as those of Shuffle and Supple are not to be regarded as mere caricatures.

(3)
The Cambridge Modern History, while pointing out that "satire is not history", remarks that in general "Georgian wits made the parson as much a butt as ever Elizabethans did the friar", quotes satirical phrases from Smollett and from Cowper, and ignores the fact that the attitude of neither novelist nor poet was always unsympathetic. Such examination of contemporary fiction as has been made, however, by historians who deal with the eighteenth century has often been so cursory in character that there seemed room for doubt as to whether they had better grounds than Miss More herself, obviously prejudiced, for suggesting that the light in which the clergyman is presented in the novel is generally unfavourable.

Mr Grant Robertson, for instance, an accepted authority upon the period, having commented on "the general contempt for the persons and morals of the clergy found in contemporary literature", (4)
continues, "But when leaders such as Butler were content to combine a bishopric with a deanery ----- it is not surprising that -----

(1) Macaulay, History of England - footnotes to pp 342 -3.

(2) W.C. Sydney. "England in the Eighteenth Century" Chap. XIX.

(3) Camb. Mod. Hist. Vol. VI. p.79.

(4) Grant Robertson, "England under the Hanoverians" p. 207.

the starved and imperfectly educated parochial clergy did well if they reached the standard of Parson Adams." Whether the standard in question is one of morality or of scholarship, clearly no one who had read "Joseph Andrews" could have used Parson Adams in illustration of its inadequacy. ^{new paragraph} The most recent work which deals with the history of the Church in the eighteenth century is the manual by Overton and Relton, which is in part a revision of the older history by Overton and Abbey. In his preface Mr Relton shews himself in sympathy with the change that, he says, is gradually taking place in the judgments of the thoughtful upon the Church life of the period; he points out, however, that there is still room for much spade work upon the subject, and he particularly expresses his regret that he has not been able to deal with the novel of the time. It has seemed, therefore, worth while to follow up Mr Relton's suggestion, and to discover, by examining in detail the delineation of the clerical portrait in contemporary fiction, ~~and estimating~~ what contribution the novelist has to make to our knowledge of the profession during the period.

With the clergyman it is natural to associate the schoolmaster with whom he is frequently identical, and the ~~governess,~~ ^{the} as sharing with him so much of the responsibility for mental and moral enlightenment of the time as it may be considered attaches to those who profess to teach.

The first aim of the examination is to discover what evidence the portraits of these characters offer as to the actual condition at the time of the professions which they represent. Of equal interest, is the light thrown upon the attitude of the ~~novellist,~~ and so upon that of the novel reading public, towards certain movements of the day, by his treatment of figures so closely associated with its religious and social thought.

Introduction

The representation of the clergy in literature is essentially likely to be PART I. by the particular bias of the writer, and by the influence of the long literary tradition going back to the days of Spenser's Don Quixote and of his Pardoner or Monk. THE CLERGY.

In order, therefore, to estimate the value of the information given by the clerical portraits in the novel as evidence with regard to the actual state of the profession in the eighteenth century, it is necessary to consider and to allow for such peculiarities of management or selection on the part of the authors as may modify both their observations and their presentation of the facts. Before drawing any conclusions from the evidence, it will also be necessary to consider the possible bias given by traditional suggestion.

The novels of the eighteenth century may be conveniently divided for the purpose of their study into three general groups: that of the great novelists of the eighteenth century, Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, that of the Sentimental Novelists, with which Goldsmith and Sterne will be considered, and that of the Jacobins.

In each of the two latter cases it will be found that the treatment of the clerical portrait is to a considerable extent influenced by assumptions or prejudices peculiar to the whole school, and that the portrait is, generally speaking, more interesting as representing a particular point of view than as giving reliable information on such matters as, for instance, the social status or scholarship of the clergy.

Further, throughout the period, the tendency of the inferior novelist who belongs to no particular school is to describe his characters in vague, general terms, cataloguing their moral qualities, but assigning to them neither name nor local habitation. The parson, in particular, is often merely a benevolent shadow

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Introduction

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The novels to be examined may be conveniently divided for
the purpose in hand into three general groups: that of the
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in the background, as he is when he occurs in the stories of Sarah Fielding, or Mrs Lennox, and usually in those of Richard Cumberland. When his portrait is more detailed it is generally obvious that it is drawn in the manner of one of the three great masters whom the lesser writers of fiction followed until new influences touched them - as, for example, Charles Johnstone followed Smollett.

For detailed evidence on such matters as the incomes of the various orders of the clergy, their education and scholarship, their influence upon the manners of the time, their attitude towards abuses within the Church, the degree of their zeal for her authority, the fullest source is, then, the ~~xx~~ novel of the mid-century, the work of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, with whose presentation of the facts that of the lesser men must, of course, be compared.

On the other hand, the evidence as to the influence of contemporary movements of thought upon general public opinion is chiefly to be found in the novels of certain minor groups of writers in the later decades of the century, in whose work, as Professor Saintsbury points out, ⁽¹⁾ "fiction may be said for the first time to succumb to purpose."

(1) Camb. Hist. of L₁t. Vol. XI. Chap. XIII. p. 292.

CHAPTER I.

The Clergy in the Novels of Richardson, Fielding
and Smollett.

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Section I. Individual characteristics of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, as influencing their selection of material and as affecting the value of their evidence.

The Clergy in the Novels of Richardson, Fielding

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1) Richardson.

SECTION I?

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is that "even the pulpit was lost great part of its weight, and the clergy are considered as a body of impostors etc."

comparison of his style with that of Addison.

It is interesting to note how steadily the middle-aged bookseller still follows the "style" which must have moulded his youth. For it is in the "Tatler" and the "Spectator" that he seeks, as they did, "to advance truth and virtue", and it is especially in the mood of Addison that he

(1) "Clarissa Harlowe", Vol. V. p. 524.

(2) "Clarissa Harlowe" V. p. 526.

(3) cf. "Spectator". No 445.

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Section I. Individual characteristics of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett, as influencing their selection of material and as affecting the value of their evidence.

Fortunately for the value of their testimony, the influences which modify the outlook of Richardson, Fielding and Smollett to some extent balance each other.

(a) Richardson. His Didactic Purpose.

In the postscript to "Clarissa Harlowe" Richardson makes it clear that he desires to be regarded primarily as a Christian moralist, whose aim is to reform an age which he sees listening to dangerous doctrine, and indulging⁽¹⁾ "a taste even to wantonness for out-door pleasure and luxury, to the general exclusion of domestic as well as public virtue." He further explains that the task of reformation cannot be left to the appointed ministers of religion, for a feature of the "general depravity"⁽²⁾ is that "even the pulpit has lost great part of its weight, and the clergy are considered as a body of interested men."

Comparison of his aims with those of Addison.

It is interesting to note how steadily the middle-aged bookseller still follows the ideals which must have moulded his youth, for it is in a manner which ~~owes~~ owes much to the "Tatler"⁽³⁾ and the "Spectator" that he seeks, as they did, "to advance truth and virtue", and it is especially in the mood of Addison that he

(1) "Clarissa Harlowe". Vol.V. p. 524.

(2) "Clarissa Harlowe" V. p.524.

(3) cf. "Spectator". No 445.

approaches matters of religion. There is the same general sense that propriety of outward observance is the first and most natural step towards more intimate reform: the same inclination to hold that refinement of manners and refinement of morals, though not perhaps the same thing, will certainly go hand in hand. Sometimes, indeed, resemblances to Addison are almost verbal: much in the way that the "Spectator" ⁽¹⁾ reflects that, "if keeping holy the seventh day were only a human institution, it would be the best method that could have been thought of for the polishing and civilizing of mankind," and approves "such frequent returns of a stated time in which the whole village meet together with their best faces, and in their cleanliest habits - - - to join together in adoration of the Supreme Being," Lovelace, in one of his better moments, declares that, ⁽²⁾ "The Sabbath is a charming institution ---- One day in seven how reasonable! --- To see multitudes of well-appearing people all joining in one reverent act. An exercise how worthy of a rational being!" The ⁽³⁾ account, again, of the renovation of Mr B--s' private chapel for the pleasure of Pamela, and the detailed description of the first service held in it are reminiscent of the pious reforms of Sir Roger de Coverley.

It is, in fact, to use Addison's own phrase, with "a religious deportment" that Richardson likes best to concern himself. It is characteristic of his thought that the first proof Mr B -- desires to give of his reformation is the restoration of private worship in his household, and he takes manifest pleasure in detailing for the example of the less well-bred the fit manner in which Sir Charles Grandison discharges his religious obligations: his habit of saying grace at his own table

(1) cf. "Spectator" No. 112.

(2) "Clarissa Harlowe" Vol. II. Letter LXXXII. p. 446.

(3) "Pamela" Vol. I. pp 342 -7.

unless a clergyman be present, his dislike of beginning a journey on the Sabbath, or of continuing one during the hours of divine worship, his arrangement of family prayers.

Now this general desire to inculcate reverence ~~not~~ merely for the Church herself, but for all her ordinances, is not easily compatible with serious criticism of her priests, and will be found to some extent to colour Richardson's clerical portraits.

Reluctance to satirize the Clergy.

It accounts for the fact that there is a satirical picture of only one curate, Mr Elias Brand, and equally for the tenderness shown to such a character as Mr Peters, whose delinquency is part of the scheme of things in which Pamela is involved, but whom the author obviously goes out of his way to protect from the obloquy which he richly deserves. If he is sometimes compelled by truth to admit the possibility of faults in the clergy, or of abuses in the Church, he does so always with the reluctance with which Pamela herself on one occasion takes part in a discussion on the evil of pluralities, and his heroine expresses his view when she exclaims, "I am always sorry to hear things said to the discredit of the clergy, because I think it is of public concern that we reverence the function, notwithstanding the failings of particulars."

Fielding as Champion of Orthodoxy.

Fielding is more interested than is Richardson in current theological and philosophical controversies and challenges the opponents of Christianity in a bolder spirit.

(1) "Clarissa Harlowe".

(2) "Pamela".

(3) "Pamela". Vol. II. p. 399.

(1)
 In essays and letters he frequently discusses such opinions as those of Bolingbroke, Mandeville, Shaftesbury, Hobbes; in the novels, student of the "Art of Life" as he is, there are moments; - as in the characterisation of Thwackum and Square - when his desire to break a lance against philosophical error is at first sight more apparent than the fidelity of his picture of Human Nature. In "Amelia" didactic purpose undeniably governs the construction of the plot. Sometimes the folly of heretical belief is demonstrated by argument among the characters, more often, as in the case of Square and of Booth, it is illustrated in the history of a misguided adherent; always the doctrines of Christianity are vindicated as the only sure basis on which man can build his happiness. It is, therefore of importance to discover to what extent Fielding's portraits of the clergy are affected by his frank intention to take a side in some of the controversies in which the Church was at that time engaged.

On matters of dispute within the Church herself, Fielding expresses no decided views, although Mr Adams' warm approval of a tract of Bishop Hoadley's perhaps suggests ^{his} ~~his~~ latitudinarian sympathies; but against the attacks of atheists and of deists from without his stand is uncompromising.

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- (1) cf. "A fragment of a Comment on Lord Bolingbroke's Essays. (Works, Vol XII. ed. 1771)
 References to Shaftesbury (Essay on Conversation. Miscellanies I. p. 130.
 (Preface to "Joseph Andrews" p. 3.
 ("Tom Jones" Bk. IV. Ch. II. p. 191.
 References to Hobbes (Essay on the Knowledge of the
 (Characteristics of Men. Miscell. I.
 (p. 191.
 (Essay on Nothing. Miscell. I. p. 250
 References to Mandeville ("Amelia" Bk. III. Ch. V. p. 107.
 (Covent Garden Journal. Number 21.
- (2) "Amelia" Bk. I. Ch. I.
- (3) (4) "Tom Jones" (5) "Amelia"
- (6) "That excellent book called, 'A Plain Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament', a book written - - - with the pen of an angel - - - Now this excellent book was attacked by a party, but unsuccessfully." Joseph Andrews. Bk. I. Chap. XVII. p. 77.

(1)
 As Mr Leslie Stephen points out, in the literature of a time when philosophic speculation had become a common subject of conversation as well as of literature, it is difficult to trace back to its source any particular theory of conduct that is advanced. (2)
 Thus, when Square with his tedious and unconvincing jargon about "the eternal fitness of things" and Booth with his parrot-like (3) reiteration of the theory of the "uppermost passion" illustrate in their actions the absurdity of certain views of life, it may be that the satire is aimed directly at the philosophies of Clarke, of Shaftesbury or of Mandeville, or it may be that Fielding is simply showing the reductio ad absurdum of ideas that were in the air, much as a modern novelist might gibe at Fabianism or Pacificism or any other "ism" as popularly formulated. Certainly, although there is evidence that Fielding was well read in the works of the anti-Christian writers, his main concern was to write as a novelist, not as a theologian or philosopher, and to attack heretical theories as they embodied themselves in practice.

His Clerical Portraits influenced by his Attitude as Christian Apologist.

In his championship of the Christian religion the clergy of Fielding's novels naturally play an important part. Indeed it might be said that he judges them according to their capacity to act as defenders of the Faith. The Clergyman who injures the cause of religion by presenting it in a false light is even more harshly judged than the unbeliever. But since he portrays both the true priest and the false, while the individual portraits are necessarily affected by his purpose, the general impression conveyed is that of an impartial observer.

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- (1) "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century". Vol. II. Chap. XII. Section I.
 (2) "Tom Jones" Bk. III. Chap. III.
 (3) "Amelia" Bk. I. Chap III. p. 14. Bk. X. Chap IX. P.498. Bk. XII. Chap V. p. 569.

It is noticeable that in each succeeding novel Fielding seems to aim at greater explicitness in his statement of the claims of Christianity, and sometimes the explicitness is gained at the expense of craftsmanship.

Didactic purpose in "Joseph Andrews"
not obtrusive.

In "Joseph Andrews" the moral is never inartistically obtrusive, as indeed it could scarcely be in view of the confession in the Preface of the ⁽¹⁾humourous intention of the book. Mr Adams it is true, preaches often, but it belongs to his character to do so; his exhortations to piety bubble irresistibly from his lips, and their frequent inopportuneness but makes them the more natural. If there is ever a danger of his becoming too didactic, the tables are swiftly turned upon him, and when, ⁽²⁾for instance, the sudden story of his child's death surprises the father into complete forgetfulness of the high principles of Christian resignation which he has been urging upon his pupil, the author seems to share the satisfaction of the for once restive Joseph.

His clerical portraits also influenced
by his exaltation of "good nature".

It must not be overlooked that Fielding's clerical portraits are affected not only by his purpose as a Christian apologist, but also, as are all his studies of character, by his exaltation of "good nature" as the chief of virtues - a virtue sufficient of itself to cover the multitude of Tom Jones's sins. In Parson Adams we see the quality at its highest, in his brotherliness to all who need his help; in his gentle charity towards those who differ from him.

For though Mr Adams is very strict with regard to the ceremonies of the Church, and though we feel that he would yield

(1) cf. Preface. p. 2, and p. 4. "The Ridiculous only, -- falls within my province in the present work."

(2) "Joseph Andrews", Bk. IV. Chap VIII. pp 307-9.

to no man a single article of his own belief, it is noticeable that wholesale condemnation of the unorthodox, in which Mr Whitefield and Bishop Hoadley share equally with Toland, Hobbes, Woolston (1) "and all the freethinkers", is left to Parson Barnabas, who has probably read no more of one side than of the other. "I propose objections!" he exclaims, when called upon for the reasons of his disapproval of a tract which Adams has praised, "I never read a syllable in any such wicked book; I never saw it in my life, I assure you."

In Barnabas and Thwackum we see the harsh and narrow dogmatism and the indifference to suffering which are in Fielding's eyes more unforgivable sins than any which result from mere weakness of flesh or spirit - most unforgivable of all in a priest.

In "Tom Jones" didacticism explicit in Portraits of Thwackum and Square.

In "Tom Jones" again Fielding is mainly concerned to show a picture of life, the reason for the details of which lies simply in their truth. His subject, as he tells us himself, is Human Nature, (2) and it is clear that he aims deliberately at shewing men, not as they should be but as they are. Even in the case, for instance, of the excellent Mr Allworthy, he seems anxious, in spite of the label of the name, to resist the temptation to paint an ideal, and is at some pains to shew that the good man is capable of error.

As though, however, in the contemplation of Human Nature, running its course like the hero of some old morality among the pitfalls of life, the storyteller could not altogether escape the tendency of the moralist to abstraction, two characters stand apart from the other creatures of flesh and blood simply as examples of moral speciousness. Though Thwackum and Square take

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Chap. XVII. pp 76, 77.

(2) "Tom Jones" Preface p. 2.

their part in the action, and though ordinary motives of ambition and envy are allowed in part to account for their hostility to the hero, they can never escape from the suggestion of their names, and they remain rather personifications of false ideals than men. They represent, as their author explains, false friends to their respective causes, the philosophy which seeks no other sanction for conduct than the laws of nature, the theology which enthrones an authority external to nature. The one talks eloquently of "the natural beauty of virtue", the other of "the divine power of grace", but neither makes the least attempt to put his belief into practice. The implication, however, is not quite the same in the two cases. The example of Square is clearly meant to demonstrate the inadequacy of natural philosophy to meet the needs of life, but it is equally clear that Thwackum is intended to illustrate the unattractiveness, not of religion but merely of its misrepresentation. The Christian apologist was unable to hold the balance between the two systems quite as evenly as the satirist set out to do, and the false champion of the true receives harsher ~~harsher~~ measure than the champion of the false.

Of the ^{two} figures the philosopher has the advantage. He does at least succeed in "squaring" his conduct with his creed, for he professes to believe "human nature to be the projection of all virtue, and (that) vice (was) a deviation from our nature in the same manner as deformity of body is," therefore, to follow the desires of his nature is to follow virtue. To this Fielding's answer is to shew the admirer of virtue in the ignominious position into which his sophistry leads him, and to leave the common sense of the reader to decide how far the result accords with "the eternal fitness of things". In the end Square

(1) "Tom Jones" cf. Bk. III. Chaps, III, IV, V.

(2) Bk. III. Chap III. p. 96.

(3) Bk. V. Chap. V.

is convinced of his error and in a death-bed confession is made to express his author's views: "I have somewhere read that the great use of philosophy is to learn to die - - - yet, to say truth, one page of the Gospel teaches this lesson better than all the volumes of ancient and modern philosophers." Further, he professes penitence for the villany of which he was guilty before his conversion to Christianity, in the days when "the pride of philosophy had intoxicated (his) reason, and the sublimest of all wisdom appeared to (him), as it did to the Greeks of old to be foolishness."

Thwackum, on the contrary, is stiff-necked to the last, and spiteful with the inveteracy of the man who has persuaded himself that his malice has a righteous motive. The one article of his creed^{with} which he is careful to make his conduct consistent is the degeneracy of human nature.⁽²⁾ This degeneracy, which he finds to an exhilarating degree in Tom, it is his duty to "scourge" none the less ruthlessly that he has no hope whatever of effecting any improvement in his pupil's character: "But, liberavi⁽³⁾ animam meam: - I can accuse my own conduct of no neglect; though it is at the same time with the utmost concern, I see you travelling on to certain misery in this world and to as certain damnation in the next."⁽⁴⁾ "The efficacy of the Divine Power of grace" is to this cleric merely an a priori proposition,^{which is} useful in controversy, but of which he has never considered any practical application.

There is a certain kinship between Mr Barnabas and Thwackum, though the former is the kindlier figure. In the intolerant narrowness of his outlook the learned fellow of his College, whose mind remained^{ed} totally unenriched by the knowledge with

(1) Bk. XVIII. Chap IV.

(2) & (3) Bk. V. Chap II. p. 191.

(4) Bk. III. Ch. III. p. 97.

which it is filled, is simply another edition of the village parson, and it is obvious that each is zealous for religion mainly as for a matter of professional interest.

In fact, although in describing Thwackum Fielding is more concerned to attack a type than to portray a human being, the type is drawn with an eye upon the object. But it is not a type peculiar to the eighteenth century. Thwackum would find much in common with the "tight-lipped" prison chaplain of Mr Galsworthy's "Justice", who can do nothing with the men until their "perverted will power" is "broken". "Not Church of England, I think?" politely queries the modern priest, and the intonation of the phrase (1) is as eloquent as the round declaration of his prototype: "When I mention religion, I mean the Christian religion; and not only the Christian religion but the Protestant religion; and not only the Protestant religion, but the Church of England."

In Amelia, didactic purpose obvious both in construction of plot and in delineation of characters.

A comparison of the prefaces to "Tom Jones" and to "Amelia" suggests an important difference between the books: the stated aim of the former is the study of "Human Nature", of the latter, the examination of "The Art of Life". Further, by speaking of this art as "the most useful of all," the author makes it clear that he is giving the phrase a moral connotation. He will, like the critics of other arts, examine (2) "carefully the several gradations which conduce to bring every model to perfection," and the perfection that he has in mind is that of character.

The evident danger to a novel constructed with such an aim in view, is that the models, both of success and failure, will be made to order; that their actions will be forced illustrations of their author's theories rather than the inevitable expression of their own characters, and that features of their personalities will be blurred.

(1) "Tom Jones" Bk. III. Chap. III. p. 97.

(2) "Amelia" Preface, p. 3.

Thus in the study of Booth, and of the relations between him and Dr Harrison, the author's one object is to prove acceptance of the Christian religion a necessary condition of virtue.

(1)
Booth is first described as a "well-wisher to religion", of which nevertheless, his notions were "slight and uncertain". He is seen in prison, in conversation with a freethinker, who, "though he did not absolutely deny the existence of a God, yet - (2) entirely denied his providence," and declared that "a man can no more resist the impulse of fate than a wheelbarrow can the force of its driver." Booth professes himself of much the same opinion but prefers to the doctrine of "the blind impulse of Fate" his (3) own theory that every man acts merely from the force of that passion which is uppermost in his mind, and can do no otherwise, (4) and that therefore his actions can have "neither merit nor demerit!"

On a later occasion he repudiates the teaching of Mandeville (5) on the ground of his denial of the natural impulse of the human heart to goodness, but in fact he has simply modified the harsh theories of that writer to a formula more congenial to his own easy going disposition. There is, he argues, no such thing as virtue, but such creatures as Amelia and Dr Harrison are fortunately endowed with irrepressible instincts towards benevolence.

Having handicapped his hero with this flimsy philosophy the author lies in wait to trip him at every turn. He illustrates (6) his views from the example of Colonel James: "Bob James", argues Booth, "can never be supposed to act from any motives of virtue or religion, since he constantly laughs at both; and yet his conduct towards me alone demonstrates a degree of goodness which,

(1) & (2) "Amelia" p. 13.

(3) p. 14.

(4) p. 569.

(5) p. 107.

(6). p. 106.

perhaps few of the votaries of either virtue or religion can equal," - and a very little later the treachery of Colonel James demonstrates the unreliability of such "natural goodness".⁽¹⁾ He argues with his wife on the same topics, and the reader is not allowed to be in any doubt as to the ironical suggestion of the picture. He follows his own impulses, - and becomes every day more deeply involved in humiliations. He is not even allowed to be consistent to his own creed - for having obeyed his instinct to pleasure, he falls into a shamed despair. Finally, for no other apparent reason than that a happy ending is now necessary,⁽²⁾ he reads a volume of sermons in prison, is converted to Christianity, and convinces the Doctor, if not the reader, that he will be at the mercy of his impulses no more.

The function of Dr Harrison is to vindicate the authority of the Christian religion, and also in his own life to challenge the theory that love to our own fellows is merely, as Hobbes⁽³⁾ and Mandeville had suggested, a refined form of selfishness. On the whole he is much less obviously than Booth a puppet in the author's hands, yet even in his case the working of the strings is sometimes apparent. His benevolence is perhaps sufficiently spontaneous to be convincing, but the manipulation by which he is made the arbiter of Booth's fate is clumsy. At the moment when his protégé most needs him, the devoted father of his parish is whisked abroad as tutor to the son of a shadowy patron; as suddenly he returns, like an avenging deity, plunges his friend into prison upon evidence that it is ridiculous¹ to suppose so good and wise a being would accept; finally, Booth having now undergone sufficient chastening for the author's purpose, the Doctor is allowed to discover his mistake and generously to make amends.

(1) p. 498 -9.

(2) p. 569.

(3) cf. p. 464.

The actual portrait of the Doctor, however, suffers less than does the development of the plot from the rôle that is imposed upon him. Although it is somewhat lacking in individualizing details of appearance and of habits, yet there is sufficient distinction in the divine's qualities of heart and mind to give him personality, and the quiet shrewdness which always knows how to answer a fool according to his folly suggests a reserve of wisdom the full extent of which the author does not display.

ut though the aim in view may affect the selection of characters to be portrayed, it does not, in Fielding, affect the truth of the delineation.

In fact, to the character of Dr Harrison the very didacticism which inspires its delineation gives an added significance, for it is clear that a popular novelist could only rest the vindication of the Christian religion upon the life and example of a clergyman, in a day when society was accustomed to regard the clergy as generally worthy of respect.

While then, Fielding's interest in upholding Christianity against the non-religious philosophies of his time is so strong that in "Amelia" it even influences the construction of his plot, not even in Thwackum's case does obvious didactic or satiric purpose detract from the truth of his characterisation. It may influence his selection of characters for examination; it does not bias the examination itself. Moreover, though Fielding stands forward as definitely as does Richardson in defence of the principles of Christianity, he stresses a little more lightly the demand upon our behaviour made by the institutions of religion a little more strongly the claim upon our intelligence of the Faith which they uphold. He is not therefore afraid of undermining the influence of the Church by revealing abuses in her economy; he does not shrink from satirizing such folly or weakness as he finds among her ministers. A Supple, an Ordinary of Newgate, or

(1) "Tom Jones."

(2) "Jonathan Wild".

(1)
 a Trulliber is painted in such colours as an honest observation finds suitable, - without malice certainly, but without glazing
 (1)a. (2)
 and although Dr Harrison vies with Dr Bartlett in the dignity of his deportment, the character of Mr Abraham Adams would seem to have been conceived in a moment of impatience with the decorous ideal which Richardson had inherited from Addison and from Swift.

Smollett. Absence of didactic purpose.

The outlook of Smollett upon life demands the respect due to a habit of mind that will not readily submit to a label, and it seems rash to generalise about the "paganism" of the author who shows us a jail cleansed of drunkenness and vice by the preachings of the Methodist, Clinker. It may be fair to discount the sincerity of his attempt to justify the detailed relation of the vileness of Count Fathom: "such monsters ought to be exhibited to public view - - - that the world may see how fraud is apt to overshoot itself," but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that the edge of the satire of "Sir Launcelot Greaves" is really turned, not against the modern Quixote himself, but against the people to whom his literal application of Christian ideals seems ridiculous.

When Smollett writes of his art it is never, like Richardson, in the first place to urge its moral value, but to defend its fidelity. His zeal is for the truth as he sees it, - not for any conventional ideal of virtue. The substance of his answer to the "gentle, delicate, sublime critic" who desires writing in which "nature is castigated almost to still life", in which "decency divested of all substance hovers about like a fantastic shadow," may be summarised in a modern line,

"These things are life
 And life some think is worthy of the Muse."

(1) "Joseph Andrews" (1)a. "Amelia" (2) "Sir Charles Grandison."

(3) cf Art. on Smollett in Ency. Britt. in which T. Seccombe describes him as "equally rationalistic and pagan with Fielding"

(4) Ferd. Count Fathom. Vol. II. p. 91.

(5) "Count Fathom" Ch. I. pp. 4-6.

(1)
 He foresees in the preface to "Roderick Random", that "some people will be offended at the mean scenes in which his hero is involved, but he trusts that the "judicious will perceive the necessity of describing those situations --- where the humours and passions are undisguised by affectation, ceremony, or education."

Dual Nature of Smollett's work as

(a) Imitator of Le Sage,

(b) As independent observer of life.

It is scarcely possible to do justice to Smollett's work without appreciating the influence upon it of the French picaresque "Gil Blas". Like Fielding he acknowledges Le Sage as his master, but two satirists could scarcely look on like matters in moods more widely different, and it is a question whether the Englishman did not sometimes lose more than he gained by following the plan of a tale ^{of} which he failed to catch the spirit.

(3)
 One critic, Wershoven, having remarked that whereas "Lesage ne peint que les caractères moyens, Smollett exagère les caractères jusqu'à en faire la caricature", proceeds to say with regard to the maturer work of the latter, "Il ne se contente plus ⁽⁴⁾ d'imiter Lesage dans le fonds, le plan et ce qui constitue la forme extérieure, mais il s'approprie pour ainsi dire le ton et la génie de son modèle," suggesting that when Smollett learns to follow his model faithfully he is successful. On the contrary, however, much as Smollett may have learnt from Le Sage of the art of story telling, it is easy to demonstrate that he succeeds only when he deals with human nature as he himself knows it, and gives up the endeavour to look at it with the eyes of a master of different temperament from his own, and only when this is understood can any group of his characters be intelligently studied.

(1) Preface to "Rod. Random" p. LXII.

(2) Preface to " " " p. LXII.

(3) "Smollett et Le Sage" par F.J. Wershoven. p. 16.

(4) " " " " p. 18.

To Gil Blas all the complex tissue of society is a jest arranged for his private amusement, and he glances as mockingly at the rest of the world as he does at the solemn figures in the ante-chamber of the archevêque, "Je ne pus m'empêcher de rire en les considérant et de m'en moquer en moi-même." Of this enjoyment of the fine comedy of life Smollett has nothing: he can at times put aside thought and break into rollicking, ale-house joviality he can draw farcical scenes with a vigorous brush, he can blend pathos with a certain whimsical humour in sketching such oddities as Tom Bowling and the Commodore, but in his satire he is too angry for laughter. Gil Blas amuses us with the adroitness which turns the universal corruption of court^{ts} to his own advantage, and, though the moral is there, it lies deep hidden, like l'âme du licencie⁽²⁾ beneath the stone, and no incongruous seriousness intrudes into the gaiety of the tale. But Smollett has seen at close quarters the waste and death which the rottenness of a social system entails, and, as Roderick Random talks of the dark underworld that he knows, or rails against the mismanagement of the expedition to Carthage⁽³⁾, the thin disguise of fiction breaks down and we feel the passion of a writer to whom the facts of life are too grim for jesting. In the preface to "Roderick Random"⁽⁴⁾, he declares plainly that his aim is not merely to provoke laughter at the follies and knaveries of life, but "to inspire that generous indignation which ought to animate the reader against the sordid and vicious disposition of the world." That he thinks this aim can scarcely be achieved by the method of Le Sage is in itself proof that he is fundamentally out of sympathy with his master. He is unskilled in the use of the more delicate weapons

(1) "Gil Blas" Livre VIII. Chap. II. (Vol II. p. 27)

(2) "Gil Blas" Preface.

(3) "Roderick Random" Chaps. XXI - XXV.

(4) " " " Preface pp 4 - 5.

of satire and can only follow the Frenchman with clumsy gestures. He may give his clergy the insignificant ugliness of l'archevêque,⁽¹⁾ or his doctors the stupidity of Sangrado,⁽²⁾ but he lacks that sense of fun which makes the difference between unnatural exaggeration and humorous caricature. He is incapable of the lightness of touch which concludes an unflattering portrait with an unexpected quip at the expense of the hero:⁽³⁾ "Malgré tout cela, je lui trouvais l'air d'un homme de qualité, sans doute parce que je sçavois qu'il en était un."

Influence of this duality on his portraiture.

Smollett's characters, therefore, group themselves into two classes: there are those who take their places as personalities among our literary acquaintance, oddities many of them, with strongly marked humours, coarse in grain sometimes, but always vigorous or convincing, moved both towards good and towards evil, but besides these real people in whom his interest lay, there are a number of "supers" on his stage whom he takes over, with other machinery and setting, from Le Sage, or sometimes from earlier comedy. They are such puppets of motiveless viciousness as the female cousins of Roderick Random, Mrs Pickle, and the heroines of most of Mr Pickle's adventures in gallantry, and among them are to be found most of his clergymen, as, for example, the Sussex Vicar in "Roderick Random", Shuffle in the same novel, and Mr Sackbut in "Peregrine Pickle."

It is interesting to contrast the handling of characters in the two groups: the detailed and sympathetic analysis of such individualities as Miss Williams, Humphrey Clinker or Strap

(1) "Gil Blas" Livre I. Chap II.

(2) " " Livre II. Chaps III & IV.

(3) " " Livre II. Chap II. (Vol. II. p. 28.)

with the complete indifference to the laws of psychology which
 (1) pictures Mrs Pickle first as a wise and tender parent, and then,
 without any reason for the change, as a monster of cruelty to
 her own child. Sometimes as in the cases of the Commodore,
 (2) and still more particularly of Mrs Trunnion and Humphrey Clinker,
 (3) the caricature of the first description is too exaggerated to
 be sustained; the characters become humanized by the very neces-
 sity of their social relationships and the puppets become per-
 sons.

Of all the novels "Peregrine Pickle" suffers most from
 its debt to the French tale, and a comparison of the two illus-
 trates the duality of much of Smollett's work, a duality which
 must be taken into account in estimating the truth of his satire.

"Gil Blas" is a species of fiction midway between the
 Romance and the Novel, and it follows certain conventions of
 its own for which ^{as} much allowance must be made as for those of
 Arcadia. The hero is of humble birth and gains success by his
 wits; so far he approaches reality. But to his address and his
 charm all things are as possible as they were to the powers of
 the knight of romance, and, in spite of the skilful illusion of
 reality, his adventures in city and court demand as willing a
 suspension of ^{dis-}belief as do any marvels of fairyland.

Still more subtle is the demand for the suspension of
 moral judgment. It would be obviously inept to discuss the
 ethics of the hero's pleasant philosophy. He is a rascal with
 a disarming smile at his own folly, and he belongs to an a-moral
 atmosphere, in which the normal standards of virtue and honesty
 apply no more than does the physical law of gravity in the realm
 of Oberon and Titania. But Smollett cannot create this atmos-
 phere, and he makes the mistake of modelling upon the hero who

(1) "Peregrine Pickle"

(2) " "

(3) " "

belongs properly^{ly} to it the central personage of a novel of real life.

Mr Pickle is clearly intended to be as delightfully amusing a rogue as his prototype, but the tale of his gallantries has not, to adapt Dr Johnson's criticism of another work, "wit enough to keep it sweet," and it is seldom possible to find in his boisterous tricks upon the victims of his sense of humour that generosity of temper which his author so often declares to have inspired them.

It is noticeable, however, that the incidents of the latter part of the book are more varied and interesting. The hero has now fallen upon days of adversity, and of his struggles Smollett writes vigorously and well, because these are matters belonging not to a borrowed tradition, but to his own knowledge of the stuff of life. Before considering, then, the reliability of Smollett's evidence as to ^{the} manners or morals of any social class, it is important to recognise the distinction between portraits based on his own observation of English life, and adaptations somewhat clumsily made from the universal types of Le Sage.

Anti-clericalism of earlier novels probably due in large measure to influence of Le Sage.

In the case of the clergy the satiric attitude of the Frenchman seems to reinforce a personal prejudice, which had perhaps already fed upon the contempt shewn for the profession in English satire and comedy. At all events the bias of the earlier novels is strongly anti-clerical. In "Roderick Random" and "Peregrine Pickle" the only representative of his order who has
(1)
any degree of merit is the humane parson of the Fleet, who was driven to poverty and to the debtor's prison through incurring the displeasure of the Bishop, and even he made such income as he enjoyed by "certain irregular practices of his function". In "Count Fathom" there are one or two kindly priests in the background, but for the most part they are only introduced to marry

(1) Peregrine Pickle. Vol III. pp 157-8.

people or to give sick-bed consolation, and Smollett does not trouble to characterise them even to the extent of giving them names. The order it would seem, is still represented to him in the main by clergymen of the type of those who, from place hunting Bishop to Parson of the Fleet, "prostitute their characters (1) and consciences for hire, in defiance of all decency and law."

