Charles Dickens before 1850, with especial reference to the child figure in 'Barnaby Rudge', 'The Old Curiosity Shop' and 'Dombey and Son'.

Ph.D. 1973

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Postgraduate Student at the University of Keele.
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(a) **Notes**

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ABBREVIATIONS

All references to Dickens' work (except where otherwise indicated) are to The MacMillan Edition, reprinted from first editions with biographical and bibliographical introductions by Charles Dickens the Younger, 20 Volumes (1929).

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- Mamie-George Letters: The Letters of Charles Dickens edited by Georgina and Mary ("Mamie") Dickens, 3 Volumes (1880-1882)

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NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Lay Sermon Addressed to the Higher and Middle Classes (1817) in Biographia Literaria and Two Lay Sermons (1898) pp.424-5.


6. First Report of the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851 Parliamentary Papers (1852) Vol.XXVI Appendix 30, quoted in E. Royston Pike: Human Documents of the Victorian Golden Age (1967) pp.34-5. When George Richardson Porter brought out a new edition of his Progress of the Nation, in its various Social and Economical Relations, from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century in 1847 he concentrated on financial and economic progress. He was a statistician at the Board of Trade and carefully noted the material progress of the nation. He has a section on Moral Progress - "crime, manners, education and postage" - but was obviously much more interested in what could be measured, proved, totalled, above all well authenticated facts; see J.F.C. Harrison: The Early Victorians 1832-1851 (1971) pp.8-9 and cf. Hard Times Bk.I Chap.V p.424: "what you couldn't state in figures, or show to be purchasable in the cheapest market and salable in the dearest, was not, and never should be, world without end, Amen."

7. Past and Present Bk.III Chap.2. "The Gospel of Mammonism" in Collected Works, Library edition p.182: this dreadful phobia is still with us - see David M. Potter: People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character, Chicago (1968) pp.105 and following, for a discussion of the insecurity, neurosis, and complexes which result from the fear of failure in an open and competitive society. For an excellent and brief discussion of the main features of Carlyle's economic doctrines see Earle Davis pp.117-25 and also William L. Courtney: Carlyle's Political Doctrines in the Fortnightly Review Vol.XVI New Series (1879) pp.817-28; Louis Cazamian in Carlyle (1966) "Automatic Progress: Prosperity, Liberty and the Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number, all to be secured by 'the Gospel of Enlightened Selfishness' and the operations of Laissez-faire! A society based upon such principles... could not endure; and, looking at the actual situation behind the figures, he saw all too clearly that it would not. Prosperity? Beyond a doubt there was more money in the country than ever before; but how was it distributed?..." pp.89-90. Carlyle placed himself as a bulwark against what he regarded as the senseless and growing tide of Benthamite optimism, see John Plamenatz: The English Utilitarians (1958) pp.64-70, 70-82, 110-21.
10. Ibid. p.112.
14. Ibid.
21. Written 1892: remember such dialogue as Sartorius: "Do you think...that my daughter is to be made part of a money bargain between you and these gentlemen..." Lickcheese: "Oh come, Sartorius! Don't talk as if you was the only father in the world..." Act III.

27. Ibid. p.817.
28. Ibid. p.820.
29. Ibid. p.828.
30. Ibid. p.683.
31. Nobody's Story, Christmas Number of HW for 1853, in CS p.28.
33. Forster p.820.
34. Ibid. p.825.
35. Ibid. p.825.
36. Ibid. p.826.
40. Ibid.
43. Ibid. p.186.

46. House p.183. See also pp.222-4.

47. Very neglected indeed, and it is hard to see why. Wilhelm Dibelius, who died in 1931, produced a stimulating — and for its day, original — book in 1916. As far as we in this island are concerned, he sank without trace. Neither Stephen Wall (Wall) nor Professor Philip Collins (Dickens: The Critical Heritage (1971)) nor Messrs. Ford & Lane (Ford & Lane) quote a single word of this remarkable scholar. But we had to wait so long for a complete translation of that other masterpiece of continental Dickens scholarship, Louis Cazamian's Le Roman Social en Angleterre published, believe it or not, as long ago as 1934!


49. See for example, Butt & Tillotson pp.177-8 where this change is dated specifically at the 1850's: "This discursiveness of incident is gradually controlled in later novels, but it is not until the eighteen-fifties that a unifying principle can be detected" etc. etc. Professor Archibald C. Coolidge Jr. even goes so far as to claim that symbolic cohesion is late development too, "it is not until Bleak House that Dickens succeeded in organizing virtually a whole novel in considerable detail symbolically..." Charles Dickens as a Serial Novelist, Ames, Iowa (1967) p.67.

50. G.B. Shaw: Ruskin's Politics in Platform and Pulpit (1962). The extract is from a public address delivered on 21st November 1919.

51. "For the man of spirit whose childhood has been crushed by the cruelty of organized society, one of two attitudes is natural: that of the criminal, or that of the rebel... He identified himself readily with the thief, and even more readily with the murderer... The fantasies and fears of Jonas are really...the picture of a mind on the edge of insanity..." and "Shall we ask what Scrooge would actually be like if we were to follow him beyond the frame of the story? Unquestionably he would relapse when the merriment was over...into moroseness, vindictiveness, suspicion. He would, that is to say, reveal himself as the victim of a manic depressive cycle... This dualism runs through Dickens..." Edmund Wilson pp.13-15 and 57. Echoing Engels, possibly unconsciously, Wilson is saying that crime is the individual's revolution
against society: see Conditions of the Working Class in England (1844) edited Hobsbawm (1969) pp.168-62. He deduces that because Dickens suffered in his childhood, he revolted vicariously in his fictional murderers. He claims Dickens identifies himself with Jonas Chuzzlewit, and this enables him to claim for Dickens a kind of part-time insanity. The ready identification with Scrooge is even more surprising, and the evidence he alleges by referring to incidents beyond the frame of the story (i.e. which do not exist as evidence) a cheap barrister's trick. But this concept has been an interesting, if misleading one. Humphry House followed it up; the psychological condition of a rebel reformer, he claims, is in many ways similar to that of a criminal, who has the feeling of being "outside the organization of group life...of being an outcast, a misfit or a victim of circumstance; a feeling of bitter loneliness, isolation and ostracism or irrevocable disgrace - any one or combination of such feelings may turn a man against organized society..."

Humphry House: Introduction to OT in the Oxford Illustrated Dickens edition p.x. But I believe to exaggerate this aspect of Dickens is damaging to true criticism. It is of course interesting to know that Dickens was obsessed with reading the Nancy murder, and walked the streets as if he was wanted by the police, but the work of a critic like Graham Smith (Dickens, Money and Society (1968)) is a welcome antidote to nigh on two decades of criminal proceedings.

52. "The story sings from end to end like a happy man going home; and, like a happy and good man, when it cannot sing it yells. It is lyrical and exclamatory..." he writes of one of the CS in Charles Dickens (1906) quoted in Ford & Lane p.125. This even casts doubt on the pontifical Eliot who claimed there was no better critic of Dickens living than Chesterton; T.S. Eliot: Selected Essays (1953) p.461. Although this Chestertonianism has been fairly thoroughly eroded by Hugh Kingsmill's The Sentimental Journey - A Life of Charles Dickens (1934) it is still a fairly strong current in Dickens' studies.

53. "How did a man with such a coarse mind become a master of his art?" he asks, "How was it possible...to be a best seller and a true classic at the same time?.... He lacked the disinterested curiosity, and the detachment which are indispensable for profound spiritual or intellectual development." Cockshut p.11. There is evidence to the contrary, Edgar Johnson discusses Dickens' wide reading and lasting interest in literature of merit in Johnson Vol.II pp.131-33.

55. This I believe is the general assumption behind the whole of P.A.W. Collins' book Dickens and Crime (1965) but see especially pp.307-10. He quotes, with obvious approval, Sala's dictum that Dickens was more Conservative than Democratic.


57. As Professor Collins actually does - see his article Enter the Professionals 1940-1960 in The Dickensian Vol.LXVI May 1970 p.155.


60. George Orwell: Charles Dickens in Selected Writings of George Orwell edited by George Bott (1958) p.158.

61. Ibid. p.156.


64. For a lively discussion of the recent contenders in this field, see Fred Boege's Recent Criticism of Dickens in Nineteenth Century Fiction Vol.VIII (1953-4) pp.171-87. Of Lindsay Boege comments "in place of Wilson's occasional ventures into the cloudy realms of conjecture, we have a non-stop flight through the inane..." p.176.

65. William Samuel Lilly: Four English Humourists of the Nineteenth Century (1895) Dickens as Democrat pp.16-17 Lilly deals severely with Dickens, attacks the later novels as unreal (a view which would astound the post-Wilsonians:
he wondered whether anything bearing a less appreciable relation to life was ever written than parts of CMF. Lilly's evidence is interesting because he had heard and seen Dickens read his works, and he stresses the equal success with which Dickens conveyed burlesque, caricature and pathos, pp.18-19.


67. See the Introduction by Lauriat Lane Jr. to Ford & Lane pp.1-18 for a discussion of the lack of critical conformity in Dickens' studies.


69. William Samuel Lilly: Dickens - The Novelist as Democrat in Four English Humourists on the Nineteenth Century (1895) discusses pp pp.13-14 and says "...he is at his best in his earlier works, where he makes small pretence to art. In my opinion his masterpiece is Pickwick." On the other hand Dr. Leavis is prepared to rescue HT alone from oblivion, and laments that there is only one HT in the Dickens' oeuvre. Although relegated to an appendix this is a brilliant essay, in Dr. Leavis' best manner. His aim was to rescue HT as he claims it is a neglected masterpiece. Most of what he says here could apply to much else Dickens wrote. Dr. Leavis is a shrewd and deep-thinking scholar, but the serious flaw in his approach is his lack of generosity of mind, largeness of spirit. His penetration is purchased at the cost of limitation, "marred by the desire to elevate one kind of fiction about all others". Wayne C. Booth: The Thetoric of Fiction, Chicago (1968) p.402. Nor is this quite the same thing as Robert Graves' joke about preferring some authors to others, it is a real - almost pathological - inhibition. Yet Leavis himself feels what it is like to have an author one truly admires, apparently deliberately, mis-read and mis-interpreted, "no one, I am convinced" he laments, "who had been able to read what Lawrence wrote, could have pronounced as Mr. Eliot does..." F.R. Leavis: D. H. Lawrence, Novelist (1964) p.318.

70. F.R. Leavis: The Great Tradition (1950) p.3.


74. Leavis, Preface p.ix.

75. Quoted in The Dickensian op.cit. p.180.


   K.J. Fielding: *Forster and Reaction 1880-1900* pp.85-100; 
   Sylvère Monod: *The Age of Chesterton 1900-1920* pp.101-20; 
   Michael Slater: *Superior Folk & Scandalmongers 1920-1940* pp.121-42; 

80. "If literary fame could be safely measured by popularity with the half-education, he must claim the highest position among English novelists..." he said of him in his *Dictionary of National Biography* article.


86. See Gerald Abraham: *A Hundred Years of Music* (1938).

87. See the anonymous article *Dickens and Disney: The Old Curiosity Shop* in *The Times Literary Supplement* May 16th 1942.

89. He had a knack of creating character by repeated tricks of speech, very reminiscent of Dickens' methods. His character Mr. Waglinton, a hesitant unsure individual, had the tag-line "It might be so - and then again, it might not!" and the combative Major Longbow had the catch-phrase "Pon my soul it's true - what'll you lay it's a lie?" Characters like Mrs. Micawber, Mr. Grimwig, Mr. Podsnap and numerous others in Dickens, are built up by this method. The parallel between Mr. Jingle and Mathews' character Commodore Cosmogory has been discussed by a modern biographer of the novelist, Hibbert p.110. This is the characteristic in Dickens which Cyril Connolly belabours without actually mentioning Dickens by name. He is talking about the way novelists just string a few traits on to the characters they are depicting and then hold them there: "You can't miss old So-and-so", they explain, "he stammers, and now look, here he comes. What's your name?" "S-s-s and S-s-s-s so." "There you are, what did I tell you. Nearly all English novels are written to this prescription." Cyril Connolly: Enemies of Promise (1961) p.65.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE


5. C.J. Jung: Two Essays on Analytical Understanding in Collected Works trans. R.F.C. Hull, Vol. VII 1959 page 68. Dickens noted the remarkable sameness of people's dreams - "common to us all, from the Queen to the costermonger..." Dexter Letters Vol. II page 269: Jung believed that the conscious mind is based on "and results from an unconscious psyche which is prior to consciousness, and continues to function together with, or despite consciousness..." C.J. Jung: The Integration of Personality New York 1939 page 13: see Frieda Fordham: An Introduction to Jung's Psychology 1954 pages 47-68. An interesting comparison is with the German poet Friedrich Rueckert, who died in 1866. In many ways the nineteenth century seemed to have invented the child as a subject for literature, Rueckert is another example of a writer obsessed with the image of childhood, especially the death of children. His own two children died when young and he wrote for them the moving threnodies Die Kindertotenlieder, published in 1834, see J.G. Robertson: A History of German Literature 6th edition 1970 pp.432-3. These lyrics, set magnificently by Gustav Mahler in 1905, endow the children with that quality of wonder, of divinity, which we shall remark again in the consideration of Nell and Paul Dombey:

Nun will die Sonn' so hell aufgehn!
Als sei kein Unglueck die Nacht gescheh'nl ....
Du musst nicht die Nacht in dir verschraenken
Musst sie ins ew'ge Licht versenken!
Ein Laemplein verlosch in meinem Zeit!
Heil sei dem Freudenlicht der Welt.
(Now the sun will rise so brightly, as if the night had brought no misfortune...you must not allow your heart to wither in grief - one tiny light was dimmed, hail to the eternal light of the world!) and:

Oft denk' ich, sie sind nur ausgegangen!
Bald werden sie wieder nach Hause gelangen!
Der Tag ist schoen! O sei nicht bang!...
(I often think that they have only gone on a journey and that they'll be home again shortly: the day is so bright, do not be cast down.) See Kindertotenlieder published by Novello and Co. Limited 1905 p.2. As with Oliver and the other divine children in Dickens, the emphasis is on the bright, glowing quality, the radiance of these children. Mahler's music stresses this unmistakably. As with Dickens, the poet here is prompted by deep personel griefs, and which he channels towards the creation of the archetypal image of the dying child, taken on a journey to another, brighter life.
6. "He was a seer of visions, and his visions were of objects at once familiar and potent. Psychologists will understand both the extent and limitations of the remark, when I say that in no other perfectly sane mind...have I observed vividness of imagination approaching so closely to hallucination..." George Henry Lewes: Dickens in Relation to Criticism (1872) reprinted in Ford & Lane p.59.

7. Lewes, ibid. p.73.


9. Ibid.

10. William Howitt (1792-1879), author and spiritualist, translated Joseph Ennemoser's The History of Magic 2 volumes (1854), this was in Dickens' library at his death.


14. See Jeanne Carol Owen: Dickens and Mesmerism: With Special Reference to the Comic and Horrific Characters in the Novels unpub. doct. diss. University of Queensland (1970); N.C. Peyrouton Rapping the Rappers, The Dickensian Vol.LV (1959) pp.19-30; see J.H. Stonehouse (ed.) Catalogue of the Library of Charles Dickens at Gadshill (1935) - this catalogue yields the following information: Calmut, Augustine: The Phantom World, or The Philosophy of Spirits, Apparitions etc. (1850); Crowe, Catharine: The Night Side of Nature, or Ghosts and Ghost Seers 2 Volumes (1849); Dendy, Walter Cooper: The Philosophy of Mystery (1841); Elliotson, John: Human Physiology 5th edition (1840) - this contains sections on mesmerism and sleep-walking; Ennemoser, Joseph: The History of Magic translated by William Howitt, 2 Volumes (1854); Hooper, Robert: Lexicum Medicum, or Medical Dictionary 8th edition (1848); Mackay, Charles: Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions and the Madness of Crowds 3 Volumes (1850); MacLiesh, Robert: The Philosophy of Sleep (1840) - this was a work on sleep-walking, trance,
dream-perception etc.; Merryweather, F. Somner: Glimmerings in the Dark, or Lights and Shadows. Dickens had, of course, a personal interest in mesmerism, as he was a personal friend of Dr. John Elliotson (1791-1868) who was compelled to resign his Professorship at the University of London for his unauthorised interest in mesmerism in 1838. He established a mesmeric hospital in 1849. Elliotson founded the Zoist—A Journal of Mesmeric Healing. He treated Dickens in 1842 when the novelist suffered from convulsions after his return from the United States of America - see Dexter Letters Vol.I p.472, letter to Chapman dated 3rd August 1842. Elliotson became the Dickens family doctor and was much respected. Thackeray dedicated Pendennis to him and Dickens gave him a personally inscribed copy of NN see Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.593 letter dated 23rd October 1839 and Dexter Letters Vol.I p.178 and pp.151 and 376, and Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.461: the Victorians believed that mesmerism and insanity were closely linked, see Zoist Vol.IV (1846) p.346; mesmerism was in great vogue in the eighteen forties and eighteen fifties, even Thomas Carlyle listened to Elliotson for over an hour, Arnold L. Bader Those Mesmeric Victorians in Colophon Vol.III (1938) p.345; Bulwer-Lytton, Wilkie Collins more obviously reflecting the interest of the time in their exploitation of the themes of mesmerism, opium etc. HW and AYR also show evidence of Dickens' abiding interest in trance, dreams, sleep-walking: Dreams in HW 8th August 1851 pp.566-572, Somnambulism, HW 3rd May 1851 pp.132-138; New Discoveries in Ghosts in HW 17th January 1852 pp.403-6; The Woman in White was serialised in AYR from November 26th 1859 to August 25th 1860, Bulwer-Lytton's A Strange Story from 10th August 1861 to March 8th 1861 and Collins' The Moonstone was serialised from 4th January 1867 to 8th August 1868; Robert Lytton's The Strange Disappearance of John Ackland appeared from September 18th to October 16th 1869. Dickens himself practised mesmerism - there is the strange story of his treatment of Mrs. De La Rue and John Leech, see Johnson Vol.I pp.541-2, 552, 554-5 and Vol.II p.670. His interest in mesmerism was an early acquisition, he was treating Mrs. De La Rue by 1844, and Leech by 1849 - see Dexter Letters Vol.II p.175, letter to F.M. Evans dated 15th September 1849. He had a very high opinion of Dr. Elliotson, see Johnson op.cit. pp.221, 300, 311, 346, 409, 428, 502 and Vol.II p.603; he wrote to John Overs, "I know that, under God, there does not live a man in whose hands you would have as much reason to hope for a perfect restoration to health... If my own life, or my wife's...were in peril tomorrow, I would trust it to him, implicitly..." quoted in Johnson op.cit. Vol.I p.346.

must have been like: significantly, I think, Emlyn Williams does not hesitate to use the word *magic* with reference to Dickens' performances.

16. "If you had seen Macready last night, undisguisedly sobbing and crying...you would have felt...what a thing it is to have power," he told his wife.

17. It is hard, in such a book, to direct attention to any one item, but see, for example the account of Dickens' early reading of the Scrooge story, Raymond Fitsimons: *The Charles Dickens Show* (1970) pp.18-19: here we can certainly sense the fascinating power Dickens exerted as a performer of his own work.

18. Quoted in Fitsimons p.19.

19. Quoted in Fitsimons p.28. For other, accurate and unbiased opinions of his skill as a reader see Charles Kent: *Charles Dickens as a Reader* (1872) and Kate Field: *Pen Photographs of Charles Dickens' Readings* Boston (1871) - both of these use considerable eye-witness evidence.


22. Dickens' interest in, and use of unusual mental states, dreams, mental disturbances etc. has been very well discussed in Warrington Woodruff Winters: *Unusual Mental Phenomena in the Life and Works of Charles Dickens* unpub. doct. diss. University of Minnesota (1942).


25. Forster p.760 and see also letter to Miss Burdett-Coutts dated 12th February 1864 in *Dexter Letters* Vol.III pp.379-80. Walter Dickens, who died at the age of twenty three, was serving as a Lieutenant in the 26th Native Indian Infantry, attached to the 24nd Highlanders. He had obtained his cadetship through the kindness of Miss Burdett-Coutts.
26. Forster's Life p.930: Dickens told this story personally to George Henry Lewes also, see Ford & Lane p.73.

27. Forster's Life p.929.


29. Forster's Life pp.786-787


31. OT Ch.IX p.56.


35. C.J. Jung: Psychology and Alchemy in Collected Works translated by R.F.C. Hull (1953) Vol.XII p.51: cf Dickens' words "Are not the sane and the insane equal at night as the sane lie a dreaming? Are not all of us outside this hospital (he is writing of Bethlehem Hospital) who dream, more or less of the condition of those inside it, every night of our lives? Are we not nightly persuaded, as they daily are, that we associate preposterously with kings and queens, emperors and empresses, and notabilities of all sorts? Do we not nightly jumble events and personages and times and places, as these do daily? Are we not sometimes troubled by our own sleeping inconsistencies, and do we not vexedly try to account for them or excuse them, just as these do sometimes in respect of their waking delusions? Said an afflicted man to me, when I was last in a hospital like this, 'Sir, I can frequently fly.' I was half ashamed to reflect that so could I - by night. Said a woman to me, on the same occasion, 'Queen Victoria frequently comes to dine with me, and Her Majesty and I dine off peaches and macaroni in our night gowns, and His Royal Highness the Prince Consort does us the honour to make a third on horseback in a Field Marshall's uniform'. Could I refrain from reddening with consciousness when I remembered the amazing royal parties I myself had given (at night), the unaccountable viands I had put on the table, and my extraordinary manner of conducting myself on those distinguished occasions?..." Night Walks in AYR Vol.III No.65, July 21st 1860; reprinted in UC pp.113-4.

36. See, for example, Claude Levi-Strauss: The Savage Mind (1968) pp.64 and following, as well as Professor Skinner of Harvard and his theories of behavioural psychology.

37. For further discussion of Dickens and the "other" world I refer the reader to Archibald C. Coolidge Jr: Dickens and
the Heart as the Hope for Heaven - A Study of the Philo-

sophic Basis of Sensational Literary Technique, in Victorian
Newsletter No.20, Fall 1961, pp.6-11, especially p.8 and
following: Jack Lindsay: Charles Dickens - a Biographical
and Critical Study 1951 pp.256, 291, 323, 325, 327, 331-2,
360-3, 397, 407-411: Warrington Winters: Dickens and the
Psychology of Dreams in PMLA Vol.LXII No.3 September 1948
pp.984-1006: Johnson Vol.I pp.283,544
Vol.II pp.658 and following: Harvey Peter Sucksmith: The
Narrative Art of Charles Dickens pp.46-47, 239, 353; and
Taylor Stoehr: Dickens - The Dreamer's Stance passim, and
especially pp.91-225, a discussion of CE, BH, HT, LD, ITC
and OMF.

38. Quoted from Walter E. Houghton: The Victorian Frame of
Mind Yale 1957 p.1

39. Ibid p.1 and following.

40. J.S. Mill: The Spirit of the Age Ed. F.A. von Hayek
Chicago 1942 p.1 and following.

41. For the discussion of this see Houghton pp.1-8.

42. De Juventute 1860 - reprinted in Roundabout Papers p.79.


44. Sartor Resartus 1831 Centenary ed. 1896 V.I. p.198.

45. A.P. Stanley: Life of Thomas Arnold (1844) Appendix D,
p.723, note with journal entry for August 4th 1839.


47. Ibid pp.96-97. N.B. The Brassmill referred to here is Watt.
For a good bird's eye view of the changes discussed here
the reader is directed to the brief but thoroughly readable
sections in W.G. Armytage's The Social History of Enginee-
ing (1961) pp.125-137 "The Age of Mechanical Engineering
1815-1857" and also L.T.C. Rolt's Victorian Engineering
1970.

XVI No.427 3rd December 1970, pp.992-5 and Pauline Gregg:
A Social and Economic History of Britain 1790-1960 (1962)

49. Annual Register Vol.LIVIII pp.193-4. Dickens was very
impressed with the possibilities of the electric telegraph,
cf Dombey and Son Ch.15 p.206. He wrote in a letter in
1856 how excited he had been by a play which made dramatic
use of the electric telegraph: "It was impossible not to
be moved and excited by the telegraph part of it," Dombey


52. Punch Vol.XV 1849 p.94.


57. Generally speaking, the English were fairly complacent about what was happening "...there were whimperings...but defiance was no longer the mode. The greater and better part of English society accepted the social structure...they were satisfied, not indeed with the world as it was, for they were all, in their way, reformers, but as it would become by the application of those reasoned and tested principles which made up the scheme of progress and salvation..." - G.M. Young: Early Victorian England 1830-1865 (1963) p.424. Thomas Hood, whose The Song of the Shirt appeared anonymously in Punch in 1843 (Vol.V 1843 p.260) "Work-work-work! My labour never flags. And what are its wages? A bed of straw, a crust of Bread - and rags.", and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whose The Cry of the Children dates from 1844 ("Do not mock us; grief has made us unbelieving - We look up for God, but tears have made us blind...") seem to have been voices crying alone in the wilderness: "Progress" almost became a matter of faith, and to attack it was to undermine one of the basic principles of the period. As J.B. Bury suggests, "Progress replaced the belief in human individual immortality, and became an idolum saeculi, the animating and controlling idea of western civilisation." J.B. Bury: The Idea of Progress 1920. Preface p.vii and
following. Few writers as early as the 1840's expended much energy attacking the strongly held faith in material and economic progress as the sole aim of life, the single index of success, and Dickens was noticeably among those few and arguably the most energetic.


60. Raymond Williams: The Long Revolution pp.54-55 and Kathleen Tillotson: Novels of the Eighteen Forties pp.140 and 226. There is an interesting study of James, The Solitary Horseman by S.M. Ellis published in 1927. The most famous treatment of him is probably still Thackeray's shrewd parody in Mr. Punch's Prize Novelists as Barbazure: "...Like many another fabric of feudal war and splendour, the once vast and magnificent castle of Barbuzzle is now a moss grown ruin. The traveller of the present day...can scarcely trace, among the scattered masses of ivy-covered masonry...even the skeleton of the proud and majestic palace stronghold of the Barons of Barbazure..."


62. Mrs. Leavis estimates that it sold over 122,000 between 1859 and 1890 in cheap railway editions, see Fiction and the Reading Public p.306.


64. He was an Indian officer and also served the Nizam of Bombay in a civil capacity and performed distinguished service during the Indian Mutiny. His novels of Indian social and historical life are described by D.N.B. as "brilliant". Philip Meadows Taylor: The Story of My Life Edited by His Daughter (1877).


67. Later appeared as The Memoirs of Mr. C.J. Yellowplush in Miscellaneies 1856.

68. Punch 1845-6

69. For a discussion in depth of the whole cult of the historical novel see George Lukacs: The Historical Novel (1969).

70. Rossini (1792-1868) poured some of his finest work into his historical operas, Tancredi 1813, Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghilterra 1815, La Donna del Lago (after Scott) 1819, Semiramide 1823, William Tell 1829; Bellini (1801-1835) produced in an incredibly short working life some of the finest historical operas of the time, I Capuletti ed i Montecchi 1829, Norma 1831, I Puritani 1835; Donizetti (1797-1848) was celebrated in his own day as the creator of Anna Bolena 1830, Lucia di Lammermoor 1835, Lucrezia Borgia 1839, Roberta d'Evereux, Conte d'Essex 1841. The master of the operatic historical pageant was, of course, Meyerbeer (1791-1864) whose sad fate it was to be totally eclipsed by the man who truly owed him so much, Richard Wagner (1813-1883). Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable 1831, Les Huguenots 1836, L'Africaine 1865 (on the subject of Vasco da Gama) were among the wonders of the day. Wagner's first great success was also with historical opera, his five act drama on the subject of Rienzi, first performed in Dresden in 1842. This really launched him on a series of mythical and historical music drama, Tannhauser 1845, Lohengrin 1850, Tristan und Isolde 1865, Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg 1868 - all these testify to the fascination which the century had for the past. H. Weinstock: Donizetti and the World of Opera 1964; W. Ashbrook: Donizetti 1965; Dennis Arundel: The Critic at the Opera 1957 pp.313-28; Edward J. Dent: Opera 1951 pp.70-73; Ernest Newman: Wagner as Man and Artist 1925 p.154 and following. Dickens saw Bellini's opera Il Pirato 1827, in Paris in December 1844 and described it as "prodigious" with the reservation that "the passion and fire...was as good and as great as it is possible for anything operatic to be...", Forster's Life p.638, and Rossini's Mose in Egitto 1818, in Rome in 1853, which he found excellent, Forster's Life p.638. He saw other opera at Milan, Forster's Life p.638 not specified but "gloomy, dull and the performance execrable."

Dickens admired Auber, especially Masaniello 1828, and Fra Diavolo 1830 as well as Rossini, The Barber of Seville first performed in Rome 1816, this work was well liked by Dickens and the early Verdi - Il Trovatore 1853, he saw and admired considerably: the only "classical" opera I have traced a reference to is Gluck's Orpheus 1762, and we know the novelist admired this performance. Gounod's Faust 1859, he saw and was quite overwhelmed by. For Charles Dickens' love of opera see Johnson Vol.II pp.1130-1131.

Dickens must have had an interest in operatic music: "Will you come to Covent Garden tonight, to hear Miss Hayes?" he writes to ask John Leech in May 1849: Letters ed. Dexter.
The singer mentioned here is Catherine Hayes (1825-1861) one of the finest lyric sopranos of her time. She sang at La Scala, Milan and at the State Opera in Vienna and Venice, this was her debut and she sang in Donizetti's Linda di Chamouni; first performed at Vienna in 1842 to stupendous public acclaim, see Franz Farga: Die Wiener Oper von ihren Anfaengen bis 1938 Vienna, 1947 p.147; Denis Arundel: The Critic at the Opera 1957 p.325. Miss Hayes later toured the U.S.A. and sang at M. Jullien's concerts in 1857. "I have just got two orchestra stalls," Dickens goes on to say, "we also have a box at the other house, and can run over and hear Jenny if we be in the mind...": Letters ed. Dexter Vol.II p.151. Here he refers to Jenny Lind (1820-1887) the Swedish Nightingale, one of the greatest operatic performers of the century. At the time Dickens here refers to her she was singing in Mayerbeer's Robert le Diable: Her Majesty's Theatre May 10th 1849: she had recently created the part of Amalia in Verdi's I Masnadieri, first performed on July 22nd 1847; in the following Autumn she appeared in Manchester, Liverpool and other provincial centres. In 1848 London heard her in I Puritani of Bellini and L'Elisire d'Amore of Donizetti, as well as the other roles she had made famous - Alice in Robert le Diable, Susanna in Figaro. After 1849 she devoted herself to oratorio and concert performances. She was made Professor of Singing at the Royal College of Music in 1883. She was unusual in respect of her wide histrionic ability: this had made her famous before the true qualities of her vocal technique became recognised. Her first great success was in Weber's Der Freischuetz where she played the part of Agathe and caused a sensation in 1838: see S. Dorph: Jenny Linds Triumftaeg genom nya vaerlden och oevriga Leonadsoeden, Uppsala (1918); Scott Holland and W.S. Rockboro: Jenny Lind the Artist (1893) and Dexter Letters Vol.II pp.26, 151; Vol.III p.257; and lives by Mrs. R. Maude (her daughter) published 1926 and J. Bulman 1956.

The tendency of opera, as an art-work, to look back to the past for the source of its narratives and situations, is thus essentially a feature of nineteenth century romanticism. All the works cited here are set in the past; the best of the home-grown products of the period - Balfe's The Bohemian Girl (first performed at Drury Lane 27th November 1843), Wallace's Maritana (first performed 15th November 1845) and Benedict's The Lilly of Killarney (first performed at Covent Garden on 8th February 1862) are all set back in time, either in the 17th Century (Maritana) or in a vague eighteenth century chronology. Even Verdi's La Traviata (1853) is set in the 1840's. Interesting evidence in this context is the fact that La Traviata, probably Verdi's most elegant score, failed when it was premiered in 1853, because it was presented in modern costume: it triumphed in 1854 when it was presented in Louis XIV costume - Kobbe's Complete Opera Book edited by the Earl of Harewood (1958)pp.464-5; see Charles Osborne: The Complete Operas of Verdi (1969) pp.266-7.

It was not until the short-lived verismo period in Italian opera initiated by Mascagni, whose Cavalleria Rusticana was
first performed in Rome in 1890, and Leoncavallo whose Pagliacci dates from 1892, that we find opera exploring, or representing contemporary life. The French operatic composer Alfred Bruneau (1857-1934), a personal friend of Zola's, also attempted operas on "realistic" subjects. But we are now well towards the close of the nineteenth century. Much of nineteenth century is correspondingly retrospective.


72. Ibid: the reference here is to Francis Charles Hastings Russell, 9th Duke of Bedford (1819-1891), M.P. for the county of Bedfordshire 1847-72, later President of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1879.


76. See, for example, his account of the behaviour of the Preston strikers, Preface to "Alton Locke" addressed to the Undergraduates of Cambridge (1895) pp.xcix and following.

77. Ibid: p.cix.

78. Ibid


80. Chap.XXI


84. Venetia 3 Vols. 1837.


88. See *The Radical Tory* (1937) edited by H.W.J. Edwards, this illustrates in Disraeli's own words, speeches, letters, novels, the growth and development of Disraeli's political and social ideas. For a brief, but extremely fair, discussion of Disraeli's politics see N.H. Brasher: *Arguments in History* (1968) pp.126-155; and Asa Briggs: *Victorian People* (1954) pp.277-308. It is sometimes argued whether what Disraeli wrote may be classed as "novels" at all - see Lord David Cecil: *Early Victorian Novels* (1934) p.290 note, but as Robert Blake suggests, what he wrote was in fact more like "novels" than they were like anything else - Robert Blake: *Disraeli's Political Novels*, History Today Vol.XVI No.7 (1966).


