# Norton Anthology

of

English Literature

Middle Ages

Middle Ages 1) Introduction to Middle Ages

The Middle Ages is like no other period in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* in terms of the time span it covers. Caedmon's *Hymn*, the earliest English poem to survive as a text (*NAEL* 8, 1.25-27), belongs to the latter part of the seventh century. The morality play, *Everyman*, is dated "after 1485" and probably belongs to the early-sixteenth century. In addition, for the Middle Ages, there is no one central movement or event such as the English Reformation, the Civil War, or the Restoration around which to organize a historical approach to the period.
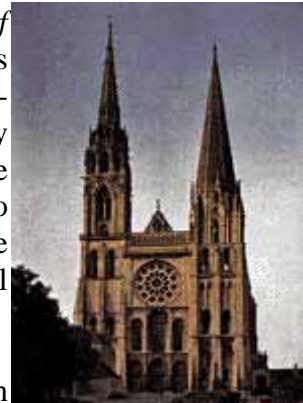
When did "English Literature" begin? Any answer to that question must be problematic, for the very concept of English literature is a construction of literary history, a concept that changed over time. There are no "English" characters in *Beowulf*, and English scholars and authors had no knowledge of the poem before it was discovered and edited in the nineteenth century. Although written in the language called "Anglo-Saxon," the poem was claimed by Danish and German scholars as their earliest national epic before it came to be thought of as an "Old English" poem. One of the results of the Norman Conquest was that the structure and vocabulary of the English language changed to such an extent that Chaucer, even if he had come across a manuscript of Old English poetry, would have experienced far more difficulty construing the language than with medieval Latin, French, or Italian. If a King Arthur had actually lived, he would have spoken a Celtic language possibly still intelligible to native speakers of Middle Welsh but not to Middle English speakers.

The literary culture of the Middle Ages was far more international than national and was divided more by lines of class and audience than by language. Latin was the language of the Church and of learning. After the eleventh century, French became the dominant language of secular European literary culture. Edward, the Prince of Wales, who took the king of France prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, had culturally more in common with his royal captive than with the common people of England. And the legendary King Arthur was an international figure. Stories about him and his knights originated in Celtic poems and tales and were adapted and greatly expanded in Latin chronicles and French romances even before Arthur became an English hero.

Chaucer was certainly familiar with poetry that had its roots in the Old English period. He read popular romances in Middle English, most of which derive from more sophisticated French and Italian sources. But when he began writing in the 1360s and 1370s, he turned directly to French and Italian models as well as to classical poets (especially Ovid). English poets in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries looked upon Chaucer and his contemporary John Gower as founders of *English* literature, as those who made English a language fit for cultivated readers. In the Renaissance, Chaucer was referred to as the "English Homer." Spenser called him the "well of English undefiled."

Nevertheless, Chaucer and his contemporaries Gower, William Langland, and the *Gawain* poet — all writing in the latter third of the fourteenth century — are heirs to classical and medieval cultures that had been evolving for many centuries. *Cultures* is put in the plural

deliberately, for there is a tendency, even on the part of medievalists, to think of the Middle Ages as a single culture epitomized by the Great Gothic cathedrals in which architecture, art, music, and liturgy seem to join in magnificent expressions of a unified faith — an approach one recent scholar has referred to as "cathedralism." Such a view overlooks the diversity of medieval cultures and the social, political, religious, economic, and technological changes that took place over this vastly long period.

The texts included here from "The Middle Ages" attempt to convey that diversity. They date from the sixth to the late- fifteenth century. Eight were originally in Old French, six in Latin, five in English, two in Old Saxon, two in Old Icelandic, and one each in Catalan, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic.

"The Linguistic and Literary Contexts of *Beowulf*" demonstrates the kinship of the Anglo-Saxon poem with the versification and literature of other early branches of the Germanic language group. An Anglo-Saxon poet who was writing an epic based on the book of Genesis was able to insert into his work the episodes of the fall of the angels and the fall of man that he adapted with relatively minor changes from an Old Saxon poem thought to have been lost until a fragment from it was found late in the nineteenth century in the Vatican Library. Germanic mythology and legend preserved in Old Icelandic literature centuries later than *Beowulf* provide us with better insights into stories known to the poet than anything in ancient Greek and Roman epic poetry.

"Estates and Orders" samples ideas about medieval society and some of its members and institutions. Particular attention is given to religious orders and to the ascetic ideals that were supposed to rule the lives of men and women living in religious communities (such as Chaucer's Prioress, Monk, and Friar, who honor those rules more in the breach than in the observance) and anchorites (such as Julian of Norwich) living apart. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, written for a sixth-century religious community, can serve the modern reader as a guidebook to the ideals and daily practices of monastic life. The mutual influence of those ideals and new aristocratic ideals of chivalry is evident in the selection from the *Ancrene Riwle* (Rule for Anchoresses, *NAEL* 8, [1.157–159]) and *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*. Though medieval social theory has little to say about women, women were sometimes treated satirically as if they constituted their own estate and profession in rebellion against the divinely ordained rule of men. An outstanding instance is the "Old Woman" from the *Romance of the Rose*, whom Chaucer reinvented as the Wife of Bath. The tenth-century English Benedictine monk Aelfric gives one of the earliest formulations of the theory of three estates — clergy, nobles, and commoners — working harmoniously together. But the deep-seated resentment between the upper and lower estates flared up dramatically in the Uprising of 1381 and is revealed by the slogans of the rebels, which are cited here in selections from the chronicles of Henry Knighton and Thomas Walsingham, and by the attack of the poet John Gower on the rebels in his *Vox Clamantis*. In the late-medieval genre of estates satire, all three estates are portrayed as selfishly corrupting and disrupting a mythical social order believed to have prevailed in a past happier age.

The selections under "Arthur and Gawain" trace how French writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries transformed the Legendary Histories of Britain (*NAEL 8* , 1.117–128) into the narrative genre that we now call "romance." The works of Chrétien de Troyes focus on the adventures of individual knights of the Round Table and how those adventures impinge upon the cult of chivalry. Such adventures often take the form of a quest to achieve honor or what Sir Thomas Malory often refers to as "worship." But in romance the

adventurous quest is often entangled, for better or for worse, with personal fulfillment of love for a lady — achieving her love, protecting her honor, and, in rare cases such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, resisting a lady's advances. In the thirteenth century, clerics turned the sagas of Arthur and his knights — especially Sir Lancelot — into immensely long prose romances that disparaged worldly chivalry and the love of women and advocated spiritual chivalry and sexual purity. These were the "French books" that Malory, as his editor and printer William Caxton tells us, "abridged into English," and gave them the definitive form from which Arthurian literature has survived in poetry, prose, art, and film into modern times.

"The First Crusade," launched in 1096, was the first in a series of holy wars that profoundly affected the ideology and culture of Christian Europe. Preached by Pope Urban II, the aim of the crusade was to unite warring Christian factions in the common goal of liberating the Holy Land from its Moslem rulers. The chronicle of Robert the Monk is one of several versions of Urban's address. The Hebrew chronicle of Eliezer bar Nathan gives a moving account of attacks made by some of the crusaders on Jewish communities in the Rhineland — the beginnings of the persecution of European Jews in the later Middle Ages. In the biography of her father, the Byzantine emperor Alexius I, the princess Anna Comnena provides us with still another perspective of the leaders of the First Crusade whom she met on their passage through Constantinople en route to the Holy Land. The taking of Jerusalem by the crusaders came to be celebrated by European writers of history and epic poetry as one of the greatest heroic achievements of all times. The accounts by the Arab historian Ibn Al-Athir and by William of Tyre tell us what happened after the crusaders breached the walls of Jerusalem from complementary but very different points of view.

Near the beginning of Chaucer's General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, the narrator tells his audience that he will describe the "condicioun" of the pilgrims, their "degree" (social rank), "whiche they were," and also "what array that they were inne"; at the end he says that he has now told their "estaat" and "array" and apologizes if he has not arranged them in the "degree . . . as that they sholde stonde," i.e., their correct social order (*NAEL 8,* 1.219, lines 38–41; 235, line 718; 236, lines 745–47). This professed concern for putting people in their proper place is obviously of great interest to the poet and his audience. It should also be a matter of interest and amusement to modern readers, especially if they realize that the poet's ostensible concern for propriety is a mask he puts on. What is interesting about Chaucer's Prologue is not that it portrays an archaic and closed social order but that it reveals that order in the process of breaking down. Most of Chaucer's pilgrims are by no means content to stay in their proper places but are engaged in the pursuit of wealth, status, and respectability. The conflict between the old and the new, between tradition and ambition is evident not only in the General Prologue but throughout *The Canterbury Tales* in the individual pilgrims' prologues and tales.

Every society devises terminology meant to express social stratifications but also often used to disguise them. *Class*, the principal term in both popular and academic discourse about our society, is not very useful or accurate in analyzing medieval society or the ways in which that society thought about itself. Although there may be some justification in applying notions of *class*, especially *middle-class*, to Chaucer's world, that of the late fourteenth century, one needs to keep in mind that the Middle Ages cover the period of a millennium during which social structures and social theory were constantly changing. The main purpose of the following selections is to define more precisely such terms as *condition*, *degree*, *estate*, and *order*, a word that can signify both the (theoretically) harmonious arrangement of the cosmos and society and individual units of the general order, such as a religious order or an order of chivalry.

One of the main differences between the order of medieval and the order of modern society is the preeminent role played in the former by the Church and its many institutions. One-third of the Canterbury pilgrims either belong to the Church — the Prioress, the Second Nun (her chaplain), the Nun's Priest (one of three priests who are said to accompany her), the Monk, the Friar, the Clerk, and the Parson — or are laymen who make a corrupt living out of it — the Summoner and the Pardoner. >> note 1 The Church was in itself a complex social structure and inevitably constituted one of the divisions made in medieval social theory, which was written in Latin by church*men*. An obvious division is the bipartite one between the clergy and the laity — those belonging to the Church and those outside it. Another — one of several tripartite divisions — which stems from the Roman Church's

doctrine of celibacy of the clergy, is based on sexual activity: virgins, widowers and widows, and married people. This is a classification that the Wife of Bath in her Prologue professes to accept while defending her right to remarry as often as she pleases (*NAEL* 8, 1.256–60).

Religious orders were so called because they were "ordered" or "regulated" by a *regula*, i.e., a "rule" (the latter noun comes into English from Old French *reule* via Latin *regula*), and a division was recognized between *regular* clergy, those subject to the rule of a monastic order, who lived in a religious community, and secular clergy, those subject to the bishop of a diocese, who lived in the world. Both regulars and seculars were ultimately subject to the pope. The oldest religious rule in this sense is the *Rule of Saint Benedict* devised in the sixth century by the founder of the Benedictine order, who has been called the "Father of Western Monasticism."

Over the course of the Middle Ages, a schema of three mutually dependent estates developed, one of the earliest articulations of which is that of the English Benedictine monk *Aelfric*. According to this theory, Christian society was comprised of those who pray (the clergy), those who fight (the nobility), and those who work (the laborers). The clergy see to it that the souls of all may be saved; the laborers see to it that the bodies of all may be fed and clothed; the nobility see to it that the other two estates may carry out their functions in peace and with justice.

In practice, such a schema does not begin to account for the varieties of religious, social, or professional experience during the Middle Ages. The *Rule of Saint Benedict* sets forth the basic principles and practices of monks and nuns and helps one to grasp the violations of the rule by the likes of Chaucer's fourteenth-century Monk. But the religious and social world kept changing. The Benedictine order itself changed as it grew more powerful and politically influential. In the twelfth century new orders appeared — the Cistercians and the orders of friars founded by St. Dominic and St. Francis. Also, in emulation of the early Christian desert fathers, both men and women often chose to live as hermits or recluses instead of joining religious communities. The *Ancrene Riwle* (Rule for Anchoresses) (*NAEL* 8, 1.157–59), written for three English sisters, contains elements of passionate devotional experience absent from the Benedictine rule.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the nobility developed a taste for romances of chivalry — many of them about *King Arthur* and the knights of the Round Table. The Round Table itself came to be thought of as an "order," in some respects like a religious order. Ramón Lull's *The Book of the Order of Chivalry*, one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages, lays out that concept in the form of a book of instruction presented like a rule by an older knight to a young squire who is about to be dubbed into the order of knighthood.

Nuns belonged to religious orders following a rule. But St. Benedict's *Rule*, Aelfric, Ramón Lull, and most discussions of estates and orders, except those, like *Ancrene Riwle*, addressed to women, are silent about woman's estate. Women worked beside their husbands in the fields, in the textile industry, and in shops; but there was a body of antifeminist literature that dealt with women as though they belonged to a separate order whose sole enterprise was sex, love, and marriage. In the *Romance of the Rose*, Jean de Meun, the second of its two authors, created a satiric character named *La vieille*, the Old Woman, who holds a long discourse on

how to take advantage of men and succeed in that enterprise (in which, she confesses, she has failed). Her discourse is an important source for Chaucer's Wife of Bath's Prologue.

Although the three estates were supposed to work together for the common good, their actual history is one of constant friction and conflict. The murder of Thomas á Becket by four of Henry II's knights, for which the king was forced to do penance, is an example of an ongoing dispute between church and state about jurisdiction over the clergy. Mutual hatred of the lower and higher estates is seen in the bloody English *Uprising of 1381*, which is represented here by a series of rebel manifestos preserved in chronicles and an allegorical diatribe against the rebels in the *Vox Clamantis* of the poet *John Gower*. That work, as well as Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, illustrates the late-medieval genre of *estates satire* to which the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* is, in some respects, related. In estates satires the idealism projected by St. Benedict, the author of *Ancrene Riwle*, and Ramón Lull has given way to a profound pessimism and even despair about the social order. The different estates now include — in addition to bishops, monks, barons, knights, and peasants — merchants, doctors, lawyers, and other more specialized professions whose activities provide an unrelieved, if occasionally colorful, catalogue of greed, fraud, and hypocrisy.

Chronology

E = English, C = Catalan, F = French, L = Latin

Date	Historical Events	Texts
c. 520		St. Benedict composes his *Rule* (L)
590–603	Gregory the Great Pope	
735	Death of Bede	
768–814	Charlemagne King of the Franks	
871–899	Reign of Alfred the Great	
c. 996		Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints* (E)
1066	Norman Conquest	
1098	Cistercian order founded	

1170	Murder of Archbishop Becket	
c. 1215		*Ancrene Riwle* (E)
1223	Franciscan rule confirmed by Pope	
c. 1276		*Book of the Order of Chivalry* (C)
c. 1280		Jean de Meun completes *Romance of the Rose* (F)
c. 1377		John Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme* (F)
c. 1380		Gower, *Vox Clamantis,* Books II ff. completed (L)
1381	English Uprising	Gower, *Vox Clamantis,* Book I (L)
c. 1387		Chaucer begins *Canterbury Tales* (E)
1484		Caxton translates and prints *Book of the Order of Chivalry* (E)

Middle Ages 3) King Arthur

The illustration on the right shows a detail of a magnificent 21-by-16-foot tapestry of King Arthur woven about 1385. The tapestry comes from a set of the "Nine Worthies," who were regarded in the late Middle Ages as the greatest military leaders of all times. Chaucer's French contemporary Eustace Deschamps wrote a ballade about them as a reproach to what he regarded as his own degenerate age. Arthur and his knights, although believed by most medieval people to be historical, are almost entirely products of legend and literature, made up by many authors writing in different genres, beginning not long after the fifth and early sixth centuries, the time when he supposedly lived, and culminating with Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* in the latter part of the fifteenth century (*NAEL* 8, 1.439-56). The very absence of historical fact to underpin the legends about Arthur left writers of history and romance free to exploit those stories in the service of personal, political, and social agendas.

The man who inspired the Arthurian legend would have been a Briton, a leader of the Celtic people who had been part of the Roman Empire and had converted to Christianity after it became the official religion of Rome. At the time, the Britons were making a temporarily successful stand against the Anglo-Saxon invaders who had already occupied the southeastern corner of Britain. The Roman Empire was crumbling before the incursions of Germanic tribes, and by the late fifth century the Britons were cut off from Rome and forced to rely for protection on their own strength instead of on the Roman legions (*NAEL* 8, 1.4).

Arthur was never a "king"; he may well have been commander-in-chief of British resistance to the Anglo-Saxons. In the Welsh elegiac poem Gododdin, composed ca. 600, a hero is said to have fed ravens with the corpses of his enemies, "though he was not Arthur," indicating that the poet knew of an even greater hero by that name. According to a Latin *History of the Britons* around the year 800, ascribed to Nennius, "Arthur fought against the Saxons in those days together with the kings of Britain, but he was himself the leader of battles." Nennius names twelve such battles, in one of which Arthur is said to have carried an image of the Virgin Mary on his shoulders. The Latin *Annals of Wales* (ca. 950) has an entry for the year 516 concerning "the Battle of Badon, in which Arthur carried the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ on his shoulders for three days and three nights, and the Britons were victorious."

Not until the twelfth century, though, did Arthur achieve a quasi-historical existence as the greatest of British kings in the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Layamon (*NAEL* 8, 1.118-28). At the same time, Arthur was flourishing in Welsh tales as a fairy-tale king, attended by courtiers named Kei (Kay), Bedwyn (Bedivere), and Gwalchmain (Gawain). It was in the French literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that Arthur and his knights came to embody the rise, and eventual decline, of a court exemplifying an aristocratic ideal of chivalry. In the verse romances of Chrétien de Troyes, the focus shifts from the "history" of Arthur to the deeds of his knights who ride out from his court on fabulous adventures and exemplify the chivalric ethos. Chrétien's works were adapted and imitated by writers in German, English, Dutch, and Icelandic. The new genre of romance focused not only on the exploits of knights fighting in wars and tournaments or battling against monstrous foes but

also on the trials and fortunes of love, and romances addressed mixed audiences of men and women.

In the thirteenth century, a group of French writers produced what modern scholars refer to as the Vulgate Cycle, in prose. This consists of a huge network of interlocking tales, featuring hundreds of characters. The Vulgate Cycle presents a darker side to Arthur and to the Round Table as a center of courtesy and culture.

In the chronicle histories, as a Christian king, Arthur had borne the cross and fought valiantly against barbarian enemies and an evil giant. In romance, both Arthur's role and his character undergo changes inconsistent with his reputation as one of the worthies. His court continues to be the center from which the adventures of his knights radiate, but Arthur himself becomes something of a figurehead, someone whom French scholars refer to as a *roi fainéant* — a do-nothing king — who appears weak and is ruled and sometimes bailed out by one of his knights, especially by his nephew Sir Gawain. The very idea of Arthurian chivalry as a secular ideal undergoes a critique, especially in the Vulgate Cycle. While for the aristocracy Arthur's reign continued to provide an ancient model of courtesy, justice, and prowess, as it does in Deschamps's ballade on the Nine Worthies, moralists and satirists pointed out, with varying degrees of subtlety, how far Arthur and his knights fall short of the highest spiritual ideals. Sir Lancelot's adultery with Arthur's queen became an especially troubling factor.

In French romance, along with his uncle's, Sir Gawain's chivalry becomes equivocal and, in many respects, more interesting. In Chrétien's *Yvain*, Gawain serves as the advocate for male bonding, who succeeds in wooing the hero of the romance away from his newly wedded wife. In courtly romances at least (there is an exception in popular romance), Gawain never acquires a wife or even a permanent mistress like Lancelot, although there are covert and, occasionally, overt affairs with different ladies. In one late tale, Gawain agrees to woo a cruel lady on behalf of another knight, who then discovers Gawain in bed with that lady. The poet of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* may well be referring to such episodes when in the first of the three titillating bedroom scenes, he has the lady of the castle reproach Gawain for his lack of courtesy:

"So good a knight as Gawain is given out to be,
And the model of fair demeanor and manners pure,
Had he lain so long at a lady's side,
Would have claimed a kiss, by his courtesy,
Through some touch or trick of phrase at some tale's end."
(*NAEL* 8, 1.189, lines 1297–1301)

French romance can help one appreciate the subtlety and delicacy of the humor with which the *Gawain* poet and Chaucer treat bedroom scenes. The Gauvain of French romances, however, contrasts with his English counterpart. In English romance before Malory, Sir Gawain remains Arthur's chief knight. Chaucer's *Squire's Tale* praises the speech and behavior of a strange knight by saying that "Gawain, with his olde curteisye, / Though he were come again out of fairye, / Ne coude him nat amende with a word." In Arthur's nightmarish dream in Layamon's *Brut*, Gawain sits astride the roof of the hall in front of the king, holding his sword (*NAEL* 8, 1.125, lines 13985–87). The English Gawain does get married in *The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnelle*, which is one of eleven popular

Gawain romances surviving in English in all of which Sir Gawain is the best of Arthur's knights. That story is of special interest because it has the same plot as *The Wife of Bath's Tale,* except that in this tale the hero is not getting himself but King Arthur off the hook.

The legendary king of the Celtic Britons and his nephew were eventually adopted as national heroes by the English, against whose ancestors Arthur and Gawain had fought, and that is how they are presented by William Caxton in the Preface to his edition of Malory's *Morte Darthur* in 1485, the same year in which Henry Tudor, who thanks to his Welsh ancestry made political capital of King Arthur, became Henry VII of England. Caxton valiantly, and perhaps somewhat disingenuously, seeks to refute the notion, "that there was no such Arthur and that all such books as been made of him been but feigned and fables." Yet even after Arthur's historicity had been discredited, his legend continued to fuel English nationalism and the imagination of epic poets. Spenser made Prince Arthur the destined but never-to-be consort of Gloriana, the Faerie Queene (*NAEL* 8, 1.808-12, Canto 9.1–153); the young Milton had contemplated Arthur as a possible epic subject (*NAEL* 8, 1.1813, note 2).

The following chronology provides a selected overview of historical events and Arthurian texts:

Chronology
E = English, F = French, L = Latin, W Welsh

Date	Historical Events	Texts
c. 450–525	Anglo-Saxon Conquest	
c. 600		Goddodin (W) Earliest Reference to Arthur
c. 800		Nennius, *History of the Britons* (L)
c. 950		*Annals of Wales* (L)
1066	Norman Conquest	
c. 1136		Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of the Britons (L)*
1139	Outbreak of Civil War between Stephen and Matilda	
1154–89	Reign of Henry II	

1155		Wace, *Roman de Brut (F)*
c. 1160–80		Romances of Chretien de Troyes (F)
c. 1190	Arthur's grave dug up	
1215–35		Arthurian vulgate prose romances (F)
1327–77	Reign of Edward III	
1337	Outbreak of Hundred Years' War	
c. 1380		Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (E)
1400	Death of Chaucer	
1454–85	Wars of the Roses	
c. 1469–70	Malory completes *Morte Darthur* in prison	
1485	Henry VII first Tudor king	*Morte Darthur* printed by Caxton

Middle Ages 4) The First Crusade – Sanctifying War

The Roman Empire had remained, to a limited degree, multiethnic, multicultural, and multireligious, even after Christianity became its official religion. With the breakup of the Empire, the Western Church increasingly sought to assert its authority in the secular as well as in the spiritual realm. The society it envisioned was Christian in conformity with the doctrine laid down by the Roman Church. Within it the status of non-Chrisitians or unorthodox Christians became at best anomalous; at worst, these groups came to be threatened with persecution and even extinction.

In the eleventh century, Christian teaching about war changed. The religion that had emphasized passive suffering and martyrdom began a program of "holy wars," glorifying those who took up the cross not only as a badge of suffering but as a battle standard. To make peace among the barons who had been fighting one another, the Church enlisted them in crusades against the Moslems who had conquered the Middle East, North Africa, southern Spain, and much of Asia Minor. The crusaders were to be soldiers of God who fought with the promises of indulgence for sins and of salvation. Culminating in the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, with the slaughter of its Moslem and Jewish inhabitants, the First Crusade led to the establishment of Crusader kingdoms in the Middle East. These conquests were eventually eroded and the Christians driven out of their fortified cities. Jerusalem

itself was recaptured by the armies of the great Arab general Saladin in 1187.

However, crusades were still being waged through the fourteenth century. The "worthiness" of Chaucer's Knight in "The General Prologue" to *The Canterbury Tales* is summed up by a long list of the crusades in which he took part (*NAEL* 8, 1.219-20, lines 47–68). For Chaucer's audience, ignorant of the sordidness of some of the campaigns waged in God's name, crusades still held an aura of heroism and glory, a spell they would continue to cast over the Western imagination for centuries.

From our point of view, it is appropriate to think of the language and literature of Anglo-Saxon England as "Old English," because the language is the remote ancestor of the English spoken today. Yet for the inhabitants of Anglo-Saxon England, the language was, of course, not old, and did not come to be referred to generally as "English" until fairly late in the period. The earliest reference given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 890. Bede's Latin *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* refers collectively to the people as *gens Anglorum*, which in the vernacular translation becomes *angel-cynne* (English-race). However, in Bede's time the England of today was divided into a number of petty kingdoms. Language, the Roman Church, and monastic institutions lent these kingdoms a certain cultural identity, but a political identity began to emerge only during the ninth century in response to the Danish invasions, and through King Alfred's efforts to revive learning and to make Latin religious and historical works, such as Bede's *History*, available in vernacular translations.

Most of the surviving vernacular poetry of Anglo-Saxon England consists of free translations or adaptations of Latin saints' lives and books of the Bible, such as Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. But with the exception of *The Battle of Maldon* about the defeat of Earl Byrhtnoth and his men by Viking raiders and *The Battle of Brunanburh*, a poem celebrating an English victory over the invaders, secular heroic poetry has little or nothing to do with England or English people. *Beowulf* is set in Scandinavia; its principal characters are Danes, Geats, Swedes, and there are brief references to other pagan Germanic tribes such as the Frisians, Jutes, and Franks.

Certainly *Beowulf* is a remarkable survivor, in the Anglo-Saxon or Old English language, of a great literary tradition, but one that is by no means exclusively English. The Norman Conquest disrupted the literary culture of Anglo-Saxon England. The practice of alliterative verse continued until the fifteenth century, primarily in the north- and southwest corners of the island. But *Beowulf* disappeared from English literature until the manuscript, already singed by the fire that consumed so much of Sir Robert Cotton's library, was first noticed in the eighteenth century and was not transcribed and published until 1815 by an Icelander, Grímur Jónsson Thorkelin, at the time Royal Archivist of Denmark, under the Latin title *De Danorum Rebus Gestis: Poema Danicum Dialecto Anglosaxonica* (About the Deeds of the Danes: a Danish Poem in the Anglo-Saxon Dialect). Thorkelin believed that the poem was a Danish epic, its hero a Danish warrior, and its poet a contemporary witness of these events who was present at Beowulf's funeral. Subsequently, German scholars claimed that the poem had been originally composed in northern Germany in the homeland of the Angles, who invaded Britain in the fifth century.

Although we may dismiss these nationalistic attempts to appropriate the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* for other national literatures, they do point to the fact that *Beowulf* did not begin to play a role in the history of English literature before the nineteenth century. *Beowulf* along with most other Anglo-Saxon poetry was effectively lost to Chaucer and the English poets

who succeeded him. They responded primarily to French, Italian, and classical literature to create an English literature rivaling these great precursors.

Therefore it is helpful for students, as it is for scholars, to see *Beowulf* and its place in literary history in the context of early Germanic literature that was little known before nineteenth-century philologists, editors, and translators, eager to establish their native traditions, made the poem available once more. *Beowulf* thus became a major text in a European revival of ancient Germanic literature, which includes, besides Anglo-Saxon, works in Old Saxon, Old and Middle High German, and Old Icelandic. We provide excerpts from several of these works, which illuminate the world of *Beowulf* and its pagan characters as well as its Christian poet and his original audience.