Attitude towards clergy in later novels less antagonistic.

In "Sir Launcelot Greaves", written in 1760, the curate, Mr Jenkins, is already described in the more sympathetic humour which pervades "Humphrey Clinker", and both these books are marked, not only by the tacit admission of the influence of religious belief upon conduct, but by the complete disappearance of rancour against the priesthood. It belongs, however, to the whimsical vein of the author that his only detailed studies of religious characters are those of the fantastic knight-errant and of the fanatic Methodist preacher; if he has lost his first bitter suspicion of all who wear the garb of clerical orthodoxy, they still leave him indifferent and uninterested, and there is little suggestion that their influence upon their fellow-men is of any significance. Possibly this is due mainly to the fact that his brush is scarcely fine enough for the quiet colours of virtue that is unrelieved by any oddity or strangeness, but, whatever the reason, he never gives more than the slightest sketch of a parson who can be regarded as of average morality and education.

That Smollett's earlier novels give evidence of strong anti-clerical bias cannot then be denied. He disliked the Anglican cleric only less than the Catholic priest. Nor can it be denied that he had probably met in actual life, Shuffle, the (2) Parson of the Fleet, the Chaplain of the Thunderer, perhaps even (3) (4)

(1) "Ferdinand Fathom" Vol. I. p. 42. cf. The savage and unquotable description of the "Bonzes" in the "History of an Atom."

(2) "Roderick Random" Chap. IX. (3) "Peregrine Pickle" Ch. XCVII

(4) "Roderick Random" Chap. XXXII.

(1)
 the Sussex Vicar. But the prejudice which suggested that such figures were typical was reinforced chiefly by literary tradition by the fact that the attitude both of Le Sage and of English Comedy to the Church was satiric. For all these parsons are merely puppets of the back-ground. Of no English priest is there a full length portrait. With the exception of Jolter - who (2) though in Orders holds no cure, and is described mainly in his capacity as governor - not one is handled with the distinctively Smollettian touch.

Not, of course, that the puppets are taken over directly from "Gil Blas". It is not a case of borrowing material but of imitating an attitude, and of imitating it without complete understanding. Congenial as Smollett may find it to gibe at the clergy, the gibe remains conventional and unconvincing, as contrasted with the onslaught of his satire against evils by which his feelings are sincerely moved. •

In treating the clerical portraits of the three novelists then, as sources of information, we may take those of Smollett's earlier works as presented in a mood that counter-balances the **partial** view of Richardson; those of his later years are drawn with less prejudice, but also far less vividly. In Fielding, - notwithstanding manifest didactic purpose, the sight of the artist is not clouded by the desires of the Christian apologist, and the survey is comprehensive and penetrating. *read?*

(1) "Roderick Random" Chap. XXXVIII.

(2) "Peregrine Pickle".

SECTION II.

The Clergy in the Novels of Richardson, Fielding
and Smollett.

Their Social Status.

Education.

Incomes.

The relation of the inferior orders to the higher.

References to Jacobite Sentiment.

(1)

Canon Overton and Mr Relton are of the opinion that a change in the generally accepted estimate of the contribution of the Church during the eighteenth century is demanded by the facts. They admit a great degree of truth in the usual charges against the religious indifference of the people and the lethargy and self-seeking of the clergy, but, in spite of these things, they find that, on the whole, the record is "the history of a rise, not of a fall."

(3)

In the bibliography for the chapter on "General Church Life", Mr Relton suggests, as has been mentioned, that contemporary fiction should be studied, and the student who follows his advice finds in this particular field of history, not only support for his main contention, but suggestion in various directions of greater promise than he has seemed to find.

In a general survey of the influence of the clergy, Mr Relton sees little change after 1720. In particular, he notes and apparently regrets, a general tendency to follow, "except on Sundays", the same manner of life and to engage in the same pursuits as did the laity of equal standing. "A little less coarse, a little more strict in morals, a little better informed. That was all. They fished and shot and hunted with them, farmed with them, attended markets and fairs with them, dressed very much as the laity did, after the clerical bands and cassocks had fallen into disuse by about the middle of the century." In illustration of his point the writer quotes such passages as Crabbe's portrait of the young parson in the "Village", the description of Dr Primrose at the Fair, and Boswell's sketch of Dr Taylor of Ashbourne:- "His size and figure and countenance and manner were

(1) "The English Church from the Accession of George I to the end of the Eighteenth Century."

(2) Cf. Chap. I. *ibid.* (3) P. 286. (4) P. 270.

(5) Overton and Relton, *Ibid.* p. 270.

that of a hearty English squire, with the parson superinduced."

The general suggestion that the priesthood of the century had little conception of itself as an Order set apart for contemplation or devotion can scarcely be questioned. The *Novel* shows it, from agricultural curate to place-hunting Dean, busily interested in mundane affairs. But if in a Trulliber or a card-sharper ⁽¹⁾ ~~(2)~~ Shuffle we see this "diligence in business" degenerating into sordidness, there is Mr Adams at the other side of the picture to remind us that a parson may smoke his pipe, flourish a stout cudgel, and drink with his fellows in an alehouse kitchen, yet be well aware of his spiritual authority.

It is in fact clear that both Richardson and Fielding attach much ~~importance~~ value to the refining influence of the clergyman upon his immediate circle - an influence which he exerts not by withdrawing from, but by sharing in the pleasures and interests of his friends. Dr Bartlett and Dr Harrison are both men of their world, who pass with easy dignity through drawing-room or assembly, meeting wits and beaux on their own ground, yet commanding always the respect due to "the cloth". "Is not ⁽³⁾ Dr Bartlett one of us?" exclaims Miss Grandison, regarding her family as honoured by his intimacy. "Reserve, and a politeness that had dignity in it, shewed that the fine gentleman and the clergyman were not separated in Dr Bartlett. -- Pity they should be in any of the function!", observes Harriet. That these parsons could, as Dr Harrison puts it, ⁽⁴⁾ "think with a pleasant countenance" ⁽⁵⁾ by no means meant that their social gifts obscured their more specifically priestly qualities.

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. II. Chap XIV.

(2) "Roderick Random" p. 56-7.

(3) "Sir Charles Grandison"

(4) Sir Charles Grandison. Vol. II. p. 15.

(5) " " " Vol. II. p. 7.

(6) "Amelia" (Fielding) p. 143.

The clergy of Smollett naturally possess as little social influence as education; on the other hand the carefulness of Richardson's heroines to shew deference to every representative of the Church and of the latter to deserve it, may illustrate rather the state of things that the writer desires than the one that he finds; more significant is the fact that in Fielding the humblest curate has some sense of the respect due to his office and can to some extent command it. Such phrases as "due to the cloth" occur frequently. "Much civility passed between the two clergymen, (i.e. Barnabas and Adams) who both declared the great honour they had for the cloth." "I don't love to see clergymen on foot;" remarks Mr Trulliber, characteristically, "it is not seemly, nor suiting the dignity of the cloth;" as characteristic is Mr Adams' observation, "Child, -- I should be ashamed of my cloth if I thought a poor man, who is honest, below my notice on my familiarity."

Clearly throughout the forties clerical dress was still both worn and honoured, and it is odd that, if it was actually cast aside by the mid-century, there should be no hint even in Amelia - that is in 1751, that cassock or gown was old-fashioned.

The father of Mrs Bennet was, his daughter tells us, "indeed well

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk.I. Chap. XVI. p. 70.

(2) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. II. Chap. XIV. p. 161.

(3) " " " Bk. III. Chap. II. p. 191.

(4) "Amelia." p. 288.

Cf. the following later references to the clerical garb:-

(a) "The Man of the World" (1773) Chap VIII. p. 42. "Annesley's cloth protected him from this last inconvenience." (i.e. of being expected to become drunken at his patron's table.)

(b) "Hermesprong"; (Bage; 1796) Vol. II. Ch. XXVIII. p. 186.

Dr Blick, a rector to Miss Fluart: "Have you no reverence, Madam, for the sacerdotal character?"

Miss Fluart: "Much sir, for the character, little for the mere habit".

"This, Madam, to me!"

"This, Sir, to you."

"Do I appear to your eyes to wear the habit only?"

"Very much so, sir."

(c) "Romance Readers & Romance Writers." (Sarah Green, 1810) The rector, the Right Honourable Theodore Leslie, "often execrated the hour which made him wear the cloth."

(5) cf. quotation p.24 (above) from Mrs Felton.

worthy of the cloth he wore," and the gown was the customary attire of Dr Harrison.. Again in spite of the contempt in which he was held by such patrons as Sir Thomas Booby and Lady Booby, who ⁽¹⁾ "regarded the curate as a kind of domestic only", the parish priest was certainly a person of some consequence among his flock.

⁽²⁾ Parson Barnabas drinks tea in state with the landlady of the inn, and when punch drinking is toward in the parlour no-one will squeeze the oranges until he comes; Parson Trulliber is held ⁽³⁾ in great awe by the country yokels, not only on account of his wealth, but equally because of "his professions of piety -- his gravity, austerity, reserve," - affectations which seem to shew even in a Trulliber some recognition of a convention of clerical dignity. As to Mr Adams, he may dine in the kitchen and associate with the waiting-maid, he may be tied ignominiously to a bed-post, or lose his wig in the mire, but nothing that happens to him, either in life, ^{as} humble dependant on the great, or in his author's hands, as long-suffering hero of burlesque, succeeds in detracting from his authority as a priest, which he wields with all the seriousness of Dr Harrison himself.

Mr Adams is not egotistic enough to be very quick to perceive rudeness to himself, though he will not pocket an obvious affront, but of the dignity of his office he is always jealous. In season and out of season, to a tavern host, to his favourite Joseph, to Mr Peter Pounce, to Lady Booby herself, he delivers rebukes as he conceives they are deserved. Indeed, at ⁽⁴⁾ the very wedding-service, he "publicly rebuked Mr Booby and Pamela for laughing in so sacred a place, and on so solemn an occasion. Our parson would have done no less to the highest prince on earth; for, though he paid all submission and deference

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Ch. III. p. 16.

(2) " " Bk. I. Ch. XIII. p. 53-5.

(3) " " Bk. II. Ch. XV. p. 165.

(4) " " Bk. IV. Ch. XVI. p. 347.

to his superiors in other matters, where the least spice of religion intervened, he immediately lost all respect of persons. It was his maxim that he was a servant of the Highest, and could not, without departing from his duty, give up the least article of his honour or of his cause to the greatest earthly potentate. Indeed, he always asserted that Mr Adams at Church with his surplice on, and Mr Adams without that ornament in any other place were two very different persons."

On the other hand it must be remembered that even ~~in~~
 (1) Richardson shews Mr Peters unable to give aid to Pamela for fear of offending his influential friends, and that the only amends
 (2) that Supple dares to make to his conscience for suffering Squire Western's swearing to pass unrebuked is to preach sermons against
 (3) bad language in Church. Mrs Honour makes excuse for the class:
 "To be sure I wishes that Parson Supple had but a little more spirit to tell the Squire of his wickedness --- but then his whole dependence is on the Squire; and so the poor gentleman, though he is a very religious, good sort of man, and talks of the badness of such doings behind the Squire's back, yet he dares not say his soul is his own to his face." Thus, in such characters as Mr Supple and Mr Adams in one social sphere, Mr Peters and Dr Harrison in another, the novelists give us sharply contrasting types, and the question is as to whether there is sufficient ground for the conclusion that it is in the delineation of the finer types that they draw less on literary tradition, more on original observation ^{of} ~~on~~ the life around them.

The portrait of which examination is most relevant to this
 (4) point is that of Dr Harrison. Too generous to be rich -- Booth
 away says that his income is little more than £600 and that he gives/
 at least £400 of it every year, - he certainly does not owe the

(1) "Pamela". Vol. I. p. 147-8.

(2) "Tom Jones". Bk. VI. Ch. IX. p. 282.

(3) " " Bk. XV. Ch. VII. pp 295-6.

(4) "Amelia" Bk XII. Ch. VIII. p. 586.

assured position that is his in the polite world to his wealth or rank, and, though he is the benefactor in material ways of Amelia and Booth, it is in his clerical capacity that he plays the commanding role in the story.

For this character Fielding has no literary precedent; for the only clergyman of previous fiction who could claim kinship with Dr Harrison, the "very philosophic" member of the Spectator Club, "a man of general learning -- and the most exact good breeding", had the "misfortune to be of a very weak constitution", and was therefore unable to undertake the care of a parish or to enter much into society. In short, the influential role assigned in a mid-century novel to a country rector undistinguished except for his qualities of goodness and wisdom, supports Mr Relton's general conception of the ecclesiastical history of the period as "the story of a rise", and throws doubt on at least one of the more pessimistic utterances into which he allows certain of the darker aspects of the time to betray him:--⁽²⁾ "Never since the Lollards had there been a time when the clergy were held in so much contempt."

It is clear that as a general rule the prestige which the parson enjoyed by right of his office was also supported by his attainments as a scholar. As the century advances it will be seen that it becomes more and more a matter of course that the clergyman should be the most highly cultivated member of his circle, preparing his sons for the University, and giving solid instruction to his daughters.

In the first novels it is true that there are a few examples of the grossly ignorant curate. Shuffle, the gambling

(1) Spectator. No 2.

(2) Overton and Relton. p. 63. The writers are actually speaking of the period that ended in 1738; but they do not suggest that there was much improvement during the next twenty years.

(3) "Roderick Random".pp. 56-7.

curate whose acquaintance Roderick Random makes at a wayside tavern, was valet to a certain Lord Trifle at the University. In this capacity he picked up "some scraps of learning" and scraped admission into Holy Orders by the interest of his master, of whose doings he knew too much for his Lordship to disoblige him. and (1) As ignorant ~~as~~/vicious is Mr Sackbut, the tutor of Gamaliel Pickle; and of Mr Trulliber's education we learn no more than is to be inferred from the boorishness of his manners and the broadness (2) of his accents. But even in Smollett, Shuffle and Sackbut are exceptional and Mr Trulliber's boorishness is perhaps to some extent discounted by the fact that his portrait is a jest at the expense of Fielding's own tutor, Mr Oliver. (3) It is interesting to compare an instance that Fielding gives of the difficulty which candidates for Holy Orders experienced in obtaining the necessary training with Eachard's remarks on this point. (4) Mr Bennet, in "Amelia" found himself a poor scholar deprived in the middle of his University career of the patronage on which he had depended; unlike, however, the youthful curates, whose (5) ignorance Eachard attacks, he was unable to gain a dispensation from the canon which prohibits ordination before the age of twenty-three, and was obliged to make shift to maintain himself for the remaining year of his course. It is in fact clear that the humblest tutor or curate has generally like Mr Bennet, by whatever effort, gained a university education. Bottom of P 32 (6)

Thus of Smollett's parsons, Mr Jelter, uncultivated as he is, is a notable mathematician, Jerry Melford, in "Humphrey (7)

(1) "Peregrine Pickle". Ch. XXVIII. p. 178-9.

(2) "Joseph Andrews" Bk II. Ch. XIV.

(3) Nichol's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century. Vol. III p. 357.

(4) "Amelia". Bk. VII. Ch. IV. p. 302-3.

(5) "Grounds & Occasions of Contempt of the Clergy enquired into." p. 18.

(6) Tutor of Peregrine Pickle.

(7) "Humphrey Clinker"

Clinker", remembers the pugilistic young curate, Tom Eastgate, "on the foundation at Queen's"; Sir Launcelot Greaves learns (1) that Mr Jenkins, the good curate of his village is a "reputed scholar", and Mr Dennison, again in "Humphrey Clinker" (2) finds a pleasant companion in the "agreeable and useful curate" of the neighbourhood, who proves "a modest man and a good scholar." In Richardson's novels the learning of the clergy, as would be expected, (3) is taken for granted; two of the curates, Mr Adams and Mr Williams (4) are represented as well read and intelligent men; Mr Williams and Mr Elias Brand (5) are explicitly said to have studied at the University, and satirized as the latter is for his pedantry, "of his acquaintance with the Classics - or at least of his skill in the exercise of culling "flowers" the laborious quotations with which he adorns his letters leave no doubt.

The fact that Fielding is less careful to demonstrate the respectability of his parsons makes his evidence more convincing than Richardson's. His curates reveal intellectual attainments as varied as their characters, from the complete equipment of the argumentative young Bachelor of Arts (6) who finds it so irksome, "after seven years at the University", to defer, even for the sake of policy, to the notions of an "old put" like Dr Harrison, (7) to the limitations of Mr Barnabas, whose theology collapses before the questions of Joseph Andrews. The deficiencies of Mr Barnabas himself are those rather of heart than of head, and he is less uneasy in argument with Mr Adams than in his attempts to administer

(1) "Sir Launcelot Greaves". (2) "Humphrey Clinker."

(3) & (4) "Pamela, Vol. V. Letters LXV, LXXXIX, XC.

(5) "Clarissa Harlowe".

(6) "Amelia" Bk. IX. Chap. X. p. 444.

(7) "Joseph Andrews". Bk. I. Chap. XIII. pp. 54-5.

consolation by the sick-bed of Joseph. He is not without a professional knowledge of theology; he knows enough about the work of Tillotson on the one hand, or of Toland, Woolston and Hobbes on the other, to be able to talk of them with assurance, though it is not clear that he has actually read them; he has written a number of sermons, which, according to his own statement, three bishops have praised; moreover he prides himself on his legal knowledge, which as amateur lawyer of the village he has acquired by an exhaustive study of "Wood's Institutes." Parson Supple seems to console his self-respect for the wounds it suffers in the matter of moral compliance with the aid of a diction which declares him at once a scholar and a divine - diction of a scriptural flavour, relieved with an occasional ornament from the classics. He refers to Tom Jones, for instance, as "Ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris" and translates the line for Mistress Sophia's benefit, while on another occasion, he enriches a discourse on anger with "many valuable quotations from the ancients, especially from Seneca." Even the Ordinary of Newgate in "Jonathan Wild" has at least heard of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle; indeed, his sermon on the text - "To the Greeks foolishness" may well be read as the ironic comment of the outlawed scholar upon the disquisitions of his more pious and more prosperous brethren. As to that "excellent scholar" Mr Abraham Adams, much has ~~he~~ he "travelled in the realms of gold" and like a returned voyager he loves to talk of all that he has seen and known in his wanderings past the Pillars of Hercules and the walls of Carthage, beyond Scylla and Charybdis,

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Chaps. XIV, XV.

(2) "Tom Jones". Bk. IV. Ch. X. p. 163.

(3) " " Bk. VI. Chap IX. p. 281.

(4) "History of Jonathan Wild" Bk. IV. Chap. XIII.

(5) cf. Joseph Andrews. Bk. II. Chap XVII. p. 179.

among the Cyclades and through the Straits of Hellas, across the Euxine and the Caspian to the shores of Colchis itself, home of the Golden Fleece. Nor is his learning confined to the Classic literatures, for he has studied also "the Oriental tongues", and can as well read and translate French, Italian and Spanish.

It must be admitted that such an extent of scholarship seems to have been a little unusual among the inferior clergy. People listened to Mr Adams with astonishment "that one small head" and that only a curate's "could carry all he knew"; on the occasion, for instance, of his visit to Mr Wilson he discoursed⁽¹⁾ so eloquently on the beauties of Homer - supporting his opinions by constant appeals to the principles of Aristotle - and "then rapt out a hundred Greek verses -- with such a voice, emphasis and action" -- that his amazed host "doubted whether he had not a bishop in his house."⁽²⁾ On the other hand Mr Wilson was scarcely disposed to believe that the ragged parson "had any more of the clergyman in him than his cassock" until "To try him further" he ~~had~~ asked him "If Mr Pope had lately published anything new," - a question suggesting that some degree of culture was expected of all who wore the gown, and that its complete lack in Trulliber Shuffle and Sackbut is more exceptional at the one extreme than are the remarkable attainments of Mr Adams at the other.

With regard to the scholarship of the clergy of the higher orders it is perhaps worth while to note that Mr Wilson's private reflection upon the rank of his guest implies that in a bishop much may be looked for. It is also significant that in all three novelists the chief reproach against the well-to-do incumbent is that he sometimes lacks charity: thus we have the stories of Mr Peters' unkindness to Pamela, of Thwackum's severity⁽³⁾

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. III. Ch. II. pp. 193-4.

(2) " " " Bk III. Ch. II. p. 192.

(3) "Pamela" Vol. I. pp. 147-8.

(1)
to Jones, of the Sussex Vicar's cruelty to Roderick Random and
(2)
of Dr Tootle's attempt to eject the good curate Mr Jenkins: but
not once is there any suggestion that a priest above the rank
of curate lacks the intellectual qualifications due to his posi-
on.

In Smollett the portraits are too slight to afford
positive evidence, and probably fuller delineations of such
characters as the Sussex Vicar and of Shuffle's Vicar would
be in every respect unfavourable, though Dr C. in "Humphrey
(3)
Clinker" is at least sufficiently intelligent for his society
to be pleasant to Mr Bramble; but in Fielding and Richardson,
the learning of vicar, rector or dean is never in dispute.
(4)
Thwackum is fellow of a College and an "excellent scholar", the
good judgment of Dr Harrison and the extent of his reading
are abundantly displayed. (5)
Dr Lewin has apparently taught Claris-
sa Harlowe Latin, Italian and French, and in Mr Peters, and es-
pecially in Dr Bartlett we are evidently expected to take simi-
lar learning for granted. Nor is the culture of the clergy
represented as purely academic, or theological. It is true
(6)
that though Mr Adams has heard "great commendations of Mr Pope,
he has never read any of his works, and that he apparently
neither reads nor approves of Shakespeare, but he knows both
Addison and Steele. Thus, we hear that after the affray in
which a dish of hog's puddings played an unpleasant part, to a
spectator, who, jocularly (7)
telling him ~~not~~ he looked like the
ghost of Othello, (sic) bid him not shake his gory locks at him,

(1) "Roderick Random". Chap. XXXVIII.

(2) "Sir Launcelot Greaves, Ch. IV. pp 51-3.

(3) "Humphrey Clinker" Vol. II. p. 65.

(4) "Tom Jones" Bk. III. Ch. V. p. 106.

(5) "Clarissa Harlowe" Vol. V. cf. p 464 & p. 476.

(6) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. III. Ch. II. p. 192.

(7) " " Bk. II. Ch. V. p. 116.

for he could not say he did it, Adams very innocently answered, 'Sir, I am far from accusing you.' " On another occasion
 (1) when Joseph in despair at the loss of Fanny broke into Macduff's lament, -- "Adams asked him what stuff that was he repeated? To which he answered, they were some lines he had gotten by heart out of a play." "Ay there is nothing but heathenism to be learned from plays", he replied, "I never heard of any plays fit for a Christian to read, but "Cato", and "The Conscious Lovers". A pleasant touch of irony in view of the fact that his own greatest treasure was his manuscript copy of Aeschylus.

(2)
 Dr Harrison quotes Shakespeare with approval, Mr Williams, anxious to perfect himself in the French tongue, is discovered
 (3) reading on one occasion "the French Telemachus", and on another
 (4) Boileau's "Lutrin", which he finds a beautiful piece of writing; while, as has been noted, Dr Lewen reads both French and Italian, and to these languages, Mr Adams adds Spanish also.

Reced
 (5)
 With regard to the poverty of the inferior clergy, which every critic who attacks their incompetence admits to be their excuse, the novels add nothing new to the facts learnt from other sources. The stipends, we know, varied from £20 to £40, very occasionally rising to £50 or even £60, and the century saw
 (5)a. little improvement. In 1696, Eachard exclaims with bitter irony, "Oh, how prettily and temperately may half a score children be maintained with almost £20 per annum!", and in 1789
 (6) Hannah More discovers the curate in charge of the wide parish
 (7) of Cheddar in receipt of £25 a year. The £60 which John Newton enjoyed as curate of Olney was clearly exceptional wealth for

(1) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. III. Ch. XI. pp. 222.260-1.

(2) e.g. "Amelia" p. 512.

(3) "Pamela" Vol. I. p. 320. (4) Ibid. p. 347.

(5) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Chap. III. p. 14.

(5)a. "Grounds & Occasions of contempt of the Clergy"

(6) Overton & Relton, p. 246.

(7) Overton & Relton. p. 185.

his station, and the general impression is that the rank and file of parish priests would regard themselves as "passing rich on ~~an~~ ⁽¹⁾ forty pounds a year." In "Pamela", Richardson in fact speaks of forty or fifty pounds as rather above the amount usually allowed to a curate. Mr H ---, scoffs at the treatment which the clergy mete out to one another: " forty or fifty pounds a year would be thought too much, even for him who does all the labour," and Mr Williams sadly admits that his observation is "but too true".
⁽²⁾
 In "Amelia", Mr Bennet's income is given as less than £40, even ^{(2)a.} when he is transferred to a London cure; Shuffle, in "Roderick Random", ⁽³⁾ eked out a salary of £20 by card-playing; Mr Jenkins, in "Sir Launcelot Greaves", had to support a wife and five children on a total income of £30, £10 of which he earned by reading prayers for the vicar of another parish every Sunday afternoon, and Mr Adams himself ⁽⁴⁾ "had so much endeared and well-recommended him to a Bishop, that at the age of fifty he was provided with a handsome income of twenty-three pounds a year; which, however, he could not make any great figure with, because he lived in a dear country, and was a little encumbered with a wife and six children." Apparently the good man's work as a schoolmaster was in abeyance at the time of the events recorded in the story; at all events, if any increase of wealth came to him from his little school, it was too small for Lady Booby to have heard of it, for she scoffs cruelly at the attempts of the ⁽⁵⁾ "old, foolish parson" to keep "a wife and six brats on a salary of about twenty pounds a year, adding ~~that~~ there was not such another ragged family in the parish."

(1) "Pamela" Vol. II. p. 391.

(2) "Amelia". p. 313. (2)a. "Roderick Random" pp 57, 58.

(3) "Sir L. Greaves" p. 51. (4) "Joseph Andrews" p. 14.

(5) Joseph Andrews" p. 311.

Cf. "Punch" 12/11/19. Bishop:- "Are there any really poor families in your parish, Mr Jones?" Country Parson:- "Only my own, my Lord."
 Rev. P.H. Ditchfield, in a paper read to the Royal Hist. Soc. in 1915, observes that in order to ascertain the relative value of money and to compare it with that of the present day (i.e. 1915) a sum must be multiplied by four.

No wonder that the harassed wife, though ⁽¹⁾ "a very good sort of woman" was "rather too strict in her economies," and that she could not eagerly share her children's scanty soup with every chance object of her husband's impulsive generosity.* Fielding has sympathy for the gray lives from which the womenfolk of the poorer clergy could scarcely escape, and there is deftness in the few touches which give us Mrs Adams, rather faded, a little shrewish, too anxious to be other than common-place, as she labours for her own children, while her husband finds the joy of adventure in carrying the burdens of others. In "Tom Jones" ⁽²⁾ the satire upon the vulgarity of Goody Seagrim and of Mrs Honour, as each for a moment of recollection apes the lost gentility proper to her descent from a clergyman, glances pointedly at the system of which they are victims, and that this is Fielding's deliberate intention is made clear by the footnote in which he expresses his hope that, ⁽³⁾ "such instances will in future ages, when some provision is made for the families of the inferior clergy, appear stranger than they can be thought at present." ⁽⁴⁾ Overton and Relton lay considerable stress on the gulf between the inferior and the superior clergy, due to the fact that all the high offices in the Establishment were given to loyal Hannoverians, and that the rank and file were generally in sympathy

(1) "Joseph Andrews" p. 334.

(2) & (3) "Tom Jones" pp 95, 109. Macaulay has also called attention to this footnote.

(4) "History of the Church in the 18th Century" pp 57, 59. The writers say that the alienation of the non-jurors was "intensified greatly by the accession of the House of Hanover," that "from the beginning of the Georgian era all hopes of their reconciliation disappear;" that the Universities were "honeycombed with Jacobitism" (p.59) and that Oxford, in particular, to the end of the century "never recovered from that sullen acquiescence with which, against its conscience it had accepted the Hannoverian dynasty -- and was stagnant -- except in regard to Jacobite politics. "

Lecky, however, attaches little importance to the influence of the non-jurors after the fall of Atterbury, 1723. "History of the 18th Century", Chap. II.

with the non-jurors. This gulf is not, however, apparent in the novel before the work of the Jacobins at the close of the century - and then for different reasons - in fact in the novels of the mid century few great ecclesiastical dignitaries are introduced. (1) Mr Peters excuses his own subservience in a matter of principle by referring to the example of his superiors in the Church, Mr (2) Adams expresses himself in sympathy with Whitefield's disapproval of the display of "luxury and splendour" of which he admits some ministers are guilty, there are occasional references to the bishops whom the poor curates fear as disposers of their fates, but, except for the somewhat shadowy figure of Pamela's Dean, no clergyman is actually introduced to us of high rank or of great wealth. We meet rather an upper middle class of rectors and vicars that is constantly recruited from the poorer clergy, who for the most part work amicably with them.

The livings of these beneficed clergy differ considerably in value, but many are not worth more than £130 to £200. Mr (3) Adams was rewarded by preferment which gave him £130 a year; the (4) living wrung by Tom Eastgate from his unwilling patron was worth £160; the incumbent who retained the living promised to Mr Bennet (5) thereby secured nearly £200 a year; Mr Williams in "Pamela" (5)a first held a vicarage worth £200, but for unselfish motives was content to resign it for a less valuable one worth about £220; (6) Shuffle's vicar having no scruple about pluralities, obtained from two cures a total of £400. There is no suggestion, however, that such incumbents as these were not comfortably well off, and when details are given of their domestic affairs, as in the case of

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- (1) "Pamela" Vol. I. p. 147. (2) "Joseph Andrews" p. 76.
 (3) "Joseph Andrews" p. 348. (4) "Humphrey Clinker" p. 119.
 (5) "Amelia" P. 302. (5)a. "Pamela" Vo.1.II. p. 412.
 (6) "Roderick Random".

read so far end here

(1) Dr Harrison, Mrs Bennet's father, and Mr Bennet's first rector, we hear of pleasant and commodious parsonages and a sufficiency of service. Thus, Mrs Bennet passed her girlhood in a home in Essex which, though small, was "most completely furnished," and in which one servant was kept; later her father obtained a living of twice the value of his first, and the Hampshire parsonage into which he then moved was much larger. Incidentally there is a touch of the irony with which both the author and Dr Harrison himself always regard Mrs Bennet in the contrast between the "most completely furnished house" of her complacent reminiscences and the home of the Doctor's choice: "The situation --- (4) is very pleasant. It is placed among meadows, washed by a clear trout-stream, and flanked on both sides with downs. He built it himself and it is remarkable only for its plainness; with which the furniture so well agrees, that there is no one thing in it that may not be absolutely necessary except books, and the prints of Mr Hogarth, whom he calls a moral satirist."

The infrequency of reference to contemporary politics baffles enquiry into such questions as the extent of Jacobite sentiment among the clergy. Negative evidence on such a point is obviously inconclusive, but it must be noted that the statements of the historians as to the sympathy of the inferior clergy for (5)

(1) "Amelia" Bk. III. Chap. XII. (3) "Amelia, Bk. VII. Ch. V.

(2) " Bk. VII. Chap. II. (4) " " " p.142.

(5) As in Overton & Relton, pp 58; 59 (cf. footnote to p above) and in Perry's "History of the English Church" Chaps I & III. Perry apparently differs from Lecky in thinking that much energy and power was lost to the Church by the schism of the non-jurors throughout the century, although he admits that their numbers dwindled greatly after 1745, and that in the Rebellion itself the clergy did not give the Pretender the help that he had expected from them.

the non-jurors receive no support whatever from either Richardson or Fielding. It is true that the subservience of the episcopate to the Government is the subject of criticism that Richardson puts into the mouth of Squire B ---, who regrets that bishoprics vary in value, and that the consequence of the hope of translation is that the prelates,⁽¹⁾ almost to a man, vote on the side of power,^{and} by this means, contribute, not a little to make themselves and the whole body of the clergy a byword to freethinkers of all ~~denominations~~ "There is, however, no reason for thinking that Richardson's criticism is inspired by a political motive, and, in any case, neither of the parsons present offers any comment.

Smollett, however, less careful to avoid placing a clergyman in an unfavourable light, gives in Mr Jolter, the unattractive tutor of Peregrine Pickle, one example of the disaffected class. He describes him as "A High Churchman, --- and of consequence a ~~xxxixxxx~~ malcontent"⁽²⁾ and observes that "his resentment was habituated into an insurmountable prejudice against the present disposition of affairs, which by compounding the nation with the ministry, sometimes led him into erroneous, not to say absurd calculations." We are not told more plainly than this that the High Churchman was also a Jacobite, but he was a great admirer of every country but his own, and a devout believer in the Divine Right of Kings. Jolter's principles did not go so far as to prevent him from accepting a living from Mr Pickle, but possibly his political views were the reason why one had not previously been offered to him.

No doubt, too, in the "⁽³⁾ most excellent political discourse framed out of newspapers and political pamphlets," which Squire Western enjoyed after dinner with Parson Supple, the latter would find himself in agreement with his patron's hatred of "Hanover rats"

 (1) "Pamela" Vol. II. p. 398.

(2) "Peregrine Pickle" Vol I. p. 91.

(3) "Tom Jones" Bk IV. Ch. X. p. 164.

SECTION III

Discussion of the influence of literary
tradition to be discerned in ~~their~~ *this*
material.

SECTION III.

Discussion of the influence of Literary Tradition
upon the Clerical Types in the Novel.

As regards the section on the curate

It has been suggested that Dr Harrison represents a
(1) new type in English literature; Fielding claims originality for (2) & (3) the character of Adams, and, for the general treatment in the novel of the various classes of the clergy, it can be shown that, while some suggestions may have been gleaned from previous writers, there is, on the whole, a tendency to break away from such tradition as exists, and to establish a new one bearing a closer relation to the facts of the time.

That Fielding, in particular, ~~make~~^d a deliberate effort to avoid a conventional attitude and to record the results of his own observations is suggested by a remark in the first of a series of articles on the clergy, which he contributed to the (4) *Champion* in 1740. Referring to the pamphlet, "Reasons for the Contempt of the Clergy", he argues that no sensible or fairminded man could regard the whole Order with contempt, because of the misconduct of a few of its members. In the hope, however, of removing the ignorance which may tempt "idle and unthinking young men" to "express too little respect for the cloth", he proposes "to set a clergyman in a just and true light." But, he observes, "since I do not recollect any modern writings tending this way -- it may require some reflection and parts to collect a true idea -- from nice observations on the general behaviour of the clergy". The three following essays deal with the qualities of the ideal

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- (1) Cf. Section II. p. 29.
 - (2) It is generally said that Parson Young, a friend of Fieldings sat for this portrait. cf. Nichol's *Lit. Anecdotes*, III, 371.
 - (3) Preface to "Joseph Andrews", p. 7.
 - (4) Essays contributed to the "*Champion*" on Mar. 29, April 5, 12, 19, 1740, publ. in Edition of Collected Essays, London 1766, Vol II. pp 45, 73, 98, 119.

and of the worthless clergyman, and also with the privileges of his position. Tedious, in comparison with the novels, as these discourses are, they are yet of interest because they show Fielding in the process of thinking out some of the combinations of qualities which he ~~is~~ presently to clothe with flesh and blood. It is clearly unnecessary, for instance, to look for a model for Thwackum in older satire, in view of the preliminary sketch of his character roughed out in the essay for April 19th: "Let us suppose, then, a man of loose morals, proud, malevolent, vain rapacious and revengeful, not grieving at, but triumphing over the sins of men and rejoicing, like the Devil, that they will be punished for them." The phrase "of loose morals" excepted, this would stand as a fair general description of the portrait that we find in "Tom Jones" executed in detail. Although Fielding disclaims knowledge of "modern writings tending this way", that is, towards the sympathetic treatment of the clergy, it may well be that the idea and the method of the examination in these essays into the character of the ideal priest owes something to Herbert's "Country Parson", from which at a later date Miss More acknowledges inspiration for the portrait of Dr Barlow; Herbert's Treatise is, however, like the essays, rather of the nature of a sermon than of a character study, and the novelist could have gained little from it ~~except~~ the general suggestion ⁽¹⁾ that the "Form and Character of a ~~true~~ Pastor" might be set as a ⁽²⁾ "Mark to aim at."