90. Few were really prepared to believe in Disraeli's political panaceas. Punch published in 1845 a cartoon showing Disraeli as a dealer in "Cast-off Notions" from whom John Bull refuses to buy anything. "What the deuce!...does the man take me for a fool?" John Bull asks, "Does he think I'd buy a parcel of trumpery, worn to tatters four centuries ago? Old England for ever, I say; but burn your Old Habits!"

91. Stanley told Peel that if "that scoundrel were taken into the ministry" he himself would resign.


93. The followers of Wellington, including the Duke of Buckingham, and earlier, Sir Robert Peel.


97. The Eglinton Tournament was one of the Young England movement's more extravagant episodes, and certainly their most beautiful. It was a public ritualisation of their belief in the ways of the past. It was a replica of a medieval tournament held at Eglinton Castle, Ayrshire on August 28th 1839. Lady Seymour was made Queen of Love and Beauty, the ladies wore fashions of the 14th and 15th Centuries. The
Marquis of Londonderry (half-brother of Robert Stewart, Lord Castlereagh) was King of the Tournament and society men assumed the roles of Knight. Among the "Knights" was Louis Napoleon, afterwards Napoleon III. Unfortunately it poured with rain. The event is well described in John Steegman: Consort of Taste 1830-1870 (1950) pp.93-101. Disraeli describes it, under the name of the "Montfort Tournament" in his Endymion (1880) Vol.II Chaps.xxii-xxiv.


99. He later describes Manchester "as great a human exploit as Athens" although one needs to be a philosopher to see this: "the inhabitants indeed, are not so impressed with their idiosyncrasy as the countrymen of Pericles and Phidias. They do not fully understand the position which they occupy. It is the philosopher alone who can conceive the grandeur of Manchester, and the immensity of its future..." Book 4 Chap.1 p.148.

100. Ibid. pp.118-9.


102. There are some words on the "Venetianization" of our system, and the preponderence of magnifico families and pliable doges Ibid pp.240-241.

103. Ibid. p.239.

104. Ibid. p.242.


106. Book 4 Chap.2 p.149.

107. Ibid. p.150.

108. As Robert Blake observes, the claim about the two nations is really nonsense - catch phrase though it became - Disraeli was totally incapable of putting himself in the place of the poor and really feeling what it was like, this empathy was beyond him; the details are correct, but the performance lacks life - Disraeli's Political Novels, History Today XVI No.7 (1966) pp.463-4. This tendency not to see things as they are continued right to the end of Endymion, published 1880. Blake says "a landscape by the light of the moon, the full harvest moon on a warm night softening all that is harsh and familiar, lending magic to the ordinary, poetry to the humdrum..." Ibid. p.466.


110. Disraeli's reforming zeal on behalf of the "other" nation was always tempered by his distrust of interference:
during the attempted passing of the mines regulations in 1850 he joined the majority of the Commons in opposition - see Hansard XCIII pp.603-4, 31st July 1850, pp.759-60 2nd August 1850, p.1009 10th August 1850. He opposed them as an interposition between labour and capital, "a piece of hasty and ill-considered legislation" he called this interference with part of the divine structure of the nation. See also Clyde J. Lewis: Theory and Expediency in the Policy of Disraeli Victorian Studies No.4 (1960-1) pp.237-85 and Paul Smith: Disraelian Conservatism and Social Reform (1967).

111. Book 4 Chap.xii pp.218-9.


113. We get into true difficulties when we try to evaluate Dickens' works as works of "realism" - we cannot take them on face value: they seem absurd when we treat them as attempts to render photographically the quality of life, then they do seem, as Bagehot says "so odd and disjointed... deprived...of symmetry and unity..." Walter Bagehot: Charles Dickens (1858) in Literary Studies (1920) Vol.II p.173. It is known that Disraeli consulted the Blue Books in preparation for Coningsby and Sybil or The Two Nations - he was obviously familiar with the First and Second Reports of the Children's Commission, the Reports on the Mines of 1842, on Trades and Manufactures 1843, the Report of the Select Committee on the Payment of Wages 1842 and the Report of the Commission on the Plight of Handloom Weavers of 1841; but his use of this material is sadly "mechanical" his sole feature in an attempt to bring it to life is the use of the pretty lapidary style by way of embellishment: see Sheila M. Smith: Blue Books and the Victorian Novelists in The Review of English Studies New Series Vol.XXI No.81 February 1970 pp.23-40, especially pp.29-34.


120. Manifesto of the Communist Party p.103.

122. Letter to Forster dated 16th August 1841 in Pilgrim Letters Vol.II p.359. He was writing from Broadstairs.

123. See Forster pp.354-64.

124. 1788-1861 - physician and unitarian minister, helped to found the Westminster Review, The Useful Knowledge Society, Health of Towns Association and constantly agitated for reforms in factory conditions and sanitation.


130. Hansard: 22nd June, 4th, 5th July, 4th, 6th August 1842.


134. Mrs. Gaskell: Ibid. p.95. cf. Disraeli: Sybil or The Two Nations (1845) N.D. Book II Chap.V pp.76-6, "In great cities men are brought together
by the desire of gain. They are not in a state of cooperation, but of isolation, as to the making of fortunes; and for all the rest they are careless of neighbours. Christianity teaches us to love our neighbours as ourself; modern society acknowledges no neighbour..."


136. Christmas Carol CB p.44.

137. Harold Perkin: The Origin of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969) p.146: Joseph Kay (1821-1878) in the mid eighteen forties had examined and reported on the social and educational conditions of the poor in several continental countries - The Education of the Poor in England and Europe (1846); The Social Conditions of the People of England and Europe 2 volumes (1850); The Condition and Education of Poor Children in English and German Towns (1853). Charles Booth (1840-1916) published remarkably detailed surveys of the lives and conditions of the poor - Life and Labour of the People in London (1891-1903). He was President of the Royal Statistical Society from 1892 to 1894, see M.B. Simey: Charles Booth. Social Scientist (1960). The sociological work of Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree (1871-1954) began to appear early in the present century, see Asa Briggs: Social Thought and Social Action - A Study of the Work of Seebohm Rowntree (1961) especially pp.25 and following.

138. Raymond Williams: Introduction to Dombey and Son in the Penguin English Library edition (1970) pp.11 and following: "And what we must...say, with the advantage of being able to look back and to distinguish the most creative achievements, is that for expressing this transformation and crisis, in its widest social reality, the methods of Dickens...were the most decisive contribution and discovery...as we see the generation and its relation with its world, we see Dickens as its largest and most central spirit: at once exposed and confident over the widest possible range of experience. His incompleteness, his failures, can of course be readily discerned, but we have to put the main stress on what he achieved, out of a disturbance so great that it seemed to threaten chaos." Ibid. p.12.

Excellent words, and just.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


3. Lucas urges that Victorian England was a completely wicked society, corrupt and corrupting. This presents altogether too gloomy, too pessimistic a Dickens. In his hands the inimitable more Russian than Cockney.

4. LD Book II Chap.26 p.685.


7. Ibid. p.5.

8. Ibid. p.12.

9. Ibid. p.16.

10. Ibid. Chap.11 p.131.


12. Philip Guedalla: Palmerston (1937) p.179. Some sections of Queen Victoria's Diary are reprinted in Philip Collins' Dickens: The Critical Heritage (1971) p.44. Her comments on OT are very interesting, as is also the conversation she had with Lord Melbourne, who said in his best Podsnappian manner, "I don't like those things; I wish to avoid them..." etc.

13. OT p.392.


15. NN Chap.LXII p.757.


19. Asa Briggs: Victorian Cities (1968) p.247. Walter G. Hoffmann argues that British industrial expansion was held in check by the Napoleonic wars, but that after 1815 the rate of expansion was rapidly accelerated; see Walter G. Hoffmann:
British Industry 1700-1950 (1955) pp.32 and following; the national income may have increased rapidly at this time but the average standard of living probably fell as a result of the rise in the birth-rate and other causes of social upheaval — hence the public demonstrations of discontent and hardship which mark the opening decades of the 19th century — see P. Deane: The Industrial Revolution and Economic Growth — The Evidence of Early National Income Estimates, in The Causes of the Industrial Revolution in England edited by R.M. Hartwell (1967) pp.81-96.


21. Engels op.cit. pp.57-8. Engels was not alone in reacting to the horrors of English working class conditions at this time, among the more outspoken of foreign visitors who truly saw ourselves as others see us, were Eugene Buret, whose book De la Misère des Classes Laborieuses en Angleterre et France was published in 2 Volumes in 1840; Leon Faucher, whose Études sur Angleterre was published in 2 Volumes in 1845 and contains a searching essay on Manchester; Friedrich von Raumer's England im Jahre 1835 was published in 2 Volumes in 1836 and a second enlarged edition came out in 1842: C.E. Lester's The Glory and the Shame of England 2 Volumes 1841; was followed two years later by the same author's The Condition and Fate of England 2 Volumes 1843. Henry Colman produced a book in 1845 which also contained a fairly detailed section on Manchester, European Life and Manners (1845); Emerson, who visited Europe in 1833 for the first time, distilled his impressions of his visits to these islands in his English Traits (1882) and criticised the Briton's concern with productivity and an exclusive attention to mechanical things, the whole bias of the nation, he claimed, was a passion for utility: the English, he said, were "materialistic, economical mercantile" and their minds were in a state of arrested development, preoccupied with money and its slaves and dupes. Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited this country in the closing years of the eighteen thirties after the publication of Democracy in America in 1835 and married an Englishwoman, has left an unflattering portrait of Britain at this period. Tocqueville: Oeuvres Complètes edited J.P. Mayer 1951 Vol.II, translated as Journeys to England and Ireland translated by George Lawrence and K.P. Mayer, New Haven 1958. See also Seymour Drescher: Tocqueville and England Cambridge Mass. (1964), and Ada Zemach: Alexis de Tocqueville on England in Review of Politics Vol.XIII (1951) pp.329-43, and there are scattered references in his Democracy in America to the state of affairs in England; he was particularly struck by the social tensions between the various classes, see Democracy in America translated George Lawrence and edited by J.P. May, and Max Lerner (1968) Vol.II pp.731-33 and Introduction by Max Lerner, Vol.I p.lxxi, a discussion of Tocqueville's view of "business serfdom", the deadly constriction of social vision, inner dehumanization, the increasing weakness, limitation and dependence of the worker etc.


29. NN Chap.XVI p.181.


35. *The Village* Book I line 110.


40. PP Chap.VII p.81.


42. DS Chap.I p.23.


45. See end of Chap.III RP p.375.


50. Macaulay: *History of England* (1849) Vol.I p.2. Possibly even more telling evidence of Macaulay's stolid faith in the material progress and financial wonders of his age is to be found in his journalism: see especially his review of Southey's Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society in the *Edinburgh Review*, January 1830. Here he mocks Southey for his attacks on the factory system, and his belief in the natural, simple life as being more humanly satisfying than life in a "progressive" modern society, and even for Southey's doubts on the subject of a labourer's diet in the early 19th century and in the 16th century. For Macaulay it was quite simple, economic growth equals progress, and that was all he needed to know. See *Critical and Historical Essays* by T.B. Macaulay (1907) Vol.II pp.196-7, 214-5, 218-20.


54. Ibid. p.52.


57. Alienation as an endemic social condition is the basis of much science fiction, notably Kurt Vonnegut Jr: *Player Piano* (1952).


60. OT Chap.II p.8.


63. Ibid. Chap.VIII p.50.


65. Ibid. Chap.XV p.98.


67. Ibid. Chap.XLII p.305.

68. For the discussion of this idea at length see Peter Coveney: *Poor Monkey - The Child in Literature* (1957) pp.71-119 - "At some point in his career, Dickens saw his own experience as a child as part of the general experience of his time. From that awareness came the determination to convey the struggle of innocence with evil, which became the pivot of his mature art. The child became for him the symbol of sensitive feeling anywhere in a society maddened with the pursuit of material progress..." Ibid. p.74. Dickens was quite accustomed to the image the child in the family as an emblem of man in society, he wrote to William de Cerjat in 1861: "Mankind, like the individual man, is designed by the Almighty to have an infancy and a maturity..." Mamie-George Letters Vol.I p.142.

69. GE Chap.VIII p.51.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE


3. Dickensiana p.430.

4. For the whole story see Ford, pp.58 and following.


9. Bret Harte Dickens in Camp quoted in the Introduction to OCS by Charles Dickens the Younger pp.xii-xiii; Harte read Dickens voraciously as a child, when long periods of ill-health kept him confined indoors, see Lives by G.R. Stewart (1931) and A.F. Harlow (1943)

10. Forster, p.132. Dickens admired Bret Harte's work also. A few months before the novelist's death Dickens sent Forster a couple of Overland Monthlies which contained sketches by Harte and commented to Forster that these works contained subtle strokes of character, freshness and mastery. Harte's poem was written as a tribute to Dickens after he had heard of his death in 1870. Forster quotes the poem in full in his Life pp.132-3.


12. Quoted by Ford p.57. Nell began to have her critics much earlier than Wilde's dictum. Maclise - "I'm never up to his young girls, he is so very fond of the age of 'Nell' when they are most insipid" quoted in Ford op.cit. p.57. And there are early unfavourable comments on OCS generally, and Little Nell in particular in The Saturday Review 8th May 1858 pp.474-5; The Spectator Vol.XLII 1864 pp.429-434; Westminster Review Vol.XXVI pp.429-434; reviewing CMF in 1865 Henry James damned the whole gallery of pathetic children found in Dickens, of Jenny Wren he said "she belongs to that troop of hunchbacks, imbeciles and precocious children, who have carried on the sentimental business in all Mr. Dickens' novels; the Little Nells, the Smikes, the Paul Dombey's..." - Henry James: Views and Reviews Boston (1908) p.156. See also Philip Collins: Dickens: The Critical Heritage (1971) pp.89-101.


20. TS p.16 "an impromptu yarn...spun out from what was to have been merely a short story..." - this in the face of evidence to the contrary, as the author himself said that "the design and purpose (of the story) was distinctly marked in my mind from the commencement"; Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.305.

21. See also Marcus pp.129-168, where he interprets the whole thing as a journey into death.


24. TS pp.41-42. And certainly fostered by Professor Edgar Johnson, see Johnson Letters, note p.355.


26. For the most readable account of this see Hibbert, pp.187-201 and William J. Carlton: The Death of Mary Hogarth - Before and After in The Dickensian Vol.LX January 1964 pp.11-16.

27. See the nostalgic description of the brother/sister relationship in A Child's Dream of a Star in HW Vol.I No.2 April 6th 1850 - soon after Fanny's death - in RP pp.1-3. It begins "There was once a child, and he strolled about a good deal,...he had a sister, who was a child too, and his constant companion. These two used to wander all day long..."

28. Lindsay, p.122; Trilling: The Liberal Imagination (1951) p.56.


33. Ibid. pp.327 and following.
40. Forster p.71.
41. Ibid. p.87.
42. Ibid. p.184.
43. Ibid. p.262.
44. Ibid. p.358.
45. Ibid. p.567.
46. Ibid. p.930.

47. Even Edmund Wilson, elsewhere so courageous, is a bit cautious. "What basis this emotion may have had in the fashionable romanticism of the period or in some peculiar psychological pattern of Dickens it is impossible on the evidence to say. But this passion for an innocent young girl is to recur in Dickens' life..." TS pp.41-2.

48. The century which after all has made a modern classic of Amahl and the Night Visitors and made The Sound of Music the biggest movie money-spinner of all time.

49. See J.M.S. Tomkins: The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800 (1932) pp.92-3. For a sympathetic discussion of Dickens' use of sentiment see Julian Symons: Charles Dickens (1951) pp.51-62; he claims that it was tailor-made for the Victorian bourgeoisie; Professor Philip Collins ably discusses the predilection for sentimentalism, which was such a feature of the Victorian period, see The Decline of Pathos in The Listener, 8th May 1969 pp.635-637. "The critics who claim Dickens as an honorary member of the 20th century are not...apt to discuss Little Nell with much animation..." he concludes. Frank Donovan has attempted to give Little Nell the full treatment, but the result is neither very convincing nor very original; he refers to her as "a saintly maiden" but hardly discusses the significance of her sanctity or her purity; Frank Donovan: The Children of Dickens (1969) pp.87-103.
50. Tompkins *op.cit.* pp.72-3.
65. cf. *West Side Story? King's Rhapsody?*
68. *Gross and Pearson* p.78.
71. In this section I am particularly indebted to: J.L. Hammond: *The Industrial Revolution and Discontent* in *Economic History Review* (1930) Vol.II No.2;


73. OCS Chap.45 pp.315-6.


77. See *Select Committee on Joint Stock Companies* (1844) Vol.VII p.4.


81. Clapham *op.cit.* p.536.


83. See G.D.H. Cole and Raymond Postgate: *The Common People 1746-1946* (1966) pp.291-309: in 1838-42 the cost of living rose 8% over its 1828-32 figure, in the same year wheat rose from 48s.7d. a quarter in 1837 to 64s.8d. a quarter. *Ibid.* pp.303-4. The major burden of economic depression was thus born by those least able to bear it.


93. See *Stockport Report* p.239.

95. cf. speech by Lord Brougham, Hansard Parliamentary Debates 3rd series LXIV Coll.1244-5.


99. See G.R. Porter: Progress of the Nation (1851) p.575 for production figures in 1841 1,500,000 tons - but in 1842 production back at its 1836 level.


101. For a discussion of the relationship between hunger, poverty, unemployment and politics, see G. Kitson Clark: Hunger and Politics in 1842 in Journal of Modern History Vol.XXV (1953) pp.355-74 "...the grim reports...of inquests on those who had died in their misery suggest that mini­

strations of the poor law were not successful in repelling the unwanted from the table of life." Ibid. p.358.

102. See Hansard Parliamentary Debates 3rd Series LXIV (debates on the Distress of the Country, in the Commons 1st and 8th July 1842 and in the Lords on 11th July 1842 on Civil Disturbances).

103. Hansard Ibid. Coll.862, 1188.


106. The Economist commented on the gambling mania of the 1840's as all part of "the folly, the avarice, the insufferable arrogance, the headlong, desperate and unprincipled gam­

bling and jobbing, which disgraced nobility and aristocracy, polluted senators and senate houses, contaminated merchants, manufacturers, and traders of all kinds, and threw a chilling blight for a time over honest plod and fair industry..." quoted in Peter Wilsher: The Pound In Your Pocket 1870-1970 (1970) pp.23-4.
The question of Dickens' inspiration and source for this fable is an interesting one; it has been suggested that he was inspired by seeing *Thirty Years of a Gambler's Life* in 1834, E.L. Costigan: *Charles Dickens: Elements of Sentiment and Melodrama in his Early Novels* unpub. B.Litt. diss. Oxford (1969) p.208. This was a stage play anonymously translated from V. Ducange's *Trent Ans: ou la Vie d'un Jouer* (1831). It tells the story of an old man and his addiction to gambling and his granddaughter's attempts to save him, see Davis pp.138-9. The similarity of the story is, of course, striking: there is even the name, Trent.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR


   Perle, plesante to prynces paye
   To clanly clos in golde so clere,
   Oute of oryent, I hardyly saye,
   Ne proued I neuer her previos pere.
   So rounde, so reken in vche araye,
   So smal, so smoth her sydez were,
   Quere-so-euer I jugged gemmez gaye,
   I settle hyr sengeley in synglere.
   Alias! I leste hyr in on erbere ....

   (Pearl ibid. I: lines 1-9)

   (cf. Chaucer: The Priorress' Tale pp.127 and following; the martyred boy is placed among the followers of the "whyte lamb celestial" - Pearl also takes her place in the procession "of such vergynes in the same gyse", Pearl line 1099; cf. Matthew ii.16; The Towneley Play of Herod and the traditional carol In die Sanctorum Innocentium, No.36 in the Early English Texts edition by Audelay, see Rene Wellek: The Pearl - An Interpretation of the Middle English Poem in Studies in English, Charles University, Prague (1933) especially pp.25 and following; D.W. Robertson Jr: The Pearl as a Symbol MLN. Vol.LXV (1950) pp.152-61; J.B. Fletcher: The Allegory of the Pearl in Journal of English and Germanic Philology Vol.XX (1921) pp.1 and following; cf. the White and Innocent Maid of the Staufenberger legend, see Jacob Grimm Teutonic Mythology translated J.S. Stallybrass Vol.I (1882) p.419 "and in their mouth was found no guile; for they are without fault before the throne of God." Revelation XIV.5.

   There is much more, I suggest, to Little Nell - and indeed the other "divine" children - than is usually allowed; Nell's being generates much more than the "depreciating modesty" generally ascribed to Charles Dickens' "feminine ideal" - see Patrician Thomson: The Victorian Heroine: A Changing Ideal 1837-1873 (1956) pp.166-8.


4. Barbara Hardy: Charles Dickens: The Later Novels (1968) p.10


7. See his discussion of this in his review of Hawthorne's Twice Told Tales in Graham's Magazine May 1842, reprinted in Edgar Allan Poe: Selected Writings ed. David Galloway (1970) pp.437-447 "...Of allegory properly handled, judiciously subdued, seen only as a shadow or by suggestive glimpses...the Undine of De La Motte Fouque is the best, and undoubtedly a very remarkable specimen..." he writes. Edgar Johnson discusses the qualities Dickens and Poe have in common - Johnson Vol.I pp.396-7. Dickens sent a thousand dollars to Poe's widow - Ibid. Vol.II p.1085. See...

8. Fouque's source for Undine was Paracelsus - Bombast von Hohenheim, Theophrastus Paracelsus, a curious 16th century mystic and philosopher whose ideology was that in God's world nothing is dead. The divinity overflows and breathes life not only into man but into the inanimate things of nature, the elements are therefore instinct with life, and are peopled by spirits or saganae: in his book The Philosophy of Nature Paracelsus divides the elements into four classes (1) the sylphs, or children of the air, (2) the gnomes who live in the earth, (3) the salamanders who belong in the fire and (4) the undines or water sprites. Of these the undines are supreme: the salamander cannot live with men, gnomes can only labour for men, but water sprites can live happily with men and bear children. See C.G. Jung: Paracelsus as a Spiritual Phenomenon, Jung, Collected Works translated R.F.C. Hull (1959 Vol.XIII. The Undine figure exerted a strange attraction on opera composers also in this period, two beautiful examples survive, Lortzing's Undine, for which he wrote his own libretto, first performed in Magdebourg in 1845, and Dvorak's Rusalka, first performed in Prague in 1901.


10. DS Chap.XVI p.213.

11. In his German Romance: Specimens of its Chief Authors; with Biographical and Critical Notices, four volumes, Edinburgh (1827). Here he writes sympathetically of Fouque, whom he characterises as an author of genius with little more than an ordinary share of talent, admiring particularly his fine feeling and aerial fancy. See Miscellaneous Essays Vol.VI pp.324-30.


13. Hoffman wrote an opera based on Fouque's Undine which was successfully performed in 1816. His tales and stories - Phantasiestuecke in Callotsmanier (1814), Die Elixiere des Teufels (1815-1816), Nachtstuecke (1817), Die Seraphionsbrueder (1819-1821), are among the quintessential works of the early romantic period. See Ricarda Huch Die Romantik 9th edition, Berlin (1920); H. Taylor Hoffmann (1963); H. Hewett-Thayer Hoffmann--Author of the Tales Princeton (1948).
14. I am thinking of the superb gothic effects in *The Fall of the House of Usher*, *Red Death*, *Black Cat*, *Tell-Tale Heart* as well as the other side of Poe's mental duality, the yearning after the ideal, especially in women, which motivates much of his writings - *To Helen*, *Ligeia*, *Eleonora*: Poe also has the obsession with a dream world of his own creating - *The Domain of Arnheim*, William Wilson, *Israfel*.


16. cf. Apollonius of Rhodes: *Argonautica* IV lines 1310 and following, and see Graves op. cit. pp.44-5.


19. Who, the peasants in Saxony believed, would try to hire themselves out as servants in Magdeburg market but could always be detected by the suspiciously damp edges to their blue aprons.


22. For Tages see Cicero: *De Divinatione* II.23 and Ovid: *Metamorphosis* XV.553: for Hermes see Homer's *Hermetic Hymn*.

23. cf. Isaiah XI.vi, "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." See H.G. Baynes: *Mythology of the Soul* (1949) pp.440, 443 and 508. It is the birds and the animals who befriend Snow White from the first, although the huntsman who is sent to kill her leaves her in the wood believing the wild animals will eat her anyway. The little child in Oscar Wilde's *The Selfish Giant* is associated with Spring, birds and animals; he is really the infant Jesus. Young Gluck in Ruskin's *The King of the Golden River* is likewise on Christian name terms with the birds and animals. The helpless, yet divine, child figure also features in many music hall songs. Chirgwin the White Ey'd Kaffir made famous in the song *Blind Boy*, there was also *An Orphan Boy Lay Dying, With Strangers All Around*. These testify to the universal appeal of the child figure.


26. Ibid. p.61.


28. Iliad XIV 201, 246, 302; an important symbol in Christian mythology too, see H. Usener: Das Weihnachtsfest Bonn (1911) pp.33 and following; Thales, the earliest Greek philosopher claimed that everything came out of the water - this discussed in Jung op.cit. pp.66-7.

29. Jung goes on to discuss the idea of the spontaneously experienced vision, the so-called "irruption of the unconscious" and refers to Meister Eckhart's vision of the naked boy. See Adolf Spamer: Texte aus der deutschen Mystik des 14 und 15. Jahrhunderts pp.143, 150.

Accounts of equally spontaneous visions abound in English ghost stories, there is the Radiant Boy seen by the young Lord Castlereagh, see John H. Ingram: The Haunted Homes (1897) pp.43 and following; we should not forget in this context the radiant child who appears to Scrooge.

30. Freudig empfangen wir
   Diesen in Puppenstand:...
   Schon ist er schoen und gross
   Von heiligem Leben...


31. Matthew XVIII.3

32. CB p.67.

33. A Child's Dream of a Star HW Vol.I No.2 April 6th 1850 in RP p.3 cf. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God...that which is born of flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit..." John III.3.


35. TTC Book II Chap.21 p.181.

36. Ibid.


40. CS p.12.
41. Chap.43 p.300.
42. Chap.55 p.386.
44. Chap.72 p.510.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid. p.509.
47. F.G. Kitton: *Dickens and his Illustrators* (1899) p.97.
49. For Dickens' attacks on his illustrators, see Kitton *op.cit* pp.64-5, 70-1, 80.
51. For a discussion of his relations with his illustrators, see article by Nicholas Bentley: *Dickens and his Illustrators* in *Tomlin* pp.206-227.
54. Jung *op.cit.* p.117.
55. cf. the death of Siegfried, *The Fall of the Nibelungs* translated by Margaret Armour (1952), Sixteenth Adventure pp.94-6. The hero is killed by the dark Hagen, representative of the powers of darkness he has so successfully fought against. Hagen stabs Siegfried in the back, his "vulnerable point" or Achilles' heel. We are told that the hero falls "among the flowers" and is conveyed home on a gold shield. This is really a classical model of a nature myth, the Light Hero succumbs to the Powers of Darkness. It was probably a season or a day and night myth. See F. Panzer: *Das Nibelungenlied* Berlin (1956) and Iolane Jacobi: *Archetypisches im Ring des Nieblungen*
Bayreuth Festival programme 1958. The divine child, innocent and helpless though he, or she, may be, has a strange power which is to be reckoned with: when Cissy Jupe calls to see James Harthouse and tells him he shall never see Louisa again, he notices "the most confiding eyes" he ever saw, and "the most earnest voice (though quiet)" he had ever heard, HT Book III Chap.ii p.585. Cissy "was not afraid of him, or in any way disconcerted..." Ibid. Her effect on him is profound, "if ever man found himself in the position of not knowing what to say (he) made the discovery that he was so circumstances. The child-like ingenuousness with which his visitor spoke, her modest fearlessness...all this...presented something in which he was so inexperienced, and against which he knew any of his usual weapons would fall so powerless, that not a word could he rally to his relief." HT Ibid. p.586.

56. OCS Chap.27 p.193.
57. Chap.3 pp.19-20.
60. The divine goddess Chloe is called "the green one" and there is also Karpolorphos, the bringer of fruit, variously identified with earth and grain. In North American Indian mythology, it is a child figure who brings the gift of corn - see Alice Marriott and Carol K. Rachlin: American Indian Mythology N.Y. (1968) pp.134-41.

62. It is as well to be aware of the dangers of "interpreting" these figures and the strange effect they have in literature, as Jung himself says: "as soon as one tries to abstract the 'real essence' of the picture, the whole thing becomes cloudy and indistinct. In order to understand its living function, we must let it remain an organic thing in all its complexity and not try to examine the anatomy of its corpse in the manner of the scientist, or the archeology of its ruins in the manner of the historian..." The Psychological Aspects of the Kore op.cit. pp.217-8. So, you have been warned.

63. Psychology of the Unconscious (1916).
64. Jung: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious, Collected Works translated R.F.C. Hull (1959) Vol.IX Part I pp.3-41 and The Concept of the Collective Unconscious Ibid. pp.42-53: see also Jolande Jacobi: Complex, Archetype, Symbol in the Psychology of C.G. Jung translated Ralph Mannheim (1959) pp.31-73: cf. Freud's words, when he was greeted as the discoverer of the unconscious: "...the poets and philosophers before me discovered the unconscious... What I discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied..." quoted in Lionel Trilling: The Liberal Imagination (1964) p.34,

65. "The term (Archetype) is not meant to denote an inherited idea, but rather an inherited mode of psychic functioning, corresponding to the inborn way in which the chick emerges from the egg, the bird builds its nest... in other words, it is a pattern of behaviour." Jung: *Introduction to Esther Harding's Woman's Mysteries* translated R.F.C. Hull (1955) p.ix.

66. As Jung writes: "The unconscious psyche of the child is truly limitless in extent and of incalculable age. The dreams of three and four year old children... are so strikingly mythological and so fraught with meaning that one would take them at once for the dreams of grown-ups... They are the last vestiges of a dwindling collective psyche which dreamingly re-iterates the perennial contents of the human soul..." C.G. Jung: *Introduction to Frances G. Wickes: Analyse der Kinderseele* in *The Development of Personality, Collected Works* translated R.F.C. Hull Vol.XVII (1959) pp.44 and following. cf. Karl Abraham: *Dreams and Myths* translated William Alanson White N.Y. (1913).

67. Richard Wagner: *Opera and Drama* (1851) - this is a fascinating document, crucially relevant to an understanding of imaginative art, especially in the nineteenth century. Wagner continues: "The mythos is the poet's ideal stuff - that native, nameless poem of the folk, which throughout the ages we ever meet new - handled by the great poets... for in it there almost vanishes the conventional form of man's relations, merely explicable to abstract reason, to show instead the eternally intelligible, the purely human, but in just that inimitable concrete form which lends to every sterling myth an individual shape so swiftly cognisable..." Wagner on Music and Drama: *A Selection from Richard Wagner's Prose Works* edited with an Introduction by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn (1970) p.91.

68. Johnson Vol.I pp.296-305, and Forster pp.123-33, as well as the evidence provided by the letters of the period, all point to the conclusion that Dickens was in fine form and good spirits almost throughout the time he was writing ORS.

69. Forster pp.123-4 and cf. Yeats' remark about folk art as being full of simplicity and truly musical occurrences "for they are the literature of a class for whom every incident in the old rut of birth, love, pain and death has cropped up unchanged for centuries: who have steeped everything to the heart: to whom everything is a symbol. They have the spade over which man has leant from the beginning..." W.B. Yeats: *Introduction to Fairy and Folk Tales of the Irish Peasantry* in *Selected Prose* edited by Norman Jeffares (1964) p.161.


73. See Forster pp.21-36; Engel pp.43, 49, 111; Pope-Hennessy: pp.10-15; Hibbert pp.51-62; Johnson Vol.I pp.31-42; Fielding pp.5-6; Lucas pp.166-9; Monod pp.9-17; Wilson pp.4-9; Wilson pp.51-61.


75. Forster p.35.

76. Ibid. pp.35-6.


79. Ibid. p.21.

80. "Now art thou cursed from the earth... When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth. And Cain said unto the Lord, My punishment is greater than I can bear. Behold, thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth..." Genesis IV 11-14.


82. See for example the letter John Dickens wrote to the novelist's publishers quoted in The Dickensian September 1970 p.236.

These measures did not save him, debts still mounted, hardly keeping pace with the loans, and in the end the novelist had to settle his debts and completed all the arrangements to house his mother and father in a cottage in Devon - See Johnson Vol. I pp. 256-7.

The notice was published by Thomas Mitton, Dickens' solicitor, and dated 8th March 1841: it is quoted in Johnson Vol. I pp. 307-8. He continued writing begging letters even after this! See K.J. Fielding's article The Making of "David Copperfield" in The Listener 19th July 1951 pp. 93-5.