Widsith (far-traveler) is the modern title of a 142-line Anglo-Saxon poem, which takes its name from the speaker- persona, a fictional Anglo-Saxon oral poet or *scop*. Widsith is a traveling bard who presents a who's who of Germanic tribal chieftains and describes his experiences performing at their courts. Presumably, Widsith's audiences would have been able to follow his lays even if they spoke a different Germanic dialect from the bard's. Moreover, many of the characters and actions of his songs would probably have been familiar to them from poetry that is lost to us.
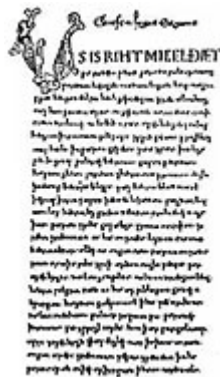
 The close relationship between the language and literature of Anglo-Saxon England and other Germanic languages and literatures on the Continent may be illustrated from our second selection, a narrative poem based on the Book of Genesis in Manuscript Junius 11 now in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University. In 1875 a young German scholar, Eduard Sievers, realized that the part of this Anglo-Saxon Genesis dealing with the Fall of the Angels and the Fall of Adam and Eve must be a transcription into the West-Saxon dialect of Old English of a Genesis poem composed in Old Saxon in the ninth century. Its existence was known from allusions to it, but no copies of it were thought to have survived. Sievers entitled this section of the Junius Genesis *Genesis B* to distinguish it from the rest of the Anglo-Saxon poem, which became *Genesis A*. When the copyist of *Genesis A* came to the Fall of the Angels, he may have discovered a gap in his exemplar, which he then filled in with the story as it was told in another manuscript available to him. This manuscript, no longer extant, happened to be a copy of the Saxon Genesis. Although the spelling and language of that text would certainly have looked foreign to the Anglo-Saxon scribe, he seems to have experienced no great difficulty understanding and rendering it, with some cuts and adjustments, word for word and line by line, although leaving enough clues as to the original language of the poem for Sievers to formulate his theory about its origins.