The most obvious sources from which the early novelist drew inspiration are, from abroad, "Gil Blas" and "Don Quixote", and at home the Comedy of the Restoration, the satire of the seventeenth century, whether in verse or prose, and the periodical essay. Of one clerical type in the fiction of the eighteenth century - the servile chaplain - the origin can be found in Comedy and Satire - but for its most characteristic figures, the faithful village priest, and the cultured divine of society, while hints as to details of treatment may have been taken from many

(1) "Coelebs in search of a wife". (2) Author's preface to the "Country Parson".

places, there is no complete model, either in more recent literature or in the older drama. For any literary parallel to Mr Adams we must go back to Chaucer; for Dr Harrison none can be found.

Continue on P 50

The influence of "Gil Blas" upon Smollett's methods of characterisation has already been discussed. (1) The fact that Fielding and Richardson owe very little in respect of their clerical portraits to the foreign masters whom in many other directions Fielding, at least, follows so closely, may be due in some slight measure to the difference of religion. A Protestant author would only look for suggestions for a portrait of an Anglican clergyman in that of a Catholic priest under the influence of general anti-clerical prejudice. A fuller reason is, however, to be found - particularly in the comparison with Le Sage - in the complete difference of intention and of method. L'Archevêque de Grenade, the aged ⁽²⁾chançine, ⁽³⁾Seigneur Sedille, and the rest are seen only through the mocking eyes of Gil Blas, and all that it amuses him to see is the foot of clay peeping from beneath the robe of ecclesiastical dignity. The treatment is always satirical and the motive of the satire is simply an artistic pleasure in expression, not, as in Smollett, an instinctive prejudice, nor, as in Fielding and Richardson, a specific moral purpose. The result of the definite moral purpose - of the desire to castigate the faults of the day and to extol its virtues - tends somewhat to localise the characters of the English writers. L'Archevêque of Grenade might be encountered in any Church of any age; Thwackum, Mr Barnabas, and Elias Brandy, Mr Williams and the rest, are unmistakably ministers of the Anglican Establishment and though some of their characteristics may belong

(1) cf. Section I. pp. 19 - 22.

(2) "Gil Blas" Livre VII. Ch. II-V.

(3) "Gil Blas" Livre II. Chaps. I, II.

to types that persist, on the whole they are men of their century, sometimes led astray by its peculiar errors, sometimes bringing their share of its peculiar contributionx to progress.

With regard to "Don Quixote" the case is different: the Church does not come within the scope of Cervantes' satire, nor on the other hand does its unchallenged^g authority as yet need support. There is, therefore, no gallery of clerical portraits to serve as examples for the later moralist, and yet because the hero of the great burlesque holds the secret of all idealistic enterprise, he has inspired the conception of the one priest of our group about whose immortality in literature there can be no doubt, the "old foolish parson", whose simplicity invests the service of religion with something of the glamour of a quest.

For, in spite of Fielding's claim to originality, in the presentation of Mr Adams, the directness of the line of descent from the Knight of the Rueful Countenance to this clerical Quixote is obvious, and, further, the very idea of arraying a knight errant in torn cassock rather than in scoured armour may well have been suggested by the share which the Curate of La Mancha bore in his friend's adventures, and by a certain reflection in him of the gentle courtesy of his parishioner. In the extent of the Curate's learning, in the gusto of his literary enthusiasms, in his delight in a romantic story, in the playfulness which prompts him to dress up as a fair maiden who is to distract Don Quixote from his melancholy, and still more in the recollected dignity of the afterthought that such a disguise were more fitting for the barber than for a priest of the Church, we find suggestive hints of a kinship in humour with the parson of Lady Booby's village.

But an important difference remains, for the Spanish curate is simply in the picture as Don Quixote's friend:- except at the beginning of the story where he is called in to burn the booksx which have cast their spell upon the knight, and at the end when he receives his dying confession, his official function

is but lightly stressed, and especially, he is never seen in the character of father of his village flock, sharing their troubles and responsible for their welfare. In this aspect, in his quality, that is, of ideal pastor, Mr Adams owes nothing to any foreign model. ^{new paragraph} The representation of the clergy on the stage of the seventeenth century, is discussed in some detail by Jeremy (1) Collier, and it cannot be denied that it is as contemptuous in tone as he complains. In that polite stage world of which the main affair is the punctilio of an accepted code of intrigue, the priest has no place, except by performing the marriage ceremony over the heroine to give that hint of obligation but for which intrigue would lose its zest. Accordingly, in all the plays of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar, there are but four parsons, and the role of each is simply to serve the pleasures or scruples of the lovers in a more or less disreputable fashion. (2) These chaplains of "The Gentleman Dancing-Master", (3) "The Relapse", (4) "The Double Dealer" and (5) "The Beaux Stratagem" together with such brethren of their kind as Oldham's (6) "Sir Grape" and Bishop Hall's earlier "trencher chapelaine" apparently established the tradition of the "menial thing", whose one hope was that he might be at least,

(6) "To some slender benefice preferred
 "With this promise bound, that he must wed
 "My lady's antiquated waiting maid,
 "In dressing only skilled, and marmalade."

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- (1) A short view -- of the stage. Chap. III.
- (2) Wycherley - A nameless parson is introduced merely to marry heroine.
- (3) The "Relapse" by Vanbrugh.
- (4) Congreve. The Chaplain Saygrace is quoted by Collier and later Macaulay, as is also Bull in the "Relapse" by Vanbrugh.
- (5) The Beaux-Stratagem, Farquhar. Chaplain Foigard.
- (6) Oldham's Poems. Bell's edition. p. 224. "Satire addressed to a friend that is about to leave the University". cf. also Hall's satires and Beaumont & Fletcher "Woman Hater" III. 3.

This tradition as carried forward in the Essay is already modified. Thus Number 255 of the "Tatler" is a letter from an imaginary chaplain, who relates how he himself has been dismissed from employment "in an honourable family", because he declined to rise from the dinner-table at the appearance of the second course; but it is clear that, mean though his position, ~~is~~ the writer is, like Sir Roger's Chaplain, a man of virtue and learning, and also of some independence of character. The editor quotes Oldham's satire in support of his correspondent's complaint, remarking that his raillery "is the raillery of a friend" and "does not turn the sacred order into ridicule," but rather exposes the unworthiness of those who inflict on the clergyman "hardships that are by no means suitable to the dignity of his profession." Thus the man of letters, while admitting the facts as described by the seventeenth century dramatist, already in 1710, presents them from a different point of view and the "batteries of ridicule" are "new ^oprinted".

The type appears again in the novel, but generally with modifications suggested by a point of view similar to Addison's. Smollett, with the occasional tendency to caricature that, as we (2) have seen, he may owe partly to "Gil Blas", in such characters (3) (4) (5) as Sackbut, Shuffle or Jelter, intensifies the viciousness, or adds a grotesque ungainliness. Richardson and Fielding, on the other hand, while in Brand and Supple they accept the poor creature that Comedy has bequeathed to them, treat him more sympathetically. We see the difficulties of his position from his own standpoint, and appreciate his occasional struggles to assert the dignity of his office. The contemptible figure at which a shallower satire scoffed is humanized and, weakling as he is, makes some appeal to our sympathy.

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- (1) "Spectator" No 445. (5) Tutor of "Peregrine Pickle"
 (2) Cf. Section I. pp 19, 20
 (3) "Peregrine Pickle", Curate and tutor of Gamaliel Pickle.
 (4) Roderick Random", Curate, but, ~~like~~ Sackbut, of the chaplain type

It is especially significant of the changing attitude that the cruel gibes at the expense of the wives of the inferior clergy, which belong to the "trencher-chapelaine" tradition appear nowhere in the novel, until Bage, writing under a new satirical influence, revives them at the end of the century in his sketch of the curate Delane in "Barham Downs" and of Jones in "Man as he is". Brand's complaint in "Clarissa Harlowe" that "cast Abigails" are "too often thought good enough for a young clergyman", is altogether exceptional, and, before Bage no instance of such ^a match occurs.

In the Essay which bridges the gulf between Comedy and Novel, we find not only ^{that} the existing chaplain tradition~~s~~ is brought into closer relation with experience, but also that there are certain slight contributions towards the development of the new types, which Parson Adams, Mr Williams, Dr Harrison and Dr Bartlett represent at their best. Thus, although Sir Roger's Chaplain, who was chosen as much for his social gifts as for his learning, and who was perfectly content to preach Sunday after Sunday from the collection of printed sermons which Sir Roger bestowed upon him, cannot altogether disclaim connection with the line of Supple, yet in him shine again the priestly qualities of the "poure persoun of a toun", which link the most attractive characters of Chaucer and of Fielding.

(4)
"He has never" -- says Sir Roger, "asked anything of me for himself, though he is everyday soliciting me for something in behalf of one or other of my tenants, his parishioners. There has not been a lawsuit in the village since he lived among them."

Addison would undoubtedly be familiar with the character of the Good Parson as paraphrased by Dryden, and it seems probable that

(1) "Barham Downs" ed. 1784. Vol. II. p. 229.

(2) "Man as he is" 1792. Chap. XXXIV.

(3) "Clarissa Harlowe" Vol. V. Letter LXXXIX.

(4) "Spectator" 106.

the new tendency to idealize the priesthood owes something to the fact that the Fables include this alone of Chaucer's clerical portraits and omit those of the Monk, the Friar, and the Pardoner.

Incidentally, a remark of Miss More's in "Coelebs in search of a Wife" may be noted here as suggesting both that the paraphrase continued to ~~xxx~~ be popular throughout the century, and ~~that~~ also the curious fact that a scholar could forget that it is not original, for Miss More clearly attributes it to Dryden himself. Mr Stanley has expressed regret that in the "Spanish Friar" and elsewhere Dryden "attacks the ministers of every religion". He resents greatly the statement, "That priests of all religions are the same", but he admits that the poet has "made a sort of palinode, by his consummately beautiful poem of the "Good Parson". Yet even this lovely picture he could not allow himself to complete without a fling at the order, which he declares, at the conclusion, he only spares for the sake of one exception." It would seem ^{as if} ~~that~~ the speaker were quite oblivious of the original which Dryden paraphrased.

The other note-worthy contribution of the Essay towards the newer clerical tradition is the brief ⁽²⁾ description of the member of the Spectator Club, who, though, as has been already shown, different in important respects from Dr Harrison and Dr Bartlett, anticipates ⁽³⁾ ~~that~~ those courteous divines not only in the "great sanctity" of his life, but "in the most exact good breeding."

The work of Shakespeare can never be overlooked by the student of influences in English literature; in the case, however, of the clergy, later writers of fiction have borrowed little from him. For the more seriously treated of Shakespeare's clerical portraits are invariably those of prelates, as in the historical ^{plays,}

(1) "Coelebs in search of a wife". H. More. p. 284.

(2) "Spectator" No 2. (3) Cf. Section II. p 27

or of friars, and to these there is no instance in the novels under discussion of any but the most general resemblance. On the other hand such representations of the humbler English clergy as occur in the plays, Sir Nathaniel, Sir Hugh Evans and Sir Oliver Martext, belong simply to the humorous setting of the plots; there is manifestly no intention of considering them in the capacity of ministers of religion, as, whether he idealizes or satirizes, the novelist usually does.

The satiric method of Ben Jonson is rather more akin to that of the novelist, but he seldom portrays the clergyman of the Anglican Church. Parson Palate, of the "Magnetic Lady", who as Gifford points out looks back to Chaucer's Monk, perhaps contains a remote hint of Dr Harrison. (1) "He is, as he conceives himself, a fine, Well furnished, and apparelled divine." He might be regarded as an example of a type not entirely dissimilar, taken at its lowest and regarded ironically instead of sympathetically. But while every writer of the comedy of manners probably owes a general debt to Ben Jonson's methods of delineation, there is little sign that Richardson or Fielding drew any particular suggestion from him in respect of their clerical portraits.

There is, however, some similarity between the treatment of Puritan types in "Bartholemew Fair" and in the "Alchemist" and that of the Methodists in the novel. Graves, for instance, in his caricature of Whitfield, and Holcroft in the description of the Methodist preacher, may well have had in mind such characters as that of Tribulation Wholesome and Leal-the-Land Busy, and particularly Jonson's trick of mimicking the diction of the "peculiar people."

(1) "Magnetic Lady" Act I. Sc. I.

(2) "The Spiritual Quixote" ed. 1773, Vol II. pp 102-118.

(3) "Alwyn" ed. Fielding and Walker, London, 1780. pp 152-172.

For the fullest suggestions for the study of a true village priest it is clear that we must go back to the first painter of middle class manners, even if his eighteenth century followers knew him only in his modern dress. Not even to Don Quixote is Mr Adams so close akin as to that faithful shepherd of his flock who was "so looth to cursen for his tithes". Though both are "lernered" they remain unspoilt sons of the soil who "can in litel things han suffisaunce," the curate of Lady Booby's village no less than he who had a plowman for his brother, and each as he trudges to and fro upon his errands of mercy, "upon his feet and in his hands a staf", carries a dignity that, if need be, knows how to "snibben sharply for the nones."

In conclusion, then, we find that for the chaplain and for the village priest of the novel some hints may have been gleaned from previous studies, though usually they are combined with a new significance. Nowhere, however, do we find any figure, corresponding to the urbane and cultured cleric whom we meet in Dr Bartlett, Dr Harrison and, in paler editions, in Mr Peters, Dr Lewen, Pamela's Dean and Mr Williams; even so far as we can form any idea of their personality in Mrs Bennet's father, Mr Bennet's first rector, and Matthew Brambles friend, Dr C --- of Musselburgh. *Read the* So wide a representation of a type that is itself new in literature can find no other explanation than that it reflects a new social attitude, a recognition on the part of society that the spiritual functions of the clergyman are not limited to the consolations he offers to the poor, and more significant still, a disposition to yield to the priest of the Anglican Church a position of influence in mundane affairs similar to that once held by the priests of Rome. An impression of the relative positions of the Orders of priesthood in the early years of the century may be gathered from the question of the discontented chaplain in the "Tatler":-

(1)
"What would a Roman Catholic priest think, who is always helped first and placed near the ladies, should he see a clergyman giving his company the slip at the first appearance of the tart or sweetmeats?" But Dr Harrison in the mid-century plays as a matter of course the role which Thackeray, - with, as the quotation from the Tatler proves, historical justification, - shows Dr Tusher in the reign of Queen Anne altogether incapable of contesting with Father Holt.

(1) "Tatler" No 255. Nov. 25, 1710.

(2) "Esmond" Chaps. III & IV.

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CHAPTER LI.

The Clergy in the Novel of Sensibility.

CHAPTER II.

The Clergy in the Novel of Sensibility.

The New English Dictionary shows that the word "sensitivity", as used in the eighteenth century by Sterne and his followers refers particularly to a capacity for refined, sympathetic emotion - a readiness to feel **compassion** for suffering and to be moved by the pathetic in literature or art. In Sterne the term covers also the delicate and exquisite pleasure to be derived from the happiness of others: so he apostrophizes, ⁽¹⁾ "Dear Sensibility! source inexhausted of all that's precious in our joys and costly in our sorrows!" But it is more often regarded as the "fount of sweet tears", as it is by the lover in "La Nouvelle Heloise" who exclaims, "O, Julie! que c'est un fatal présent du ciel qu'une âme sensible."

It is in its specialized sense that the word is here used so that the phrase, "novel of sensibility" is held to exclude such works as "Clarissa Harlowe", or "Amelia", which make a natural appeal to the average human heart, and to denote, those stories of, more particularly, the seventh, eighth and ninth decades of the century which concern themselves rather with cultivated susceptibilities than with instinctive emotions.

The immediate aims of this chapter are to study such of the clergy in these novels as are either themselves men of sensibility, as Yorick would claim to be, **or** are with conscious art posed in moving circumstances, to shew in them the emergence of ^a new literary type, and to discuss its contribution to the tradition of the virtuous curate in distress that was established by the end of the century. This new type cannot be adequately explained without recognition of the intimate association between the new literary convention of responsiveness and the heightened religious emotionalism of the time, as well as of the

 (1) "A Sentimental Journey", p. 130.

contrast found in this respect between the English and the French literature of sensibility.

That such an association existed between the artistic and the religious revival seems sometimes to have been perceived by the next generation of readers. Marianne does not tell us which among Cowper's "beautiful lines" they were that drove her "almost wild", but it is ~~natural~~^{noteworthy} that the heroine of Sensibility found herself most completely in accord with the poet of the century who was most obviously stirred by religious emotion; on the other hand, the trait in Wordsworth that above all others irritated the critic, Jeffrey, was his tendency to ⁽¹⁾Methodistic "preachments", zeal for the efficacy of which, he declares, the poet "very naturally mistakes for the ardour of poetic inspiration", whereas "moral and religious enthusiasm, though undoubtedly poetical emotions, are at the same time but dangerous inspirers of poetry."⁽²⁾

It is true, that the first exponents of sensibility were far from realizing that they were moved by an impulse kindred to that which stirred the revivalist. To Sterne, for instance, the Methodist preachers were "illiterate mechanics", and the enthusiast in general a frowner upon joy who would "cast so black a shade upon religion, as if the kind Author of it had created us on purpose to go mourning all our lives long, in sackcloth and ashes, and sent us into the world, as so many saint-errants, in quest of adventures full of sorrow and affliction." Yet, little as Yorick would have cared to be associated with the "modern empirics in religion", in his revolt against "cold phlegm and exact regularity of sense and humours", in his "mercurial and sublimated composition", in his appeal to the heart rather than to the judgment as the tribunal before which

(1) "Sense & Sensibility" Chap III.

(2) Essay in the Edin. Review on "The Excursion".

(3) Sermon on Penances.

(4) "Tristram Shandy" Bk I. Chap V. (p. 29, Vol I.)

conduct should be tried he often seems but to be giving a different expression to the spirit which moved them. Sometimes, indeed, "dear Sensibility" seems to carry him further than he knows, until his heart responds even to a suggestion of that visionary enthusiasm upon which his rational orthodoxy must needs look with suspicion. Tristram Shandy says of his father (1) that "he had sometimes such illuminations in the darkest of his eclipses as almost atoned for them". In a moment of illumination recognition comes even to Yorick, the poseur, of something that lies beyond the sentiment with which he is toying. He is reflecting in a characteristic mood upon his meeting with the Monk at Calais; his sensibility cannot at once forget the reproach of the saintliness to which a whim has made him churlish: (2) "It was one of those heads which Guido has often painted, mild, pale, - penetrating, free from all common-place ideas of fat, contented ignorance looking downwards upon earth - it looked forwards; but looked as if it looked at something beyond this world - had I met it upon the plains of Indostan, I had revered it."

In the work of Sterne's lesser followers the kinship between religious and aesthetic sensibility is more obvious. The entire absence of the religious interest from Mackenzie's "Julia de Roubigne" is exceptional, but it is to be noticed that of this novel the scene is laid in France and that the manner is strongly influenced by Rousseau; to the tale of sentiment which is entirely English the man of piety seems naturally to belong. The actual story, for instance, of "The Man of Feeling" contains no clergyman, but the slightly satirical sketch of the Curate in the introduction is significant, for the satire is

(1) "Tristram Shandy" Bk V. Chap. XL. (Vol. II. p. 208)

(2) "A Sentimental Journey". p. 6.

directed - not as it would have been in the older writers against his lack of scholarship, or of understanding, but against his lack of imaginative sensibility. He had grown too impatient to finish reading the pathetic manuscript which he was describing to his friend, for it did not contain a single syllogism from beginning to end, - but he always carried it with him when he went shooting. ⁽¹⁾ "How came it so torn?" asked the man of sentiment. "'Tis excellent wadding", said the Curate, "This," remarked the friend, "was a plea of expediency I was not in a condition to answer; for I had actually in my pocket a great ⁽²⁾ part of an edition of one of the German Illustrissimi for the very same purpose. We exchanged books; and by that means (for the curate was a strenuous logician) we probably saved both." In the "Vicar of Wakefield" and "The Man of the World" the central figure is that of a wronged but saintly priest, and such widely differing books as "Humphrey Clinker" and "The Fool of Quality" further illustrate the interaction of religious and sentimental influences.

"In "Humphrey Clinker", for instance, Smollett, with characteristic non-conformity to accepted conventions, but perhaps in closer harmony than he realised with the but half-recognised spirit of **the** time, goes so far as to take a poor enthusiast as his hero, and it is important to note that, though, in the letters of the elegant Jerry ~~the~~ Methodist footman is sometimes presented as a figure of burlesque, yet the actual construction of the plot, and, in particular, the fact that the "missing child" motive appears in the final revelation of his kinship to the Squire, assign to him unmistakably the role of hero of romance.

In Henry Brooke the immediate point of interest is the mingling of artistic and religious motives in his treatment of

(1) "Man of Feeling" Introd. p. 6.

(2) Perhaps the great edition of Leibnitz published at Geneva by Louis Dutens in 1768. (Cf. Age of Johnson, p. 322)

scenes of sorrow. That he does find keen artistic pleasure in his pathetic groupings is illustrated on almost every page. Thus, in "Fool of ⁽¹⁾Quality" after heaping disaster on disaster upon the unhappy Clement and his wife, he turns them out from their humble lodgings, penniless, ill, and "almost naked to the mercy of the elements", and puts into the mouth of the husband an elaborate description of their pitiful driftings in search of a refuge. "All hopeless, weak, and faint, we took our way we know not whither; without home whereto we might travel, or point whereto we might steer - - - slow and tottering as we went, my wife and I carried our little Tommy by turns; and in the smoother places he walked with the help of our hands. Thus with much toil and fatigue, we got out of London, and reposed ourselves on a bank that lay a little off the causeway." "Little Tommy", in particular it may be noticed, ⁽²⁾is never mentioned save when the "helpless infant" is required for pathetic effect. The religious philosophy in which this delight in pathos found a stay is expressed by Arabella in the midst of adversity, "Since God cannot communicate happiness to one who refuses to trust in his goodness, or to repose upon his power; where he is peculiarly favourable, he blesses him with all sorts of crosses and disappointments. -- He snatches from him the helps on which his hopes had laid hold; that in the instant of sinking he may catch at his Creator, and throw himself on the bosom of that infinite benevolence."

The French novel of the period never shows this intimate association of religion and of sentiment. In France, the man of sentiment is the lover, and if the ~~demands~~ demands of his temperament are not always sharply opposed to those of religion, certainly the two are never inter-woven.

(1) "Fool of Quality" Smith and Elder, 1859. Vol. I. p. 196.

(2) " " " Cf. pp. 93, 186, 189.

In "Manon L'Escaut", for instance, the sensibility is neo-pagan in its complete indifference to the claims of religion; the clerics, Tiburge and the Supérieur of Saint-Lazare, may be kindly enough; but they cannot be sympathetic, for it is their dreary function to confront passion with the stern dictates of morality, and if, at the last, Prévôt yields so far to convention as to make his lovers seek the sanction of the marriage sacrament,⁽¹⁾ the submission is only apparent: never, cries Saint-Grioux, in the bitterness of his spirit, was Heaven so hostile as when he sought to obey its decrees, and by the frustration of his pious effort, by the death, in fact, of the still unwedded Manon, the author confers immortality on a "sensibility" of which the essential quality, at once ethereal and pagan, could scarcely have survived the regulating control of religion. For, in so far as French fiction at this time reveals any conception of religion, it is a conception of a bond that controls, never of a force that inspires ~~en transport~~ passion.

In "La Nouvelle Heloise" again, though sensibility may seem to dictate the grouping of the scene of Julie's pious death⁽²⁾ bed, it is soon apparent that the object of the scene is to afford an opportunity for the exposition of Rousseau's religion of reason; the true Julie is already dead when she declares⁽³⁾ "C'est la raison qui décide du sentiment qu'on préfère,"⁽⁴⁾ the pasteur who attends her is merely present to corroborate the author's opinion that no Catholic could ~~exédify~~ her friends by so peaceful an end, and, the discourse over, his shadowy figure passes out of sight with the reason for its existence. The personality of le Vicaire Savoyard of "Emile"⁽⁵⁾ has just a little more substance,

(1) "Histoire de Manon l'Escaut", p. 190.

(2) "La Nouvelle Heloise" Part VI. Lettre XI.

(3) " " " " p. 282

(4) " " " " p. 277

(5) "Emile" Livre IV.

(1)
perhaps because Rousseau had in mind two actual priests when he drew his portrait, but, as the author himself states, he is introduced simply to illustrate the right method of giving religious instruction, and though in the outline of his character and circumstances there are the elements of a sympathetic story, he never really lives. He is poor, he has incurred the displeasure of his bishop, he shares his slender wealth with the unfortunate, and he longs for a little cure in the mountains where he will live as a brother among his parishioners and

(2)
teach them to love "La Concorde et l'Egalite, qui chassent souvent la misere, et la font toujours supporter," but any illusion that he possesses individuality vanishes when he begins to set forth his author's profession of faith. Rousseau is not, in fact, at the moment concerned to draw a portrait, - he merely suggests the outline of a sketch, and in so far as compassion and humanity are features of the sketch they are rather rational motives of conduct than impulses of the heart. ^{new paragraph} It appears then that an important difference between the English and the French schools of sensibility is the fact that not even when the French sentimentalist is actually writing of religion does he treat the subject sentimentally, that the man of feeling in the French novel is never the cleric, - for the Vicaire Savoyard does not live sufficiently to feel - but usually the lover: that, on the other hand, whereas in the English novel the forgivable scapegrace Tom Jones holds his own as type of lover against all languishing rivals, the new figure which emerges in the later decades of the century is the parson of sensibility, who thus proves to be in the main of native origin. To this new type belong such characters as Mr Annesley, in "Man of the World", Mr Catharine in "Fool of Quality", Ephraim Upright in "Juliet Grenville", La Luc in "Romance of the Forest", Mackenzie's pastor, La Roche, and Mrs Roche's "Vicar of Lansdowne."

(1) Rousseau Oeuvres, ed. Firmin-Didot. Vol. II. p. 599

(2) " " " " Vol. I. Confessions.
Pt I. Bk III. p. 61.

The portraiture of all these reveals the motive of pious sensibility; all are devout priests and all are men of feeling; with the exception of Mr Catharine, all suffer adversity and are frequently posed in situations not necessitated by the plot but designedly created for artistic effect.

The detailed study of this group raises two questions: the extent to which it shows the influence, on the one hand of the character of the Vicar of Wakefield, on the other of the thought of Rousseau. For it is Dr Primrose rather than Yorick who is adopted as a pattern. Upon the general mood of the time Sterne's influence is everywhere discernible, but it was chiefly by his pathos that his disciples were moved. Not one, - Mackenzie least of all, - was ever touched by his delicate spirit of mockery, born of a susceptibility that responded as swiftly to Life's jests as to its tears, and it is easily imaginable that so whimsical a sentimentalist as "poor Yorick" was of too subtle a blend of humours to serve as model for any copyist.

The Vicar of Wakefield does not himself represent a type, but is a figure of transition, and as such, gains in interest from the very defects usually admitted in his characterisation; from the fact that he is in the hands of a writer who has scarcely determined whether to depict him as the shrewd observer of men's follies or as the innocent victim of their wiles. As pastor, he links hands at once with the sturdy Adams, and with the gentle priests who follow him with paler smiles and far more frequent tears. There is little hint of sentiment, for instance, in his honest but patronising affection for Mrs Primrose, another "very good sort of woman", of vanities and prejudices with which Mrs Adams would keenly sympathize, and it is just such another country parson as Fielding drew who lives in homely intercourse with the Flamboroughs of his flock, bargains to his own disaster at the fair, and, with an endearing

(1) Fielding's description of Mrs Adams, cf Chap I. Sec. 2. p ²⁷~~60~~

combination of conceit and unworldliness, will rather risk the loss of fortune than refrain from argument when a cherished opinion is in question.

On the other hand, even in his happy days, the Doctor shows himself a man of sensibility, in the fuller sense in which Sterne understood the word. He is ever an "admirer of happy human faces", and would rejoice as did the writer of the Sermon on the Prodigal Son, that, "God gave man music to strike upon the kindly passions; that Nature taught the feet to dance to its movements." It is a conscious sensibility, too, that loves to group children and friends for reading or music about the pleasant "seat overshadowed by a hedge of hawthorn and honeysuckle" while the benevolent parent strolls in the sloping field of blue-bells and centaury. Later, when calamities have befallen the good vicar, come proofs of that pleasure in pathetic effects, to which the true sentimentalists completely yield themselves. On that same honeysuckle bank where Olivia first met her lover, the reconciled family is again gathered, and the penitent daughter sings a "little melancholy air" in a "manner exquisitely pathetic". "Every object served to recall her sadness", her mother, too, observes the man of feeling, "that melancholy which is excited by objects of pleasure, or inspired by sounds of harmony, soothes the heart instead of corroding it." It was of course by the "pleasing melancholy" of Goldsmith's tale that his successors were chiefly attracted. Those of his themes which recur are the distressed priest, buffeted by adversity, the deluded and penitent daughter, and the idyllic home; but though the debt is sometimes obvious, it is often difficult to disentangle it from

(1) "Vicar of Wakefield" p. 4.

(2) Sterne, Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 128. (Dent)

(3) "Vicar of Wakefield", Chap 5, p. 39.

(4) " " " Chap. XXIV. p. 216.

that due to other sources of inspiration. Thus it will be seen that Brooke's story of a Prodigal daughter in "Juliet Grenville" became practically a paraphrase of the scriptural parable, and if the patriarchal simplicity of his curate's home has a modern origin, it is probably to be found in Rousseau rather than in Goldsmith. It is, however, worth noting that in the group of novels under discussion all the clergy whose histories are related in any detail have daughters, and that usually the folly or the suffering of these maidens is the cause of their fathers' sorrow. (1) Thus, Mr Annesley's daughter is betrayed and her old father dies of grief, La Roche's daughter dies in her beauty and innocence, and leaves her father to a lonely old age, while the Vicar of Lansdowne's two children are exact copies of Sophia and Olivia Primrose. (2) (3)

An amusing and significant detail is the fact that the unromantic figure of Mrs Primrose never reappears - or at least never in the role of wife. Usually the cleric of sensibility is a widower, and when he is described by a feminine writer - by Mrs Radcliffe or Mrs Roche - the chief joy of his life is his pleasing sorrow for the loss of her whose absence permits her to wear the colours of the ideal. So we are told of La Luc that, "as he gazed on his children, and fondly kissed them, a tear would sometimes steal into his eye; but it was a tear of tender regret, unmingled with the darker qualities of sorrow, and was precious to his heart. That he might resign himself to the luxury of grief" he would often retire to the spot which he dedicated to the memory of his lost wife, and there on one occasion he is found, "leaning against a rustic urn, over which ~~is~~ drooped in beautiful luxuriance, the weeping

(1) Mackenzie, "Man of the World" (2) The story of La Roche (from the Mirror)
 (3) Maria Regina Roche.

(4) Cf La Luc in "The Romance of the Forest."

(5) "Vicar of Lansdowne" chap. II

(6) & (7) "Romance of the Forest" p. 173 & p. 184.

birch". Mrs Roche, indeed, as Goldsmith's most faithful imitator, sees something of the value that a slightly shrewish and prosaic woman has as a foil to a group of characters conceived in a wholly sentimental vein, but, unable to defy the convention of four decades, she introduces her, not as the Vicar's wife, but as his maiden sister, while the seat overshadowed with honeysuckle, is reproduced, even more obviously than in "The Romance of the Forest" as an arbour kept sacred to the memory of her whose initials "were yet discernible," "carved by her husband on an old stump." As a novel the "Vicar of Lansdowne" is merely a weak imitation of the "Vicar of Wakefield"; it is of interest only as illustrating the extent of Goldsmith's influence in the fact that such an imitation was possible as late as 1800, when for the most part sensibility had yielded to satire. ^{his paragraphs} Although it has been shown that the sympathetic parson of the fiction under discussion cannot be derived from any figure in French literature, there are certain respects in which he is indebted to Rousseau. Henry Brooke, for instance, illustrates the quick response of English sentiment to Rousseau's social and political theories, and the readiness of the Jacobin novelists at the close of the century to accept the convention of the virtuous curate, even when they began to attack the Church, was undoubtedly due in part to the habit learnt from Jean Jacques of associating innocence with poverty, and to his recognition of the possibility of clerical benevolence.

Again the novels of this group often reflect the glamour of Rousseau's romantic descriptions, and it will be seen that his English followers sometimes borrow his scenery and re-people it with characters of their own.

The only clergyman who is imitated directly from the Vicaire Savoyard is the Parson of Sels in "Barham Downs" published by Robert Bage, in 1784. ~~He~~ Bage wavers as a writer

(1) "Vicar of Lansdowne". P. 41 .

between the sentimental and satiric modes of writing, but he is far happier in the latter. "Barham Downs", his first work, possesses some charm, particularly in its impressions of English country life in breezy, southern uplands, but the letters that his unhappy lover writes from Switzerland are merely imitative. The Parson of Sels does not take his place among English clergymen of feeling. He is simply taken over as a figure of the landscape in which he is found. The hero of the novel whom his friend accuses of ⁽¹⁾ "that confounded habit, acquired at the expense of common sense, --- which those who have it, and those who would be thought to have it, agree to call by the flowing name of sensibility," believing himself to have killed a rogue in a duel, and unhappy in love, seeks peace and consolation in the ⁽²⁾ "country of pure and simple manners" "where Julia lived and died". He finds lodging in a "pretty white house" in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. In his letters to England he describes the scenery ⁽³⁾ of the district in the manner of Rousseau and repeats his simple hostess's account of the primitive innocence of the country people and of the goodness of their pastor. Immorality and drunkenness are unknown; there is not a "tippling-house" in the valley, though the good woman fears "We are not all as good as we should be - no longer ago than last Lausanne Fair four of our top farmers' sons got fuddled, and never came home till two hours after sunset. But God punished 'em, for next day they were so sick -- and our pastor gave 'em such a lesson." This pastor kept his flock strictly in the path of virtue. A Frenchman came to the district and proposed to set up a house "at the covered well, to sell wine and cakes to the Lausanne gentry when they were pleased to fetch a walk. But our good pastor stirred himself so notably that he overthrew it head and foot." He preached an eloquent sermon in which he persuaded his people that all the

(1) "Barham Downs" I. p. 166.

(2) " " I, p. 147. (3) "Barham Downs" I. pp 268-9.

evils of poverty, sickness and quarrelsomeness would "follow in the train of wine-bibbing": that surgeons and lawyers would have to be called in to heal matters that would be past his skill, and that all their innocent happiness would be destroyed. In fact, says the letter-writer elsewhere, ⁽¹⁾ "whether he acts, or speaks, or preaches (he) seems to have no other end in view but to make brothers of all mankind." Like his original, this ideal priest is obviously little more than an embodiment of theories. Yet even here we have something more than mere imitation, for the attempt, - clumsy as it is, - to suggest the simplicity of the country-woman's speech, the touch of homeliness in her first reference to the pastor, the story of the contest with the commercially minded Frenchman are hints that almost individualise the embodiment. ^{new paragraph} Another study of a pastor of Rousseau's mountain land, but one conceived in an entirely different spirit, is ^{(1)a.} Mackenzie's story of La Roche, first published in the Mirror. Again as in the preface to the earlier novel, Mackenzie contrasts the philosopher and the man of feeling, but this time, as always ⁽²⁾ in Brooke, feeling and religion depend upon each other, - "La Roche's religion was that of sentiment, not theory. --- The ideas of his God and his Saviour were so congenial to his mind that any emotion of it naturally awaked them." The old man had been travelling in France, where, after a long and painful illness his wife, for whose sake he had come so far, had been buried. The philosopher had been able to give assistance to him and to his daughter and the three then returned to Switzerland together. ⁽³⁾ The dwelling of La Roche " was situated in one of those vallies of the canton of Berne, where nature seems to repose, as it were, in quiet, and has enclosed her retreat with mountains inaccessible. A stream, that spent its fury in the hills above, ran in front of the house and a broken waterfall was seen through

(1) Vol. II. p. 109.