Thus the roles are reversed from the start, they are not "gradually reversed". The situation from the opening of the story is that Nell mothers Old Trent. This is sometimes not fully grasped - see Graham Smith: Dickens, Money & Society California (1968) pp. 28-9.
105. Ibid.
106. Chap.29 p.205.
107. Chap.31 p.216.
108. Ibid. p.218.
110. Ibid.
111. Chap.42 p.294.
112. Ibid. p.299.
113. Chap.43 p.300 - cf Dickens own words about his childhood experiences "no advice, no counsel, no encouragement".
114. Ibid. p.300.
115. Ibid. p.301.
117. Chap.46 p.324.
119. Chap.1 p.3.
120. Ibid. p.2.
121. Ibid. p.3; he delineates her "very small and delicate frame" and the "peculiar youthfulness" of her appearance in the same section.
122. Chap.54 p.381.
124. Ibid. p.384.
125. Forster p.23.
128. Chap.55 p.386.
130. He "was in his childish way a lesson to them all" Chap.72 p.508.
131. Although this innovation has its interest - see Kathleen Tillotson: Novels of the Eighteen Forties (1962) pp.50 and following.
132. See Peter Coveney: 
 Poor Monkey - The Child in Literature (1957) revised edition entitled The Image of Childhood (1967). House pp.44-54; what Dickens seems to cry for is not charity but justice, see this discussed House Ibid. p.73. He quotes a very interesting piece by W.R. Greg from The Westminster Review of June 1845: "Everyone thinks of relieving, no one of removing, the mischief. The prevailing idea evidently is...to give benefits to an inferior, not to do justice to a fellow man. There is something essentially pauperising in all their conceptions. It pervades alike the factory and mining legislation... always the open purse, never the equal measure." Ibid. p.73.

133. BH Chap.XLII p.602.


135. See Ruskin: Fiction, Fair and Foul, in Nineteenth Century June 1880, reprinted in Wall pp.211-215 - this is the essay with the famous statement about Nell's being "simply killed for the market, as a butcher kills a lamb" and is really the ancestor of a long series of anti-Nell and other anti-pathetic essays - including Henry James' - culminating in Huxley's attack in Vulgarity in Literature (1930), the relevant sections of this are reprinted in Wall Ibid. pp.280-3.


137. The various government reports are full of the most dreadful evidence. I feel sick reading them. There is also John Fielden's The Curse of the Factory System (1836). For those with strong stomachs the main documents are: Report of Select Committee on Factory Children's Labour 1831-2 - this is the one which contains the celebrated evidence of Samuel Coulson so often quoted in social and economic histories - see Ibid. XV pp.192 and following; for the ignorance and utter spiritual depravity of these labouring children there is the Report on Educational Provisions of the Factory Act (1839). The Report of the Select Committee on the Regulation of Mills and Factories (1841) and the Report of Inspectors on the Frequency of Accidents in Factories (1841), the two reports of the Children's Employment Commission in 1842 and 1843 and the Report upon the Establishment of Schools in the Factory Districts (1843) are an indictment, in sober officialese, of an entire industrial system which despite the carefully numbered paragraphs and muted presentation is truly sensational reading. The descriptions of the sufferings of children in chimney sweeping, found in the Children's Employment Commission Report of 1863 (XVIII pp.297-8) are quite simply barbarous. Dickens was well aware of the terrible things that happened to factory children and of the way in which manufacturers strove to avoid operating within the Factory Act(s). He spared no details - see the dreadful article Ground in the Mill in HW Vol.IX 1854
pp.224-227; see also Drooping Buds in HW Vol.V 1852, pp.106-112. "Of all the coffins that are made in London, more than one in every three is made for a little child..." op.cit. p.106. One of the most horrid of our historical legends is surely that of William Pitt the Younger who, as Prime Minister during the French Wars, was told by the manufacturers that because of the high wages they had to pay their workmen they would be unable to pay their taxes. Pitt is said to have given the terrible answer: "Then take the children!" see W. Cooke Taylor: Factories and the Factory System (1844) pp.23-4. In Cooke Taylor's bland words: "The necessity for labour created by this taxation has not yet abated; because the immense capital taken away by the enormous expenditure of the great wars arising out of the French Revolution - an expenditure which was mainly supported out of the industrial resources of the country - has not been replaced..." W. Cooke Taylor op.cit. See E. Royston Pike: Human Documents of the Industrial Revolution in Britain (1966) pp.137 and following.


139. The Times 20th June 1870; reprinted in Wall Ibid. p.176.
142. Kathleen Tillotson: The Middle Years: From the "Carol" to "David Copperfield" in Dickens Memorial Lectures published as a supplement to the September 1970 Dickensian p.8.
143. Ibid. p.10.
144. See Johnson Vol.I p.297 and following, 320 and following.
145. Ibid. p.311.
149. Forster p.123: A view contested by Trevor Blount, who maintains the brilliant impromptu theory; the novel, he says, shows Dickens' "remarkable resilience in snatching a popular success out of a threatened calamity..."

Trevor Blount: Charles Dickens: The Early Novels (1968) p.21. This is really denied by the evidence of Forster. Dickens did not really write a short story and then suddenly decide to stretch it to a full length novel; Forster says quite clearly that the story of Nell and her grandfather came to him as a whole, with little consciousness of design on the novelist's part. This does happen sometimes - we have the evidence of Lady Chatterly's Lover just coming into Lawrence's mind, with the characters and symbols completely formed, and Wagner's experiencing the E flat chord as the musical basis of the prelude to Das Rheingold while in a dream-state between sleeping and waking in September 1853. This is discussed in Robert Donington's Wagner's Ring and its Symbols: The Music and the Myth (1963) pp.42-3. The incident is fully described in Wagner's Mein Leben and Deryck Cooke: The Language of Music (1964) pp.56-8. Kathleen Tillotson maintains that the handling of this novel shows Dickens' learning "to keep the larger unit in mind. Although he wrote from month to month he was not improvising, except in detail." Tillotson (1962) p.42. The OCS was, in fact, composed in weekly instalments, but Professor Tillotson is quite right, I think, about the "wholeness" of Dickens' conception of this novel. He wrote to Forster "The design and purpose...(was) distinctly marked in my mind from the commencement...." Dexter Letters Vol.I p.305. This theory of brilliant extemporising of the Nell story from short story to elaborate novel, undertaken by Dickens in order to pick up declining sales of Master Humphrey's Clock was finally exploded by Robert L. Pattern in his essay The Story Weaver at his Loom: Dickens and The Beginning of "The Old Curiosity Shop" in Dickens the Craftsman: Strategies of Presentation edited by Robert B Partlow Jr. Illinois (1970) pp.44-63; see also Malcolm Andrews' comprehensive discussion of the genesis and brief career of The Clock, Introducing Master Humphrey in The Dickensian Vol.LXVII Para.2 May 1971 pp.70-86.


152. Forster p.130.

153. Ibid.


156. OCS Chap.71 p.506.

158. "The Old Curiosity Shop followed in 1840 with a more sombre and minatory tone appropriate to the alarms of the coming decade. The wanderings of Nell and her grandfather cover a greater geographical and social range than Dickens had hitherto attempted and the grosser sentimentality only thinly covers a deeper menace..." Raymond Chapman: The Victorian Debate (1968) p.105.


162. See Ford p.38.


164. Dickens was well aware of the potentialities of "allegory" - there is the figure of the allegoric Roman in Mr. Tulkinghorn's chambers (see BH Chap.XLVIII pp.615 and following) and the obvious allegory of The Child's Story (extra Christmas number of HW reprinted in Christmas Stories pp.10-13.) In DC we even have a real "objective correlative"! Aunt Betsy is explaining to David the significance of King Charles' head to Mr. Dick: "That's his allegorical way of expressing it. He connects his illness with great disturbance and agitation, naturally, and that's the figure, or the simile, or whatever it's called, which he chooses to use. And why shouldn't he, if he thinks proper?... It's not a business-like way of speaking...nor a worldly way. I am aware of that..." DC Chap.XIV p.191. For a very interesting discussion of what allegory can - and cannot - do, see A.D. Nuttall: Two Concepts of Allegory (1967) pp.15-48.

165. Chap.69 p.492.


167. I Corinthians XV 50-55. Relevant here is the old carnival custom of caning with a willow or other green tree. The ancients believed that the touch of a green twig, preferably a freshly cut evergreen, containing the sap of life, transferred the fertility of the tree to the person touched by it. Originally such switches were used on the female genitals. In many languages the similarity of the name for penis and switch or twig or rod is clearly an etymological celebration of this custom - Latin virga and verge for example. Whipping and driving wedding celebrants with sticks is still practiced in the Pfalz, Latvia, Lithuania, parts of Poland and Tunxdorf, West Germany. The connection between "green-ness" and "life" suggested
by Dickens is therefore archetypal. 'Paul Tabori: Secret and Forbidden (1969) p.179. cf. Maureen Duffy: The Erotic World of Faery (1972) pp.82-3. We know that Dickens was quite anxious that the symbolism of the evergreens should be clearly shown in the illustration - see Dexter Letters Vol.I p.283, letter to Cattermole December 22nd 1840. "It is winter time, so there are no flowers, but upon her breast and pillow, and about her bed...strips of holly and berries, and such green things..." The fertile qualities of "green-ness" are celebrated in two justly famous lieder: Schubert’s Das Lied in Gruenen op.115 No.1 to words by Friedrich Reil composed in 1827 a song in praise of love, youth, spring and all growing things, and Hugo Wolf’s Gesegnet sei das Gruen und wer es traegt! to words by Paul Heyse, from Das italienisches Liederbuch written 1860; this verse sings the glory of all things green - meadows, love, growing fruit, life itself, "Das Gruen steht allen Dingen lieblich an, aus Gruen waechst jede schoene Frucht heran..." Traditionally green stands for gladness, immortality, the resurrection of the just; in blasonry it signifies love, joy, abundance, and in art it represents hope, joy, youth, spring. See Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable rev. by Ivor H. Evans (1970) p.249.


171. OCS Chap.53 p.370.

172. OCS Chap.72 p.509.

173. OCS Chap.72 p.511.

174. Sylvere Monod is convinced that the name conjures up associations with "knell".- Monod p.182. Professor Steven Marcus' discussion of the novel centres on the idea that the whole narrative moves towards death, it is a novel with an "unremitting impulse" towards "all that lies underground".- Marcus p.168. For Gabriel Pearson Nell's notorious offence is her death, she is the basic objection to the novel's acceptance, and he admits that the book may be read as an immense, unruly wreath laid on the clammy marble of Kensal Green Cemetery.- Gross and Pearson pp.78-9. This view is shared by Engel pp.100-1 and Lucas pp.73-4. J. Hillis Miller in discussing the novel's pastoralism says that it is expressed in terms of a "divinized nature and divinized past" identified with death.- Miller p.95. K.J. Fielding, craftily arguing around the fact that it was Forster who had suggested that Nell die, claims that "the whole trend of the story had always been towards her death."- Fielding p.64. But if we read it carefully, we come to see that the novel is committed to the idea of life,
and that it affirms the qualities and savour of life.
My evidence for this is in the scene with the sexton who
causes Nell to dwell so much on the ideas of mortality,
mutability, transience. (Chap.53 pp.371-4.) When she is
left alone she sits and reads the Bible for a moment or
two, she sits and thinks. The darkness and gloom of the
church do not oppress her spirit, nothing can suppress her
faith in light, air, movement. Dickens says quite plainly
that she was happy; she thinks of "the summer days and
the bright spring time that would come - of the rays of
sun aslant upon the sleeping forms - of the leaves that
would flutter at the window...of the songs of birds...of
the sweet air... What if the spot awakened thoughts of
death! Die who would, it would still remain the same;
these sights and sounds would still go on as happily as
ever. It would be no pain to sleep amidst them." (Ibid.
p.374) For a strange, almost perverse, reading of this
scene see Alexander Welsh: The City of Dickens (1971)
p.206. We should note the emphasis on images of bright-
ness, life, re-birth, greenness, birdsong - a selection
of images which stress the continuance of life. As she
leaves the chapel she is impressed by "the glory of the
sudden burst of life; the freshness of the fields and
woods...meeting the blue sky; the cattle grazing in the
pasturage..." (Ibid.) All these things make the movement
one of passing from death, to life. The journey is one
towards life - one that ends in eternal life - away from
the death represented by the city, by industry and by
money. As has been suggested, angelic loveliness and
deformity form the keystone of OCS; Malcolm Andrews:
Introduction to The Old Curiosity Shop (1972) p.12.

175. It is interesting to note that Carl Theodore Dreyer in
his amazing film La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc (1928) used
similar groups of images to suggest the purity, sanctity
and immortality of the heroine, a baby lamb, a baby at
its mother's breast, little children and above all flights
of birds (these are used particularly at the close of the
film). For a discussion of the visual effect of this
film see Roger Manvell: The Film and the Public (1955)
pp.119-123.

176. Michael Steig: The Central Action of "The Old Curiosity
Shop" - or Little Nell Revisited Again in Literature and

177. Leonard F. Manheim: Thanatos - The Death Instinct in
Dickens' Later Novels, Psa and Psa Review Vol.XLVII (1960-61)
p.19.


179. See C.J. Jung: Symbols of Transformation in Collected
238, 244, 322, 338 and following, 382, 412, 415, of the
death/transformation of Odette and Siegfried in Tchaikov-
sky's Swan Lake (1877). In the scene finale of Act IV

180. The Song of the Nibelung translated A.G. Foster-Barham (1893) p.156.

181. C.G. Jung: Psychology and Alchemy, Collected Works translated R.F.C. Hull Vol.XII (1953) p.192-3 - birds associated with Hermes Trismegistus and the Egyptian Thoth, the spirit of the four elements, the essence of the spirit of transformation: Mercury, the element of transformation, quicksilver, was central in alchemic mythology, his emblem was the bird: for the idea of death as transformation from one kind of life to another, see Jung Ibid. pp.295, 317, 322-5, 344-6: death is the beginning of the descent into the dark world of the unconscious, the perilous journey, the dark voyage which ends in the restoration of life, the resurrection and triumph over death. See C.G. Jung: Symbols of Transformation in Collected Works translated R.F.C. Hull Vol.V (1967) p.215 and cf Curt von Westerhagen: Die Symbolid des Todes, Festival Programme, Bayreuth (1960).


183. For example, sections of it appear in Denys Thompson: Reading and Discrimination (1962) p.103 and Thompson comments "Dickens here overdoes - and almost enjoys - his attempt to make us cry" Ibid. p.158.


185. Ibid.

186. Ibid.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid. p.507.

189. The North American Review in 1843 thought Nell "by universal consent" was "placed among the loveliest creations of
his genius...the favourite child of the author's genius..."
N.A.R. January 1843 Vol.LVI pp.212-37 - quoted in Collins: Critical Heritage p.131. And the reviewer of the Athenaeum in 1840 found her like "an allegory of the peace and innocence of Childhood in the midst of Violence, Superstition, and all the hateful or hurtful Passions of the world..." A. 7th November 1840 quoted in Collins Ibid. p.96.


191. Jeffrey wrote to Dickens in March 1841, Dickens wrote to Forster on 18th March 1841 and recounted what Jeffrey had told him; Dexter Letters Vol.I p.307; see Forster p.156.

192. cf. those beautiful lines which describe Cordelia:

Gentleman: ...now and then an ample tear trilled down Her delicate cheek. It seemed she was a queen Over her passion - who, most rebel-like, Sought to be king o'er her...

Kent: O! Then it moved her

Gentleman: Not to a rage - patience and sorrow strove Who should express her goodliest. You have seen Sunshine and rain at once - her smile and tears Were like, a better way. Those happy smiles That played on her ripe lips seemed not to know What guests were in her eyes...


- Come, let's away to prison.
We two alone will sing like birds i'th'cage,
When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down
And ask of thee forgiveness. So we'll live -
And pray and sing and tell old tales, and laugh
At gilded butterflies...

King Lear Act V Sc.i.


194. Chap.22 p.156.
195. Chap.24 p.169. The bird symbol is particularly important. It seems to stand for purity, wisdom and liberty - associations which are really classical in the folk-lore of birds. The dove is an ancient symbol of chastity and wisdom, a free spirit, the Avis Hermetis Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy* translated R.P.C. Hull *Collected Works* (1953) Vol.XII p.327-8 and a symbol of eternity: "and he will give me wings like a dove, and I will fly in the sky, and then I will say; I live for ever."; Vulgate Ps.54.7; and Deuteronomy 32.40: "Et dabit mihi pennes sicut columbae et volabo cum ae in ceolo et dicam tunc: vivo ego in aeternum." The association with eternity is strong; the bird is a symbol of Mercurius who in his volatile form of spiritus is a parallel of the Holy Ghost; Jung *op.cit.* p.417. The dove is particularly associated with Parsifal, and Dickens associates Nell with the birds cf. Ibsen's *Wild Duck* and Chekhov's *Seagull*.


197. Chap.53 p.369. The figure of Innocence placed in an evil world occurs quite frequently in the imaginative art of the nineteenth century. Wagner dealt with the theme of the exploitation of innocence several times. This is the theme of *Lohengrin* (1846-8) whose image is the pure white swan, see especially *Lohengrin* Act III Sc.3 Reclam edition p.55 and following. Siegfried is another such hero, a divine child, duped and exploited by sordid, mercenary creatures. He is associated with the sun and is referred to as "siegendes Licht" "seliger Held" "Wonniges Kind" "lachender Held" "herrlicher Knabe", see *Siegfried* Act III Sc.3 Reclam edition pp.85-95. The coincidence of time is interesting. Siegfried was not completed until the 1870's although we know Wagner sketched the Ring cycle during the 1840's, see Ernest Newman: *Wagner Nights* (1949) pp.415 and following: the scene in *Siegfried* I have referred to is well discussed by Robert Donington in his *Wagner's "Ring" and its Symbols* (1963) pp.207-216. *Parsifal* (1877-1882) is really the consummation of Wagner's treatment of the symbol of child-like innocence: Parsifal is the utterly simple and innocent child who is sufficiently pure to achieve the Grail and cure Amfortas, see *Parsifal* Act I Sc.1 "Durch Mitleid wissend, der reine Tor; Harre Sein, den ich erkor" Reclam edition p.18; Newman: *Wagner Nights* Ibid. pp.670 and following; Robert Giddings: *The Best Night of all the World - A Study of the Parsifal Legend*, unpub. diss. University of Bristol (1958); and Wagner's letter to Mathilde Wesendonck dated May 30th 1859, reprinted in *Wagner on Music and Drama* ed. Goldman and Sprinchnor (1970) pp.295-8 and for Wagner's views on the figure of the hero as perfect human being, see his letter to August Roeckel dated 25th January 1854 in *Richard Wagner's Letters to August Roeckel* translated Eleanor C. Sellar, Bristol N.D. pp.102 and following. All Wagner's heroes are innocents who act out their lives in a wicked and corrupt world; they are cheated, betrayed and sacrificed by evil human beings. Like the figure of Little Nell they are associated with light, the sun, birds and animals; and
like her too, they seem to stand for a kind of human perfection we in the modern world have lost. Of course, Wagner, as a musician, is able to present the innocent quality as a musical experience, see Deryck Cooke: *The Language of Music* (1964) pp.56-8. Verdi also, writing in the middle of the nineteenth century, was deeply interested in the corruption of the completely innocent child-figure by sordid sophisticated and materialistic men. In two quite outstanding examples he has expressed the purity and pathos of this situation: in *Luisa Miller*, his opera based on Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, first performed in 1849, we have the lines:

> Ti desta, Luisa, regina de'cori;  
> i monte gia lambe  
> un riso di luce:  
> d'un giorno si lieto  
> insiem con gli albori  
> qui dolce amistade a te ne conduce:  
> leggiadra e quest'alba  
> sorgente in aprile,  
> ma come il tuo viso  
> leggiadra no, non e... *Luisa Miller* Act I Sc.i -  

Luisa queen of all hearts, awake! Our sweet friendship leads us to you, where the smile of sunlight touches the mountains on the dawn of such a happy day: this rising dawn of April is lovely, but not so lovely as your face...

In *Otello* (1887) Verdi uses the resources of an off stage childrens choir and the gentle accompaniment of mandolines to present the gentleness and innocent purity of Desdemona: the chorus sing

> Dove guardi splendono raggi,  
> Avvampan cuori.  
> Dove passi scendono nuvole  
> Di fiori...* Otello* Act II Sc.i -

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. Hebrews XIII 1-4; Dyson pp.23-4.

2. Pope-Hennessy pp.172 and following. He was reading Goldsmith regularly, especially while touring the U.S. in 1842.

3. See Marcus pp.24 and following.

4. In the Preface to the cheap edition of Pickwick in 1847 Dickens describes how the name evolved from "Moses", "in honour of The Vicar of Wakefield", quoted in Wall p.82.


7. Fielding p.84.


13. Published in 1848, later extended to The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith and published in 1854. Forster was working on this fifteen years before its first appearance in 1848 - see Malcolm Elwin: Victorian Wallflowers (1934) p.201.


15. Barbara Hardy: The Complexity of Dickens in Slater p.44.

16. Professor Hardy has done a great service to Dickens' studies: her essay on MC is a rock of common sense in a sea of surmise, hallucination and foggy attitudenizing. "...the Martin Chuzzlewit of Jack Lindsay...Dorothy van Ghent...and J. Hillis Miller...is a novel - or rather three different novels - which I should like to read..." Gross and Pearson p.108. Her book The Moral Art of
Charles Dickens (1970) is to be applauded as a rewarding attempt to read Dickens, and not read into Dickens. I sometimes think that there are critics who, given The Brighton and District Telephone Directory, could provide an exegesis involving a perfectly coherent symbolic structure, a total relevance, a fully integrated narrative, moral structure etc. etc., which would wholly convince.

17. OT Chap.XXXII p.225.
19. cf. Deserted Village lines 97 and following, and Gray's Elegy lines 13 and following.

20. The same argument is the basis of BR. Barnaby is tempted to leave the country and come into the town in search of the crowds where, he believes, he will find gold. A natural "innocent" he is corrupted by the town and barely escapes death. The Novel ends with his return to the peace and tranquility of the country.

21. OT Chap.XXXII p.225 - cf. Wordsworth's Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood esp. stanzas V-VI. This theme persists in OT, some pages before this Dickens says that while sleeping at the Maylies' house Oliver dreams of the kind of love and affection which he never had as a child "as a strain of gentle music, or the rippling of water in a silent place, or the odour of a flower, or even the mention of a familiar word, will sometimes call up sudden dim remembrances of scenes that never were, in this life; which vanish like a breath; which some brief memory of a happier existence, long gone by, would seem to have awakened; for no voluntary exertion of the mind can ever recall them..." OT Chap.XXX p.205.

22. OT Chap.XV p.98.

23. OT Chap.XVIII p.123. A vision of Hell which he repeats in OCS, where it appears as Quilp's wharf, and in DC, where it is the grim bottle-factory to which poor David is sent to work: "...at the bottom of a narrow street, curving down hill to the river... It was a crazy old house with a wharf of its own...literally overrun with rats. Its panelled rooms, discoloured with the dirt and smoke of a hundred years...its decaying floors and staircase...the dirt and rottenness of the place; are things not of many years ago, in my mind, but of the present. They are all before me, just as in the evil hour when I went among them for the first time..." DC Chap.XI p.144.

24. OT Chap.XIX p.130.


27. Gilbert Highet: *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature* (1959) p.166. Even the formidable Croce has room in his heart for pastoral; of Arcadia he says "It would be no use trying to submit these sympathies and antipathies...to methodic discussion, for they are not logical judgments...their object is not the historically real Arcadia, but the idealization of the sentiments..." - *Arcadia in Philosophy, Poetry, History* in An Anthology of Essays by Benedetto Croce translated Cecil Sprigge (1966) pp.1055-1066.

28. "...Of his (Lord Littleton's) *Progress of Love*, it is sufficient blame to say that it is pastoral..." Johnson says, *Lives of the Poets* Vol.II (1953) p.382; he is kind to Pope's *Pastorals* only after making a great effort to swallow prejudice; "It seems natural for a young poet to initiate himself by pastorals, which, not professing to imitate real life, require no experience..." Life of Pope Ibid. pp.215 and following. See also H.A. Needham: *Taste and Criticism in the Eighteenth Century* (1952) pp.150-163.


30. The popularity of *Arcadia* was immense - its influence must have been in some way proportionate. The British Museum Catalogue shows that between 1590 and 1740 there were over twenty editions.

31. Lines 81-90.

32. Lines 131-8.


35. Ibid.

37. For comments on the mainstream of English eighteenth century pastoral verse see C.E. de Haas: Nature and the Country in English Poetry of the First Half of the Eighteenth Century Amsterdam (1928).


40. Published in 1849.

41. See Johnson Vol.1 pp.167, 261; Pope-Hennessy pp.61, 113, 153, 171-2; the influence of Irving was noted very early - T.H. Lister in a review of SB in the Edinburgh Review October 1838 commented on it - see Wall p.45.


43. Ibid. p.56.

44. Sketch Book (1912), John Bull p.311.

45. Miller p.32.


47. OCS Chap.15, p.106.

48. Ibid. p.167.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid. p.108.

54. Ibid.

55. This was a section of the novel Dickens was especially pleased with. He writes to Forster "There is a description of getting gradually out of town, and passing through neighbourhoods of distinct and various characters, with which, if I had read it as anybody's else's writing, I think I should have been very much struck. The child and the old man are on their journey...and the subject is a very pretty one." - letter to Forster, 17th June 1840 in Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.84.
56. His symbolic use of real things is typical of Dickens' art, see J.C. Reid: *The Hidden World of Charles Dickens* Auckland (1962). "...it is a mark of Dickens' art...he leaves the surface action and the doings of his characters so clear that his novels may be read without suspicion of concealed meanings. The freakish details, the oddities of characterization, the pervasive animism, can be accepted simply as resourcefulness of fancy or prodigality of invention, adding a kind of imaginative ambience to the plot. But if the novels are regarded organic units belonging to the universe of myth, poetry and fable rather than to the realistic one, these elements of fancy and capricious inventiveness are seen to be precisely those that make us emotionally susceptible to the symbolic significance which is unquestionably a major part of Dickens' intention..." *Ibid.* pp.9-10.

57. There are close similarities between this section and the paper Goldsmith contributed to *The Bee* October 27th 1759, A City Night Piece, Letter XXXIII, *The Citizen of the World* ed. W.A. Brockington n.d. pp.149-151: Dickens was given a copy of Goldsmith's *The Bee* as a present by his teacher William Giles at Chatham in 1822 - *Wilson* p.43.

58. *OCS* p.108.


62. p.110.

64. cf. Matthew XVIII.3. "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter unto the Kingdom of Heaven". Dickens, I think, was well aware of the frequent biblical overtones in much of his writings. Fagin is obviously the Devil. It is his ambition to corrupt Oliver, not destroy him, this is in the best satanic tradition. He is several times referred to as "the old gentleman" - a commonplace term for the Devil. He is frequently associated with smoke and fire. His home is suitably black and hellish. He has red hair, the Devil traditionally wore red hair in morality plays. Dickens makes his hellish origins obvious enough: "he looked less like a man, than like some hideous phantom, moist from the grave, and worried by an evil spirit."

OT Chap.XLVII p.337: see Lauriat Lane Jr.: The Devil in "Oliver Twist" in Dickensian Vol.LII (1956) and Dickens' Archetypal Jew in P.M.L.A. Vol.LXXIII (1958). He is pitted against the forces of Good - Mr. Brownlow. The saintly Oliver several times prays to Heaven to spare him from such evil where he stands "alone in the midst of wickedness and guilt..." OT Chap.XX p.140. In BR the mob are presented as a gathering of Devils, with Chester as the arch-fiend. Will Fern's words in The Chimes recall an Old Testament vision of Judgement: "There'll be a Fire tonight... They'll be Fires this winter-time, to light dark nights... When you see the distant sky red, think of me no more: ...remember what a Hall was lighted up inside of me, and think you see its flames reflected in the clouds..." The Chimes, Fourth Quarter p.149. Parts of the journey in OCS read like a journey through Hell; Quilp is associated with fire, smoke, grime and the lower regions. Smike dies with the name of Eden on his lips - NN Chap.LVIII p.723. The search for Eden constitutes an important part of MC; when Martin and Mark Tapley arrive at Eden they find "The waters of the Deluge might have left it but a week before ...", MC Chap.XXIII p.360. It is suggested that the garden of Satis House plays a similar Eden role in GE; J.C. Reid: The Hidden World of Charles Dickens, Auckland (1962) p.32. Tom-All-Alone's in BH is another portrait of Hell. Thus, I think, we are to take this "laving" on more than its face value.

65. OCS Chap.15 p.110.

66. OCS Chap.15 pp.110-111.

67. cf. Bulwer-Lytton's strange novel The Disowned (1828) which has several passages of a similar loyalty to rural things and the traditional way of life. "This is but a wild, savage sort of scene for England...in this day of new-fashioned ploughs and farming improvements...in a few years agricultural innovation will scarcely leave...a single furze-blossom for the bee, or a tuft of green sward for the grasshopper...however unpleasant the change may be...we must not repine at what they tell us is so sure a witness of the prosperity of the country..." The Disowned (1852) Chap.1 p.3. This complacency does not go unanswered: "They tell us! Who tell us? ...is it the puny
and spiritless artisan, or the debased and crippled slave of the counter and till, or the shallow speculator on morals, who would mete us out our liberty...let them follow what the books and precepts of their own wisdom teach them; let them cultivate more highly the lands they have already parcelled out...and leave, though at scanty intervals, some green patches of unpolluted land for the poor man's beast, and the free man's foot..." Ibid. Bulwer-Lytton makes significant use of the song Under the Greenwood Tree in this chapter also.

68. Donald Fanger: Dostoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens and Gogol Cambridge, Mass. (1965) p.80. He is really echoing J. Hillis Miller, who had earlier said that OCS was an allegory of death: "...it is merely one example among many of a horrified flight from the new industrial, urban and commercial civilisation, to the nostalgically remembered rural, agrarian and 'natural' civilisation of the past. But Dickens has no illusions about this. He recognised that the rural paradise no longer really exists, that it is dead..." Miller p.95.

69. See, for example, the beautiful passage where Hardy describes how Dr. Fitzpiers begins to grow restless at the routine of the country life, The Woodlanders (1951) Chap. XVII pp.155 and following, or the opening of Chap.XX Ibid. p.181: Hardy is describing things he knows, and he tries to set them down as he has seen them, or the description of the Harvest home in Far From the Madding Crowd Chap.36 and the sheep fair, Ibid. Chap.50. This is a way of life Hardy knows and has experienced. See Michael Millgate: Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist (1971) pp.242 and following.


71. He does say that Nell becomes "the embodied spirit of the book; she is sacrificed to greed...even as the ancient virtues of homely life perished under the rule of heartless commercialism..." Ibid. p.125.

72. Sucksmith p.80.

73. Lucas pp.80-2.

74. Cockshut p.89.

75. Earle Davis p.57.

76. See her essay The Complexity of Dickens in Slater p.44.


78. Ibid. p.140.

80. This I do not understand. Cockayne is traditionally the land of luxury and idleness. Brewer quotes a 13th century French poem which presents Cockayne as a land where "the houses were made of barley sugar cakes, the streets were paved with pastry, and the shops supplied goods for nothing..." Brewer's Dictionary of Phrase and Fable (1970) p.243.


82. Fielding p.69.


85. Chap.50 p.347.

86. Ibid. p.349.

87. Chap.50 p.353.


89. Ibid. p.152.

90. He is persistently associated with dogs - appropriate enough for such an outstanding representation of the Black Dog of Hell - see Warrington Winters: The Old Curiosity Shop - A Consummation Devoutly to be Wished in Dickensian Vol.LXIII Sept. 1967 pp.176 and following; for an exhaustive discussion of Quilp's canine characteristics, and Marcus pp.151-6 for a discussion of other mythological, animal and literary associations in Quilp's character.


92. Chap.21 p.149.


94. OCS Chap.67 p.479.
95. Chap. the Last p.516. Some have thought Dickens' treatment of his villains rather harsh, although in Quilp's case the justice he gets seems poetic: see Walter C. Philips: *Dickens, Reade and Collins - Sensational Novelists* Columbia, N.Y. (1919) pp.190-5. There is, of course, something wildly attractive about Quilp all the same, he is "a combination of fearsome and ludicrous qualities" - Lee Byron Jennings: *The Ludicrous Demon - Aspects of the Grotesque in Post Romantic German Prose* Berkeley and Los Angeles (1963) p.10.

96. The etymology is fascinating: from the French Paradis, derived from Latin through the Greek paradeisos, ultimately from the Old Persian pairidaeza - a meadow, orchard or park. In the language of Madison Avenue, Paradise is field-shaped. Dickens' conception of heaven is thus truly archetypal.

97. Oliver Goldsmith: *The Vicar of Wakefield* N.D. Chap.IV p.20, slightly adapted.

98. The rather arch, rather mild righteousness, the use of "the polite" for sophisticated city dwellers, "wrought" for "worked" and "idleness" used innocently, with no overtone of reproof - these are essentially *period* things, and therefore, things which date a piece of writing.