That theory was sensationally confirmed by the discovery in 1894 of thirty-two leaves from another manuscript of the Saxon Genesis bound into the Vatican manuscript Palatinus Latinus 1447. Internal evidence enabled scholars to show that those leaves were first copied at a monastery in the German city of Mainz during the third quarter of the ninth century. The fragments of the Saxon poem preserved in the Junius and Vatican manuscripts overlap for only twenty-six lines, and, because each is a copy of older copies, their texts naturally do not correspond exactly. Nevertheless, those lines enable one to appreciate the relationship between Old Saxon and Old English that facilitated the work of the English adapter. Here are three lines from the Vatican and Junius manuscripts juxtaposed with a translation and a few notes. Adam is lamenting to Eve how their sin has changed atmospheric conditions:

```
Old Saxon:  Hu sculun uuit >> note 1 nu libbian
Old English: hu sculon wit >> note 2 nu libban
            how shall we two now live
Old Saxon:  efto hu sculun uuit an thesum liahta uuesan
Old English: oððe on þis lande >> note 3 wesan
            or in this land be (exist)
Old Saxon:  nu hier huuilum uuind kumit
Old English: gif her            wind comth
            now/if here [sometimes] wind comes
Old Saxon:  uuestan efto ostan
Old English: westan oððe eastan,
            [from] west or east
Old Saxon:  suðan efto nordan
Old English: suðan oððe norðan?
            [from] south or north
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Thus, although *Genesis B* is preserved in Old English, it is not strictly speaking an Old English poem nor is it a translation. Rather, as the above example shows, the Anglo-Saxon scribe has recopied the Old Saxon text — here and there adding, omitting, or substituting words — into the standard written form of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon. This should not surprise us, for not only are Old English and Old Saxon related branches of the same language group but of the same culture — the Christianized Germanic culture of northern Europe. Indeed, English missionaries in the eighth century had been chiefly responsible for the conversion of the Germans on the Continent, the establishment of the Roman Church in Germany, and the reform of the Frankish Church. >> note 4 English monks, therefore, paved the way for Charlemagne's attempt in the ninth century to renew the ancient Roman Empire as the Holy Roman Empire, and the intellectual revival called the Carolingian Renaissance. The Saxon Genesis is a product of that movement to which the Anglo-Saxon Church had contributed so much.

From *Genesis B* we include a dramatic passage about the Creation, Rebellion, and Fall of the Angels in which Satan is cast in the role of epic anti-hero. From a fragment in the Vatican manuscript we include part of the story of Cain and Abel.

Much of our knowledge of Germanic mythology and story, which was suppressed by the Church in England and on the Continent, survived in medieval Iceland where a deliberate effort was made to preserve ancient Germanic verse forms, mythology, legend, and political and family histories. Although it dates centuries after *Beowulf*, the remarkable corpus of Icelandic literature from the twelfth through the thirteenth centuries provides us with analogous stories and materials that bring us into closer contact with the kinds of materials from which *Beowulf* was fashioned. A selection from the *Prose Edda* of Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) is an analogue of a tragic inset story of loss in *Beowulf*, which gives a keynote for the profound sadness that pervades the latter part of the poem. An episode from the fourteenth-century *Grettir's Saga* gives us a dark analogue of Beowulf's fight with Grendel.

Notes:

· The Middle Ages was a period of enormous historical, social, and linguistic change, despite the continuity of the Roman Catholic Church.

· Linguistic and cultural changes in Britain were accelerated by the Norman Conquest in 1066, when words from French began to enter the English vocabulary.

· Christian writers like the Beowulf poet looked back on their pagan ancestors with a mixture of admiration and sympathy.

· Four languages co-existed in the realm of Anglo-Norman England.

· The second half of the fourteenth century saw the flowering of Middle English literature in the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, and the Gawain poet.

Summaries

The Middle Ages designates the time span from the collapse of the Roman Empire to the Renaissance and Reformation, and the adjective "medieval" refers to whatever was made, written, or thought during the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages was a period of enormous historical, social, and linguistic change, despite the continuity of the Roman Catholic Church. In literary terms, the period can be divided into the Anglo-Saxon period (c. 450-1066), the Anglo-Norman period (1066- c. 1200), and the period of Middle English literature (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).

Linguistic and cultural changes in Britain were accelerated by the Norman Conquest in 1066, when words from French began to enter the English vocabulary. Awareness of a uniquely English literature did not actually exist before the late fourteenth century. In this period English finally began to replace French as the language of government. Geoffrey Chaucer's decision to emulate French and Italian poetry in his own vernacular would greatly enhance the prestige of English as a vehicle for literature.

Britain was largely Christian during the Roman occupation. After the withdrawal of the Roman legions in the fifth century, three Germanic tribes invaded Britain: the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. The conversion of these people to Christianity began in 597, with the arrival of St. Augustine of Canterbury. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (731) tells the story of the conversion. Before Christianity, there had been no books. Germanic heroic poetry continued to be performed orally in alliterative verse. Christian writers like the *Beowulf* poet looked back on their pagan ancestors with a mixture of admiration and sympathy. The world of Old English poetry is often elegiac.

The Normans, an Anglo-Saxon tribe of Germanic ancestry whose name is a contraction of "Norsemen," conquered England in the Battle of Hastings. Henry II, the first of England's Plantagenet kings, acquired vast provinces in southern France through his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII of France. Four languages co-existed in the realm of Anglo-Norman England. Latin remained the "international" language of learning, theology, science, and history. The Norman aristocracy spoke French, but intermarriage with native English nobility and everyday exchange between masters and

servants encouraged bilingualism. Celtic languages were spoken in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. Many literary texts written in Anglo-Norman England were adapted from French and Celtic sources. Romance, designating stories about love and adventure, was the principle narrative genre for late medieval readers. By the year 1200, both poetry and prose were being written for sophisticated and well-educated readers whose primary language was English.

Wars and plague devastated England in the fourteenth century, but these calamities did not stem the growth of trade or the power of the merchant class. The second half of the fourteenth century saw the flowering of Middle English literature in the writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, and the *Gawain* poet. Chaucer drew from the work of illustrious medieval Italian writers such as Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, as well as ancient Roman poets. Chaucer had an ideal of great poetry, but he also viewed that ideal ironically and distanced himself from it. In the fifteenth century two religious women, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe, allow us to see the church and its doctrines from female points of view. Near the close of the period, Sir Thomas Malory gave the definitive form in English to the legend of King Arthur and his knights.

TimeLine

of the

Middle Ages

English Literature

The Middle Ages

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
	43-ca. 420 Romans conquer Britons; Brittania a province of the Roman Empire
	307-37 Reign of Constantine the Great leads to adoption of Christianity as official religion of the Roman Empire
ca. 405 St. Jerome completes *Vulgate,* Latin translation of the Bible that becomes standard for the Roman Catholic Church	
	432 St. Patrick begins mission to convert Ireland
	ca. 450 Anglo-Saxon conquest of Britons begins
523 Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy* (Latin)	
	597 St. Augustine of Canterbury's mission to Kent begins conversion of Anglo-Saxons to Christianity
ca. 658-80 *Cædmon's Hymn*, earliest poem recorded in English	
731 Bede completes *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*	
? ca. 750 *Beowulf* composed	
	ca. 787 First Viking raids on England
	871-99 Reign of King Alfred
ca. 1000 Unique *Beowulf* manuscript written	
	1066 Norman Conquest by William I establishes French-speaking ruling class in England
	1095-1221 Crusades
ca. 1135-38 Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin *History of the Kings of Britain* gives pseudohistorical status to Arthurian and other legends	
	1152 Future Henry II marries Eleanor of Aquitaine, bringing vast French territories to the English crown
1154 End of *Peterborough Chronicle,* last branch of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*	
? ca. 1165-80 Marie de France, *Lais* in Anglo-Norman French from Breton sources	
ca. 1170-91 Chrétien de Troyes, chivalric romances about knights of the Round Table	**1170** Archbishop Thomas Becket murdered in Canterbury Cathedral
	1182 Birth of St. Francis of Assisi
? ca. 1200 Layamon's *Brut*	
? ca. 1215-25 *Ancrene Riwle*	**1215** Fourth Lateran Council requires annual confession. English barons force King John to seal Magna Carta (the Great Charter) guaranteeing baronial rights
ca. 1304-21 Dante Alighieri writing *Divine Comedy*	
	ca. 1337-1453 Hundred Years' War **1348** Black Death ravages Europe **1362** English first used in law courts and Parliament
1368 Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess*	

	1372 Chaucer's first journey to Italy
ca. 1375-1400 *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*	
	1376 Earliest record of performance of drama at York
1377-79 William Langland, *Piers Plowman* (B-Text)	
ca. 1380 John Wycliffe and his followers begin first complete translation of the Bible into English	
	1381 People's uprising briefly takes control of London before being suppressed
ca. 1385-87 Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*	
ca. 1387-89 Chaucer working on *The Canterbury Tales*	
ca. 1390-92 John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*	
	1399 Richard II deposed by his cousin, who succeeds him as Henry IV
	1400 Richard II murdered
	1401 Execution of William Sawtre, first Lollard burned at the stake under new law against heresy
	1415 Henry V defeats French at Agincourt
	1431 English burn Joan of Arc at Rouen
ca. 1432-38 Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*	
ca. 1450-75 Wakefield mystery cycle, *Second Shepherds' Play*	
	1455-85 Wars of the Roses
ca. 1470 Sir Thomas Malory in prison working on *Morte Darthur*	
	1476 William Caxton sets up first printing press in England
1485 Caxton publishes *Morte Darthur,* one of the first books in English to be printed	**1485** The earl of Richmond defeats the Yorkist king, Richard III, at Bosworth Field and succeeds him as Henry VII, founder of the Tudor dynasty
ca. 1510 *Everyman*	
	1575 Last performance of mystery plays at Chester

1. Which people began their invasion and conquest of southwestern Britain around 450?

   ○ **a)** the Normans

   ○ **b)** the Geats

   ○ **c)** the Celts

   ◉ **d)** the Anglo-Saxons

   ○ **e)** the Danes

2. Words from which language began to enter English vocabulary around the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066?

   ◉ **a)** French

   ○ **b)** Norwegian

   ○ **c)** Spanish

   ○ **d)** Hungarian

   ○ **e)** Danish

3. Which hero made his earliest appearance in Celtic literature before becoming a staple subject in French, English, and German literatures?

   ○ **a)** Beowulf

   ◉ **b)** Arthur

   ○ **c)** Caedmon

   ○ **d)** Augustine of Canterbury

   ○ **e)** Alfred

4. Toward the close of which century did English replace French as the language of conducting business in Parliament and in court of law?

   ○ **a)** tenth

   ○ **b)** eleventh

   ○ **c)** twelfth

   ○ **d)** thirteenth

   ◉ **e)** fourteenth

5. Which king began a war to enforce his claims to the throne of France in 1336?

   ○ **a)** Henry II

   ○ **b)** Henry III

◯   **c)** Henry V

◯   **d)** Louis XIV

◉   **e)** Edward III

6. Who would be called the English Homer and father of English poetry?

◯   **a)** Bede

◯   **b)** Sir Thomas Malory

◉   **c)** Geoffrey Chaucer

◯   **d)** Caedmon

◯   **e)** John Gower

7. What was vellum?

◉   **a)** parchment made of animal skin

◯   **b)** the service owed to a lord by his peasants ("villeins")

◯   **c)** unrhymed iambic pentameter

◯   **d)** an unbreakable oath of fealty

◯   **e)** a prized ink used in the illumination of prestigious manuscripts

8. Only a small proportion of medieval books survive, large numbers having been destroyed in:

◯   **a)** the Anglo-Saxon Conquest beginning in the 1450s.

◯   **b)** the Norman Conquest of 1066.

◯   **c)** the Peasant Uprising of 1381.

◉   **d)** the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the 1530s.

◯   **e)** the wave of contempt for manuscripts that followed the beginning of printing in 1476.

9. What is the first extended written specimen of Old English?

◯   **a)** Boethius's *Consolidation of Philosophy*

◯   **b)** Saint Jerome's translation of the Bible

◯   **c)** Malory's *Morte Darthur*

◯   **d)** Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*

◉   **e)** a code of laws promulgated by King Ethelbert

10. Who was the first English Christian king?

a) Alfred

b) Richard III

c) Richard II

d) Henry II

e) Ethelbert

11. In Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry, what is the fate of those who fail to observe the sacred duty of blood vengeance?

a) banishment to Asia

b) everlasting shame

c) conversion to Christianity

d) mild melancholia

e) being buried alive

12. Christian writers like the Beowulf poet looked back on their pagan ancestors with:

a) nostalgia and ill-concealed envy.

b) bewilderment and visceral loathing.

c) admiration and elegiac sympathy.

d) bigotry and shallow triumphalism.

e) the deepest reluctance.

13. The use of "whale-road" for sea and "life-house" for *body* are examples of what literary technique, popular in Old English poetry?

a) symbolism

b) simile

c) metonymy

d) kenning

e) appositive expression

14. Which of the following statements is *not* an accurate description of Old English poetry?

a) Romantic love is a guiding principle of moral conduct.

b) Its formal and dignified use of speech was distant from everyday use of language.

c) Irony is a mode of perception, as much as it was a figure of speech.

d) Christian and pagan ideals are sometimes mixed.

    ⊙   **e)** Its idiom remained remarkably uniform for nearly three centuries.

15. Which of the following *best* describes *litote*, a favorite rhetorical device in Old English poetry?

    ○   **a)** embellishment at the service of Christian doctrine

    ○   **b)** repetition of parallel syntactic structures

    ⦿   **c)** ironic understatement

    ○   **d)** stress on every third diphthong

    ○   **e)** a compound of two words in place of a single word

16. How did Henry II, the first of England's Plantagenet kings, acquire vast provinces in southern France?

    ○   **a)** the Battle of Hastings

    ○   **b)** Saint Patrick's mission

    ○   **c)** the Fourth Lateran Council

    ○   **d)** the execution of William Sawtre

    ⦿   **e)** his marriage to Eleanor of Aquitaine

17. Which of the following languages did *not* coexist in Anglo-Norman England?

    ○   **a)** Latin

    ⦿   **b)** Dutch

    ○   **c)** French

    ○   **d)** Celtic

    ○   **e)** English

18. Which twelfth-century poet or poets were indebted to Breton storytellers for their narratives?

    ○   **a)** Geoffrey Chaucer

    ○   **b)** Marie de France

    ○   **c)** Chrétien de Troyes

    ○   **d)** a and c only

    ⦿   **e)** b and c only

19. To what did the word the *roman*, from which the genre of "romance" emerged, initially apply?

    ○   **a)** a work derived from a Latin text of the Roman Empire

    ○   **b)** a story about love and adventure

    ○ **c)** a Roman official

    ◉ **d)** a work written in the French vernacular

    ○ **e)** a series of short stories

20. Popular English adaptations of romances appealed primarily to

    ○ **a)** the royal family and upper orders of the nobility

    ◉ **b)** the lower orders of the nobility

    ○ **c)** agricultural laborers

    ○ **d)** the clergy

    ○ **e)** the Welsh

21. What is the climax of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain*?

    ◉ **a)** the reign of King Arthur

    ○ **b)** the coronation of Henry II

    ○ **c)** King John's seal of the Magna Carta

    ○ **d)** the marriage of Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine

    ○ **e)** the defeat of the French by Henry V

22. *Ancrene Riwle* is a manual of instruction for

    ○ **a)** courtiers entering the service of Richard II

    ○ **b)** translators of French romances

    ◉ **c)** women who have chosen to live as religious recluses

    ○ **d)** knights preparing for their first tournament

    ○ **e)** witch-hunters and exorcists

23. The styles of *The Owl and the Nightingale* and *Ancrene Riwle* show what about the poetry and prose written around the year 1200?

    ○ **a)** They were written for sophisticated and well-educated readers.

    ○ **b)** Writing continued to benefit only readers fluent in Latin and French.

    ○ **c)** Their readers' primary language was English.

    ◉ **d)** a and c only

    ○ **e)** a and b only

24. In addition to Geoffrey Chaucer and William Langland, the "flowering"of Middle English literature is

evident in the works of which of the following writers?

- ○ **a)** Geoffrey of Monmouth
- ◉ **b)** the *Gawain* poet
- ○ **c)** the *Beowulf* poet
- ○ **d)** Chrétien de Troyes
- ○ **e)** Marie de France

25. Why did the rebels of 1381 target the church, beheading the archbishop of Canterbury?

- ○ **a)** Their leaders were Lollards, advocating radical religious reform.
- ○ **b)** The common people were still essentially pagan.
- ○ **c)** They believed that writing, a skill largely confined to the clergy, was a form of black magic.
- ◉ **d)** The church was among the greatest of oppressive landowners.
- ○ **e)** a and c only

26. Which influential medieval text purported to reveal the secrets of the afterlife?

- ◉ **a)** Dante's *Divine Comedy*
- ○ **b)** Boccaccio's *Decameron*
- ○ **c)** *The Dream of the Rood*
- ○ **d)** Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*
- ○ **e)** Gower's *Confessio Amantis*

27. Who is the author of *Piers Plowman*?

- ○ **a)** Sir Thomas Malory
- ○ **b)** Margery Kempe
- ○ **c)** Geoffrey Chaucer
- ◉ **d)** William Langland
- ○ **e)** Geoffrey of Monmouth

28. What event resulted from the premature death of Henry V?

- ○ **a)** the Battle of Agincourt
- ○ **b)** the Battle of Hastings
- ○ **c)** the Norman Conquest
- ○ **d)** the Black Death

◉   **e)** the War of the Roses

29. Which literary form, developed in the fifteenth century, personified vices and virtues?

○   **a)** the short story

○   **b)** the heroic epic

◉   **c)** the morality play

○   **d)** the romance

○   **e)** the limerick

30. Which of the following statements about Julian of Norwich is true?

○   **a)** She sought unsuccessfully to restore classical paganism.

○   **b)** She was a virgin martyr.

◉   **c)** She is the first known woman writer in the English vernacular.

○   **d)** She made pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago.

○   **e)** She probably never met Margery Kempe.

31. Which of the following authors is considered a devotee to chivalry, as it is personified in Sir Lancelot?

○   **a)** Julian of Norwich

○   **b)** Margery Kempe

○   **c)** William Langland

◉   **d)** Sir Thomas Malory

○   **e)** Geoffrey Chaucer

Sixteenth Century

Literary works in sixteenth-century England were rarely if ever created in isolation from other currents in the social and cultural world. The boundaries that divided the texts we now regard as aesthetic from other texts were porous and constantly shifting. It is perfectly acceptable, of course, for the purposes of reading to redraw these boundaries more decisively, treating Renaissance texts as if they were islands of the autonomous literary imagination. One of the greatest writers of the period, Sir Philip Sidney, defended poetry in just such terms; the poet, Sidney writes in *The Defence of Poetry* (*NAEL* 8, 1.953–74), is not constrained by nature or history but freely ranges "only within the zodiac of his own wit." But Sidney knew well, and from painful personal experience, how much this vision of golden autonomy was contracted by the pressures, perils, and longings of the brazen world. And only a few pages after he imagines the poet orbiting entirely within the constellations of his own intellect, he advances a very different vision, one in which the poet's words not only imitate reality but also actively change it.

We have no way of knowing to what extent, if at all, this dream of literary power was ever realized in the world. We do know that many sixteenth-century artists, such as Christopher Marlowe, Edmund Spenser, and William Shakespeare, brooded on the magical, transforming power of art. This power could be associated with civility and virtue, as Sidney claims, but it could also have the demonic qualities manifested by the "pleasing words" of Spenser's enchanter, Archimago (*NAEL* 8, 1.714–902), or by the incantations of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1022–1057). It is significant that Marlowe's great play was written at a time in which the possibility of sorcery was not merely a theatrical fantasy but a widely shared fear, a fear upon which the state could act — as the case of Doctor Fian vividly shows — with horrendous ferocity. Marlowe was himself the object of suspicion and hostility, as indicated by the strange report filed by a secret agent, Richard Baines, professing to list Marlowe's wildly heretical opinions, and by the gleeful (and factually inaccurate) report by the Puritan Thomas Beard of Marlowe's death.

Marlowe's tragedy emerges not only from a culture in which bargains with the devil are imaginable as real events but also from a world in which many of the most fundamental assumptions about spiritual life were being called into question by the movement known as the Reformation. Catholic and Protestant voices struggled to articulate the precise beliefs and practices thought necessary for the soul's salvation. One key site of conflict was the Bible, with Catholic authorities trying unsuccessfully to stop the circulation of the unauthorized Protestant translation of Scripture by William Tyndale, a translation in which doctrines and institutional structures central to the Roman Catholic church were directly challenged. Those doctrines and structures, above all the interpretation of the central ritual of the eucharist, or Lord's Supper, were contested with murderous ferocity, as the fates of the Protestant martyr Anne Askew and the Catholic martyr Robert Aske make painfully clear. The Reformation is closely linked to many of the

texts printed in the sixteenth-century section of the Norton Anthology: Book 1 of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (*NAEL* 8, 1.719–856), for example, in which a staunchly Protestant knight of Holiness struggles against the satanic forces of Roman Catholicism, or the Protestant propagandist Foxe's account of Lady Jane Grey's execution (*NAEL* 8, 1.674-75), or the Catholic Robert Southwell's moving religious lyric, "The Burning Babe" (*NAEL* 8, 1.640-41).

If these windows on the Reformation offer a revealing glimpse of the inner lives of men and women in Tudor England, the subsection entitled "The Wider World" provides a glimpse of the huge world that lay beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, a world that the English were feverishly attempting to explore and exploit. Ruthless military expeditions and English settlers (including the poet Edmund Spenser) struggled to subdue and colonize nearby Ireland, but with very limited success. Farther afield, merchants from cities such as London and Bristol established profitable trading links to markets in North Africa, Turkey, and Russia. And daring seamen such as Drake and Cavendish commanded voyages to still more distant lands. The texts collected here, which supplement the selections from Ralegh's *Discoverie of Guiana* (*NAEL* 8, 1.923-26) and Hariot's *Brief and True Report* (*NAEL* 1.938-43) in the Norton Anthology, are fascinating, disturbing records of intense human curiosity, greed, fear, wonder, and intelligence. And lest we imagine that the English were only the observers of the world and never the observed, "The Wider World" includes a sample of a foreign tourist's description of London. The tourist, Thomas Platter, had the good sense to go to the theater and to see, as so many thousands of visitors to England have done since, a play by Shakespeare.

On May 30, 1593, Christopher Marlowe, at twenty-nine years old perhaps England's most famous playwright and poet, went to a tavern in the London suburb of Deptford to spend the afternoon with friends. According to the coroner's inquest, there was an argument about the bill in the course of which Marlowe drew his knife and lunged at Ingram Frizer, who was seated on the opposite side of the table. In the scuffle that followed, Marlowe's knife ended up stuck in his own head, just above his eye, fatally wounding him. Frizer was briefly held, but then released without punishment. Case closed. Puritan moralists such as Thomas Beard saw the murder of Marlowe, who had a dangerous reputation for atheism, as a manifest sign of God's judgment.
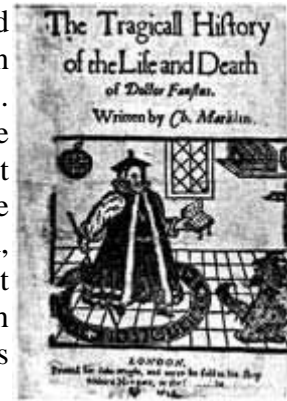
Literary sleuths in the twentieth century, reopening the case, discovered that it was not so simple. At the time of his death, Marlowe was under official investigation for atheism and treason; in the search for evidence against him, his roommate, the playwright Thomas Kyd, had been arrested and tortured, and a police spy, Richard Baines, had given Queen Elizabeth's secret police, headed by Thomas Walsingham, a list of Marlowe's alleged "monstrous opinions." Moreover, it turns out that Ingram Frizer was on Walsingham's payroll, as were several of the other men who were present in the room at the tavern when Marlowe was killed. Perhaps Marlowe's death really was the consequence of an argument about the tavern "reckoning," as it was called, but it is also possible that it was a quite different reckoning that Marlowe was paying for with his life.

The records of Marlowe's life give ample evidence of a personal risk-taking shown also by many of the great characters he created for the theater. The son of a provincial cobbler, he managed, in a world with very little social mobility, to make his way to Cambridge University, then plunged into both the unstable world of spies, blackmailers, and agents provocateurs and the almost equally unstable world of actors and playwrights. He was fascinated, it seems, by extremes: ambition on a vast scale, boundless desire, a restless, reckless willingness to transgress limits. Such are the passions that drive Tamburlaine, in Marlowe's vision, to conquer the world and Faustus to sell his soul to Lucifer in exchange for knowledge and power. And such perhaps are the passions that enabled Marlowe, in the six short years between 1587, when he received his M.A. from Cambridge, and 1593, when he died, to transform the English theater.

Nothing like Marlowe's plays had been seen or heard before. Take, for example, this clumsy expression of passionate love by the title character in *Cambyses, King of Persia*, a popular play written around 1560 by another Cambridge graduate, Thomas Preston:

For Cupid he, that eyeless boy, my heart hath so enflamed
With beauty, you me to content the like cannot be named;

For since I entered in this place and on you fixed mine eyes,
Most burning fits about my heart in ample wise did rise.
The heat of them such force doth yield, my corpse they scorch, alas!
And burns the same with wasting heat as Titan doth the grass.
And sith this heat is kindled so and fresh in heart of me,
There is no way but of the same the quencher you much be.

Now compare Preston's couplets, written in a metre called "fourteeners," with the lines in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (ca. 1592–93) with which Faustus greets the conjured figure of Helen of Troy:

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss:
Her lips suck forth my soul, see where it flies!
Come Helen, come, give me my soul again.
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena! (Scene 12, lines 80–86)

Marlowe has created and mastered a theatrical language — a superb, unrhymed iambic pentameter, or blank verse — far more expressive than anything that anyone accustomed to the likes of Preston could have imagined, a language capable of remarkable intensity, intellectual rigor, and emotional complexity.

Marlowe's achievement in *Doctor Faustus* is both astonishing and unprecedented, but, although it seems closely linked to his unique personality, poetic gifts, and career, it cannot be understood in isolation from the larger cultural context. The story of Faustus was not Marlowe's invention but came from a German narrative about an actual historical figure. The powerful fears aroused by such a figure, and the legends associated with his name, are inseparable from widespread anxieties about sorcery and magic, anxieties violently manifested, for example, in the chilling case of Doctor Fian and skeptically challenged by Reginald Scot. Moreover, the theater is by definition a collaborative form, and in Marlowe's time the collaboration frequently extended to the text. It is not surprising, then, that *Doctor Faustus* has come down to us in versions in which Marlowe's own hand is conjoined with those of other playwrights and not surprising too that scholars, just as they have disagreed about the manner of Marlowe's death, have disagreed about precisely which parts of these texts are by Marlowe himself.

16th Century 3) Renaissance Exploration, Travel, and The World Outside Europe

English men and women of the sixteenth century experienced an unprecedented increase in knowledge of the world beyond their island. Religious persecution at home compelled a substantial number of both Catholics and Protestants to live abroad; wealthy gentlemen (and, in at least a few cases, ladies) traveled in France and Italy to view the famous cultural monuments; merchants published accounts of distant lands like Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, and Russia; and military and trading ventures took English ships to still more distant shores.

In 1496, a Venetian tradesman living in Bristol, John Cabot, was granted a license by Henry VII to sail on a voyage of exploration, and with his son Sebastian discovered Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; in 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert returned to Newfoundland to try to establish a colony there. The Elizabethan age saw remarkable feats of seamanship and reconnaissance. On his ship the *Golden Hinde*, Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe in 1579 and laid claim to California on behalf of the queen; a few years later a ship commanded by Thomas Cavendish also accomplished a circumnavigation. Sir Martin Frobisher explored bleak Baffin Island in search of a Northwest Passage to the Orient; Sir John Davis explored the west coast of Greenland and discovered the Falkland Islands off the coast of Argentina; Sir John Hawkins turned handsome profits for himself and his investors (including the queen) in the vicious business of privateering and slave trading; Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe led an expedition, financed by Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia; Ralegh himself ventured up the Orinoco Delta, in what is now Venezuela, in search of the mythical land of El Dorado. Accounts of these and other exploits were collected by a clergyman and promoter of empire, Richard Hakluyt, and published as *The Principal Navigations* (1589; expanded edition 1599).

"To seek new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory," as Ralegh characterized such enterprises, was not for the faint of heart: Gilbert, Drake, Cavendish, Frobisher, and Hawkins all died at sea, as did large numbers of those who sailed under their command. Elizabethans who were sensible enough to stay at home could do more than read written accounts of their fellow countrymen's far-reaching voyages. From India and the Far East, merchants returned with coveted spices and fabrics; from Egypt, they imported ancient mummies, thought to have medicinal value; from the New World, explorers brought back native plants (including, most famously, tobacco), animals, cultural artifacts, and, on occasion, samples of the native peoples themselves, most often seized against their will. There were exhibitions in London of a kidnapped Eskimo with his kayak and of Algonkians from Virginia with their canoes. Most of these miserable captives, violently uprooted and vulnerable to European diseases, quickly perished, but even in death they were evidently valuable property: when the English will not give one small coin "to relieve a lame beggar," one of the characters in Shakespeare's *Tempest* wryly remarks, "they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian" (2.2.32–33).

Perhaps most nations define what they are by defining what they are not. This negative self-definition is, in any case, what Elizabethans seem constantly to be doing, in travel books, sermons, political speeches, civic pageants, public exhibitions, and theatrical spectacles of otherness. The extraordinary variety of these exercises (which include public executions and urban riots, as well as more benign activities) suggests that the boundaries of national identity were by no means clear and unequivocal. Inspired by Amerigo Vespucci's accounts of the New World discoveries, Thomas More fashioned in *Utopia* (*NAEL* 8, 1.521) a searching critique of English society. Descriptions of the lands and peoples of America often invoke Ovid's vision of the Golden Age, invariably with an implied contrast to the state of affairs at home. Even peoples whom English writers routinely, viciously stigmatised as irreducibly alien — Italians, Indians, Turks, and Jews — have a surprising instability in the Elizabethan imagination and may appear for brief, intense moments as powerful models to be admired and emulated before they resume their place as emblems of despised otherness. In the course of urging his countrymen to seize the land, rob the graves, and take the treasures of Guiana, Sir Walter Ralegh finds much to praise in the customs of the native peoples (*NAEL* 8, 1.923-26); Thomas Hariot thinks that the inhabitants of Virginia, though poor in comparison with the English, are "ingenious" and show much "excellency of wit" (*NAEL* 8, 1.939); "Let the cannons roar," writes Michael Drayton in his *Ode*. *To the Virginia Voyage*, even as he praises Virginia as "Earth's only paradise" (*NAEL* 8, 1.1000). Perhaps the most profound exploration of this instability was written not by an Englishman but by the French nobleman Montaigne, whose brilliant essay *Of Cannibals*, translated by the gifted Elizabethan John Florio, directly influenced Shakespeare's *Tempest* and no doubt worked its subversive magic on many other readers as well.

When in the late 1520s the Catholic authorities of England tried to buy up and burn all copies of William Tyndale's English translation of the Bible, they were attempting to stop the spread of what they viewed as a dangerous plague of heresies spreading out from Luther's Germany. The plague was the Protestant Reformation, a movement opposed to crucial aspects of both the belief system and the institutional structure of Roman Catholicism.

Many of the key tenets of the Reformation were not new: they had been anticipated in England by the teachings of the theologian and reformer John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century. But Wycliffe and his followers, known as Lollards, had been suppressed, and, officially at least, England in the early sixteenth century had a single religion, Catholicism, whose acknowledged head was the Pope in Rome. In 1517, drawing upon long-standing currents of dissent, Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg in Germany, challenged the authority of the Pope and attacked several key doctrines of the Catholic Church. According to Luther, the Church, with its elaborate hierarchical structure centered in Rome, its rich monasteries and convents, and its enormous political influence, had become hopelessly corrupt, a conspiracy of venal priests who manipulated popular superstitions to enrich themselves and amass worldly power. Luther began by vehemently attacking the sale of indulgences — certificates promising the remission of punishments to be suffered in the afterlife by souls sent to Purgatory to expiate their sins. These indulgences, along with other spiritual and temporal powers claimed by the Pope, had no foundation in the Bible, which in Luther's view was the only legitimate source of religious truth. Christians would be saved not by scrupulously following the ritual practices fostered by the Catholic Church — observing fast days, reciting the ancient Latin prayers, endowing chantries to say prayers for the dead, and so on — but by faith and faith alone.