(1)a. Published in Mackenzie's Works. Edinburgh, 1807.

(2) p. 204. Ibid.

(3) p. 201.

the wood that ~~covered~~ its sides; below, it circled round a tufted plain and formed a little lake in front of a village, at the end of which appeared the spire of La Roche's church, rising above a clump of beeches. " Churches are not features of Rousseau's scenery and the painting in of that alien spire among his mountains and waters is suggestive of the alien spirit which is being conducted thither. ⁽¹⁾ The honest folk of the village clustered in welcome about their beloved pastor, till the clock chimed the hour of the evening service, when all gathered for devotion in the "rustic" saloon" which served as the chapel of his house. Here an organ had been fitted up in a curtained recess and Mademoiselle La Roche, herself unseen, led men's thoughts to prayer by an opening voluntary, "solemn and beautiful in the highest degree." A hymn followed which "spoke the praises of God and his care of good men. Something was said of the death of the just, of such as die in the Lord. The organ was touched with a hand less firm; it paused, it ceased: - and the sobbing of Mademoiselle la Roche was heard in its stead." Now her father rose to pray; "his voice faltered as he spoke; but his heart was in his words, and his warmth overcame his embarrassment. He addressed a being whom he loved, and he spoke of those he loved. His parishioners caught the ardour of the good old man; even the philosopher felt himself moved, and forgot, for a moment to think why he should not."

Mackenzie seldom reaches greater charm than he does in this sketch, where the artistic accessories of scenery, of hidden music, of unsophisticated beauty minister to an emotion that is real; an emotion of a nature which he did not find in the author to whom he is most obviously indebted for the accessories.

⁽²⁾ The story of the gentle curate in "Juliet Grenville" is also worthy of detailed study both as charming in itself, and

(1) pp. 203, 4. Ibid.

(2) Juliet Grenville. Vol. I. p. 146 et seq.

as the best example of the transformation of elements borrowed from Rousseau under the influence of a different inspiration.

The old man is the father of one of Miss Grenville's pensioners and she relates the story which she has learnt from his daughter, Letty. He was "an humble curate, who had no worldly substance, save a few old books, and a stipend of thirty pounds a year," but by the labour of his hands in his little field and garden he kept his family from want. His daughter was the good man's favourite child and he himself taught her "such subjects as became her sex." At the age of fifteen, however, foolish and wilful, she ran away to be married to a sailor boy. After a brief time of pleasure, her young husband was "pressed" for sea and she was left to loneliness and poverty. Unable to find food for herself and her child, she gave up her baby to "hands that she trusted" (about such links in his story Brooke is often a little vague) and then began to long for her father's house. "Perhaps", she said within herself, "my father may prove like the gracious father in the gospel, who gladly saw his returning prodigal when yet afar off, and ran and met, and kissed, and embraced and wept over him." So yearning, she returned to her native village, and, arriving on Sunday morning, unseen, she watched her old parents going to Church. "As soon as they had got in", she tells Juliet, "and that ^{the} ~~an~~/Church-door was closed, and all in silence about me, I kneeled down on the path that led to the house of prayer; and giving way to the passion with which my bosom was bursting, I wet the ground with my tears and pressed my lips to the earth." Then she turned to her old home, but found none who knew her save the aged spaniel, Fetch, who "kept a wonderful coil about me." Losing courage to carry out her plan of pleading with her father as the Prodigal she turned away, "slow and sad", stopping and turning every moment "till the last glimpse of the beloved place disappeared from (her sight".

Years afterwards, Juliet, having restored the forsaken child to her mother and befriended both, took the whole family down into the country to be reconciled to the old people. Juliet and the granddaughter went first. They "found the good, old couple at breakfast over the porringer of new milk and a brown loaf." They were welcomed with a simple, patriarchal hospitality. Juliet told Letty's story, and described how she once knelt and wept in the Churchyard. "Whereupon they both wept plentifully but the old gentleman exceeded, "and Letty and her children were received with tears of rejoicing. The old curate then received the news that he was to be presented with a small living that would bring him about £100 a year. He accepted it with a simple dignity, but was fearful lest such a sudden accession of wealth would tempt him to self-indulgence and vanity, since it would set him above the necessity of working with his hands. His next thought was to share his new-found joy with his neighbours, and, a fatted sheep having been killed for the feast, all made merry with him round the table which he had caused to be spread upon the village green.

^{new Paragraph}
 In this story there is again something of the theorising of Rousseau, - with regard for instance to the dignity of labour, and the charm of the unsophisticated innocence of the countryside, - much of the conscious sensibility of Sterne and his followers, in the devising of fresh occasions for feeling, - the visit to the old home, the greeting of the old dog, the lingering farewell, - but blending the two with a certain sweet and formal grace, the influence of a far older inspiration.

Between the years then, 1760 and 1780, with the exception of the gibes in "Tristram Shandy" at the expense of Yorick's graver brethren, the novel contains very little satire upon the clergy. On the contrary the cleric is almost invariably

a figure of sensibility, compassionate towards the sorrows of others and, by reason of his own distresses appealing to the sympathy of the reader. One result of this convention is seen during the next ~~twenty~~ years when in the hands of the Jacobin writers the novel becomes definitely satiric and didactic. The more powerful clergy, the wealthy rector, the dean and the bishop, now become objects of frequent attack, but to the poor curate for whom life is hard the virtue is still as a rule allowed which has ~~gone~~ for so long been granted him as the crown of his adversity, while here and there, as in the care of ~~the~~ Mrs Radcliffe's La Luc or Mrs Roche's Vicar of Lansdowne, a lingering sentimentalist will still attribute piety and gentleness even to a dignitary of the Church.

CHAPTER III.

The Clergy in the Jacobin Novel.

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The attitude of Jacobin fiction towards religion is undetermined. Sometimes it is sentimentally sympathetic; sometimes true regard for virtue provokes bitter condemnation of hypocrisy; overt hostility to Christianity is rare; there is as yet in English fiction no hint of the Shellyan revolt which throws off the conception of a theocracy as a fetter upon the free spirit of man, and if, here and there, hatred of an empty profession of faith breaks into savagery, it is never altogether manifest that the faith itself is held to be vain.

But against the Anglican Establishment as the "best bulwark of the state", there is a growing antagonism, and the novels of the last decade of the century contain frequent clerical portraits which illustrate the arguments formulated in Godwin's "Political Justice" against the institution of a professional priesthood. The new type that now emerges is therefore the "proud priest" whom power has made - to quote Godwin's words, -
(1)
"dogmatical and imperious"; in whose hands, in fact, the patriarchal government of Dr Harrison had degenerated into tyranny.

While, however, satirical fiction was steadily gaining ground at this period, the susceptible heroines of "Sense and Sensibility" and of "Northanger Abbey" indicate that the sentimental novel continued to delight the "romantic" and to amuse the witty well into the 19th century - if indeed, its succession has ever failed. The satirist and the sentimentalist alike drew much of his inspiration from Rousseau and there is no abrupt transition. Sentiment had for a long time delighted in the idealisation of poverty and simplicity; satire took merely

(1) Book VI. Chaps. II-VI. & Bk I. Ch VII. Part II.

(2) Bk I. Chap VII. p. 61.

one step further in attacking the institutions and conventions of society in the shadow of which poverty is driven to ugliness and crime, and in the Jacobin novel the two moods are often mingled.

Thus in the treatment of the clergy, it is not surprising to find that - as was foreshadowed in the previous chapter - the poor curate is still usually the virtuous sufferer of the tradition of sensibility, whereas the rich and powerful dignitary is always the butt of satire. As a rule the two types are sharply opposed, until the climax is reached when Mrs S. Green (1) assigns to the "tonish rector" himself, the role of villain in the traditional seduction of the pious curate's foolish daughter.

The most interesting novelist of the little Jacobin group is Robert Bage, to whom not even by Sir Walter Scott has full justice been meted. Professor Saintsbury, who admits that he has "never had quite his due", still seems concerned rather (2) to point out his limitations than to reveal his scope, and dismisses him with labels that leave much unsaid. To classify him, for instance, as, "except for a certain strength of humour" "almost more French than English" is to ignore not merely the strongly marked influence of Fielding in other than humorous directions but the fresh breath of the English country-side that even in "Barham Downs", of which some of the scenes are actually laid in Rousseau's country, is unmistakable. Few things could be less French, either in theme or treatment than (3) the story, for example, of the frolic of a band of young aristocrats in a small Oxfordshire village, one fine night in the time of the hay-harvest. Having done such mischief as they could in the way of throwing gates off the hooks or overturning

(1) In *Romance Readers & Romance Writers* (by S.G.) 1810. Professor Saintsbury calls attention to the absurdity of this plot in "The English Novel", p. 179.

(2) Saintsbury's "The English Novel". (3) "Barham Downs" p.126 p. 164.

carts and waggons into the clay-pond, suddenly they are inspired with the brilliant idea of letting loose all the pigs of the place into the gardens and streets. Straightway the quiet night is disturbed by such a clamour of barking dogs and roaring bulls, cackling geese, gobbling turkeys and scolding women that "certes swich cry ne lamentacioun" was ~~never~~ raised in farm-yard since "cow and calf and eek the verray hogges" pursued the foe of the "sely widwe"s "chauntecleer". It is in right English phrase and Chaucerian fashion that the women scold, ^{as} ~~and~~ ~~that~~ they drub the unfortunate rioters and duck them one by one in the horse-pond, and especially it is a sturdy English constable who waits on them the next morning and declares that he knows his duty and is not afraid of any lord or gentleman among them. That Bage is often influenced by the French is obvious, just as he is influenced by everything else that he reads, but it is noticeable that his brief passages of descriptions are not ⁽¹⁾ as a rule imitative and the English country life to which most of his characters belong is undoubtedly easier to visualize than anything else of the kind between Fielding and Jane Austen. Further, the statement that he "never entirely comes off" ⁽²⁾ because "he was essentially a novelist of manners and character at a transition stage," fails to suggest an unexpected and attractive quality in Bage for which it is difficult to find any word but "modernity"; for it is curious that while the outline of his characters is frequently imitative, every now and then as it were by some impulsive movement, they draw nearer to us of the twentieth century than ever do their greater originals. ⁽³⁾ Thus Sir George Paradyne is nearer to Pendennis than to Tom Jones, and perhaps not far from his descendants of to-day, when

(1) as for instance of the house and grounds of "Mt Hennet" or of the views to be gained near the Hampshire village of Comber, in "Man as he Is"

(2) Saintsbury's "The English Novel" p. 166.

(3) "Man as he Is" Vol. III. p. 95.

when he replies to the mentor who reproaches him for his faithlessness in love. Since Miss Colerain, whom he desires to marry, is for the moment unobtainable, he is amusing himself as best he may in Paris, and with a half-whimsical, half regretful self-criticism - which is scarcely a note of the eighteenth century - he exclaims, - "What is to be done? I have you (that is, his tutor) in my head; I have Miss Colerain in my heart; and in my salle a manger, and in my box at the opera, I have Mrs Almon." Again while it would no doubt be a mistake to imagine that the docile Sophia and Amelia represent fully the eighteenth century ideal of womanhood, yet, with the exception perhaps of Anna Howe and the still more delightful Lady G----, there are few heroines of the period in whose company the woman of this second Georgian era is surprised by such unlooked-for glimpses of a kindred spirit as when Peggy Whitaker laughingly defies her truculent parent to do his worst: "Do, Papa," she cries, when the squire threatens to turn her and her sister out of the house, "the overseer of the poor will be obliged to take care of us, you know!"

(1)

Although he was nearly sixty years old when he began to write it is on the whole his younger people whom Bage describes with most spirit, for he seems to have a natural sympathy with that mood of youth that is made up in part of sentimental longing, in part of revolt. Perhaps it is that this mood, this tangle of yearnings and resentments, is more urgent for expression in times of great upheaval than when for the nation as a whole the current of life is running smoothly, and that, therefore, at the present moment we find ourselves again in unexpected sympathy with this long forgotten writer, the tumults and the problems of

(1) Barham Downs, ed. 1784. p. 143, Vol. I.

(2) Hutton (Cf. footnote, p. 74) explains that Bage's reason for becoming an author at this advanced age was a desire to distract his thoughts from the anxiety caused by the failure of a business enterprise in which he lost a considerable sum - about £1500. "He took up his pen to turn the stream of sorrow into that of amusement; a scheme worthy a philosopher."

whose day were so much like our own.

Bage is not a great man, but he is of a great time, and he reflects it with sufficient faithfulness for us to realise the swiftness of that "march of mind" with which our generation can more easily keep step than with the slow-paced regrets of Dr Folliott.

Yet even in the moment of revolt there is often a half-regretful looking backwards that reminds us that Bage belongs to an earlier generation than Holcroft, or Godwin, or Mrs Inchbald. This wistful glance we catch particularly when he is writing of religion. His position is not easy to define, but the reasoned creed at which he arrived seems to be summarized in the discourse of the benevolent Hindoo priest in "Mount Henneth", who concludes with these words: "My son, be in charity with all religions; everything that is valuable in any, is truly the foundation of all; it is, as your writings emphatically style it, the love of God and of your neighbour --- it is the basis of all religions upon earth. The edifice which the fantastic brains of man have erected upon the solid foundation in every country of the world, has changed, and will for ever change; the solid base remains till time shall be no more." As satirist it is his task to demonstrate the foolishness of man's building, yet from the accustomed charm of the "fantastic" "edifice" it would seem that, as man of feeling, he can never quite escape. That many of his clergy are treated with a sympathy quite foreign to the true Jacobin should perhaps be attributed as much to the influence of the novel of sensibility, and to the example of Fielding, as to ~~his~~ any personal conviction on the matter; more/apparently without realizing the fact, he uses phrases of definitely Christian import, such as, "a man of the Gospel," "the silent

(1) "Mt Henneth" Ballantyne's Nov. Lib. 1824. p. 157.

(1)a. " p. 165. "Thus I came at length to bound my own religion with the narrow (though to me all-comprehensive) bounds of the silent meditation of a contrite heart, lifting up its humble aspirations to the author and Preserver of all living being, by what name soever called throughout the universe." Cf. also the spirit in which Benchango tells his story in "Man as he is."

(1)
 meditations of a contrite heart." Sir Walter Scott has a pleasant theory that Bage had early Quaker associations. Though no positive evidence can be found in support of this, it is certainly suggested both by the attractiveness of the Quaker characters in the novels, and by the phraseology and tone of the letters which Scott quotes from the correspondence with his friend, William Hutton. Hutton, himself, while admittedly unorthodox, is chary of stating exactly his own religious views; with regard to Bage he is equally vague, contenting himself with heart felt, if quaintly worded testimonies as to his gentleness and benevolence. In one place he admits that Bage laid little stress on the doctrine of revelation, in another he describes him as, "Though a diminutive figure, yet one of the most amiable (2) of men; and though barely a Christian, yet one of the best." In fact, every hint that can be gained about the life of the kindly little paper-maker bears out the evidence of the novels that, while in professed creed he no doubt became not merely the foe of Anglicanism, but even "barely a Christian," in sentiment, in the unconscious attitude of the heart, he is swayed always by the influence of that faith of which his reason, perhaps, denied the claim.

In his treatment of the clergy, of whom there are a remarkable number in his novels -- a corresponding alternation is then to be expected of the sentimental and the satiric moods -- now, in the manner that has become traditional, he portrays a meek and virtuous curate, now he anticipates Godwin in a denunciation of a proud and dogmatic prelate. On the whole, marks of the sentimental influence are more frequent in his earlier work, to be traced sometimes to Rousseau, sometimes to the English school of sensibility, and tending later to coalesce with the influence of Fielding.

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- (1) Sources of Information about Bage:- 1. Scott's Memoir in the Ballantyne Nov. Lib. edition, based on Hutton's Memoir, and on letters from Bage to Hutton.
 2. Hutton's Memoir in the Monthly Magazine for Jan. 1802.
 3. Slight references in the Monthly Magazine for Oct., & Dec. 1801, in Hutton's Autobiography & in his History of Derbyshire 1791.
 (2) Memoir in Monthly Mag, Jan. 1802.

Bage's imitation of Rousseau's Vicaire Savoyard in
 (1)
 the Parson of Sels has already been described, and the appeal
 that the parson's theories of brotherhood and equality make to
 Mr Osmond, the man of sensibility who describes them, is sug-
 gestive of the ease with which such theories were actually
 gaining a hearing from ears susceptible to emotional appeal and
 of the ease with which the transition accordingly followed from
 merely sentimental to revolutionary writing.

Now this parson stands for more than the vague ideal
 of fraternity. By refusing admittance into his valley of oppor-
 tunities at once for debauchery and for commercial enterprise,
 he declares that he saves his people from the invasion of the
 doctor and the lawyer, for while they are still innocent and
 unsophisticated they suffer no evils that are beyond his skill;
 he represents, in fact, the authority of a Church as yet uncorrupt-
 ed, and it is worthy of note that in the Happy Valley of Bage's
 dream an Institution, - an Authority, is still necessary as a
 safeguard against all other institutions - an example of the
 difficulty^{es} that beset the satirist who would turn to constructive
 thought.

Similar pastors in real life - for Sels lies in a
 Swiss Utopia - who exert a beneficial and patriarchal influence
 over their flocks, occur in "James Wallace" and "Mount Henneth",
 and here it is actually the authority of the English Church which
 the good priests wield, though now there is just a hint of the
 satirist in the suggestion that the virtuous parson is seldom
 quite orthodox.

(2)

Mr Edwards in "James Wallace" is vicar of the small
 living of Box, worth £120 a year. He knows enough, he says, of
 law to enable him to keep his parishioners out of it, and of
 physic "to apply simple remedies to common disorders". For the
 rest his aim is to make his people "good husbands, good fathers
 and good friends, not good propounders of mystery," and, therefore

(1) Cf. Chap. II. pp. 63, 42. (2) "James Wallace" p. 412 et seq.

he confines his preaching to "plain, simple and practical discourses." If anyone wants to hear about such matters as "election, reprobation, and grace; about the littleness of works and the bigness of faith; about incarnation, atonement, with a long et cetera" he must seek instruction in another parish, for ~~his~~^{the} good vicar postpones the explanation of these hard questions till he understands them better himself. An influential friend pleased with his simple merit, offers him a richer living in a more "genteel neighbourhood"; but Mr Edwards refuses to leave the people whom he loves. To exchange his small parish for a large one would be to sacrifice peace and content for pride, poverty, and contention; he begs therefore that the gift be offered instead to a "very lean curate" of his acquaintance to whom it will mean relief from actual distress.

The story of another poor parson who in similar circumstances made the easier choice is told by one of the guests
(1) in "Mount Henneth". Mr Foston's father, was curate of a village near Plymouth and on an income of £45 he lived happily among his flock, settling all their disputes, praying with them when they were sick, drinking with them when they were well. Presently, however he gained a vicarage with an income of £130, and married a farmer's daughter with £100. His wife, though naturally a meek and gentle creature, was spoilt by the influence of the rector's lady of a neighbouring parish, who had "had the misfortune of a genteel education." In time his children began in their turn to demand "the gentilities of dress and education", and the poor vicar, "got to be over head and ears in debt by this increase of his wealth." Moreover he found his position in the parish full of new difficulties. He now had^{lands} to till and tythes to collect, and his flock laughed at him about the one and quarrelled with him about the other. This larger village too was infested with miscreants unknown in the obscurer place from which he came: "The exciseman, a profound metaphysic-

(1) "Mt. Henneth" Ball. Nov. Lib. Vol. IX. p. 149.

ian, had the impudence to deny the materiality of the soul. The schoolmaster, who was versed in history, had imbibed many erroneous opinions, derogatory to the divine right of kings; and there was an enterprising surgeon, who, declares the narrator, "Maintained to my father's teeth that to inoculate for the small pox --- was not flying in the face of the Lord." The vicar's eloquence was constantly exerted on all these topics, nor, continues his son, "did he ever yield an inch of ground, tenable or untenable;" yet, notwithstanding, "a great part of the village listened to the seducing voice of the surgeon, and, laying aside all fears of God and my father, inoculated their children under his very nose." For two years the contest lasted until "the natural smallpox saved (the vicar) from the shame of recantation", to which his wife began to urge him when the practice of inoculation grew fashionable among the gentry.

This sketch illustrates the changing impulses by which Bage is moved. Sentimental Rousseauism obviously suggests the idea that to exchange poverty, even for the relative wealth of £130 a year is to court unhappiness, but as among the causes of this unhappiness the author enumerates the schisms that distract the larger parish, sentimentalism yields to a pity, distinctly ironic for the simple good man who cannot quite cope with the arguments of metaphysical exciseman or revolutionary. schoolmaster, and the story of his ^{death as} martyrdom to the religious convictions he is on the point of abandoning by submitting to inoculation is decidedly more satirical than sympathetic..

In such minor characters as the mild, venerable, old
 (1) rector of an Oxfordshire village who, in "Barham Downs" makes ~~xx~~ peace between the riotous company of the gallants and the wrathful peasants whose pigs it had amused them to let loose, and ⁽²⁾ Mr Brown, the charitable curate of "Hermsprong", who befriends the boy Glyn, the teller of the tale, Bage returns to the

(1) "Barham Downs" Vol. I. p. 126.

(2) "Hermsprong" p. 6-9.

earlier tradition of Parson Adams. Mr Brown - in this, like the parson of sensibility -, was bereaved of his love, but in other respects he is described in the breezier manner of Fielding. The fact that he was good and beloved in the parish drew upon him, not oppression, but the esteem of the Squire, who not only scarcely dared to overlook him but enjoyed his cheerful companionship, over a pipe. The good man was not afraid to admonish his patron of his duty and to insist on a proper provision for the Squire's natural son, Glyn, of whom he himself undertook the guardianship. To the boy he was as sympathetic a guide as Adams to Joseph.

Still more obviously in the direct line of descent from Adams is the Rev. Mr Woodcock⁽¹⁾. We meet him first at the Inn of the Golden Ball chatting over his ale and pipe with a landlord of martial reminiscences, whom he reproves - much as Adams would do - for the habit of swearing which he learnt in the wars. From Glyn we learn of his fatherly care for his people; how he gives them medicines when they are sick, "wholesome counsels" when they are in doubt and comfort when he has nothing else to give." "He is learned too, and liberal in his opinions, but he is never likely to gain preferment, for he knows nothing of the arts of self-interest and is moreover - "of manners so simple and so ignorant of fashion and folly that to appear in the world would subject him to infinite ridicule." In his youth his views of marriage were romantic: "the lady he honoured with his hand must be as perfect as the frail state of mortality will permit," endowed with all the graces of beauty and gentility as well as of virtue. Actually he was married by the matter of fact daughter of a farmer, who though a dutiful wife and mother seems speedily to have arrived at much the same conclusions as Mrs Adams as to the proper limits of a parson's authority. "Preach patience, Mr Woodcock", on one occasion she exclaims, "in the pulpit; what you say there

(1) "Hermsprong". Chaps. XII- XIV.

is all good and gospel, and woe to those who offer to contradict you; but out of the pulpit, Mr Woodcock, you know no more than other people, and perhaps not so much. I think, for my part parsons have the faculty of not knowing most things that are useful." In the first days of their marriage the good man tells us that he tried to convince her of "men's natural and legal superiority." "I quoted St Paul, and quoted Juvenal. She was sure St Paul was not inspired when he wrote my quotation; and as to Juvenal he was a smarling, ill-tempered fellow, and she durst to say monstrous ugly." At least, stung to effort by his wife's continual wonder as to what profit there was in the learning of parsons, Mr Woodcock determined, like Mr Adams, to offer the press the privilege of publishing his sermons. The result was similar. His sermons were not of the sort that sold well. "Moral, practical religion was not the taste. Sermons, to succeed now, must either ascend to the heaven of heavens with Swedenborg, or must pour out, with pious effusion --- death and damnation to the French."

Thus, both for the general conception of the character and for most of its details Bage is plainly indebted to Fielding. Yet, the briskness of the dialogue, and a certain aptness of adaptation seem to justify the plagiarist. Here too, Bage, once more contributes a suggestion of his own time which brings his imitated character even nearer to us than its original. With the substitution only of different proper names many a modern clergyman might utter Mr Woodcock's lament about his sermons. It would be a little difficult to find references of Mr Adams, Square or Thwackum to philosophers^{ies} or events of their own day so easily capable of translation. ^{new paragraph} Nothing in the portrait of Mr Woodcock belongs to the sentimental tradition, but one trait is contributed by the Jacobin: he is ~~accused~~ by his rector, and does not deny the charge, of "principles almost republican", and is ejected from his curacy on the grounds that his "divinity is unsound and his loyalty questionable." ^{new paragraph} It is in accord with

(1) "Hermsprong" p. 96. Vol. I.

the general argument of this chapter that numerous as are his parsons Bage has only four satirical sketches of inferior clergy. (1) Of one of these, Parson Nowell in "Man as he Is", we learn no more than that he is somewhat boorish and ignorant, "but a so-so man" says the Welsh maiden who refuses to marry him. Delane of "Barham Downs" is of the type of Shuffle, a mean creature driven through poverty and greed to serve the villainous purposes of his patron. The one contribution of later thought to his portrait is the suggestion that his viciousness was due to the influence of a foolish education, for he was the son of a "proud priest" and of a worldly and ambitious mother.

More interesting, though still somewhat reminiscent of Shuffle, is the sketch of Mr Jones, the Lancashire curate in "Man as he Is". (2) A graduate of Cambridge, Jones had been promised a rectory, but forfeited it by his refusal to accept with it the mistress of his patron, a girl whom he himself had formerly loved. At the time of the story Jones is eking out his income of £20 by the practice of physic, and also by the less legitimate device of making excursions in disguise to neighbouring villages, where he appears on a mountebanke's stage as a magician who, by means of invisible "essences", can cure men alike of their diseases and of their sins. Asked what his Bishop would say if he knew of his trade: "I hope", he replies the curate, "he would connive at it as he does at selling a pot of ale, or fiddling at wakes and merriments; which sundry of my brethren must do or starve."

The obvious mark at which this satire is aimed is of course the system which tempts men to trickery because of their poverty; - the sentimental convention as to the blessedness of poverty being now discarded - and the doubt left in the reader's mind as to how much intention there is in the suggestion, that the author carefully does not make, of similarity between Jones' actual and his assumed profession is as characteristic of Bage as is the uncertainty as to whether there is deliberate irony in

(1) "Man as he Is". Chap. LXVII. Vol. 3. p. 148.

(2) " " " " XLVIII. Vol. 2.

in the close association of the virtuous Mr Woodcock, whose name is significant, with Hermsprong who represents "Man as he is Not"
~~New Paragraph~~
 The frequent appearance in Bage of the pious curate has already been attributed to the influence of earlier literary tradition: to the conventions of the school of sensibility and to the example of Fielding. It is natural that in the work of the younger writers of the Jacobin group these influences have far less force. Bage was born in 1728 and for him the mid-century must have been the formative period; Mrs Inchbold born in 1753 and Thomas Holcroft in 1745 represent the younger generation who are turning more definitely to new ideas.

The attitude of Holcroft towards the Church is entirely satirical; in his novels the worthy priest in distress appears only once, and on that occasion the motive which prompts the description of his woes is quite other than that to which the afflictions of the Parson of Sensibility were due. In the "Memoirs of Bryan Perdue" the reader is told of a dear friend of the author, "an honest and sincere vicar", who was ostracised by his congregation and accused of atheism as the result of a sermon in which he spoke of the difficulty of defining truth and admonished his people to be charitable even to those whose religious opinions differed from their own. The reader is clearly meant to understand that so enlightened and "sincere" a pastor was too unusual to be tolerated by the average churchgoer. The sentiment of Mrs Inchbold is pure Rousseausism, and all that can be said of the curate in "Nature and Art" is that he is slightly less hard and ambitious than his superiors in ecclesiastic rank.

In "Romance Readers and Romance Writers", however, as late as 1810, the old convention recurs, and the foil to the arrogant and vicious rector is the meek and pious curate, Edward Marsham, the saintly and unhappy father of one more deluded daughter.

When we turn to the definitely satirical portraits of the Jacobin novel, we find that they mark a new departure. Except in the cases of those imitative sketches of Bage which have already been discussed, it is no longer merely the traditional failings of the Shuffles and the Supples that are castigated, but new vices born of the conditions of the new time.

(1)

In particular, more or less actively animating all the attacks is a frankly political bias against the Establishment, as one of the institutions of society which in the new order must be overthrown. It is easy to trace the influence of revolutionary Rousseauism in the sketches to be examined: the more difficult matter is to decide how far, when allowance has been made for a heavy weight of prejudice, it is possible to gain a fair estimate of the prelates of the day: how far, in fact, a Dr (2) Blick may compare with Dr Harrison as a representative of his own order in his own day.

The portraits to be considered group themselves as follows:

Vicars & Rectors.

Mr Delane (senior) "Barham Downs.")	
The Pastor of Lothgaim. "James Wallace")	
Mr Lindsay) "Man as He Is.")	Bage.
Mr Halford))	
Dr Blick. "Man as He Is Not.")	
The Rector - Grandfather of hero - "Adventures of H. Trevor."		Holcroft.
Rev. Theodore Leslie - "Romance Readers" -		S. Green.
<u>Deans & Bishops</u> in "Adventures of H. Trevor"		Holcroft
& "Nature and Art"		Mrs Inchbald.

and, in a class apart, Rev. Enoch Ellis in

"Adventures of Hugh Trevor".

(1) Cf. Miss Hannah More's opinion of the mischief threatened to religion by those "abettors of revolutionary principles" quoted on p. ~~101~~. 101.

(2) "Hermsprong."

Of these it is appropriate first to glance briefly at the
 (1)
 Rev. Mr Lindsay, who links the parsons of the last tradition with those of the new in the fact that in him Bage satirizes the sentimentalist. He is in reality selfish and imperious, but it pleases him to pose to himself, as well as to others, as a wronged parent, grieving over the errors of his son. "Even in anger", remarks the culprit, "he could be pathetic, -- and he concluded a bitter philippic against me, with a sort of address to Heaven: 'Why, oh why,' says he, 'am I punished with an obdurate wretch, whose heart is hardened and whose eyes are blind?'"

(2)
 He is in fact the parson of sensibility viewed with satiric eyes.

~~new paragraph~~
 It is curious that in Godwin's Jacobin novels, "Caleb Williams" and "Fleetwood", the Church is not among the objects of attack, and that the one clergyman in "Fleetwood" to whom a passing reference is made is pleasingly benevolent. As to the expression in "Political Justice" of his views upon State Establishment it should be noticed that in 1793 he was voicing, but not leading the thought of his school, for already in three novels Bage, influenced perhaps by Nonconformist associations, had suggested that the members of a professional priesthood must inevitably become "imperious⁽³⁾, dogmatical and impatient of opposition," hypocritical pretenders to superior virtue, "patrons of prejudice and implicit faith." In fact every portrait of the group is but a variant upon this theme: the characters have little individual interest; apart from distinctions of rank, the few differences that exist lie in the circumstances of story and setting; in such facts, for instance, as that the Pastor of Lothgaim belongs to the Scottish Church, and that he thus lives in a region that gives colour of probability to his terror of the supernatural visitations which his ingenious enemies devise to torment him. All the clerics are, in short, of one type, and any attribute of each might be assigned to any other member of the group.

 (1) "Man as he Is" Chaps XI, XII.

(2) Somewhat similar in design is the portrait of the querulously sentimental mother of Sir George Paradyne in "Man as he Is"

(3) "Political Justice," Bk I. Chap VII. p. 61.

The typical Rector who emerges is, like Delane, "a proud priest", "always the man of the Church, the man of the Gospel never". So, Dr Blick leaves deeds of mercy among the wretched poor of his own village to the infidel Hermsprong, declaring that without faith such "good works" are but "splendid sins," while of the relentless grandfather of "Hugh Trevor" we learn that the misfortunes of his own daughter, her entreaties and dread of want, "excited sensations of triumph and obduracy, but not of compassion in the bosom of the Man of God." It is true that in the picture of his fierce old theologian there is ^{one} ~~an~~/plesanter touch when the implacable father is almost won by the charm of the little grandchild whose identity has not been explained to him, but when he learns who the boy is, his mood hardens into bitter anger and he flings him roughly from him. That the Rector is presently tricked by the author into gratitude to Hugh for saving his life and into a promise to befriend his saviour, whom on this occasion also he does not recognise, is not due to, nor does it result in any change of heart, but merely rises out of the requirements of the plot, which demands a rich patron for Hugh. Holcroft's methods are never subtle and in this instance he relies for his effect mainly on the obvious irony of such phrases as "a pastor of the flock of Christ" or "this inflexible guide of Christians." Whatever his rank, the ecclesiastic of this group is always greedy and self-seeking and therefore complacent to the vices of his patrons. Thus Mr ^oHalford and Dr Blick train their consciences so successfully in what Bage calls "the gentle art of assentation" that the former, "sound divine though he was" ⁽⁵⁾ "could bear a little infidelity and freethinking, provided they were accompanied with good wine and good venison,"

(2) "Hermsprong" I. p. 147.

(3) Adventures of Hugh Trevor, Vol. I. p. 6.

(4) e.g. cf. p. 33, Vol. I.

(5) "Man as He Is", Vol. I. p. 259.

(1)
and the latter could find Scriptural warrant for the belief
"that it was scarce possible a lord should be in the wrong at
any time."

More interesting, as apparently reflecting a special tendency of the time, are the frequent attacks on the priest with regard to his worldliness and love of pleasure. The parson's wife is now invariably vain, frivolous and extravagant and she frequently persuades both her husband and her humbler friends to folly. Throughout the century, for instance, the masquerade has been referred to by the moralists with emphatic disapproval as an entertainment which modest women avoid and which no clergyman would attend; the charge of worldliness therefore reaches its climax in Sarah Green's picture of the fashionable rector and his wife, who defy "the old school" by inviting their friends to a masquerade on their lawn. Lady Caroline Leslie, we further learn, was addicted to gaming; her husband, the Rev. the Right Honourable Theodore Leslie, who ⁽²⁾ "often execrated the hour which made him wear the cloth", was a "highly approved member of the whip-club", and drove a barouche and four "habited in a coachman's coat with three enormous capes."

These attacks of the satirist are sometimes supported by the regretful admissions of writers whose general attitude towards the Church is one of respect. Thus, as early as 1772, Wildgoose, in "The Spiritual Quixote", hints at the weaker side of the Dr Harrison type. ⁽³⁾ "The clergy of these times" -- he observes, "have more of the Gentleman than either of the Christian or the Pedant in their characters. They read more plays and pamphlets than sermons, or commentaries on the Bible."

(1) "Hermsprong" Vol. I. p. 176.

(2) & (3) "Romance Readers & Romance Writers" Vol. I. pp, 45-6.

(4) "Spiritual Quixote" Vol. III. pp. 198-9.