102. It is of great interest that Dickens used Hablot Browne to illustrate the Quilp/London scenes and George Cattermole to illustrate the Nell/country scenes - see John Harvey: *Victorian Novelists and their Illustrators* (1970) pp.117-23. He felt that Cattermole was able to produce the very pastoral innocence and old-world atmosphere he wanted: he was very particular in his directions to Cattermole, see his letters to him dated 13th August 1840, 14th August 1840, 21st December 1840 and 22nd December 1840 in *Dexter Letters* Vol.I pp.268, 269, 283-4. He wrote to Cattermole: "I have so deeply felt your hearty and most invaluable co-operation in the beautiful illustrations...that I look at them with a pleasure I cannot describe. Believe me that this is the very first time that any designs for what I have written have touched and moved and caused me to feel that they expressed the idea I had in mind. I am most sincerely and affectionately grateful to you..." Letter quoted in *The Dickens Picture Book* p.171, this is Vol.XVII of *The Charles Dickens Library* edited by J.A. Hammerton (1910). The early Victorian period seems a golden age of pastoral illustration, see Kenneth Lindsay: *The Wood Block Engravers* (1970) pp.52-3. Goldsmith had two of his finest illustrators in Edmund Evans and Birket Foster. Foster created his scenes from
Goldsmith a "soft countryside, thatched cottages, elms, church towers, stiles, sheep, and above all a peaceful prettiness instantly recognisable" - R. Margaret Slythe: The Art of Illustration 1750-1900 (1970) p.30. These words sum up, I think, the kind of atmosphere Dickens wanted to achieve in OCS. The pastoral argument may seem weak when presented in words, George Bourne (Change in the Village), George Ewart Evans (Ask the Fellows Who Cut the Hay) and Flora Thompson (Lark Rise to Candleford) may have writ in vain: more obvious, maybe more powerful evidence, is found in Gordon Winter's beautiful book, A Country Camera 1844-1914 (1971). We cannot talk away the issue by saying that this is a poetic dream world created by Birket Foster and Edmund Evans. If this does not convince, final recourse may be made to the fine Museum of English Rural Life at the University of Reading.

103. See illustration OCS p.170.
104. OCS Ibid. p.170.
105. OCS Ibid. p.171.
106. Goldsmith op.cit. p.34 lines 96-106.
107. The parish schoolteacher in SB is actually a pauper: he is the opposite of the Workhouse Keeper - morose, brutish, ill-tempered, bullying to his inferiors - but despite these virtues, he is a pauper, though "his talents were great; his disposition easy, generous and liberal. His friends profited by the one, and abused the other. Loss succeeded loss; misfortune crowded on misfortune..." SB Chap.1 pp.6-7. And at a speech to the Governesses' Benevolent Institution in April 1844 Dickens made significant allusion to an essay in Goldsmith's Bee. "It had been stated by Dr. Goldsmith," he said, "who had painful experience of the neglect which this class of instructor endures, that he knew no member of society more useful nor more honourable than the imparter of knowledge; at the same time he knew none who was so generally despised, and whose talents were so ill rewarded..." Fielding Speeches pp.65-6: the essay alluded to is On Education.
108. Chap.44 p.312.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX


2. The Vicar of Wakefield ND. Chap.III p.16. The whole of Chapter VI is devoted to "Happiness of a Country Fireside".

3. cf. Forster's words on *The Vicar of Wakefield*: "It is not simply that a happy fireside is depicted there, but that it is one over which calamity and sorrow can only cast the most temporary shade. In his deepest distress, the Vicar has but to remember how much kinder Heaven is to us than we are to ourselves, and how few are the misfortunes of Nature's making, to recover his cheerful patience... When worldly reverses visit the good doctor Primrose, they are of less account than the equanimity they cannot deprive him of; than the belief in good to which they only give wider scope..." John Forster: *Life of Goldsmith* (1848) pp.364-5.


5. Ross Dabney does not seem aware of any connotation between Trent's avarice and the society which fosters - admires even - the urge to "get on" - to go one better: his view of this story is on the simple narrative level, with little allowance made for the strong figure of the gambling-crazed Trent acting as a symbol for society based on material values and speculative economy. See Ross H. Dabney: *Love and Property in the Novels of Dickens* (1967) pp.22 and following.

6. Chap.9 pp.69-70.

7. Ibid. p.70.

8. *OCS* Chap.6 p.45.


12. Chap.31 p.217. cf. the dedicatory letter Goldsmith wrote to Joshua Reynolds: "I inveigh against the increase of other luxuries; and here also I expect the shout of modern politicians against me. For twenty or thirty years past, it has been the fashion to consider luxury as one of the greatest national advantages; and all the wisdom of antiquity, in that particular, as erroneous. Still, however, I must remain a professed ancient on that head..." *Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith* ed. John Mitford (1889) p.26 - and see *The Deserted Village* lines 251-273.


amongst the most terrible poverty and hardship are stressed. Here Dickens describes a visit to Bethnal Green whose inhabitants, he says, are very poor, but "strive to keep out of the workhouse" and are noted "for the small number of the offences brought home to their doors". The article is, in fact, very compassionate and deeply moving. As he says: "Private and direct charity may relieve individuals...but it cannot touch...the public evil." Ibid. p.205.

15. Walter Dexter ed. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens: His Letters to Her (1935) p.75. Johnson Vol.I p.224. He found that Pittsburgh was remarkably like Birmingham - "There is a great deal of smoke in it," he told Forster - Forster p.241.


19. Chartism is prefaced by the motto "It never smokes but there is fire." We know that Dickens early read Chartism - letter to John Overs dated 27th October 1840 Pilgrim Letters Vol.II p.141.


21. Ibid.


23. Ibid.

24. There is very strong evidence that he read Carlyle's Miscellaneous Essays persistently - as well as Sartor Resartus: Signs of the Times and Chartism seem particularly to have impressed him.


27. OCS Chap.31 p.219.


30. More fully developed in HT Book the Second Chap.IV pp.514 and following.

31. Ibid. p.317.

33. OCS Chap.44 pp.306-7.


36. Ibid. p.320. Carlyle goes on to speak of the "deep, paralysed subjection to physical objects" which does not come from Nature but from our own unwise mode of viewing nature - Ibid. pp.340 and following. We recall those hard words of James Kay-Shuttleworth in 1832, "Whilst the engine runs, the people must work - men, women and children yoked together with iron and steam. The animal machine... is chained fast to the iron machine, which knows no suffering and weariness." Quoted in Gillian Avery: Victorian People (1970) p.171.

37. Lucas pp.83 and following.

38. See F.R. Leavis: Two Cultures? The Significance of C.P. Snow (1962) pp.24 and following for a denunciation of the ethos of getting on, "Jam tomorrow (if you haven't any today" etc.).


40. OCS Chap.69 pp.489-90.

41. Ibid. p.490.

42. Chap.9 p.71.

43. OCS Chap.18 pp.129-30.

44. Leavis p.193.


46. See Leavis pp.210-211.

47. Bernard Darwin: The Dickens Advertiser (1930) p.4 and cf. OCS Chap.29 pp.201-2.
48. OCS Chap.27 p.191.
49. Ibid. p.191.
52. OCS Chap.42 p.293.
53. OCS Ibid. p.294.
55. OCS Chap.11 p.79. The term Dickens uses to describe Brass's nose is interesting. It was a favourite word of William Cobbett (1762-1835) which he used to describe any monstrously over-grown and swelling city, especially London: "But what is to be the fate of the great wen of all? The monster called...' the metropolis of the empire' ..." he wrote in Rural Rides (1821). "Chatham has some monstrous wens stuck on to it by the lavish expenditure of the war..." Ibid. 4th December 1821; "Croydon is a good market town; but is by the funds, swelled out into a wen..." Ibid. 8th January 1822. Thus it is appropriate that the city lawyer's nose should be so described.
56. OCS Chap.62 p.431 cf. As You Like It: Act III Sc.iv. "His very hair is of the dissembling colour, something browner than Judas's. Marry, his kisses are Judas's own children" lines 6-8: the fat of a dead red-haired person was traditionally an ingredient of poisons, cf. Middleton: The Witch Act V Sc.ii where Hecate requests this ingredient - "fetch three ounces of the red-hair'd girl I killed last midnight." This scene is quoted in Charles Lamb: Specimens of English Dramatic Poets edited by Israel Gollancz (1893) Vol.I p.270: Chapman says that flattery, like the plague, "Strikes into the brain of man, and rageth in his entrails when he can, Worse than the poison of a red-haired man." Chapman: Bussy d'Ambois Act III Sc.i.
57. OCS Chap.60 pp.420-4.
58. OCS Chap.60 p.423.
60. Fielding pp.69-70.
61. OCS Chap.2 pp.15-16, Chap.7 pp.48 and following.
62. OCS Chap.7 pp.50-1.
63. Ibid. p.52
64. Ibid. p.53
65. OCS Chap.8 p.55.
66. OCS Chap.8 pp.55-6.
67. Sucksmith p.272. The original manuscript of OCS and its corrected proofs are in the Foster Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum 47.A.5 (Vol.1A) 47.A.6 (Vol.1B) 47.A.7 (Vol.1IA) 47.A.8 (Vol.1IB). A portion of the corrected proofs only of OCS are in the collection 48.E.27. The manuscript shows that Dickens wanted in particular to stress Dick's scruffy attempts at gentility. "At length there (? slunk) SAUNTERED up, on the opposite side of the way - WITH A BAD PRETENCE OF PASSING BY ACCIDENT - a figure conspicuous for its dirty smartness... His attire was not, as he himself had hinted, remarkable for the nicest arrangement, but was in a state of disorder which strongly induced the idea that he had gone to bed in it. It consisted of a brown body-coat with a great many brass buttons up the front and only one behind, a bright check neckerchief, A (?) PLAID WAISTCOAT (-? dirty white) SOILED WHITE trousers, and a very limp hat... The breast of his coat was ornamented with an outside pocket (in which was thrust a very large) FROM WHICH PEEPED FORTH THE CLEANEST END OF A VERY LARGE AND VERY ILL-FAVoured handkerchief; (and though) his DIRTY wristbands (had were pulled? down/?back) WERE PULLED DOWN AS far as possible and OSTENTATIOUSLY folded back over his cuffs." OCS original manuscript Vol.1A Chap.2 pp.14, 16; cf. OCS Chap.2 pp.15-6. For analysis of this passage and telling comments on Dickens' revisions, see Sucksmith pp.272-3. Dickens seems to have little patience for Bohemians, Henry Gowan and Harold Skimpole are shown as affected and parasitic creatures: Bohemians, he says, are "the gipsies of civilisation. Their skins may be fair, their eyes blue... but they are essentially as nomadic, as predatory, as incorrigibly reluctant to any reputable task, and as diligent in any knavish operation; as dissipated, careless, improvident, and municipally worthless as any Caloro or Rommaney that the Polyglottian Mr. Borrow has ever told us of..." A Tour in Bohemia in HW Vol.IX (1854) pp.495-6; this article was suggested by Henry Murger's book Scenes de la Vie de Boheme which appeared in 1848. This was the book which was so profitably to inspire Puccini. See Joanna Richardson: The Bohemians - La Vie de Boheme in Paris (1969) pp.95 and following.
68. Chap.13 p.95.
69. OCS p.96.
70. OCS Chap.23 p.160.
71. Ibid. p.161.
72. OCS Chap.7 p.50.
74. Dickens' works and letters contain frequent mention of the stage melodramas popular in his day: notably J. Home's Douglas (1756), Sheridan's adaptation of Kitzebue's Pizarro (1799), George Colman the younger's Ways and Means (1788), Thomas Holcroft's The Road to Ruin (1792), James Sheridan Knowles' Gaius Gracchus (1815) and Virginius (1820), Douglas Jerrold's Black Ey'd Susan (1829), Byron's Werner (1823), which was one of Macready's most memorable roles, Bulwer Lytton's Lady of Lyons (1838), Richeleau (1838) and Money (1840) - see Earle Davis pp.58-66 and 315-6. Dickens' relation with the popular theatrical tradition is an important, and indeed a fascinating subject, which has received some good attention: notably J.B. Amerongen: The Actor in Dickens, N.Y. (1927); R.C. Churchill: Dickens, Drama and Tradition in Scrutiny Vol.X (1942) pp. 358-75, reprinted in Eric Bentley: The Importance of Scrutiny, N.Y. (1958) pp.182-202; William F. Axton: Circle of Fire - Dickens Vision and the Popular Victorian Theatre Lexington 1966. See also Appendix B The Dick Swiveller Song Book.
75. Pearson p.88 and contemporaries noticed a similarity. Longfellow, who got to know the novelist during his first visit to the U.S. in 1842, described him as having a "fine bright face, blue eyes, long black hair, and with a slight dash of the Dick Swiveller about him." Quoted in Johnson Vol.I p.373.
76. Whose best effusion, I think, is his parody of the Jacobite song "Come boat o'er to Charlie" which he transmogrifies to "Over the water to Jarley". In fact, Mr. Slum produces one gem after another: "I saw thy show in youthful prime" and "Believe me if all Jarley's waxworks so rare" I place high on the list - see OCS Chap.27 pp.188-9.
77. The Boarding House Chap.1 SB pp.258-9.
78. Ibid. p.259.
79. OCS Chap.2 p.15.
80. And we note that at the Wackles' establishment "country dances being low, were utterly proscribed" and Dick Swiveller has perforce to be contented with a sophisticated Quadrille. OCS Chap.8 p.59.
81. Chap.56 p.390.
82. Ibid. p.390
83. Ibid. pp.391-2.
84. Ibid. p.393.
85. Ibid. p.393.
86. Ibid. p.394.
87. Ibid. p.394.
88. Ibid. pp.394-5.
89. OCS Chap.57 p.400.

90. I do not wish to push the analogy with King Lear too far, but I am sure that the play was lurking in the back of the novelist's mind: we have the Cordelia figure in Nell, Grandfather is rather like the aged King and goes mad after the loss of his beloved child and there is direct reference to King Lear - see Chap.57 p.398.

91. Chap.57 p.402.
92. OCS Chap.58 p.403.
93. Chap.57 p.401.
94. Ibid. p.401.

95. Ibid. p.401. Recent criticism of this novel has, I think, tended to place a great deal too much emphasis on this character: Leonard F. Manheim for example, gives her the status of an anti-Nell, but her space and place in the novel hardly justifies this, see Leonard F. Manheim: The Dickens Pattern - A Study Psychoanalytic Criticism unpub. doct. diss. Columbia University (1948) p.257 and following, and his article Floras and Doras - The Women in Dickens' Novels, Texas Studies in Literature and Language Vol.VII (1965) pp.194 and following: Gabriel Pearson provides an excellent commentary on her place in the novel, I think, see Gross and Pearson pp.85-9. This should be read as an antidote to Marcus pp.166-8.

96. OCS Chap.59 pp.415-6 and Chap.60 pp.422-3.
97. OCS Chap.63 p.443.


99. OCS Chap.63 p.441. Kit's trial, which is described in this chapter, is an excellent little satire; cf. the trial in PP Chap.XXXIII.

100. OCS Chap.63 p.442.
103. See Appendix B: *The Dick Swiveller Song Book.*
104. *OCS Chap.64* p.446.
106. *OCS Ibid.* p.450. We know Dickens was always amused by the drollery of excessively florid vocal delivery and stage-business generally: cf. the little ballet interlude *The Indian Savage and the Maiden* in *NN Chap.XXIII* pp.274-5; and the discussion of the play Nicholas adapts for Crummles' company, *Ibid.* Chap.XXIX pp.284-5; there is also the wonderful account of the performance of Crummles' bandit play, which "belonged to no particular age, people or country" *Ibid.* pp.287-8; unconsciously Dickens was of the same party as the "Commercials underneath" at the Blue Boar who complain at the noise created when Mr. Wopsle "gave us Collin's Ode, and threw his blood-stain'd sword in thunder down" - *GE Chap.XIII* p.87. My own favourite among all Dickens' accounts of ridiculous theatrical pretension is Mr. Wopsle's - or rather Mr. Waldengarver's - *Hamlet*, so comically rendered in *GE Chap.XXXI* pp.209-11. See V.C. Clinton-Baddeley's article *Wopsle* in *The Dicken­sian* Vol.LVII (1961).
110. *OCS Chap. the Last* p.519.
111. *OCS Chap.1* pp.7-8.
113. cf. *GE Chap.VII* pp.37-8, *Chap.LVII* pp.384-5; Kit seems to be a youthful Joe, grotesque, awkward to the stage of being embarrassing in company, simple and unlettered, but good through and through. Pip says that Joe "sanctified" the forge simply by being there. *GE Chap.XIV* p.88; the interpretation of this work by Mrs. Leavis seems perverse and at variance with the evidence provided by the text - see *Leavis* pp.326 and following.
114. *Chap.10* p.73.
115. *OCS Chap.10* p.74.
116. *OCS Chap.10* p.76.
117. *OCS Chap.11* pp.82-3.
118. Ibid. p.84.

119. See Sucksmith pp.120-1.

120. OCS Chap.14 p.100.

121. cf. "What I now offer to your lordships is a collection of Poetry, a Garland of Good Will." Prior's Dedication to his Poems (1717).

122. OCS Chap.14 p.104.

123. However far the goodness of the Garlands may stretch our credulity, they were a real family known to Dickens as a child during his father's imprisonment. Young Charles was in lodgings. Later in life he told Forster about his landlord: "He was a fat, good-natured, kind old gentleman. He was lame, and had a quiet old wife; and he had a very innocent grown-up son, who was lame too. They were all very kind... They were all dead when he told me this, but in another form they live still very pleasantly as the Garland family in The Old Curiosity Shop..." Forster pp.29-30.

124. OCS Chap.22 p.156.

125. OCS Chap.22 p.156.

126. OCS Chap.22 p.157.


128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid. p.158.

131. OCS Chap.40 p.281.

132. Ibid. p.159.

133. OCS Chap.38 pp.264-5.

134. Ibid. pp.265 and following.

135. Ibid. p.266.


138. Such as we find in the Heeps of DC Chap.39 p.535.

139. OCS Chap.39 p.275.

141. Shakespeare and Newgate written with R.H. Horne, HW, 4th October 1851, reprinted in UW Vol.I p.343; Dickens also contributed two other very interesting papers both called The Amusements of the People which appeared in HW on 30th March 1850 and 13th April 1850. See UW Vol.I pp.63-4.

142. Monod pp.191-2. They express a vital human impulse, and they minister to vital human needs. "The horseriding, frowned upon as frivolous and wasteful...brings the machine hands of Coketown...what they are starved of. It brings to them, not merely amusement, but art, and the spectacle of triumphant activity that, seeming to contain its end within itself, is, in its easy mastery, joyously self-justified." Leavis ibid. p.192.


144. One of the most celebrated equestrian pieces written for Astley's was Thomas Dibdin's The High-Mettled Racer - see note on All's Well in the Appendix B: The Dick Swiveller Song Book.


146. OCS Chap.39 pp.275-6.

148. OCS Chap.40 p.278.
149. OCS Chap.40 p.280.
150. OCS Chap.61 p.425.
151. OCS Chap.68 p.480.
152. OCS Chap.68 p.483.
153. Ibid.
154. OCS Chap.71 p.506.
155. OCS Chap.42 p.292.
156. Forster p.126.
158. OCS Chap.43 p.300.
159. OCS Chap.69 p.491.
161. OCS Chap.1 p.13.
162. OCS Chap.1 p.11.
163. OCS Chap.9 p.70.
164. OCS Chap.12 p.87.
165. Ibid. pp.87-8.
166. OCS Chap.32 p.224.
167. OCS Chap.42 p.299.
169. OCS Chap.52 p.365.
170. OCS Chap.54 p.382.
171. OCS Chap.71 p.504.
172. OCS Chap.72 p.507.
173. OCS Chap.71 p.506.
174. OCS Chap.72 p.508.

175. He was certainly familiar with Wordsworth, early Tennyson, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, and obviously knew Carlyle's writing about the German romantics: see Forster pp.274, 577, Johnson Vol.II pp.1131-2; Charles Tennyson: Alfred Tennyson (1949) pp.197-8; in a letter to Forster dated 16th August 1859 he said of the Idylls of the King "wonderfully fine, chivalric, imaginative, passionate, admirable!" See also Earle Davis pp.94-5; he may also have gleaned much of the German romantics from his reading of early Carlyle: particularly of the Miscellaneous Essays. When Dickens died there were two editions of the Miscellaneous in his library. The Critical and Miscellaneous were published in four volumes in 1838, 1840, 1847 and 1857; they were reprinted articles from the Edinburgh Review, Fraser's Magazine, Westminster Review, New Monthly Magazine, London and Westminster Review etc. Dickens read some of these as they appeared in the journals and read the collected editions between 1839 and 1844 - see letter in The Times Literary Supplement 16th May 1971 p.449. He wrote to Carlyle "no man knows your books better than I..." - letter dated 13th July 1854, in Dexter Letters Vol.II p.680. These essays included fairly detailed treatments of Jean Paul Richter, several articles on Goethe, German Romance, Fouque, E.T.A. Hoffmann, and Goethe's Wilhelm Meister - which Carlyle had translated in 1824. This novel contains one of the most celebrated examples of the symbol of the journey in romantic literature. Carlyle also discussed Novalis, Schlegel, Schiller, Madame de Stael's Allemagne, and the Nibelungenlied.

176. In one of the most interesting studies of Dickens' work and methods to have appeared in recent years, Taylor Stoehr: Dickens: The Dreamer's Stance Cornell (1966) p.111: cf. "his novels may be analyzed or interpreted in the way dreams are analysed and interpreted - that is, at once formally and symbolically, as though the incidents of fiction comprised, like those of dreams, a special kind of language, with its own lexicon and grammar." Ibid. p.91 and "...although most fiction may be 'psychoanalyzed'... Dickens' novels - because of their dreamlike character - must be analyzed in this way if we are to comprehend fully the means by which they achieve their remarkable power. For Dickens occupies a peculiar position halfway between the allegorist and the ordinary novelist...the ordinary writer does not invite his reader into the ambiguous world of dreams, where order and meaning are directed by unconscious needs and purposes. But that is just what Dickens does..." Ibid. p.135. I particularly like Professor Stoehr's discussion of GE ibid. pp.101-137 and regret his book does not contain a full treatment of OCS.


179. OCS Chap. 72 p. 510.

180. OCS Chap. the Last p. 522.

181. Few do - see Monod pp. 185-6; Cockshut pp. 88-91, 92-5; Dyson pp. 44-6; Graham Smith: Dickens Money & Society pp. 28-31; "...a conglomeration of techniques, mostly sentiment and tears, with a few flashes of caricature..." Earle Davis p. 36: Angus Wilson: "The whole novel...shows up alarmingly to modern readers the degree of oddity then accepted in a supposedly realistic story... It seems... a tale of the kind that we expect from the South (and the deep South too) - early Capote or Carson McCullers..." - Wilson p. 138: K.J. Fielding: "...the tale of the girl and her grandfather has no living belief behind it... Elsewhere the story is saved from insipidity by sharp observations..." - Fielding pp. 67-8; Steven Marcus described the novel as "a frustrated or failed idyll" - Marcus p. 135; John Lucas "This is cockney pastoralism, and the aura of its nostalgic condescension is so strong that we inevitably feel it a mark almost of Dickens' inability to think of the natural world as having any present possibility at all." - Lucas p. 81, see also 83-92; Miller pp. 94-6; Engel pp. 10-103; Aldous Huxley: Vulgarity in Literature (1930) pp. 54-9; Edmund Wilson "simply an impromptu yard..." Wilson p. 16. On the whole, then, OCS has not had a consistently good press.

182. There is a great similarity here with the themes of some of Andersen's stories. I think especially of The Snow Queen, Snedronningen, (1844) which is an allegory of the triumph of innocence over guile, of the simple virtue of the country over the rationality of the city. A popular Danish hymn probably inspired Andersen: "Seek the humble places; weep in the dust before the saviour...for roses grow in valleys." H.A. Brorson (1694-1764). See Hans Andersen: Fairy Stories and Fairy Tales and Stories ed. Reginald Spink (1960) pp. 212-249 and 413 n.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Butt and Tillotson pp. 78-84 - most of this is echoed by Dyson pp. 47-8.

2. Ibid. p. 84.

3. See Tillotson pp. 93, 113, where she describes the novel as "openly historical".

4. See Johnson Vol. I pp. 335, 345, 358, 381, 466 and Vol. II pp. 889, 1050, 1131; Gross and Pearson pp. 93 and following; Cockshut pp. 91-2; Butt and Tillotson pp. 78 and following, is not really supported by the evidence. For a much more sympathetic and enlightening discussion of this novel, see the Introduction written by Margaret Lane for the London Panther Edition of 1964 pp. vii-ix. She is prepared to look beyond the superficial resemblances to Scott.


7. Ibid.

8. This description starts at the end of Chapter VI: "At length a voice was heard to pronounce the words, 'try it with fire'. The rioters, with an unanimous shout, called for combustibles." Ibid. Chap. VI. p. 50 and continues in the following chapter.

9. See Johnson Vol. I p. 335: "The storming of the Tolbooth... is the literary inspiration of his central theme..." Miss Tillotson blandly asserts, Butt and Tillotson p. 78. Inspiration - indeed!


12. He read Scott's Diaries, Pilgrim Letters Vol. I p. 54 note 2, and comments on Montrose and Kenilworth in letter to Cattermole 21st August 1839, Pilgrim Letters Vol. I p. 576. The publication in 1838 by the Trustees and Son of the late Mr. James Ballantyne of a pamphlet which attacked Lockhart's Life of Scott certainly involved Dickens' active interest. It was called A Refutation of the Misstatements and Calumnies contained in Mr. Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., respecting the Messrs. Ballantyne (Edinburgh, 1838) Dickens was obviously interested in this debate, as his father in law, George Hogarth, had at one time been Scott's business advisor, and had counselled him in 1826 after the failure of Constable and Co. Hogarth's sister, Christian, had married James Ballantyne - these circumstances, in addition to Dickens' admiration of Scott as a writer, caused him to enter this controversy. In August 1838 he wrote to Forster telling him he had reviewed
the Ballantyne pamphlet in *The Examiner* (see *Pilgrim Letters* Vol.I p.428) and this review was followed by two further articles, on March 31st and September 29th 1839, see K.J. Fielding: *A new Article by Dickens in The Dickensian* Vol.XLVI (1950) pp.122-7, and *Johnson* Vol.I pp.101, 117, 122, 128.


16. See SB, *A Visit to Newgate* pp.185-197; Cockshut pp.26-49; Monod pp.11-12, 120-22, 312; Hibbert pp.60-62, 207; Engel pp.102-3; Christopher Hibbert: *Dickens' London in Tomlin* pp.91-2; Wilson pp.147-152; *Pope-Hennessy* pp.58, 80.

17. *Forster* pp.147, 223-4.

18. His articles on the subject in HW, AYR, etc. show him quoting from Gibbon Wakefield's *Facts Relating to the Punishment of Death* (1831), Joseph Adshead's *Prisons and Prisoners* (1845), Rev'd. John Field's *Prison Discipline* (1848), and we also have the evidence of the novels, OT, LD and TTC. See Philip Collins' *Dickens and Crime* (1965) pp.27-51, 59-93.


21. There is only one reference in the letters of 1841 and this is not a direct reference, *Pilgrim Letters* Vol.II p.231.

22. See *Dickens and Crime* pp.223 and following.


24. See his letters to *The Morning Chronicle* 21st June 1840 and 26th June 1840.
29. DC Chap.IV p.48.
31. The issue became public again in 1850 when the Pope announced the restoration of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain in September 1850; all denominations of Protestants protested with frenzy, and a mass meeting at the Guildhall denounced "Papal Aggression" carrying banners declaring the familiar slogan "No Popery". We, who have witnessed events in Ulster during 1968-1972, need not feel superior.
34. Ibid. pp.200-1.
36. Ibid. p.211.
37. Ibid. pp.222-3.
40. Ibid. pp.234-6.
41. Ibid. pp.294-5.
42. Ibid. pp.203, 310, 329, 333: the tour of Scotland lasted from 9th June 1841 until 18th July 1841.
43. Ibid. p.345.
44. Ibid. pp.365-7.
45. Ibid. pp.373.
46. Ibid. p.386.

49. Forster pp.80-81.

50. Forster p.90.

51. Who had made a fortune out of OT and kept Dickens' share of the proceeds a fairly small portion, see Forster pp.989.

52. Forster p.98.

53. Letters quoted in Forster p.113.

54. Forster pp.144-5.

55. Forster p.149.

56. Forster p.152.

57. Butt and Tillotson pp.77-89.


59. Ibid. p.345.

60. Butt and Tillotson p.79.

61. Southey, Carlyle, Macaulay, Thomas Arnold, Kingsley all thought that violent revolution was just around the corner. See Walter E. Houghton: The Victorian Frame of Mind, Yale (1968) pp.54-8 and G.M. Young: Early Victorian England 1830-1865 Vol.II pp.444 and following. In the back of the upper class mind there lurked the permanent suspicion that workers gathered secretly at night to plot revolution - see P.J. Keating: The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction (1971) pp.224-5. In 1842 Cobden told the Commons that he believed a situation would arise in which the people would "be justified in taking food for themselves and their families." Hansard LXIV (1842) pp.1217-18.


63. See Donald Read: Peterloo, the "Massacre" and its Background Manchester (1958) and Robert Walmsey: Peterloo: The Case re-opened Manchester (1969).

64. Henry Pelling: A History of British Trade Unions pp.30-1.

65. Carpenter's Political Register 4th December 1830 Vol.LXX pp.919 and following.


67. Ibid. p.249 and following.

69. See Eric J. Hobsbawm and George Rude: *Captain Swing* (1969) for a discussion of the complex causes and result of agricultural discontent in this period, especially pp.23-37 and pp.72-93. Captain Swing was the name used by those who promoted these agricultural disturbances in the early thirties. Rick burning, menaces and attacks on landowners were the outward and visible signs of deep-seated and long-endured grievances:

The neighbours thought all was not right,
Scarcely one with him ventured to parley,
And Captain Swing came in the night
And burned all his beans and his barley.

Thus wrote R.H. Barham in *Babes in the Wood* in *The Ingoldsby Legends* (1837-1846). The Rebecca Riots which occurred between 1839 and 1843 and required the use of military force to be put down are similarly overt manifestations of discontent against rates, tithes, and the unjust system of land-holding; see David Williams: *The Rebecca Riots: A Study in Agrarian Discontent* Cardiff (1955). Agricultural depression eased very gradually as a result of a combination of causes - the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 reduced the burden on the Parish Rates, the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 helped the farmer by substituting a fixed cash payment which never varied in place of the delivery of a fixed proportion of his crop; there were also the use of new improved methods of manuring, draining and the introduction of farm machinery - see J.A.R. Marriott: *The English Land System* (1914) and Lord Ernle: *English Farming, Past and Present* (1936). The Royal Agricultural Society of England was founded in 1838, Rothamstead Experimental Station was instituted in 1834 and the Royal Agricultural College in Cirencester opened in 1845. See *How to Kill Labourers* in HW Vol.VII pp.97-102 and *Swords and Ploughshares* in HW Vol.V pp.297-302, both of which discuss the station, the work and the poverty of the peasantry.

70. *Annual Register* (1831) *Chronicle* for February 2nd.


76. Halevy op.cit. p.16.

77. December 1830, see Halevy p.18.
Sir Charles Wetherall had spent the whole of his distinguished career opposing reforms - he opposed legal, municipal and parliamentary reforms, and Roman Catholic Emancipation. He was suitably rewarded by his country - Solicitor General 1824, knighted 1824, Attorney General 1826, and again in 1828, honorary Doctor of Civil Law, Magdalen College, Oxford 1834. The D.N.B. says that the great Bristol Riot was caused by his unpopularity.


The Bristol Riots are described briefly in L.T.C. Rolt: Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1971) pp.58-63. Brunel was present in Bristol at this time in order to consult the Bridge Committee about the proposed Clifton Bridge. He was called as a witness at the subsequent trials. Things looked really serious, Radicals were drilling and the more nervous of the landowners, such as Peel (senior) were actually laying in arms. See Keith Feiling: A History of England (1969) pp.824-5.

For a discussion of the anti-clerical element in this agitation see Halevy op.cit. pp.42-3.

Halevy ibid. p.56.

Political Register 15th October 1831 Vol.LXXIV pp.179-80 and Annual Register October 8th and 9th 1831 Chronicle pp.161 and following.

See Annual Register Chronicle for 7th May 1833 and Political Register for 29th June 1833 Vol.LXXX p.778.

See Halevy op.cit. pp.117-8; Henry Pelling also argues that Melbourne deliberately tried to make a public example of the Tolpuddle Labourers, see Pelling: A History of British Trade Unions pp.41 and following.

Quoted in Pelling op.cit. p.41.

Discussed by Pelling op.cit. pp.37-42.

The Observer 18th August 1839 in The Observer of the 19th Century selected by Marion Milibank (1966) p.130.


91. Roughly from January 1841 until November 1841.


94. See Mark Hovell op.cit. p.64.


97. For an eye witness account of this meeting see Robert Gammage: The History of the Chartist Movement (1854) p.29.

98. Ibid. pp.34-5.


100. Butt and Tillotson p.82.

101. Ibid. p.82.


103. Gammage pp.142-149. But Angus Wilson is able loosely to speak of Dickens' "alarm at the physical force element in Chartist and the violent rising of Chartists in the provinces in the four or five years before the publication of the fine historical novel." There was little violence in the early years of Chartist, and the violence only breaks out at the turn of the 1830's and 1840's - after the failure of the peaceful means of petitioning - the very moment of the completion and publication of BR. Wilson p.67.


106. See The Northern Star 18th May 1839 p.6.


108. And see Asa Briggs: Chartism Reconsidered in M. Roberts (ed.): Historical Studies, Papers read before the Third Conference of Irish Historians (1959) p.54.

110. 1777-1855: who had been in the medical service of the East India Company, Paymaster for Mahratta, Tory M.P. for Weymouth before becoming Radical M.P. for Aberdeen in 1818, twice Lord Rector of Aberdeen University.