This challenge spread and gathered force, especially in Northern Europe, where major leaders like the Swiss pastor Ulrich Zwingli and the French theologian John Calvin established institutional structures and elaborated various and sometimes conflicting doctrinal principles. Calvin, whose thought came to be particularly influential in England, emphasized the obligation of governments to implement God's will in the world. He advanced too the doctrine of predestination, by which, as he put it, "God adopts some to hope of life and sentences others to eternal death." God's "secret election" of the saved made Calvin uncomfortable, but his study of the Scriptures had led him to conclude that "only a small number, out of an incalculable multitude, should obtain salvation." It might seem that such a conclusion would lead to passivity or even despair, but for Calvin predestination was a mystery bound up with faith, confidence, and an active engagement in the fashioning of a Christian community.

The Reformation had a direct and powerful impact on those realms where it gained control. Monasteries were sacked, their possessions seized by princes or sold off to the highest bidder; the monks and nuns, expelled from their cloisters, were encouraged to break their vows of chastity and find spouses, as Luther and his wife, a former nun, had done. In the great cathedrals and in hundreds of smaller churches and chapels, the elaborate altar-pieces, bejeweled crucifixes, crystal reliquaries holding the bones of saints, and venerated statues and paintings were attacked as "idols" and often defaced or destroyed. Protestant congregations continued, for the most part, to celebrate the most sacred Christian ritual, the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, but they did so in a profoundly different spirit from the Catholic Church, more as commemoration than as miracle, and they now prayed not in the old liturgical Latin but in the vernacular.

The Reformation was at first vigorously resisted in England. Indeed, with the support of his ardently Catholic chancellor, Thomas More, Henry VIII personally wrote (or at least lent his name to) a vehement, often scatological attack on Luther's character and views, an attack for which the Pope granted him the honorific title "Defender of the Faith." Protestant writings, including translations of the Scriptures into English, were seized by officials of the church and state and burned. Protestants who made their views known were persecuted, driven to flee the country or arrested, put on trial, and burned at the stake. But the situation changed decisively when Henry decided to seek a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, in order to marry Anne Boleyn.

Catherine had given birth to six children, but since only a daughter, Mary, survived infancy, Henry did not have the son he craved. Then as now, the Catholic Church did not ordinarily grant divorce, but Henry's lawyers argued on technical grounds that the marriage was invalid (and therefore, by extension, that Mary was illegitimate and hence unable to inherit the throne). Matters of this kind were far less doctrinal than diplomatic: Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, had powerful allies in Rome, and the Pope ruled against Henry's petition for a divorce. A series of momentous events followed, as England lurched away from the Church of Rome. In 1531 Henry charged the entire clergy of England with having usurped royal authority in the administration of canon law (the ecclesiastical law governing faith, morals, and disciplines, including such matters as divorce). Under extreme pressure, including the threat of confiscations and imprisonment, the Convocation of the Clergy begged for pardon, made a donation to the royal coffers of over £100,000, and admitted that the king was "supreme head of the English Church and clergy" (modified by the rider "as far as the law of Christ allows"). The next year the Convocation submitted to the demand that the king be the final arbiter of canon law: one day later Thomas More resigned his post.

In 1533 Henry's marriage to Catherine was officially declared null and void, and on June 1 Anne Boleyn was crowned as queen. The king was promptly excommunicated by Pope Clement VII. In the following year, the parliamentary Act of Succession confirmed the effects of the divorce and required an oath from all adult male subjects confirming the new dynastic settlement. Thomas More and John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, were among the small number who refused. The Act of Supremacy, passed later in the year, formally declared the king to be "Supreme Head of the Church in England" and again required an oath to this effect. In 1535 and 1536 further acts made it treasonous to refuse the oath of royal supremacy or, as More had tried to do, to remain silent. The first victims were three Carthusian monks who rejected the oath — "How could the king, a layman," said one of them, "be Head of the Church of England?" — and in May 1535, they were hanged, drawn, and quartered. A few

weeks later, Fisher and More were convicted and beheaded. Between 1536 and 1539 the monasteries were suppressed and their vast wealth seized by the crown.

Royal defiance of the authority of Rome was a key element in the Reformation but did not by itself constitute the establishment of Protestantism in England. On the contrary, in the same year that Fisher and More were martyred for their adherence to Roman Catholicism, twenty-five Protestants, members of a sect known as Anabaptists, were burned for heresy on a single day. Through most of his reign, Henry remained an equal-opportunity persecutor, ruthless to Catholics loyal to Rome and hostile to many of those who espoused Reformation ideas, though many of these ideas gradually established themselves on English soil.

Even when Henry was eager to do so, it proved impossible to eradicate Protestantism, as it would later prove impossible for his successors to eradicate Catholicism. In large part this tenacity arose from the passionate, often suicidal heroism of men and women who felt that their souls' salvation depended upon the precise character of their Christianity and who consequentially embraced martyrdom. It arose too from a mid-fifteenth-century technological innovation that made it almost impossible to suppress unwelcome ideas: the printing press. Early Protestants quickly grasped that with a few clandestine presses they could defy the Catholic authorities and flood the country with their texts. "How many printing presses there be in the world," wrote the Protestant polemicist John Foxe, "so many blockhouses there be against the high castle" of the Pope in Rome, "so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing or printing at length will root him out." By the end of the sixteenth century, it was the Catholics who were using the clandestine press to propagate their beliefs in the face of Protestant persecution.

The greatest insurrection of the Tudor age was not over food, taxation, or land but over religion. Most people conformed, more or less willingly, to the structural and doctrinal changes commanded by the king and his ministers, but there were pockets of resistance, particularly in the north of England, from those who were loyal to the traditional religious order of Roman Catholicism and who resented the attempt to subordinate the church to the authority of the state. On Sunday, October 1, 1536, stirred up by their vicar, the parishioners of Louth in Lincolnshire, in the north of England, rose up in defiance of the ecclesiastical visitation sent to enforce royal supremacy. The rapidly spreading rebellion, which became known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, was led by the lawyer Robert Aske. The city of Lincoln fell to the rebels on October 6, and though it was soon retaken by royal forces, the rebels seized cities and fortifications throughout Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and northern Lancashire. Carlisle, Newcastle, and a few castles were all that were left to the king in the north. The Pilgrims soon numbered forty thousand, led by some of the region's leading noblemen. The Duke of Norfolk, representing the crown, was forced to negotiate a truce, with a promise to support the rebels' demands that the king restore the monasteries, shore up the regional economy, suppress heresy, and dismiss his evil advisers.

The Pilgrims kept the peace for the rest of 1536, on the naive assumption that their demands would be met. Then, early in 1537, Henry moved suddenly to impose order and capture the ringleaders. One hundred and thirty people, including lords, knights, heads of religious houses, and, of course, Robert Aske, were executed.

This royal throne of kings, this sceptered isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This fortress built by Nature for herself
Against infection and the hand of war,
This happy breed of men, this little world,
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house,
Against the envy of less happier lands,
This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England. . . .

Even in the twenty-first century, the words spoken by John of Gaunt in Shakespeare's *Richard II* remain among the most familiar as well as the most powerful celebrations of the English nation. The literature of the Elizabethan age abounds with similar panegyrics to a nation secure in its separateness and in its superiority. Yet what can sometimes seem like the jingoistic fervor of the Elizabethans conceals a far more complicated and troubled reality. Most English writers were far from certain of the innate superiority of their nation — or even certain what their nation was.

To begin with, England was not — and has never been — a "sceptred isle." Rather, the English in the sixteenth century shared the island of Britain with neighboring Wales and Scotland, with whom their relations ranged from uneasy and unequal co- existence to outright conflict. Still more troubled and productive of anxiety was England's relationship with the island of Ireland (where Richard II leads a military expedition in Shakespeare's play, precipitating his own downfall). As for the wider world, the proud separateness celebrated by John of Gaunt was not so much chosen as enforced. A Protestant state confronting a largely Catholic Europe over the channel, Elizabethan England with its excommunicated Queen was a lonely pariah among nations. The English were thus anxious to the point of paranoia about what foreign visitors might think of them. Little wonder that they sometimes attempted to compensate for these anxieties with outbursts of patriotic bluster.

Rebellious Ireland presented the English not only with a problem of governance, but with the problem of cultural identity. The more idealistic among the English administrators and adventurers who settled in Ireland in the later sixteenth century believed that if only the Irish could be taught 'civility' (meaning English laws, English customs, and the English language), they would eventually become indistinguishable from the English themselves. Pessimists countered that the Irish were by their very nature prone to savagery and rebellion. The implications for the native population were fairly dismal in either case: those who believed that the Irish were educable were prepared to resort to the most brutal measures to achieve their lofty aim, while those who did not saw no solution to the Irish problem but enslavement or extermination. Yet while they wrestled with the question of Irish adaptability, English settlers like Edmund Spenser were confronted with worrying examples of English mutability: all around them they found the descendants of medieval English conquerors who had, over time, adopted Irish customs, dress and language, becoming all but indistinguishable from

those whom they had supposedly conquered. Thus, the future of Englishness was also at stake in the Irish wars of the late sixteenth century.

Closer to home, England was bent on extending its hegemony over Wales and Scotland. Wales had been conquered in the late thirteenth century; in the 1530s and 40s, it was fully incorporated into the English state, sending representatives to the Parliament in Westminster. Yet the Welsh remained a separate people, with a separate language, and a fierce pride in their status as descendants of the ancient Britons, who had inhabited the island long before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. Indeed, the term "Briton" as commonly used referred exclusively to the Welsh. Yet "Briton" could also be used in a wider sense, to mean all inhabitants of the island, be they Welsh, English, or Scottish. As English politicians bent their minds on subduing Scotland once and for all, they found it convenient to argue that they were really only asking the Scots to accept their common identity as Britons. The Scots countered that "Britain" was just another word for England. Then, when Scotland's King James came to the throne of England in 1603, the tables were turned. Now it was a Scottish king who insisted that his subjects should all call themselves "Britons," while the English found themselves clinging stubbornly to their Englishness. The long struggle over the meaning and future of Britishness was waged mostly by textual means, giving rise not only to innumerable propaganda pamphlets and treatises, but also to literary masterpieces such as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

Whatever the boundaries of the state that emerged from these struggles, and whatever name it went by, everyone accepted that it would be ruled from London. The rapid growth of London in the sixteenth century was an unprecedented phenomenon, and transformed both the way the English thought about their nation and the way they were viewed by visitors from abroad. It has been estimated that one in eight English people lived in London at some point in their lives. They took an intense interest both in the daily changing face of the metropolis and in its long and complex history; both facets of the city are recorded in exhaustive detail in John Stow's extraordinary *Survey of London*. London was also the destination of the overwhelming majority of foreign visitors to England, be they ambassadors, merchants, Protestant refugees, or simply tourists, like the Swiss German Thomas Platter, who rounded off his tour of the city with a visit to the theater, to see a play by Shakespeare.

Notes:

- By 1600, though English remained somewhat peripheral on the continent, it had been transformed into an immensely powerful expressive medium, as employed by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the translators of the Bible.
- The development of the English language is linked to the consolidation and strengthening of the English state.
- Rather than the flowering of visual arts and architecture that had occurred in Italy, the Renaissance emerged in Britain through an intellectual orientation to humanism.
- The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis on the authority of scripture (*sola scriptura*) and salvation by faith alone (*sola fide*), came to England as a result of Henry VIII's insistence on divorcing his wife, Catherine of Aragon, against the wishes of the Pope.
- A female monarch in a male world, Elizabeth ruled through a combination of adroit political maneuvering and imperious command, enhancing her authority by means of an extraordinary cult of love.
- Renaissance literature is the product of a rhetorical culture, a culture steeped in the arts of persuasion and trained to process complex verbal signals.
- Around 1590, an extraordinary change came over English drama, pioneered by Marlowe's mastery of unrhymed iambic pentameter, or blank verse.

Summaries

The English language had almost no prestige abroad at the beginning of the sixteenth century. One of the earliest sixteenth-century works of English literature, Thomas More's *Utopia*, was written in Latin for an international intellectual community. It was only translated into English during the 1550s, nearly a half-century after its original publication in Britain. By 1600, though English remained somewhat peripheral on the continent, it had been transformed into an immensely powerful expressive medium, as employed by Shakespeare, Marlowe, and the translators of the Bible.

The development of the English language is linked to the consolidation and strengthening of the English state. The Wars of the Roses ended with Henry VII's establishment of the Tudor dynasty that would rule England from 1485 to 1603. The Tudors imposed a much stronger central authority on the nation. The royal court was a center of culture as well as power, finding expression in theater, masques, fashion, and taste in painting, music, and poetry. The court fostered paranoia, and in this anxious atmosphere courtiers became highly practiced at crafting and deciphering graceful words with double or triple meanings. For advice on the cultivation and display of the self, they turned to Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano* (*The Courtier*). Beyond the court, London was the largest and fastest-growing city in Europe, and literacy increased throughout the century, in part due to the influence of Protestantism as well as the rise of the printing press. Freedom of the press did not exist, and much literature, especially poetry, still circulated in manuscript.

The movement now known as the Renaissance unleashed new ideas and new social, political and economic forces that gradually displaced the spiritual and communal values of the

Middle Ages. The Renaissance came to England through the spiritual and intellectual orientation known as humanism. Humanism, whose adherents included Sir Thomas More, John Colet, Roger Ascham, and Sir Thomas Elyot, was bound up with struggles over the purposes of education and curriculum reform. Education was still ordered according to the medieval *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astrology, and music), and it emphasized Latin, the language of diplomacy, professions, and higher learning. But the focus of education shifted from training for the Church to the general acquisition of "literature," in the sense both of literacy and of cultural knowledge.

Officially at least, England in the early sixteenth century had a single religion, Catholicism. The Protestant Reformation, with its emphasis on the authority of scripture (*sola scriptura*) and salvation by faith alone (*sola fide*), came to England as a result of Henry VIII's insistence on divorcing his wife, Catherine of Aragon, against the wishes of the Pope. Henry declared himself supreme head of the Church of England (through the Act of Supremacy). Those like Thomas More who refused the oath acknowledging the king's supremacy were held guilty of treason and executed. Henry was an equal-opportunity persecutor, hostile to Catholics and zealous reformers alike. His son Edward VI was more firmly Protestant, whilst Mary I was a Catholic. Elizabeth I, though a Protestant, was cautiously conservative, determined to hold religious zealotry in check.

A female monarch in a male world, Elizabeth ruled through a combination of adroit political maneuvering and imperious command, enhancing her authority by means of an extraordinary cult of love. The court moved in an atmosphere of romance, with music, dancing, plays, and masques. Leading artists like the poet Edmund Spenser and the miniaturist Nicholas Hilliard celebrated Elizabeth's mystery and likened her to various classical goddesses. A source of intense anxiety was Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic with a plausible claim to the English throne, whom Elizabeth eventually had executed. When England faced an invasion from Catholic Spain in 1588, Elizabeth appeared in person before her troops wearing a white gown and a silver breastplate; the incident testifies to her self-consciously theatrical command of the grand public occasion as well as her strategic appropriation of masculine qualities. By the 1590s, virtually everyone was aware that Elizabeth's life was nearing an end, and there was great anxiety surrounding the succession to the throne.

Renaissance literature is the product of a rhetorical culture, a culture steeped in the arts of persuasion and trained to process complex verbal signals. Aesthetically, Elizabethan literature reveals a delight in order and pattern conjoined with a profound interest in the mind and heart. In his *Defense of Poesy*, Sir Philip Sidney argued that poetry's magical power to create perfect worlds was also a moral power, encouraging readers to virtue. The major literary modes of the Elizabethan period included pastoral, as exemplified in Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, andheroic/epic, as in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

A permanent, freestanding public theater in England dates only from 1567. There was, however, a rich and vital theatrical tradition, including interludes and mystery and morality plays. Around 1590, an extraordinary change came over English drama, pioneered by Marlowe's mastery of unrhymed iambic pentameter, or blank verse. The theaters had many enemies; moralists warned that they were nests of sedition, and Puritans charged that theatrical transvestism excited illicit sexual desires, both heterosexual and homosexual. Nonetheless, the playing companies had powerful allies, including Queen Elizabeth, and continuing popular support.

TimeLine

of the

Sixteenth Century

English Literature

The Sixteenth Century

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
	1485 Accession of Henry VII inaugurates Tudor dynasty
	1499 Desiderius Erasmus first visits England; meets Thomas More
ca. 1505-07 Amerigo Vespucci, *New World* and *Four Voyages*	ca. 1504 Leonardo paints Mona Lisa
	1508-12 Michaelangelo paints Sistine Chapel ceiling
	1509 Death of Henry VII; accession of Henry VIII
1511 Erasmus, *Praise of Folly*	
	1513 James IV of Scotland killed at Battle of Flodden; succeeded by James V
1516 More, *Utopia.* Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*	
ca. 1517 John Skelton, *The Tunning of Elinour Rumming*	1517 Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses; beginning of the Reformation in Germany
	1519 Cortés invades Mexico. Magellen begins his voyage around the world
1520s-30s Thomas Wyatt's poems circulating in manuscript	1521 Pope Leo X names Henry VIII "Defender of the Faith"
1525 William Tyndale's English translation of the New Testament	
1528 Baldessare Castiglione, *The Courtier*	
	1529-32 More is Lord Chancellor
1532 Nicolò Machiavelli, *The Prince* (written 1513)	1532-34 Henry VIII divorces Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn; Elizabeth I born; Henry declares himself head of the English church
	1535 More beheaded
1537 John Calvin, *The Institution of Christian Religion*	1537 Establishment of Calvin's theocracy at Geneva
	1542 Roman Inquisition. James IV of Scotland dies; succeeded by daughter Mary
1543 Copernicus, *On the Revolution of the Spheres*	
1547 *Book of Homilies*	1547 Death of Henry VIII; accession of Protestant Edward VI
1549 *Book of Common Prayer*	
	1553 Death of Edward VI; accession of Catholic Queen Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon
	1555-56 Archbishop Cranmer and former bishops Latimer and Ridley burned at the stake
1557 Tottel's *Songs and Sonnets* (printed poems by Wyatt, Surrey, and others)	
	1558 Mary dies; succeeded by Protestant Elizabeth I
1563 John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*	
1565 Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, *Gorboduc*, first English blank-verse tragedy (acted in 1561)	
1567 Arthur Golding, translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*	1567-68 Mary, Queen of Scots, abdicates; succeeded by her son James VI; Mary imprisoned in England
	1570 Elizabeth I excommunicated by Pope Pius V

	1576 James Burbage's playhouse, The Theater, built in London
	1576-77 Frobisher's voyage to North America
	1577-80 Drake's circumnavigation
1578 John Lyly, *Euphues*	
1579 Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes Calender*	
1580 Montaigne, *Essays*	
	1583 Irish rebellion crushed
	1584-87 Sir Walter Ralegh's earliest attempts to colonize Virginia
	1586-87 Mary, Queen of Scots, tried for treason and executed
ca. **1587-90** Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* acted. Shakespeare begins career as actor and playwright	
1588 Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of Virginia*	**1588** Failed invasion of the Spanish Armada
1589 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation*	
1590 Sir Philip Sidney, *Arcadia* (posthumously published); Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* Books 1-3	
1591 Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*	
ca. **1592** John Donne's earliest poems circulating in manuscript	
1595 Sidney, *The Defense of Poesy*	**1595** Ralegh's voyage to Guiana
1596 Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* Books 4-6 (with Books 1-3)	
1598 Ben Jonson, *Every Man in His Humor*	
	1599 Globe Theater opens
	1603 Elizabeth I dies; succeeded by James VI of Scotland (as James I), inaugurating the Stuart dynasty

Quiz From *The Sixteenth Century*

1. Which of the following statements accurately reflects the status of England, its people, and its language in the early sixteenth century?

   ○ **a)** English travelers were not obliged to learn French, Italian, or Spanish during their explorations of the Continent.

   ○ **b)** English was fast supplanting Latin as the second language of most European intellectuals.

   ○ **c)** English travelers often returned from the Continent with foreign fashions, much to the delight of moralists.

   ⊙ **d)** Intending his *Utopia* for an international intellectual community, Thomas More wrote in Latin, since English had no prestige outside of England.

   ○ **e)** all of the above

2. Which of the following sixteenth-century works of English literature was translated into the English language after its first publication in Latin?

   ○ **a)** Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*

   ○ **b)** William Shakespeare's *King Lear*

   ○ **c)** Thomas More's *The History of King Richard III*

   ○ **d)** William Shakespeare's *Sonnets*

   ⊙ **e)** Thomas More's *Utopia*

3. Which royal dynasty was established in the resolution of the so-called War of the Roses and continued through the reign of Elizabeth I?

   ⊙ **a)** Tudor

   ○ **b)** Windsor

   ○ **c)** York

   ○ **d)** Lancaster

   ○ **e)** Valois

4. Which of the following shifts began in the reign of Henry VII and continued under his Tudor successors?

   ○ **a)** the growing authority of the Pope over domestic English affairs

   ○ **b)** the expansion of England's colonial possessions

   ○ **c)** the rise in the power and confidence of the aristocracy

   ⊙ **d)** the countering of feudal power structures by a stronger central authority

   ○ **e)** the emancipation of serfs

5. From which of the following Italian texts might Tudor courtiers have learned the art of intrigue and the keys to gaining and keeping power?

   ○ **a)** Castiglione's "The Courtier"

○ **b)** Dante's "Divine Comedy"

○ **c)** Boccaccio's "Decameron"

◉ **d)** Machiavelli's "The Prince"

○ **e)** Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso"

6. Who authored *Il Cortigiano* (*The Courtier*), a book that was highly influential in the English court, providing subtle guidance on self-display?

○ **a)** Cavalcanti

◉ **b)** Castiglione

○ **c)** Pirandello

○ **d)** Boccaccio

○ **e)** Machiavelli

7. Between 1520 and 1550, the population of London:

○ **a)** remained constant.

○ **b)** fell from 375,00 to barely 100,000.

◉ **c)** doubled from 60,000 to 120,000.

○ **d)** doubled from 600,000 to 1,200,000.

○ **e)** is impossible to estimate.

8. Who introduced the art of printing into England?

○ **a)** Elizabeth Eisenstein

○ **b)** Johannes Gutenberg

○ **c)** Henry VIII

○ **d)** William Tyndale

◉ **e)** William Caxton

9. To what does the phrase "the stigma of print" refer?

○ **a)** lead poisoning contracted from handling printer's ink

○ **b)** the brutal punishment for printing without a license

○ **c)** the pre-Reformation ban on printing the Bible in English

◉ **d)** the perception among court poets that printed verses were less exclusive

○ **e)** all of the above

10. Which of the following sixteenth-century poets was *not* a courtier?

◉ **a)** George Puttenham

○ **b)** Philip Sidney

○ **c)** Walter Ralegh

○ **d)** Thomas Wyatt

○ **e)** all of the above

11. Which of the following statements is not an accurate reflection of education during the English Renaissance?

○ **a)** It was aimed primarily at sons of the nobility and gentry.

◉ **b)** Its curriculum emphasized ancient Greek, the language of diplomacy, professions, and higher learning.

○ **c)** It was conducted by tutors in wealthy families or in grammar schools.

○ **d)** It was ordered according to the medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium*.

○ **e)** Its focus had shifted from training for the Church to the general acquisition of "literature."

12. What impulse probably accounts for the rise of distinguished translations of works, such as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, into English during the sixteenth century?

○ **a)** human reverence for the classics

○ **b)** the belief that the English were direct descendants of the ancient Greeks

○ **c)** pride for the vernacular language

◉ **d)** a and c only

○ **e)** a, b, and c

13. What was the only acknowledged religion in England during the early sixteenth century?

○ **a)** Atheism

○ **b)** Protestantism

◉ **c)** Catholicism

○ **d)** Ancestor-worship

○ **e)** Judaism

14. Who began to ignite the embers of dissent against the Catholic church in November 1517 in a movement that came to be known as the Reformation?

○ **a)** Anne Boleyn

◉ **b)** Martin Luther

○ **c)** Pope Leo X

○ **d)** Ulrich Zwingli

○ **e)** John Calvin

15. Which historical figure initiated a series of religious persecutions condemning Protestants as heretics and burning them at the stake in the 1550s?

○ **a)** Archbishop Cranmer

○ **b)** Catherine of Aragon

○ **c)** Elizabeth I

○ **d)** Mary, Queen of Scots

◉ **e)** Mary Tudor

16. Which of the following refers to the small area of Ireland, extending north from Dublin, over which the English government could claim effective control?

○ **a)** Ulster

○ **b)** the Protectorate

◉ **c)** the Pale

○ **d)** West Britain

○ **e)** the Palatinate

17. Which designates the theory that the reigning monarch possesses absolute authority as God's deputy?

○ **a)** manifest destiny

○ **b)** extreme unction

◉ **c)** royal absolutism

○ **d)** constitutional monarchism

○ **e)** charivari

18. Expressed in Elizabethan poetry as well as court rituals and events, a cult of _____ formed around Elizabeth and dictated the nature of relations between herself and her court.

○ **a)** ignominy

○ **b)** unwarranted abuse

○ **c)** odium

○ **d)** absurdity

◉ **e)** love

19. Which of the following describes the chief system by which writers received financial rewards for their literary production?

- ○ **a)** charity
- ◉ **b)** patronage
- ○ **c)** censorship
- ○ **d)** subscription
- ○ **e)** mass marketing

20. In the *Defense of Poesy*, what did Sidney attribute to poetry?

- ○ **a)** a magical power whereby poetry plays tricks on the reader
- ○ **b)** a divine power whereby poetry transmits a message from God to the reader
- ◉ **c)** a moral power whereby poetry encourages the reader to emulate virtuous models
- ○ **d)** a defensive power whereby poetry and its figurative expressions allow the poet to avoid censorship
- ○ **e)** a realistic power that cannot be made to seem like mere illusion and trickery

22. The churchyard of St. Paul's Cathedral was well-known for its:

- ○ **a)** ruinous condition.
- ○ **b)** performing bears.
- ○ **c)** graffiti.
- ○ **d)** wine bars.
- ◉ **e)** bookshops.

23. Who owned the rights to a theatrical script?

- ○ **a)** the playwright(s)
- ○ **b)** the patron of the acting company, eg, the Lord Chamberlain
- ○ **c)** the bishop of London

○ **d)** the printer

◉ **e)** the acting company

24. Short plays called _____-staged dialogues on religious, moral, and political themes-were performed by playing companies before the construction of public theaters.

◉ **a)** interludes

○ **b)** spectacles

○ **c)** meditations

○ **d)** mysteries

○ **e)** vaudeville

25. To what subgenre did the Senecan influence give rise, as evidenced in the first English tragedy *Gorboduc*, or *Ferrex and Porrex*?

○ **a)** villain tragedy

○ **b)** poetic tragedy

○ **c)** heroic tragedy

◉ **d)** revenge tragedy

○ **e)** pastoral tragedy

26. What is blank verse?

○ **a)** iambic pentameter in rhyming couplets

○ **b)** the verse form of the Shakespearean sonnet

○ **c)** free verse, without rhyme or regular meter

○ **d)** alliterative iambic tetrameter

◉ **e)** unrhymed iambic pentameter

27. Which of the following is true about public theaters in Elizabethan England?

○ **a)** They relied on admission charges, an innovation of the period.

○ **b)** The early versions were oval in shape.

○ **c)** They were located outside the city limits of London.

○ **d)** The seating structure was tiered, with placement correlating to ticket cost.

◉ **e)** all of the above

28. Which was not an objection raised against the public theaters in the Elizabethan period?

    ○   **a)** They caused excessive noise and traffic.

    ◉   **b)** They charged too much.

    ○   **c)** They excited illicit sexual desires.

    ○   **d)** They drew young people away from work.

    ○   **e)** They were nests of sedition.

29. Who succeeded Elizabeth I on the throne of England?

    ○   **a)** Elizabeth II

    ○   **b)** Henry IX

    ◉   **c)** James I

    ○   **d)** Charles I

    ○   **e)** Mary, Queen of Scots

Early

Seventeenth

Century

The earlier seventeenth century, and especially the period of the English Revolution (1640–60), was a time of intense ferment in all areas of life — religion, science, politics, domestic relations, culture. That ferment was reflected in the literature of the era, which also registered a heightened focus on and analysis of the self and the personal life. However, little of this seems in evidence in the elaborate frontispiece to Michael Drayton's long "chorographical" poem on the landscape, regions, and local history of Great Britain (1612), which appeared in the first years of the reign of the Stuart king James I (1603–1625). The frontispiece appears to represent a peaceful, prosperous, triumphant Britain, with England, Scotland, and Wales united, patriarchy and monarchy firmly established, and the nation serving as the great theme for lofty literary celebration. Albion (the Roman name for Britain) is a young and beautiful virgin wearing as cloak a map featuring rivers, trees, mountains, churches, towns; she carries a scepter and holds a cornucopia, symbol of plenty. Ships on the horizon signify exploration, trade, and garnering the riches of the sea. In the four corners stand four conquerors whose descendants ruled over Britain: the legendary Brutus, Julius Caesar, Hengist the Saxon, and the Norman William the Conqueror, "whose line yet rules," as Drayton's introductory poem states.

Yet this frontispiece also registers some of the tensions, conflicts, and redefinitions evident in the literature of the period and explored more directly in the topics and texts in this portion of the NTO Web site. It is Albion herself, not King James, who is seated in the center holding the emblems of sovereignty; her male conquerors stand to the side, and their smaller size and their number suggest something unstable in monarchy and patriarchy. Albion's robe with its multiplicity of regional features, as well as the "Poly" of the title, suggests forces pulling against national unity. Also, *Poly-Olbion* had no successors: instead of a celebration of the nation in the vein of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* or *Poly-Olbion* itself, the great seventeenth-century heroic poem, *Paradise Lost,* treats the Fall of Man and its tragic consequences, "all our woe."

The first topic here, "Gender, Family, Household: Seventeenth-Century Norms and Controversies," provides important religious, legal, and domestic advice texts through which to explore cultural assumptions about gender roles and the patriarchal family. It also invites attention to how those assumptions are modified or challenged in the practices of actual families and households; in tracts on transgressive subjects (cross-dressing, women speaking in church, divorce); in women's texts asserting women's worth, talents, and rights; and especially in the upheavals of the English Revolution.

"*Paradise Lost* in Context," the second topic for this period, surrounds that radically revisionist epic with texts that invite readers to examine how it engages with the interpretative traditions surrounding the Genesis story, how it uses classical myth, how it challenges orthodox notions of Edenic innocence, and how it is positioned within but also against the epic tradition from Homer to

Virgil to Du Bartas. The protagonists here are not martial heroes but a domestic couple who must, both before and after their Fall, deal with questions hotly contested in the seventeenth century but also perennial: how to build a good marital relationship; how to think about science, astronomy, and the nature of things; what constitutes tyranny, servitude, and liberty; what history teaches; how to meet the daily challenges of love, work, education, change, temptation, and deceptive rhetoric; how to reconcile free will and divine providence; and how to understand and respond to God's ways.