Again in "Henry", the benevolent patron of the Rev. Mr Claypole
 is disappointed to find that the parson has ⁽¹⁾ "a little more atten-
 tion to the main chance than (is) strictly consistent with his
 own way of thinking." ~~new paragraph~~ But the underlying motive for the anger
 of the Jacobins against the Church was their suspicion of the
 Establishment as the bulwark of the State, - of all that they
 wished to change in the existing order. This feeling is most
 fully expressed in Bage, though we find it also in Mrs Inchbald,
 and it is significant that when the latter wishes to describe a
 child who has been trained to despise all the natural impulses
 of the heart, and to respect only the conventions of Society,
 she chooses the son of an ecclesiastical dignitary.

The causes of complaint against the alliance between
 Church and State fall under two heads: that the Church uses
 the alliance mainly for ^{the} protection of her own material interests:
 that she usurps and abuses powers that belong properly to the
 state alone.

The first point is most clearly ~~discussed~~ ⁽²⁾ by Bage in
 "Man as he Is", where the "sound divine" and staunch Tory, Mr
 Halford, is compelled to expose the weakness of his own position.
 His antagonist in argument is a pleasant Quakeress, whose
 gentleness is not incapable of shrewd thrusts, - for it is worth
 noticing that, unlike Fielding, Bage does not find cleverness
 in a woman, unattractive. A discussion has arisen on "the
 modern doctrine of toleration", which Mr Halford declares
 destroys all Christian unity. There is but one way to Heaven,
 he says, "the road of truth". Dissenters are wilfully blind and
 he would have every one of them "drawn upon hurdles to the stake",
 for he can "have no mercy for the enemies of God." But, lest
 we should think from all this that the speaker is honest in his

(1) "Henry", Ball. Nov. Lib. IX. P. 679.

(2) "Man as He Is". Vol. I. Chap X. seq.

bigotry, he makes a swift, apparently unconscious revelation of the true motive of his wrath. "The Dissenters envy us ~~the~~ the very bread we eat, and would snatch it out of our mouths." "I fancy," replies the sarcastic Quakeress, "it would take them a good many ^{pulls} ~~years~~. The Church is indeed built upon a rock if it holds its faith with as firm a hand as its emoluments." On this the Rector turns back quickly to general and dogmatic statements as to the "necessity" for a National Church, and hence for such safeguards as the Test Act and Subscription to the Articles, - nor will he admit that the said Articles are hard to understand. "To me" he declares in conclusion, "there is not a problem of Euclid more clear than that the Test Act and Subscription to the Articles are the bulwarks of the Church, and that the Church is the best bulwark of the State."

In this scene the author's views are of course voiced by the Quakeress, but her remarks are sufficiently in character, and there is a certain adroitness in the way in which points are made without undue emphasis or comment. The reader's attention is not for instance directly called to the Rector's complaisance to the theological vagaries of his rich patroness, - an ardent student of metaphysics, who has sat in turn at the feet of Leibnitz, Malbranche, Locke, the Bishop of Cloyne and Hume, and ⁽¹⁾ ~~who~~ "still travels in the air and flies from cloud to cloud." It is clear, however, that it is because her infidelity does not menace the material interests of the priest that she does not rank among those whom his zeal "cannot tolerate".

With regard to the usurpation of civil power by the Church, Bage hates, not merely such developments of his own day as the elevation of clerics to the magisterial bench, but the traditional exercise of ecclesiastical authority. Thus in ⁽²⁾ "James Wallace" the harsh Pastor of Lothgaim proposes to compel a village girl, Mauge, to do penance in a white sheet before all

(1) "Man as He Is" Vol. I. p. 157-8.

(2) "James Wallace" pp. 460-2. .

her neighbours. Incited, however, by her lover, all the village determines to defend her, and assists the youth in his vengeance on her tormentor. "I have", says the Scotchman, "aw proper respect for religion, but none for its grimace; nor could I bear that the spiritual gang should invade the province of the civil magistrate and punish not in proportion to ^{the offence against} society, but the injury done to God's holy ordinances, of which they have the manufacture and direction." ^{new Paragraph} The grievance more often referred to is the appointment of the richer clergy in country parishes as Justices of the Peace. Bage, Holcroft and Mrs Inchbald all give instances of this, and we see both Bage's Rector and Mrs Inchbald's Dean deliberately using their powers to their own advantage.

The Dean, it is true, did not actually wrest the course of justice: "he was rigidly faithful to his trust;" he merely allowed his view of the crime to be modified according to the rank of an offender, and refrained from setting the law in motion when to do so would result in unpleasant consequences for himself.

(2) Holcroft's truculent Rector regards the Law primarily as an instrument for breaking the opposition of the farmers who resist his exorbitant exactions of tithes; his closest friend is an attorney, and he institutes law-suits both against the Squire - who ~~does~~^{doe} not happen to be his patron - and against half his parishioners.

But the most vicious of these clerical magistrates is Dr Blick, in "Hermsprong". He qualified as Justice of the Peace (3) at the wish of the lord of the manor, to whom he became useful, "in those little animosities which great men do admit to their bosoms on great occasions; such as killing a hare or partridge without qualification, or voting against a candidate whose cause they espouse."

(1) "James Wallace" pp. 460-2.

(2) "Adventures of Hugh Trevor" vol. I. Chaps XI, XII.

(3) "Hermsprong", Vol. I. Chap III & Vol II, Chaps XXXII, XXXIII.

Later he deliberately plots with his lordship/ and a rascally attorney to move all the machinery of the law to secure the commitment of the hero, Hermsprong, on a charge that they know to be false, and, though their schemes are foiled, we see the Rector sitting on the Bench with the avowed intention of administering corrupt justice in favour of the patron through whose influence he hopes to gain a bishopric.

"The Adventures of Hugh Trevor" contains certain original features and calls for separate comment. Hugh Trevor, whose story owes something to that of Gil Blas, is a youth who desires to serve truth and virtue, and imagines that he can do so best by becoming a priest of the Church. He accordingly enters the University to prepare himself for ordination, and the remainder of the novel details his disillusionment. At Oxford, ⁽¹⁾ disgusted with the debauchery and ignorance of most of his fellows, he joins a small group of serious-minded students who are attracted towards Methodism. He now relaxes his earnest study of Aquinas and the Fathers and believes himself inspired by the Spirit; he listens with enthusiasm to the ravings of a road-side preacher, and is tormented into a frenzy of fear by Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" and "The History of Francis Spira". In spite of their dislike of the Test Act neither Holcroft nor Bage has much love for the Methodists; possibly because they, as distinct from the Independents, were always anti-Jacobin. Soon Hugh's enthusiasm cools, but meanwhile the Authorities have heard of his presence at the Methodist Meeting, and he is rusticated for two terms. He is, however, still determined to take Holy Orders, and welcomes the opportunity of sitting at the feet of certain eminent divines to whom he has introductions in London. One of these, the Rev. Enoch Ellis, Holcroft introduces as a new type - that of the popular city preacher of whom we meet later a refined edition in that "sweet-- preacher"

(1) "Adventures of Hugh Trevor" Vol. I. Chap. XIV. et seq.

the Rev. Charles Honeyman.

"There has sprung up", says Holcroft, "in modern times a clerical order of men, very dissimilar in manners and character from the subservient curate, or the lordly parish priest." With the growth of London, he explains, private enterprise has built a certain number of chapels which are "farmed" out to the highest clerical bidder, who must recoup himself by the hiring of pews. Of one of these chapels Enoch Ellis is farmer-general. His obvious task in life, therefore, is to be as pleasing as possible, but his equipment for the task is small. He is a little man of mean appearance, with ferret eyes, sandy hair and a sallow complexion, for which an ingratiating smile makes painful atonement. His wife and daughters, however, are ladies of "prodigious taste", especially in matters musical and theatrical, and it is their delight to hold crowded evening parties at which the daughter furthers the preacher's struggles for popularity by displaying the charms of her voice and person.

The other clerical patron of the young aspirant to Orders is the Bishop, but of him Holcroft's picture is a grotesque caricature of which the coarseness is entirely unrelieved by wit.

At last, Hugh, whose moral perceptions have been in some slight degree dulled by his ambition, awakes to the realization that he cannot with honour retain the favour of any of his powerful friends. Further, on his return to the University, he finds that the offended Bishop has been in communication with the President; his degree is vetoed, and he leaves Oxford in wrath, abandoning all thought of the priesthood, while the Bishop, on the strength of a treatise which he has pirated from Hugh, is translated to one of the richest sees in the country.

Holcroft's satire is generally too vulgarly abusive to be effective; but he has a certain vigour in narration that gives his story some interest. Hugh's ideals and perplexities are sincere and there is poignancy in his disillusionments.

CHAPTER IV.

The Clergyman
and the
Methodist Movement.

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The results of an exhaustive search for references to Methodism in the work of men of letters contemporary with John Wesley are to be found in a treatise entitled "Methodism in the Light of the English Literature of the Last Century" by Dr Albert Swallow, published at Leipsic in 1895.

Dr Swallow's survey includes the novels of Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and Sterne, and of these his general impression is that "Fielding and Sterne were decided opponents of the Methodists, while Richardson and Smollett were only opposed to enthusiasm and fanaticism. The latter (?) however, evidently believed that the Methodists had effected a beneficial reform on the lower classes of society."

Since the subject of the present thesis is the ordained priest of the English Church, the attitude of the novelist towards Methodism only concerns us in so far as any of the clergy whom he portrays are influenced by the movement. It is not proposed, therefore, to discuss Dr Swallow's conclusions, though it may in passing be questioned whether the sweeping description of Fielding as "a decided opponent" of the Methodists makes sufficient allowance for his ironical portrait of one such opponent in Parson Barnabas. "Sir", says Mr Barnabas to Adams in condemnation of Whitefield, "this fellow's writings are levelled at the clergy. He would reduce us to the example of primitive ages, forsooth! and would insinuate to the people that a clergyman ought to be always preaching and praying. He pretends to understand the Scripture literally --- Sir, the principles of Toland, Woolston and all the freethinkers are not calculated to

(1) "Methodism -- in -- English Literature" p. 156.

(2) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Chap XVII. p. 76.

do half the mischief as those ~~professed~~ by this fellow and his followers." If due weight be allowed, not only to the satire of this passage, but also to the partial sympathy of Adams with Whitefield's teachings, and, in "Tom Jones" to the reformation of Lady Bellaston's woman, Fielding can scarcely be ranked with Mr Barnabas. At the same time it is true that the majority of the references in his novels are contemptuous in tone, and suggest decided dislike of "enthusiasm" as well as of the peculiar doctrines of Methodism.

Of the minor novelists with whom Dr Swallow does not deal, those who are most interested in the Methodist movement, and who introduce Anglican clergymen affected for good or evil by it, are Henry Brooke, Richard Graves, Thomas Holcroft and an inferior writer, the anonymous author of "The Fair Methodist"; with these Richard Cumberland is also included for the sake of his lay preacher, Ezekial Daw. Brooke's sympathy with evangelicism is well-known; Cumberland's portrait of the Methodist in "Henry" is drawn in the spirit of "Humphrey Clinker"; Graves, Holcroft and the author of the "Fair Methodist" on the other hand, satirize the revivalists, especially with regard to what Parson Adams describes as "the detestable ~~doctrine~~ doctrine of faith against good works - that doctrine coined in hell," and to their claims to supernatural visitations. ^{new Paragraph} These writers of the latter decades of the century give some information of interest with regard to the clergyman who threw in his lot with John Wesley. For while the general impression conveyed is that the orthodox parson held aloof from the new movement, even when he was not violently hostile to it, there are suggestions that he sometimes gave active support, ^{and} it will be seen that characters in Holcroft and in "The Fair Methodist"

(1) "Tom Jones" Bk XIII. Chap XIII. p. 210.

(2) "Henry" Richard Cumberland.

(3) "Joseph Andrews" Bk. I. Chap XVII. p. 76.

must represent either the small group of orthodox clergymen who were "converted" to Methodism, or of the Methodist laymen who at one time seem to have sought ordination in order to secure greater opportunities for preaching. As Dr Swallow (1) points out, although "Fool of Quality" is stamped with the approval of John Wesley, and although many of the most characteristic scenes and discourses reflect his teaching, it contains no direct allusion to Methodism. The Rev. Mr Catharines (2) the "old and pious clergyman", under whose influence the woman is converted who kidnapped the child, Ned Fielding, is, however, clearly of evangelical tendencies. He would probably belong to the type of clergyman, who, while sympathising with much in the revivalistic movement, remained quietly in his own parish, and refrained both from the invasion of other men's parishes - which, at first, constituted Wesley's chief offence in the eyes of his brethren - and from field and roadside preaching. In the "Spiritual Quixote" Graves includes under the general term Methodist the followers of Wesley and of Whitefield, ignoring the fact that the two leaders separated as early as 1741. This confusion between the Wesleyans and the Calvinistic Methodists (3) is natural in view of the fact that both bodies sent forth field preachers, and it is exceptional to find in the fiction of the period such a distinction as the author of the "Fair Methodist" (4) draws between "the neat-attired Wesleyan, and the gloomy Methodist."

(5)

At the time when Whitefield was burlesqued by Richard Graves he was still technically a churchman, although after

(1) "Methodism in -- English Literature" -- p 157.

(2) "Fool of Quality". Vol. II. pp. 10,11.

(3) Dr Swallow also notes the confusion of the two bodies in contemporary literature. "Methodism ---" p. 7.

(4) "The Fair Methodist" pub. Bell, 1794. p 58. cf. p. 72. "she could join in prayer with a Jew or Turk, as well as a Methodist or Wesleyan."

(5) "The Spiritual Quixote" 1773.

(1)
 1781, when Lady Huntingdon registered her chapels as dissenting places of worship, his position as an ordained minister of the established Church became even more anomalous than John Wesley's. (2)
 The portrait drawn of the famous preacher in "The Spiritual Quixote" is of no great interest, and is manifestly unfair. He is represented as self-indulgent and hypocritical; a little disposed to be jealous of a possible rival in the eloquent Wildgoose, but eager to welcome him as a wealthy convert. The enthusiastic novice, who with full sincerity, if little sense, has been trying to convince men of their sinfulness, learns from his example that the way to become a popular preacher is to emphasize the duty, not of Repentance, but of Faith - to which no other virtue need be added.

A detail of the same story of interest with regard to the Methodist movement itself, is the fact that one lady (3) who befriends Wildgoose expresses her surprise that, since he wishes to preach to miners and peasants, and is a University man, he does not seek ordination. (4) Southey gives instances of men who secured admission into Orders through the influence both of Wesley himself and of Lady Huntingdon, for the avowed purpose of furthering the Methodist cause, and this passage in Graves gives evidence that to do so was neither very difficult nor unusual - a fact which, considering the conditions necessary for ordination, is an incidental proof of the friendliness at first shown ^{by} ~~the~~ many of the orthodox clergy towards the evangelistic preachers.

(1) Cf. Overton & Relton. p. 230.

(2) "The Spiritual Quixote" Vol. II. p. 102- p. 118.

(3) " " Vol. III. pp. 122-3.

(4) e.g. Mr Fletcher and Walter Sellon, "who was originally a baker, then one of Wesley's lay-preachers, and had afterwards, by means of Lady Huntingdon's influence, obtained orders."

Southey's "Life of Wesley," p. 434 and p. 437.

(1)
 It has been noted that the Jacobin writers are - possibly for political reasons - far less friendly towards the Methodists than towards other dissenters; thus although Hugh Trevor is for a time attracted by Methodist doctrine, Holcroft's prejudice against the people whom he regards as vulgar fanatics is clear, and contrasts painfully with the indignation which he shows in "Bryan Perdue" against the persecution suffered by a clergyman with whose particular type of heresy he can sympathize. The offensiveness of the description of the parson in "Alwyn" is redeemed by little wit. He is encountered by two characters of the story at an inn, where his tales of miraculous visitations provoke a series of practical jokes at the expense of his supposed credulity. The one shrewd touch in the portrait is the account of how, after a night in which he has been tormented by an apparent summons from the Devil himself, he is found the next morning writing an account of his "experience", under the title of "News from Tophet, being a relation of the extraordinary dealings of the Spirit with John Wisely, and also of Sundry buffetings of Satan, sustained by him in his ministry." This he intends to publish to the edifying of the people and the benefit of his own pocket. He turns the laugh moreover against his persecutors by securing a subscription for the treatise.

new paragraph
 The question of the exact status of the Methodist preachers in "Alwyn", in "The Adventures of Hugh Trevor" and in "The Fair Methodist" presents some difficulty.

(4)
 To the end of his life Wesley anxiously sought to avoid a formal breach with the Church of England, and with the one

(1) Chap. III. supra, p. 89.

(2) "Adventures of Bryan Perdue" Vol. I. Chaps XII & XIII.

(3) "Alwyn" ed. 1780. pp 152-172.

(4) Cf. Curteis on Dissent. Lecture VII.

exception of the ordination of Bishops and presbyters for the American societies, he refrained from the assumption of episcopal functions. During his life time his preachers might not with his sanction administer the Sacraments nor wear the clerical garb. Therefore, although it seems that Wesley's will in these matters was sometimes ignored, it is probable that the Methodist preacher who is described in "Alwyn"⁽¹⁾ as wearing "a pair of dirty bands", was either, like Berridge,⁽²⁾ a convert to Methodism after his ordination, or, like Walter Sellon,⁽³⁾ a lay preacher who had by some means gained admission into Orders. Similar explanations must account for the Rev. Mr Teartext⁽⁴⁾ in the "Fair Methodist" who, though, "He had not much of the Methodist in his address -- was a flaming one in the pulpit", and also for the fact that in the same story, of which the incidents are supposed to have occurred as early as 1783,⁽⁵⁾ it is stated without comment that a marriage ceremony was performed by a "Methodist parson."

The "famous" ⁽⁶⁾ gospel preacher whom Hugh Trevor^{hears} at a roadside service near Oxford can scarcely belong to the same class, since we learn that the Churches are closed to him; he is probably one of the itinerant preachers of the Wesleyan connection, who after the decision of the Conference of 1795 in favour of complete severance from the Church, would be regarded as a dissenting minister. Although, however, Holcroft gives a full

(1) "Alwyn" Holcroft, 1780. p. 152.

(2) Southey's Life of Wesley, p. 412-413.

(3) " " " p. 437.

(4) "The Fair Methodist" Vol. II. pp.209-10.

(5) " " " Vol. II. p. 268.

(6) "Adventures of Hugh Trevor" 1794. Vol. I. Ch. XVI. pp.230-7

"The Fair Methodist" is a satire of little merit or interest published anonymously in 1794, but founded on incidents stated in the Preface to have taken place in 1783-4. It professes to expose the mischievousness of Methodist doctrine by describing a set of people who "once elected by faith -- disregarded all moral rectitude & obligation, as useless, if not satanic." P. 304.

account of this "divine man's" sermon, the general description of him is vague, and the portrait might simply be regarded as a caricature of Whitefield. This is suggested by the fact that he is "famous", and that his "rhapsody of strange -- and vulgar ~~eloquence~~ eloquence" is admitted to be "impressive."

(1)

The position of Ezekial Daw in "Henry" is clearer. He is a lay preacher, but he has given up his former calling in order to devote himself entirely to the service of religion, and is regarded as the pastor of his little village flock. The portrait of this "candid soul" is treated even more sympathetically than that of Humphrey Clinker, indeed, he is contrasted with the parson of the village, the worldly-minded Mr Claypole, considerably to the latter's disadvantage. The esteem in which he is held is pleasantly suggested by the fact that his followers catch the title "Brother Doctor" bestowed on him by the physician of the village in jesting allusion to the fact that he was trained in the art of drug making, and call him, "not ludicrously, but reverentially, Doctor Daw." The picture of the relations between this preacher, the villagers, and the parson of the parish is of interest as illustrating how natural was the impatience with which such congregations as Daw's ^{now} regarded Wesley's restrictions on the prerogatives of their ministers, and how ready they must have been for the schism which actually took place in the year that "Henry" was published.

(2)

(1) "Henry" Richard Cumberland, 1795. ed. Ball. Nov. Libr. Vol. IX. 1824. cf. pp. 553 & 655.

(2) Cf. Curtæiss. p. 380.

CHAPTER V.

The Clergy - Conclusions.

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The Clergy ---- Conclusion.

The clerical portraits in three successive groups of the novel have been examined, the works of the great masters in the mid-century, of the sentimental school which follows them, and of the Jacobins at the close of the period; in each of these it has been found that the clergyman plays an important, often a central role, while in only one type of fiction, - the historical romance, does he, for obvious reasons, fail to appear. It remains to be considered how far the facts that have emerged support the contention that the history of the Church during the eighteenth century "is the history of a rise, not of a fall", how far they modify the charges of inertia and worldliness usually levelled against the priesthood of the period.

In considering whether any improvement is discernible the question of material conditions may be quickly dismissed; it is clear that in the lot of the poor curate there is little change from the time of Abraham Adams to that, at ~~the~~ least, of Amos Barton.

With regard to the culture and scholarship of the clergy on the other hand, we have direct testimony from Hannah More that there was in the later years of the century an advance, and this conclusion is supported by a good deal of indirect evidence from other novelists.

(1)

In "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" the hero on one

(1) "Coelebs" pp. 41-2.

The evidence of the novel on this point is supported by an anonymous treatise published in 1786 under the title of "A Chinese Fragment containing an Enquiry into the Present State of Religion in England". The author devotes several pages to a plea for sermons of a less cold and rational character than he finds customary. He regrets that the clergy do not give more time to the study of divinity, but freely acknowledges the extent of their secular learning.

occasion comments on the happy combination of learning and piety in two clergymen who have dined at the Grove. His host, Mr Stanley, agrees and remarks, "I, - truly rejoice to see a higher tone of literature now prevailing, especially in so many of our pious young divines; the deficiency of learning in some of their predecessors having served to bring not only themselves but religion also in contempt, especially with men who have only learning."

It is ~~true~~ that Adams and Harrison find no rivals in learning, - perhaps because few of the minor novelists were qualified as Fielding was to judge of scholarship -, and that Holcroft's Bishop is, "under the rose be it spoken, a blockhead," yet, even the satirists do not revive the Trullibers or the Sackbuts, and when Mr Jolter reappears in "James Wallace" as Mr Hilliard he is considerably more refined. In fact, during the last two decades of the century, it is more often for the pretentious display of acquirements that the clergy are rebuked than for their lack of them. Three of the clerical villains of Bage, for instance, affect an antiquarianism that his heroes and heroines find tedious beyond endurance. In "Barham Downs", the curate, Delane, is escorting the heroine Annabella on a journey through France, and wearies her incessantly with pedantic comparisons of all things modern with those of the "Ancient World". "We stopped to look at nothing", she complains, on our road (to Lyons), except the canal of Briare, which, compared with the Roman aqueducts, I find, is not worth a straw. Unlettered moderns speak highly of it, but it is because they don't understand Latin --- Lyons, - Lugdunum - yes, Lugdunum has still something worth looking at -- in the cellars; vestiges of Roman pavements; thick walls with ⁿriches where the gods did dwell, and if they have occasion to dig a well, ten to one they find a Roman pickle-pot. So we stay at Lyons two days for the sake of what it was two thousand years since; which, as Mr Delane

(1) "Barham Downs" Vol. II. pp. 137-40.

says, is to make the best possible use of travelling."

(1)

Similarly Mr Holford insists on displaying to Sir George Paradyne his collection of medals and provokes the young man to rudeness by making "a considerable anachronism" in his discourse thereon, while Dr Blick annoys Hermsprong at their first meeting by lecturing on the historic associations of the neighbourhood.

It is probable that these sketches of the tedious antiquary were intended as sly hits at Bage's old friend William Hutton, who was a keen archaeologist, but the suggestion they also contain that the clergy of the time were inclined to an affectation of general culture is borne out by the description of Mr Brown's attainments: "Mr Brown", says his pupil, Glyn, was not a profound scholar, but he knew a little of everything. I was taught a little Latin, a little Mathematics, some Botany, a sprinkling of Chemistry, a portion of Theology, with some history, and the belles lettres came as they could." To an older generation Mr Adams' society had been congenial because of his classical learning; Mr Holford seeks the esteem of the polite by his reputation as a florist and as a collector of medals, but the landlady of the village inn states her belief that "what most recommended him to notice was some sort of model he was making of the country a mile or two round." In Mrs Roche's "Vicar of Lansdowne", again, there is a romantic curate of literary ambitions who has not only carved the initials of his loved Rosina on trees for ten miles round the country, but has written innumerable sonnets upon her merits, while for Bage's ideal parson, Mr Woodcock, we are apparently intended to assume acquirements not less remarkable than those of Mr Adams, for he is so attached to his studies that he may be said to be almost

(1) "Man as He Is" Vol. I. Chap. X.

(2) "Hermsprong" Vol. I. Ch. VI. (3) "Hermsprong" p. 9. Vol. I.

(4) "Man as He Is" Vol. I. Ch. X. (5) "Vicar of Lansdowne" Chap. IX? p. 148.

(6) "Hermsprong" Vol. I. ch. XI. p. 73.

unacquainted with mankind." Holcroft himself, bitter Jacobin as he is, cannot suggest that intellectual qualifications are altogether negligible on the part of candidates for preferment, however influential they may be; otherwise the ignorant Bishop in "Hugh Trevor" would not find it necessary to fabricate a reputation for learning out of the purloined discourses of the young curate. In short in every type of novel at this time there seems to be an assumption of that rather higher level of education among the clergy of which Miss More speaks. ^{new Paragraph} On the points of personal piety and of priestly influence it has become clear that allowance must often be made for the sentimental or didactic motive in the portrayal of the virtuous, as well as for the satiric in the presentation of the unworthy. At the close of the century Miss Hannah More and Dr Moore are obviously making an attempt to counteract the pernicious influence of the Jacobins. Miss More, explicitly deploras the unworthy manner in ~~which~~ which the clergy are usually presented in fiction; she condemns alike Fielding and Smollett and those "abettors of revolutionary principles" to whom she refers as having "a few years ago", threatened great mischief to religion, "by their artful mode of introducing degrading pictures of our national instructors in their popular tracts." Since, however, her main objection to the portraits she condemns is not that they are false, but that they tend to bring the clerical order into disrepute, her own study of the excellent Dr. Barlow, for the original of whom she refers the reader to Herbert's Country Parson, must fall under suspicion.

Omit

Dr Moore, though equally didactic, is less deliberately the defender of the clergy; now and then, in fact, he can be even mildly satiric at their expense. In "Mordaunt", for

(1) "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" ed. 1830. pp. 277-282.

(2) "Mordaunt" pub. 1800.

instance, there is an amusing sketch of a young and would-be fashionable vicar, Mr Milliner, who is greatly embarrassed when he is called upon for so unmodish an exercise of his function as to "say grace" at a "polite" dinner-table. In the same book we learn that the Yorkshire curate "who in Winter preaches to the country people about preparing for death, never touches on that subject in summer when my lady is present," because her nerves cannot bear references to death and hell. Some weight can, therefore, be attached to the fact that ⁱⁿ the novel ~~is~~ "Edward", we find a modern counterpart of Dr Harrison. Edward, the hero, apparently a workhouse boy, but in reality, of course, the lost child of gentle parents, is adopted by a benevolent and gracious lady, Mrs George Barnet. The clergyman, Mr Temple, is the brother-in-law of her obstinate and selfish husband. He takes an active interest in the boy's welfare, assists Mrs Barnet in every decision that is taken with regard to his education, and with considerable tact and insight persuades Mr Barnet to act generously under the delusion that in so doing he is pleasing himself and thwarting everyone else. Throughout the story Mr Temple plays Providence not only to Edward but to all who need his help, and whenever occasion offers he admonishes the selfish and flip-pant with all the authority of his prototype. ^{new paragraph} A tacit recognition of the place occupied in the society of the day by members of a refined and benevolent priesthood is indicated by such figures as Mr Villars in "Evelina", Mr Tyrold in "Camilla", Mr Collingwood in "Helen", Mr Ratcliffe, Dr Sandford and his son in "Henry" and Mr Parkhurst in "Fleetwood", - mere figures of the background, in sketching whom the authors have scarcely enough interest to follow a purpose, or even to reveal a bias. Even if some feminine pro-clericalism be admitted in the case of Mr Villars, Mr Tyrold and Mr Collingwood, the similar figure of Mr Parkhurst, - a charitable clergyman who tries to befriend

(1) "Helen" - Miss Edgworth. (2) Ratcliffe in "Henry" Bk III, Ch IV
 (3) The Sandfords in "Henry, Bk X. Ch V.
 (4) "Fleetwood" Vol. III. Ch. VII. cf. previous reference to "Political Justice" p. 83. supra.

a rogue, - introduced without comment by the anti-clericalist, Godwin, could stand by itself as evidence of the normal assumption of venerable worth in the clergy.

In short, at the end of the century, it is by no means the fashion to introduce a chance parson with a casual sneer; he is the object of contempt only when, for a particular reason, he is posed in the foreground as an object of satire.

One further group of characters at which it is worth while to glance in this connection is that of clerical portraits drawn by writers who were themselves clergymen, the poet Crabbe and Richard Graves, the author of "The Spiritual Quixote". In using Crabbe's satire as evidence against the clergy of his day it is not always remembered that his very discontent is proof that at least one parson set a high standard of conduct for his order. Moreover it is not fair to quote as his verdict on his brethren only the sketch of the hunting curate in the "Village"; in the "Parish Register", old Dibbles describes five successive Rectors who have come and gone during his lifetime of labour about the Church, and of not one of these does he think unkindly; even Parson Peele, whose favourite text was "I will not spare you", is forgiven his exactions for the sake of his "piercing jokes" and "lively powers"; the Methodistical youth from Cambridge, if mistaken was both likeable and earnest, the "Author-Rector" who hurried from men and women to his beloved books, was still a courteous and kindly scholar, while in the "golden times" of Dr Grandspear even "cool Dissenters" "thought a man so kind,

A way to Heaven, though not their own might find."

It is at least questionable whether a chance group of modern pastors would reveal characteristics to any great degree more admirable than these. Richard Graves, the author of the "Spiritual Quixote" is himself quoted by Overton and Relton as a typical country clergyman of the period, and his opinion of the priesthood is therefore of some value. His chief concern is to show

general opinion, it is simply indolence, "indolence and love of ease -- which make men clergymen. A clergyman has nothing to do but be slovenly and selfish, - read ~~the~~ paper, watch the weather, and ~~converse~~ with his wife. His curate does all the work, and the business of his own life is to dine."

The reply which Miss Austen puts in Edward's lips in vindication of the clergy is supported by all the evidence to be drawn from the portrayal of clerical types in the novel of her predecessors and contemporaries: "There are such clergymen, no doubt, but I think they are not so common as to justify Miss Crawford in esteeming it their general character. I suspect that in this comprehensive and (may I say) commonplace censure, you are not judging from yourself, but from prejudiced persons, whose opinions you have been in the habit of hearing. A moment later, in answer to her contention that "where an opinion is general, it is usually correct," he adds in brusquer terms ~~what~~ is in effect the conclusion of the whole matter:- "Where any body of educated men, of whatever denomination, are condemned indiscriminately, there must be a deficiency of information, or (smiling) of something else." "Something else" it would seem has sometimes guided the historian in his collection of evidence from the fiction of the eighteenth century to illustrate the character of the clergy of the period. Insufficient allowance, for instance, for satiric bias, and for the influence of literary tradition must be in part responsible for the usual acceptance of Supple as typical, the dismissal of Harrison as unrepresentative; whereas close examination proves the reverse to be the case: Supple is an inherited convention, Harrison the result of observation.

In conclusion, the evidence of the novel as to the importance of the Church in the social life of the time appears stronger when compared with the lack of such evidence in the novel of to-day. Parson Adams, Dr Harrison and the Vicar of

Wakefield, - three clerical figures who rank among the greatest creations of eighteenth century fiction - have no rivals in the novels of the last half century and the importance of the parts that they play, together with the fact that in their day the virtuous and intelligent parson becomes, for the first time, a usual figure in any picture of social life, points to the conclusion that, however lax some of the servants of the Church may have been, however well-founded are the charges of inertia and worldliness, yet organised Christianity was then in a manner which it is not in this twentieth century, a force in society of which no novelist could fail to take account.

PART II

THE SCHOOLMASTER.

PART II.THE SCHOOLMASTER.

The development of education is a subject on which the older historians are for the most part silent, and with regard to English education during the eighteenth century they are as little enthusiastic as they are with regard to the work of the Church. Traill, in the large Volume of "Social England" (1) which deals with the period has nothing further to say than that the quality of teaching in the public schools was much criticised, that in the time of Walpole, provincial boarding-schools began, (2) in Scotland particularly, to meet the desire of the upper classes for "something better than the coarse manners of the old grammar schools," and that there was a stronger demand than hitherto for (3) female education. Lecky, speaking more particularly of the provision of instruction for the children of the poor, admits the foundation of a number of charity schools under the patronage of Anne, as well as the existence of a good deal of private enterprise and of private charity, but he emphasizes the inadequacy of such a haphazard system at a time when, in Prussia, education was already compulsory, and remarks that for more than sixty years after the death of Anne the history of education is "almost a blank"

This verdict would seem to be confirmed by the fact (4) that the historians of education themselves find very little worthy of comment in the practice of education in England during

(1) "Social England" Vol. V. p. 205.

(2) Traill. Social England. p. 220.

(3). Lecky Vol. VII. pp 354-7.

(4) Cf Compayre, Monroe, Quick. A History of Education in the 18th Century is promised by Prof. Foster Watson in the Pioneers of Modern Education series, but has not yet appeared.

this period, and deal almost exclusively with the influence of the great theorists, Locke and Rousseau on English thought. Yet the sound scholarship of the century, exemplified in the work of such classical critics as Bentley or Porson, of such theologians as Hoadley or Paley, the familiar acquaintance with classical literature that the novelist takes for granted on the part of his readers, the taste for mediæval research, the rational "enlightenment" on which the age prided itself, Grub Street itself, above all, perhaps, the demand - scarcely clamorous as yet, but persistent, for feminine education, are themselves fruit of an education that, however unsystematic, cannot have been despicable. Some of the recently published histories of the great schools such as Mr Leach's of Winchester College, and Mr Maxwell Lyte's of Eton, show proof of sufficiently vigorous life and growth to explain the culture of the wealthier classes; Mr (1) Oscar Browning pointed out in 1881 indeed, that only within the last half century had there been any change in the methods of teaching in vogue at Eton in the days of Walpole.

But the number and size of the circulating libraries - (2) the catalogue of one, John Bell's, printed probably about 1776-7 contains the names of 8486 books, including 909 novels and romances - indicate that besides the great schools which produced statemen and the high dignitaries of the Church, there must have been hundreds of respectable institutions up and down the country which at least taught their pupils to care for reading, and for reading too, of a more solid kind than would attract the average product of a twentieth century school. Indeed of the men of letters themselves not many were educated at Eton or Winchester.

The novels, moreover, contain many hints that not only those who made some pretence of gentility, but the very

(1) Educational Theories, pub. in Ed. Library 1881. p. 182.

(2) The B.M. Catalogue suggests 1770 as date of publication. Bell's Catalogue is undated, but an appendix gives a separate list of novels published in 1776 & 1777, which may be presumed to be recent issues. This Appendix might possibly have been stitched later to the original catalogue.

poor also took seriously the question of their children's schooling.

The accomplished Pamela, of course, owes her instruction to the kindness of her mistress, but Joseph Andrews' father poor as he was, was "at the expense of sixpence a week for his learning" till he was ten years old; even Humphrey Clinker contrived in some way to learn to read and write, and it is at least doubtful whether, allowing for some artistic heightening on Smollett's part, Mistress Winifred Jenkyn's letters would not compare favourably with those of her social equals of to-day.