113. Louis G. Dickens: The Friendship of Dickens and Carlyle in The Dickensian Vol.LIII pp.98-106, especially p.102: "It is easy to see Carlyle's influence upon Barnaby Rudge ... His dropping of Ainsworthian diffuseness, his centring his novel's thrust in a mass-movement rather than manipulating puppets before a historical cyclorama has obvious debts to The French Revolution..."

114. We note that Dickens originally intended all the leaders of the Gordon Riots to be escaped inmates of Bedlam, but finally settled for a sadist and an idiot.


116. Ibid. p.381.

117. Ibid. pp.381-2. Carlyle makes the point insistently, he underscores the fear of "Chaos" as the result of "Hunger" and "Ignorance" allowed to exist by indolent parasites. For a lucid and kindly discussion of Carlyle's methods and intentions in writing didactic history, see John Holloway: The Victorian Sage (1953) pp.58-85. "The French Revolution in Carlyle's view is a great object lesson teaching us that certain conditions cannot but lead to anarchy..." But Carlyle's attitude to the mob - like Dickens' - is at times ambiguous. He shows a fear of the mob, but also an understanding of why they rose against their oppressors, which brings a sympathy: at other times, Carlyle sees the revolution as society's way of regenerating itself. For an interesting study of these contrasting attitudes, see Hedva Ben-Israel: English Historians on the French Revolution (1968) pp.127-47. "The mob is the beast, and the mob is the hero, the mob is incited, and the mob is nature itself, genuine and morally authoritative. The Revolution is Sansculottism...but also history incarnate, a microcosm of world change, the authentic process designed by God..." Ibid. p.146.


120. Halevy Vol.III pp.311-12.

122. Julian Harney was one of the most frenzied of the Physical Force Chartists, self-styled "the English Marat". Later in his career he developed his political ideas to the extent where they would be recognised by any competent Marxist: "Every proletarian who does not see and feel that he belongs to an enslaved and degraded class is a fool" he wrote in his Red Republican, quoted in Cole and Postgate: The Common People p.325. He was the subject of a very interesting biography, A.R. Shoyen: The Chartist Challenge - A Portrait of George Julian Harney (1958).

123. Morning Chronicle 19th March 1839 - note that this is the paper Dickens wrote for. Did he read it now?


125. See F.C. Mather: Public Order in the Age of the Chartists (1959)

126. Morning Chronicle 19th March 1839.

127. Vincent was in fact arrested in early May. It is possible that Henry Vincent and Dickens were personally acquainted. The novelist may have met him through Talford, his schoolfriend who prosecuted in the Chartist trials at Monmouth Assizes in August 1839. Vincent's imprisonment was the occasion of the great Newport miners' riot in the following November, one of the most awful of Chartist incidents. Vincent was imprisoned again in 1840-1841, and again was prosecuted by Talford in his trial in March of that year. In fact Talford petitioned the Commons for Vincent's release. There is evidence that Vincent and Dickens corresponded, but none of the letters survive. See Pilgrim Letters Vol.II p.429.

128. Hovell op.cit.

129. Ibid.

130. The fear of the revolution haunted Lord John Russell right to the end of his days. Bertrand Russell has described how his grandfather, lying on his deathbed, heard a loud noise in the street "and thought it was the revolution breaking out". Bertrand Russell: Ideas and Beliefs of the Victorians p.20.


134. See Charles Stuart Parker: Sir Robert Peel from his Private Papers (1899) Vol.II pp.390-93, and Elizabeth Longford: Victoria R.I. (1967) pp.134-43. This was the so-called "Bedchamber Crisis".

136. Ibid. p.97.


139. J. West: History of the Chartist Movement pp.143-4 does not accept these figures; Wellington believed there were 6,000, see Stanhope: Conversations with Wellington p.195: for the best account of the Newport rising and the events leading up to it, see David Williams: John Frost: A Study in Chartism, Cardiff (1939).

140. Annual Register Law Cases p.203.


142. Ibid. p.8.


144. Ibid. pp.332-37.

145. Ibid. p.361.

146. Ibid. pp.368-72.

147. Ibid. p.373.

148. Ibid. pp.373-84.


150. Northern Star 6th January 1838.


152. Reported speech of Stephens at a massed meeting at Newcastle on Tyne, Northern Star January 6th 1838.


155. Ibid. p.315.

156. DC Chap.XXIII p.227.
157. Ibid.
158. DC Chap. XXV p.349.
159. Butt and Tillotson p.78.
161. Ibid.
NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

2. Introduction to BR, Oxford Illustrated Dickens (1968) p.xii.
Barnaby's psychosis is very carefully presented by Dickens, and seems to be accurate. Dickens' careful observation and portrayal of illness and mental states has been praised by the experts, see Russell Brain: Some Reflections on Genius (1960) pp.123-36, he is here discussing some "Dickensian Diagnoses": this was The Purvis Oration, delivered on the centenary of the West Kent Medico-Chirurgical Society.
13. See revised edition of Henderson and Gillespie's Textbook of Psychiatry (1962) pp.2-9 and Denis Leigh: The Historical Development of British Psychiatry (1961) Vol.I pp.94-202 for discussions of two of the most celebrated psychiatric practitioners of the 18th-19th century, John Haslam (1764-1844) and James Cowles Pritchard (1786-1848). Haslam has a particularly important place in the history of psychiatry as being probably the earliest physician to publish proper clinical descriptions of the various kinds of mental ailment - Illustrations of Madness (1810) and Observations on
Insanity (later changed to Observations on Madness and Melancholy) (1798) - this contains what is probably the first clinical description of schizophrenia - quoted in Leigh Vol.I pp.117-8. Leigh claims that Haslam’s clarity is such that diagnosis can be made within the framework of present day classification; see Leigh p.118 and H.G. Baynes: Mythology of the Soul (1949) pp.15-49.


18. Johnson p.313.


22. Fielding Speeches note 1 p.43.


24. Fielding Speeches p.43.

25. Ibid. p.43.

26. 17th December 1871 quoted in Fielding Speeches note 1 p.43.

27. Dickens had a lasting interest in the behaviour and treatment of the insane: see Forster p.417; Johnson Vol.I pp. 372, 380; we also have the evidence of his study of the deranged in that gallery which includes Old Trent, Mr. Dick, Mr. Dorrit and Mr. F’s Aunt.

28. Charles Dickens obviously in an embarrassing situation, as he was a friend to both Reade and Conolly. He had no idea of Reade’s intentions at the beginning of the serial, and did not realise that the cranky, grasping Dr. Wycherley was a portrait of his friend Dr. Conolly; see the discussion of this awkward editorial dilemma by Richard A. Hunter and Ida MacAlpine: Dickens and Conolly in T.L.S. for August 11th 1961 pp.534-5.

29. Quoted in Hunter and MacAlpine ibid. p.534.


32. HW 5th June 1852.


34. Yes - shades of Ernest Jones! Conolly analysed Hamlet and found him to be clearly insane, this minor foible is hideously exaggerated in Reade's Very Hard Cash.

35. Although it is likely that Dickens' awareness of Wood's work was after his completion of BR. William Wood (1816-1892), principal resident medical officer at Bethlehem Hospital 1845, resigned in 1852 when reforms of his were opposed by management, and worked at Kensington House Private Asylum, which was later removed and established at Roehampton 1872, also worked as a Physician at St. Luke's Hospital 1861-1891. His most famous work is probably Remarks on the Plea of Insanity and on the Management of Criminal Lunatics (1851). He made a reputation as an expert on lunatics and criminal responsibility and was frequently called as an expert witness: his work can clearly be seen in the framing of the Criminal Lunacy Act of 1883. See P.A.W. Collins: Dickens Periodicals Leicester (1957) p.32; Richard A. Hunter and Ida MacAlpine: Dickens' Psychiatric Reading in The Dickensian Vol.LIII (1957) pp.49-50, 109; and P.A.W. Collins: Dickens' Reading in The Dickensian Vol.LX (1964) p.147.


37. This was in fact a second edition of his Observations on Insanity.


39. H.J. Eysenck: Sense and Nonsense in Psychology (1968) p.336, a major caution on the folly of what we might call the Ernest Jones Syndrome, a predilection to produce case-histories and propose diagnoses for characters created by poets, novelists and dramatists.


41. In this connection, see Sigmund Freud: The Interpretation of Dreams in The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud translated and edited A.A. Brill, N.Y. (1938) pp.88-89, 183-89.

42. See C.S. Hall: The Meaning of Dreams N.Y. (1954), and in this connection, see the interesting discussion of the dream
analogy in Dickens' art in Stoehr especially pp.66-90: "the various features of Dickens' vision of reality...the hallucinatory quality, the strange stance of the narrator, the paradoxes of orderliness-without-organization and immediacy-detachment - all have their interconnected places in dream theory...the analogy allows us to understand more clearly the function of Dickens' stylistic devices in simultaneously concealing and revealing his emotionally explosive subject matter, just as in Freudian theory the elements of the dreamwork both hide and display the dream content." he says on page 67. This is really the basis of his case. This is quite an original and stimulating study, sometimes hard to follow, occasionally jargonistic but it sends one back to the text. A fair sample of Stoehr's method, and a good example of what he can offer, is his discussion of GE, Ibid. pp.101-37.

43. This loss of clear thinking, of being remote from reality, and of being unable to plan or anticipate the future is recognised as a clear sign of schizophrenia; see W. Mayer-Gross, Eliot Slater and Martin Roth: Clinical Psychiatry (1960) pp.244 and following and 258-8; Goldstein has suggested that the observable severance from reality is the result of the isolation of parts of the nervous system from one another. This produces the apparent disorganisation, the loss of ego boundary and loss of identity; see K. Goldstein: Methodological Approach to the Study of Schizophrenic Thought Disorder in Language and Thought in Schizophrenia edited by J.S. Kasanin, University of California Press (1944).


46. Dementia Praecox oder die Gruppe der Schizophrenien Zurich (1911) translated J. Zinkin (1950).


cf. Wordsworth's letter to John Wilson in June 1802: "I have often applied to idiots, in my own mind, that sublime expression of Scripture that Their Life is Hidden with God. They are worshipped, probably from a feeling of this sort, in several parts of the East... I have, indeed, often looked upon the conduct of parents, in the lower ranks of society, toward idiots as a great triumph of the human heart. It is there that we see the strength, disinterestedness, and grandeur of love; nor have I ever been able to
contemplate an object that calls out so many excellent and virtuous sentiments without finding it hallowed thereby, and having something in one which bears down before it like a deluge every feeble sensation of disgust and aversion."

This very interesting letter is quoted and Wordsworth's conscious use of the Divine Fool archetype is discussed in John F. Danby: *The Simple Wordsworth* (1971) pp.55 and following.

50. See Peter Hays: *New Horizons in Psychiatry* (1964) p.33.

51. See Peter Hays: *New Horizons in Psychiatry* (1964) pp.44 and following.

52. Peter McKeller: *Experience and Behaviour* (1968) p.78. McKeller's discussion of "A-thinking" is extremely interesting, and central to an understanding of the opportunities a figure such as Barnaby would offer a poetic novelist, see *ibid.* pp.78-110. Strangely enough this chapter is headed with a quotation from Dickens.

53. cf. Coleridge's celebrated definition of "Fancy". In discussing Fancy and the Imagination Coleridge suggests that "the Fancy brings together images which have no connection natural or moral..." Thus begins the definition in *Biographia Literaria*. In a letter to Richard Sharp dated January 15th 1804 Coleridge described Fancy as "the aggregating power" and imagination as the "modifying power" - quoted in the *Introduction to Biographia Literaria* ed. George Watson (1956) p.xii. The root is late Greek *Phantasia*, a spectral apparition.

54. Chap.3 p.29.

55. In its archaic sense *Silly* means blessed - innocent, simple, helpless, from the Old English *saelig* - Dutch *zallig*, German *selig* - in the same sense that Tyrell in *Richard III* refers to the Princes murdered in the Tower as "two silly babes".

56. The finest treatment in English is the neglected West Midland dialect poem *Sir Perceval of Galles* in *The Thornton Romances* edited for the Camden Society by J.O. Halliwell in 1844 - Halliwell believed that this version was a translation of a French original - see his *Introduction* p.XII but this view is now discredited: most modern scholarship follows the assumption of Miss Jessie L. Weston that this version is the best surviving representative of the original form, and contains a large number of primary traits uncomplicated by extraneous matter - see J.L. Weston: *Legend of Sir Perceval* Vol.I p.93.


58. BR Chap.47 pp.337-8. We should notice here that the word *idiot* seems to be used by Dickens ambiguously, both in the
sense of "Persons insane, in which class are to be included idiots who have no understanding from their birth as well as lunatics who... have lost the use of their reason..."

Stephen: *Common Laws of England* (1845) and in the sense of an uneducated person, a layman or simple man, a clown or natural fool. According to the Oxford Dictionary both uses were current in the early 1840's.

59. Herzeleide, Perceval's mother, was stricken with grief when her husband was killed, and fled to the forest where she would bring up her son to know nothing of the world outside:

"Salle he nothing see
Bot the leves of the tree,
And the greves graye:
Schall he neither take tent'
To justez ne to tournament,
Bot in the wilde wodde went
With bestez to playe... (Line 170 on.)

With her son she leaves "barone" and "raye" "boure" and "hau11e" and takes with her only one maid and some goats: "With my1ke for theme for to bayte, To hir lyves fode" (line 187). It is further significant that Perceval's mother does not fear for her son among the wild animals; it is the world of men she is concerned about; she wants her son "long to duelle" in the forest.

60. Chap.10 p.80.
62. See for example the opening of Chap.16 pp.116-7.
63. Chap.17 p.125.
67. Obviously a reflection of Dickens' own delight in Chigwell: "Chigwell, my dear fellow, is the greatest place in the world. Name your day for going?" he writes to Forster on 25th March 1841, "Such a delicious old inn opposite the churchyard, such a lovely ride, such beautiful forest scenery, such an out-of-the-way rural place... I say again, name your day..." *Pilgrim Letters* Vol.II p.243.
70. Chap.26 p.190.
72. Chap.45 p.322.
73. Ibid.
74. BR Chap.45 p.322.
77. For a dreadful portrait of the social effects of industry see Technics and Civilization (1967) pp.178-82.
78. Ibid. pp.204-5. One is reminded of that celebrated treatment of the effects of machinery on men in Marx's Capital New York Modern Library edition not dated pp.430-7. Marx argues that the machine, as a substitute for human labour reduces the market value of human labour, and that consequently the doctrine of laissez faire, the much-puffed creed of economic competition really means that all men are condemned to work for the lowest possible wages; referring to the evidence of the Sixth Report on Public Health (1864) pp.34 and following Marx comments on the long term effects of capitalism and machinery are the unnatural estrangement of human beings.
80. Alan Sillitoe: Saturday Night and Sunday Morning (1968) p.31. Arthur's whole life, his lack of real involvement in family, work, leisure or society is presented with hideous exactitude.
82. For further discussion of this theme see also Cockshut pp. 88-91. "Though Barnaby Rudge is set in the eighteenth century, and contains no industrial scenes it still has an important place in the development of Dickens as the poet of industrial society," p.91. BR is, in fact, full of industrial scenes - the restless mob, the deterioration of family relationships, the big, dark unfriendly city, the lure of gold - all these are symptomatic of an industrial society.


85. Dodd was born in 1804 and began as a card-maker at the age of five, became a piecer in a textile factory a year later. By the time he was fifteen he was crippled from work. The book is in the main autobiographical, but has reflections on the factory system in general and an indictment of its evils.


87. *BR* Chap.45 p.326.


91. Bodelsen *op.cit.* p.422. But it is not the "truth" of the symbolism which affects its value, the symbolism may be "artificial" I believe and yet still be enormously effective and powerful: this is a frequent trap in the analysis of Dickens' art; cf. A.H. Gomme: *Dickens* (1971) p.47 and following. He is discussing *GE* and says here that Dickens makes Joe and Biddy's countryside the "ideal, innocent life, the loss of which is the cause of all Pip's troubles..." but, he says, Dickens knew nothing of the squalor and poverty that hung over rural England in the nineteenth century etc., etc., and therefore "he made a never-never-land of the English countryside, not interesting in itself because unreal, and in consequence ineffective as a symbol: it becomes so much dead weight..." Gomme *op.cit.* p.48. These assertions need challenging: is the effectiveness of symbol in direct ratio to its veracity? Does it matter in the context of a work of literature whether Dickens knew his contemporary economics or not? Is not the point that Dickens (as in *OCS*) is using a pastoral convention? Is a novel an undertaking in which we should expect the "real"? Dr. Gomme has similar difficulties with *EH*, of which he finds himself able to say the whole symbolic apparatus seems "attached to the narrative by factitious contrivance: there is altogether too much art and not enough nature about it..." *Ibid.* p.49. Symbolism is effective, I believe, not because it seems to be "real": it is powerful as a result of its effect on the imagination, it is true, as Bodelsen says, that Dickens' symbolism is seldom "morbid" but its strength does not come from its veracity. What we Dickensians are here up against is the "traditional" in-bred second-nature of the English Honours School with its fixed hierarchy of the canonised. Well placed in this

92. MC Chap.XXI p.327.
93. GE Chap.LIII p.348.
94. GE Chap.VII p.43.
95. GE Chap.IX p.56.
96. GE Chap.VIII p.53.
97. GE Chap.XVIII p.119.
98. GE Chap.XXIX p.201.

100. Chap.3 pp.28-9.

101. Chap.17 p.127. cf. J.M. Barrie: *Peter Pan*: "Stars are beautiful, but they may not take an active part in anything, they must just look on forever. It is a punishment put on them for something they did so long ago that no star now knows what it was..." *Peter Pan* (1971) Chap.2 p.36. For Keats too, "night's starr'd face" is among other phenomena which cause him to feel he stands "on the shore of the wide world I stand alone, and think till love and fame to nothingness do sink." *When I have Fears* in *The Poetical Works of John Keats* edited by H. Buxton Forman (1924) p.303. Meredith too, looked in vain to the stars for kinship, cf. *Modern Love* (1895) iv p.8.

102. Chap.22 p.158.

103. There is also an extremely effective reference to the stars as an emblem of indifference in that strange story *HM*. Redlaw, the chemist, burdened by his memories of the past, has made a pact with his one evil spirit to have his memory erased and to have the power to extend this "benefit" to all he comes into contact with. In order to give this unspeakable gift to those who would value it most he asks to be taken to the dwellings of the most poor and wretched. He has already noted that he has become unfeeling; he looks up and sees the moon "surrounded by a host of stars he still knew by the names and histories which human science has appended to them; but where he saw nothing else he had been wont to see, felt nothing he had been wont to feel, in looking up there, on a bright night..." *HM* Chap.II p.377. He has become as indifferent as the stars.
104. BR Chap.22 p.159.
111. Ibid.
112. Chap.73 p.534.
114. Chap.77 p.566.
115. Chap.20 p.145.
116. Ibid.
117. BR Chap.43 pp.311-2.
119. Chap.81 p.595.
120. Ibid. p.596.
121. Chap.56 p.509.
123. Chap.6 p.50.
124. Ibid.
125. Chap.7 p.56.
126. Chap.8 p.59.
127. Ibid.
128. Chap.16 p.120.
129. Chap.70 p.123.
130. Ibid. p.125.
132. Chap.23 p.165.
133. Chap.75 p.552.
135. Chap.35 p.256.
137. Chap.40 p.250.
139. Chap.52 p.378.
140. Chap.53 p.384.
141. Chap.53 p.386.
142. Chap.67 p.494.
143. See for example Chap.57 p.414.
144. Chap.50 p.366.
146. Chap.58 p.423.
148. See especially Chap.64 pp.466.
149. Chap.64 p.466.
150. Lindsay p.216.
151. The "devil" imagery of BR has been sensitively discussed by James K. Gottshall: Devils Abroad: The Unity and Significance of Barnaby Rudge in Nineteenth Century Fiction Vol. XVI (1961) pp.133-46.
152. Chap.68 p.497.
158. Chap.46 pp.332-3.
159. Ibid. p.333.
161. Chap.16-four paragraphs are devoted to developing this pp.116-7.
163. Ibid. p.346.
165. Chap.47 p.419.
166. Chap.68 p.496.
167. Ibid. p.496.
168. Ibid.
169. Ibid. p.497.
171. Chap. the Last p.603.
172. MC Chap.LII p.769.
173. See his conversation with Cuttle and Walter in DS Chap.L pp.657 and following.
174. GE Chap.XVIII p.117.
175. OMF Chap.II p.7.
176. OMF Chap. the Last p.785.
NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. Most claims of Dickens' ambiguity in the riot scenes of BR seem to me to be based on a fundamental mis-reading of the text. It is true, of course, that Dickens presents the riots with verve and gusto, with a brilliance and excitement he actually felt at the time of writing. "I have let all the prisoners out of Newgate, burnt down Lord Mansfield's, and played the very devil...I feel quite smoky when I am at work..." he wrote to Forster on 18th September 1841, Pilgrim Letters Vol.II p.385, but his view of the crowd as dangerous in the extreme, and fickle in their allegiance never varies, I find. I am sorry to disagree with so loyal a Dickensian as Julian Symons, but for his discussion of the opposite point of view see his Charles Dickens (1951) pp.38-9.

2. Chap.45 p.322.
5. Chap.61 p.444.
7. Chap.35 p.256.
10. BR Chap.35 p.258.
15. Ibid. p.348. Wraxall's account of the Gordon Riots is extremely interesting, as well as being of obvious historical importance: see Wraxall op.cit. pp.318-349.
18. Ibid. p.265.
19. Published in 1795.
21. Ibid. p.137.
23. Watson was imprisoned as a political spy 1796-1798. He later became teacher of English at Rome 1816-1819 and eventually obtained the so-called "Stuart Papers" for the British government. He bought them from an attorney who had been confidential agent of Henry Benedict, Maria Clement, Cardinal York 1725-1807, the Jacobite "Henry IV" son of Chevalier de St. George, "James III" and brother of Bonnie Prince Charlie. Watson was paid £3,600 for this "find". Earlier in his career he had been a Colonel in George Washington's army; he was 92 years old when he committed suicide in 1838.
28. See Christopher Hibbert: King Mob (1958): Gordon is described as the "friend of the people" pp.7 and following. "Lord George believed passionately in the rights of the people, not as a politician should do, but as a humanitarian is obliged to do. He had all the humanitarian's emotional weakness, all the romantic's enthusiasm, without the politician's hard-headed sense. His actions, contradictory as they sometimes seemed, and foolhardy as they often were, were the results of his unreasoning...pity for the poor and the oppressed which forced him into positions and attitudes that were as ridiculous as they were useless ...

They (many of his friends) gave him up because his fragmented, neurotic personality was quite beyond their comprehension. And yet they recognised that...there lay within him a sincere and essential passion for the rights of the people, a determination to help the wronged and under privileged to which all his other characteristics, contradictory as they were, were subject..." Ibid. p.9.

Dickens was anxious to do justice to the character of Gordon, and to credit him with kindness and compassion; in this he was opposed by Forster. See Dickens' letter to Forster dated 3rd June 1841 in Forster pp.149-50.

32. Chap.57 p.414.

33. BR Chap.37 pp.264-5. Dickens' attitude to the religious issues discussed in this novel is an interesting side-line, as he was normally fairly consistently anti-Catholic, see Johnson Vol.I pp.312 and following, Vol.II pp.553, 562-3, 604-5, 1133. He describes in a letter to Forster dated August 1846 how in the valley of the Simplon a Protestant Canton ends and a Roman Catholic one begins: "On the Protestant side, neatness; cheerfulness; industry; education; continual aspiration, at least after better things. On the Catholic side, dirt, disease, ignorance, qualor, and misery. I have so constantly observed the like of this, since I first came abroad, that I have sad misgivings that the religion of Ireland lies as deep at the root of all its sorrows, even as English mis-government and Tory villainy..." - Dexter Letters Vol.I p.779. And yet in this novel he seems immensely sympathetic to the Roman Catholics and gives a portrait of the Protestants which is far from "cheerful". He hates the persecution of any minority group and considering the time when BR was written and published, Dickens' fairly favourable treatment of the Catholics was courageous: the Catholic issue was still one which reverberated in politics and society, see G.I.T. Machin: The Catholic Question in English Politics 1820-1830 (1964) and Halevy's History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century Vol.IV Victorian Years 1841-1895 (1961) pp.145-52, 159-64, 205-10; R.J. Evans: The Victorian Age 1815-1914 (1968) pp.83-4; H.R.T. Branderth: Oecumenical Ideals of the Oxford Movement (1947); R.W. Church: The Oxford Movement (1891); W. Walsh: Secret History of the Oxford Movement 5th edition (1899); J.M. Flood: Cardinal Newman and Oxford (1933); House pp.32, 43, 109, 126, 130; Butt and Tillotson pp.84 and following; Punch Vol.II (1842) p.109 Punch's Pencilings. Dickens satirised the "ritualists" in his article on Oxford in The Examiner June 3rd 1843, reprinted in Miscellaneous Papers (1914) p.97. Dickens' anger at the establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1850 found its outlet in the creation of the character of Mrs. Pardiggle - an obvious "Puseyite" (witness the names of her children, taken from heroes or saints of the "primitive" church - Oswald, Egbert, Francis, Felix and Alfred) - see BH Chap.XII pp.147 and following for an attack on the new fashion for "dandyism" in religion: also Butt and Tillotson pp.180 and following; Monod p.192: there are sections of the manuscript of The Chimes where Dickens attacks the Oxford movement and "Young England" - see Dickens' Tract for the Times in Slater pp.110-12; Dyson p.67.

34. Chap.37 p.265.

35. Ibid.
36. His biographer tells us that it was said there were three parties in the Commons, "the Ministry, the Opposition, and Lord George Gordon" - Watson op.cit. p.7.

37. BR Chap.37 p.265.

38. Ibid. p.265.


42. Chap.37 pp.266-7.

43. Chap.37 p.269.


45. Chap.45 p.322.

46. Ibid.

47. Chap.48 pp.344-5.

48. Dyson p.68.


52. Ibid. p.355.

53. Ibid. p.355.

54. Ibid. p.358.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid. p.359.

57. Ibid. p.360.

58. Chap.52 p.375.

59. Ibid.
60. Chap.52 p.380.
61. Ibid. p.381.
64. Chap.53 p.381.
65. Chap.53 p.382.
66. Chap.54 p.392.
68. Commented on by A.O.J. Cockshut as the main symbolic effect of the crowd scenes in BR: oddly enough, he does not consider the water-stream-river-sea-ocean elements in this novel at all: see Cockshut pp.71-83. "The memorable ferocity of the crowd in Barnaby Rudge (nourished by images of fire)" he says, p.73.
69. Chap.55 p.401.
70. Ibid.
71. Chap.63 p.455.
73. Chap.63 pp.455-6.
75. Ibid.
76. Chap.64 p.469.
77. Chap.65 p.479.
78. Campbell: *Lives of the Lord Chief Justices* (1849-57); W.S. Holdsworth: *History of English Law* Vol.XII (1923); Lord Birkenhead: *Fourteen English Judges* (1926); C.H.S. Fifoot: *Lord Mansfield* (1936); William Murray, 1st Earl of Mansfield (1705-1793) was a scholar and jurist of some note. In his day also a considerable parliamentarian (second only to Chatham in debate) he is remembered today for his reforms in commercial and mercantile law. He associated with the finest literary society, and was for example, an intimate friend of Alexander Pope's. Educated at Westminster School and Christchurch, Oxford, he was an avid antiquarian and amateur scholar. He was said to have one of the finest collections of rare manuscripts in the world. Horace Walpole included Mansfield in a list of the great men he had known - a list which included Pitt, Cumberland, Carteret and his own father. See A.S. Turberville: *English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century* (1957) p.479.


80. The destruction of Lord Mansfield's had an unexpected sequel: John Wilkes (1727-1797) was at this time Chamberlain of the City of London: he had never really condoned or encouraged mob action, and he had always opposed religious persecution. He waited a day or two, and then although he had much support from the "lower orders" in London himself - see George Rude: *The Crowd in History 1730-1848* (1966) pp.55-57 - and even though some of his former associates, such as Alderman Frederick Bull, were involved in the riots, he ordered out troops and it was largely due to his intervention that the riots were decisively put down. Some of his own supporters he had to send to jail, among them one Moore, who was his printer, sentenced for the part he had played in the destruction of Lord Mansfield's house: yet it was Lord Mansfield who had condemned Wilkes in 1764.


82. Some modern authorities believe that it is possible for schizophrenia to be present in the collective psyche, as a national or racial illness, that Fascism, Nazism, Communist witch-hunting in the U.S.A. are the symptoms of a nation with a psychosis. This makes Dickens' handling of BR strangely impressive: he presents a young boy, Barnaby, who is described in fairly specific terms as suffering from a schizophrenic disorder - and he is drawn into a large scale urban disturbance organised and inflamed by deranged bigots. See H.G. Baynes: *Mythology of the Soul* (1949): "These symptoms develop apparently from the existence of one-sided, revolutionary movements identified with narrow, monotint ideologies, whose inherent partiality must forever seek to annihilate the other half of mankind...collective fanaticism cannot live without scapegoats..." *Ibid.* p.7.

83. BR Chap.66 p.484.
The question is asked by J. Hillis Miller in Miller p.93.

Varden, the good pater familias, is of the body of law and order, there is the admiration of General Conway and Colonel Gordon Chap.49 p.358, the good conduct of the troops is shown in Chap.49 p.360, Chap.58 p.422.

The series of images the novelist uses are important: he does not use just one, the fire symbol: Professor J. Hillis Miller states that "a single image dominates Dickens' description of the riots,... These descriptions reveal in Dickens what one might call a 'fire complex'..." Miller p.93.

When the stars fall and sun and moon are smitten "the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise." Revelations VIII.xii.

"Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire...and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities... And Abraham got up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord: And he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah...and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace..." Genesis Chap.XIX:25-28. "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon... And the great dragon was cast out, that old Serpent, called the Devil,...which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him. And I heard a loud voice, saying in Heaven, Now is come salvation, and strength..." Revelation XII.7-10.
1. See Archibald C. Coolidge Jr.: Charles Dickens as a Serial Novelist Ames, Iowa (1967) pp. 164 and following, and Marcus. In his discussion of the theme of relationship in the novel, Marcus seems quite unaware of any metaphorical link with the riot scenes, which he discusses as if they belonged to a separate novel, or as if the mob scenes simply provided a vivid and colourful "historical" background to the major narrative of the novel. A. E. Dyson discusses the novel more sympathetically, I think, but he too tends to suggest that it is a collection of interesting parts, rather than a cohesive performance, see Dyson, pp. 50-51. To be fair, Dyson's is probably the best modern discussion of this novel currently available, his discussion of Dickens' use of the motive of insanity, ibid. pp. 55-64, is sensitive.

2. The similarity has been noted - see Marcus pp. 195, 197, 204.


4. Chap. 2 p. 16.


8. Ibid. p. 191.

9. Ibid. p. 178.

10. Ibid. p. 198.

11. Ibid. p. 199.

12. See Appendix A Macready's King Lear. There is still controversy about this review. Leslie Staples in an article in The Dickensian Vol. XLIV (1948) argues that Dickens was the author of "Macready as King Lear" which appeared in The Examiner 27th October 1849. W. J. Carlton's article Dickens or Forster? in The Dickensian Vol. LIX (1963) attempts to place beyond dispute the fact that Dickens was the author of this piece of journalism of 1849 and that Forster wrote an earlier critique of Macready's Lear, formerly attributed to Dickens. See Philip Collins: A Dickens Bibliography (1969) reprinted from The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature edited by George Watson (1969) Vol. III p. 821. This is not accepted by the editors of the Pilgrim Letters, see Pilgrim Letters Vol. I p. 357. The notice in question was in The Examiner 28th January 1838. This earlier notice is reprinted in The Works of Charles Dickens N.Y. Scribners (1911) under Miscellaneous Papers pp. 77-81 and I have read it. In the Charles Dickens Centenary Exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1970 both these notices, that of 1838 and 1849, were attributed to Dickens, see Catalogue of the
The notice is an interesting document; a perceptive notice of a performance which obviously moved Dickens deeply. He praised especially the heath scenes and Macready's speaking of the "poor naked wretches" speech, and the closing scenes. The Charles Dickens Exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum displayed both these notices. It is easy, only too easy I think, to suggest various "sources" for themes and figures in literature, Sister M. Rosario Ryan in an article called Dickens and Shakespeare: Probable Sources of Barnaby Rudge in English Vol.XIX, Summer 1970, pp.43-8, proposes that Lear and Macbeth are the main sources of Dickens' imagination in this novel, plot and characters from one, atmosphere from the other. Her examples of "parallels...too many and too significant not to denote some definite influence", ibid, p.43, I do not really find conclusive, and other similarities (e.g. "storm") could be just coincidence. Her main case is that there are striking similarities between Barnaby and the Fool. It is true, there do seem to be. There are two pieces of evidence to stress Dickens' originality, however: (1) the Fool was restored by Macready in his 1838 production (Dickens' notice does stress the restoration of Shakespeare's great play) and Dickens saw this production in January 1838, and (2) we know that Dickens conceived the main idea of BR many months before this. The agreement with Macrone was signed on 9th May 1836, Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.165. BR was promised in three volumes by the end of 1836, but long delayed because of contractual problems - exhaustively dealt with by Edgar Johnson in The Dickensian, September 1935 pp.241-54, and June 1937 pp.199-204, and December 1949 pp.10-17 and March 1950 pp.76-83. It is true, the book was originally called Gabriel Varden the Locksmith of London. See Pilgrim Letters Vol.I p.165. In May 1836 he agreed to have it finished by the end of August that year, see Hibbert p.176. By the end of August he had changed the title to Barnaby Rudge - A Tale of the Riots of '80, see Butt and Tillotson p.76. A direct influence between the Fool in Macready's production of King Lear and the character of Barnaby is therefore out of the question. Dickens had him in mind many months before he would have seen this performance. We know Dickens was at work on BR before the Autumn of 1839, but the germ of the idea goes back to 1836. It was advertised in OT on 9th November 1838 as "to be published forthwith". The best discussion of Dickens' struggles with this composition is obviously in Butt and Tillotson pp.76-89, see also Monod pp.186-9 and Wilson pp.146 and following. The interesting subject of Dickens' knowledge of Shakespeare and its possible influence on his work is discussed in Edward P. Vandiver Jr.: Dickens' Knowledge of Shakespeare in The Shakespeare Association Bulletin No.21 (1946) pp.124-8, and has been the subject of recent study by R.F. Fleissner: Dickens and Shakespeare N.Y. (1965). There are many elements in BR which cannot fail to bring to mind the tragic world of Shakespeare's great drama. Its influence is very strongly felt in OCS too. Oddly enough, the most obvious bit of Shakespeare filching
to be found in BR - the Romeo and Julet story which is rehearsed in the romance of Edward and Emma - is not discussed by Professor Marcus at all!