The third topic, "Civil Wars of Ideas: Seventeenth-Century Politics, Religion, and Culture," provides an opportunity to explore, through political and polemical treatises and striking images, some of the issues and conflicts that led to civil war and the overthrow of monarchical government (1642–60). These include royal absolutism vs. parliamentary or popular sovereignty, monarchy vs. republicanism, Puritanism vs. Anglicanism, church ritual and ornament vs. iconoclasm, toleration vs. religious uniformity, and controversies over court masques and Sunday sports. The climax to all this was the highly dramatic trial and execution of King Charles I (January 1649), a cataclysmic event that sent shock waves through courts, hierarchical institutions, and traditionalists everywhere; this event is presented here through contemporary accounts and graphic images.

2) Gender, Family, Household – 17th Century Norms and Controversies

In Early Modern England, both gender hierarchy, with the man at the top, and the husband's patriarchal role as governor of his family and household — wife, children, wards, and servants — were assumed to have been instituted by God and nature. So ordered, the family was seen as the secure foundation of society and the patriarch's role as analogous to that of God in the universe and the king in the state. Women were continually instructed that their spiritual and social worth resided above all else in their practice of and reputation for chastity. Unmarried virgins and wives were to maintain silence in the public sphere and give unstinting obedience to father and husband, though widows had some scope for making their own decisions and managing their affairs. Children and servants were bound to the strictest obedience. Inevitably, however, tension developed when such norms met with common experience, as registered in the records of actual households and especially in the complexities and ambiguities represented in literary treatments of love, courtship, marriage, and family relations, from Shakespeare's *King Lear* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1139), to Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1462), to Milton's *Paradise Lost* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1830), and more.

Religious and legal definitions of gender roles and norms are proclaimed in the marriage liturgy from the *Book of Common Prayer* (1559) and in *The Law's Resolutions of Women's Rights* (1632), both of which begin from the Genesis story of Adam and Eve's creation, marriage, and Fall. The marriage liturgy sets forth the purpose of marriage as the Church understood them, the contract of indissoluble marriage ("till death us do part"), and the biblical texts underpinning patriarchy, solemnly advising the couple to live by these norms. This, or a very similar ceremony, was understood to solemnize the marriage celebrated in Spenser's *Epithalamion* (*NAEL* 8, 1.907) and other marriage poems, as well as virtually all the marriages represented in English literature for the next three centuries. The *Law's Resolution* was designed to collect the several laws then in place regarding women's legal rights and duties in each of her three estates: unmarried virgin, wife, and widow. The unknown author or compiler discusses, sometimes in a remarkably ironic tone, the many disabilities under which a married woman must live and the new freedom enjoyed by the widow (who had supposedly lost her "head" in losing her husband), as well as the vulnerability of all women of all ages and estates to rape. These discussions illuminate the situation of the widowed Duchess of Malfi in Webster's play.

These norms were also urged, and also modified, in advice books dealing with specific family roles and duties. A treatise on household government by John Dod and Robert Cleaver (1598) elaborates on and contrasts the duties of husband and wife, setting up explicit parallels between the household and the commonwealth. Gervase Markham's book, *The English Hus-Wife* (1615), outlines the woman's responsibility to understand and administer medicines to her family and to have perfect skill in cookery. Richard Brathwaite's *English Gentlewoman* (1631) focuses on virtues and activities pertaining to women of the higher classes, drawing attention to expectations of widows' chastity. Thomas Fosset's tract on *The Servant's Duty* (1613) spells out the assumption that every relationship in society is founded on hierarchy. In

his *Exposition of the Ten Commandments* (1604), John Dod asserts that the primary duty of parents is to correct their children with blows as necessary and that the woman's particular duty is to nurse her own child. Dorothy Leigh's often reprinted advice book *The Mother's Blessing* (1616) has quite different emphases: the need to bring up children with gentleness and to give them a good education. She also urges her sons only to marry women they will love to the end and to make their wives companions, not servants.

Actual families and households departed in various ways from the roles defined in such normative texts. The household of the Sidneys of Penshurst can be partly known through pictures — of the prominent courtier Robert Sidney, Lord Lisle, of their country estate Penshurst, and of his wife Barbara and six of her children; the eldest daughter in that portrait is the poet and romance writer Lady Mary Wroth (*NAEL* 8, 1.1451). Also, a series of letters from Robert to Barbara over two decades reveals a good deal about their marital relationship, their disagreements about educating the children, and their economic difficulties. These materials invite comparison with Ben Jonson's idealized poem about this household, *To Penshurst* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1434). The household of the Sackvilles can be partly known through the picture of Knole, the country house of Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and his wife Anne Clifford, and the great family picture of the Cliffords, showing Anne as a girl of fifteen and as a widow of fifty-six. Extracts from Anne's *Diary* of 1616–19 record some part of her long legal struggle to regain lands she thought due her from her father's estate, the harsh opposition she met from the entire male court establishment, her strained relations with her husband over this matter, her maternal feelings and activities, and the round of her domestic life.

Some texts reveal direct challenges to, or themselves challenge, the cultural norms defining gender and household roles. A pair of texts, *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir* (1620), call attention to a controversy from the years 1615–20 over women wearing male attire; their title-page engravings display the satirized fashions. This controversy is related to the pamphlet war during the same years over the hoary issue of women's virtue and worth; Rachel Speght's *Mouzell for Melastomus* with its revisionist interpretation of the Genesis fall story, was probably the only contribution by a woman. The truncated biography that Lucy Hutchinson (*NAEL* 8, 1.1758) wrote about her early life and the biography of Elizabeth Cary written by one of her daughters reveal how they resisted the usual restrictive educative norms for women. Milton, in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* and three other treatises, directly challenged the doctrine of indissoluble marriage and the prohibitions on divorce, arguing the very radical proposition that incompatibility should be grounds for divorce, with right of remarriage. Also during the upheavals of the Civil War period, some women claimed voices in the public sphere: in a petition to Parliament (1649), Leveller women asserted some political rights in the commonwealth; and Margaret Fell published a rationale in 1664 for allowing women to testify and preach in church, as Quakers often did.

Milton's great epic (1667) is built upon the stories and myths — in the Bible and in the classical tradition — through which Western men and women have sought to understand the meaning of their experience of life. Attention to some of these materials and to the ways in which Milton draws upon, and departs from, other versions and interpretations of those stories will enrich the reading of his poem.

The foundation story, of course, is the Genesis account of the Creation of the world and of Adam and Eve, culminating in the drama of their temptation and Fall. By Milton's time, the seventeenth century, that story had been reformulated in many translations in many languages and had accumulated many centuries of interpretive commentary, Jewish and Christian. Milton, in undertaking an imaginative, poetic re-creation of that story, had necessarily to accept, revise, or counter the views offered by such influential commentators as Saint Augustine and the Reformation theologian John Calvin. He probably did not know Rachel Speght's commentary, *A Muzzle for Melastomus* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1546-49) , or Aemilia Lanyer's poem *Eve's Apology in Defense of Women* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1317–19), but these texts provide the first examples of women turning Genesis commentary to feminist account. The various commentators' views — about Adam and Eve, about the Edenic garden, about prelapsarian conditions of life, about the Tree of Knowledge, about the nature of man and woman as created, about marriage as first instituted, and about the causes of the Fall — can be usefully compared to Milton's own analyses in his theological tract *Christian Doctrine*, which remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, as well as his poetic representations of such matters in *Paradise Lost.*

During his tour of Italy in 1638–39, Milton probably saw some of the numerous representations of aspects of the Genesis story in Renaissance paintings and tapestries. We do not know which ones he saw, but certain remarkable images may have stimulated his imagination. A representative sample is included here: Veronese's *Creation of Eve*, Cranach's *Adam and Eve*, Dürer's *The Fall*, two of the Medici tapestries presenting *The Fall* and *The Judgement of Adam and Eve*, and Masaccio's *The Expulsion*.

Milton's poem also draws on such repositories of classical myth as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (*NAEL* 8, 1.704-05) and other literary analogues. Ovid's narrative of the myth of Narcissus resonates throughout the story told by Milton's Eve about her first coming to consciousness (*NAEL* 8, 1.1897). Two allegorical interpretations of the Narcissus myth — by Milton's contemporary George Sandys, the translator of Ovid, and by Sigmund Freud — may highlight how Milton reworks that myth. The poetic version of the Fall story in Guillaume Du Bartas's hexameral poem *The Divine Weeks and Works* provides another kind of literary analogue. In Joshua Sylvester's translation that work was extremely popular, and Milton certainly knew it. Finally, the epic tradition itself was a major literary resource for Milton: it is sampled here through the opening passages — propositions and invocations — of four epics central to Milton's idea of that genre: Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.* Milton's epic proposition and invocation (*NAEL* 8, 1.1832-33) may be compared

to these, and also Milton's defense of his better kind of tragic epic (*NAEL* 8, 1.1973–74). Homer and Virgil did not use rhyme, and Milton scorned it in heroic poems as a "troublesome and modern bondage"; accordingly, the classical epics are represented here by modern unrhymed translations. Tasso did employ rhyme, as did his Elizabethan translator Edward Fairfax.

The first important criticism of Milton's epic was provided by his good friend the poet Andrew Marvell, in a commendatory poem published in 1674 along with the second edition of *Paradise Lost.* It invites comparison with later prose criticism by Addison (*NAEL* 8, 1.2485) and Samuel Johnson (*NAEL* 8, 1.2769).

Responding visually to *Paradise Lost* are a set of engravings by John Baptist Medina that were included in the elaborate folio edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1688. Several of the Medina images, notably those included here, provide their own interesting interpretations of crucial scenes in the poem.

Not surprisingly, the Genesis text and its interpretive tradition resonate in many literary texts, among them Ben Jonson's *To Penshurst* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1434), Lanyer's *Description of Cooke-ham* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1319), Marvell's *Bermudas* and *The Garden* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1698, 1710). Many later texts, among them Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, Pope's *Rape of the Lock* and *Essay on Man* (*NAEL* 8, 1.2513, 2540), Blake's *Songs of Innocence, Songs of Experience, Thel,* and *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (*NAEL* 8, 2.81, 87, 97, 110), Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality* and *The Prelude* (*NAEL* 8, 2.306, 322), and Yeats's *Adam's Curse* (*NAEL* 8, 2.2028), respond not only to the Genesis story but also to Milton's poetic development of it.

The many tensions which came to a head in the English Civil War (1642–48) had been building for a half-century or more. The ascent of James I to the throne in 1603 inaugurated a profound cultural shift as Elizabeth's styles of self-representation were replaced by those of a king who defined himself as an absolute monarch and God's anointed deputy, through several cultural roles. Already an author, James reprinted at the time of his accession his *True Law of Free Monarchies* (originally published in 1598), defending royal absolutism grounded on the divine right of kings. In his very elaborate coronation procession through the City of London, he passed through spectacular Roman triumphal arches at various stages, thereby identifying himself as a new Augustus. That Roman style was emphasized by the designer Inigo Jones in sets for court masques and in new buildings such as the banqueting hall at Whitehall, the site for many such masques. An early court entertainment, Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605), represented James as a sun king. James also portrayed himself as patriarch-king: in the *Basilikon Doran* (1601), addressed to the heir apparent, Prince Henry, and in the often-revised portrait of his family, shown here. Figures reclining on one arm have died: James's queen, Anne of Denmark, is so shown, as is Prince Henry, whose death dashed the hopes of the many reformist Protestants who saw in him a leader in the struggle against Rome. At the left stands the new heir, Prince Charles, and his queen, the French Catholic Henrietta Maria. At the right, James's daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband Frederick, Elector Palatine — staunch Protestants whose claims to the throne of Bohemia touched off the thirty-year war between Catholic and Protestant powers on the continent. Descendants of their numerous progeny soon peopled the thrones of Europe, including England (with George I in 1714).

Conflicts over styles of belief and devotion, already present in Elizabeth's realm, intensified with James's accession, though most English people remained within the established church. Controversies regarding doctrine (predestination vs. free will), worship (the Book of Common Prayer or an emphasis on preaching and reformed ritual), and ecclesiastical structures (bishops or Presbyterian synods) form a subtext to much religious poetry of the period — Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Crashaw. Such controversies are also visually represented in different kinds of emblems, a popular multimedia form combining text and picture, and often suggestive for the poetic imagery of the period. One flashpoint in the conflict over culture was the *Book of Sports,* issued by James I in 1618 and reissued by Charles I in 1633, explicitly authorizing and promoting the Sunday sports and rural festivals denounced by many Puritans as profanations of the sabbath, pagan in origin, and occasions of sin. William Prynne's notorious *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), published a few months before Charles reissued the *Book of Sports,* voices the most extreme Puritan denunciation of both rural and court culture — not only maypoles, mumming, and Sunday sports but also court masques and stage plays; Prynne was brutally punished for this direct affront to the monarchs. In the 1660s the Puritan historian Lucy Hutchinson supplied a retrospective account and interpretation of these culture wars and their political and religious import.

As the 1630s wore on, Puritans of various kinds pressed for more reformation in doctrine, worship, and church government to eradicate "idolatrous" and "papist" elements (bishops, liturgy, altars, religious icons) while Charles I's Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, imposed those elements ever more strictly. When war broke out in 1642,

Puritans of all sorts portrayed England as a new Israel whose people would replicate in some ways the experience of that other chosen people. A much-contested issue concerned the duty of the Christian magistrate toward religion: should he establish the "true" church and root out blasphemy and heresy as Church of England bishops and most Presbyterians thought (see Milton's poem *On the New Forcers of Conscience* [*NAEL* 8, 1.1826–27])? Should he offer wide toleration outside an established church, as some sectaries (and Milton) thought? The most far-reaching defense of complete religious liberty and entire separation of church and state is Roger Williams's *Bloody Tenet of Persecution* (1644), which draws in interesting ways on his experiences in America. Milton's *Areopagitica,* published the same year (*NAEL* 8, 1.1816–25), argues the tolerationist case on somewhat different grounds.

On the political side, the central issue became the location of sovereign power in the state. James's literary defenses of royal absolutism grounded on the divine right of kings were kept in play by Charles I, who insisted on his absolute prerogatives as a monarch and governed without a parliament for eleven years. Opponents of Charles developed a countertheory that placed supremacy in the people's representative, the Parliament and later the Commons. These two theories were acted out dramatically at the trial of Charles I: the king by argument and gesture refused to recognize the authority of the court appointed by a segment of the Commons to try him, while the court president, John Bradshaw, insisted on the court's authority as deriving from the people's representative. The execution of an anointed king on January 30, 1649, was a stupendous matter, graphically portrayed in many contemporary accounts and pictures. The need to defend the regicide and the new commonwealth "without King or House of Lords" prompted Milton to give forceful expression, in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (February 1649), to a radical contract theory of government analogous to that developed by contemporary republicans and Levellers: sovereignty always resides in the people, who merely delegate power to, and can always revoke it from, any ruler or any government system. Alternatively, Thomas Hobbes (*NAEL* 8, 1.1596–1605) developed in *Leviathan* (1651) a theory of absolutism based on irreversible compact, whereby the people give over all their power and right to a sovereign, whether a king or some other ruling entity, who incorporates and acts for them all.

Linking both politics and religion was the ongoing conflict about idolatry and iconoclasm in religion but also in the civic realm, around the issue of sacred kingship and the supposed sacrilege of executing an anointed king. A book purportedly written by King Charles and published immediately after his execution, *Eikon Basilike* [The King's Image], presents in its text and especially its frontispiece Charles as holy martyr and suffering Christ; that work prompted Milton's fierce denunciation of this "idol" in his *Eikonoklastes* [The Image Breaker]. Milton's post-Restoration closet drama *Samson Agonistes* (1674) contains an exchange on the issue of idolatry that resonates with the dilemmas of conscience faced by Puritan dissenters when they were denied toleration and faced stringent penalties for refusing to worship in the established church.

"I like a plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation." In his essay "Of Plantations," Francis Bacon imagines an ideal colonial project, one without the possibility of conflict, and without victims. Such colonies were, of course, never more than a philosopher's pipe-dream. By 1600, there was very little "pure soil" left anywhere on the globe, excepting the forbidding polar regions. The territories which proved the main targets of English settlement in the seventeenth century were the neighboring island of Ireland and the eastern coast of North America, both home to sizeable native populations. In both cases, "plantation" often went hand in hand with "extirpation."

We might call Bacon's dream of victimless colonization "Utopian," were it not that Thomas More in his Utopia is considerably more hard-headed. When the population of Utopia exceeds the ideal number, More writes:

they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground . . . [I]f the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out. . . . And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved.

The supposed law of nature that justified the use of force in expelling peoples from their lands would be cited constantly by colonial theorists in the seventeenth century. John Donne stresses this very argument in his Sermon to the Virginia Company (1622), ranking the "law of nature" alongside the "power rooted in grace" as justifications for settlement in inhabited lands. One of the few to question this logic was the radical Roger Williams, who infuriated the New England authorities by arguing "That we have not our land by patent from the king, but that the natives are the true owners of it, and that we ought to repent of such a receiving it by patent."

In spite of controversies over how, if at all, to respect the rights of the prior inhabitants, perhaps the most startling feature of much of what was written in or about the New World is the slight notice given to Native Americans. They are never mentioned, for instance, by the Massachusetts poet Anne Bradstreet, who concentrates instead on the relationship between Old England and New. Like many Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic, Bradstreet believed that settlements like the Massachusetts Bay Colony were blazing a trail of godly government that the mother country might eventually follow. Roger Williams, too, while rejecting Puritan intolerance, believed that the English had much to learn from the experience, good and bad, of the New England settlers.

Simply ignoring the existence of the native inhabitants was less possible for the English writing in or about Ireland. A long history of cultural and military conflict had given the English an almost paranoid awareness of the intractable threat posed by the native Irish. The seemingly intractable problem of Ireland was addressed by some of the greatest literary figures of the period, from Edmund Spenser in his *View of the Present State of Ireland* to John Milton in his *Observations Upon the Articles of Peace* (1649), as well as by countless others. Could the Irish, as some writers hoped, be weaned from their "savagery" and trained up in civilized manners? Or must they, as the settler Thomas Blenerhasset chillingly proposed, be hunted like animals for English sport? Blenerhasset's proposal dates from the early years of the Ulster Plantation, in which the English aimed to solve their Irish problem once and for all through a program of land seizures and mass settlement by English and Scottish Protestants. The historical impact of the Ulster Plantation can be seen today in Northern Ireland, the one part of the island still under British rule.

Even as she sent her children forth to settle beyond the seas, England played host to immigrants from abroad. These included a handful of natives of the New World (including, for a brief period, Pocahontas), and larger numbers of Europeans. Among the latter were some so-called marranos — Spanish Jews who had, officially at least, converted to Christianity. Jews had in fact been banned from English soil since their expulsion in the thirteenth century. Under Protector Cromwell's regime, however, the anti-Semitic laws were eased, and Jews began to return openly to England. Even as the English confronted alien cultures in their new settlements abroad, England itself was becoming an ever more multicultural society.

Early 17ᵗʰ Century 6) Summary of The Early Seventeenth Century

Notes:

- After more than four decades on the throne, Elizabeth I died in 1603. James VI of Scotland succeeded her, becoming James I and establishing the Stuart dynasty.
- Political and religious tensions intensified under James's son, Charles I, who succeeded to the throne in 1625.
- As ideas changed, so did the conditions of their dissemination.
- In the early seventeenth century, John Donne, Ben Jonson, and George Herbert led the shift towards "new" poetic genres.
- Many leading poets were staunch royalists, or Cavaliers, who suffered heavily in the war years. Yet two of the best writers of the period, John Milton and Andrew Marvell, sided with the republic.

Summaries

After more than four decades on the throne, Elizabeth I died in 1603. James VI of Scotland succeeded her without the attempted coups that many had feared. Writers jubilantly noted that the new ruler had literary inclinations. Yet both in his literary works and on the throne James expounded authoritarian theories of kingship that seemed incompatible with the English tradition of "mixed" government. Kings, James believed, derived their power from God rather than from the people. James was notorious for his financial heedlessness, and his disturbing tendency to bestow high office on good-looking male favorites. The period had complex attitudes to same-sex relationships, and James's susceptibility to lovely, expensive youths was seen as more a political than a moral calamity. Yet James was successful in keeping England out of European wars, and encouraging colonial projects in the New World and economic growth at home. The most important religious event of James's reign was a newly commissioned translation of the Bible.

Political and religious tensions intensified under James's son, Charles I, who succeeded to the throne in 1625. Between 1629 and 1638, Charles attempted to rule without Parliament. Charles married the French princess Henrietta Maria, who promoted a conversion back to Catholicism. The appointment of William Laud as the archbishop of Canterbury further alienated Puritans, as Laud aligned the doctrine and ceremonies of the English church with Roman Catholicism. In 1642 a Civil War broke out between the king's forces and armies loyal to the House of Commons. The conflict ended with Charles's defeat and beheading in 1649. In the 1650s, as "Lord Protector," Oliver Cromwell wielded power nearly as autocratically as Charles had done. In 1660, Parliament invited the old king's son, Charles II, home from exile. Yet the twenty-year period between 1640 and 1660 had seen the emergence of concepts that would remain central to bourgeois thought for centuries to come: religious toleration, separation of church and state, freedom from press censorship, and popular sovereignty. Among the more radical voices to emerge in the period were those of Roger Williams, who advocated religious toleration, the Leveller, John Lilburne, who advocated universal male suffrage, and the Digger, Gerrard Winstanley, who advocated Christian communism.

Early seventeenth-century writers such as John Donne, Ben Jonson, and Robert Burton inherited a system of knowledge founded on analogy, order, and hierarchy. In this system, a monarch was like God, the ruler of the universe, and also like a father, the head of the family. Yet this conceptual system was beginning to crumble in the face of the scientific and empirical approach to knowledge advocated by Francis Bacon. William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of blood and Galileo's demonstration that the earth revolved around the sun disrupted long-held certainties. As ideas changed, so did the conditions of their dissemination. Although elite poets like John Donne often preferred to circulate their works in manuscript, the printing of all kinds of literary works was becoming more common. Printers and acting companies were obliged to submit works to the censor before public presentation, and those who flouted the censorship laws were subject to heavy punishment. Since overt criticism or satire of the great was dangerous, political writing before the Civil War was apt to be oblique and allegorical.

In the early seventeenth century, John Donne, Ben Jonson, and George Herbert led the shift towards "new" poetic genres. These included classical elegy and satire, epigram, verse epistle, meditative religious lyric, and the country-house poem. Jonson distinguished himself as an acute observer of urban manners. He mentored a group of younger poets, including Herrick and Carew, known as the Tribe or Sons of Ben. Donne's poetry concerns itself not with a crowded social panorama, but with a dyad—the speaker and either a woman, or God. Donne delights in making the overlap between sexual and religious love seem new and shocking, and he has been regarded as a founder of "Metaphysical" poetry. Among the "Metaphysical poets" Herbert, with his complex religious sensibility wedded to great artistic sensibility, had a profound influence on younger poets like Crashaw and Vaughan. The reigns of the first two Stuart kings also marked the entry of women in some numbers into authorship and publication.

The Civil War was disastrous for the English theater, with the closure of the playhouses in 1642. Many leading poets were staunch royalists, or Cavaliers, who suffered heavily in the war years. Yet two of the best writers of the period, John Milton and Andrew Marvell, sided with the republic. Marvell's conflictual world-view is unmistakably a product of the Civil War decades. Milton's loyalty to the revolution remained unwavering despite his disillusion when it failed to realize his ideals. The revolutionary era also gave new impetus to women's writing on both sides of the political divide.

TimeLine

of the

Early Seventeenth

Century

English Literature

The Early Seventeenth Century

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1603 James I, *Basilikon Doran* reissued	1603 Death of Elizabeth I; accession of James I. Plague
1604 William Shakespeare, *Othello*	
1605 Shakespeare, *King Lear.* Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Blackness.* Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*	1605 Gunpowder Plot, failed effort by Roman Catholic extremists to blow up Parliament
1606 Jonson, *Volpone.* Shakespeare, *Macbeth*	
	1607 Founding of Jamestown colony in Virginia
1609 Shakespeare, *Sonnets*	1609 Galileo's telescope
1611 "King James" Bible (Authorized Version). Shakespeare, *The Tempest.* John Donne, *The First Anniversary.* Aemilia Lanyer, *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*	
1612 Donne, *The Second Anniversary*	1612 Death of Prince Henry
1613 Elizabeth Cary, *The Tragedy of Mariam*	
1614 John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*	
1616 Jonson, *Works.* James I, *Works*	1616 Death of Shakespeare
	1618 Beginning of the Thirty Years War
	1619 First African slaves in North America exchanged by Dutch frigate for food and supplies at Jamestown
1620 Bacon, *Novum Organum*	1620 Pilgrims land at Plymouth
1621 Mary Wroth, *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania.* Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*	1621 Donne appointed dean of St. Paul's Cathedral
1623 Shakespeare, First Folio	
	1625 Death of James I; accession of Charles I; Charles I marries Henrietta Maria
	1629 Charles I dissolves Parliament
1633 Donne, *Poems.* George Herbert, *The Temple*	1633 Galileo forced by the Inquisition to recant the Copernican theory
1637 John Milton, *Lycidas*	
1640 Thomas Carew, *Poems*	1640 Long Parliament called (1640-53). Archbishop Laud impeached
1642 Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici.* Milton, *Reason of Church Government*	1642 First Civil War begins (1642-46). Parliament closes the theaters
1643 Milton, *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*	1643 Accession of Louis XIV of France
1644 Milton, *Areopagitica*	
1645 Milton, *Poems.* Edmund Waller, *Poems*	1645 Archbishop Laud executed. Royalists defeated at Naseby
1648 Robert Herrick, *Hesperides*	1648 Second Civil War. Pride's Purge of Parliament
1649 Milton, *Eikonoklastes*	1649 Trial and execution of Charles I. Republic declared. Milton becomes Latin Secretary (1649-59)
1650 Henry Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans* (Part II, 1655)	
1651 Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan.* Andrew Marvell, *Upon Appleton House* (unpublished)	
	1652 Dutch War (1652-53)
	1653 Cromwell made Lord Protector
	1658 Death of Cromwell; his son Richard made Protector
1660 Milton, *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free*	1660 Restoration of Charles II to throne. Royal

Commonwealth	Society founded
	1662 Charles II marries Catherine of Braganza
	1665 The Great Plague
1666 Margaret Cavendish, *The Blazing World*	**1666** The Great Fire
1667 Milton, *Paradise Lost* (in ten books). Katherine Philips, *Collected Poems.* John Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*	
1671 Milton, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*	
1674 Milton, *Paradise Lost* (in twelve books)	**1674** Death of Milton
1681 Marvell, *Poems,* published posthumously	

1. Who succeeded Elizabeth I in 1603, establishing the Stuart dynasty?

- **a)** James IV of Scotland
- ⦿ **b)** James VI of Scotland
- **c)** Mary, Queen of Scots
- **d)** Anne Boleyn
- **e)** Charles II

2. James I liked to imagine himself as a modern version of which ruler?

- **a)** Pericles
- **b)** Genghis Khan
- **c)** Richard Lionheart
- **d)** William the Conqueror
- ⦿ **e)** Augustus Caesar

3. Which writer was not active under both Elizabeth I and James I?

- **a)** William Shakespeare
- **b)** Ben Jonson
- **c)** John Donne
- **d)** Francis Bacon
- ⦿ **e)** John Milton

4. Which of the following was characteristic of the court of James I?

- **a)** gluttonous feasting
- **b)** hard drinking
- **c)** hunting
- **d)** financial heedlessness
- ⦿ **e)** all of the above

5. What was the intended target of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605?

- **a)** Westminster Abbey
- **b)** Tower Bridge
- ⦿ **c)** the Houses of Parliament
- **d)** Buckingham Palace

○   **e)** the Tower of London

6. Which of the following colonial ventures took place in the reign of James I (1603-25)?

○   **a)** the founding of the Jamestown settlement

○   **b)** the founding of the Plymouth colony

○   **c)** Henry Hudson's fruitless search for the Northwest Passage

○   **d)** the establishment of England's first foothold in India by the East India Company

◉   **e)** all of the above

7. Which of the following was not a cause associated with militant Protestant reformers (Puritans, Presbyterians, and separatists)?

○   **a)** the pursuit of a more confrontational policy towards Catholic powers

○   **b)** the elimination of bishops

○   **c)** the right of congregations to choose their own leaders

◉   **d)** the wider use of religious images in churches

○   **e)** to eliminate the "popish" elements of the worship

8. The idea that God predestines human beings to be saved or damned is associated with which Protestant reformer?

○   **a)** Martin Luther

◉   **b)** John Calvin

○   **c)** Henry VIII

○   **d)** Arminius

○   **e)** Augustine

9. What historical figure promoted the rapid growth of a high Anglican faction within the church whose ceremony, ritual, and doctrine more closely resembled Roman Catholicism?

○   **a)** William Collins

◉   **b)** William Laud

○   **c)** William Shakespeare

○   **d)** William Tyndale

○   **e)** William Perkins

10. Which of the following was not one of the four bodily humours?

○ **a)** choler

○ **b)** blood

◉ **c)** cholesterol

○ **d)** black bile

○ **e)** phlegm

11. Which poet was a member of the powerful and culturally influential Sidney family?

○ **a)** Ben Jonson

○ **b)** Aemilia Lanyer

○ **c)** Samuel Daniel

◉ **d)** Mary Wroth

○ **e)** George Herbert

12. What was the licensing system?

○ **a)** All royalties from the sale of books went to the crown (hence the name).

○ **b)** Poets were required to have a university diploma (the original "poetic license").

○ **c)** All books had to be dedicated to a noble or royal patron.

○ **d)** Books could be recalled and burned on the basis of anonymous complaints.

◉ **e)** All books had to be submitted for official approval before publication.

13. Which was not among the ew" genres promoted by poets such as Jonson, Donne, and Herbert?

◉ **a)** the Petrarchan sonnet

○ **b)** the classical satire

○ **c)** the country-house poem

○ **d)** the epigram

○ **e)** the verse epistle

14. Which of the following plays was not authored by Shakespeare in the Jacobean period?

○ **a)** *Othello*

◉ **b)** *Volpone*

○ **c)** *The Tempest*

○ **d)** *King Lear*

○ **e)** *Antony and Cleopatra*

15. Which poem testifies to the profound doubts and uncertainties attending Donne's conversion from Catholicism to Protestantism?

   ○ **a)** "Air and Angels"

   ◉ **b)** "Satire 3"

   ○ **c)** "The Apparition"

   ○ **d)** "The Indifferent"

   ○ **e)** "You Don't Change Horses in the Middle of the Stream"

16. What major new prose genre emerged in the Jacobean era?