That throughout the eighteenth century, formerly regarded as a period of stagnation, there was actually a wide spread interest in education, has been admitted by modern writers on the subject. Mr Leach, in a paper read before the British Academy in 1914, remarks that "Education was a matter of public concern to all sorts and conditions of men before the decadence and decay that overtook the schools at the end of ~~XIX~~ the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century." Miss Paterson, in a monograph on the Edgeworths, giving more detailed evidence of the steady development of this interest during the latter half of the century, notes particularly the rise of a literature for children in stories of the Little Goody Two Shoes type, and the increase of pedagogic literature, while, as regards the earlier part of the period, it is significant not only that twelve editions of Locke's "Thoughts" were demanded before 1752, but that Milton's Tractate was reprinted separately as early as 1723, and again in 1750 and 1751, and Ascham's "Scholemaster" in 1711 and 1743.

In the novelists the general interest in this pedagogic literature, is reflected at every turn.

(1) Joseph Andrews. Bk. I. Chap. III.

(2) pub. in the Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol VI. p. 48

(3) "The Edgeworths. A Study of Education in the Latter Part of the Eighteenth Century." pub. 1914.

Fielding quotes Locke constantly: the argument, for instance between Mr Adams and Joseph on the merits of private versus public schools, would be little more than a paraphrase of Section VII of the Treatise on Education did not the parson's naively interested application of the thoughts of the philosopher put the whole discourse in character. Thus the term "private education" in Mr Adams' lips, naturally includes such an institution as his own little school, while the general principle that the inculcation of the Christian faith is essential to a true education, is at once approved and professionally interpreted in the emphatic exclamation, "I had rather he (i.e. the pupil) should be a blockhead than an atheist or a presbyterian." (1) Richardson, again, makes Pamela edify Mr B ---- with a detailed and sometimes acute criticism of the same Treatise: Sterne both reflects and laughs at the popular interest in the subject in his (2) "Tristra-pædia", and characteristically leaves us in doubt as to whether he looks upon the fashionable quest of (3) "A North West passage to the intellectual world" as a huge Shandean jest or as an intelligent enterprise, while an up-to-date school-master in (4) The Spiritual Quixote declares his hope that he has "improved upon Johnny Loke (sic) in his methods of instruction," & Milton too."

(1) Cf. Joseph Andrews. Bk. III. Chap 5. Adams: "Public schools are the nurseries of all vice and immorality" - "I prefer a private school where boys may be kept in innocence and ignorance" -- "The first care I always take is of a boy's morals." "What is all the learning in the world compared to his immortal soul." J. Andrews. Bk III. Ch. V. and Locke:- "In my house he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the world". (i.e. than in a public school) - "Virtue is harder to be got, than a knowledge of the world; and if lost in a young man is seldom recovered." - "It is preposterous - to sacrifice his innocence to the attaining of confidence and some little skill of hustling for himself among others, by his conversation with ill-bred and vicious boys." "It is virtue then, direct virtue, which is the hard and valuable part to the aimed at in education -- All other considerations and accomplishments should give way and be postponed to this."

(2) Tristram Shandy, Vol. II. Ch. XVI seq. (3) T. Shandy Vol II p. 208.

(4) Ed, 1773. Vol III. Chap. XVIII.

The casual reference to Milton as to a well-known authority on educational matters is of especial interest. It is also worth noting that widely as Rousseau was read by the latter decades of the century, Locke was by no means superseded. Thus, as late as 1788 a certain Mr Joseph Collyer, author of an epistolary novel "⁽⁴⁾Letters of Felicia to Charlotte" in describing a young father's concern for the education of his child, quotes at length from Locke. To estimate, however, the amount of the debt owed to Rousseau, to Locke, or to the older theories^{5/5} by all writers of the eighteenth century who concern themselves with education is clearly the task of the specialist. All that is here proposed is, as in the case of the clergy, to test the validity of the usual generalisation as to lack of educational development by the evidence of the contemporary novelist with regard to typical teachers of the period -- often, no doubt, then as now, "men of little showing," easily ignored by the historian of events and movements.

In estimating this evidence with regard to the work of schoolmasters and tutors, it is obvious that allowance must again be made, as with regard to that of the clergy both for the influence of literary tradition and for satiric and didactic bias. As regards literary tradition the debt to any clearly defined type in the older fiction is small. Portraits which are drawn after such originals as Don Quixote, Sangrado, or, in the later days of the novel as Parson Adams, can generally be visualized with some distinctness, for the borrowings are of fairly obvious externals, lantern jaws, time-worn nag of meagre aspect, torn cassock, pipe and cudgels - but in the portrait of the schoolmaster, no such traits, pointing back to unmistakable originals are to be found. It is, indeed, noticeable that, frequently as the novelists discuss education in the abstract, and numerous as are the schoolmasters to whom they refer, yet outside the pages of Smollett and Fielding it is

 (4)Ed. 1788. pp. 163-6.

scarcely possible to find a teacher sketched with any precision of outline, while of the majority of those who occur in the greater novels, as Thwackum, Adams, Mr Williams, Dr Harrison, Partridge himself, the pedagogic qualities are merely accidental. Of about fifty examples which have been found more than half the number are unnamed, while in all the minor novels examined, in spite of the wide spread interest in education, in spite of many references to schools and their teachers, only eleven school-⁽¹⁾masters are presented in person to the reader. No others have even the degree of personality that is conferred by dialogue but remain in their academic limbo such shadowy figures as not even a bare initial denotes, vaguely hostile or vaguely beneficent according to the requirements of the tale.

This very vagueness, however, points to the fact that the source of inspiration for most of these characters is to be found, not in the vivid portrait of dramatist or novelist, but in the unvitalized conception of the theorist. It is true that here and there a hint may be taken from Holofernes, that Smollett's group of flogging pedagogues may be suggested by Doctor Godinez,⁽²⁾ "the most expert flogger in Oviedo", or perhaps by Dr Busby of immortal memory, that in the later novel the tradition of the village schoolmaster as a comic type must owe something to Partridge, but, more frequently, the teacher, tyrannical, incompetent/puppet composed from the warnings, or the precepts of Milton, Locke or Rousseau.

In the middle years of the century, Fielding and Richardson reveal the influence of Locke; in its later decades Henry Brooke and Thomas Day are close followers of Rousseau, and in the minor imitative writers, or in those less keenly interested in the subject of education the same tendencies appear at

(1) Vindex in Fool of Quality. Selkirk in The Spiritual Quixote Hilliard in James Wallace- Wilmot in Hugh Trevor - Dr Orkborne in Camilla, Dr Barlow in Sandford & Merton, Mr Prosody in "Adventures of Joe Thompson", Unnamed masters (3) in Bryan Perdue, Alwyn, Edward, the Pedagogue of Nibbiano, Barham Downs.

(2) The schoolmaster of "Gil Blas", Ch. I., as described in Smollett's translation.

second-hand.

For bias, therefore, in direction of the ideal of Locke and Rousseau, in particular, considerable allowance must be made. The satiric bias is less strong than the didactic, but it has weight in certain directions and is due to different influences. In Smollett, who shews considerable sympathy for certain types of teacher, and again for kindred, but not identical reasons in Amory and Godwin, it shews characteristically in antagonism towards the clerical tutor; as a result of the preference of both Locke and Rousseau for a private education it is often ~~directed~~ ^{directed} against public schools; for the contempt with which the charity schools are generally regarded ⁽¹⁾ political animus seems to be in part responsible, while for an explanation of the recurring satire upon the incompetent but prosperous headmaster, as contrasted with his meek, efficient and underpaid assistant, it is unnecessary to seek further than that perception of the ironies of life which is the *raison d'etre* of most of our best fiction. Crabbe's list of the various types of school to be found in one small Borough suggests that the diversity in kinds among teachers was almost as great during the eighteenth century as it is in the twentieth, but the portraits to be examined may be classified roughly in the following groups: the headmaster of the great public school, the tutor, the proprietor of the private boarding school, the master of the smaller grammar-school, of the charity school and of the "Village" school, and the usher. ~~and~~ The chief aim in studying these groups is to discover for what faults the teacher in general is satirized, and of what degree of efficiency and enlightenment his portrait gives proof, but in order to arrive at this it is convenient first to notice those features of treatment which are peculiar to the different groups. For it will be found that, the distinctions of social type here correspond on the whole to differences of literary treatment,

(1) Cf. p. 133 infra.

The Public School Master *

the early novelist tending, as was found in the case of the clergyman, to stereotype particular sections of society, as subjects suitable for sentimental, or satiric, or humorous handling. Thus speaking generally, the headmaster is merely one of the lay figures in the background of the story - the tutor is more definitely associated than are other teachers with the parson, and is either satirised or posed as a model; ~~the village schoolmaster~~ is treated humorously, and the usher sentimentally. ^{* new paragraph} The Master of the public school of first rank does not greatly interest the novelist. He belongs merely to the framework of the story, and

the esteem in which he is held is suggested casually. Thus, (1) in "Peregrine Pickle" we see the life of Winchester from the point of view of the young hero to whom his school career is simply an opportunity for leadership in daring exploits. The headmaster is, to us, as to him, merely a dignified potentate in the background who emerges on occasion, just and implacable, to administer deserved chastisement.

(2)

A similar sketch is that of Mr Joseph Georgics in "Edward", but his figure gains a little distinctness from the fact that he has a name and that he writes a letter which is (3) quoted in full. His chief function is, by the uprightness with which he rewards the merit of the orphan and refuses to shew favour to the aristocrat, to assist the author in demonstrating the existence in this world of a pleasant poetic justice. In this respect it is significant that the attitude of Mr Georgics (4) towards his pupils is in marked contrast to that of the syco- phantic proprietor of the smaller school which both boys had

(1) "Peregrine Pickle" pp. 105-6.

(2) "Edward" - Dr Moore, Chaps XXIV- XXVI.

(3) " " pp 247-9.

(4) The type of Mr Georgic's school is not stated, but its size and importance suggest such a place as Eton or Winchester.

previously attended. It is clear that the position of the principal of the great school - of Winchester, or Westminster or Eton was as secure then as now, and that he had no need to be conciliatory in his dealings with the sons of the wealthy.

If the portrait of the public schoolmaster is considered in the light of the controversy with regard to the merits of a public school education versus private tuition, a curious discrepancy is noticed between the apparent agreement of the novelist with the theories of Locke, or later of Rousseau, and the mildness of the satire in his actual descriptions of schools and their teachers. Sometimes, in fact, the writer seems to waver between deference to accepted opinion, and compliance with fashionable practice. The theorist of the day may have agreed with Locke; but the continued prosperity of the great schools throughout the period proves that the wealthy parent still gave his son the traditional education of his class, and the novelist follows suit. Thus, while in "The Adventures of Natura" Mrs Eliza Haywood shews herself abreast of current views by making the father hesitate to send his son to a public school, because he fears that such institutions, while they may "improve the learning", are "apt to corrupt the morals of youth," yet after all, as though she scarcely ventures to impose on her readers a hero who has not received the customary cachet, she places both Natura and Jemmy Jessamy at Eton and, in the former case, is at some pains to demonstrate the happiness of the result.

Sometimes the other side of the argument is plainly put. Fielding himself by no means leaves Adams and Allworthy in possession of the field. The dissolute Squire who amuses himself at the expense of Adams and his friends is the spoilt product of the care of a foolish mother and a vicious tutor, while

(1) Ed, 1748, pp. 18-20. (2) "The History of Jenny & Jemmy Jessamy."

(3) "Joseph Andrews" BkIII. Chap. VII.

neither young ~~Blifil~~ nor Tom Jones fulfils his patron's hope that a private education will preserve him from the vices into which he would be tempted at a public school. Most unexpected champion however, of the great schools of the wealthy, is Holcroft, the Jacobin, who in his own hard childhood had never been able to gain more than six consecutive months at the poorest village school. In the Memoirs of Bryan Perdue the ignoble hero of whose faults and reformation the tale is a chronicle, is sent to a public school. The high tone of the place is proved by the fact that its three leading spirits are its three most worthy members, and the passage which describes the efforts of these model scholars to reclaim Bryan from his evil doing in part answers Locke and already anticipates that modern type of school story of which the ennobling influence of "l'esprit de corps" is the inevitable motive. The methods of the head master are in the main clearly approved. He expels Bryan from the school on the charge that he has introduced the practice of gambling, to the corruption of morals, and if the satirist cannot resist the temptation to burlesque the pompous harangue in which he convicts the culprit of guilt and admonishes him for his future profit, there is no suggestion that he is incompetent or unjust. He entrusts the older boys with considerable responsibilities and the friend who wishes to speak on behalf of the wrong-doer is given a careful hearing. In fact Holcroft definitely joins issue with Jean-Jacques, who keeps his pupil apart from other boys that he may follow the unspoilt impulses of his own nature. Having described the unselfishness of some of the senior scholars, and their care for the common good, these things he suggests, though he "will not pretend to determine",

(1) Cf Memoirs of Holcroft. (2) "Bryan Perdue" Vol I. Chaps XVIII-XXXII.

(3) "Bryan Perdue. pp 142-3. (4) "Bryan Perdue" Chaps XXXI, XXXII.

(5) p. 143. *ibid.*

are "the result of organisation, example and instruction," and by no means such as are "natural and instinctive" in boyhood. The opinion of the ordinary person with regard to the new theories of education was probably very much that of the pleasant "little fat Rector" in the "Spiritual Quixote".⁽¹⁾ "The new-fangled methods" of the up-to-date schoolmaster of his village were, he declared, with those of Milton and Locke, "very pretty in theory", but yet, "the great men of Queen Elizabeth's time had studied this affair more deeply than had ever been done since, and -- for him their ways were good enough still," and in the actual pictures which the novelist gives of public school life, he reflects much the same point of view.

Though disapproval of the great school finds frequent expression in general terms, ~~Brooke~~^{Brooke} and Day themselves, ~~and~~ its most determined opponents, attack it rather as theorists attack an institution for which their system can find no room, than as victims assail an abuse of which they have actually experienced the evil. Throughout the century there is no onslaught even comparable in bitterness with, for instance, Mr Waugh's recent "Loom of Youth". Brooke, it is true, draws in Mr Clement a pitiful picture of a scholar, who in the long years of education at public school and university, has learnt no single craft that will enable him to earn a living. Yet Mr Fenton, who voices the author's views in the story, finds in this public school man the high standard of excellence he requires in a tutor, and moreover, with apparently unconscious inconsistency, allows him to teach his pupil, Harry, those very subjects of knowledge which have proved so profitless to himself. It is in accord with the general vagueness of the attack, and is perhaps due in part also to the fact that, from Locke onwards, the charge against public schools was always rather the corrupting influence of the boys than the deficiencies of the teachers, that in all the novels examined

(1) "Spiritual Quixote" Vol. III. Chap. XVIII.

the only entirely unfavourable portrait of a public school-master is one slightly sketched by Smollett in "⁽¹⁾ Ferdinand Fathom". He, like so many of the rest, is nameless and almost featureless; but the story of the noble Melvil's disgrace, and of the crafty Ferdinand's success proves their "profound director" an easy dupe and suggests moreover that he is as shallow a scholar as his favourite pupil, who ⁽²⁾ "never fairly plunged into the stream of school-education, but, by floating on the surface, imbibed a small tincture of those different sciences which his ~~master~~ master pretended to teach." In describing the ill effects of Fathom's trickery upon his own nature, Smollett points to the connection between the master's lack of understanding and the low moral tone of the school, but now~~here~~ else is this suggestion made.

The Tutor

The boy of the wealthier classes who was not sent to a public school was usually prepared by a private tutor for the University, though in "Edward" there are boarding-schools ⁽³⁾ apparently of similar type to those referred to by Traill as springing up in Scotland in the mid-century. The tutor of the novel is either the model of idealistic theory, or the butt of satire - satire frequently in~~ap~~pplicable to teachers of other types. Thus the tutor is usually, though not necessarily in "Holy Orders" and his position in the household is similar to that of the Chaplain to whom he seems to succeed: Cowper, admonishing the parent as to his behaviour towards his son's ⁽⁴⁾ governor, bids him, "Not frown unless he vanish with the cloth," and Pamela regrets ⁽⁵⁾ that "these useful men are too frequently put upon a foot with the uppermost servants" in the "Families of the Great". Wherever, in fact, a chaplain continued to form one of the household he would certainly perform the duties of tutor,

(1) Vol. I. Chap. V. (2) "Ferdinand Fathom" Page 30.

(3) Cf page 107 supra.

(4) Cowper, "Tirocinium". Cf. "Soon as the tarts appear, Sir Crape, withdraw." Ojdhm.

(5) "Pamela" III. p. 304.

(1)
 as in Euphemia where a wealthy old gentleman promises to educate a protégé for the Church under the tuition of his own chaplain. The contempt, therefore, with which the private governor is constantly regarded in the earlier novel is largely due to the literary heritage taken over from the chaplain of earlier satire and comedy. Mr Jolter and Mr Sackbut in "Peregrine Pickle" have been previously dealt with from this point of view, and the tutors described in Roderick Random, in Johnstone's Chrysal, in the Man of the World, and by Mrs Haywood in The Invisible Spy are further examples of the tutor who will shrink from no vicious action that may bring him personal advantage, and in whose portrait lingers the tradition of the debased chaplain of Restoration Comedy.

A second motive, underlying much of the satire at the tutor's expense, is the implication that his position is a refuge to the poor scholar who is disqualified from preferment by the obscurity of his birth and the consequent lack of influential friends. The average novelist has as little respect as the average parent for the "genius" of the type that one patron boasts of being able to secure ⁽²⁾ on "very moderate terms". To Smollett, in particular, the upstart scholar, ignorant and ill-bred, forcing his way into polite society in the company of his pupil, is an unceasing cause of offense. ^c He clearly sympathises with Pickle's refusal to submit to the guidance of a mentor so lacking in knowledge of the world as Mr Jolter, and even holds him justified for his lampoon upon Mr Jumble, his tutor at the University. ⁽³⁾ Mr Jumble was the son of a bricklayer and of a mother who sold pies; he was himself drunken and incompetent, and he provoked insolence by his attempts to disguise

(1) "Euphemia". Vol. 3. p. 65.

(2) "Edward" (Dr Moore) p. 46.

(3) "Peregrine Pickle" Chap. XXIX.

by the arrogance of his manner the defects of his birth and breeding.

A similar theme is developed by Charles Johnstone in (1) "Chrysal". The son of a poor villager was sent to school because his physique was too feeble for the life of a labourer. The master, "a person of discernment and good nature", took pleasure in developing the boy's ability, and when his pupil, "had made the ordinary progress of the school", he taught him for nothing and provided him with books at his own expense, so that he became "not only critically skilled in the learned languages, but also well-grounded in the principles of the liberal sciences", passing "considerably beyond the usual boundaries of school education." This generous master then completed his kindness by recommending his protégé as tutor to the son of a wealthy widow. The young man accompanied his charge to the University and afterwards, in return for a "genteel stipend", on his European tour. Now is revealed the innate baseness of the upstart. Aware that he lacked "the ornamental parts of education" he encouraged his pupil to devote himself to dissolute pleasures, while he profited by lessons from the dancing, music and fencing masters whom he engaged at the widow's expense. In due time he returned to England with a ridiculous affectation of culture and accomplishments, won the heart of the widow, secured her fortune, and treated her so neglectfully and cruelly that she was driven to leave him to enjoy the fruits of her folly. The sketch is instructive both as suggesting the steps by which the poor boy might, even in those days, climb the ladder of learning, and also as reflecting the general attitude of the polite world towards the climber.

Thwackum is an exceptional figure in the early novel with regard both to his qualifications and his position in Allworthy's household; for Fielding is always careful to remind us that unamiable as he is, he is a gentleman and a scholar and,

(1) "Chrysal" Chap. IV. p. 599 seq.

and, at least, in his patron's opinion honest, but as a disciple of Locke in his educational theories, the squire must of necessity seek a tutor/^{for his wards} who seems to him able and virtuous and must treat him in accordance with his supposed deserts. ^{new paragraph} In the later novel of the century the vicious adventurer gives place as typical tutor to the well-meaning but ineffectual pedant, - a change in accord with the general improvement noted in the character, if not in the intelligence of the clergy.

The satire of which he is now the object is still applicable to him rather more particularly than to teachers of other types, for the suggestion is that the dull bookworm, or to use Burton's word, the "dizzard", who would be incapable of ruling either a parish or a school, may find refuge in the capacity of private governor.

Thus, Dr Orkborne, in "Camilla" is admittedly retained in his position in the household of Sir Hugh Tyrold, because his generous patron knows that there is no employment in the world for which he is fitted. To justify his acceptance of a stipend he makes some pretence of supervising the reading of the docile Eugenia, but to control her high spirited cousin, Lionel, is a task quite beyond his powers. All his energy is devoted to abstruse philological studies, in which he seems to make but slow progress.

(1)
The accomplishments of Fleetwood's tutor are more varied, but of no greater value; he too is spoilt by excess of study for the practical purposes of life, without gaining the wisdom which makes ^{its} his own contribution. Besides the elements of Latin, Greek, Italian and French, he possesses a smattering of astronomy, natural philosophy, mathematics and history, but the two points on which he most prides himself are his skill as

(1) "Fleetwood" Chaps. I & III.

(1) a poet and his mythological studies; anticipating Mr Casaubon for he is engaged on "a concordance of all religions", his method being to allegorise whatever is fabulous or historical in the sacred books of all nations and to explain them all "to signify a certain sublime metaphysics, the detail of which is to be found for the most part in the writings of Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas".

Fleetwood has a sublime, youthful contempt for the understanding of his master, though he condescends occasionally to read the classics with him, and the elementary books of science. On his pupil's departure for Oxford, the old man retires on an annuity to a humble lodging in London, when he publishes, from time to time pocket volumes of bad sonnets and odes and synopses of his mythological discoveries.

The insignificance of the portraits of these barren scholars is that whereas in the days of Robert Burton it was by the general public, the vulgar, that disinterested students, who did not press for an immediate reward of their studies into "those three commodious Professions of Law, Physick and Divinity," were esteemed "scrubs and fools", in the eighteenth century, the man of letters himself takes this view - and satire's point is reversed.

(2)

The portrait of Mr Hilliard in "James Wallace" is clearly derivative, and is only interesting as illustrating the influence of the types set by the first great novelists.

In his faith in the method of incessant remonstrance and in his general tiresomeness he is a pale reflection of Smollett's Jolter; the scriptural flavour of his speech, sprinkled as it is with such words as "peradventure", "verisimilitude", "crave", is imitated from that of Parson Supple.

Warwick Ed p 33.

(1) Cf. "Middlemarch" Bk. I. Chap III / "He (Mr Casaubon) had undertaken to shew -- that all the mythical systems or erratic mythical fragments in the world were corruptions of a tradition originally revealed."

(2) Robert Bage, "J. Wallace" pp 422-3. etc.

(1)
He is "a grave elderly gentleman of no prepossessing physiognomy",
who finds to his sorrow that "the young men of the present age
(2)
laugh at admonition; they despise the wisdom that proceedeth from
experience." *Continue from P 119*

Though the majority of tutors were clergymen there are indications that private teaching was sometimes the resource of the scholar who could not subscribe to the faith of the English Church. Thus, both Fleetwood's tutor and Mr John Bruce, the
(3)
"bright and excellent man" who directed John Buncler's studies at the University were unable as deists to take Orders; while the governor to whom Bryan Perdue owed such knowledge of good as he gained, a "true Irish gentleman; honourable, learned and well-bred," was a poor priest of the Catholic Church. The bias of the respective authors, Godwin, Amory and Holcroft, in favour of religious non-conformity is obvious, and the first two definitely present their tutors as martyrs to conscience.

Occasionally a young man of good family whose prospects of fortune had failed, would seek the post of travelling governor,
(4)
and he too would probably remain a layman. Thus, Mr Courtney, the brother of Henrietta, himself the grandson of an earl, becomes tutor to a young marquis, on terms especially advantageous, we are told, in consideration of the gentility of his own birth; in fact he receives a salary of five hundred pounds!

The tutor who is treated satirically is usually then - whether a cleric, or sometimes for particular reasons a layman - a dependent of the household which he serves, a successor of the trencher-chaplain, whose portion even in Cowper's day is no better than that of Oldham's Sir Grape. The model tutor is, however, of higher social standing. Usually he is a scholarly divine who undertakes as a favour the education of the son of

(1) p. 422. Ibid.

(2) p. 423. Ibid.

(3) John Buncler. The young man is further described in "Memoirs of Certain Ladies." p. 7.

(4) "Henrietta" Vol. II. p. 233.

friend or patron. ^{omit} To this type belong Dr Harrison in Amelia, Dr Bartlett in Sir Charles Grandison, Dr Marchmont in Camilla and Dr Barlow in Sandford and Merton. Dr Barlow is definitely modelled on the governor of Emile, and his explicit refusal to accept any fee for his services is possibly due to Rousseau's suggestion that a man who is willing to be hired cannot be an ideal preceptor of youth. Dr Harrison and Dr Marchmont, however, seem to have held the office of tutor on more usual terms. In all these cases, whether satirized or idealized, with the one exception of Dr Barlow, it is in the aspect rather of priest or of scholar than in that of teacher that the tutor is shewn. Of his methods of instruction we see practically nothing. We learn that Mr Jolter liked to frame moral homilies in the form of a mathematical proposition, and that Thwackum regarded it as his chief function to chastize the natural depravity of Tom, but any glimpse of master and boy at their secular studies is rare.

B. continued

Dr Barlow of "Sandford and Merton" stands out from among all the rest as interested in actual methods of instruction, and as careful to understand the nature of the child mind he is to train. Thomas Day was of course steeped in the influence of Rousseau, but he owes something to his older contemporary, Henry Brooke, whose views on education blend quaintly some aspects of Rousseauism, of evangelicalism, and of ordinary academic tradition.

The first chapters of Brooke's "Fool of Quality" describe the early education of the hero, Harry Fenton, and it is at this stage, entirely in accordance with that of Emile. He is the son of wealthy parents, but he is left to the care of a kindly foster nurse, who lets him ~~xxxx~~ run about like a healthy little animal, called upon to obey only the wise dictates of nature. When he is a little older, he is trained in virtue by a mysterious, self-appointed mentor, who in time reveals himself as his father's long lost and wealthy brother.

This shadowy figure cannot be ranked in any actual group of tutors, but his system of training is of some interest as illustrating the way in which English thought selected from the teachings of Jean-Jacques.

The method of the good man is to tell the child long tales which shall attract him to all that is honourable and gentle in conduct, and it is sharply contrasted with that of the ordinary pedagogue, as represented by Harry's next preceptor, Mr Vindex, who rules only by fear. The debasing effect of corporal punishment becomes evident when Mr Vindex's two pupils are provoked to revenge, and find wicked satisfaction in playing practical, and even cruel jokes on their enemy.

In much of this - excepting the long tales - Brooke is clearly following Rousseau, and his description of Harry in adolescence is reminiscent of the sketch of Emile at the same age. ⁽¹⁾ "Harry could out-run the reindeer and out-bound the antelope. He was held in veneration by the masters of the noble science of defence. His action was vigour, his countenance was loveliness, and his movement was grace." Of Emile Jean-Jacques ⁽²⁾ says, "Il a le corps sain, les membres agiles, l'esprit juste et sans prejugués, le coeur libre et sans passions. -- Il a vécu content, heureux et libre, autant que la nature l'a permis." It is however easy to exaggerate Brooke's debt to the French writer. With regard to details of academic training, such as the importance of handicraft and of curtailing the length of time given to classical studies, he merely follows the more ⁽³⁾ progressive of English educators; with regard to the general aim of education he writes always as a Christian moralist, clearly more in haste to instil his own ideals of virtue than to develop the individuality of the child. With the fundamental principle of Rousseau's system - that that only is true knowledge of which the trained senses give evidence to the mind, he shews no sympathy; naturally, therefore, he sees no need to adopt those

(1) "Fool of Quality" Vol. II. pp. 22,23. (2) "Emile" Livre III p. 235.

(3) e.g. Locke's "Thoughts" Section

Hartlib: "Proposition (cont. overleaf)

revolutionary methods of instruction of which the aim is mainly the adequate training of the senses. It is curious for instance that in spite of a severe condemnation of Mr Clement's public school education, this scholar, who has knowledge of no useful craft, is, as has been noted, appointed successor to Mr Vindex. By him, apparently ~~with~~ the author's approval, Harry is instructed not only in the dead languages which he himself has found of so little profit, but also in the use of globes and maps, and in the history of the various countries of which he studies the geography. The use of globes and maps Rousseau utterly condemns and though he admits the possibility of benefit from the study of history at a late stage of education, he is always suspicious of it as he is of all knowledge ~~xxx~~ not acquired directly through the senses; while at the age of fifteen Emile is as yet unconscious of that obligation of the individual to the community the sense of which Mr Fenton has carefully instilled into Harry from his earliest childhood. In fact Brooke seems to accept just so much of Rousseau's teaching as supports and strengthens his own more definitely Christian idealism - attracted for instance by the simplicity of the life of which the motto is to "follow nature", and above all by the principle that government should depend on love rather than on fear, but rather less interested in actual methods of instruction. ^{new paragraph} Even Dr Barlow, the good vicar of "Sandford & Merton", who undertakes the task of training the wayward impulses of little Tommy Merton, is not a blind imitator of Emile's governor, as would seem to be suggested when the book is described as an "Emile in English".

(3) cont. for "Erecting a College of Husbandry" 1651 - "Plan of a Trade or Industrial School" in "Advice of W.P. to Mr Samuel Hartlib, 1647, and Cowley, "Proposition for the Advancement of Experimental Philosophy (circ) 1656.

- (1) "Emile", cf. Livre III. p. 179. ed. Garnier, Paris.
 (2) " cf. Livre IV. p. 271. & Livre I. p. 100.
 (3) " Livre III. p. 234.
 (4) Miss Paterson, "The study of Education ----" p. 79.

Devoted admirer of Rousseau as Day is, on social questions his views are tempered by a British liking for the ease of the via media, and along this Dr Barlow gently leads his pupils.

On such matters, for instance, as the dignity of labour, or the injustice of social inequalities the Vicar holds advanced views, and of these he warns Mr Merton before he will consent to take charge of his son. Here Day is perhaps more consciously following Brooke, from whom he quotes with approval, than Rousseau. - But with a truly English skill in finding a convenient compromise, Dr Barlow admits that while the Christian priest is under obligation to teach the ideal which he holds, yet under present conditions of society he cannot expect - indeed can scarcely even desire - the upheaval necessary to put his ideal into effect. He is not, he declares, "one of those enthusiasts who are constantly preaching up an ideal state of perfection, totally inconsistent with human affairs," for "the present state of human affairs, in every society we are acquainted with, does not admit that perfect equality which the purer interpretations of the Gospel indicate."

At the same time the good man does his utmost to train his pupils in habits of labour and self-denial and in the notion of the brotherhood of man, - secure that the natural selfishness of human nature will be a sufficient check on any revolutionary tendencies which his teaching might be supposed to encourage. His methods of instruction are practical and here ~~his~~ debt to ~~his~~ French Master is obvious. ^{When lazy} /Tommy refuses to dig in the garden, Mr Barlow and the industrious Harry having finished their morning's labour, share a plate of delicious fruit between them, giving none to the idler. At dinner the same thing happens; thus Tommy learns that only the labourer is worthy of his hire, and the next morning he digs eagerly. The principle that no compulsion should ever be exerted to make the child work or study, and the artifices by which his desire for knowledge is stimulated are clearly learnt from Emile.

Thus for some weeks, to Tommy's delight, every day after dinner Harry reads aloud an interesting story. Presently Harry goes away for a time, Mr Barlow is too busy to read, and Tommy missing the pleasure determines that he too will learn to read. Similarly, he longs to begin arithmetic the moment that he realizes how convenient it would be to be able to calculate the number of grains in two large sacks of wheat without actually counting them, and he learns his first lesson in mechanics when Harry shows him exactly how two boys should carry a heavy weight suspended from a long pole. Many of the actual incidents, as for instance the scene in the garden, the experiments with weights and measures, Harry's account of the assistance he gained from his knowledge of astronomy when he was lost on a dark night, ~~and~~ the meeting with the juggler and the incident of the magnetized ducks are taken almost verbally from Rousseau, and throughout Mr Barlow bears in mind the two great principles of the French teacher, that the supreme task of the tutor is to suggest to (1) his pupil "le désir d'apprendre," ^{and} that the child's road to (2) knowledge lies through his experience of things, - through the evidence of his trained senses. The latter doctrine however the English teacher supplements, for, like Mr Fenton, he seizes every opportunity of telling his pupils long and instructive stories, and of conveying the maximum of information in his replies to their always conveniently timed remarks. So a chance

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- (1) "Emile", Livre II. p. 110. "Donnez à l'enfant ce désir, puis laissez là vos bureaux et vos des, toute méthode lui sera bonne." (The allusion to the contrivance for teaching children to read, such as the dice suggested by Locke, or the typo-graphical lottery by Louis Dumas of the 18th Century)
- (2) Cf. Description of Emile, Livre II, p. 170, "S'il ne sait rien par coeur, il sait beaucoup par expérience; s'il lit moins bien qu'un autre enfant dans nos livres, il lit mieux dans celui de la nature."

observation about the weather calls forth a discourse on the people and the climate of Lapland, and a little talk on kindness to animals gives occasion for instruction in such marvels of natural history as the responsiveness of crocodiles to gentle usage. "Ne donnez a votre ⁽¹⁾ élève aucune espece de leçon verbale" was for the English moralist and tutor of the eighteenth century too hard a saying.

(1)" Emile" Livre II. p. 75.

THE MASTER OF THE PRIVATE BOARDING
SCHOOL.

The private boarding schools of the period group themselves roughly under the type which foreshadows Dotheboys Hall, and under that of the select Academy for young gentlemen of wealth and station.

Representing the first type we find two examples in
(1)
Alwyn: the "cheap school in Yorkshire" attended by Hil Kirk, the proprietor of which, "Old Declension", was liberal of nothing but the birch, and the establishment owned by the
(2)
schoolmaster whom Maitland met returning in the coach from London, whither he had been to secure pupils, "whom he found in all requisites for ten pounds a year." A similar institution, though perhaps of slightly better standing, is described
(3)
in a story published in the Novelists' Magazine, "The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson". Joe's master, Mr Prosody, is also more liberal of the birch than of food, but he is admitted to be an excellent classical scholar. Two of the more expensive Academies are described in Edward. It is not clear whether these were merely preparatory schools, or whether they were of the type intended to meet the needs of boys whose parents disliked the great public schools. The principal of one of these
(4)
select establishments is described as a person "of some sense and integrity," and the school was apparently well-managed. There is a suggestion, tantalizing in its vagueness, that the master
(5)
and his wife anticipated modern co-educational methods: "while

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- (1) "Alwyn" p. 12. (2) "Alwyn" p. 152.
(3) "Adventures of J. Thompson, Chaps I-III.
(4) "Edward" p. 44.
(5) " " p. 42.

the master instructed the boys, his wife took care of the girls, and there were good accommodations for both." Beyond the fact, however, that the school was attended by Catherine and George Barnet, children of well-to-do parents of the middle class, we learn no details as to its character or status.

(1)

The headmaster of the first school attended by the hero of the same story, Edward, probably owes something to Smollett's Keypstick. He was a grossly ignorant person who had gained a position for which he was quite unfit by marriage with the widow of a capable teacher, in whose hands the school had gained a good reputation. Fortunately, most of the teaching was in the hands of an intelligent usher, but, unqualified as he was for the task, the Principal was accustomed on Sunday mornings to give religious instruction, occasions on which he displayed to the full the meanness at once of his temper and of his intelligence. ^{new Paragraph} From the dim figures of the lesser novels, whose form and features one strains to see as through a clouded glass, it is a relief to turn to the vigorous, convincing ugliness of one of Smollett's grotesques. Mr Keypstick, proprietor of a preparatory school for Westminster and Eton, deformed in body and mean of soul, at first sight claims kinship with Squeers. But Smollett's satire is of wider scope than Dickens' and the object of his attack is not merely the illiterate but enterprising barber, but the rich and ignorant parents by whose folly he prospers. Mr Keypstick made no pretence of academic attainments; he was merely a German quack who had gained sufficient favour with the people of quality to whom he sold complexion washes and hair dyes, to be entrusted with the education of their sons. His foreign origin was accepted as sufficient guarantee of his ability to teach, and he was able to set up a school for about twenty-five boys, whom he undertook to prepare in Latin and French for the great public schools. For a

(1) "Edward" Chaps XIX, XX.