13. The History of Two Valyannte Brethren, Valentyne and Orson (circa 1550). A fine version of the story appears in Percy's Reliques, called Valentine and Ursine for which no date is given: Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, Consisting of Old Heroic Ballads, Songs and Other Pieces of Our Earlier Poets, together with Some of Later Date, by Thomas Percy edited by Henry B. Wheatley (1877) Vol.III pp.265-279. The similarity is only a superficial one. The Valentine-Orson story ends happily, in spite of the hair-raising adventures they undergo:

What pen can paint King Pepin's joy,  
His sister thus restored!  
And soon a messenger was sent  
To cheer her drooping lord:  

Who came in haste with all his peers,  
To fetch her home to Greece;  
Where many happy years they reign'd,  
In perfect love and peace.  

To them sir Ursine did succeed,  
And long the sceptre bare.  
Sir Valentine he stay'd in France,  
And was his uncle's heir... 


14. Dickens seems to have been well aware of the story of Valentine and Orson. He refers to it directly and specifically in A Child's Story, the extra number of HW for Christmas 1852: Christmas Stories p.11: Dickens' familiarity with the Valentine and Orson story is further testified by the tale The Boarding House, Chapter Two in SB p.278: see also UW Vol.II p.649 note 7.

15. Chap.11 p.84.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid. p.83.

18. Chap.15 p.111.


21. See Earle Davis p.102.


28. Chap. 77 p. 564.


31. Earle Davis p. 57. The impression gained from A.E. Dyson's discussion of the genesis of BR is a similar random collage of handy odds and ends, see Dyson, pp. 47-9. But also see Lucas pp. 92-112. However fascinating it is to look over Dickens' shoulder while he puts together this alleged salad, I have found Kathleen Tillotson's discussion in Butt and Tillotson pp. 76-89 strangely neglectful of the shaping spirit of the author's imagination. Given the same external promptings, who else but Dickens would have conceived and produced a book such as BR?

32. Chap. 74 p. 543.

33. The Noble Savage was not a figure Dickens admired: "I beg to say that I have not the least belief in the Noble Savage ... His calling rum, fire-water, and me, a pale-face, wholly fail to reconcile me to him. I don't care what he calls me. I call him a savage, and I call a savage a something highly desirable to be civilised off the face of the earth..." Dickens wrote in an explosively personal article on the myth of the noble savage, HW Vol. VII June 11th 1853 p. 168. He goes on to say that it was a matter of complete indifference to him "whether he sticks a fish-bone through his visage... or spreads his nose over the breadth of his face... or paints one cheek red and the other blue... Yielding to whichever of these agreeable eccentricities, he is a savage - cruel, false, thievish, murderous... conceited, tiresome, bloodthirsty... Yet it is extraordinary... how some people will talk about him, as they talk about the good old days..." Ibid. This is, of course, rather unfair - see Donald R. Morris: The Washing of the Spears - The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation (1970) pp. 25-39, which discusses an early savage race which reveals much organization, law and dignity.


35. A Century of Inventions in HW Vol. VII (1853) p. 367; see also the article Dickens wrote with R.H. Horne, The Great Exhibition and the Little One in HW 5th July 1851, reprinted in UW Vol.I pp. 318-29. The East had come to a standstill, the wester world had progressed, he says: "It is very curious to have the exhibition of a people who came to a dead stop, (he is writing of the Chinese) Heaven knows how many hundred years ago, side by side with the Exhibition.
of the moving world..." In The Examiner 24th June 1848, Dickens had argued the superiority of the West over the East in an article called The Chinese Junk. See cartoon reproduced in UW Vol.I p.325 which shows Chinese barbarians - pigtails, primitive shields and swords etc. confronted by a railway engine actually named "Progress". For additional discussion of Dickens' attitude to the celebration of mechanical progress in the Great Exhibition, see Butt and Tillotson pp.180-2.


37. As Professor Archibald C. Coolidge Jr. has demonstrated, Chester is presented to us as in a series of situations in which Dickens so manipulates our feelings that an initially fairly neutral impression of him declines to one of intense dislike: A.C. Coolidge Jr: Charles Dickens as a Serial Novelist Ames, Iowa, (1967) pp.103-4.

38. Chap.15 p.108.

39. Chap.15 p.111

40. "The true fuller's earth for reputations, there is not a spot or a stain but what it can take out..." Gay: The Beggar's Opera Act I Sc.ix.

41. Chap.15 p.113.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Chap.15 p.114.

45. Chap.10 pp.80-1.

46. Chap.27 p.193.

47. Ibid.


49. This illustration is reproduced in this chapter, between pp.305 and 306.


51. Ibid. p.233.

52. Johnson of the teaching of Lord Chesterfield's Letters, Boswell's Life of Johnson (1923) Vol.I p.159. Boswell's comments are apt to the present discussion, his precepts lead to loose living and obsequiousness, "that collection of letters cannot be vindicated from the serious charge, of encouraging...one of the vices most destructive to the good order and comfort of society, which his Lordship represents as mere fashionable gallantry; and...of inculcating the base practice of dissimulation and recommending...
a perpetual attention to external elegance of manners..."

Ibid. There has been much debate as to whether Dickens consciously wished to base the character of Sir John Chester on Lord Chesterfield; his teachings to his son Edward Chester certainly seem tainted with the noble Lord's social philosophy, and the illustration to Chapter thirty two shows Chester talking to Edward with a volume of Lord Chesterfield's Letters lying casually open on the settee. Whether the novelist deliberately set out to write a story showing Chesterfieldism in action, see Butt and Tillotson pp.85-7, he certainly shows the evil results of Chesterfield's precepts in the life story of Sir John Chester. See BR Chap.23 pp.164-5. "My Lord Chesterfield...if I could but have profited by your genius soon enough to have formed my son on the model you have left to all wise fathers, both he and I would have been rich men...the writer who should be his country's pride, is my Lord Chesterfield." Chap.23 p.165.

53. Ibid. p.233.
54. Ibid. p.233.
55. Ibid. p.234.
56. Ibid. p.234.
57. Ibid. p.234.
58. Chap.29 p.212.
59. Ibid.
60. See Chap.29 p.210 for the way he prepares himself for this interview.
61. For example: "You are very warm," said Mr. Chester with a languid smile. "I am warm. I am maddened by your coldness. 'Death, Chester, if your blood ran warmer in your veins...'" Haredale says. Chap.12 p.216.
63. Butt and Tillotson pp.76-7; Hibbert pp.176-7, 179, 180 and 216.
64. Chap.4 p.30.
66. BR. Chap.4 p.31.
68. Chap.4 p.34.
69. Chap.1 p.3.
70. Chap.4 p.35.
72. Ibid. p.161.
73. Ibid.
74. Chap.26 p.190.
75. Chap.41 pp.294-5.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid. p.303.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid. p.373.
83. Chap.51 p.374
84. Chap.64 pp.463 and following.
85. Chap.72 p.525.
86. Ibid. As Professor Barbara Hardy has shown, in an interesting essay, The Meals in Great Expectations in Barbara Hardy: The Moral Art of Dickens (1970) pp.139-55. Dickens' handling meals are not simply literary symbols, but natural demonstrations. In this novel they seem to be a demonstration of family solidarity, the celebration of family care and family love. See also Angus Wilson: Charles Dickens: A Haunting in Critical Quarterly Vol.II

87. Chap.80 p.582.

88. Ibid. p.583.


90. Chap.4 p.33.

91. Ibid. pp.33-34.

92. Ibid. p.34.

93. Ibid. p.34.

94. See Chap.7 p.56.


96. See Cole and Postgate op.cit.

97. Hence the rise of the trade unions, the replacement of individual bargaining with anonymous, impersonal collective bargaining, the classical confrontation of labour and capital. Henry Pelling: A History of British Trade Unionism (1963) pp.14 and following, and Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy (1969) pp.296 and following. How apposite the forceful lamentations of Carlyle: "To whom... is this wealth of England wealth?... Who has got hold of it, to make it fetch and carry for him like a true servant, not like a false mocking servant...? As yet no one. We have more riches than any Nation ever had before; we have less good of them than any Nation ever had before. Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful... Worker, Master Workers...all men, come to a pause; stand fixed, and cannot farther..." Carlyle: Past and Present (1843) Midas, Collected Works (1890) Vol. XIII pp.8-9: "We call it a Society; and go about professing openly the totalest separation... Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under due laws-of-war, named 'fair competition'...it is a mutual hostility... Cash payment is not the sole relation of human beings; we think...that it absolves and liquidates all engagements of man... When Cain... had killed Abel, and was questioned... he too made answer, 'Am I my brother's keeper? Did I not pay my brother his wages, the thing he had merited from me?' " Ibid. Gospel of Mammonism p.183.
Advanced industrial modern societies show more advanced symptoms, same disease but in a more advanced stage; see the discussion of the erosion of the age and grade structure of craftsmanship in shoe trades and its result in industrial unrest, the estrangement of management and workers, in W. Lloyd Warner: *American Life: Dream and Reality* Chicago (1962) pp.167 and following.

98. Chap.8 p.57.

99. Ibid. p.58.

100. Dickens thought carefully about the figure of Stagg. A Mrs. Hurnall wrote to him to complain about the character of Stagg and Dickens' use of blindness, she obviously believed that blindness should be equated with goodness. Dickens' reply is interesting: "I wished to show that the hand of God is at least as manifest in making eyes as in unmaking them," he wrote to tell her, "and that we do not sufficiently consider the sorrows of those who walk in darkness on earth, when we set it up as a rule that they ought to be better than ourselves, and that they are required to be by their calamity. Calamity with us is made an excuse for doing wrong. With them it is directed into a reason for their doing right. This is really the justice of rich to poor, and I protest against it because it is so." Letter to Mrs. Hurnall 21st July 1841, *Pilgrim Letters* Vol.II pp.336-7. He was currently writing Chapters 45 and 46.

101. BR Chap.8 pp.60-1.

102. Chap.8 p.63.

103. Ibid. p.64.

104. Ibid.


106. David Cecil: *Melbourne* (1965) pp.311-12. Lord Melbourne not one of the century's most brilliant minds, was fairly frightened by the idea of combinations of working people, but he ruled that unions were quite legal as long as they did not administer oaths, *ibid*. p.312. The trial was one of the sensations of the period and a petition to reduce the vicious sentence was signed by 250,000 people, and presented at Whitehall by a procession of 30,000 men and women. Disraeli also spends much effort in presenting the
initiation rites of an early trade union in Sybil or The Two Nations (1845) Book IV Chap.iv pp.252-5.


111. Cartoon captioned A Meeting of the Trade Unions from McLean's Monthly Sheet of Caricatures (circa 1830) in Walter Citrine: British Trade Unions (1942) facing p.24. The accompanying cartoon on the sheet is called A Sunday Turn Out of the Trade Unions and shows a parade of scruffy, trouble-ready toughs, followed by starving mongrels and ragged children, a group of the respectable stand frozen in complacency.

112. The petition is described as "immense" and it is carried on a "porter's knot" and "rolled...up to the table ready for presentation" in the House, BR Chap.49 p.355.


115. Ibid. p.39.


117. Ibid.

118. Chap.59 p.434.


120. Chap.82 p.600.


124. Chap.33 p.236.


126. Ibid. p.3.

127. Ibid. p.7.
The novelist adds that bells do not ring out nowadays as they used to in the days of Whittington. They have got quite used to people's leaving the country and have grown worldly. Ibid. pp.225-6. Joe seems to be a foreshadowing of the character of Walter Gay.

This shrewd phrase was coined by Professor Philip Collins in an article in The Listener 8th May 1969 p.637.

The shifts critics will go to in order to prove that he was, are in themselves a kind of entertainment, see for example Steven Marcus, who in Delphian tones announces "...everyone knows now that...he identified himself with the rioters...he was at the same time deliberately suggesting a likeness between the rabble of the Gordon riots and the Chartists' agitation of the late 1830's...", Marcus p.172, see also Ibid. pp.174-5. But where is the evidence? Is there one direct reference to Chartism, political reform? the franchise? If Dickens wanted to write about Chartism, why didn't he do so? Why did he allegorise it in the
unlikely form of an historical novel modelled on Scott? I sometimes wonder where the earliest reference to BR equals Dickens on Chartism is to be found, and I doubt if it is much earlier than Jackson p.28. No, I think Dickens' interests were much, much wider.

150. For a definition and discussion of the basic assumptions of this definition of "family" see Pitrim A. Sorokin: Sociological Theories Today N.Y. (1966) pp.564-5; Marx also believed that society was a direct reflection of the family, it was the family-writ-large; cf. Karl Marx: A Letter to P.V. Annenkov (1846) in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels - Selected Works Moscow (1962) Vol.II pp.442-3.


155. For a brief, but nonetheless frightening, view of the human cost of the Japanese economic miracle, see the article by Murray Sayle: Japan - the Triumphs of the Fastest Economic Growth in History in The Sunday Times 15th February 1970 pp.49-50; a sad picture of the land whose religious beliefs were grounded in the worship of the family and family ancestors. Harold Perkin discusses the effects of economic and industrial development in our society in his book The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969) pp.149-60.

156. John Madge: The Origins of Scientific Sociology (1963) writes that the family is "essentially a continuous group, outliving even its participants..." Ibid. pp.474-77.
157. See W.J.H. Sprott: Human Groups (1958) for a discussion of the general theory of the family Chap.4 pp.57-73; Maurice Duverger: Introduction to the Social Sciences translated Malcolm Anderson (1956) pp.55-6; I. Galdston: The Family in Contemporary Society N.Y. (1958); R.D. Hess and G. Haddel: Family Worlds Chicago (1958): on the real human need satisfied by the family group, see Ferdinand Toennies: Community and Association (1955) pp. 48-9, and the economic need Ibid. pp.61-2; possibly more penetrating, but at times rather baffling - to a non-specialist in any case - because of a rather clinical style, is Kingsley Davies: Human Society N.Y. (1964). Davis finds that although the sole effective kinship group is still the immediate family, this unit - in modern society - is losing its size and function. It is losing its power as a result of the division of labour, integration outside the home, and areas of responsibility assumed by other institutions, such as schools, urbanization and mobility, the substitution of legal contract in place of the old idea of kind etc. etc. pp.422 and following "...the anonymous city has thus turned business, recreation, sex-relations...nearly all activities into possible competitors of the family." Davis discusses this main thesis, that modern society has eroded the status of the family, pp.422-29 and discusses the social function of the family pp.394-6: see also Willystine Goodsell: A History of Marriage and the Family N.Y. (1935) and Willard Waller: The Family - a Dynamic Interpretation N.Y. (1938). Waller is particularly interesting on parenthood and family disorganisation.

158. See Harry Elmer Barnes (editor): An Introduction to the History of Sociology Chicago (1969) pp.371 and following, pp.376 and following. Thus is the theory of the zeitgeist strangely vindicated. Le Play minutely examined the economic circumstances of some three hundred families, tabulating the facts with a view to discovering and demonstrating the bases of the welfare of the family, this appeared in his Les Ouvriers European 6 Vols. (1855). He later published Le Constitution Essentiale de l'Humanite in 1881. He was the founder of the Societe Internationale des Etudes Pratiques d'Economie Sociale. His main message was to stress the value of private property, religion and family organisation - "Place, Work, Folk". His fame as an expositeur of the family unit rests upon L'Organization de la Famille which he published in 1871. Le Play's work was really a long-term answer to the ideology of Comte, (Cours de Philosophie Positive 1830-1842). Le Play and his followers approached sociological questions from physical science and industry, and relied on direct observation of representative families and communities; empirical rather than positiviste.

159. Dickens is examining in BR the parental behaviour system. For a sociological discussion of the role of parents in the nuclear family see Robert H. Thornless: General and Social Psychology (1958) pp.195-7. The extended family, which is what Dickens is here discussing (and in the other
stories where he gives a family a central part in the narrative structure) is typical of the non-industrial or pre-industrial world, see Gideon Sjoberg: The Pre-Industrial City (1965) pp.157 and following.


162. "However terrible and disgusting, under the capitalist system, the dissolution of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, large-scale industry...creates a new economic basis for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes..." Marx: Capital translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (1967) Vol.I p.529, quoted in Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy edited T.B. Bottomore and Maximillien Rubel (1969) p.259.

He saw that capitalist exploitation tended to erode family ties, but suggested in the long term ramifications of industrial development, a new kind of family unit might emerge: "Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the communists. On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians... The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital..." Manifesto of the Communist Party (1848), quoted in Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy edited Lewis S. Feuer (1969) p.66. D.S. Landes has demonstrated, in his essay, Technological Change and Industrialization in H.J. Habakuk and M. Postan (editors): Cambridge Economic History of Europe (1966) Vol.VI pp.585-601, the modern competitive industrial society we live in now places a high premium on easy movement of labour, technical skills, managerial talent etc., and this leads to the necessity of geographical mobility, with its concomitant separation of ancestral homes, attendant social migrations: a system which has dissolved the old guild system but has attempted to recreate the familial framework of economic enterprise by adoption - in Japan, and in France with the politque des genres. Although there is some division of opinion among sociologists, several leading authorities are optimistic about the long-term outcome of this re-structuring: N.J. Smelser in Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change in B. Holelitz and W.E. Moore (editors): Industrialization and Society, Unesco (1962) pp.32-54, believes that from the decline of the family as an economic unit comes the emancipation of women and the general undermining of integration leads to a healthier re-structuring. The question of population movement in modern society under economic needs is discussed by S.M. Lipset and R. Bendix in Social
Mobility in Industrial Change California (1959), and its
effects on the family in E.W. Burgess and H.S. Locke:
The modern family has been assisted in its disintegration
by the assumption of outside groups and media of many of
its intrinsic functions - see Herbert Marcuse: *One Dimen­sional Man* (1970) pp.25 and following and also his *Eros
and Civilization* (1955) pp.96 and following. Other
modern observers believe the decline of the family will
continue given the continuance of our industrial and
commercial social system, see Vance Packard: *The Waste
hold the family as a basic and fundamental human unit:
"...men, who daily remake their own life, begin to make
other men, to propagate their own kind: the relation
between man and wife, parents and children, the family..."
Marx and Engels: *The German Ideology* (1846) quoted in
*Feuer op.cit.* pp.290-1: they criticise elements in the
family which Dickens hardly touches on, that is the
explicit enslavement of the wife and children by the
father, which they describe as "the first property" *Ibid.*
p.294. A point also made by Peter Laslett in his book
*The World We Have Lost* (1965): "...the world we have lost
...was no paradise or golden age of equality, tolerance
or loving kindness...the coming of industry cannot be
shown to have brought economic oppression and exploitation
with it. It was there already. The patriarchal arrange­ments...were not new in the England of Shakespeare...
They were as old as the Greeks...and it may well be that
they abused and enslaved people quite as remorselessly as
the economic arrangements which replaced them in the
writing in what J.S. Mill called "the first philosophical
book ever written on democracy as it manifests itself in
modern society" found that "In America the family...no
longer exists. One only finds scattered traces thereof
in the first years following the birth of children...as
soon as the young American begins to approach man's estate,
the filial obedience are daily slackened..." *Democracy in
America* translated George Lawrence edited J.P. Mayer and
thought the change brought gains for the individual, that
relations between parents and children become more demo­
is not describing quite the same kind of loosening of ties
and bonds as Dickens: "Democracy loosens social ties, but
would be so happy if he saw the United States today: see
for example David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney:
*The Lonely Crowd* A Study of the Changing American Character
Yale (1953) pp.56-7, 86, 320: also the interesting dis­
cussion of the ideas of Elton Mayo, Professor of Industrial
Research at the Harvard Business School in William H.
Whyte: *The Organization Man* (1961) pp.36-48; Mayo believed
that man lost an essential something since the Middle Ages,
that this something was generated by the family and aided
the cohesive effort of the whole of society, modern man
has lost it, and therefore this "Belongingness" is not
found in modern industrial society "...our fathers worked for social co-operation - and achieved it. This is also true of any primitive society. But we, for at least a century of the most amazing scientific and material progress, have abandoned the effort...and we are now reaping the consequences." wrote Mayo, quoted in Whyte ibid. p.37. As far as Mayo believes, the dominant urge of mankind was to belong. Ibid. p.38. The disappearance of the "organic community" has, of course, become one of the orthodox lamentations of literary criticism post-Leavis, but the dissolution of a way of life which has survived for fifty-five centuries is deserving of some attention, see Gideon Sjoberg: The Pre-Industrial City (1965) and Lewis Mumford: The Culture of Cities N.Y. (1938).


165. For modern evidence see Edward C. Banfield: The Moral Basis of a Backward Society N.Y. (1958) pp.85-90. One of his witnesses says: "I have all I can do to look after my own affairs. I do enough struggling in my business not to want to add to it..." He is a merchant; Vance Packard has some unhappy things to say about the family-social relationships in the most economically advanced nation in the world, see The Waste Makers (1970) pp.221-3, 225-6.


170. cf. the opening of Disraeli's Henrietta Temple (1837): "Some Account of the Family of Armine, and especially of Sir Ferdinand of Sir Radcliffe..." Splendid names roll off the tongue, visions of references in the Doomsday Book, death in the Holy Land, castles in Guienne and Gascony, the factions of York and Lancaster, King Hal, estates in Nottinghamshire, Cavalier exploits, follow one another in a glittering tumble of name-dropping. The whole tone of the immodest family saga was brilliantly parodied by Dickens in his introductory section Concerning the Pedigree of the Chuzzlewit Family, culminating in "The Lord No Zoo".
It is this, not Dickens' attacks on specific social abuses such as the law, or government, or education, which gives his work its special kind of permanent validity. I think Professor Barbara Hardy's description is apt: she says that the later novels are more "detailed and documentary" in their portraits of society, and not so mythical. Barbara Hardy: *Charles Dickens - The Later Novels* (1968) p.12. There is throughout Dickens' work an unmistakable selection of interests and attitudes, a set of basic assumptions which do not really alter so much as intensify and sharpen. This has been well said by Monroe Engel, I think: "No writer of great stature has kept more persistently to his own themes than did Dickens. They inform his writings from first to last, welling from the great, brooding, obsessive centre of his mind's most fertile life to inspirit his work with its most intense energies... Dickens almost never repeats himself... behind all that he writes is a point of view that develops... but does not change essentially." Engel p.96. What gives the novels a continuing thematic texture Professor Engel describes in terms of "recurrent configurations of experience..." Ibid.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ELEVEN


2. cf. that striking passage of Carlyle's about time present, time past and time yet to come: "...the present is an important time; as all present time necessarily is. The poorest Day that passes over us is the conflux of two Eternities; it is made up of currents that issue from the remotest Past, and flow onwards into the remotest Future. We were wise indeed, could we discern truly the signs of our own time; and by knowledge of its wants and advantages, wisely adjust our own position in it. Let us, instead of gazing idly into the obscure distance, look calmly around us, for a little, on the perplexed scene where we stand. Perhaps, on a more serious inspection, something of its perplexity will disappear, some of its distinctive charac­ters and deeper tendencies more clearly reveal themselves; whereby our own relations to it, our own true aims and endeavours in it, may also become clearer." Carlyle: Signs of the Times, Miscellaneous Essays Vol.II p.316. How strangely in essence this foreshadows CC!


4. OCS Chap.54 p.381.


7. Ibid.


11. See letter to his schoolfriend Louis D'Elboux dated 24th November 1849, Dexter Letters Vol.II p.187, Dickens could hardly believe that it was a quarter of a century since they were at Wellington House School.


14. Letter to Cornelius Felton 2nd January 1844 quoted in Johnson p.466; Dexter Letters Vol.I p.553. His involve­ment in the tale must have been intense in the extreme, when it was completed he "broke out like a madman." Johnson p.467.


22. Author, clerk to proctor in Doctor's Commons and friend of Douglas Jerrold, editor of several liberal papers including True Sun, Constitutional, Courier and was also connected with The Examiner. Three volumes of his essays were published in 1846. He is clearly seen in the drawing of Dickens reading The Chimes in December 1844, seated between Carlyle and Jerrold. Leman Blanchard was a close friend of Dickens' - see Dexter Letters Vol. I pp. 134, 174, 182, 185, 200, 558, 565-6. He was invited to the Christening of Mary (Mamie) Dickens in 1838. He admired CC particularly, see letter 4th January 1844, Dexter Letters Vol. I p. 558.

23. Hesketh Pearson: Dickens (1964) pp. 15 and following: Dickens told Forster about his attempts to enter the stage, in December 1844, Forster pp. 53 and following. He wrote to Forster in June 1845 and discussed his youthful ambitions to go on the stage and described how he wrote to Mathews for an audition. See Dexter Letters Vol. I pp. 680-1. There is some doubt about the time when Dickens told Forster about the dreadful blacking factory episodes, see Marcus pp. 287-9; Forster states that this was in 1847, Forster pp. 21 and following, but after sifting all the evidence Professor Edgar Johnson dates this as sometime in September 1845 - May 1846, see Johnson Vol. I Notes p. iv.


25. Forster p. 21.


27. I refer to This Side Idolatry, a fictionalised biography published by Roberts under the name "Ephesian" in 1928 and "Hugh Kingsmill" - Hugh Kingsmill Lunn - who published his decidedly unsentimental version of Dickens' life under the misleading title of The Sentimental Journey: A Life of Charles Dickens in 1934.
28. Forster p.25: for a tactful handling of this part of Dickens' life see Hibbert pp.37-70.


31. Forster discusses this, clumsily but obviously quite sincerely, in Book 1 Chap.3 of his Life of Charles Dickens.


33. Letter dated 26th April 1842 from Niagara Falls, quoted in Forster pp.262-3.

34. Letter dated 3rd May 1842, quoted in Forster p.271.


36. Ibid. p.61. Dickens was deeply moved by this poem and these ideas, so touchingly in accord with his own at that time, see Forster p.27. There is other evidence of Dickens' great admiration for early Tennyson. In March 1843 he wrote personally to Tennyson to express his high opinion of the poet and "the love I bear you as a man whose writings enlist my whole heart and nature in admiration of their Truth and Beauty...you have no more earnest and sincere homage than mine..." Dexter Letters Vol.I p.513. In March 1844 he sent two volumes of Tennyson's verse to T.J. Weller and thoroughly commended them to him, Dexter Letters Vol.I p.575, letter dated 1st March 1844 - see also Ibid. Vol.I p.473, Vol.II pp.274, 435, 572, 580, Vol.III pp.117,390.


40. Ibid. p.269.

41. Ibid. Act.III p.27. The effect and influence of Browning's play on Dickens may have been truly profound - Harry Stone argues plausibly that it was. See his essay The Love Pattern in Dickens' Novels in Robert B. Partlow Jr.(editor): Dickens the Craftsman: Strategies of Presentation Carbondale (1970) pp.1-20.

42. Johnson Vol.I p.45 and see Forster pp.20 and following for Dickens' memories of his youth and childhood.
Dickens' journalism is full of wonderfully detailed references to his past - the major examples are:

**Holly Tree Inn** HW Extra Xmas Number (1855) - in UW pp. 541-9. Dickens wrote three of the seven parts of these tales, years later collected together and re-named *The Holly Tree* in various collected editions: in CB pp.50-79 - echoes of schooldays, lost love, the Temple, Fleet Street, posting inns, etc. N.B. Christmas and Holly symbols "...may the green Holly Tree flourish, striking its roots deep into our English ground, and having its germinating qualities carried by the birds of Heaven all over the world!" p.79.

**A Child's Dream of a Star** HW Vol.I No.2 April 6th 1850 in RP pp.1-3 - thinly disguised story of his love for his sister Fanny, who died tragically of tuberculosis in 1848, her crippled son had inspired Dickens to write Paul Dombey, *Johnson* Vol.II p.650: *Forster* p.569 "His sister Fanny and himself used to wander at night...looking up at the stars ..."

**Our Watering Place** HW Vol.III No.71 2nd August 1851, RP pp.125-333, sea-side entertainments and amusements of his childhood.

**Nurse's Stories** AYR Vol.III No.72 September 8th 1860: UC pp.129-38, tales he was told as a child.

**Our School** HW Vol.IV No.81 October 11th 1851: RP pp.142-8, Dickens' schooldays, his mates and teachers.

**A Christmas Tree** HW Vol.II No.39 December 21st 1850: RP pp.70-83, recollections of his childhood Christmasses etc.

**The Long Voyage** HW Vol.VIII No.197 December 31st 1853: RP pp.209-17. A meditation upon shipwrecks etc. concluding "I stand upon a seashore, where the waves are years. They break and fall, and I may little heed them; but, with every wave the sea is rising, and I know that it will float me on this traveller's voyage at last..."

**Travelling Abroad** AYR Vol.II No.50 April 7th 1860: UC pp.52-62. "It would be difficult to overstate the intensity and accuracy of an intelligent child's observation..." p.57 - Dickens meets himself "a queer small boy" of nine - and talks to himself etc. Gadshill.

**Dullborough Town** AYR Vol.III No.62 June 30th 1860: UC pp.100-9, the place where he spent his childhood: "scenes among which my earliest days were passed; scenes from which I departed when I was a child, and which I did not revisit until I was a man...I left Dullborough in the days when there were no railroads in the land, I left it in a stagecoach. Through all the years that have since passed, have I never lost the smell of the damp straw in which I was packed...it rained hard all the way..." pp.100-1.

**Where We Stopped Growing** HW Vol.VI January 1st 1853 pp.361-63.

44. **CC** in CB p.17.
A literary and scientific institution founded in 1835 which had fallen into debt; a new committee had recently been formed to revive it, a great bazaar was organised, and the soirée at which Dickens presided; here he was on the platform with Disraeli and many eminent local Tories, and Richard Cobden and some of his leading supporters. A full account of this gathering and Dickens' part in it is to be read in Edward William Watkin: Alderman Cobden of Manchester (1891) pp.123-30, see also Fielding Speeches pp.44-52.

Fielding Speeches pp.45-6.

Fielding Speeches p.49.

See K.J. Fielding: Dickens' Novels and Miss Burdett-Coutts in The Dickensian Vol.LI (1955) pp.30-4 - "his letters to her show surprisingly little relation between their activities and the novels" he says, ibid. p.30.

See the fine discussion of the background to C.B. by Dr. Michael Slater in the Penguin edition (1971) pp.vii-xxiv, and ibid. pp.33-7; John Butt: A Christmas Carol - its Origin and Design in The Dickensian Vol.LI (1955) pp.15-18; Professor Collins has dealt exhaustively with this subject, Dickens and Education (1965) see especially pp.3, 71-2, 73, 86-93, 98, 120, 179, 211 and 237; see also his article Dickens and Ragged Schools in The Dickensian Vol.LV (1959) pp.94-109; Dickens gave the Ragged Schools publicity in The Daily News and The Examiner in 1848, these articles are reprinted in Miscellaneous Papers edited by B.W. Matz 2 Vols. (1908), these institutions were frequently reported in HW, see Household Narrative - a monthly news supplement to HW (1850) pp.77, 113, 138, 230; (1851) pp.15, 64, 65, 89, 114, 205, 231; (1852) p.91; (1853) pp.115, 162, 199, 273; (1854) pp.115; (1855) pp.8, 112, 133, 182, 183, 199, 224, 249, 250. An article by Hannay, Lambs to be Fed which appeared in HW Vol.III 30th August 1851 pp.544-9, is a very sympathetic discussion of the Ragged School movement.

Carlyle: Signs of the Times in Miscellaneous Essays Vol.II p.316.

CC, CB pp.65-7.


LD Book One Chap.XXVIII p.317.

LD Ibid. p.322.


60. The Chimes First Quarter CB p.81.


63. Ibid.

64. Kathleen Tillotson: The Middle Years from the "Carol" to "Copperfield" in Dickens Memorial Lectures published as a supplement to the September 1970 Dickensian p.12.