   ○ **a)** the novel

   ○ **b)** the sermon

   ◉ **c)** the familiar essay

   ○ **d)** the diary

   ○ **e)** the intimate essay

17. Which of the following female authors of the Jacobean era wrote a work that became the "first" of its kind to be published by an English woman?

   ○ **a)** Rachel Speght

   ○ **b)** Aemilia Lanyer

   ○ **c)** Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland

   ○ **d)** Lady Mary Wroth

   ◉ **e)** all of the above

18. Which of the following was *not* an expressed objective of the "Long Parliament" when it convened in 1640?

   ○ **a)** abolishing extra-legal taxes and courts

   ◉ **b)** mounting a revolution and executing the king

   ○ **c)** bringing to trial the king's hated ministers, Strafford and Laud

   ○ **d)** remaining in session until they themselves agreed to disband

   ○ **e)** securing Parliament's rights in the face of the king's absolutism

19. Which religious radical advocated the civic toleration of all religions, including Catholicism, Judaism, and Islam?

- ○ **a)** John Lilburne
- ○ **b)** William Laud
- ◉ **c)** Roger Williams
- ○ **d)** Oliver Cromwell
- ○ **e)** Lucy Hutchinson

20. Which group of radicals got their name from their penchant for rambling prophecy?

- ○ **a)** the Fifth Monarchists
- ○ **b)** the Roarers
- ○ **c)** the Diggers
- ○ **d)** the Quakers
- ◉ **e)** the Ranters

21. Who served as Protector under England's first written constitution?

- ○ **a)** Gerrard Winstanley
- ◉ **b)** Oliver Cromwell
- ○ **c)** Praisegod Barebone
- ○ **d)** William of Orange
- ○ **e)** George Monk

22. Restored to the throne in 1660, Charles II ruled:

- ○ **a)** with an absolute prerogative his father would have envied.
- ○ **b)** through a system of draconian military courts.
- ◉ **c)** with deference to Parliament's legislative supremacy.
- ○ **d)** only a small area around London and Oxford.
- ○ **e)** Norway.

23. What was one of the first acts of Parliament after the outbreak of hostilities in the First Civil War?

- ◉ **a)** the abolishment of public plays and sports
- ○ **b)** the conversion of the English church to Catholicism
- ○ **c)** the adoption of English as the official language
- ○ **d)** the consolidation of power in an absolute monarch
- ○ **e)** the declaration of war against Spain

24. Which of the following themes or subjects was *not* common in the works of Cavalier poets, such as Thomas Carew, Sir John Denham, Edmund Walter, Sir John Suckling, James Shirely, Richard Lovelace, and Robert Herrick?

    ○ **a)** courtly ideals of the good life

    ○ **b)** *carpe diem*

    ○ **c)** loyalty to the king

    ◉ **d)** pious devotion to religious virtues

    ○ **e)** hospitality

25. What was the general subject of the Welsh poet Katherine Philips's work?

    ○ **a)** celebrations of the transience of all life and beauty

    ○ **b)** celebrations of lesbian sexuality in terms that did not imply a male readership

    ○ **c)** celebrations of religious ecstasy and divine inspiration

    ◉ **d)** celebrations of female friendship in Platonic terms normally reserved for male friendships

    ○ **e)** celebrations of an intense longing for past biblical eras of innocence and for the perfection of heaven

26. What was the tile of Thomas Hobbes's defense of absolute sovereignty based on a theory of social contract?

    ○ **a)** *The Litany in a Time of Plague*

    ○ **b)** *Utopia*

    ◉ **c)** *Leviathan*

    ○ **d)** *The Advancement of Learning*

    ○ **e)** *The Obedience of a Christian Man*

27. What is the delicate balancing act of Marvell's "Horatian Ode"?

    ○ **a)** praising Roman virtues whilst endorsing Christian beliefs

    ○ **b)** praising feminine virtue whilst mocking the fixation on chastity

    ◉ **c)** celebrating Cromwell's victories whilst inviting sympathy for the executed king

    ○ **d)** celebrating the Restoration whilst regretting the frivolity of the new regime

    ○ **e)** satirizing John Milton whilst appearing to praise him

28. Which of the following did Milton not advocate in print in the 1640s and 1650s?

    ○ **a)** the disestablishment of the church and the removal of bishops

    ○ **b)** the right of the people to dismiss and even execute their rulers

    ○ **c)** the free circulation of ideas without prior censorship

○ **d)** the right to divorce on the grounds of incompatibility

⦿ **e)** the restoration of the monarchy

29. Who authored the scholarly biography, *Life of Donne*?

⦿ **a)** Izaak Walton

○ **b)** Katherine Philips

○ **c)** John Skelton

○ **d)** Isabella Whitney

○ **e)** Aemilia Lanyer

30. What is the title to Milton's blank-verse epic that assimilates and critiques the epic tradition?

○ **a)** *L'Allegro*

○ **b)** *Lycidas*

⦿ **c)** *Paradise Lost*

○ **d)** *The Divine Comedy*

○ **e)** *The Beggar's Opera*

Restoration and Eighteenth Century

1) Introduction to Restoration and the Eighteenth Century

The period between 1660 and 1785 was a time of amazing expansion for England — or for "Great Britain," as the nation came to be called after an Act of Union in 1707 joined Scotland to England and Wales. Britain became a world power, an empire on which the sun never set. But it also changed internally. The world seemed different in 1785. A sense of new, expanding possibilities — as well as modern problems — transformed the daily life of the British people, and offered them fresh ways of thinking about their relations to nature and to each other. Hence literature had to adapt to circumstances for which there was no precedent. The topics in this Restoration and Eighteenth Century section of Norton Topics Online review crucial departures from the past — alterations that have helped to shape our own world.

One lasting change was a shift in population from the country to the town. "A Day in Eighteenth-Century London" shows the variety of diversions available to city-dwellers. At the same time, it reveals how far the life of the city, where every daily newspaper brought new sources of interest, had moved from traditional values. Formerly the tastes of the court had dominated the arts. In the film *Shakespeare in Love*, when Queen Elizabeth's nod decides by itself the issue of what can be allowed on the stage, the exaggeration reflects an underlying truth: the monarch stands for the nation. But the eighteenth century witnessed a turn from palaces to pleasure gardens that were open to anyone with the price of admission. New standards of taste were set by what the people of London wanted, and art joined with commerce to satisfy those desires. Artist William Hogarth made his living not, as earlier painters had done, through portraits of royal and noble patrons, but by selling his prints to a large and appreciative public. London itself — its beauty and horror, its ever-changing moods — became a favorite subject of writers.
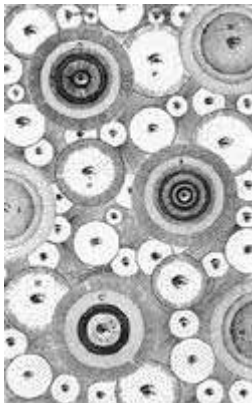
The sense that everything was changing was also sparked by a revolution in science. In earlier periods, the universe had often seemed a small place, less than six thousand years old, where a single sun moved about the earth, the center of the cosmos. Now time and space exploded, the microscope and telescope opened new fields of vision, and the "plurality of worlds," as this topic is called, became a doctrine endlessly repeated. The authority of Aristotle and Ptolemy was broken; their systems could not explain what Galileo and Kepler saw in the heavens or what Hooke and Leeuwenhoek saw in the eye of a fly. As discoveries multiplied, it became clear that the moderns knew things of which the ancients had been ignorant. This challenge to received opinion was thrilling as well as disturbing. In *Paradise Lost*, Book 8, the angel Raphael warns Adam to think about what concerns him, not to dream about other worlds. Yet, despite the warning voiced by Milton through Raphael, many later writers found the new science inspiring. It gave them new images to conjure with and new possibilities of fact and fiction to explore.

Meanwhile, other explorers roamed the earth, where they discovered hitherto unknown countries and ways of life. These encounters with other peoples often proved vicious. The trade and conquests that made European powers like Spain and Portugal immensely rich also brought the scourge of racism and colonial exploitation. In the eighteenth century, Britain's expansion into an empire was fueled by slavery and the slave trade, a source of profit that belied the national self-image as a haven of liberty and turned British people against one another. Rising prosperity at home had been built on inhumanity across the seas. This topic, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in Britain," looks at the experiences of African slaves as well as at British reactions to their suffering and cries for freedom. At the end of the eighteenth century, as many writers joined the abolitionist campaign, a new humanitarian ideal was forged. The modern world invented by the eighteenth century brought suffering along with progress. We still live with its legacies today.

Restoration and the Eighteenth Century

2) A day in Eighteenth-Century London

When John Dryden envisioned London rising from the Great Fire of 1666 to its destiny as one of the great cities of the world (*NAEL* 8, 1.2085), he foresaw what would actually happen. During the following century, the population doubled, from 400,000 to 800,000. But still more, the cultural and commercial life of Britain and its empire increasingly centered on London. Though a vast majority of English people continued to work at farming, it was the city that set the tone for business, pleasure, and an emerging consumer society. "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life," according to Samuel Johnson; "for there is in London all that life can afford."

With so much to see and do, a day in eighteenth-century London can be viewed as a microcosm of that world. Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (*NAEL* 8, 1.2514) uses the events of one day in high society, from dawn to dusk, as the comic equivalent of a full epic action. The low society of London also bombarded the senses. *A Description of the Morning*, by Jonathan Swift, itemizes some typical sights and sounds as the city wakes. All sorts of noise filled the streets; the famous "Cries of London," as vendors hawked their wares, were celebrated in popular prints and songs.

During the day, London was a vast hub of finance, trade, and manufacturing; ships jammed the Thames with traffic from all over the world. But Londoners also found ways to mix business with pleasure. At midday it became the fashion to drop into clublike coffeehouses, to meet friends and cronies and catch up with the news. Another favorite gathering place was "the nave or centre of the town," the Royal Exchange, rebuilt after the fire as a vast mall for shopping and trade. With growing prosperity, London turned into a city where everything was for sale. Its elegant shops dazzled tourists, supplying not only heaps of goods but also a perpetual source of amusement.

In the evening, under the glow of much-improved oil-burning street lights, London came alive with places to go, to see and be seen. Glittering pleasure gardens, especially Vauxhall and Ranelagh, provided luxurious grounds to view works of art, to dance or listen to music, to stroll and mingle and flirt. Varieties of spectacles and shows drew larger and larger crowds, and theaters expanded to meet the competition. At the London playhouses, the audience itself was often part of the entertainment. Nor did the quest for pleasure cease at the witching hour. According to John Gay's *Trivia*, thieves and mischief-makers took over the streets at midnight, ready for a night ramble: "Now is the Time that Rakes their Revells keep; / Kindlers of Riot, Enemies of Sleep." As part of the city woke at dawn, another part was just going to bed.

3) Slavery and The Slave Trade in Britain

In the early 1660s, when the events described in Behn's *Oroonoko* (*NAEL* 8, 1.2183) are supposed to have taken place, England was not yet a major power in the slave trade. Portugal had been actively engaged in the traffic in African slaves for more than two centuries; Spain had built a lucrative sugar empire by importing slave labor to the New World; and as early as the 1560s, the English captain John Hawkins had plundered slaves from Africa and Latin America. But only in 1660, when Charles II helped found a new company, the Royal Adventurers into Africa, did England fully enter the trade. The first ships took slaves from the African Gold Coast (Guinea) to Surinam and Barbados, a flourishing sugar island in the Caribbean; by the early eighteenth century, the leading colony for sugar and slaves was Jamaica. The trade continued to grow. In 1713 Great Britain was awarded the contract (*asiento*) to import slaves to the Spanish Indies, and the South Sea Company, which bought the contract, excited frenzied speculation. This was a risky business, but the profits could be immense. Bristol, then Liverpool, developed into prosperous slave ports, trading manufactured goods to Africa for human cargo, which crossed the Atlantic on ships that returned to England with sugar and money. By the 1780s, when Britain shipped a third of a million slaves to the New World, the national economy depended on the trade.

The human cost was terrible. Though slavery in Africa had long been common, the deadly voyage — the Middle Passage — across the Atlantic made it something unfamiliar, brutal, unendurable. Torn from their homes, slaves were often packed into spaces too small to allow them to turn, with barely enough food and drink and air to keep them alive. It is estimated that 10 percent, on average, died on each crossing; on a bad voyage the figure might rise above 30 percent. Revolts and mutinies were common, though seldom successful (since the slaves had nowhere to go), and were ruthlessly punished. Nor did those slaves who survived the crossing feel fortunate for long. On the labor-intensive Caribbean sugar plantations, so many died that new shiploads were constantly needed (the situation was different in North America, where slaves lived on to reproduce and grow in numbers). Black people also lost their ties to the cultures in which they had been born. Mixed together from different regions of Africa, without a common language or background, they came to be identified merely by the color of their skin. It was convenient for owners of slaves to regard them as less than human.

The loss of humanity rebounded on Britain as well. The English had long regarded themselves as a people uniquely devoted to liberty, whose spirit was embodied in the rights of Magna Carta (1215). James Thomson spoke for patriotic pride in the chorus of "Rule, Britannia" (*NAEL* 8, 1.2840): "Rule, *Britannia*, rule the waves; / *Britons* never will be slaves."

But British rule meant slavery for others. The deep contradictions of this position were reflected in the political philosophy of John Locke and the interpretations of law by William Blackstone. Some Britons avoided shame by arguing that slavery had uplifted negroes, since it had introduced them to Christianity and civilization; one African American poet, Phillis Wheatley, expressed her gratitude for this conversion. But many Britons were troubled. Humanitarian feelings grew in strength throughout the later eighteenth century. A famous, sentimental exchange of letters between the black writer Ignatius Sancho and Laurence Sterne, the author of *Tristram Shandy*, displays their mutual sympathy for the victims of the slave trade. Such cruelty was a libel on human nature.

By the 1780s a wave of abolitionist fervor swept through Great Britain, led by the Quakers and, in Parliament, by William Wilberforce (1759–1833). The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, founded in 1787, inspired many abolitionist poets to join the campaign. A few years later the French Revolution, and the wars that followed, caused a conservative backlash in Britain. Boswell, who had earlier argued the case for slavery against Samuel Johnson (*NAEL* 8, 1.2849), wrote a poem advocating "No Abolition of Slavery" in 1791. But Wilberforce won in the end, and a bill abolishing the British slave trade became law in 1807. That did not, of course, put an end to illegal trade, let alone slavery itself. The conflict between boasts of liberty and the enslavement of human beings passed from Britain to America, where its consequences would be written in blood. Yet the eighteenth century, which witnessed the high tide of the slave trade, also gave rise to the ideals of freedom, equality, and human rights that led to its doom.

# *Restoration and the Eighteenth Century*

4) The Plurality of Worlds

I saw new worlds beneath the water lie,
New people, and another sky.

— Thomas Traherne, *On Leaping over the Moon* (*NAEL* 8, 1.1772)

Human beings have always dreamed about other worlds, but in the seventeenth century many writers and artists began to *see* them. An age of exploration helped bring about this giant leap in perspective. Since 1492, the New World had become an established fact, and the encounter of Europeans with other peoples and cultures revealed that other ways of life were possible, perhaps even satisfying. More and more well-defined places filled the empty stretches on the map of the earth. Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) reflects — and mocks — this interest in distant regions and outlandish customs, alternatives or mirror images of Old World civilization. But the most amazing discoveries came from those who stayed at home and looked through novel instruments, the microscope and telescope. There, in a drop of water or the endless reach of the heavens, they found what human beings had never seen before: innumerable, incredible new worlds.

These vistas changed humanity's view of itself, as a species at the center of the universe, with all other things and beings proportioned to the visible, inhabited world — a comfortable human scale of values. Perhaps we were not so important after all; perhaps these new microscopic and cosmic worlds had their own inhabitants and justifications. This thought could be terrifying. Imagining himself engulfed between infinity and nothingness, the great French scientist and theologian Blaise Pascal expressed the terror of the interstellar spaces. Yet other writers enjoyed their contemplation of the infinite plurality of worlds within us and around us. The possibility of traveling there, at least in imagination, could liberate the mind from its dull rounds, from custom and authority; science could be as exciting as science fiction. To Margaret Cavendish, the duchess of Newcastle, the multiplication of worlds was second nature — not least because women as well as men could imagine worlds that were better suited to what they desired.
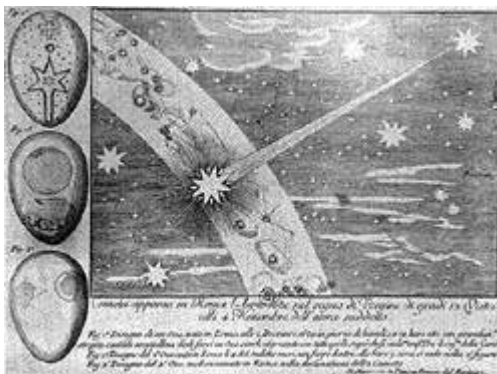
The fascination of seeing strange creatures and patterns beneath the microscope — "To see a World in a Grain of Sand," as William Blake recommended — or of looking deeper into the sky also made science accessible to the public. Knowledge was charming; it could provide new sources of pleasure. One of the most popular books of the age, in England as well as France, was Fontenelle's *Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds* (1686), in which a philosopher explains the universe to a beautiful and intelligent, though uninformed, marquise. The line between the professional scientist (or "natural philosopher") and the amateur enthusiast was not yet firm.

Some writers argued that women, because of their natural curiosity and detachment from the business of making a living, could be better than men at scientific pursuits. Hence *The Female Spectator* encouraged ladies to take an active interest in peering through the microscope and telescope.

What was the significance of these new worlds? One common reaction, epitomized by Joseph Addison, was to celebrate the plenitude of God's creation, which crammed each bit of space, both great and small, with spirit and life and being. Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* (*NAEL* 8, 1.2541–48) and Christopher Smart's *Song to David* both glory in the fruitfulness and generosity of the divine. Similarly, James Thomson's *Seasons* (*NAEL* 8, 1.2860–62) describe an English day from every perspective, whether vast or minute. Extraterrestrial life became an article of faith for many scientists, like the great Dutch physicist Christiaan Huygens. But other writers took a more skeptical view of the new philosophy. Samuel Butler, Cavendish, and Swift all ridiculed the scientific establishment embodied by the Royal Society; in one of Butler's poems, an elephant spied in the moon turns out to be a mouse caught in the telescope. More down to earth, the thresher poet Stephen Duck related mites to men.

Investigations of the worlds of the microbe and atom, the solar system and the Milky Way, eventually changed the conditions of life on earth. In literature, however, perhaps the most lasting effect was a new sense that reality has many different faces, that each of us might inhabit a different world. When the novelist Laurence Sterne recounted *A Dream* of the plurality of worlds, the hope and panic of his dream expressed the feelings of his century and those of centuries to come.

5) Travel, Trade, and the Expansion of Empire
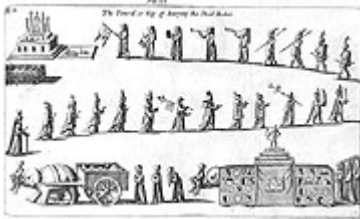
The international man of mystery who styled himself George Psalmanazar is perhaps the eighteenth century's most notorious impostor. Psalmanzar (c. 1680–1763), who was likely born in the south of France, successfully posed as a native of the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan) in British society for three years. His public displays of "Formosan" behavior and discourses on fictional "Formosan" religious practices eventually culminated in a popular but spurious travelogue entitled *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa, An Island Subject to the Emperor of Japan* (1704; expanded second edition, 1705). In this entertaining book, Psalmanazar "explains" to the reader such aspects of Formosan life as wedding and funeral ceremonies and the Formosan language, based on an elaborate alphabet which he had designed himself, and which he was invited to teach to Oxford students. Amidst growing scepticism regarding the authenticity of his narrative, Psalmanazar was forced to reveal his deception in 1706.
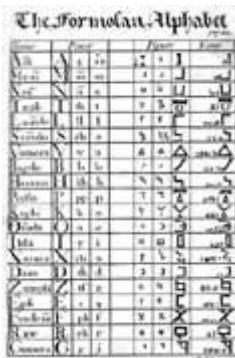
Why should we consider the history of George Psalmanazar to be the substance of anything more than an amusing footnote? As Jack Lynch and other scholars have noted, Psalmanazar's forgeries are not unique in the eighteenth century. One could easily point to his fellow fakers: James Macpherson (1736–1796), who concocted the Ossian poems (supposedly crafted by an ancient Scottish bard), or Thomas Chatterton (1752–1770), who "discovered" a fifteenth-century English poet, Rowley. While Macpherson's and Chatterton's projects may point to anxieties about British national identity, Psalmanazar's travelogue interests precisely because Britons' initial acceptance of it is symbolic of their hunger for stories of exotic encounters *beyond* Britain's borders. George Psalmanazar's self-representation as a learned foreign traveller is one of many indicators of Britons' increased "planetary consciousness," to borrow Mary Louise Pratt's term for the "construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history" (*Imperial Eyes*, 15). The exposure of the fictional nature of Psalmanazar's travels draws our attention to the way in which all travel narratives may be said to construct meaning.

The selected readings in "Trade, Travel, and the Expansion of Empire" offer one mapping of the ways in which the English language fashioned and was itself fashioned by various categories of travel and trade. One could also discuss, for instance, the talismanic objects on Arabella Fermor's dressing table (see Alexander Pope, "The Rape of the Lock," *NAEL* 8, 1.2514) and trace a material history of common items of trade; or conduct a journey organized along political borders, or one based on chronology, religion, literary genre, gender definition, emotion, aesthetic theory, or some other equally intriguing rubric.

The tour begins with an examination of contemporary meanings of English words relating to travel and trade, as defined in Samuel Johnson's landmark work, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). Johnson's words are both the products of earlier travel narratives and the

means to define new cross-cultural encounters. A second selection from Johnson's works, the essay published as *Idler* No. 97 (1760), or "Narratives of Travellers considered," takes a critical look at travel writing as a genre, and suggests the ways in which it might be improved.

Travelling for the benefit of one's health was a popular eighteenth-century diversion, and the practice is represented in this collection by an account taken from *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (1697), which describes Celia Fiennes's excursions to take the water cure. Although international diplomacy, not health, was the primary reason for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's travels, her observations of health practices in Turkey had significant import for Britons. Two selections from Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* (the 1717 letters concerning the Turkish method of inoculation for the small pox and the Turkish baths) appear here.

Eighteenth-century tourists also realized the educative benefits of travel, and acknowledged the necessity of receiving a sound education at home to achieving a rich travel experience abroad. As Joseph Addison writes in his poem, "A Letter from Italy, to the Right Honourable Charles Lord Halifax in the Year MDCCI," a person's response to foreign peoples and landscapes is conditioned by education and literature at least as much as by the primary senses:

> For wheresoe'er I turn my ravish'd eyes,
> Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise,
> Poetic fields encompass me around,
> And still I seem to tread on classic ground;
> For here the Muse so oft her harp has strung
> That not a mountain rears its head unsung,
> Renown'd in verse each shady thicket grows,
> And ev'ry stream in heavenly numbers flows. (Lines 9–16)

Nowhere was the imaginative collusion of landscape and literature rendered more visible than on the Grand Tour, as Bruce Redford has observed. The first of three contemporary views of the Grand Tour is a prescriptive parental letter from Philip Dormer Stanhope, Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, to his son Philip Stanhope (1749), then in Turin. Next, William Beckford rapturously charts the correspondence of Roman history and Roman landscape in a letter from his work, *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents, in a Series of Letters, from Various Parts of Europe* (1783). Third, a dialogue from *The Gentleman's Pocket Companion, for Travelling into Foreign Parts* (1723) offers a practical perspective on the borders of language.

Voyages for the purpose of scientific and geographic discovery — popular reading amongst merchants and aristocrats alike — demonstrate the material and cultural importance of trade and exploration to Britons. Here the reader may contrast extracts from James Cook's private journals from the voyage of the *Endeavour* (1768–1771) with the polished-for-publication work of Cook's protégé George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World 1791–1795* (1798). Piracy's threat to British naval traffic is represented too in the figure of Blackbeard, as depicted in *A General History of the Robberies and Murders of the Most Notorious Pyrates* (1724) by "Captain Charles Johnson." Similarly, English readers' growing sense of the importance of individual liberty produced a fearful

fascination in captivity narratives, such as that written by Joseph Pitts: *A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans* (1704).

As international companies such as the East India and the Hudson Bay Company expanded globally throughout the eighteenth century, there was opportunity for increased contact with cultural groups who possessed systems of writing — the form of literature recognized and privileged by Europeans. Curiosity, admiration, and the exigencies of trade produced a marked interest in translating, understanding, and sometimes exploiting "other" extant literatures. Sir William "Oriental" Jones's translation of "A Persian Song of *Hafiz*" and the four ashlogues translated by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed in *A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits* (1776) illustrate some of these impulses at work. The final act of translation apparent in eighteenth-century writing about travel and trade is that of imagining, and in some cases appropriating, the position of the "other." Oliver Goldsmith, in a letter from *The Citizen of the World* (1760–1761), strategically occupies the stance of "foreigner" in order to satirize Britain's domestic political problems.

Ultimately, the expansion of empire that occurred during the eighteenth century cannot be mapped only by meridians crossed, acres gained, or flags planted; it exists, too, in records of the imaginative commerce that passed between place and the written word.

6) Summary of The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century

Notes:

- The Restoration and the eighteenth century brought vast changes to the island of Great Britain, which became a single nation after 1707.
- The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 brought hope to a divided nation, but no political settlement could be stable until religious issues had been resolved.
- The long reign of George III (1760-1820) saw both the emergence of Britain as a colonial power and the cry for a new social order based on liberty and radical reform.
- The widespread devotion to direct observation of experience established empiricism, as employed by John Locke, as the dominant intellectual attitude of the age.
- Publishing boomed in eighteenth-century Britain, in part because of a loosening of legal restraints on printing.
- The literature appearing between 1660 and 1785 divides conveniently into three lesser periods of about forty years each.

Summaries

The Restoration and the eighteenth century brought vast changes to the island of Great Britain, which became a single nation after 1707. The national population nearly doubled in the period, reaching ten million. Change came most dramatically to cities: in London, new theaters, coffeehouses, concert halls, pleasure gardens, picture exhibitions and shopping districts gave life a feeling of bustle and friction. Civil society also linked people to an increasingly global economy, as they shopped for diverse goods from around the world.

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 brought hope to a divided nation, but no political settlement could be stable until religious issues had been resolved. In the 1660s, parliament reimposed the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* and barred Nonconformists from holding religious meetings outside of the established church. The jails were filled with preachers like John Bunyan who refused to be silenced. A series of religion-fuelled crises forced Charles to dissolve Parliament, and led to the division of the country between two new political parties: Tories, who supported the king, and the Whigs, the king's opponents. Neither party proved able to live with the Catholic James II, who came to the throne in 1685 and was soon accused of filling the government and army with his coreligionists. Secret negotiations paved the way for the Dutchman William of Orange, a champion of Protestantism and the husband of James's Protestant daughter Mary. For more than half a century some loyal Jacobites (from Latin *Jacobus*, James), especially in Scotland, continued to support the deposed James II and his heirs. Nonetheless, the coming of William and Mary in 1688—the so-called Glorious Revolution—came to be seen as the beginning of a stabilized, unified Great Britain. The 1689 Bill of Rights limited the powers of the Crown and reaffirmed the supremacy of Parliament, while the Toleration Act of the same year granted a limited freedom of worship to Dissenters (though not to Catholics or Jews).

In the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13), England and its allies defeated France and Spain. As these commercial rivals were weakened and war gains including new colonies flowed in, the Whig lords and London merchants supporting the war grew rich. In the eighteenth century, the Whigs generally stood for the new "moneyed interest," while the Tories stood for tradition, affirming landownership as the proper basis of wealth, power and privilege. The long reign of George III (1760-1820) saw both the emergence of Britain as a colonial power and the cry for a new social order based on liberty and radical reform. The wealth brought to England by industrialism and foreign trade had not spread to the great mass of the poor. New forms of religious devotion sprang up amid Britain's material success. The campaign to abolish slavery and the slave trade was driven largely by a passion to save souls.

Following the Restoration, French and Italian musicians, as well as painters from the Low Countries, migrated to England, contributing to a revolution in aesthetic tastes. The same period witnessed the triumph of the scientific revolution; Charles II chartered the Royal Society for the Improving of Human Knowledge in 1662. Encounters with little known societies in the Far East, Africa, and the Americas enlarged Europeans' understanding of human norms. The widespread devotion to direct observation of experience established empiricism, as employed by John Locke, as the dominant intellectual attitude of the age. Yet perhaps the most momentous new intellectual movement was a powerful strain of feminism, championed by Mary Astell. The old hierarchical system had tended to subordinate individuals to their social rank or station. By the end of the eighteenth century many issues of politics and the law had come to revolve around rights, rather than traditions.

Publishing boomed in eighteenth-century Britain, in part because of a loosening of legal restraints on printing. The rise in literacy was also a factor; by the end of the eighteenth century 60-70 percent of men could read, with a smaller but still significant percentage of women. The literary market began to sustain the first true professional class of authors in British history. Aphra Behn was the first woman to make her living from writing, though she and successors like Delarivier Manley and Eliza Haywood were denounced for their scandalous works and lives.

The literature appearing between 1660 and 1785 divides conveniently into three lesser periods of about forty years each. The first, extending to the death of Dryden in 1700 is characterized by an effort to bring a new refinement to English literature according to sound critical principles of what is fine and right. Poetry and prose come to be characterized by an easy, sociable style, while in the theater comedy is triumphant. The second period, ending with the deaths of Pope in 1744 and Swift in 1745, reaches out to a wider circle of readers, with special satirical attention to what is unfitting and wrong. Deeply conservative but also playful, the finest works of this brilliant generation of writers cast a strange light on modern times by viewing them through the screen of classical myths and forms. The third period, concluding with the death of Johnson in 1784 and the publication of Cowper's *The Task* in 1785, confronts the old principles with revolutionary ideas that would come to the fore in the Romantic period. A respect for the good judgement of ordinary people, and for standards of taste and behavior independent of social status, marks many writers of the age. Throughout the larger period, what poets most tried to see and represent was *nature*, understood as the universal and permanent elements in human experience.

TimeLine

of the

Restoration

and

Eighteenth

Century

English Literature

The Restoration and the Eighteenth Century

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1660 Samuel Pepys begins his diary.	1660 Charles II restored to the throne. Reopening of the theaters
1662 Samuel Butler, *Hudibras,* part 1	1662 Act of Uniformity requires all clergy to obey the Church of England. Chartering of the Royal Society
	1666 Fire destroys the City of London
1667 John Milton, *Paradise Lost*	
1668 John Dryden, *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*	1668 Dryden becomes Poet Laureate
	1673 Test Act requires all officeholders to swear allegiance to Anglicanism
1678 John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress,* part 1	1678 The "Popish Plot" inflames anti-Catholic feeling
1681 Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*	1681 Charles II dissolves Parliament
	1685 Death of Charles II. James II, his Catholic brother, takes the throne
1687 Sir Isaac Newton, *Principia Mathematica*	
1688 Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*	1688-89 The Glorious Revolution; James II exiled and succeeded by his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William of Orange
1690 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*	
1700 William Congreve, *The Way of the World.* Mary Astell, *Some Reflections upon Marriage*	
	1702 Death of William III; succession of Anne (Protestant daughter of James II)
1704 Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub.* Newton, *Opticks*	
	1707 Act of Union with Scotland
	1710 Tories take power
1711 Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Criticism.* Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele, *The Spectator* (1711-12, 1714)	
	1714 Death of Queen Anne; George I (great-grandson of James I) becomes the first Hanoverian king; Tory government replaced by Whigs