(2) "Peregrine Pickle" Chap XII.

time he was fortunate in his assistant, Mr Jennings, who for the sum of £30 a year undertook the entire management and instruction of the pupils. After the resignation of this usher the discipline of the school degenerated into anarchy; but, though Peregrine Pickle insisted on being withdrawn, the establishment presumably continued to bring profits to its proprietor. Of the extent of these we are not informed, but it is certain that Mr Keypstick can have been led by nothing but his commercial instinct to adopt the profession of teaching.

In so far then as the proprietor of the private school is held up to ridicule, it is as the ignorant and impudent adventurer whose career is made easy by the negligence of the average parent. But the private tutor and the master of the boarding school, whether of the greater public school or of the select academy, can together have been responsible for the education of only a small minority of the youth of the country. It was in the ^{lesser} grammar schools, in the charity schools and above all in the small village schools that the boys of the people were to be found. Between these three types the novelist does not clearly distinguish. Thus Partridge on one occasion tells a story of his "grammar school" days, on another remarks that he attended the same "charity school" as Black George: that the two are identical seems probable, as does also the fact that when in a moment of vanity he prides himself on having "taught a grammar school" in his time, he is simply referring to his position as master of the humblest of village schools. The confusion is no doubt due to the fact that the one school of the small town or village would sometimes be a grammar school in the enjoyment of an old endowment, sometimes a free school of modern foundation, differing widely from that of the older type in that its primary aim was not to provide the children of the poor with a liberal

(1) "Tom Jones" ed. Routledge. p. 267.

(2) " " " p. 510.

(3) " " " p. 303.

education, but to train them in loyalty to the doctrines of the Church of England, while at the same time instructing them in such secular subjects as were necessary for their station in life; sometimes again the village would have to depend for its learning on such humbler institutions as could be maintained partly out of the vestry rate, partly by the fees of the richer pupils, - as for instance of the squire's sons who sat side by side with the parish boys in Partridges's school - or as might be built and supported by the generosity of the local squire. It is not surprising that in those days as in these the uninitiated novelist was vague as to the details of our heterogeneous educational machinery.

To the charity schools there are occasional references in the earlier novels, always contemptuous in tone. Partridge is the most respectable of their scholars, who include Black George in Tom Jones, Trent in Amelia and three cunning rascals in Chrysal, a parson, a steward and a lawyer. According to Overton and Relton these free schools incurred early in the century the imputation of Jacobitism, and this imputation, whether true or false, is reflected in the sympathies attributed both to Partridge and to the group in Chrysal. Fielding also brings charges of corrupt influence, possibly political, in ~~that~~ the statements that Trent's master was "a consummate blockhead", appointed "by a party" in preference to a more learned candidate, and that Joseph Andrews' father lacked sufficient interest to get him into a charity school because "a cousin of his father's landlord did not vote on the right side for a church-warden in a borough town." The salary of Trent's master was "upwards of

(1) Cf. Articles on Education in Encyclop. Brittan. and Chamber's Encyclop. Also Overton & Relton, p. 298-300.

(2) "Tom Jones" Bk. I. chap. 3.

(3) Overton & Relton. p. 199.

(4) "Amelia" Bk. XI. Chap. 3.

(5) "Joseph Andrews", Bk. I. Chap 3.

(1)
a hundred pounds"; his financial position therefore was considerably better than that of the average curate.

In the novels examined, there are no examples of the principal of the grammar school specifically so-called, though Smollett in describing the Scottish school attended by Roderick Random probably has in mind the grammar school at Dumbarton at which he himself was educated. In view, therefore, of the lack of ~~any~~ precise detail it is only possible to consider the remaining portraits of headmasters under the general category of "master of the village school", bearing in mind the fact that schools so named, though superficially similar in type, may actually have differed in origin and government.

(1) "Amelia" p. 515.

THE "VILLAGE" SCHOOLMASTER.

The group includes the following characters:-

Mr Adams	in	"Joseph Andrews".
Partridge	"	"Tom Jones"
Mr Williams	"	"Pamela"
The first schoolmaster of)	"Roderick Random"
The Innkeeper schoolmaster in)	
Two unnamed schoolmasters in		"Peregrine Pickle"
The master of		"Jonathan Wild"
The master of the tutor in		"Chrysal" (Ch. Johnston)
Mr Selkirk	"	"The Spiritual Quixote" (Graves)
Mr Vindex	"	"The Fool of Quality" (Brooke)

and, possibly, the "renowned pedagogue" of Nibbiano" in Barham Downs.

It has been seen that the teachers already examined, with the exception of those who merely belong to the framework of the tale, have been generally the subjects either of satiric or of didactic treatment. Of the last two groups, the Village Schoolmaster and the Usher, the former is portrayed humourously, rather than satirically, the latter appeals always to our pity.

The only examples in the novel of the village pedagogue introduced to be wholly condemned are the first schoolmaster of Roderick Random and Peregrine Pickle, and Mr Vindex, flogging bullies of the worst type. But the portrait of the teacher of this class is not as a rule treated seriously. He belongs to the social level in which Fielding and Smollett more usually find subjects for humourous caricature, and his deficiencies and his afflictions alike are simply matters for amusement. For, unlike the usher, no matter how poor he is,

(1) "Fool of Quality"

he is never allowed to become pathetic. There is no such outcry against the lot of the poor schoolmaster as is heard on behalf of the needy clergyman. With the anxious teacher of this particular type, the novelist shows nothing of the sympathy of the poet, no matter how harassing the "cares domestic" that "rush upon ⁽¹⁾ his mind". The innkeeper, who loves his Horace and cheats his guests, ⁽²⁾ the barber who regales his clients with philosophy culled from ~~his~~ ⁽³⁾ well-worn "Gradus ad Parnassum", the Parish Clerk whose epistolary style is "the most extraordinary fustian," are all introduced to the reader with a laugh, as ragged a company of "forlorn schoolmasters" ⁽⁴⁾ as that which a character in an old play met returning disconsolate from Parnassus, - "who as they walked scatched there unthrifitie elbows, and often putt there handes into there unpeopled pockets, that had not been possessed with faces this manie a day."

That the village pedagogue can seldom depend on his stipend alone for a livelihood is accepted as a matter of course. ⁽⁵⁾ Thus Partridge ekes out his tiny salary by acting as clerk and as barber to the village; ⁽⁶⁾ the amusing old rascal by whose hospitality Roderick Random is snared on his first journey to London, keeps a roadside tavern and greets his guests in classic phrase; ⁽⁷⁾ Mr Selkirk, in the Spiritual Quixote, a Scottish pedlar who has successfully wooed the daughter of a prosperous farmer, as an investment for her capital, opens simultaneously a little shop and a little school, while, of

(1) "Roderick Random" cf. pp 61-3.

(2) "Tom Jones" Bk. VIII. Chaps, IV, V.

(3) "Peregrine Pickle" cf. pp 117-8.

(4) "Pilgrimage to Parnassus" c. 1597. ed Macroy. p. 19.

(5) "Tom Jones" Bk. III. Ch. 3.

(6) "Roderick Random" Ch X.

(7) "Spiritual Quixote" Bk IX. Ch XVIII.

the aristocrats of the group, Mr Vindex is glad to accept the onerous task of tutor in addition to the management of his day-school, and Mr Adams and Mr Williams are poor curates. The duties of parish clerk seem frequently to have been combined with those of the teacher; thus Partridge and an obscure village schoolmaster in Peregrine Pickle hold both offices, while the tutor of Roderick Random's cousin and the master from whom Hugh Trevor learns music are also clerks of their parishes.

As to academic attainments there is no suggestion that, with the exception of the two parsons, any of these pedagogues had studied at a University: Mr Selkirk, for instance, was considered very well equipped for his post merely on the ground of the education he had received, "as having been intended for the University". Thus the essential difference between the poor curate and the poor teacher must have been the fact that for the former, as being often of better birth, and usually of better education, there was always hope of preferment, for the latter the prospect of no other profits than his wits could secure.

Yet the attainments of the typical village pedagogue were not altogether despicable. Partridge is too designedly and consistently a figure of comedy for his bad Latin and his absurd collection of books to weigh heavily as evidence; and it is noticeable that whatever charges of "fearful beating" are brought against certain of the group there are no such accusations of complete ignorance as lie for instance against Mr Keystick among the principals of private academies, or against Mr Sackbut among the tutors. Thus the "extraordinary fustian" style of the schoolmaster who acts as scribe for Tom Pipes at least suggests the consciousness that of a man in his position some display of classical learning is expected; the academic innkeeper certainly knew something of the Horace he professed to love, the charitable teacher in "Chrysal" trained his pupil so well that he became "not only critically skilled in the learn-

ed languages but also well-grounded in the liberal sciences", passing "considerably beyond the usual boundaries of school education", while Mr Selkirk professed to teach not only "Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, but Latin, Greek, Algebra, Logarithms, and all the more abstruse parts of the Mathematics! Though the man who taught in the poorer schools of the country may not have advanced far in his studies his conception of what his attainments should be was clearly not illiberal.

It is especially noticeable that in all these schools Latin finds a place, whereas the Charity School of the period was content, apart from religious training, to offer instruction in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. Probably a fact that still tended to preserve the classical tradition in the country schools, was that to the one teacher of the neighbourhood, as for instance to Partridge⁽¹⁾, came the Squire's sons to be initiated into their Latin syntax, side by side with the parish boys, who perhaps desired only to read and write.

(1) "Tom Jones" Bk. III. Ch. 3.

THE USHER.

The last representative of the profession to be examined is the Usher. This figure again consistently follows one type - and ~~one~~ in sharp contrast to that of the Village pedagogue. About him clings something of the sentiment which enfolds the curate. He too is always virtuous, learned, and efficient and his merit is always unrecognised and unrewarded. In every case it is to his efforts alone, that the school which he serves owes its reputation and its pupils their progress. The four examples which occur are:

Mr Syntax	in	"Roderick Random"
Mr Jennings	"	"Peregrine Pickle"
Mr Wilmot	"	"The Adventures of Hugh Trevor"

and the Usher at the hero's first school in "Edward". Of these it is sufficient to consider the two that are drawn in fuller detail, Mr Wilmot and Mr Jennings.

(1)

Mr Jennings is the assistant of the vulgar bully, Keystick, to whose charge Peregrine Pickle is sent preparatory to entering Winchester, and Mr Wilmot is the usher of the grammar school at which Hugh Trevor is educated. Both are apparently gentlemen of some little social standing, since Mr Jennings ultimately gains sufficient interest to take Holy Orders, and Mr Wilmot is the son of a Major of the army. Both are capable teachers, greatly loved by their pupils, versed alike in the dead languages and the modern. Jennings has opportunity only to instil into Pickle the rudiments of the French and Latin tongues, but Wilmot instructs Trevor in Greek, Italian and German also, and, among modern authors encourages him to read Goethe, Lessing, Klopstock and Schiller. Both, too, even-

(1) "Peregrine Pickle" Chap. XII.

(2) "Adventures of Hugh Trevor" cf. Bk. I. Ch. XII. Bk III. Ch. IX. etc.

tually resign their posts and in other vocations find that recognition of their talents, of which, it is implied the obscure teacher need have little hope.

(1)

Wilmott is a poet of thwarted ambitions, who loathes the station which he dare not leave." Although to Hugh he is able to make the acquirement of knowledge "a pure pleasure" he hates his task. Like Crabbe's melancholy usher, Leonard,

"He cannot dig, he will not beg his bread,

"All his dependence rests upon his head;

"And, deeply skilled in sciences and arts,

"On vulgar lads he wastes superior parts."

Fully conscious of the "waste" he abandons the drudgery, tempts Fortune with a tragedy and after many vicissitudes at last gains a success. The reason that he gives for his hatred of teaching is the unnaturalness of the relation which inevitably arises between master and boy - "A tyrant" he declares, "all teachers indubitably are, under our present modes of education!" The thought is not developed, but whereas in Bryan Perdue Holcroft seems on the whole to approve of the public school system, it is clear that in Hugh Trevor his ideal teacher longs, though with the usual vagueness of the Rousseauist, for a complete revolution in educational method.

(2)

Jennings for the sum of £30 a year undertook the complete management of Mr Keystick's school, and by his efficiency made it prosper. The jealousy of his principal however, makes his position impossible. He resigns his post, succeeds in obtaining Holy Orders, and leaves the country with the intention of settling in one of the American plantations.

(1) Cf. Leonard in Letter XXIV of Crabbe's "Borough".

(2) "Adventures of H. Trevor" Bk. III. p. 158.

(3) "Peregrine Pickle" Chap XII.

Mr Jennings, practical disciple of Locke, concerning himself hopefully with the possible and eschewing fruitless discontent, is, with perhaps the exception of Dr Barlow, the most completely satisfactory teacher to be found in the novel of the period. It is interesting both that he occurs before the publication of *Emile*, and also that his character is conceived by the author of the uncompromising attacks upon such other teachers as, Gamaliel Sackbut, Mr Jolter, Mr Keypstick, and the headmaster of "Ferdinand Fathom".

He, together with Mr Selkirk, in the "Spiritual Quixote" is of especial importance, as suggesting that not only were occasional scholars such as are represented by Dr Barlow, or Mr Fenton, or Mr Annesley, - whose system of training for his own children is described in "The Man of the World" - thinking about education, and making private experiments, but that in ordinary schoolrooms, such methods as we are usually pleased to describe as 'modern' were not unknown. "The constant maxim of this tutor"⁽¹⁾, says Smollett of Mr Jennings, was to "examine the soil", that is "to consult the bias" of his pupil's disposition. "His pupil, Perry" he found hardened and stupefied by the brutal discipline/^{he had undergone at the hands} of his former teacher. He made it therefore his first aim to revive the deadened sensibilities, till the child was as quick as his comrades to feel reproach, and as eager to gain praise or reward. No boy in his school was "scourged for want of apprehension", but good discipline was maintained, for "a body of laws" was enacted, suited to the age and comprehensions of every individual, - and - most original feature of the system, anticipating the much talked of "self-government" of to-day - "each transgressor was fairly tried by his peers, and punished according to the verdict of the jury."

(1) "Peregrine Pickle" Chap. XII. p. 70.

None of the well-known writers on education had hitherto suggested so democratic a reform of school discipline as "trial by jury", and, slight as the information is as to Smollett's school-days, there seems to be some ground for accepting this as a detail of his own experience, and Perry's master as a study from life. Mr Jennings is simply Mr Syntax, usher of Roderick Random's school, sketched in fuller detail; much of "Roderick Random" is admittedly auto-biographical - - - Crab and Paton can, for instance, be identified. The school to which Random is sent apparently corresponds to the grammar school of Dumbarton at which Smollett was educated. The question remains how much Mr Syntax, and Mr Jennings owe to Smollett's master, Mr John Love, a teacher and scholar of repute, who began a successful career as usher, and later as master, of Dumbarton Grammar School.

John Love is best known as "the scarce less learned antagonist of the learned Ruddiman", with whom he waged fierce controversy as to the honour of the poet Buchanan. Dr John Moore mentions that it was at Dumbarton's Grammar school that Smollett became acquainted with the work of Buchanan, and it is fair to infer that it was Love who taught the boy to care for the poet of whose reputation he was so jealous, that, in fact, on this point at least - boy and master were in sympathy. ~~THAT~~ Though little evidence is forthcoming with regard to Love's actual methods of teaching, his preferment to the mastership of Edinburgh High School and later to the Rectorship of Dalkeith Grammar School argues a high reputation for competence and such testimony as there is entirely favourably; Chalmers speaks of him as "an eminent scholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man," but most interesting is the tribute of Mr Ruddiman, his antagonist, who in an obituary notice in the Caledonian Mercury, described him as a teacher "who for his uncommon

(1) "Roderick Random" Chaps II & V.

(2) George Chalmers' Life of Thomas Ruddiman, 1894. The Obituary Notice is quoted by Chalmers as having appeared in the Cal. Merc. for Sept. 24th, 1750

knowledge in classical learning, his indefatigable diligence, and strictness of discipline, without severity, was justly accounted one of the most sufficient masters in this country." The phrase "strictness of discipline, without severity" irresistibly suggests an association between Mr John Love and Mr Jennings. ^{new Paragraph} With Keystick's usher may be associated as an experimenter in educational method, Mr Selkirk, whom Richard ^aGrøves seems to present in half dismayed astonishment at the difference between the up-to-date schoolroom of the new generation and that of his own youth. The hero, Geoffrey Wildgoose who is a guest at the rectory, is taken to the village school, as to a local object of interest, - a fact in itself significant. ⁽¹⁾ The schoolmaster, delighted to display the extent of his improvements upon the methods of "Johnny Loke (sic) and Milton too", for the edification of his visitors calls out a small boy to demonstrate the way in which his pupils exercise themselves in the Latin tongue, "amidst their childish sports and diversions, and Jockey obediently dances round the room declining "Hic, haec, hoc." Mr Selkirk is especially proud of his method of teaching the different parts of speech. "I make eight boys represent the eight parts of speech", he explains. "The Noun substantive stands by himself; the adjective has another boy to support him; the Nominative Case carries a little wand before the verb, the Accusative Case walks after ~~xi~~ and supports his train: I let the ~~four~~ conjugations make a party at whist, and the three concords dance ~~xi~~ the Hay together, and so on." The visitors laugh and the little fat Rector, himself bred at a public school, regrets the good old days.

^{omit}
(2)

Another innovator in language teaching was Mr Concordance, a delightful oddity of Roderick Random's acquaintance

(1) "Spiritual Quixote" Vol. III. Ch. XVIII.

(2) "Roderick Random" Chap XIV.

Grant

who "kept a school in town where he taught the Latin, French and Italian languages; but what he chiefly professed was the pronunciation of the English tongue, after a method more speedy and uncommon than any practised heretofore." He received the hero "dressed in a nightgown of plaid, fastened about his middle with a sergeant's old sash, and a tie-periwig, with a foretop three inches high, in the fashion of King Charles the Second's reign," and his diction, apparently intended to represent the attempt of a 'barbarous' Scot to speak elegant English, was as curious a medley as his costume; of its "uncommonness", says Random, there was no question. That both passages are obviously satirical does not make them less significant: that "new or speedy" methods are occasionally laughed at proves that they were at least occasionally tried. ^{new Paragraph} The teacher of the University might be regarded as coming within the scope of this treatise, but he appears too seldom to give evidence of any value. The College tutors, Mr Lumley and Mr Jumble, the one vicious, the other dissolute and inefficient are scarcely distinguished in treatment from the private governor; dons and masters of the University appear only in "The Adventures of Hugh Trevor" - and are described with patent prejudice. ⁽¹⁾ The bigotry of the attitude of academic Oxford towards the youth who is curious about the Methodist movement may not be an exaggeration of the facts of the time, but that the hero is prevented from obtaining a degree because he has offended an influential friend of the President, implies abuses too gross to be credited without support.

The general attitude of the novelist towards the Universities is not unfavourable. In "Edward" a discussion ⁽²⁾

(1) "Adventures of H. Trevor" Vol. I. Ch. XVI.

(2) "Edward" Chap XXVII.

arises as to their value, in the course of which the usual opinions of the day seem to be expressed. There is some laughter at the expense of parents who send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge merely in the hope that they may make useful acquaintances; and as to the educational advantages to be gained there it is admitted that since public lectures have been almost laid aside, it is more than ever easy for a student to go down as ~~unlearned~~ as he came up, but in the end it is agreed that a young man of taste can find opportunities for improving himself at the Universities if he cares to seize them. The career of Peregrine Pickle at Oxford bears out this conclusion and is no doubt typical. For a few weeks after the payment of his quarterly allowance he always gave himself splendidly to "The riotous extravagances of youth", but the subsequent periods of poverty" he ~~devoted~~ devoted -- to the prosecution of his studies," finding time and opportunity during those "lucid intervals" to improve his acquaintance with the classics, to read history, to cultivate his taste for painting and music, and above all, to study natural philosophy. It is not clear however whether he received assistance from anyone beside the despised Mr Jumble.

Read
In summing up the evidence for and against the schoolmaster of the period, it would of course be absurd to attempt to explain away ~~any~~ ^{every} charge of brutality or incompetence; yet if the accusations against him are balanced with the testimonies to his usefulness the result is undeniably to his credit. It has been suggested that the satire at the expense of the tutor is to a large extent a literary heritage, and applies to him rather in his quality as chaplain than as teacher. If he is put on one side, there remain four charges of "fearful beating", — not to be wondered at since the schoolmaster has scarcely been separated from his ~~rod~~ in any portrait since the days of Solomon — the proprietor of the ^{private} academy is shewn to be sometimes ignorant, servile and greedy; once only the public schoolmaster is accused of superficiality, occasionally an underpaid village

pedagogue is laughed at because of the gaps in his Latin or the surprises in his English.

In the other scale lie the esteem which the headmaster of the public school seems usually to enjoy as a matter of course, and especially the devotion and ability of the group of humbler teachers, which includes the village schoolmaster in "Chrysal", - who prepared one of his pupils for the University in his leisure hours, free of cost - the admirable Mr Jennings together with three other ushers described respectively by Smollett, Moore and Holcroft, with little less enthusiasm though in slighter detail, and Mr Selkirk.

Most important of all, the evidence given of educational experiment, sporadic though such experiment may have been, points to life and growth.

It is true that the novel bears witness rather less directly to the value of the schoolmaster's contribution to the social progress of the age than to that of the clergyman's. We do not see him, a recognised force, holding his own among men of the world, checking their faults and shaping their manners. As a rule it is only by his work that he can be judged, the tone of his school, the character of his pupil; sometimes we have glimpses of the ideal which he follows, but for the most part he remains a vague figure in the background in whom, school-days once over, the average man feels faint interest. Yet it is a figure which everywhere makes the importance of its presence felt, and whether in the case of the pontifical headmaster of the great school solemnly administering deserved chastisement, or of the pedantic tutor urging dull precepts on a weary pupil, or of the humourous pedagogue of the Village, pleased with a little power, but exercising it on the whole for good, or of the patient usher, always virtuous and capable - enough merit appears to make it possible to maintain that in the school, as in the Church, the eighteenth century was a period by no means of stagnation, but of steady development.

P A R T I I I

THE GOVERNESS AND HER PUPILS.

PART III

THE GOVERNESS AND HER PUPILS.

Much has been written of the "Bluestocking" of the latter half of the eighteenth century, and from such studies as the chapter by Mrs Aldis in the Cambridge History of Literature and Miss Paterson's monograph on the Edgeworths an adequate impression can be gathered, both of the influence of the literary lady upon the society of her day and of her views as to the education of girls. On these points it would be superfluous to add evidence, and with regard to the work and the opinions of Miss Edgeworth, in particular, Miss Paterson leaves nothing to be said. Into the question, however, of the general level of female education throughout the period there has been no exhaustive investigation. On this point, therefore, it seems worthwhile to check by the testimony of contemporary fiction conclusions that have been drawn mainly from essays, diaries and correspondence, in order to arrive at what is the proper subject of this chapter - some estimate of the work of the governess of the time.

In the first place, the student of the novel is forced to the conviction that the generalisations usually accepted as to the lack of intellectuality among ordinary women of the middle and upper classes of society are based, chiefly, on the observations of serious scholars - of, for instance, to cover a whole century, - Mary Astell, Defoe, Swift, Lady Mary Wortley Montague and Hannah More - without sufficient recognition of the fact that such serious critics would find folly and superficiality

(1) Vol XI. Chap. XV.

(2) The Edgeworths, A Study of Education in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, by Miss Alice Paterson, 1914.

to lash in whatever age they lived. In particular, the oft-quoted complaints of Defoe, Swift, and Lady Mary Wortley Montague, as to the ignorance of women would seem, with the strictures of Echard upon the clergy, to have been received with too little question, and, especially, to have been too widely applied. Thus Miss Paterson, re quoting from the Cambridge ⁽¹⁾ History of Literature the statement of Defoe's which Professor Adamson applies more particularly to its own time, observes that things cannot have been much better fifty years later, when, in 1752, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu complains, "We are educated in the ~~the~~ grossest ignorance and no art omitted to stifle our natural reason." But to the exceptionally educated comparative ignorance always seems "gross", and the corroboration of a sentence from the letter of a "bluestocking" is not in itself sufficient justification for carrying forward over half a century an opinion expressed before it opened.

⁽²⁾ Similarly Miss Alice ^Zimmern, in a review of the education of girls before 1848, with regard to the close of the seventeenth century, brings into service the same well-worn observation as to the "height of a woman's education"; then speaking of Defoe's "project" and of that of Mary Astell for women's colleges, she regrets that these remain "in the domain of unfulfilled dreams", and continues, "the new century brought ⁽³⁾ little improvement;" while Mrs Aldis dismisses the years under discussion still more cavalierly with the suggestion that Dean Swift's description of the attitude in Ireland, in 1734, towards the education of women would apply equally well to contemporary opinion in England. In this connection it is of

(1) "The Edgeworths" cf Camb Hist. of Lit. Vol. IX. pp 402-3. (p89) quoted from Defoe's essay upon projects; "Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew or make baubles. They are taught to read, indeed, and to write their names, or so, and that is the height of a woman's education."

(2) "The Renaissance of Girl's Education" pub. Innes & Co. 1898

(3) Camb Hist. Vol. XI. Chap XV. p. 343.

interest to note that Swift's opinion of women did not pass unchallenged in his own time. It is "scarcely needful" says Pamela to "multiply instances --- in confutation of that law and unmanly contempt with which a certain celebrated genius treats our sex in general - particularly in his "Letter of Advice to a New-Married Lady." The general impression gained, (1) in fact, from most modern writers on the period, is that, throughout the eighteenth century, the education of women was at a very low ebb: that during its latter decades the constellations of the learned flashed brilliantly in the midst of surrounding darkness, but for the most part, even then, in spite of the demands of Mrs Chapone or Miss More or Miss Edgeworth the "accomplishments" of the fashionable boarding-school satisfied the requirements of the average parent as to the intellectual culture of his daughter.

From this the first impression of an unbiassed reader of the novels is curiously different, for at the very outset of the period he becomes aware that it is usual to take for granted a considerable degree of literary skill on the part of the heroine and of all her friends. The epistolary gift of Miss Deborah Jenkyn would have excited no comment in the circle of Pamela or of Clarissa Harlowe. Considerable allowance must obviously be made for the epistolary convention, but it is difficult to believe that the convention itself could have gained acceptance in a day when it was ridiculous to assume that the ordinary woman would express herself with the ability that presupposes a good education. In this connection it is worth noting that Frances Power Cobbe in her autobiography (2)

(1) Professor Vaughan in the Camb. Mod. Hist. Vol. VI, Chap. XXIV speaks of the enthusiasm with which the poetry of Thomson and the prose of Richardson were received by "cultivated women", but he does not develop the point.

(2) Autobiography of Frances Power Cobbe. Chap. III.

pays high tribute to her mother's eighteenth century education
 (1) and recalls, in particular, the variety and fulness of the diction
 which the older lady used naturally both in speech and in writ-
 ing, - a diction in which she tried in vain to train her daug-
 ter of a more careless day. ~~Ability to speak French and to a~~
 quote from the English poets were also usual hall marks of
 good breeding. The French chattered at the afternoon tea-table
 (2) might, as Mrs Lennox grumbled, be without sense or grammar",
 but chattered it must be. (3) "She can carry on the small talk of
 a tea-table in French" admits a critic, in "Euphemia", who is
 describing the defective education of a fashionable woman - and
 the accomplishment is ranked with those of singing, dancing
 and embroidery. It is true that it is far easier to gather
 from the novel data for a generalisation upon the usual atti-
 tude of the time towards feminine education than upon any ^{for one} common
 level of attainment. With regard to the extent and kind of
 knowledge desirable in a woman the opinion of the century
 ranges from John Bunce's devoted admiration for the lady who
 can teach him Hebrew to Mr Allworthy's grave approval of the
 (4) deference which "Sophy" "always shewed --- to the understand-
 ings of men," and his definition of this modesty as "a quality
 absolutely essential to the making of a good wife." The only
 point as to which there is no question is as to the object in
 view. For, whether the lady of the period is well read in French
 and English and perhaps Italian literature, or can even, like
 (5) the wife who rewards Coelebs' search, astonish her friends by
 a shy admission of acquaintance with a Latin author, or whether

(1) Autobiography of Frances Power Cobbe. p. 25.

(2) "Henrietta" Vol. I. p. 90.

(3) "Euphemia" Vol. I. Letter XV.

(4) "Tom Jones" Bk. XVII. Chap. III.

(5) "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" - H. More.

her attainments are no greater than those of Mrs Trevor, of which her son can say no more than that she ⁽¹⁾ "could not only read currently and articulate clearly, but made some attempts to understand what she read," yet always, with seldom a rebel, however greatly the details of her education may vary, it remains as Hannah More, with unexpected candour, expresses, ^{it} "a ⁽²⁾ Mahometan education;" "It consists entirely in making a woman an object of attraction." Even the "few reasonable people" who, as Miss More admits, try to improve upon the usual methods **have**, she declares, no thought of a wider aim. "They too, would make woman attractive, but it is ^{by} /sedulously labouring to make the understanding, the temper, the mind and the manners of their daughters as engaging as these Circassian parents endeavour to make the person." The daughter, in short, learns just as much as it seems to her father or guardian that "a woman needs"; if he himself desires an intelligent companion ⁽³⁾ she may, like Harriet Byron have opportunity to study the literature both of her own and of foreign countries; if he sees no immediate advantage in this excess of scholarship, like ⁽⁴⁾ Miss Simmons, she must content herself with English authors.

Occasionally there is a hint of critical reserve in the very expression of acquiescence with the usual point of view. The victory which Richardson awards to Sir Charles Grandison over the lively Charlotte in their ⁽⁵⁾ ~~fishing~~ ^{jesting} controversy on "man's usurpation and women's natural independency" is by no means crushing. Charlotte, Mrs Shirley and Mrs Selby are all allowed to suggest telling arguments to the effect that it is opportunity of education ~~alone~~ and not superior

(1) "Adventures of Hugh Trevor" Holcroft. Bk. I. p. 21.

(2) "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" ed. Cadell. 1830. p. 130

(3) "Sir Charles Grandison" Bk. I. Letter I.

(4) "Sandford & Merton" p. 239.

(5) "Sir Charles Grandison" Vol. VI. Letter IV.

ability that gives men the advantage of women.
(1)

Miss Clement, too, plain, unmarried and a scholar, yet notwithstanding these things a social favourite and marked with her author's approval, is refreshingly modern in her challenge of the "Turkish habit of mind" that imposes restrictions on the education of women. Again at the close of the century, that Miss More, apparently catching Richardson's thought, allows her pattern parent, Mr Stanley, to use the expression "Mahometan" with regard even to his own enlightened system of training for his daughters, suggests that her acquiescence is not entirely without question. It is curious however to note that in such fiction as the "bluestockings" have given us, - in the work, for instance, of Miss More, Miss Burney and Miss Edgworth, the note of revolt is far less clearly heard than in that of the elderly novelist of the mid-century. ^{new paragraph} This question as to the accepted aim of women's education is of importance because it obviously determines both scope and method. But it is a mistake to conclude that its influence was necessarily restrictive. It is probable, indeed, that it had much to do with the fact that a girl was not usually taught Latin or Greek - a fact sometimes stressed as though a knowledge of those languages were now universal -; but the doubt implied by this restriction was apparently less as to her capacity, than as to the extent to which a knowledge of the dead languages would help her to offer that intelligent companionship which even lesser men than Sir Charles Grandison sought in a wife.

The century had in fact a clearer conception of the result to be ^{desired} ~~observed~~ from the education of its girls than of its boys, so that, while, in spite of the teaching of Locke and of his followers, little attempt was actually made in

(1) "Sir Charles Grandison" Vol. I. p. 55.

(1) cf. p. 151 supra.

boys' schools to break away from the old classical tradition, no attempt was made to impose the tradition upon girls.

(1)
Thus Mary Astell, in her "Defence of the Female Sex", suggests that girls may indeed profit by the fact that tradition does not compel them to waste several years, as boys must do, in the study of Latin and Greek, and points out that she who chooses to make herself mistress of all the knowledge to be found in English Books, or in books translated into English, will not be an ignorant woman.

The same point of view appears a hundred years later in Erasmus Darwin's "Plan for the Conduct of Female Education". From the formidable curriculum which the author proposes for a girls' school he excludes the classical languages both on account of the length of time required for their study, and because the works of their best authors can be read in translation. This desire that girls should as quickly as possible be given the stuff of books, the thoughts they contain, rather than that they should be trained as boys are, to study the mode in which those thoughts are expressed, was at once in line with the more advanced educational theories of the day, and with the general notion that woman's chief aim was not scholarship, but simply such a widening of her mental outlook as should dignify her conduct and conversation. In the novel, both Pamela and Harriet Byron maintain that it is possible to be well educated without a knowledge of Latin and Greek, and in her argument with the pedantic (2) Mr. Walden, Harriet makes it abundantly clear that a woman well read in modern literatures can hold her own with a student of the ancient tongues. For though the ordinary heroine who has no pretension to the title of "bluestocking" is usually ignorant of Greek and Latin, she is often well-read in English and French and even in Italian

(1) 1797.

(2) "Sir Charles Grandison" Vol. I. Letters XII. XIII.

literature and she has even, sometimes an acquaintance with mathematics or science. Thus, in the early novel, Pamela, as has been seen, can elaborate the arguments of Locke, can confute the opinions of Swift, recognise Cowley as the author of verses placed by an admirer beneath her cushion at Church and discuss, at length, the merits of such plays as "The Distressed Mother" and Steele's "Tender Husband". Among her immediate circle Miss Goodwin, "a surprising child for her age", is "familiar with many of the best characters in the Spectators" has a "smattering of Latin", "more than a smattering of Italian" and is "a perfect mistress of French". One acquaintance, Miss Sutton, "a young lady -- of too lively and airy a turn of mind" to be suspected, "as perhaps the good Pamela might be, of desire to seem more serious than is fashionable, yet, "affects to be thought well read in the histories of kingdoms, as well as in polite literature," and speaks French fluently. Another friend, Miss Stapylton, a maiden of romantic enthusiasms, keeps a "Common-place Book," which Lady ~~Towers~~ grimly supposes to be full of "flowers of rhetoric, picked up from the French and English poets and novel writers."

To take other examples from novels of various dates: Harriet Byron in "Sir Charles Grandison" is an "adept" both in French and Italian, and is sufficiently well-read in English literature to be able to discuss the work of Swift and of Milton, and to appreciate the superiority of the rhythm of "Paradise Lost" to that of Pope's translation of Homer. Narcissa's brother in "Roderick Random" declares that the heroine will "chatter" for "days together" in French and Italian, and that he can never have "amouthful of English for love or money". Harriet Annesley

(1) Cf. p. 110. supra.

(4) Vol. I. p. 76-7

(2) Cf. p. 147 "

(5) "Roderick Random" p. 414. 174

(3) 1753.

(1)
 in "A Man of the World", shares as a matter of course her brother's lessons in reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, geography, French and Italian, though while Billy is occupied with Latin and Greek she receives instruction "in the female accomplishments." Of the heroines of Mrs Lennox who make no pretence of unusual intellectuality, Euphemia delights in Sidney's "Arcadia", and Henrietta declares "Joseph Andrews" to be her favourite novel, disdaining her landlady's collection of the works of Mrs Eliza Haywood, while Sophia, who is more studiously inclined, is again well read in the literatures of England, France and Italy.