66. Ibid. p.125.

67. Ibid. p.126.

68. The Chimes, CB p.86.

69. The Chimes op.cit. p.88.

70. Ibid. p.91.

71. Ibid. Second Quarter CB p.102.

72. Third Quarter CB p.120. cf. Revelations XX.13 "And the sea gave up the dead that were in it."

73. Ibid. p.124.

74. Ibid. p.126.

75. Ibid. p.136.

76. Ibid. Fourth Quarter CB p.147.

77. Ibid. Fourth Quarter CB p.156.


79. The Chimes Fourth Quarter CB p.152.

80. Introduction by Charles Dickens the Younger, CB p.xxvii.

81. Forster p.448.

88. She was quite musical, she won a scholarship to the Royal Academy of Music and went there as a boarder—Hibbert p.38.
89. Forster p.475.
91. Forster p.568.
92. Ibid. p.568.
94. HM in CB pp.404-5.
95. HM Ibid. p.405.
96. Forster p.559.
97. Forster p.559.
99. Wilson p.211.
100. HM Chap.1 p.328.
101. Ibid.
102. Ibid. p.333.
103. Ibid. p.344.
104. Ibid. p.344.
105. Forster pp.23-36; Johnson pp.31-34; Hibbert pp.51-62; Lucas.
106. HM Chap.1 p.345.
107. The sister in the story marries Redlaw's best friend: this again is true to the facts of Dickens' life, his sister Fanny married Henry Burnett - see Johnson p.129.

108. HM Chap.1 p.336.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWELVE


2. See **Butt and Tillotson** pp.90-113.


5. **Butt and Tillotson** pp.90-1.

6. Ibid. p.91; **Forster** pp.422, 427-8; **Johnson** pp.595-6; **Pope-Hennessy** p.263; **Fielding** pp.112-3. Kathleen Tillotson believes that Dickens had the main themes of *DS* in mind as early as May 1846 - see **Tillotson** p.163.


9. See **Leavis** pp.23 and following: Dr. Leavis' discussion is kindly enough. Mrs. Leavis, however, is frankly magisterial, *DS*, she says "broke down, changing direction and mode, with the death of little Paul, losing its previous steady focus on the theme..." **Ibid**. p.43.


15. Collins *op.cit.* p.215. *DS* had his enemies too - "LOST - Somewhere between the stage door of the St. James's Theatre and Miss Burdett Coutt's Ragged Schools, the plot of the story of *Dombey and Son*. No use to anybody but the owner, and not much to him..." advertised *The Man in the Moon* in 1848, quoted in Collins *op.cit.* p.220.

16. This review is extensively quoted by Collins *op.cit.* pp.227-31.

18. As he wrote to Forster, "I think the general idea of Dombey is interesting and new, and has great material in it." Letter dated 18th July 1846, in Forster p.428.

19. Great pains were taken with the illustrations which show Mr. Dombey; see Forster p.428. Forster reprints two pages of sketches which Phiz submitted for the novelist's approval, Forster pp.511-2.


21. In a letter to Forster dated 29th October 1846, in Forster p.466; he is discussing the illustrations for The Battle of Life: "...I would go, in the illustrations, for "beauty" as much as possible; and I should like each part to have a general illustration to it at the beginning, shadowing out its drift and bearing; much as Browne goes at that kind of thing on "Dombey" covers..." Ibid. (my italics). Early in September 1846 he wrote to Forster that he thought "the cover very good: perhaps with a little too much in it, but that is an ungrateful objection." Letter quoted in Forster p.517.


24. This plate first appeared in the concluding double number of DS in April 1848: the design of this could be more specific, as at this stage Dickens had no need to keep secret various events in the story.


26. Miller ibid.

27. Miller ibid.

28. The use of symbols, the meanings of symbols to those who create them, is a very individual thing: we cannot legislate literary statutes for their use and meaning; in fact the mechanical application of the kind of "Universal Dictionary of Symbols" which usually passes in literary criticism is dangerous for we may miss the wonderful uniqueness of the language of the symbols, the private meanings which symbols have for the individual creative imagination - see Walter Bonime: The Clinical Use of Dreams N.Y. (1962) pp. 33 and following.

29. Leavis pp.3, 5, 12; he says that DS was Dickens' "first essay in the elaborately plotted Victorian novel..." ibid. p.2 but this is to neglect the complexity of BR, and indeed the complexity of MC. See Stuart Curran's article The Lost Paradises of "Martin Chuzzlewit" in Nineteenth Century Fiction June 1970 pp.51-67. Curran argues that this is Dickens' first symbolically coherant novel, and bravely attempts to deal with those who have denied that it has a
recognisable form and structure, especially Barbara Hardy and Kathleen Tillotson. The effect of MC is, however, of exuberance, richness and vivacity rather than elaborate plotting - chaos rather than paradise I think.

30. Harry Stone: *The Novel as Fairy Tale - Dickens' "Dombey and Son"* in *English Studies* Vol.XLVII (1966) p.1. The same sentence appears, word for word, in the opening of Professor Stone's article *Dickens' Artistry and "The Haunted Man"* which he published in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* in 1962. One would have thought that in the intervening four years he might have got over his astonishment; *South Atlantic Quarterly* Vol.LXI (1962) p.492.


33. "Taken together... *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *A Christmas Carol* are clearly crucial for the genesis of *Dombey and Son*, the one because it hints at the social scope and breadth that is to be more surely contained and given focus in the later work, the other because it provides a controlling idea that can become resonant or richly metaphoric of the conditions that affects the society which Dickens now sets out to investigate..." Lucas p.141, see also his essay *Dickens and "Dombey and Son"* in *Past and Present Imperfect* in D. Howard et al, *Tradition and Tolerance in Nineteenth Century Fiction* (1966).

34. See Miller pp.148-9 and Cockshut pp.107-10.

35. DS Chap.I p.2.


37. Daleski p.245: cf. GE: "I used to stand about the churchyard...when night was falling, comparing my own perspective with the windy marsh view, and making out some likeness between them by thinking how flat and low they both were, and how on both there came an unknown way and a dark mist and then the sea..." GE Chap.XIV p.88 and CMF Bk.II Chap. VIII pp.303-4 and cf. ibid. Bk.I Chap.VI p.65.


40. DS ibid. p.3.

41. DS ibid. p.9.

42. DS Chap.V p.50.

43. DS ibid. p.53.

44. DS ibid. p.59
45. **DS** Chap.XI p.136.


47. **DS** Chap.XVI p.208.


50. **DS** Chap.XVI p.212.


52. **DS** ibid. p.213.

53. **DS** Chap.VIII p.104.

54. **DS** Chap.LVII p.756.

55. **DS** Chap.LVIII p.757.


57. LD Bk.I Chap.XXVIII p.322.

58. **DS** Chap.LXII p.818.

59. This is quoted in Butt and Tillotson p.112; see discussion of this passage and Dickens' method of work in *Fielding* pp.111-2 and *Monod* pp.257-68.

60. **DS** Chap.LVIII p.763.

61. **DS** ibid. p.757.

62. **DS** Chap.LIX p.775.

63. **DS** Chap.IV p.32.

64. See Tillotson p.190: Dr. Leavis also thinks it is a bore, and as he devotes so little of his essay on *DS* to the Midshipman group, we may conclude that this he considers among less admirable aspects of the novel: "the book is not a whole conceived in any unified or unifying imagination... it is certainly not, in its specious totality, the work of that genius which compels our homage in the strong parts. The creative afflatus goes in other, characteristic and large parts of the book with a moral elan that favours neither moral perception nor a grasp of the real..." *Leavis* p.12. His reproof is something too round, I feel.
65. An interview given by Frederick Chapman, one of Dickens' publishers, to a reporter of *The Daily Chronicle*, 25th June 1892; quoted and discussed in *Fielding* pp.111-2.


69. *Ibid*.

70. *Ibid* p.22.

71. *DS* Chap.IV p.31. The whole of this opening paragraph is a key passage, I believe. Dickens is anxious to fix in our minds from the start the atmosphere of life-involvement and romance. It is a passage seldom admired - see *Sucksmith* p.80. Monod spends no time at all on Gills or Cuttle.

72. *DS* ibid. p.32.

73. *Ibid*.


75. "They derive from a broad Smollettian tradition of blunderbuss satire," says Dr. John Lucas of Dickens' early grotesque characters. This is the only mention Smollett gets here, *Lucas* p.65; Professor Marcus gives Smollett two insignificant mentions, *Marcus* pp.28 and 41; *Sucksmith* gives him two unimportant references, *Sucksmith* pp.54 and 228; J. Hillis Miller refers to the "picaresque" elements in *PP* and mentions Smollett in passing, *Miller* p.22; O.A.J. Cockshut is rather more dismissive, he says Dickens "never progressed very far beyond his simple boyish enthusiasm for Fielding and Smollett..." *Cockshut* p.11; Professor Monod, disappointingly, is content simply to point the Smollettian predilection for alliterative titles, the similarity in sound between "Master Humphrey" and "Humphry Clinker" and a suggestion that Grip may have been inspired by the raven in chap.xiii of Roderick Random; see *Monod* pp.34-5, 37-8, 140-1, 151, 169, 196. The only exception is Dr. Leavis.

76. Dr. Leavis is fairly traditional in his discussion of Dickens and Smollett, he too is content to run off the usual cliches about "external humours and coarse knockabout", *Leavis* p.31: his discussion of Cuttle's place in the structure of the novel is very interesting, *ibid* pp. 31-2, but he does not suggest what this owes, if anything, to Smollett, except to suggest that it is much better than anything Smollett ever did. Dr. Leavis is quite right, Smollett just has not had that serious attention from literary critics which his influence on Dickens would seem to warrant.

78. For an interesting discussion of this character, see William J. Charlton: *A Note on Captain Cuttle* in *The Dickensian* Vol.LXIV September 1968, pp.152-6.

79. DS Chap.IV p.33.

80. DS ibid. p.33.


82. DS Chap.V p.53.

83. DS ibid. pp.53-4.

84. DS ibid. p.54.

85. DS ibid. p.55.

86. DS ibid. p.55.

87. DS ibid. pp.55-6.

88. DS ibid. p.56.

89. DS ibid. p.58.

90. DS Chap.I p.3.

91. DS Chap.IV p.33.

92. DS Chap.II pp.15-16.

93. DS Chap.III

94. DS Chap.XIII p.160.

95. DS ibid. p.160.

96. DS ibid.


100. Monod hardly mentions her or her family; Dyson pp.100 and 105 gives her two unimportant mentions; Tillotson p.183 mentions her but does not seem willing to cede her much importance in the body of the novel; Cockshut gives her no mention; Johnson Vol.II pp.630-4 does discuss the Toodles but does not give them that centrality Dickens' use of them seems to suggest; Sucksmith does not mention Polly or her Family; nor does Steven Marcus or J. Hillis
Miller; Daleski pp.125-6 makes some good points but this is only a passing reference. The only critic I have found who really examines the place the Toodles have to play in DS is Dr. Leavis, see Leavis pp.8-10. This is a model of brevity and relevance.

102. DS Chap.II p.12.
103. DS ibid. p.15.
104. DS ibid. p.15.
105. DS ibid. pp.15-16.
106. DS ibid. p.16.
107. cf. Carlyle: Past and Present: 'We call it a Society; and go about professing openly the total-est separation, isolation. Our life is not a mutual helpfulness; but rather, cloaked under the due laws-of-war, named 'fair competition'...it is a mutual hostility. We have profoundly forgotten everywhere that Cash-payment is not the sole relation of human beings...'My starving workers?' answers the rich mill-owner: 'Did not I hire them fairly in the market... What have I to do with them more?'... When Cain...had killed Abel, and was questioned, 'Where is thy brother?' he too made answer, 'Am I my brother's keeper?" Did I not pay my brother his wages, the thing he had merited from me?" Past and Present Book III Chap.ii Gospel of Mammonism Library Edition p.183. cf. Rosa Dartle's words to Emily at the end of DC: "The miserable vanity of these earthworms...Your home! Do you imagine that I bestow a thought upon it, or suppose you could do any harm to that low place, which money could not pay for... You were part of the trade of your home, and were bought and sold like any other vendible thing your people dealt in." DC Chap.L p.671.
108. DS Chap.VI p.61.
109. DS ibid.
110. DS Chap.VI p.62.
111. DS ibid.
112. DS ibid. p.63.
113. DS ibid. p.64.
114. DS ibid. p.64.
As Forster says, it might originally have been Dickens' intention to present the main theme of "Pride" but "this limit he soon overpassed; and the succession of independent groups of character...went far beyond the range of the passion of Mr. Dombey and Mr. Dombey's second wife." Forster p.506.

I am reminded of that prophetic sentence in the SB about London: "It's strange with how little notice, good, bad or indifferent, a man may live and die in London..." Thoughts about People in SB p.198. The whole of this paragraph encapsulates one of Dickens' obsessive themes, the need for love and for friends, and the increasing loneliness of life in the city: friends and correspondents, he says, become "lost...in the crowd and turmoil of some busy city...and have gradually settled down into mere passive creatures of habit and endurance." Ibid.

Philip Collins: Dickens and Education pp.53 and following.


DS ibid. p.8.

Luke VI p.49.


DS Chap.I p.5.


140. DS Chap.XI p.135.
141. DS ibid. p.137.
142. DS Chap.XI p.135.

150. DS Chap.IV p.41.
151. DS ibid.
152. DS Chap.IX p.104.
153. DS ibid.
154. DS ibid. p.105.
156. See the opening sections of Chap.XV pp.194-5.
161. It is interesting, as Axton points out, Axton op.cit. pp. 307 and following, that so much of the elements in DS are so close to Albert Smith's pantomime.
162. DS Chap.IV p.35.
163. Ibid. p.36
164. Ibid. p.37.
165. Ibid. pp.37-8
166. Ibid. p.35.
167. Ibid. p.39.
170. It is odd that there is reference to a black-eyed Susan in DS, it is Susan Nipper, see DS Chap.VI p.59, but the obvious counterpart to Black Ey'd Susan in the novel is Florence: The fact that the author of Sweet William's Farewell to Black Ey'd Susan is Gay, may suggest additional associations with the honest heroic-sailor archetype.
171. Dickens knew and loved this play, cf. GE Chap.XLVII pp.316-7; see Dickens' letter to Clarkson Stanfield dated 24th August 1844, in Dexter Letters Vol.I pp.619-22; here he gleefully describes the performance in the role of the nautical hero by Thomas Potter Cooke (1786-1864). Cooke is described in The Dictionary of National Biography as "the best sailor... that ever trod the stage."
172. DS Chap.VI p.72.
Forster p.508. The whole subject of the change in his intentions towards the character of Walter is a very interesting one, see Butt and Tillotson pp.98 and following; Dyson pp.109-10; Monod pp.265-7.

DS Chap.VI pp.72-3.

DS Chap.XXV p.473.

DS ibid. pp.474-5.

DS ibid. p.477.

DS ibid. p.483.

DS Chap.XLVII p.622.

DS Chap.XLVIII p.622.

DS Chap.VII p.94.

DS ibid.

DS ibid.

DS ibid. p.99.

DS ibid. p.95.

DS Chap.VII p.95.

Ibid. p.96.

Ibid. p.102.

DS Chap.XI p.130.


Ibid.

George Santayana: Dickens in Dial November (1921) p.542 - see also Earle Davis pp.11-14; as Earle Davis comments, the strength lies in Dickens' compulsive ability to mix and mingle his various techniques so that they do not give the impression of being separate styles. Julian Symons has compared Dickens' method to that of the surrealistic painters, and suggests that Dickens worked "without self-consciousness, in the belief that he was using the real colours of everyday life: the surrealists are highly self-conscious artists, well aware of their own quaintness and queerness. The strangeness of Dickens is natural..." Julian Symons: Charles Dickens (1951) p.87, cf. Stoehr pp.68-9.
194. DS Chap.LXII p.818.


199. Ibid. pp.164-5.

200. Ibid. p.165.

201. DS Chap.XX pp.263 and following.


203. The chronology of DS is interestingly discussed in House pp.136 and following.

204. See Marcus pp.298 and following.

205. Geoffrey Best: Mid Victorian Britain (1971) pp.68-72; J.H. Clapham: An Economic History of Modern Britain: The Early Railway Age 1820-1850 (1964) pp.387 and following; J.F.C. Harrison: The Early Victorians 1832-1851 (1971) pp.12, 39-41, 102-3. The London and Midland line was built with a capital of £5,500,000 and was 112½ miles long. It must have seemed one of the greatest of modern miracles, see Select Committee on Communication by Railway (1839) Appendix 29 p.410. In the space of one month in 1845, three hundred and fifty seven new railway projects were advertised in the press, the cost of one scheme along was estimated at £40,000,000; Robin Atthill: Dickens and the Railway in English Vol.XIII, Spring 1961, p.132.


207. John Francis: A History of the English Railway (1851) Vol.II p.290. In one parish of a metropolitan borough sixteen schemes were under way at the same time, and upward two hundred houses scheduled to be taken down, Francis Ibid. p.293.

208. House p.137: it is also interesting to note that the financial collapse described in Chap.LIX pp.771 and following, must have been typical of those during the financial crises which began in 1846, see Clapham op.cit. pp.527, 530-5; Thomas Tooke and W. Newmarch: A History of Prices and of the State of the Circulation during the Years 1793-1856, 6 Vols. (1838-1857) Vol.IV pp.68, 72-3;
D.M. Evans: *The Commercial Crisis 1847-8* (1848) pp.18-19. Evans was city editor of *The Times*.


212. These matters are discussed and humorously illustrated in Burke *op.cit.* pp.116 and following.

213. Henry Booth (1788-1869) in a speech in 1830. Booth was a corn merchant in Liverpool who became a railway promoter, a secretary, treasurer and director of various railway companies; he published several significant writings on matters relating to railways and invented many mechanical contrivances which were still in use on railways in the middle of the twentieth century. This speech is quoted in Terry Coleman: *The Railway Navvies: A History of the Men who made the Railways* (1972) p.21.


215. Wordsworth: *Sonnet on the Projected Kendal and Windermere Railway*, composed October 12th 1844, published in a pamphlet *Kendal and Windermere Railway* in 1845. Wordsworth added this note to the sonnet: "The degree and kind of attachment which many of the yeomanry feel to their small inheritances can scarcely be over-rated. Near the house of one of them stands a magnificent tree, which a neighbour of the owner advised him to fell for profit's sake. 'Fell it!' exclaimed the yeoman, 'I had rather fall on my knees and worship it.' It happens I believe, that the intended railway would pass through this little property, and I hope that an apology for the answer will not be thought necessary by one who enters into the strength of the feeling." *The Poetical Works of Wordsworth* edited Thomas Hutchinson (1956) p.224. Wordsworth followed this with an additional sonnet on similar lines:

Proud were ye, Mountains, when, in times of old,  
Your patriot sons, to stem invasive war,  
Intrenched your brows; ye gloried in each scar;  
Now, for your shame, a Power, a Thirst of Gold,  
That rules o'er Britain like a baneful star,  
Wills that your peace your beauty, shall be sold,  
And clear way made for her triumphal car  
Through the beloved retreats your arms enfold!  
Hear ye that Whistle? As her long-linked Train  
Swept onwards, did the vision cross your view?  
Yes, ye were startled; - and, in balance true,  
Weighing the mischief with the promised gain  
Mountains, and Vales and Floods, I call on you  
To share the passion of a just disdain.
216. The subject of a cartoon by Leech: The Railway Juggernaut of 1845 in Punch Vol.IX (1845) p.47.


219. The use made of the possibilities of the railways as a subject for fiction has been well discussed and illustrated by Professor Myron F. Brightfield in his article The Coming of the Railroad to Early Victorian England, as Viewed by Novels of the Period 1840-1870 in Technology and Culture Vol.III No.1 (1962) pp.45-72. His evidence is based on the reading of some two thousand novels published in England between 1840 and 1870, so I assume that if there were treatments of the railways in the fiction of those three decades Professor Brightfield would have discovered them.

220. See Brightfield op.cit.


222. Stoehr p.25.


225. DS ibid. p.17.

226. DS ibid. p.20.

227. The Penguin edition of the novel, for example, has as its cover an adaption of Bourne's historic drawing of the construction of the Euston line.


231. Table Book (1845) pp.255-7.

232. Table Book (1845) pp.258-8. These amusing pieces of evidence for the vogue of the word "Stag" are discussed by Michael Steig in The Dickensian op.cit. See also The Comic Almanack, Second Series (1844-1853) for March 1846, pp.98-99.
In 1845 *Punch* suggested that the time had come for a change in the Royal Arms, a change indicated by the needs of the time: "We suggest that the British Stag...should take the stand of the Unicorn, for the future, on the Royal Arms. He is the representative of a large and growing class, and is so intimately connected with every railway that his influence may be said to extend over every county of England..." *Punch* Vol.IX (1845) p.175.

The same journal published *The Song of the Stag*:

> The railway lists proclaim the fact,  
> "Deposits paid this morn:"  
> All who have cash must sign the act,  
> All who have none must mourn.  
> Bulls, bears around the alley throng,  
> It is the settling day;  
> Then raise the burden of our song,  
> At last the Stag must pay!  
> With a hey-ho chivey!  
> Hark forward, tantivy!  
> Then raise the burden of our song,  
> At last the Stag must pay.

Lists, prices current pass around,  
Their talk is of the Rail,  
The Alley echoes with the sound,  
And Capel Court looks pale.  
The banks fill with an anxious throng,  
And money's stiff they say;  
The settling's come, too true our song,  
At last the Stag must pay!  
With a hey-ho chivey etc.

Poor Stag for cash thy brokers bore,  
And rueful is thy face;  
All thy addresses serve no more -  
Thy rigs are out of place.  
But when the Alley runs thee down  
As a tremendous doo;  
'Tis sad to think that half the town  
Is just as bad as you.  

Capel Court is a lane adjacent to the London Stock Exchange where dealers gather to do business; the term is sometimes used for the Stock Exchange itself: The Alley, this is Change Alley in the City of London where dealings in public funds etc. used to take place. *Punch* later reported that "In consequence of the tremendous rush of Stags into Capel Court, a rail is to be erected to keep them off by the authorities at the Stock Exchange; this will give them a rail of their own, on which they will be at full liberty to speculate." - *The Stags Staggered*, *Punch* ibid. p.150.
A pleasant parody of Byron's lines to Moore:

My boat is on the shore,
And my bark is on the sea, etc., etc.

The Stag's Farewell to England begins:

My boat is on the strand,
My steamer's on the sea,
I quit my native land,
America, for thee.
My wig of red is on,
I've dyed my grizzled brow;
My whisker's dark are gone,
They will not know me now...etc. Punch op. cit. p.250.

In the following year came the bursting of the bubble. Punch had already predicted that the boom would end - not as suggested for lack of iron, but for lack of "tin" - the bursting of the Great Railway Bubble, Punch said "which took place under the most appalling circumstances a few days ago... We regret to state that a total exhaustion of the receiver, which created a fearful vacuum, was the immediate cause of the frightful calamity. The alarm had been spread some time ago, which occasioned a panic among those who were within the sphere of the Great Bubble; but it seems that the poor unfortunate wretches were unable to escape in time from the danger in which they had imprudently placed themselves..." Punch Vol.X (1846) p.74.

Punch proposed designs for the monument of defunct railway lines among which is a handsome sculpture decorated prominently with stags' antlers. Punch op. cit. p.247. It was during this period, 1845-6, that Thackeray was publishing Jeame's Diary in Punch: the story of a serving man who became rich and fashionable "the great Railroad Capitalist, who was to make Diddlesex the most prosperous district of the empire."

233. DS Chap.VI p.61.
234. DS Chap.LIII p.698.
235. DS ibid.
236. See Grahame and Angela Smith: Dickens as a Popular Artist in The Dickensian Vol.LXVII September 1971 pp.131-44; and see Appendix C: The Age of Swindle.

237. House p.29.


239. e.g. The Puppet-Show Vol.II (1848) p.87 shows "The Great Land Serpent" - a vast train snaking away in the distance, the engine like a vast mouth devouring bags of public money, George Cruickshank in George Cruickshank's Table Book, (1845) portrays "The Railway Dragon" who rushes in
upon an ordinary family chanting "I come to dine, I come to sup, I come, I come...to eat you up."


242. DS Chap.VI p.60; the accuracy of Dickens' portrait is attested by the wonderful drawings of this piece of excavation and construction made by J.C. Bourne in 1837-8.

243. DS ibid. p.61.

244. Dyson p.104.

245. DS Chap.VI p.60.

246. Ibid.


248. DS Chap.XV p.204.

249. DS ibid. p.205.

250. Ibid.

251. Ibid. p.206.

252. DS Chap.XV p.206.


254. DS ibid. p.207.
255. DS Chap.XX p.260.

256. See Johnson pp.628-9; Marcus p.323; Dyson pp.104-5; Monod p.254; William Axton: Tonal Unity in "Dombey and Son" in PMLA Vol.LXXVIII (1963) pp.346 and following. Axton discusses railways as the agents of retribution; Harry Stone categorizes the railway as "an emblem of death" although strangely at the same time acknowledges that it is the source of Mr. Toodle's livelihood, and finds that the death of Carker at the hands of railway train is appropriate, "destroyed by the iron idol, that 'type of the triumphant monster, Death', he had so inhumanly served..." Harry Stone: The Novel as Fairy Tale - Dickens' "Dombey and Son" in English Studies Vol.XLVII (1966) pp.7-8; see also Robin Atthill: Dickens and the Railway in English Vol.XIII Spring 1961 pp.133-4, where the railways are seen as "a symbol of the power and ruthlessness of the new means of locomotion..." It is interesting that Edmund Wilson, who had so heavily urged the case for Dickensian "symbolism" devoted not a line to discussing the railways as symbols or images: Dr. Leavis comments on the benefit brought to society as a whole by the railways; Dickens, he says, "sees the railways as the triumphant manifestation of beneficent energy. And characteristically, the beneficence that he acclaims manifests itself in the terms of immediate human betterment... The prosperity and happiness of the Toodle family are associated with the 'coming into full play' of the railways..." Leavis p.11.

257. DS Chap.XX p.262.

258. DS ibid.

259. DS ibid.

260. DS ibid. p.263.

261. DS p.263.

262. DS ibid. p.263.

263. See Johnson Vol.II pp.628-9 for an example how easy it is to misunderstand this passage.

264. MC Chap.XXI p.327: "How the wheels clank and rattle, and the tram-road shakes, as the train rushes on! And how the engine yells..." etc., etc. OMF Book IV Chap.XI p.720: "Then, the train rattled among the housetops, and among the ragged sides of houses torn down to make way for it, and over the swarming streets, and under the fruitful earth..." etc., etc. By Rail To Parnassus, written with Henry Morley, in HW 16th June, 1855, in UW Vol.II pp.530-6; there is a description of a journey by rail from London to Dover in HW for December 12th 1857, although this article is sometimes attributed to John Hollingshead.

265. DS ibid. p.264.
266. DS ibid.
267. DS ibid. p.264.
268. DS Chap.XX p.264.
269. DS ibid.
270. DS ibid.
271. DS Chap.LV p.716.
272. DS ibid.
273. DS ibid. p.721.
274. Ibid.
275. DS ibid. p.723.
276. DS ibid. p.724.
277. DS Chap.LV p.725.
278. DS ibid.
279. DS ibid. p.726.
280. CC in CB p.67.
281. DS Chap.LIV p.707.
283. Forster p.449; letter dated August 30th 1846.

2. Angus Wilson admires the novel, but barely gives Paul a couple of paragraphs, and avoids the subject of the child's death, Wilson pp.206-7; Steven Marcus' remarks on Paul are random and arbitrary, he does not set out methodically to give Paul the full treatment he is prepared to give nearly everyone else in the novel, Marcus pp.322-9; Dyson goes so far as to suggest that the centrality of Paul can be questioned - "Little Paul's life is a masterly inset in the novel, but our main interest is always directed elsewhere" he writes, Dyson p.101; Monod manages to retain his unruffable gallic sophistication and shows himself above such things as emotion, sympathy, pathos etc. "The place held by pathos in Dombey is considerable, and while it was the occasion of the author's self-satisfaction, it also accounts for the less enthusiastic judgements passed by posterity." So there, see Monod p.252; Kathleen Tillotson has some interesting things to say about the idea of childhood and its treatment, but she does not really "place" Paul in the novel, see Tillotson pp.192-4; John Lucas hardly mentions Paul at all, except in his brief discussion of Dr. Blimber's school, see Lucas pp.157-8; Dr. Leavis is the one critic I have studied who realises and tries with justice to express Paul's key place in the novel, see Leavis pp.13-23; other critics who neglect Paul are Johnson Vol.II p.631; Engel p.110; Miller pp.147-8; H.M. Daleski's comments are interesting and to the point, but he does not see the child-story as the central thread in the novel, see Daleski pp.118 and following; Dickens' contemporaries took to Paul and Florence with greater ease, see Dickens: The Critical Heritage edited Collins (1971) pp.216-8, 219, 225-6, 228-30; Charles Kent, Lord Jeffrey, Thackeray thought especially highly of these sections.

3. Leavis p.43.

4. DS Chap.XXXV p.469.

5. DS ibid. pp.470-1.


7. There seem to be some very close parallels; cf. OCS Chap.42: "In one of those wanderings in the evening time...she felt...a comfort and a consolation...in one of those wanderings at the quiet hour of twilight, when sky, and earth, and rippling water, and sound of distant bells, claimed kindred with the solitary child...still the young creature lingered in the gloom, feeling a companionship in Nature so serene and still..." Ibid. pp.292-3; compare this passage with those lines from Tintern Abbey:
when like a roe
I bounded o'er the mountains, by the sides
Of the deep rivers, and the lonely streams,
Wherever nature led...

... ... For I have learned
To look on nature, not as in the hour
Of thoughtless youth; but hearing oftentimes
The still, sad music of humanity...

And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused...

As Dr. John Lucas suggests, there are many echoes of Wordsworth in *OCS*, see Lucas pp.81-2. Dickens and the poets of the 19th century is a strangely neglected subject, Dr. Leavis has suggested the link with Blake, see Leavis pp.213 and following; but there are, I think, equally deep associations with Wordsworth: the children on the tombs, the grave/garden device of *We Are Seven* is strongly suggestive of *OCS*: see A.S.: *Dickens' Love for Wordsworth* in *The Dickensian* Vol.XXIX June 1953 pp.197-8. As A.S. says, Dickens and Wordsworth saw Death as "separation, but not extinction." A.S. in *Dickensian* op.cit. p.198. The comparison is very interesting: like Dickens, Wordsworth finds something in the child figure which has its own "divine vitality" and at the same time he has a great and constant interest in the old, the simple, virtuous, perceptive aged people: what have the young and old in common? Helen Darbyshire suggests that they are "equally removed from the complexity and turmoil, the multifarious demands of common life... Equally they have access to that inner life with which the busy and the worldly lose touch.

Children are blest, and powerful; their world lies
More justly balanced; partly at their feet
And part from them.

In a memorable passage in *The Excursion* he likens old age to an eminence on which a man may sit:

disencumbered from the press
Of near obstructions, and is privileged
To breathe in solitude, above the host
Of ever-humming insects.

This removal, he thinks, is not for our loss, but gain:

What more than that the severing should confer
Fresh power to commune with the invisible world,
And hear the mighty stream of tendency
Uttering, for elevation of our thought,
A clear sonorous voice, inaudible
To the vast multitude..."

Helen Darbyshire: *Wordsworth* (1958) p.28. Dickens, in a way rather similar to the great poet's, places great stress on the perception, humanity and wisdom of the seemingly socially inept, solitary, apparently "simple" characters who really see more, understand better and have more true humanity than their worldly, smart-dealing
brethren: one thinks of Joe Gargery, regarded by the lawyer Jaggers as the village idiot with Pip as his keeper, of Mr. Dick's directness of advice to Aunt Betsy in the presence of the Murdstones: "Mr. Dick...what shall I do with this child?" - "Have him measured for a suit of clothes directly." "Mr. Dick," said my aunt triumphantly, "give me your hand, for your common sense is invaluable." DC Chap.XIV p.198. See Lucas pp.169-70, 175 and 268, and John Jones: The Egotistical Sublime - A History of Wordsworth's Imagination (1964) pp.95-6, 165-6; H.W. Garrod: Wordsworth - Lectures and Essays (1963) pp.116 and following; O.C. Winkler: Wordsworth's Poetry in From Blake to Byron edited by Boris Ford (1957) p.162; and John F. Danby: The Simple Wordsworth: Studies in the Poems 1797-1807 (1971) pp.12-14. In the poem The Idiot Boy Wordsworth seems to be stressing those almost divine qualities of innocence and childish virtue, see Danby op. cit. pp.54-7. I have always relished those perverted half-memories of Mrs. Skewton's when the Wordsworthian mood takes her: "You are fond of music, Mr. Dombey?" "Eminently so," was Mr. Dombey's answer. "Yes, it's very nice... So much heart in it - undeveloped recollections of a previous state of existence - and all that - which is so truly charming..." DS Chap.XXI p.277.

8. Pilgrim Letters Vol.II pp.515-6, the letter is dated 3rd March 1839. William Bradbury, who died in 1869, was a partner of Bradbury and Evans. In this letter Dickens went on to say of the death of Mary Hogarth; "It is nearly two years ago since I lost...a young and lovely creature... The first burst of anguish over, I have never thought of her with pain - I have never connected her idea with the grave in which she lies...but I have long since learned to separate her from all this litter of dust and ashes, and to picture her to myself with every well-remembered grace and beauty heightened by the light of Heaven..."


10. See Johnson Vol.II p.650; James Griffin: Memories of the Past (1883) p.209; Philip Collins: Dickens and Education p.179; there is a photograph of this poor child, Harry Burnett, in Tomlin p.176: he died at the age of nine and was a thoughtful and observant child, he seemed full of religious presentiments about his death. The family's minister of religion said of him, he was "a singular child-meditative and quaint in a remarkable degree." His father said "the bright little fellow was always happy." He died at Brighton. See Frederick G. Kitton: Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil (1890) Reminiscences of Henry Burnett p.136.