1716 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu writes her letters from Turkey (1716-18)	
1717 Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*	
1719 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*	
	1720 South Sea Bubble collapses
	1721 Robert Walpole comes to power
1726 Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*	
	1727 George I dies; George II succeeds
1728 John Gay, *The Beggar's Opera*	
1733 Pope, *An Essay on Man*	
	1737 Licensing Act censors the stage
1740 Samuel Richardson, *Pamela*	
1742 Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews*	1742 Walpole resigns
1743 Pope, *The Dunciad* (final version). William	

Hogarth, *Marriage A-la-Mode*	
1746 William Collins's *Odes*	**1746** Charles Edward Stuart's defeat at Culloden ends the last Jacobite rebellion
1747 Richardson, *Clarissa*	
	1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle
1749 Fielding, *Tom Jones*	
1751 Thomas Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*	**1751** Robert Clive seizes Arcot, the prelude to English control of India
1755 Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary*	
	1756 Beginning of Seven Years War
1759 Johnson, *Rasselas.* Voltaire, *Candide*	**1759** James Wolfe's capture of Quebec assures British control of Canada
1760 Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy* (1760-67)	**1760** George III succeeds to the throne
1765 Johnson's edition of Shakespeare	
	1768 Captain James Cook voyages to Australia and New Zealand
1770 Oliver Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village*	
	1775 American Revolution (1775-83). James Watt produces steam engines
1776 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*	
1778 Frances Burney, *Evelina*	
1779 Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (1779-81)	
	1780 Gordon Riots in London
1783 George Crabbe, *The Village*	**1783** William Pitt becomes Prime Minister
1785 William Cowper, *The Task*	

1. What happened in 1707 that would forever alter the relationship between England, Wales, and Scotland?

   ○ **a)** the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots

   ○ **b)** the Toleration Act

   ○ **c)** the failed invasion of the Spanish Armada

   ○ **d)** the Bishops' War

   ● **e)** the Act of Union

2. Which of the following was a major factor in the unprecedented economic wealth of Great Britain during the eighteenth century?

   ○ **a)** formal diplomatic relations with China

   ● **b)** the exploitation of colonial resources, labor, and the slave trade

   ○ **c)** the American and French revolutions

   ○ **d)** the creation of the bourgeois novel as a commodity

   ○ **e)** the union of England and Wales with Scotland

3. What was "restored" in 1660?

   ● **a)** the monarchy, in the person of Charles II

   ○ **b)** the dominance of the Tory Party

   ○ **c)** the "Book of Common Prayer"

   ○ **d)** toleration of religious dissidents

   ○ **e)** Irish independence.

4. What literary work best captures a sense of the political turmoil, particularly regarding the issue of religion, just after the Restoration?

   ○ **a)** Gay's *Beggar's Opera*

   ○ **b)** Butler's *Hudibras*

   ○ **c)** Fielding's *Jonathan Wild*

   ○ **d)** Pope's *Dunciad*

   ● **e)** Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*

5. The crisis over the Exclusion Bill effectively divided the country into which two political parties?

   ○ **a)** the Republicans and the Royalists

   ○ **b)** the Royalists and the Whigs

    ⊙   **c)** the Tories and the Whigs

    ○   **d)** the Royalists and the Tories

    ○   **e)** the Whigs and the Republicans

6. Who was deposed from the English throne in the Glorious, or Bloodless, Revolution in 1688?

    ○   **a)** Elizabeth I

    ⊙   **b)** James II

    ○   **c)** George II

    ○   **d)** William and Mary

    ○   **e)** Anne

7. Who became the first "prime minister" of Great Britain in the reign of George II?

    ○   **a)** Henry St. John

    ○   **b)** Robert Harley

    ○   **c)** John Churchill

    ⊙   **d)** Robert Walpole

    ○   **e)** Matthew Prior

8. In the late seventeenth century, a "battle of the books" erupted between which two groups?

    ○   **a)** abolitionists and enthusiasts for slavery

    ○   **b)** round-earthers and flat-earthers

    ○   **c)** the Welsh and the Scots

    ⊙   **d)** champions of ancient and modern learning

    ○   **e)** Oxfordians and Baconians

9. Which of the following best describes the doctrine of empiricism?

    ⊙   **a)** All knowledge is derived from experience.

    ○   **b)** Human perceptions are constructed and reflect structures of political power.

    ○   **c)** The search for essential or ultimate principles of reality.

    ○   **d)** The sensory world is an illusion.

    ○   **e)** God is the center of an ordered and just universe.

10. Against which of the following principles did Jonathan Swift inveigh?

○ **a)** theoretical science

○ **b)** metaphysics

○ **c)** abstract logical deductions

○ **d)** a and b only

◉ **e)** a, b, and c

11. Whose great *Dictionary*, published in 1755, included more than 114,000 quotations?

○ **a)** William Hogarth

○ **b)** Jonathan Swift

◉ **c)** Samuel Johnson

○ **d)** Ben Jonson

○ **e)** James Boswell

12. What drove William Cowper to break down and become a recluse?

◉ **a)** the conviction that he was damned forever

○ **b)** the loss of his fortune in the "South Sea Bubble"

○ **c)** the vindication of Newtonian physics

○ **d)** condemnation of his work by Jeremy Collier

○ **e)** his skewering in Pope's Dunciad

13. According to Samuel Johnson, "No man but a blockhead ever wrote except for...:

○ **a)** love."

○ **b)** honor."

◉ **c)** money."

○ **d)** his party."

○ **e)** fun."

14. Which of the following women exposed themselves to scandal by writing racy stories for the popular press?

○ **a)** Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Wroth, and Elizabeth Cary

◉ **b)** Aphra Behn, Delarivier Manley, and Eliza Haywood

○ **c)** Anne Finch, Anne Killigrew, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

○ **d)** Rachel Speght, Katherine Philips, and Frances Burney

○ **e)** Mary Leapor, Mary Astell, and Mary Shelley

15. What name is given to the English literary period that emulated the Rome of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid?

⦿ **a)** Augustan

○ **b)** Metaphysical

○ **c)** Romantic

○ **d)** Neo-Romantic

○ **e)** Caesarian

16. Horace's doctrine "ut pictura poesis" was interpreted to mean:

○ **a)** A picture is worth a thousand words.

○ **b)** Poetry is the supreme artistic form.

○ **c)** Art should hold a mirror up to nature.

⦿ **d)** Poetry ought to be a visual as well as a verbal art.

○ **e)** Paintings of poets should be prized over those of kings.

17. What was most frequently considered a source of pleasure and an object of inquiry by Augustan poets?

○ **a)** civilization

○ **b)** woman

○ **c)** God

○ **d)** alcohol

⦿ **e)** nature

18. What word did writers in this period use to express quickness of mind, inventiveness, a knack for conceiving images and metaphors and for perceiving resemblances between things apparently unlike?

⦿ **a)** wit

○ **b)** sprezzatura

○ **c)** naturalism

○ **d)** gusto

○ **e)** metaphysics

19. Which of the following was probably not a stock phrase in eighteenth-century poetry?

○ **a)** verdant mead

○ **b)** checkered shade

◉ **c)** simian rivalry

○ **d)** shining sword

○ **e)** bounding main

20. Which metrical form was Pope said to have brought to perfection?

◉ **a)** the heroic couplet

○ **b)** blank verse

○ **c)** free verse

○ **d)** the ode

○ **e)** the spondee

21. Which poet, critic and translator brought England a modern literature between 1660 and 1700?

○ **a)** Addison

○ **b)** Bunyan

○ **c)** Crabbe

◉ **d)** Dryden

○ **e)** Equiano

22. Which of the following is not an example of Restoration comedy?

○ **a)** Etherege's *The Man of Mode*

○ **b)** Wycherley's *The Country Wife*

○ **c)** Behn's *The Rover*

◉ **d)** Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*

○ **e)** Congreve's *Love for Love*

23. Which group of intellectual women established literary clubs of their own around 1750 under the leadership of Elizabeth Vesey and Elizabeth Montagu?

○ **a)** the Behnites

◉ **b)** the bluestockings

○ **c)** the coteries of plenty

○ **d)** the Pre-Raphaelites

○ **e)** the tattlers and spectators

24. Which work exposes the frivolity of fashionable London?

- ○ **a)** Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*
- ○ **b)** Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*
- ○ **c)** Behn's *Oroonoko*
- ○ **d)** Richardson's *Clarissa*
- ◉ **e)** Pope's *The Rape of the Lock*

25. What London locale, where many poor writers lived, became synonymous with hacks and scandal mongers?

- ○ **a)** Elephant and Castle
- ◉ **b)** Grub Street
- ○ **c)** Covent Garden
- ○ **d)** Cheapside
- ○ **e)** Piccadilly Circus

26. With its forbidden themes of incest, murder, necrophilia, atheism, and torments of sexual desire, Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, created which literary genre?

- ○ **a)** the revenge tragedy
- ◉ **b)** the Gothic romance
- ○ **c)** the epistolary novel
- ○ **d)** the comedy of manners
- ○ **e)** the mystery play

27. Which of the following is not indebted to the Gothic genre?

- ○ **a)** William Beckford's *Vathek*
- ○ **b)** Matthew Lewis's *The Monk*
- ◉ **c)** Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Randsom*
- ○ **d)** Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian*
- ○ **e)** William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*

28. While compiling what sort of book did Samuel Richardson conceive of the idea for his *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded*?

- ○ **a)** a history of everyday life
- ○ **b)** an instructional manual for manners
- ○ **c)** a book of devotion

    ◉   **d)** a book of model letters

    ○   **e)** a chapbook

29. Who was the ancient Gaelic warrior-bard considered by Napoleon and Thomas Jefferson to have been greater than Homer?

    ○   **a)** Macpherson

    ○   **b)** Merlin

    ○   **c)** Decameron

    ○   **d)** Taliesin

    ◉   **e)** Ossian

30. Who wrote *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, a novel that abandons clock time for psychological time?

    ○   **a)** Henry Fielding

    ◉   **b)** Laurence Sterne

    ○   **c)** Samuel Richardson

    ○   **d)** Tobias Smollett

    ○   **e)** Jonathan Swift

Romantic Period

Romantic Period 1) Introduction to Romantic Period

In a letter to Byron in 1816, Percy Shelley declared that the French Revolution was "the master theme of the epoch in which we live" — a judgment with which many of Shelley's contemporaries concurred. As one of this period's topics, "The French Revolution: Apocalyptic Expectations," demonstrates, intellectuals of the age were obsessed with the concept of violent and inclusive change in the human condition, and the writings of those we now consider the major Romantic poets cannot be understood, historically, without an awareness of the extent to which their distinctive concepts, plots, forms, and imagery were shaped first by the promise, then by the tragedy, of the great events in neighboring France. And for the young poets in the early years of 1789–93, the enthusiasm for the Revolution had the impetus and high excitement of a religious awakening, because they interpreted the events in France in accordance with the apocalyptic prophecies in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures; that is, they viewed these events as fulfilling the promise, guaranteed by an infallible text, that a short period of retributive and cleansing violence would usher in an age of universal peace and blessedness that would be the equivalent of a restored Paradise. Even after what they considered to be the failure of the revolutionary promise, these poets did not surrender their hope for a radical reformation of humankind and its social and political world; instead, they transferred the basis of that hope from violent political revolution to a quiet but drastic revolution in the moral and imaginative nature of the human race.

"The Gothic," another topic for this period, is also a prominent and distinctive element in the writings of the Romantic Age. The mode had originated in novels of the mid-eighteenth century that, in radical opposition to the Enlightenment ideals of order, decorum, and rational control, had opened to literary exploration the realm of nightmarish terror, violence, aberrant psychological states, and sexual rapacity. In the first Gothic novel, Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), the ominous hero-villain had embodied aspects of Satan, the fallen archangel in Milton's *Paradise Lost*. This satanic strain was developed by later writers and achieved its apotheosis in the creation of a new and important cultural phenomenon, the compulsive, grandiose, heaven-and-hell-defying Byronic hero. In many of its literary products, the Gothic mode manifested the standard setting and events, creaky contrivances, and genteel aim of provoking no more than a pleasurable shudder — a convention Jane Austen satirized in *Northanger Abbey*. Literary Gothicism also, however, produced enduring classics that featured such demonic, driven, and imaginatively compelling protagonists as Byron's Manfred (*NAEL* 8, 2.636–68), Frankenstein's Creature in Mary Shelley's novel, Heathcliff in Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights*, and, in America, Captain Ahab in Melville's *Moby-Dick*.

The topic "*Tintern Abbey*, Tourism, and Romantic Landscape" represents a very different mode, but one that is equally prominent in the remarkably diverse spectrum of Romantic literature. *Tintern Abbey*, written in 1798, is Wordsworth's initial attempt, in the short compass of a lyric poem, at a form he later expanded into the epic-length narrative of

The Prelude. That is, it is a poem on the growth of the poet's mind, told primarily in terms of an evolving encounter between subject and object, mind and nature, which turns on an anguished spiritual crisis (identified in *The Prelude* as occasioned by the failure of the French Revolution) and culminates in the achievement of an integral and assured maturity (specified in *The Prelude* as the recognition by Wordsworth of his vocation as a poet for his crisis-ridden era). In this aspect, *Tintern Abbey* can be considered the succinct precursor, in English literature, of the genre known by the German term *Bildungsgeschichte* — the development of an individual from infancy through psychological stresses and breaks to a coherent maturity. This genre came to include such major achievements as Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* in verse (*NAEL* 8, 2.1092–1106) and James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in prose.

However innovative, in historical retrospect, the content and organization of *Tintern Abbey* may be, a contemporary reader would have approached it as simply one of a great number of descriptive poems that, in the 1790s, undertook to record a tour of picturesque scenes and ruins. There is good evidence, in fact, that, on the walking tour of the Wye valley during which Wordsworth composed *Tintern Abbey*, the poet and his sister carried with them William Gilpin's best-selling tour guide, *Observations on the River Wye . . . Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*. As Gilpin and other travelers point out, the ruined abbey, however picturesque, served as a habitat for beggars and the wretchedly poor; also the Wye, in the tidal portion downstream from the abbey, had noisy and smoky iron-smelting furnaces along its banks, while in some places the water was oozy and discolored. These facts, together with the observation that Wordsworth dated his poem July 13, 1798, one day before the anniversary of the Fall of the Bastille, have generated vigorous controversy about *Tintern Abbey*. Some critics read it as a great and moving meditation on the human condition and its inescapable experience of aging, loss, and suffering. (Keats read it this way — as a wrestling with "the Burden of the Mystery," an attempt to develop a rationale for the fact that "the World is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness and oppression"; see *NAEL* 8, 2.945–47.) Others, however, contend that in the poem, Wordsworth suppresses any reference to his earlier enthusiasm for the French Revolution, and also that — by locating his vantage point in the pristine upper reaches of the Wye and out of sight of the abbey — he avoids acknowledging the spoliation of the environment by industry, and evades a concern with the social realities of unemployment, homelessness, and destitution.

"The Satanic and Byronic Hero," another topic for this period, considers a cast of characters whose titanic ambition and outcast state made them important to the Romantic Age's thinking about individualism, revolution, the relationship of the author—the author of genius especially—to society, and the relationship of poetical power to political power. The fallen archangel Satan, as depicted in Milton's *Paradise Lost*; Napoleon Bonaparte, self-anointed Emperor of the French, Europe's "greatest man" or perhaps, as Coleridge insisted, "the greatest proficient in human destruction that has ever lived"; Lord Byron, or at least Lord Byron in the disguised form in which he presented himself in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *Manfred*, and his Orientalist romances; these figures were consistently grouped together in the public imagination of the Romantic Age. Prompted by radical changes in their systems of political authority and by their experience of a long, drawn-out war in which many of the victories felt like pyrrhic ones, British people during this period felt compelled to rethink the

nature of heroism. One way that they pursued this project was to ponder the powers of fascination exerted by these figures whose self-assertion and love of power could appear both demonic and heroic, and who managed both to incite beholders' hatred and horror and to prompt their intense identifications. In the representations surveyed by this topic the ground is laid, as well, for the satanic strain of nineteenth-century literature and so for some of literary history's most compelling protagonists, from Mary Shelley's creature in *Frankenstein* to Emily Brontë's Heathcliff, to Herman Melville's Captain Ahab.

2) Tintern Abbey, Tourism, and Romantic Landscape

William Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey* (*NAEL* 8, 2.258–62) has been described as a tourist poem in which the center of attraction, the famous ruined abbey, is out of sight "a few miles" downstream; a nature poem in which, after the opening paragraph, there are almost no images of nature; a political poem in which most of the speaker's political, social, and economic beliefs lie unexpressed between the lines; a religious poem in which what seems to be unmediated contact with a pantheistic deity (for example, "we are laid asleep / In body, and become a living soul . . . [and] see into the life of things," lines 45–49) is soberly, even logically, explained in terms of tourist postcard chitchat ("How oft, in spirit, have I turned to thee, / O sylvan Wye," 55–56; "Therefore am I still / A lover of the meadows and the woods," 102–3).

Like all great poems (certainly all those of the Romantic period), *Tintern Abbey* is a texture of contradictions from beginning to end: simultaneously a celebration of and a lament over the speaker's maturing, a depiction of both the harmony and the disharmony of humans and nature, an alternately successful and unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the "two consciousnesses" of the opening lines of book 2 of *The Prelude* (*NAEL* 8, 2.338), and a view of the speaker's and his sister's future that is at once tenderly optimistic and funereal. Several decades ago a critic remarked that it is sometimes difficult, even after many readings, to decide what the poem is primarily about. Wordsworth criticism in the intervening years has not simplified the business. We know that *Tintern Abbey* is about nature, time, mortality, memory, imagination, society, the city, humanity, and God (to list a few of the more frequently mentioned possibilities). But, just as in Wordsworth's own time, it remains the task of the individual reader to sort out the combinations and emphases among these — and this still leaves innumerable problems concerning specific details (as in lines 95–96, "a sense sublime / Of something far more deeply interfused," where the question "more deeply than what?" has no apparent answer).

Wordsworth's contemporaries, whatever else they saw in *Tintern Abbey,* would have immediately placed it in a genre of poems written on tour. The abbey was the centerpiece of the most frequently made British tour of the 1790s (the Wye River valley, the historical border between England and Wales); thousands of travelers, with Gilpin or another guidebook in hand, visited and revisited the picturesque ruin and responded with feeling to the beauties and sublimities of the surrounding nature.

Modern tourism was relatively new at this time. Neoclassic writers who urged that poets and others should "follow nature" were talking about universal law and order, the system of things, or human nature; they were decidedly not thinking about outdoors nature, which was generally condemned as something opposed to civilized life — in the forms of mountains,

oceans, and great rivers, a deviation from the regularity of creation and, for people faced with crossing them, a serious impediment to travel. Mainstream eighteenth-century poets did occasionally write about nature, but almost always for purposes of moral allegory: the "nature" of Pope's *Windsor Forest* symbolizes order and harmony in the universe, and wise readers are enjoined to regulate their lives accordingly.

The mid- and late-eighteenth-century development of sensitiveness to nature and one's physical surroundings was at least partly owing not to the attractiveness of nature itself but to the rise of interest in landscape painting, specifically the works of two seventeenth-century schools, Dutch and Italian, that favored wide and deep prospects, rugged scenery, a blurring mistiness in the distance, classical and medieval ruins, and frequently, in the foreground, the presence of shepherds and other rustic figures. The best-known painters of the Italian school — Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, and Salvator Rosa — were collected by the wealthy but also were made popularly available in sets of engravings with titles like *Beauties of Claude Lorrain*. The eighteenth-century vogue for these artists caused a revolution in landscape gardening, whereby formal arrays of trees, shrubs, paths, and ornaments in geometrical patterns were replaced by "landscape" gardens designed to look, from a specified vantage point, like a scene by Claude or Poussin. Walls and fences were hidden in ditches so as not to obstruct the long view; old ruins were created, Disneylike, on the spot, and servants were engaged to pose as farmers, shepherds, and hermits. The predictable next step was for people to venture out in search of landscapes in nature itself — first with an optical device called a "Claude glass," a tinted convex mirror in which one could compose, over one's shoulder, scenes in nature that resembled paintings by Claude, and then, leaving the mirror behind, confront nature face to face.

This topic illustrates the Romantics' developing interest in nature, as background not only to *Tintern Abbey* and other poems by William Wordsworth but to Coleridge's conversation poems (*This Lime-Tree Bower* and *Frost at Midnight* in particular), Dorothy Wordsworth's journals, Percy Shelley's *Alastor* and *Mont Blanc*, the nature passages of Byron's *Childe Harold*, canto 3 (which Wordsworth read as a "plagiarism" from *Tintern Abbey*!), and Keats's *To Autumn*, among others. Thomas Gray's *Journal in the Lakes*, written in 1769, two decades after his famous *Elegy*, comes near the beginning of the movement out into nature. The Rev. William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye* shows us what travelers, including William and Dorothy Wordsworth, were looking for when they visited Tintern Abbey. Wordsworth's *Guide to the Lakes* praises and minutely describes the region of his birthplace and also laments widespread changes in it resulting from the very "tourists and residents" to whom his guide is addressed. Keats's letter from his 1818 walking tour records excitement at first seeing Lake District mountains mixed with disappointment over Wordsworth's political conservativism. And Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful* provides rudimentary theory to help us understand the writers' consciousness of their mental activities.

These works are not without their political, social, and economic biases, quite apart from the fact that tourism required a degree of liberty and affluence frequently at odds with the

workers and peasants of the places being visited. Gray makes fun of the "flaring gentleman's house" while praising "happy poverty"; several paragraphs of Gilpin describe the "poverty and wretchedness" of the homeless taking shelter near Tintern Abbey, in contrast to the bustling "great iron-works" half a mile away; Wordsworth is much distressed by "gross transgressions" and "disfigurement" resulting from the increase of settlers and consequent prosperity in the Lake District; Keats too mentions "disfigurements," in this case the "miasma" of Londoners — "bucks and soldiers, and women of fashion" — who are, just as he is, traveling through the region. But all alike are interested in the processes of viewing nature creatively, imaginatively, in ways that had been unthinkable in earlier times.

Romantic Period 3) The Gothic

The Gothic begins with later-eighteenth-century writers' turn to the past; in the context of the Romantic period, the Gothic is, then, a type of imitation medievalism. When it was launched in the later eighteenth century, The Gothic featured accounts of terrifying experiences in ancient castles — experiences connected with subterranean dungeons, secret passageways, flickering lamps, screams, moans, bloody hands, ghosts, graveyards, and the rest. By extension, it came to designate the macabre, mysterious, fantastic, supernatural, and, again, the terrifying, especially the *pleasurably* terrifying, in literature more generally. Closer to the present, one sees the Gothic pervading Victorian literature (for example, in the novels of Dickens and the Brontës), American fiction (from Poe and Hawthorne through Faulkner), and of course the films, television, and videos of our own (in this respect, not-so-modern) culture.

The Gothic revival, which appeared in English gardens and architecture before it got into literature, was the work of a handful of visionaries, the most important of whom was Horace Walpole (1717–1797), novelist, letter writer, and son of the prime minister Sir Robert Walpole. In the 1740s Horace Walpole purchased Strawberry Hill, an estate on the Thames near London, and set about remodeling it in what he called "Gothick" style, adding towers, turrets, battlements, arched doors, windows, and ornaments of every description, creating a kind of spurious medieval architecture that survives today mainly in churches, military academies, and university buildings. The project was extremely influential, as people came from all over to see Strawberry Hill and returned to Gothicize their own houses.

When the Gothic made its appearance in literature, Walpole was again a chief initiator, publishing *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), a short novel in which the ingredients are a haunted castle, a Byronic villain (before Byron's time — and the villain's name is Manfred!), mysterious deaths, supernatural happenings, a moaning ancestral portrait, a damsel in distress, and, as the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* puts it, "violent emotions of terror, anguish, and love." The work was tremendously popular, and imitations followed in such numbers that the Gothic novel (or romance) was probably the commonest type of fiction in England for the next half century. It is noteworthy in this period that the best-selling author of the genre (Ann Radcliffe), the author of its most enduring novel (Mary Shelley), and the author of its most effective sendup (Jane Austen) were all women.

This topic offers extracts from some of the most frequently mentioned works in the Gothic mode: Walpole's *Otranto* as the initiating prototype; William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786), which is "oriental" rather than medieval but similarly blends cruelty, terror, and eroticism; two extremely popular works by the "Queen of Terror," Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest* (1791) and *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794); Matthew Gregory Lewis's *The Monk* (1796), involving seduction, incestuous rape, matricide and other murders, and diabolism; and two works of 1818 poking fun at the by-then well-established tradition, Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (which refers specifically to the two Radcliffe novels just mentioned) and Thomas Love Peacock's *Nightmare*

Abbey.

Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) was inspired, as Shelley explains in her introduction to the edition of 1831, by a communal reading of German ghost stories with her husband and Byron during bad weather on the shores of Lake Geneva. *Frankenstein* is the single most important product of this Gothic tradition, but it considerably transcends its sources. Its numerous thematic resonances relate to science, poetry, psychology, alienation, politics, education, family relationships, and much else. Even so, one cannot imagine a more archetypically Gothic circumstance than the secret creation of an eight-foot-tall monster out of separate body parts collected from charnel houses; some of Victor Frankenstein's most extravagant rhetoric in the novel almost exactly reproduces the tone, and even some of the words, of the extract given here describing Isabella's distress in *Otranto* — as in this passage expressing Victor's feelings of horror when Justine is condemned for the murder of his brother William:
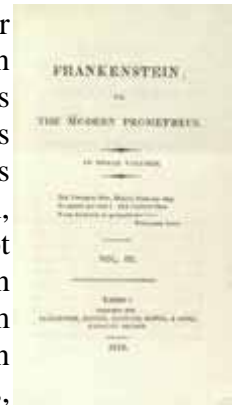
My own agitation and anguish was extreme during the whole trial. I believed in her innocence; I knew it. Could the daemon, who had (I did not for a minute doubt) murdered my brother, also in his hellish sport have betrayed the innocent to death and ignominy? I could not sustain the horror of my situation; and when I perceived that the popular voice, and the countenances of the judges, had already condemned my unhappy victim, I rushed out of the court in agony. The tortures of the accused did not equal mine; she was sustained by innocence, but the fangs of remorse tore my bosom, and would not forego their hold. . . .

I cannot pretend to describe what I then felt. I had before experienced sensations of horror; and I have endeavoured to bestow upon them adequate expressions, but words cannot convey an idea of the heart-sickening despair that I then endured. . . . (volume 1, chapter 7)

More pervasive signs of Gothic influence show up in some of the most frequently read Romantic poems — for example, the account of the skeleton ship and the crew's reaction ("A flash of joy . . . And horror follows") in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (*NAEL* 8, 2.430); the atmosphere, setting, and fragmentary plot of witchery and seduction in Coleridge's *Christabel* (*NAEL* 8, 2.449–64); the initial scene ("a Gothic gallery") and most of the rest of Byron's *Manfred* (*NAEL* 8, 2.636–69); and the medievalism and several details of the plot of Keats's *The Eve of St. Agnes* (*NAEL* 8, 2.888–98), including Porphyro's invasion of Madeline's bedroom, which, while the poem is always at some level an idealized tale of young love, has obvious connections with the predatory overtones of our extracts from both *Udolpho* and *The Monk*.

4) The French Revolution – Apocalyptic Expectation

Looking back to his early radical years from his conservative middle age, the English poet Robert Southey (1774–1843) declared that

few persons but those who have lived in it can conceive or comprehend what the memory of the French Revolution was, nor what a visionary world seemed to open upon those who were just entering it. Old things seemed passing away, and nothing was dreamt of but the regeneration of the human race. >> note 1

In the prologue to his successful play *The Road to Ruin* (1792), Thomas Holcroft predicted that the French Revolution would "fertilize a world, and renovate old earth!" And in *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth remembered the early years of the Revolution as a time when all Europe

> was thrilled with joy,
> France standing on the top of golden hours,
> And human nature seeming born again.
> (6.340–42; *NAEL* 2.346)

Human nature regenerate in a world made new: this was the theme of many enthusiasts in England during the first four or five years after the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. These concepts are obviously theological. They originate in the apocalyptic and millennial passages of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and their use indicates that for a number of British idealists, the early enthusiasm for the revolution had the momentum and excitement of a religious movement.

The term *apocalypse,* derived from the Greek word meaning "revelation," designates the disclosure, in the Bible, of God's providential design for the end of human history. In its fully developed form, an apocalypse is a prophetic vision, elaborately symbolic of the imminent events that will abruptly end the existing world order and replace it with a new and perfected condition both of humanity and of the world. The root elements of apocalypse are the concern of the Hebrew prophets with the catastrophic punishments to be visited upon Israel and its enemies in "the latter end of the days," as well as with the expectation of a Messiah, a deliverer from suffering in this disaster-ridden world. These elements are collected in the writings attributed to the prophet Isaiah, which foretell, after God has vented His wrath, the advent of a renovated world of ease, joy, and peace. "For, behold, I create new heavens and a new earth," in which "the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock" (Isaiah 65.17–25). The Hebrew Bible also contains a full-fledged apocalypse, the Book of Daniel.

Passages predicting an imminent apocalypse occur in the New Testament, both in the Synoptic Gospels and in the Epistles of Paul. The New Testament then concludes with the most spectacular and intricately ordered of all apocalyptic prophecies, the Book of Revelation. A series of seven symbolic events signalize the conflict between the forces of

Christ and of Antichrist, culminating in a prodigious violence in which the stars fall like ripe figs and the harvest of the earth is cast "into the great winepress of the wrath of God." (6.13). This fierce destruction, however, is a cleansing one, preparatory to the inauguration of the Kingdom of Christ on earth, which will last one thousand years — in Latin, a "millennium," from which are derived the terms "millennial" and "millenarian" to signify the belief in a blissful earthly condition at the end of history. At the end of the millennium, the forces of evil are loosed again and finally defeated, after which the original creation, its function in the divine plot accomplished, will pass away, to be replaced by a new creation and by a new Jerusalem that will reconstitute, for the deserving elect, the paradise that was lost at the Fall: "And there shall be no more death . . . neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away" (21.4).

Two distinctive images occur persistently in later writings that derive from biblical apocalypses. One is the image of a sacred marriage that signifies the consummation of history. In Isaiah, the final redemption is figured as a marriage between the people of Israel and their land (62.2–5); in Revelation, it is figured as a marriage between Christ and the new, or purified, Jerusalem, "coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (21.2, 9–10). The second recurrent image represents the final condition of blessedness as a renovated heaven and earth. "For, behold," the Lord said to Isaiah, "I create new heavens and a new earth" (65.17, also 66.22). Thus also Revelation: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away" (21.1, also 21.5).

The apocalyptic and millennial books in the Bible are readily convertible into a scenario for political revolution, since they consist of an infallible text ordaining a necessary destruction of the forces of evil and guaranteeing the outcome of this violence in peace, plenty, and consummate happiness. In the Civil Wars in seventeenth-century England, for example, there were fervent apocalyptic expectations among radical parliamentary sects that were shared by Oliver Cromwell, as well as by John Milton. The late eighteenth century was another age of widespread apocalyptic expectation, when the promise of the American Revolution, followed by the greater and more radical expectations raised by the early years of the French Revolution, revived among a number of English Nonconforming sects the millenarian excitement of Milton and other seventeenth-century predecessors. "Hey for the New Jerusalem! The millennium!" Thomas Holcroft exulted in 1791. >> note 2 Preachers such as Richard Price, Joseph Fawcett, and Elhanan Winchester, as well as Joseph Priestley, who was not only a great chemist but a founder of the Unitarian Society, all interpreted the convulsions in France in terms of the prophecies in both the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures. They thus invested the political events of the day with the explosive power of the great Western myth of