(4)a.
 Mrs Sternhold, in "Juliet Grenville" was instructed in her youth in accounts, the French language and "the choicest books of our own literature." Miss Simmonds, in "Sandford and Merton," though forbidden French, is encouraged to study "the established laws of nature and a small degree of geometry", while Mr Stanley's method is to prescribe for his daughters such branches of study as will develop natural talent, or correct a faulty propensity. Thus the romantic flights of the volatile Phoebe are restrained by the severities of mathematics, but Lucilla is encouraged to satisfy her desire to read not only Latin but Greek, and a younger child to amuse herself with botany. They read French literature also, but not Italian, since their father dreads the perils of "a poetical education".

It is interesting to note that Sir John Belfield, an acquaintance, takes for granted that ladies of culture will be acquainted with the Italian poets, and the argument which follows throws light on a particular vogue of the period.

 (1) "Man of the World" Henry Mackenzie, 1773. ed. Falconer. 1818. p. 21.

(2) "Euphemia. pp 185-6. Vol. I.) 1770

(3) "Henrietta" p. 36. Vol. I.) 1758 Mrs Lennox.

(4) "Sophia" pp. 5,6. Vol. I.) 1762

(4)a. "Juliet Grenville". Henry Brooke. 1774.

(5) "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" - 1809.

Mr Stanley disapproves of the "pieces (of Italian poetry) commonly put into the hands of our daughters" as of too "amatory" a nature, and tells the sad story of a young friend, "a melancholy victim of a mistaken education and an undisciplined mind", the first step toward whose ultimate ruin was apparently the translation of Italian sonnets. Evidently in Miss More's opinion the story of Laura and Petrarch shares with the constantly abused romance the responsibility of tempting her sex to indulge in "the uncontrolled roving of a vagrant fancy;" and the discussion in "Coelebs" may be compared with the passage in the "Essay on Female Study" in which she urges young ladies "to swallow and digest such strong meat as Watt's or Duncan's little Book of Logic, some part of Mr Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding", and Bishop Butler's "Analogy" in place of so much English sentiment, French philosophy, Italian love-songs and fantastic German imagery and magic wonders." ^{new Paragraph} The learning and wisdom of such pattern heroines as Pamela and Lucilla Stanley may perhaps be suspect, more significant is the evidence that young ladies of fashion found themselves encouraged to display a love of poetry, and if possible, a talent for original composition, suggesting, as does even Miss More's (1) tirade against Compendiums and Extract Books, that the genteel were expected at least to affect tastes that in the usual modern drawing room would be considered alarmingly "bookish".

To the instances of this affectation already quoted from "Pamela" as the earliest, and from "Coelebs" as one of the latest of the novels under review, may be added an amusing incident from "Peregrine Pickle", which makes it clear that as early as 1751 the manners and conversation even of the frivolous rout, in opposition to which the literary gatherings of the "Bluestockings" were established, were sometimes of a higher level of culture than the learned lady in her superiority would

(1) "Essay on Female Study" 1799.

have us believe.

(1)
 "Ferry" in one of his practical jokes upon society anticipates the hero of Mr Shaw's play as Pygmalion by passing a beggarmaid from the highroad among his polite acquaintance as a lady of taste and fashion. Having taught her to dress, to speak and to behave in a manner appropriate to her pretended gentility, he completes her training by teaching her to recite, "with an emphasis and theatrical cadence" "choice sentences" which he has culled from Shakespeare, Otway and Pope. It is true that there is no need that these quotations should be aptly introduced in order to produce the desired effect, but that they should play any part at all in the jest once more indicates that an affectation of enthusiasm for literature was more fashionable than could have been the case in a society in which an educated woman was a rare phenomenon. ^{new Paragraph} Insofar as the learned ladies of the novel such as ~~an~~ Mrs Selwyn in *Evelina*, and possibly Miss Clement in *Sir Charles Grandison*, merely represent the Bluestocking of the later decades of the century, it is superfluous to emphasize their generally admitted attainments.

It is interesting, however, to find in the novels of Smollett and Fielding a little group of would-be-learned women of characteristics distinct from those of the French *précieuse* of the seventeenth century on the one hand, and almost equally so from those of the English Bluestocking of the eighteenth century on the other. Of these, three, the aunt of Narcissa and Miss Williams, in *Roderick Random*, and Mrs Fitzpatrick, in *Tom Jones* appear in 1748-9, a year or two before the date at which the first "conversation" at Vesey House is supposed to have taken place, and Mrs Bennet in *Amelia* in 1751.

 (1) *Peregrine Pickle* Vol. II. Chap LXXXVII.

(2) Cf. *Camb. Hist.* XI. 15. p. 344.

But the question of the type of the first learned woman of the novel is more important than that of the actual date of her appearance, for it is evident that she has very little in common with the "Blue" properly so-called, the "Queen" of coteries and salons. The female Scholar of Smollett or Fielding - whether she be dealt with satirically or sympathetically, - is the lonely eccentric of an earlier period, who finds no-one to share her intellectual tastes. There is no suggestion that she belongs in any sense to a "movement". That she is regarded as somewhat exceptional must be admitted. That she appears at all is of importance, for she is one of the signs of the intellectual stir among the women of the older generation which must have produced the leaders of the new movement, - a sign^{of}/which little notice seems as yet to have been taken. Narcissa's aunt, for instance, "a female virtuoso" whose vein is tragic, is a recluse of strange habits, and a victim of absurd delusions. She works ~~while~~ others sleep, sleeps through half the day; and in fact does nothing like other people, and at any moment unusual excitement may upset altogether the delicate balance of her mind. The more unpleasant features of the sketch might be dismissed as caricatures~~x~~ of the less happy type to which Smollett often descends, except for curious reminiscences of the taunts flung at Lady Mary Wortley Montagu by Pope and by Walpole. Thus Random's description of his mistress's repulsive slovenliness in ~~the~~ opening passage of Chapter XXXIX is almost verbally reminiscent of a reference to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu~~x~~ in a (1) letter written by Walpole to the Hon. H.S. Conway, in 1740. It is a curious coincidence also that Smollett's eccentric lady is "of a (2) mystic frame of mind" and professes the opinions of the Rosicrucians, "believing it possible for men to enter into communion with the invisible beings that people earth and air

(1) "Letters of Horace Walpole. ed. Cunningham, Vol. I. p. 57.
cf. pp. 62, 269.

(2) "Roderick Random" p. 265.

(1)
and sea, " and that Walpole in another letter of 1740, scoffs at "the rhapsody of mystic nonsense" which he declares that Lady Mary and her friends "debate incessantly."

Yet, there is certainly no attempt to draw a recognisable caricature of the great lady, who more than once speaks of her pleasure in the humour of "Roderick Random". Both the literary gifts of Narcissa's aunt and the circumstances of her life are quite unlike those of Lady Mary. The impression conveyed to the reader is not that Smollett is satirising a well-known social leader, but that in this farcical sketch he is using the ordinary terms in which the men of his youth ridiculed the exceptional women of letters whom they knew. ^{The Paragaph} The story of Miss Williams is told in another vein. Here Smollett describes with entire sympathy the desire of a high-spirited girl to throw aside the restraints of the narrow education prescribed for her and to read fearlessly for herself. He suggests no evil result from the pleasure which the young free-thinker finds in the study of Shaftesbury, Tindall, Hobbes, and "all the books that are remarkable for their deviation from the old way of thinking." Her ruin she herself ascribes not, as Smollett is careful to make clear, to the books which overthrew her religious beliefs, but to the fact that, she, like many other heroines of the period, was "addicted too much to poetry and romance" and began to dream of herself as the heroine of a story of chivalry. In consequence her judgment was so much weakened that it easily yielded to the first invitation to enter what seemed to be the world of romance, and in later days she curses the education that "by refining (her) sentiments made (her) heart the more susceptible." Smollett's carefulness to point out that the danger lay, not in any ~~adventure-~~someness of thought but in a "romantic" sentimentalism suggests

(1) Letters of Walpole. Vol. I. p. 55.

(2) "Roderick Random" Chap. XXII.

that he is aware of a vulgar tendency, which he will not follow here, to associate advanced thought among women with irregularity of conduct, - a tendency which, on the other hand,
 (1)
 Fielding's sketch of Mrs Fitzpatrick serves to illustrate.

(2)
 The portrait of Mrs Bennet is drawn by an author who can never think patiently of a female scholar, but skillfully as Fielding's delicate raillery contrasts the vulgarity of her pretentious little mind with the fastidiousness of the gentle, unlettered heroine whom he loves, a hint of a not illiberal ambition evades his satire and claims respect.^{new Paragraph} It is clear that the attainments of such seekers after knowledge as these three must have depended entirely on the nature of the books and of the instruction which chance threw in their way. Mrs Bennet, the daughter of a clergyman was well grounded by her father in Latin, and could even boast some knowledge of Greek, though she was compelled to admit that she could not understand Homer without the aid of the Delphin version.

Narcissa's aunt on the other hand knew no Latin or Greek, but could read Italian and French.⁽³⁾ Roderick Random found her library "well-stocked with English historians, poets and philosophers, all the best French critics and poets, and a few books in Italian, chiefly poetry, at the head of which were Tasso and Ariosto pretty much used," as well as translations of the Classics into French - an equipment by no means despicable.

(4)
 Mrs Fitzpatrick's collection of books is more heterogeneous - for while Smollett merely caricatures for the sake of farcical effect the appearance and habits of the scholar, Fielding, in the case both of Mrs Fitzpatrick and Mrs Bennet

(1) "Tom Jones" Bk. XI. Chaps. IV-VIII. etc.

(2) "Amelia"

(3) "Roderick Random" Chap XXXIX.

(4) "Tom Jones" Bk. XI. Chap VII.

with greater courtesy of manner, but with far more contemptuous intent, exposes the superficiality of her culture, with the implication that such superficiality is inevitable. Mrs Fitzpatrick then, - who to her author's obvious amusement, found herself unable to live with her husband on account of the superiority of her understanding to his, prided herself on having read, "half a thousand books", among which she named Daniel's English History of France,⁽¹⁾ "a good deal in Plutarch's Lives", the Atalantis, Pope's Homer, Dryden's Plays, Chillingworth, the Countess d'Ancis⁽²⁾ and Locke's Human Understanding.⁽³⁾

The last three names on the list are suggestive; it is obviously the malice of the author which places Countess d'Ancis, teller of fairy tales and romances, in such sober company, as that of Chillingworth and Locke. Yet, even so, the two latter names, together with Miss Williams' pleasure in her reputation as a "philosopher", acquired by reason of her study of Shaftesbury, Tindal and Hobbes, and with the interest of Narcissa's aunt in the teachings of the Rosicrucians, suggest that the intellectual woman usually affected an interest in current philosophical and religious theories.

Further, this interest in contemporary topics of discussion emphasizes the dissimilarity between these women and the précieuses of seventeenth century France, and thus in part answers the possible argument that the female pedants of the earlier novel were taken over from French comedy. That Smollett was nothing to Molière is sufficiently obvious. Of Fielding however this can scarcely be said, for if on the question of his ideal of womanhood the Englishman feels too seriously to smile with the detachment of the French master alike at "la

(1) "Tom Jones" Routledge ed. p. 357.

(2) Daniel's English History of France.

(3) More usually spelt D'Aulnoy - Marie Catherine de la Motte.

femme savante" to whom "le corps" est "cette guenille", and at the average man who replies, "Guenille, si l'on veut; ma guenille m'est chère", yet in his debonair mockery of the emancipated woman there is often a hint of the manner of Molière. The women, however, whom he discusses, are distinctively of his own time, and country. They care nothing, for instance, for the verbal niceties that exercise the wits of "les précieuses"; the subjects which they study, the controversies in which they engage, the whole tenor of their lives declare them not characters borrowed from a foreign land and a past age, but would-be intellectual Englishwomen of a century philosophically inclined.

~~new paragraph~~
 It would then appear from the examination of the small group of learned women in the novel of the mid-century, that the Blue-stocking of the fifth decade was no meteoric phenomenon, but that in the preceding period, - a period usually regarded as one of utter stagnation in the history of women's education, - the lady of intellectual tastes was sufficiently well-known to find a place in fiction. The question that remains is as to the extent to which credit can be claimed by the governess of the period for such degree of culture among women as has been demonstrated.

Two admissions must at once be made; that, except in the case of John Bunce's Utopian female republic, the learned woman of the novel never becomes a teacher, and also that in many cases the girl who has been quoted as enjoying considerable educational opportunities is the daughter or ward of a scholar who undertakes her instruction himself. Thus Harriet Byron, Mrs Bennet, Harriet Annesley, Miss Simmonds, Isilla Stanley, and Sophia Darnley all owe their education to male relatives or friends.

On the other hand the number of fathers who had ability, inclination and time to teach their own children must have been limited and cannot be assumed to account for every case of superior culture.

With regard to the intellectual qualifications of the governess, the novelist is even vaguer than as to those of the schoolmaster. There must have been many as capable as Mrs Kindly, of "Juliet Grenville", who is not described as in any way exceptional, and who gave her pupil sound instruction in accounts, the French language, History and "our chastest English authors", but of the attainments of the majority we can only judge indirectly from those of their charges, or from the esteem in which they themselves are held. ^{new Paragraph} As the New English Dictionary points out, the word "governess" is used in two senses during the eighteenth century: (1) one who has charge of a young person - (2) a female teacher; an instructress. In illustration of the second meaning the following passage is quoted from the Annual Register of 1759: "The mistress of the school is called Governess, for the word mistress has a vulgar sound & with it." As a matter of fact the writer from whom the extract is taken is ridiculing the pretentiousness of the small schools to which daughters of petty tradesmen are sent, and shortly afterwards he comments on the surprise with which any foreigner, acquainted with our language, hearing in "some alley of the town" "Miss, whose mamma sells oysters, threatening to report to her 'Governess' the doings of Miss, whose father deals in small coal," would "regard the opulence of a country where the meanest tradesmen kept governesses for their daughters." It is clear therefore, that the essayist considers that the word is more properly applied to a woman entrusted with the care of girls in a private family - whether necessarily in the capacity of instructress, the context does not determine. His suggestion that the assumption of the title by mistresses of cheap schools was an affectation of gentility probably explains a second passage quoted from the "Spectator", for the latter occurs in

(1) "Juliet Grenville" Vol. I. p. 74.

(2) Spec. 1712. "Pray proceed to detect the male-administration of governesses as successfully as you have done that of pedagogues." The Dictionary misprints "male administration!"

(1)
 the letter of the proprietress of a new boarding-school at
 "the Two Golden Balls on the Mile-End Green, near Stepney"
 whose thinly veiled motive in writing is to gain an advertise-
 ment for her establishment. The New English Dictionary in
 short gives no conclusive evidence that the word governess
 passed into common use during the first half of the century in
 the sense of instructress, but only that, the habit of so using
 it was gaining ground in 1759, though to do so was still re-
 garded as an affectation.

On the other hand it is by no means clear why the
 appeal of Lydia in ^{"Humphreys"} H. A. Clinker to Mrs Jermyn as "my worthy
 governess" is quoted in illustration of the first definition of
 the term - since Mrs Jermyn actually was a schoolmistress -
 The fact is that the function of the person entrusted with the
 care of a young girl so often included that of the instructress -
 perhaps in fact usually did - that it is almost impossible to
 discriminate between the two. When, however, Lady Mary Wortley
 Montagu declares that Clarissa Harlowe's "Pious Mrs Norton" per-
 fectly resembles her own "governess", who had been her mother's
 nurse, she is certainly using the word in its widest sense, and
 Mrs Norton, with Mrs Benson of Euphemia, Mrs Kindly of Juliet
Grenville and perhaps Miss Margland of Camilla may be grouped
 together as of the type that exercised the fullest possible
 responsibility - caring for their charges from infancy to
 marriage - and fulfilling in turn the duties of nurse, teacher
 and duenna. "They are distinct, therefore, not only from
 the schoolmistress, but as decidedly from the young person of
 (2)
 Miss Austen's days who is engaged in conjunction with or as
 supplementary to masters to instruct girls in accomplishments
 and in such subjects of study as they follow - though the same

(1) Whether the letter is from a genuine correspondent or is
 an editorial device does not, of course, affect the argu-
 ment.

(2) Letters of Lady M. Wortley Montague - Letter to the Countess
 of Bute, 1753, March 6th.

(3) Miss Margland, however appears in "Camilla" in 1796, and
 Miss Benson in "Euphemia" in 1790.

generic term is applied to all three types.

Of the first group, Mrs Norton is according to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu a typical figure, and is, therefore, worth detailed examination. Having declared that her own education was the "worst in the world, being exactly the same as Clarissa Harlowe's" and that in drawing Mrs Norton the author might have been sketching the portrait of her own governess, the great lady continues, "She (the governess) took so much pains from my infancy, to fill my head with superstitious tales, and false notions, it was none of her fault that I am not this day afraid of witches or hobgoblins, or turned Methodist. Almost all girls are bred after this manner."

Lady Mary is writing to her daughter in whom she evidently suspects a tendency to nourish her children on conventional pieties, for she has already warned her, in a succession of shrewd paradoxes, that it is "a fatal mistake" to inculcate virtue "without proper restrictions", and that the greatest virtues, "pursued without discretion, become criminal". It is clearly fair to accept the attack on the methods of Mrs Norton and her kind with the reservations suggested by its context, the significance of the passage for the present argument being the suggestion that her kind was frequently to be found. Mrs Norton is a gentlewoman in reduced circumstances, "pious, well-read and not meanly descended." "I have been low in the world", she patiently observes, "for a great number of years; and, of consequence, -- have been subject to snubs and rebuffs from the affluent." Notwithstanding this complaint, however, which is provoked by the rudeness of Clarissa's

(1) Letter to the Countess of Bute. Mar. 6th, 1753. Ed. 1820 of "Letters from France and Italy" Vol. I. Letter LXXII.

(2) Cf. Letter of Feb. 19th, 1753. ed 1820. Vol I. Letter LXXI.

(3) "Clarissa Harlowe" Vol. V. p. 539.

(4) " " " Vol. IV. p.239.

brother, her frequent admission to the family counsels indicates that she is held in considerable esteem, and though she is no longer a member of the household, her former pupil still turns to her for guidance and comfort. Of her qualifications for teaching there are few indications, save general references to the excellence of her understanding; but Miss Howe speaks of her as a ⁽¹⁾ "learned" woman, "to whose care, wisdom and example" Clarissa was "beholden for the groundwork of her taste and acquirements." For some assistance Clarissa was also indebted to ⁽²⁾ Dr Lewen, with whom she corresponded, and who paid her two or three "conversation visits" a week "when his health permitted," but even if it is more probable that it was from the clergyman ⁽³⁾ that she gained the knowledge which Miss Howe tells us she possessed of English, French and Italian poets, as well as of the elements of the Latin language, at least the "groundwork" laid by Mrs Norton can scarcely have been so contemptible as to justify Lady Mary's attack.

Mrs Benson, the governess of "Euphemia", seems to be in all respects of the same type. Her qualities of mind and heart can be judged by the intelligence and affection of her charge, who finds in her, to quote, as she says, her favourite poet, "a feast of reason and a flow of soul!" She sometimes relieves Euphemia of her task of correspondence, and it is ⁽⁴⁾ noticeable that her letters, which are twice adorned by quotations from Bacon, are written in a more Johnsonian manner than are those of her pupil.

⁽⁵⁾ Mrs Kindly, as has been seen already, was qualified to teach at least a knowledge of "accounts", of the French ⁽⁶⁾ language and of literature. Miss Margland, alone of this group

(1) "Clarissa Harlowe" Vol. V. pp 474-5.

(2) " " " Vol. V. pp 464-6. (3) Ibid. V. p. 464.

(4) Cf. "Euphemia" Vol. 4. Letter XLVI seq.

(5) "Juliet Grenville" Vol. I. p. 74.

(6) "Camilla".

of women who combined the offices of nurse, teacher and chaperon is described as utterly devoid of taste or knowledge.

As to what remuneration these respectable gentlewomen received for their services we have little information. Their position seems to have been almost that of permanent dependants of the families to which they are attached; at all events there is seldom any question of their seeking another post. When Mrs Norton's tuition of Clarissa ceases, she supports herself (1) by the sale of fine needlework, but Mrs Harlowe has promised Clarissa "to set her above want" should sickness befall her, and when Clarissa's marriage seems to be in prospect it is taken for granted that she will wish to have "her good Norton" with her. Mrs Benson (2) refuses a good situation in order to remain with Euphemia and her mother when they fall into poverty, and declares that she has an income sufficient to support her, part of which she has earned in their service. Throughout Euphemia's married life, including some years of exile in America, her old governess gives her the comfort and support of her companionship.

Miss Margland - unamiable as well as ignorant - is a "reduced gentlewoman" who once moved in circles of fashion. Her one aim as governess of *Indiana*, the niece of Sir Hugh Tyrold, is to retain her post sufficiently long to regain an entry into society as chaperon of her charge.

All four of the group clearly belong to the class of which Mrs Reeves speaks pityingly in "Sir Charles Grandison". (3) "If girls have been genteely brought up, how can they", she asks, "when family connections are dissolved, support themselves? -- A woman is looked upon as demeaning herself, if she ~~gains~~ gains a maintenance by her needle, or by domestic attendance upon a superior; and without them where has she a retreat?"

(1) "Clarissa Harlowe" I. 248.

(2) "Euphemia" Vol. I. pp. 120-1.

(3) "Sir Charles Grandison" Lond. 1810. Vol. IV. pp 148-9

That the practice of engaging a governess whose chief duty was to give instruction during the years that her pupil was of an age to be occupied with lessons, was later than that of entrusting the whole care of the girl, from infancy to marriage to some friend, or perhaps relative, of the family, whose circumstances made her glad to relieve the mother of her responsibility seems probable, though the evidence on the point is inconclusive. Certainly the young woman in search of a post as teacher, whether in a small school, or in a private family, does not become a familiar figure in fiction until the days of Miss More, Miss Edgworth and Miss Austen -- when, for instance, Lady Catherine (1) de Bourgh, prides herself on the number of young persons she succeeds in getting "well placed out" among her friends and acquaintances. This rather more professional type of governess must have existed for some time before she receives much notice from the novelist. Henry Brooke, for instance, in "Juliet Grenville" (2) speaks of the "choice collection of tutors and tutoresses" whom Sir John Elliott has engaged for the education of his children and of a few friends who share their lessons, and when in "Sophia" the death of an extravagant father leaves his wife and daughters destitute, (3) the heroine proposes to seek a post as governess in the family "of some person of distinction."

The change in the point of view during the last years of the century is marked, however, by the fact that whereas this proposal of Sophia's in a novel of 1762 is regarded by her mother and sisters as too outrageous for discussion and is never as a matter of fact executed, the first thought of the (4) widowed Mrs Fentham in "Coelebs" when she finds herself in similar straitened circumstances is to desire her acquaintance, Sir

 (1) "Pride and Prejudice" ed. Allen, 1894, pp 206-7.

(2) "Juliet Grenville" Vol. I. p. 6.

(3) 1762, "Sophia" Vol. I. p. 10.

(4) 1809.

John Belfield, to recommend her daughters as governesses.

Dimly, in this younger instructress, it is possible to discern the woman, who, in however slight a degree, is trained for the purpose of teaching taking the place of the Governess of wider functions, whose qualifications may or may not happen to include learning or accomplishments. Thus the Belfields find themselves unable to recommend the Miss Fentham^B because such accomplishments as they possess are accompanied with no "real knowledge," useful acquirements, or sober habits", such as the position they desire demands, and on the other hand Sophia considers that she is qualified for the task of teaching because, having been always of studious tastes, she has seized every opportunity of "improving herself" and has learned both Italian and French.

A figure which marks an especially interesting stage in this story of the evolution of the professional teacher, is that of Miss Fanny Stokes, in "Coelebs in Search of a Wife". As a general rule, the schoolmistress or governess of the period happens to have lived in such circumstances as have given her opportunities of education, and then chances to fall upon days in which she can turn those fortunate opportunities to account. Fanny, however, is the daughter of folk of humble position who sell millinery in Bond Street. Foreseeing that their daughter may need to provide for herself, these parents make an effort to give her an education unusual for her station engaging for her "the best masters in all subjects", so that when she is subsequently finds herself alone in the world, she is well qualified to undertake the tuition of Lady Belfield's children. The first definite recognition of the teaching of girls as a career for which adequate preparation is necessary marks an important step towards the recognition of the career as a profession. ^{new Paragraph} It has already been pointed out that a command of French was ranked among the indispensable "accomplishments" of the young lady of fashion and the French governess

accordingly makes an early appearance in the novel. The picture of her is never kind. In 1751 Mrs Haywood anticipates the portrait of Mdlle Panache by that of Mdlle Grenouille a flighty adventurereess who encourages Betsy Thoughtless's friend, Miss Forward, in the folly that leads to her undoing. In "Henrietta" Mrs Lennox describes a rich parvenu who, desiring to give her daughter a fashionable education, engaged an ignorant Frenchwoman, who could only teach her "to jabber corrupted French without either sense or grammar." In fact, she declares that people "of the first families" seem constantly unaware of the fact that, in Paris, the persons to whom they entrust the care of their daughters" would not be thought qualified for a chambermaid to a woman of fashion." Similarly Bryan Perdue's father apparently fails to perceive that his son's first governess speaks not one idiom but three, the French, the German and the Dutch, all mingled in a strange jargon of her own. It is from this person, who professes to be "the unfortunate relict of a dead but decayed chevalier", that the child learns his first lessons in the "art of dissembling" the only art in which she is an adept. All his impulses are turned by her towards evil, for he is either bribed to obey her by sweetmeats or frightened into doing so by stories of wolves and ogres. ^{new Paragraph} The only figure that remains for consideration is that of the principal of the select academy, for to the dame of the village school, there are in the novel none but the most fleeting references.

(5)
The previously quoted article in the Annual Register for 1759 probably explains in part the growing prejudice

(1) Miss Edgeworth's "Bad French Governess"

(2) "History of Betsy Thoughtless" (3) "Henrietta" Vol.I.p.90

(4)"History of Bryan Perdue" p. 104-109.

(5)Cf. p. 163 supra.

against boarding schools which finds expression particularly in the later fiction of the period, in for instance, "Barham Downs", "Hermsprong", "The Adventures of Hugh Trevor" and "Coelebs in Search of a Wife". The complaint of the writer in 1759 is directed against "the improper education given to a great number of the daughters of low tradesmen and mechanics." Every village in the neighbourhood of London has, he says, one or two little boarding-schools, in which girls who should be receiving instructions in practical matters of housewifery such as would befit their station, are trained only in accomplishments which will tempt them to imagine themselves "young ladies" and so make them "the most useless of all God's creatures" It is easy to believe that the cheaper seminary would exhibit all the defects and none of the advantages of the school of a better type, and would merit such indignant descriptions as are put into the mouths of Mr Flam, in "Coelebs", Farmer Stubbs in "Barham Downs" and Mr Elford in "Hugh Trevor."

As however in the case of the headmaster of the public school it is noticeable that while the academy in general may be attacked, the Principal in person is always "holden digne of reverence". Never for one moment is the idea entertained that she could be a subject for caricature. Mrs Jermyn of Gloucester, whose displeasure causes so much anxiety to Lydia, in "Humphrey Clinker", the governesses of the schools attended by Miss Goodwin in "Pamela" and by Miss Betsy Thoughtless, even Mrs Teachum herself, seem to be regarded with as much deference by their authors as by their pupils. Whatever their lack of intellectual qualifications the unimpeachable propriety of their sentiments and of their manners certainly commended itself to their age and saved them from satire. With regard moreover to actual attainments, the example of Mrs Norton and Mrs Benson prove that it is not safe to assume that a governess is comparatively illiterate ~~the~~ merely because great learning is not explicitly attributed to her, and there is at least

(1) Cf. p.172 infra.

as much reason to suppose that the headmistress of the school at which Miss Goodwin learned Italian, French and a smattering of Latin - a governess of whose methods even Pamela, the disciple of Locke, whole-heartedly approved, is typical of a great number of her class, as to accept Miss Paterson's suggestion that the majority should be ranked with Mrs Teachum.

Indeed it is not difficult to defend even Mrs Teachum. The book in which she appears is, "The Governess; or little Female Academy." It is written by that incorrigible moralist, Sarah Fielding, and it consists of a series of improving stories told by one of the elder scholars to the little ones during their hours of recreation. There is a slight sketch of Mrs Teachum and high tribute is paid to her good sense and kindness, and to the knowledge of human nature which teaches her/when to punish with severity, when to be compassionate and tender. That she is sufficiently qualified for her task we are told is due to the fact that she is the widow of a learned clergyman, who took "great delight in improving his wife" - But Miss Fielding is not interested in any but the moral aspect of education, and of the school curriculum all that she says is that it provided instruction in "Reading Writing and all proper forms of behaviour!" Miss Paterson in quoting this description uses the word "only",⁽¹⁾ and though it is perhaps quibbling to take exception to this, it is fair to remember that in those days reading would be the chief method of study in various subjects, and that a certain amount of History Geography and Literature may well be taken as included under that head. At all events Mrs Teachum's favourite scholar tells her stories with a fluency that suggests adequate training in the use of the English language.

Of two actual schools of the last years of the century we have detailed descriptions. In her ~~own~~ autobiography Miss Frances Power Cobbe records her mother's reminiscences of the "famous school" of Mrs Davis in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury,

(1) "The Edgeworths" p. 90.

which she attended about the year 1790, and in 1797 Erasmus Darwin drew up a "Plan for the Conduct of Female Education" to which is appended the prospectus of a school established by two ladies of his acquaintance. Mrs ⁽¹⁾Davis, Miss Cobbe declares, must have been a woman of ability, since she published for the use of her pupils "a very good little English grammar", as well as a Geography and a "capital book of maps". She also taught, "Ancient History from Rollins and sacred from Mrs Trimmer" - as Mrs Teachum may well have done - Her "young ladies of course learned, too, to read and to speak French with a very good accent, and to play the harpsichord with taste. Miss Cobbe speaks of her mother as "an almost omnivorous reader", and, as she thinks of her unostentatious love of letters, she sighs for "the forgotten grace of the eighteenth century" which vanished amid the feverish efforts of the new era to attain higher education. Erasmus Darwin's model curriculum includes, French, Italian, Geography, Modern and Ancient History, "Rudiments of Taste" - to be acquired by the study of such works as, Burke "On the Sublime and Beautiful," and Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty!" - "Polite literature", Natural History, Botany - which he remarks is already a fashionable subject for ladies - and Chemistry, in addition to the usual accomplishments.

How far the Miss Parkers, at whose request he wrote, adopted his formidable list of suggestions we do not know, but the prospectus of their school, at Ashbourn, in Derbyshire states that "Embroidery and needlework of all kinds - reading with propriety, grammar, a taste for English classics, an outline of history, both ancient and modern, with geography and the use of the globes" are taught by themselves, and Mr Darwin also assures the reader that "a polite emigrant" has been secured as a French Master, as well as excellent teachers of dancing,

(1) Autobiography, Chap. III.

music and drawing.

It is clear, in short, that these actual teachers of the last decade of the century aimed at giving solid instruction in, at least, English Grammar, History and Geography, that as a matter of course, they taught their pupils to read and to speak the French language, and that they sought to develop in them a love of literature. It has been shown that a school-mistress in "Pamela", the first novel of the period, achieved similar things, and the evidence of fiction throughout the intervening years supports the view that the general standard of culture among women was higher than has been assumed, and that, quite apart from exceptional cases, the Mrs Teachum of the day gave, probably under the head of reading, instruction in the modern humanities, not to be despised.

CONCLUSION.

C O N C L U S I O N

The general conclusion arrived at from the evidence that has been collected is that the contempt of the older historians for the moral and intellectual life of the period finds no support in the novel, and that such suggestions as that of Mr Grant Robertson's, referred to previously, that the attitude of contemporary fiction to the parson is always disparaging, lose all force when investigation is made into other novels than the few usually read: when for instance Dr Harrison and Dr Bartlett are rescued from comparative oblivion to balance the more often quoted Thwackum and the half traditional Supple.

The evidence, in fact, justifies considerable rehabilitation of the character of the clergyman and, with him, of the schoolmaster, and of the governess.

The good usher, the conscientious and enlightened pedagogue of the village, the ideal tutor, are revealed as figures at least equal in significance with the ignorant bully and the profligate governor.

The governess, whether she of the older type, - the gentlewoman who has fallen on evil times but who, untrained as she is, is yet sufficiently well-educated to train her pupils to appreciate good literature, - or the mistress of a more modern day, - who begins to regard teaching as a profession for which some measure of preparation is desirable, - has emerged from her modest retirement as a preceptress of creditable attainments.

Among the clergy six main types have been found; the descendant of the chaplain of Restoration Comedy, the faithful village curate; the courteous and learned "Doctor" whom we see in full possession of the social prestige enjoyed earlier by the Roman Catholic Clergy, the sympathetic priest of the novel

(1) Cf Introduction. p.2

of sensibility, the "proud priest" satirised by the Jacobins, the popular town preacher, to be immortalised at a later date by Thackeray.

Examination of the literary influences that have modified the treatment of these figures has made clear the persistence of certain older types as material both for the satirist and for the painter of the ideal, - illustrated on the one hand by the recurrence of the "trencher chapelaine" tradition, on the other of that of the "Good Parson". It has also thrown into relief types for which little suggestion can be found in older literature and which seem to be evolved out of the conditions of their own time, - such as the cultured "Doctor" and, among the schoolmasters, the innovator in educational method.

Sometimes, further, the study of a writer's debt to tradition in one respect, throws light on other aspects of his work. Thus, recognition of the influence of the clerical portraits of Le Sage on those of Smollett, and the comparison of the caricatures that result therefrom with the portraits that he has drawn from life, suggests the dual character of his work, - as writer of conventional picaresque fiction, and as observer, keen and indignant, of the world about him.

Again it has become clear that the novelist's treatment of the group of figures under discussion reflects in a special way the response of the average mind to the social and religious thought of the time. Thus, in connection with both religion and education the modification of ideas borrowed from Rousseau, in accordance with English sentiment, makes clearer the nature of that sentiment. Of particular interest, is the fact that in the English novel of sensibility the rôle of "Man of Feeling", assigned in the French tale of the genre to the lover, is frequently played by the clergyman, who is usually at this period pious and afflicted, though not yet necessarily poor; so that for a time, it is actually the

presentation of the clergyman that, in the novel, best illustrates the interaction of the quickened religious impulse of the latter half of the century with its new responsiveness to artistic suggestion. In the later Jacobin novel, the portrait of the poor, but virtuous curate blends the older tradition of sensibility with the newer revolutionary sentiment, since the suggestion now is that poverty and virtue, if not synonymous, are at least closely akin, while the contrasting figure of the "proud priest", who is always wealthy and influential, is obviously the outcome of the political theories of the Jacobin school of thought.

In portraying the clergyman, the novelist often reveals his own more intimate ideals and beliefs. There is much of Fielding for instance in Harrison, and more particularly in Adams, much of *Graves*, in his "little, fat rector", much of Goldsmith in his Vicar which scarcely finds expression elsewhere. Of the minor writers, this is true especially of Bage, who is usually classed without reservation among the Jacobins, but whose clerical portraits show him very clearly to have affinities with the writers of sensibility.

The sketch of the schoolmaster or of the governess is, as a rule, far less vivid, for the novelist of the period is more interested in educational theory than in the personality of the instructor; but while it seldom gives any revealing glimpse of the author's mind - and is therefore, - from the purely literary point of view - less illuminating than the clerical portrait, it is frequently drawn in sufficient detail to give information of value with regard to the schools and the teachers of the day. If the novelist of the eighteenth century never consciously discovers the "undying Fire" in the heart of a schoolmaster, there are, in the references to his work, casual though these may be, sufficient indications of its presence.

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