13. DS Chap.XX p.263.

14. Marcus p.355: he claims that Dombey is the first novel which has "a strong religious impulse which (can) be felt..." Ibid. but this is to deny the very strong religious qualities in OCS.

15. See Philip Collins: Dickens and Education pp.55-60. In the opening paragraph of this little book Dickens refers to Heaven "where we hope to go, and all to meet each other after we are dead..." quoted in Collins op.cit. p.56.

16. See W. Kent: Dickens and Religion (1930) and Cockshut pp.153-4; Cockshut defines Dickens' religious faith as "a kind of loose, moralistic Anglicanism-cum-unitarianism ... (but) as the above confused definite will indicate, it lack consistency. Worse still, it was cut off from the spiritual and intellectual treasures of the Christian tradition." Cockshut p.13; also Fielding pp.136-40 and Johnson Vol.I pp.146-7, 452, 463-4 and Vol.II pp.886-7.

17. Collins op.cit. p.54.


20. DS Chap.XVIII p.231.


23. cf. the marriage of Louisa Gradgrind and Mr. Bounderby.

24. The total theme of GE.

25. cf. Coleridge: "the mechanico-corpuscular philosophy, which, with the increase of manufactures, trade, and arts, made everything in philosophy, religion, and poetry objective..." Coleridge: Table Talk recorded by Mr. Justice Coleridge, in The Nonesuch Coleridge edited by Stephen Potter (1971) p.497, see also letter to Thomas Poole, March 23rd 1801, ibid. p.590; Carlyle's most rousing attack on "mechanism" and the "mechanization of life" is probably the opening section of Signs of the Times (1829) in Miscellaneous Essays, Library Edition Vol.II pp.313 and following.


27. DS Chap.X p.125.
28. DS Chap.VIII p.95.
30. DS ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. DS Chap.XI p.129.
33. DS ibid. p.93.
34. DS ibid. p.97.
36. Philip Collins: Dickens and Education p.3. Professor Collins does not believe that Dickens was directly influenced by Froebel, but came independently to Froebelian conclusions about the need for the development of the child's own fancy, sense of wonder and enquiry by the encouragement of their creative sense through games and exercises, see Collins op.cit. p.18. As he points out, although the first Kindergarten was only a minute's walk from his home, he sent none of his own children there! Collins op.cit. p.41; Infant Gardens by Henry Morley appeared in HW 21st July 1855, Vol.XI pp.577-82. The matter of Froebel-Dickens influence is discussed in John Manning: Dickens on Education Toronto and Oxford (1959) pp.131-7, 145-6; see also Philip Collins: A Note on Dickens and Froebel in National Froebel Foundation Bulletin No. 94 (1955) pp.15-18; Dickens' journalism has frequent references to the need for the natural development of the mind and sensibility of the child, in opposition to the Gradgrindery practised at the time, see Where We Stopped Growing, by Dickens, in HW 1st January 1853 Vol. VI pp.361-3; The Two Guides of the Child by Henry Morley in HW 7th September 1850, Vol.I pp.560-1; Which is the Plague in AYR 21st April 1860 Vol.III pp.47-8; In and Out of School, AYR Vol.VI, 19th October 1861, pp.77-80; Chesterfield Junior, AYR Vol.XV 17th March 1866 pp.127-30 and 24th March 1866 pp.221-4. cf. Charles Kingsley: The Water Babies (1863): "...when Tom got on shore the first thing he saw was a great pillar, on one side of which was inscribed 'Playthings not allowed here'...at last he stumbled over a respectable old stick lying half covered with earth. But a very stout and worth stick it was, for it belonged to good Roger Ascham...'You see,' said the stick, 'there were as pretty little children once as you could wish to see, and might have been so still if they had been only left to grow up like human beings...but their foolish fathers and mothers, instead of letting them pick flowers, and make dirt pies, and get birds' nests, and dance around the gooseberry bush, as little children should, kept them always at lessons, working, working, working...till their brains grew big, and their bodies grew small, and they were all changed into turnips...and still their foolish parents actually
pick the leaves off them as fast as they grow, lest they should have anything green about them...'" / The Water Babies (1970) Chap.VIII And Last p.168.

37. DS Chap.XI p.131.
38. DS ibid.
40. DS Chap.XI p.132.
41. DS ibid.
42. DS ibid. p.133.
43. DS Chap.XI p.134.
44. DS Chap.LX p.793.
46. DS ibid. p.35.
47. DS ibid.
48. DS ibid. p.141.
49. DS Chap.V p.57.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
55. DS Chap.VIII p.103.
56. DS Chap.XII p.143.
59. DS Chap.XVI p.213.
60. DS ibid.


DS Chap.XLI p.541.


DS Chap.XXXVI p.486.

DS Chap.XXXVII pp.490-1.

DS Chap.XXXVII p.494.

DS Chap.XXXVII p.496.

DS Chap.XL p.535. In this connection, the fear of the menacing and possessive qualities of the machine, that the machine can somehow "take over" a human being, recall Hoffman's story of Doktor Coppelius' wonderful mechanical doll, and in our time John Wyndman's horrid story *The Compassion Circuit*. In Mrs. Skewton Dickens masterfully gives a character who is so representative of the modern, materialistic and mechanical society that she actually becomes a doll.

DS ibid. p.538.

DS Chap.XXXV p.467.

DS ibid. p.467.

DS Chap.XXX p.405.

DS ibid. "What do I know, father...of tastes and fancies... What escape have I had from problems that could be demonstrated, and realities that could be grasped...? You have been so careful of me, that I never had a child's heart. You have trained me so well, that I never dreamed a child's dream. You have dealt so wisely with me...that I never had a child's belief or a child's fear." Louisa to her father, when she hears of the proposal from Mr. Bounderby, *HT* Book I Chap.XV p.485.

DS ibid.

DS Chap.LII p.675.

DS ibid. p.676.

Ibid.

Ibid. p.688.
The analogy of Alice and Edith is well discussed in Daleski pp.118-20, 130 and following, 136. See also Engel pp.110-11; Miller pp.144 and following. The device of literary analogy is not, apparently, favoured by Sylvere Monod, whose discussion of DS in Monod pp.240-71, evades the question of Edith-Alice altogether. But then he finds little to praise or discuss in this novel. He refers in fact to its "comparative dullness", Monod p.270, but we rejoice with him to learn that at least "The very first sentence of the novel is admirably constructed", Monod p.243.

Letter quoted in Forster p.523.
Dickens to Forster, quoted in Forster p.523.
George Hodder: Memories of my Times (1870) p.277.
DS Chap.I p.3.
Forster p.523.
Forster p.524.
Forster ibid.
Le Diable Boiteux by Alain-Rene Lesage, first published in 1707: Asmodeus, a spirit released from a bottle, shows what is really going on behind the masking walls of the houses, and thus exposes the foibles and corruption of society. The work was admired by Smollett and by Dickens. It was translated by J. Thomas, Asmodeus (1924).
See for example the description of her singing and playing to amuse Dombey, Carker and the Major at Leamington in Chap.XXVII p.367.

See Rob's conversation with Mrs. Brown in Chap.XLVI pp. 594-661 and cf. Rosa Budd's fear of Jasper; "He terrifies me. He haunts my thoughts, like a dreadful ghost. I feel that I am never safe from him. I feel as he could pass in through the wall when he is spoken of..." ED Chap. VII p.55; Steerforth too has these snake-like charming qualities; he bewitches Mrs. Gummidge, DC Chap.XXI p.295, and of course fascinates David, DC Chap.VI p.82 and Chap. VII p.86; Steerforth goes out of his way deliberately to charm Miss Dartle, "That he should succeed, was no matter of surprise to me. That she should struggle against the fascinating influence of his delightful art...did not surprise me either..." DC Chap.XXIX p.404: interestingly enough, both Carker and Steerforth are named James, or Jem. Another example of this snake-like charm is in the relationship between Vholes and Richard in BH, the lawyer seems to charm Richard like a reptile does its prey. cf. J.'Ashcroft Noble: Occult Personal Influence in Victorian Magazine Vol.X (1867-68) p.294: "...some people seem to possess any amount of influence over others, and yet take no pains to secure it...they have a rattlesnake power of fascination." See, for example, Dyson p.96.
121. Mary Dickens: Charles Dickens by his Eldest Daughter (1885) p.64: see also Kate Dickens (Perugini): My Father's Love for Children in The Dickensian Vol.VIII (1911) pp.117-9, and cf. the opening of Travelling Abroad in AVR Vol.II No.50 April 7th 1860 in UC pp.52-3.

122. DS Chap.XVIII p.226.

123. DS Chap.XVIII p.226.


125. DS Chap.I p.5.


127. DS Chap.XXXVI p.480.

128. DS ibid.

129. DS Chap.LVI p.727.

130. DS Chap.XLVIII p.626.

131. DS Chap.XLIII p.570.


133. DS Chap.XL p.528.


135. DS Chap.XXXVI p.478.


137. DS Chap.XXXVI p.487.

138. DS ibid.

139. DS Chap.XL p.527.

140. DS Chap.XLII p.564-5.

141. DS ibid. p.564.

142. DS Chap.XLII p.567.


144. DS Chap.XLIV p.573.
Engel hardly mentions her; Wilson sees Edith and Florence as two elements which really flaw DS, Wilson p.211; Lucas hardly mentions her; Leavis does not give much space to her; Fielding refers to the "sentiment" of Dombey and daughter which, he says, make it "an easy book to pillory"; Fielding p.121; Dyson finds the presentation of Florence "a serious weakness", Dyson pp.111 and following and Sylvere Monod produces statistical evidence to enumerate the times Florence sheds tears in the novel and finds it easy to bracket her with "a set of characters of exasperating dullness and unreality, so that the reader's heart sinks whenever they appear in the novel..." Monod p.249.

Daleski pp.149 and following; Miller pp.148 and following; Grahame Smith: Dickens, Money and Society pp.144 and following; Marcus pp.351; Johnson Vol.II pp.637 and following; Tillotson pp.171 and following.

Tillotson p.171.

DS Chap.XXXV pp.474-5.

DS Chap.XLVII p.609.
168. DS Chap.XLVII p.621.
169. DS Chap.XLIX pp.634-5.
170. DS Chap.XLIX p.639.
171. DS Chap.LXI p.813.
172. DS Chap.LXI pp.802-3.
173. DS ibid.
174. cf. Stoehr p.270, "Caught between the extremes of total allegiance to fact or to fancy, Dickens found a way of satisfying both claims: he reports the world as he finds it, in all its multitudinous detail, but beneath the verisimilitude of the surface is an undercurrent of emotion which gives rise to strange displacements and distortions in the presented scene, and over all he superimposes a fairy-tale structure, thus making a weird sense of the hodgepodge of hard, isolated bits of fact which sometimes coalesce in scenes of fiery passion or impossible fantasy. He does not provide an escapist day-dream; rather he sees this world as though in a dream."
175. Tillotson p.194.
176. See Chap.LVIII pp.757 and following.
177. DS Chap.LXII p.818.
1. Letter to Forster, not dated but probably some time in May 1848, in Dexter Letters Vol.II p.95. This letter formed the basis of an article, The Chinese Junk in The Examiner for June 24th 1848: he was to return to these ideas in HW in July 1851. This is the article The Great Exhibition and the Little One which he wrote in collaboration with R.H. Horne, see UW Vol.I pp.319-29.

2. For further examples of Dickens' hatred of the cult of the good old days in contemporary politics see Dexter Letters Vol.I pp.517-8, a letter to Douglas Jerrold, May 1843, where he talks of his bitterness in "hearing those infernal and damnably good old times extolled...", and cf. his letter to Forster of 11th August 1846 from Switzerland, here he talks of the superstition, backwardness and misery which he takes to be an essential accompaniment of Roman Catholicism and says "Good God, the greatest mystery in all the earth, to me, is how or why the world was tolerated by its Creator through the good old times, and wasn't dashed to fragments..." Dexter Letters Vol.I p.778. Dickens wrote A Child's History of England in order to save his young son from getting hold of "any Conservative or High Church notions..." see letter to Jerrold, May 1843, in Dexter Letters pp.517-8.


5. Received, a Blank Child, written in collaboration with W.H. Wills, in HW 18th March 1853, see UW Vol.I p.458.


8. Henry IV Part One Act I Sc.ii: when Dickens had bought Gad's Hill Place in 1857 he liked to tell his visitors that they were on the site of the celebrated Gad's Hill robbery. He had the relevant section of Shakespeare's play illuminated and hanging in his entry.

9. Benefit of Clergy: the privilege enjoyed by the English clergy of exemption from trial by a secular court. It was eventually extended to all who could read, and were therefore capable of entering into holy orders. One had to demonstrate one's literacy by reading Psalms 11: "Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving-kindness according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions." Benefit of the Clergy was not finally abolished until 1827.
10. *In and Out of Jail* in *HW* 14th May 1853, written in collaboration with Henry Morley and W.H. Wills, see *UW* Vol.II pp.479-80.


17. Short op.cit. p.196, cf. the Nazarenes, Johann Friedrich Overbeck (1789-1869) and Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867), see Ftiz Novotny: *Painting and Sculpture in Europe 1780-1880* (1960) pp.75-8, where this return to the ethos of the middle ages is discussed: cf. Richard Parkes Bonington (1802-1828) who, in a short life, exercised a deep influence on romantic art, especially in his penchant for "historical" subjects. He returned to England after working in Paris, and with Delacroix he developed an interest in English historical subjects after 1825, especially noted for his illustrations to the works of Sir Walter Scott. His most famous painting, typical of this rather stagey view of history, are Henri IV and the Spanish Ambassador in the Wallace Collection, and Francis I and the Duchesse d'Etampes in the Louvre; see A. Shirley: *Bonington* (1940) and A. Dubuisson: *Richard Parkes Bonington - His Life and Work* translated C.E. Hughes (1924). There are interesting
parallels with the aspiration of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, in subject matter if not in technique, in the work of Daniel Maclise, Dickens' friend and painter of a beautiful portrait of the novelist; this has recently been handsomely demonstrated by the Daniel Maclise exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in March 1972, discussed with a great deal of tact and justice by Gregory Martin in *The Times* for March 2nd 1972; particularly interesting evidence in this matter of "the good old days" is his water colour of *Sir Francis Sykes and his Family* circa 1837, in which the family are dressed in baronial garb; mention must obviously be made of his *King Alfred in the Camp of the Danes*. The most interesting work on the subject is R. Ironside and J.A. Gere: *Pre-Raphaelite Painters* (1948) and Timothy Hilton: *The Pre-Raphaelites* (1970). Hilton discusses the influence of Overbeck, Correlius and the German Nazarenes on the Pre-Raphaelites pp.18-26. See also Jeremy Maas: *Victorian Painters* (1970) pp.123-46 and Leslie Parris: *The Pre-Raphaelites*, A Tate Gallery Publication (1966).

18. *The Chimes*, First Quarter, CB pp.94-5; Holman Hunt was early influenced to paint *Rienzi*, Madox Brown to such subjects as *Wycliff Preaching Before John of Gaunt, Chaucer Reading to Edward III*, the emphasis on Arthurian Romance, Dante and the Italianate Middle Ages continued, they sentimentalised the Middle Ages, see Short *op.cit.* pp.201-3.

20. *DS* ibid.
22. *DS* ibid.
27. *DS* Chap.IV p.36.
28. *DS* ibid.
29. *DS* ibid.
32. *DS* Chap.XLII p.813.
34. DS Chap.XXVI p.339, to quote but one example.
35. DS Chap.XL p.535.
36. DS Chap.LIX p.780.
37. DS ibid. p.780.
39. DS ibid. p.133.
40. DS ibid. p.135.
42. Hibbert p.92: this was actually a very talented white mouse, Dickens trained him to run up ladders, draw Roman chariots, shoulder muskets etc. and said of him "He might have achieved great things, but for having the misfortune to mistake his way in a triumphal procession to the Capital, when he fell into a deep ink-stand, and was dyed black, and drowned." Our School in RP p.146; Our School in HW Vol.IV October 11th 1851.
43. DS ibid. p.140.
44. DS ibid. p.135.
45. DS Chap.XII p.144.
47. DS Chap.LV p.726.
48. DS pp.339-54.
49. cf. the "new men" in King Lear: Edmund tells the Captain when instructing him to murder Cordelia, "Know thou this, that men are as the time is; to be tender-hearted does not become a sword..." King Lear Act V Sc.iii lines 31-33.
50. DS Chap.LIX p.782.
51. DS ibid. p.782.
52. DS ibid. p.782.
53. DS ibid. p.784.
54. DS ibid. p.784.
55. DS ibid. p.784.
56. DS ibid. p.785.
57. DS ibid. p.784.
58. DS ibid. p.786.
59. DS ibid. p.786.
60. DS ibid. p.787.
61. DS Chap.XV p.213.
62. DS Chap.LIX p.780.
63. DS ibid. p.787.
64. DS ibid. p.787-8.
65. DS ibid. p.788.
66. DS ibid.
67. DS Chap.II p.17.
68. DS Chap.LIX
69. DS Chap.II p.17.

70. Speech at the Conversazione of the Polytechnic Institution in Birmingham, 28th February 1844, Fielding Speeches p.59.

71. cf. Barbara Hardy, "What begins as brilliant insight and coherant realisation in Dombey and Son first becomes mechanized then disintegrates...", Barbara Hardy: The Moral Art of Dickens p.77; Grahame Smith, "Despite the important of the firm of Dombey and Son to the novel as a whole, it is surely a mistake to talk, as one critic does, (he is referring to Johnson Vol.II pp.626 and following) of the 'World of Dombeyism'. To do so is to impute to the novel a greater richness of imaginative realization than can easily be justified. We must be careful not to confuse seriousness of purpose and a degree of thematic unity with total artistic success..." Dickens, Money and Society p.112; Kathleen Tillotson, "The social criticism in Dombey and Son cannot be abstracted from the novel...it is pervasive, unformulated; not documentary in origin or usefulness; no purposeful journeys or reading of newspaper reports lie behind it; and it is not a convenient source for social historians. Partly for this reason, that it is inseparable, it assists instead of disturbing the firm unity of the design..." Tillotson p.201; Sylvere Monod, "...Dombey, like some of the preceeding works, may be regarded as deficient in unity, as though the complex multitude of incidents in it had been 'put together' by three or four different writers..." Monod p.267; Julian Moynahan, "...Dombey and Son is...a vision of the transformation of society by love, and as such is something less than adequate. One difficulty is that the vision is neither genuinely religious...nor genuinely secular..." etc., Gross and Pearson pp.127 and following. It would be tedious in the extreme to recite the leading critics of the day, but there is a clear feeling that somehow DS fails to reach the required standard.
72. This is well discussed in Marcus pp.298 and following.
73. DS Chap.XXIX p.383.
74. DS ibid. p.384.
75. DS Chap.LXI p.813.
76. DS Chap.LX p.795.
77. DS Chap.XXVI p.345.
78. It is hardly necessary to refer for comparison to those hauntingly similar ideas which open the Burnt Norton section of T.S. Eliot's Four Quartets.
79. DS Chap.LXII p.815.
84. Letter to Jerrold ibid.
86. See Tillotson p.200, here it is claimed that the railway is seen "only as a destructive, ruthless, an 'impetuous monster', a 'fiery devil'." There is no suggestion of hope, of social progress etc. etc.
87. MC Chap.IX pp.124-6; see Miller pp.109 and following.
89. The Chimes, Third Quarter pp.123-4.
90. The Battle of Life in CB p.321.
91. Forster p.499.
92. DC Chap.II p.12. Chap.XLII of DC particularly seems relevant here: Dickens is looking back from his early successes, now secure for the first time: "I have been very fortunate in worldly matters; many men have worked much harder, and not succeeded half so well... Heaven knows I write this, in no spirit of self-laudation. The
man who reviews his own life, as I do mine...had need to have been a good man indeed, if he would be spared the sharp consciousness of many talents neglected, many opportunities wasted...." DC Chap.XLII p.565.

92. DC Chap.IX pp.122-3.
93. DC Chap.XLIII p.583.
94. DC Chap.LIII p.718.
95. Chap.XLIII p.583: see also Chap.LVIII "haunted by the ghosts of many hopes, of many dear remembrances, many errors, many unavailing sorrows and regrets." p.760.
96. DC Chap.XLVI p.621.
97. DC Chap.XXII p.297.
98. And was heavily stressed in the rather patchy film version directed by Delbert Mann in 1970.
99. DC Chap.LIX p.775.
100. DC Chap.LX p.788.
101. DC Chap.XLII p.570.
102. DC ibid. There is similar sense of what might have been, that implied "if only" - in the treatment of Steerforth, see Chap.XXXII p.423.
103. See Kathleen Tillotson: The Middle Years from the "Carol" to "Copperfield" in Dickens Memorial Lectures 1970, published by The Dickens Fellowship (1970) pp.7-19, especially pp.16-19. See also Dyson pp.127 and following; Monod pp.303 and following.
105. DC Chap.XXVI p.366.
106. DC Chap.XXIII p.324.
107. DC ibid. p.331.
108. DC Chap.IX p.115.
109. DC Chap.XXXV p.469.
111. DC Chap.LXII pp.804-5.
112. DC Chap.LXIV p.815.
113. DC Chap.LII p.692.

114. DC Chap.LVIII pp.764-5: cf. David's sense, after Dora's death that he has no future: "I came to think that the Future was walled up before..." Chap.LIV p.718; Mr. Peggotty, in time of crisis, loses his sense of past and present "I was calling to mind that the beginning of it all did take place here - and then the end come...but I'm kiender muddled..." Chap.XXXII p.425, see ibid. p.433.

115. DC Chap.LIX p.766.

116. DC Chap.LXII p.808.


118. Ibid.
NOTES TO APPENDIX A


2. The Times 24th April 1834. This notice was rather chilly towards Macready's performance.

3. See G.C. Odell: Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving (1921).


5. Lady Pollock: Macready as I Knew Him (1884) pp.104-5.


8. Ibid. p.177. As George Henry Lewes noted, Macready's great strength was in domestic tragedy; his impersonations, he observed, "were domestic rather than ideal, and made but slight appeals to the larger passions which give strength to heroes." G.H. Lewes: On Actors and the Art of Acting (1875) p.34. For an interesting discussion of Macready's acting and its possible influence on Dickens, see E.L. Costigan: Charles Dickens - Elements of Sentiment and Melodrama in his Early Novels unpub.B.Litt. Diss., Oxford, (1969) pp.20-26.


14. All of these are present in the celebrated drawing of Dickens reading The Chimes.


20. MC Chap.LII p.765. Dickens' debt to Macready is interestingly discussed in Earle Davis pp.60-1.


22. See his letters to the Countess of Blessington, 24th January 1847, in *Dexter Letters* Vol.II p.6; it is claimed, and well supported by the evidence, that Forster was ill on Thursday 25th January 1838 and unable to review *King Lear* for *The Examiner*, and that the notice which appeared in *The Examiner*, *The Restoration of Shakespeare's King Lear to the Stage* in the issue of February 4th 1838 was actually by Dickens; this is the opinion of Madeline House and Graham Storey, see *Pilgrim Letters* Vol.I p.357.


25. See Marcus pp.155 and following, although even he is not sure, he likens Quilp to Heathcliffe, Caliban, a Nibelung, Proteus, a sadist, a masochist.


27. See *Fielding Speeches* pp.113-8.


NOTES TO APPENDIX B

1. OCS Chap.2 p.17.

2. OCS Chap.7 p.53.


4. OCS Chap.8 p.56.

5. OCS Chap.8 p.62.


7. OCS Chap.8 p.62.

8. OCS Chap.13 p.95.


10. OCS Chap.21 p.150.

11. Act III sc.ii.1.73-71.


15. Ibid. p.250.

16. Ibid.

17. OCS Chap.36 p.244.

18. OCS Chap.38 p.271.

19. OCS Chap.50 p.350.

20. OCS Chap.50 p.350.


22. cf. OCS Chap.7 p.53.

23. OCS Chap.56 p.389.

24. Ibid.

25. OCS Chap.56 p.390.

26. The English Fleet. Thomas Dibdin was the illegitimate son of Charles Dibdin, the dramatist and song writer who died in 1814. Thomas was a successful actor and song writer and dramatist. His most successful opera was The Cabinet (1802). Two thousand songs and about two hundred
stage works (plays and operas) are attributed to him. The music of *All's Well* was by the tenor John Braham (died 1856) who was well known to Dickens. He had produced Dickens' two early plays, *The Strange Gentleman* (1836) and *The Village Cocquettes* (1836) at the St. James' Theatre. Dickens obviously knew this duet well: he refers to it also in *OMP* (Bk.III Chap.7 p.473). Dickens sang this duet with the Captain of the *Cuba*, during the second voyage to the U.S. in November 1867 (*UW* Vol.II p.498).

27. Goldsmith: *The Vicar of Wakefield* Chap.XXIV.
32. *OCS* Chap.61 p.430.
33. *GE* Chap.XIII p.87.
34. *OCS* Chap.66 p.460-1.
36. *OCS* Chap. the Last p.518.
37. Ibid.
38. The style of Dick's utterance will be familiar to readers of Mayhew: see the description of the *Street Author, or Poet*, in *Mayhew's Characters* edited by Peter Quennell N.D. pp.69-72. I think his temperance poem is worthy of the brain of Swiveller himself. After a harrowing dream of domestic calamity the drunkard wakes to find all is really well and finds his wife at his side. The ballad ends:

I pressed her to my throbbing heart,
Whilst joyous tears did stream;
And ever since, I've heaven blest,
For sending me that dream.

The poet had also written his own epitaph:

Stranger pause, a moment stay,
Tread lightly o'er this mound of clay...

Mayhew suggests Scott and Moore as likely sources of derivation. Dickens's musical taste and knowledge has recently been discussed by Lillian M. Ruff, see her article *How Musical Was Charles Dickens* in *The Dickensian* Vol.LXVIII January 1972 pp.31-42.
NOTES TO APPENDIX C

1. George Augustus Sala: Things I have seen and People I have known 2 Vols. (1894) Vol.I p.76.

2. See R.S. Lampert: The Railway King 1800-1871: A Study of George Hudson and the Business Morals of his Time (1964). Dickens refers to the amazing gifts of accumulation so characteristic of Hudson in a paper Perfect Felicity, In a Bird's Eye View in HW April 6th 1850. "I am by nature, a sort of collector... I want to make a collection. I desire to get a little property together. How can I do it here? Mr. Hudson couldn't have done it, under corresponding circumstances..." RP p.4.


10. The Times 10th October 1856 p.10, 10th January 1850 p.3, 11th October 1856 p.11, 14th October 1856 p.8, 6th May 1851 p.5, 14th February 1851 p.5.


12. HW, the article, by Henry Morley, covered the activities of Redpath, Saward and Robson among others; see UW Vol.II p.570: on 7th September 1850 and 21st September 1850 Dickens published in HW two articles written with W.H. Wills on Bank Note Forgeries, ibid. pp.151-62: see Chesney op.cit. pp.248, 252, 255-64. Much of the information used by Dickens in these articles comes from the third edition of John Francis: The History of the Bank of England (1848) 2 Vols. A presentation copy of this work was in Dickens' library. See also Henry Mayhew: London's Underworld selected and edited by Peter Quennell N.D. pp.313-30.


16. Some reports on Swindles in The Times in the decade here under consideration: 16th November 1846 p.3 col.b; 8th December 1846 p.6 col.b; 23rd January 1845 p.5 col.f, "New Law on Swindles"; 8th August 1849 p.6 col.f; 6th May 1851 p.8 col.f; 14th February 1851 p.5 col.f; 21st December 1854 p.8 col.f; 24th August 1854 p.9 col.a; 31st October 1853 p.6 col.d; 9th January 1853 p.8 col.e; 28th January 1853 p.5 col.f; 4th December 1856 p.7 col.f; 9th August 1857 p.10 col.c; 28th January 1858 p.9 col.g. These are only the most interesting cases, a mere fraction of all those actually reported. See also Two Chapters on Bank Note Forgeries in HW 7th September 1850 and 21st September 1850, and UW Vol.I pp.151-62.


18. This is the case of Ann Samler and Fernando Giacosa - see Annual Register Vol.LXXXI pp.258-60.


22. Annual Register Vol.LXXXIV


34. Annual Register Vol.LXXXIX p.131.


36. Details of the financial crisis of November 1847:

Coates & Company liabilities of £100,000
Abbot & Company " £30,000
Thurburn & Company " £120,000
Johnson, Cole & Company " £120,000
Ryder, Wienhold & Company " £50,000
M.J. Williams " £20,000
Tanner & Ward " £350,000
Trueman & Cook " £150,000
Sargent, Gordon & Company " £100,000
Leaf, Barnet & Company " £100,000
Pemberton & Company " £30,000

Provincial houses also failed - more numerous than London:

at Blackburn:
Rosgett & Company " £70,000
Barton & Company " £25,000

at Glasgow:
Holdworth & Son, Campbell of Islay £600,000
A. & J. Downie £200,000

at Liverpool:
Branker & Son, G. Hargreaves, Ashburner £30,000
Castellain & Company, Napier of Camlachie £40,000

at Manchester:
D. Ainsworth " £30,000
Carr & Company, Newcastle " £70,000

The following banks stopped payment:
The Shrewsbury and Market Drayton Bank,
The Honiton Bank, The West India Bank.

Failures of foreign houses connected with English firms.
were also announced, with considerable liabilities. The full, sad picture is in *The Annual Register* Vol.LXXXIX pp.155-6.

41. PP Chap.XL p.555.
42. Ibid. p.557.
44. PP Chap.XV pp.199-201.
46. PP Chap.XLI p.570.
47. PP Chap.XX pp.256-8.
48. Ibid. p.256.
49. PP p.258.
50. OT Chap.LI pp.372-81.
51. NN Chap.II p.10.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
56. *American Notes* p.204.
58. Ibid. p.45.
59. BH Chap.LIV p.679.
60. CC in CB p.17.
61. *The Great Chowsempoor Bank* in *HW* Saturday May 25th 1852 pp.240-3: this is a very long and detailed article, and it is very illuminating to compare it with LD, especially the concluding sections of Chap.XXXV. This preceeds the novel by five years.
This was the general opinion of the U.S. at this time, the "Land of Smart Dealing" was frequently lambasted in Punch. In 1842 Punch described "The Light of All Nations" as having "a double squint; one eye contemplating a dollar, the other eye watching a slave". Punch Vol.III (1842) p.69. A cartoon of a few years later, entitled "The Land of Liberty" shows a Southern gentleman reclining on a chest of dollars, his feet resting on an overturned bust of Washington, surrounded by scenes of lynching-law, slaving, sharp-dealing, gun-fighting etc. Punch Vol.XII (1847) p.215. "The Yankee," said Punch, "has...divers moral peculiarities. Of these one of the most remarkable is his devotion to his idol (the almighty dollar)...his veneration for dollars is immense." Punch Vol.VII (1844) p.56. See Robert B. Heilman: The New World in Dickens' Writings in The Trollopian Vol. I Nos. 3 and 4.

HT Chap.IV p.417. This needs some careful pondering: Dickens did not criticise money-makers - from time to time he creates characters who are successful at making money - but he seems particularly to hate men who make money and are immodest about it, or who think they can "buy" the things they want out of life, instead of obtaining them by hard-work, suffering and loyalty. See Trevor Blount: The Ironmaster and the new Acquisitiveness - Dickens' View on the Rising Industrial Classes as Exemplified in "Bleak House" in Essays in Criticism Vol.XV (1965) pp.414 and following: it is no accident that the first of Betsy's beatitudes to David Copperfield was that one should be generous, this seems to be the key - it was not wrong to have money, but having got it, one should be gentlemanly with it. As Asa Briggs has said "in the battle between the self-made man and the gentleman, the self-made man won in England only if he became a gentleman himself". Asa Briggs: Victorian People (1954) p.144.

GE Chap.LVII p.395. I feel that Mrs. Leavis' reading of Joe's character is perverse, see Leavis pp.302 and following. I think we are meant to respond warmly to Joe's cause when he turns on Jaggers "Which I meantersay...that if you come into my place bull-baiting and badgering me, come out! Which I meantersay as sech if you're a man, come on! Which I meantersay that what I say, I meantersay and stand or fall by!" GE Chap.XVIII p.117: the goodness of Joe rises in our opinion in direct ratio as to our feelings of disgust when Pip, having heard from him, says, "If I could have kept him away by paying money, I certainly would have paid money". GE Chap.XXVII p.180. Despite Pip's unhappiness at home because of his sister's uneven temper, he tells us that "Joe had sanctified it". GE Chap.XIV p.88.

GE has attracted some excellent critical attention: see Miller pp.249-78; Graham Smith: Dickens Money & Society pp.169-81; Barbara Hardy: The Moral Art of Dickens pp.139-55; Lucas pp.287-314; G.R. Strange: Expectations Well Lost - Dickens' Fable for His Time in College English.
"Dumb, wet, silent horrors! Sphinxes set up against that dead wall, and none likely to be at pains of solving them until the general overthrow" - see Graham Reynolds: *Painters of Victorian Scene* (1953) p.94.


73. *PP* Chap.LIII p.708.


75. *NN* Chap.I p.3.


78. *NN* Chap.X p.113.

79. A great deal of what is said about the later novels would also apply to the novels written in the 1840's; see Barbara Hardy: *Charles Dickens - The Later Novels* (1968) pp.12-15.

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