apocalypse and expanded a local phenomenon into the expectation that humanity, everywhere, was at the threshold of an earthly paradise.

The phenomenon is of great literary importance because, during their formative period in the early 1790s, the first generation of Romantic poets incorporated in their poems a vision of the French Revolution as the

early stage of the abrupt culmination of history, in which there will emerge a new humanity on a new earth that is equivalent to a restored paradise. In 1793, while still a student at Oxford, Robert Southey wrote *Joan of Arc: An Epic Poem*. In it Joan is granted a vision of a "blest age" in the future when, in a violent spasm not quite named the French Revolution, humanity shall "burst his fetters," and "Earth shall once again / Be Paradise". >> note 3 In the *Song of Liberty* that he appended to *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in 1792, Blake represents a revolutionary "son of fire" moving from America to France and proclaiming an Isaian millennium: "Empire is no more! and now the lion & wolf shall cease" (*NAEL* 8, 2.122). In the short prophetic poems of revolution that he wrote in the early 1790s, Blake introduced the Giant Form that he names "Orc," the spirit of Energy that bursts out in total political and spiritual revolution. See also Blake's *America: A Prophecy* [1793], plates 6, 8, 16, and, for an earlier, nonsymbolic work on the events in France, *The French Revolution*. In 1793 Wordsworth concluded his *Descriptive Sketches* with the enthusiastic prophecy (which precisely matches the prophecy he attributed to the Solitary in his later poem *The Excursion*) that events following the French Revolution would fulfill the millennial prophecy of the Book of Revelation. In those happy early years of the revolution, Coleridge shared this expectation, in a historical sequence that he succinctly summarizes in his prose Argument of the plot of *Religious Musings* (1794) as "The French Revolution. Millennium. Universal Redemption. Conclusion."

Two decades later, the young Percy Shelley recapitulated the millenarian expectations of his older contemporaries. His early principles, Shelley said, "had their origin" in those views that "occasioned the revolutions of America and France." >> note 4 Shelley's *Queen Mab*, which he began writing at nineteen, presents a vision of the woeful human past and the dreadful present, as preceding a blissful future "surpassing fabled Eden," of which most features are imparted from biblical millennialism.

Looking back in 1815, Thomas Noon Talfourd — an eminent jurist who was also a poet and playwright — analyzed the fashion in which the French Revolution had shaped the great literature of the age:

At one moment, all was hope and joy and rapture; the corruption and iniquity of ages seemed to vanish like a dream; the unclouded heavens seemed once more to ring with the exulting chorus of peace on earth and good-will to men. . . .

But "on a sudden" the "sublime expectation[s] were swept away" in "the terrible changes of this August spectacle." And an immediate effect "of this moral hurricane . . . this rending of the general heart" was "to raise and darken the imagination," and so to contribute "to form that great age of poetry which is now flourishing around us." >> note 5 Talfourd recognized the religious, apocalyptic nature of the enthusiasm and hopes evoked by the early years of the revolution; he recognized also, however, that the essential featureof the French Revolution as a cultural influence was that it had failed. The greatest poetry of the age was written not in the mood of revolutionary exaltation but in the mood of revolutionary disenchantment and despair, after the succession of disasters that began with the Reign of Terror in 1793–94. A number of the major Romantic poems, however, did not break with the formative past, but set out to salvage grounds for hope in a new and better world. That is, Romantic thought and imagination remained apocalyptic in form, but with a radical shift from faith in a violent outer transformation to faith in an inner moral and imaginative transformation — a shift from political revolution to a revolution in consciousness — to bring into being a new heaven and new earth.

"Romantic Orientalism" — the second term sometimes expanded to "Oriental exoticism" or "Oriental fantasy" — brings together two concepts that continue to be much in dispute among theorists and literary historians. For practical purposes, "Romantic" here refers to the writers (and the ideas and culture they reflect) of the Romantic Period section of the *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, where the dates are given as 1785–1830. "Orientalism" refers to the geography and culture of large parts of Asia and North Africa, plus some of what we now think of as Eastern Europe. Above all, from a British point of view, "Orientalism" connotes foreignness or otherness — things decidedly *not* British — and it sometimes seems as if the "East" signified by "Orient" is not only what is east of Europe and the Mediterranean but everything east of the English Channel.

In literary history, Romantic Orientalism is the recurrence of recognizable elements of Asian and African place names, historical and legendary people, religions, philosophies, art, architecture, interior decoration, costume, and the like in the writings of the British Romantics. At first glance, Romantic literature may seem to be divided between the natural settings of sheep fields in the southwest of England or the Lake District and the unnatural settings of medieval castles that are, for all their remoteness from present-day reality, always Christian and at least European, if not always British. But a closer look reveals a tiger — decidedly not indigenous to the British Isles — in one of Blake's most famous songs; an impressive dream of "an Arab of the Bedouin Tribes" in book 5 of Wordsworth's *Prelude*; the founder of the Mongol dynasty in China as well as an Abyssinian "damsel with a dulcimer" in Coleridge's "Kubla Khan"; Eastern plots, characters, and themes in Byron's "Oriental tales," some of which show up later in *Don Juan*; a poet's journey into the innermost reaches of the Caucasus (the legendary boundary between Europe and Asia) in Percy Shelley's *Alastor*; a tempting affair with an Indian maiden in Keats's "Endymion" and a feast of "dainties" from Fez, Samarcand, and Lebanon in "The Eve of St. Agnes"; an Arab maiden, Safie, as the most liberated character in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*. Orientalism, via the literature and art of the time, was increasingly in the air (as well as the texts) in both London and the British countryside.

The Orientalism of British Romantic literature has roots in the first decade of the eighteenth century, with the earliest translations of *The Arabian Nights* into English (from a version in French, 1705–08). The popularity of *The Arabian Nights* inspired writers to develop a new genre, the Oriental tale, of which Samuel Johnson's *History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia* (1759) is the best mid-century example (*NAEL* 8, 1.2680–2743). Romantic Orientalism continues to develop into the nineteenth century, paralleling another component of Romanticism already presented in the Norton Web sites, "Literary Gothicism." Two of the authors here — Clara Reeve and William Beckford — are important figures in the history of both movements. Like Gothic novels and plays, Oriental tales feature exotic settings, supernatural happenings, and deliberate extravagance of event, character, behavior, emotion, and speech — an extravagance sometimes countered by wry humor even to the point of buffoonery. It is as though the "otherness" of Oriental settings and characters gives the staid British temperament a holiday. Gothicism and Orientalism do the work of fiction more generally — providing imaginary characters, situations, and stories as alternative to, even as escape from, the reader's everyday reality. But they operate more sensationally than other

types of fiction. Pleasurable terror and pleasurable exoticism are kindred experiences, with unreality and strangeness at the root of both.

Before the publication of Edward Said's extremely influential and controversial *Orientalism* (1978), scholars tended to view the Eastern places, characters, and events pervading late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century British literature as little more than stimuli for easy thrills. But this attitude has changed dramatically. Along with its well-studied interests in the inner workings of the mind, connections with nature, and exercise of a transcendental imagination, the Romantic Period in Britain is now recognized as a time of global travel and exploration, accession of colonies all over the world, and development of imperialist ideologies that rationalized the British takeover of distant territories. In the introduction to their fine collection of essays in *Romanticism, Race, and Imperial Culture, 1780–1834* (1996), Alan Richardson and Sonia Hofkosh notice references to the Spanish "discovery" and penetration of the Americas, British colonial wars, and "ethnographic exoticism" in several shorter pieces of *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) and connect the Ancient Mariner's voyage to a "growing maritime empire of far-flung islands, trading-posts, and stretches of coastline on five continents." Wordsworth and Coleridge were more aware of British expansionism than we had realized.

Such recontextualizing of Romantic Orientalism gives it a decidedly contemporary and political character involving questions of national identity, cultural difference, the morality of imperialist domination, and consequent anxiety and guilt concerning such issues. A handy example is the call for papers at an international conference on the topic at Gregynog, Wales, in July 2002, whose focus is "the cultural, political, commercial, and aesthetic dimensions of the synchronous growth of Romanticism and Orientalism. The European Romantic imagination was saturated with Orientalism, but it reflected persistent ambivalence concerning the East, complicated in Britain by colonial anxiety and imperial guilt. We shall consider how Western notions of cultural hegemony were bolstered by imperial rhetoric and challenged by intercultural translation." As a spate of new books and articles attests, a political approach to Romantic Orientalism is currently one of the major enterprises among critics and theorists.

Colonial anxiety and imperial guilt may not be immediately apparent in the extracts assembled for this online topic, from Frances Sheridan's *History of Nourjahad*, Sir Willliam Jones's *Palace of Fortune* and *Hymn to Narayena*, Clara Reeve's *History of Charoba, Queen of Ægypt*, William Beckford's *Vathek*, W. S. Landor's *Gebir*, Robert Southey's *Curse of Kehama*, Byron's *Giaour*, and Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*. But the texts are representative of the materials that scholars are currently working with, and three of them — the works by Sheridan, Beckford, and Byron — have recently been reprinted in a New Riverside Edition, *Three Oriental Tales* (2002), with an introduction and notes by Alan Richardson pointing out the works' "use of 'Oriental' motifs to criticize European social arrangements." The texts and additional background materials included in this topic enhance the reading of canonical Romantic poems and fictions, as well as suggest how those poems and fictions connect with the political and social concerns of their real-life historical contexts.

Romantic Period 6) The Satanic and Byronic Hero

Not until the age of the American and French Revolutions, more than a century after Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, did readers begin to sympathize with Satan in the war between Heaven and Hell, admiring him as the archrebel who had taken on no less an antagonist than Omnipotence itself, and even declaring him the true hero of the poem. In his ironic *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (*NAEL* 8, 2.111–20), Blake claimed that Milton had unconsciously, but justly, sided with the Devil (representing rebellious energy) against Jehovah (representing oppressive limitation). Lecturing in 1818 on the history of English poetry, Hazlitt named Satan as "the most heroic subject that ever was chosen for a poem" and implied that the rebel angel's Heaven-defying resistance was the mirror image of Milton's own rebellion against political tyranny. A year later, Percy Shelley maintained that Satan is the moral superior to Milton's tyrannical God, but he admitted that Satan's greatness of character is flawed by vengefulness and pride.

It was precisely this aspect of flawed grandeur, however, that made Satan so attractive a model for Shelley's friend Byron in his projects of personal myth-making. The more immediate precedents of the Byronic hero—a figure that Byron uses for purposes both of self-revelation and of self-concealment—were the protagonists of some of the Gothic novels of the later eighteenth century. Examples are Manfred, the ominous hero-villain of Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* (1764) (*NAEL* 8, 2.579–82) and the brooding, guilt-haunted monk Schedoni of Ann Radcliffe's *The Italian* (1797), who each embody traits of Milton's Satan. Byron identified another alter ego in the towering historical figure of Napoleon Bonaparte, who to the contemporary imagination combined, in Satan's manner, moral culpability with awe-inspiring power and grandeur. Between 1795, when Napoleon took command of the armies of France, and 1815, when defeat at Waterloo banished him from Europe to his final exile, patriotic supporters of Britain's war effort represented Napoleon as an infernal, blood-thirsty monster. These demonizing representations frequently alluded to the example of Milton's "enemy of mankind," as William Wordsworth did in an 1809 sonnet, "Look now on that Adventurer," and George Cruikshank did in an 1815 cartoon depicting the colossus in exile on the tiny island of St. Helena. Satanizing Napoleon made for effective wartime propaganda because it invoked an already established plot, a narrative of inevitable downfall. Yet Byron's complex response to the man, worked out over the entire body of his work, yields a contrasting account of history—and also, and in particular in the "Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte" he wrote following Napoleon's abdication, a contrasting account of Milton's fallen angel. To Byron, Napoleon represents both a figure of heroic aspiration and someone who has been shamefully mastered by his own passions—both a conqueror and, after Waterloo, a captive: Napoleon thus becomes as much the occasion for psychological analysis as for moral condemnation. There was more than a touch of self-projection in this account. (At a tongue-in-cheek moment in canto 11 of *Don Juan*, Byron dubs himself "the grand Napoleon of the realms of rhyme.") The characteristic doubleness of the Byronic hero is dramatized in the story of Napoleon's venturesome rise and inglorious fall.

Byron first sketched out this hero with his Satanic-Gothic-Napoleonic lineage in 1812, in the opening stanzas of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, canto 1 (*NAEL* 8, 2.617–19). At this stage, he is rather crudely depicted as a young man, prematurely sated by sin, who wanders about in an attempt to escape society and his own memories. Conrad, the hero of *The Corsair* (1814), has become more isolated, darker, more complex in his history and inner conflict, and therefore more frightening and more compelling to the reader. The hero of *Lara* (also 1814) is a finished product; he reappears two years later, with variations in canto 3 of Childe Harold (see *NAEL* 8, 2.619–22, stanzas 2–16, and 2.627–28, stanzas 52–55) and again the following year as the hero of Byron's poetic drama *Manfred* (*NAEL* 8, 2.636–69).
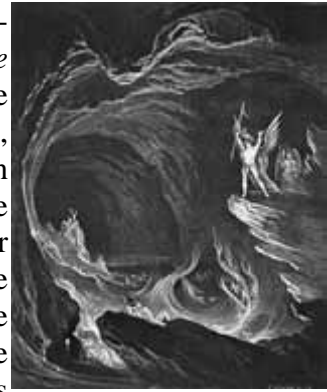
Early on, Coleridge recognized the disquieting elements in the appeal of this hero of dark mystery, and in the *Statesman's Manual* (1816) warned against it, but in vain. Immediately affecting the life, art, and even philosophy of the nineteenth century, the Byronic hero took on a life of his own. He became the model for the behavior of avant-garde young men and gave focus to the yearnings of emancipated young women. And Byron was fated to discover that the literary alter egos he had created could in turn exert power over him: his social disgrace following the breakup of his marriage in 1816 was declared by Walter Scott to be a consequence of how the poet had "Childe Harolded himself, and outlawed himself, into too great a resemblance with the pictures of his imagination." Literary history demonstrates, similarly, that Byron could at best participate in but not control the myth-making processes of Byronism. Upstaging him, many others were determined to have a hand in the myth-making. Byron had borrowed from late-eighteenth-century Gothic novels to create his persona but, in the nineteenth century, the Byronic hero would be absorbed back into the Gothic tradition. The process began in 1816 with *Glenarvon*, a roman à clef whose author, Lady Caroline Lamb, mischievously recycled elements of Byron's own poems—in particular *The Giaour*—to tell the story of her failed love affair with the poet and to portray him as a monstrous, supernaturally powerful seducer. It continued three years later with a novella published by the poet's physician and traveling companion John Polidori that would clinch the association of Byron and the evil undead. These works and the novels, plays, and even operas they spawned granted Byron an eerie afterlife, as the Gothic tradition's vampire in chief.

Notes:

- Some of the best regarded poets of the time were in fact women, including Anna Barbauld, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson.
- Many writers of the period were aware of a pervasive intellectual and imaginative climate, which some called "the spirit of the age." This spirit was linked to both the politics of the French Revolution and religious apocalypticism.
- Wordsworth influentially located the source of a poem not in outer nature but in the psychology and emotions of the individual poet.
- Romantic poems habitually endow the landscape with human life, passion, and expressiveness.
- Although we now know the Romantic period as an age of poetry, the prose essay, the drama, and the novel flourished during this epoch.

Summaries

Writers working in the time period from 1785 to 1830 did not think of themselves as "Romantics," but were seen to belong to a number of distinct movements or schools. For much of the twentieth century scholars singled out five poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Percy Shelley, and Keats—and constructed a unified concept of Romanticism on the basis of their works. Some of the best regarded poets of the time were in fact women, including Anna Barbauld, Charlotte Smith, and Mary Robinson. Yet educated women were targets of masculine scorn, and the radical feminism of a figure like Mary Wollstonecraft remained exceptional.

The Romantic period was shaped by a multitude of political, social, and economic changes. Many writers of the period were aware of a pervasive intellectual and imaginative climate, which some called "the spirit of the age." This spirit was linked to both the politics of the French Revolution and religious apocalypticism. The early period of the French Revolution evoked enthusiastic support from English liberals and radicals alike. But support dropped off as the Revolution took an increasingly grim course. The final defeat of the French emperor Napoleon in 1815 ushered in a period of harsh, repressive measures in England. The nation's growing population was increasingly polarized into two classes of capital and labor, rich and poor. In 1819, an assembly of workers demanding parliamentary reform was attacked by sabre-wielding troops in what became known as the "Peterloo Massacre." A Reform Bill was passed in 1832, extending the franchise, though most men and all women remained without the vote.

Wordsworth and Coleridge's sense of the emancipatory opportunities brought in by the new historical moment was expressed in their *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), which revolutionized the theory and practice of poetry. Wordsworth influentially located the source of a poem not in outer nature but in the psychology and emotions of the individual poet. In keeping with the view that poetry emphasizes the poet's feelings, the lyric became a major Romantic form. It was held that the immediate act of composition must be spontaneous—arising from impulse and free from rules. For Shelley, poetry was not the product of "labor and study" but

unconscious creativity. In a related tendency, Blake, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and later Shelley would all assume the persona of the poet-prophet.

Romantic poetry for present-day readers has become almost synonymous with "nature poetry." Romantic poems habitually endow the landscape with human life, passion, and expressiveness. Wordsworth's aim was to shatter the lethargy of custom to renew our sense of wonder in the everyday. Coleridge, by contrast, achieved wonder by the frank violation of natural laws, impressing upon readers a sense of occult powers and unknown modes of being. The pervasiveness of nature poetry in the period can be linked to the idealization of the natural scene as a site where the individual could find freedom from social laws.

Books became big business, thanks to an expanded audience and innovations in retailing. A few writers became celebrities. Although we now know the Romantic period as an age of poetry, the prose essay, the drama and the novel flourished during this epoch. This period saw the emergence of the literary critic, with accompanying anxieties over the status of criticism as literature. There was a vibrant theatrical culture, though burdened by many restrictions; Shelley's powerful tragedy *The Cenci* was deemed unstageable on political grounds. The novel began to rival poetry for literary prestige. Gothic novelists delved into a premodern, prerational past as a means of exploring the nature of power. Jane Austen, committed like Wordsworth to finding the extraordinary in the everyday, developed a new novelistic language for the mind in flux.

TimeLine

of the

Romantic

Period

English Literatures

The Romantic Period

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1774 J. W. von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*	
	1775 American War of Independence (1775-83)
1776 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*	
1778 Frances Burney, *Evelina*	
1779 Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets* (1779-81)	
	1780 Gordon Riots in London
1781 Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*. J. C. Friedrich Schiller, *The Robbers*	
	1783 William Pitt becomes prime minister (serving until 1801 and again in 1804-06)
1784 Charlotte Smith, *Elegiac Sonnets*	1784 Death of Samuel Johnson
1785 William Cowper, *The Task*	
1786 William Beckford, *Vathek*. Robert Burns, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*	
	1787 W. A. Mozart, *Don Giovanni*
1789 Jeremy Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*. William Blake, *Songs of Innocence*	1789 Fall of the Bastille (beginning of the French Revolution)
1790 Joanna Baillie, *Poems*. Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*	1790 Henry James Pye succeeds Thomas Warton as poet laureate. J. M. W. Turner first exhibits at the Royal Academy
1791 William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye*. Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man*. Ann Radcliffe, *The Romance of the Forest*	
1792 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*	1792 September Massacres in Paris. First gas lights in Britain
1793 William Godwin, *Political Justice*	1793 Execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. France declares war against Britain (and then Britain against France). The Reign of Terror
1794 Blake, *Songs of Experience*. Godwin, *Caleb Williams*. Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*	1794 The fall of Robespierre
1796 Matthew Gregory Lewis, *The Monk*	
1798 Joanna Baillie, *Plays on the Passions,* volume 1. Bentham, *Political Economy*. Thomas Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Lyrical Ballads*	
1800 Maria Edgeworth, *Castle Rackrent*. Mary Robinson, *Lyrical Tales*	
	1802 Treaty of Amiens. *Edinburgh Review* founded. John Constable first exhibits at the Royal Academy
	1804 Napoleon crowned emperor
	1805 The French fleet defeated by the British at Trafalgar
1807 Wordsworth, *Poems in Two Volumes*	1807 Abolition of the slave trade in Britain
1808 Goethe, *Faust,* part 1	1808 Ludwig van Beethoven, *Symphonies* 5 and 6
	1811 The Prince of Wales becomes regent for George

	III, who is declared incurably insane
1812 Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, cantos 1 and 2. Felicia Hemans, *The Domestic Affections*	1812 War between Britain and the United States (1812-15)
1813 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*	1813 Robert Southey succeeds Pye as poet laureate
1814 Walter Scott, *Waverley.* Wordsworth, *The Excursion*	
	1815 Napoleon defeated at Waterloo
1816 Byron, *Childe Harold,* cantos 3 and 4. Coleridge, *Christabel, Kubla Khan.* Percy Shelley, *Alastor*	
1817 Byron, *Manfred.* Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria* and *Sibylline Leaves.* John Keats, *Poems*	1817 *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* founded. Death of Princess Charlotte
1818 Austen, *Northanger Abbey.* Keats, *Endymion.* Thomas Love Peacock, *Nightmare Abbey.* Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*	
1819 Byron, *Don Juan,* cantos 1 and 2	1819 "Peterloo Massacre" in Manchester
1820 John Clare, *Poems Descriptive of Rural Life.* Keats, *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes, and Other Poems.* Percy Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*	1820 Death of George III; accession of George IV. *London Magazine* founded
1821 Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.* Percy Shelley, *Adonais*	1821 Deaths of Keats in Rome and Napoleon at St. Helena
	1822 Franz Schubert, *Unfinished Symphony.* Death of Percy Shelley in the Bay of Spezia, near Lerici, Italy
1824 Letitia Landon, *The Improvisatrice*	1824 Death of Byron in Missolonghi
1827 Clare, *The Shepherd's Calendar*	
1828 Hemans, *Records of Woman*	
1830 Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology* (1830-33). Alfred Tennyson, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*	1830 Death of George IV; accession of William IV
	1832 First Reform Bill

Quiz From *The Romantic Period*

1. Which of the following English groups were supportive of the French Revolution during its early years?

- ○ **a)** Tories
- ○ **b)** Republicans
- ○ **c)** Liberals
- ○ **d)** Radicals
- ◉ **e)** both c and d

2. Which statement(s) about inventions during the Industrial Revolution are true?

- ○ **a)** Hand labor became less common with the invention of power-driven machinery.
- ○ **b)** Velcro replaced buttons and snaps.
- ○ **c)** Steam, as opposed to wind and water, became a primary source of power.
- ◉ **d)** both a and c
- ○ **e)** a, b, and c

3. What is the name for the process of dividing land into privately owned agricultural holdings?

- ○ **a)** partition
- ○ **b)** segregation
- ◉ **c)** enclosure
- ○ **d)** division
- ○ **e)** subtraction

4. Which social philosophy, dominant during the Industrial Revolution, dictated that only the free operation of economic laws would ensure the general welfare and that the government should not interfere in any person's pursuit of their personal interests?

- ○ **a)** economic independence
- ○ **b)** the Rights of Man
- ◉ **c)** laissez-faire
- ○ **d)** enclosure
- ○ **e)** lazy government

5. What served as the inspiration for Percy Bysshe Shelley's poems to the working classes *A Song: "Men of England"* and *England in 1819*?

- ○ **a)** the organization of a working class men's choral group in Southern England

○ **b)** the Battle of Waterloo

◉ **c)** the Peterloo Massacre

○ **d)** the storming of the Bastille

○ **e)** the first Reform Bill, passed in 1832, which aimed to bring greater Parliamentary representation to the working classes

6. Who applied the term "Romantic" to the literary period dating from 1785 to 1830?

○ **a)** Wordsworth because he wanted to distinguish his poetry and the poetry of his friends from that of the *ancien régime*, especially satire

◉ **b)** English historians half a century after the period ended

○ **c)** "The Satanic School" of Byron, Percy Shelley, and their followers

○ **d)** Oliver Goldsmith in *The Deserted Village* (1770)

○ **e)** Harold Bloom

7. Which poets collaborated on the *Lyrical Ballads* of 1798?

○ **a)** Mary Wollstonecraft and William Blake

○ **b)** Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley

◉ **c)** William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge

○ **d)** Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt

○ **e)** Dorothy Wordsworth and Sally Ashburner

8. Which of the following became the most popular Romantic poetic form, following on Wordsworth's claim that poetic inspiration is contained within the inner feelings of the individual poet as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings"?

◉ **a)** the lyric poem written in the first person

○ **b)** the sonnet

○ **c)** doggerel rhyme

○ **d)** the political tract

○ **e)** the ode

9. Looking to the ancient past, many Romantic poets identified with the figure of the

○ **a)** troubadour

○ **b)** skald

○ **c)** chorister

○ **d)** minstrel

◉ **e)** bard

10. What did Byron deride with his scathing reference to "'Peddlers,' and 'Boats,' and 'Wagons'!"?

   ○ **a)** the neo-classical influence of Pope and Dryden

   ○ **b)** the clumsiness of Shakespeare's plots

   ○ **c)** the Orientalist fantasies of Coleridge

   ◉ **d)** Wordsworth's devotion to the ordinary and everyday

   ○ **e)** Blake's apocalyptic visions

11. Wordsworth described all good poetry as

   ○ **a)** the rhythmic expression of moral intuition

   ◉ **b)** the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings

   ○ **c)** the polite patter of a corrupted age

   ○ **d)** the divine gift of grace

   ○ **e)** the foul rag and bone shop of the heart.

12. Which poet asserted in practice and theory the value of representing rustic life and language as well as social outcasts and delinquents not only in pastoral poetry, common before this poet's time, but also as the major subject and medium for poetry in general?

   ○ **a)** William Blake

   ○ **b)** Alfred Lord Tennyson

   ○ **c)** Samuel Johnson

   ◉ **d)** William Wordsworth

   ○ **e)** Mary Wollstonecraft

13. Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* initiated which literary tradition?

   ○ **a)** Hunnish epic

   ◉ **b)** Gothic fiction

   ○ **c)** epistolary novel

   ○ **d)** meta-novel

   ○ **e)** medieval romance

14. Which of the following was a typically Romantic means of achieving visionary states?

   ○ **a)** opium

   ○ **b)** dreams

    c) childhood

    d) a and b

    ⦿ **e)** a, b and c

15. Which of the following texts published in the 1790s did not epitomize the radical social thinking stimulated by the French Revolution?

    a) Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Men*

    b) Paine's *Rights of Man*

    c) Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*

    ⦿ **d)** Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*

    e) none of the above.

16. Which philosopher had a particular influence on Coleridge?

    a) Aristotle

    b) Duns Scotus

    c) David Hume

    ⦿ **d)** Immanuel Kant

    e) Bertrand Russell

17. Which of the following was not considered a type of the alienated, romantic visionary?

    a) Prometheus

    b) Satan

    c) Cain

    d) Napoleon

    ⦿ **e)** George III

18. Who remained without the vote following the Reform Bill of 1832?

    a) about half of middle class men

    b) almost all working class men

    c) all women

    d) b and c

    ⦿ **e)** a, b and c

19. Which of the following factors did not contribute to the growth of the reading public in this period?

- ⦿ **a)** The notoriety of the "Lake School"
- ○ **b)** Technological developments, such as the steam-driven printing press
- ○ **c)** Innovations in retailing, such as the cut-price sale of remaindered books
- ○ **d)** Increased literacy, thanks in large part to Sunday schools
- ○ **e)** The spread of circulating libraries

20. Which of the following periodical publications (reviews and magazines) first appeared in the Romantic era?

- ○ **a)** *London Magazine*
- ○ **b)** *The Spectator*
- ○ **c)** *The Edinburgh Review*
- ○ **d)** *The Tatler*
- ⦿ **e)** a and c only

21. According to a theater licensing act, repealed in 1843, what was meant by "legitimate" drama?

- ○ **a)** The dramaturge and playwright had to be related.
- ○ **b)** All of the actors were male.
- ○ **c)** All of the actors were British.
- ⦿ **d)** The play was spoken.
- ○ **e)** The play had to be a full musical or produced in full pantomime.

22. Which of the following plays was actually performed on stage?

- ○ **a)** Byron's *Manfred*
- ⦿ **b)** Coleridge's *Remorse*
- ○ **c)** Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*
- ○ **d)** Shelley's *The Cenci*
- ○ **e)** all of the above

23. Which of the following charges were commonly levelled at the novel by its detractors at the dawn of the Romantic era?

- ○ **a)** Too many of its readers were women.
- ○ **b)** It required less skill than other genres.
- ○ **c)** It lacked the classical pedigree of poetry and drama.
- ○ **d)** Too many of its authors were women.

⦿ **e)** all of the above

24. Which two writers can be described as writing historical novels?

○ **a)** Mary Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley

○ **b)** William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge

⦿ **c)** Sir Walter Scott and Maria Edgeworth

○ **d)** Jane Austen and Charlotte Brontë

○ **e)** John Evelyn and Evelyn Waugh

25. Which chilling novel of surveillance and entrapment had the alternative title *Things as They Are?*

○ **a)** Jane Austen's *Emma*

○ **b)** Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*

⦿ **c)** William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*

○ **d)** Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*

○ **e)** Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*

26. Thomas and Henrietta Bowdler's edition of *The Family Shakespeare* gave rise to the verb "bowdlerize." What does it mean?

⦿ **a)** the expurgation of indelicate language

○ **b)** the modernization of archaic vocabulary

○ **c)** the insertion of bawdy songs

○ **d)** the expansion of female characters

○ **e)** the misspelling of simple words like "the" and "and"

27. Which of the following is a typically Romantic poetic form?

○ **a)** the fractal

○ **b)** the figment

⦿ **c)** the fragment

○ **d)** the aubade

○ **e)** the comedy of manners

28. Who exemplified the role of the "peasant poet"?

○ **a)** John Clare

○ **b)** John Keats

○   **c)** Robert Burns

◉   **d)** a and c only

○   **e)** b and c only

29. Who in the Romantic period developed a new novelistic language for the workings of the mind in flux?

○   **a)** Maria Edgeworth

○   **b)** Sir Walter Scott

○   **c)** Thomas De Quincey

○   **d)** Joanna Baillie

◉   **e)** Jane Austen

Victorian Age

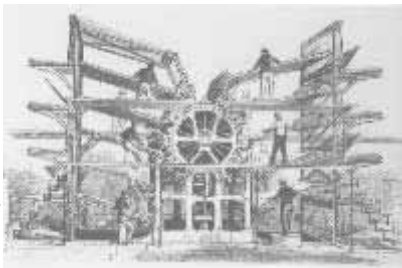# *Victorian Age* 1) Introduction to The Victorian Age

In 1897 Mark Twain was visiting London during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations honoring the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's coming to the throne. "British history is two thousand years old," Twain observed, "and yet in a good many ways the world has moved farther ahead since the Queen was born than it moved in all the rest of the two thousand put together." Twain's comment captures the sense of dizzying change that characterized the Victorian period. Perhaps most important was the shift from a way of life based on ownership of land to a modern urban economy based on trade and manufacturing. By the beginning of the Victorian period, the Industrial Revolution, as this shift was called, had created profound economic and social changes, including a mass migration of workers to industrial towns, where they lived in new urban slums. But the changes arising out of the Industrial Revolution were just one subset of the radical changes taking place in mid- and late-nineteenth-century Britain — among others were the democratization resulting from extension of the franchise; challenges to religious faith, in part based on the advances of scientific knowledge, particularly of evolution; and changes in the role of women.

All of these issues, and the controversies attending them, informed Victorian literature. In part because of the expansion of newspapers and the periodical press, debate about political and social issues played an important role in the experience of the reading public. The Victorian novel, with its emphasis on the realistic portrayal of social life, represented many Victorian issues in the stories of its characters. Moreover, debates about political representation involved in expansion both of the franchise and of the rights of women affected literary representation, as writers gave voice to those who had been voiceless.

The section in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* entitled "Victorian Issues" (*NAEL* 8, 2.1538–1606) contains texts dealing with four controversies that concerned the Victorians: evolution, industrialism, what the Victorians called "The Woman Question", and Great Britain's identity as an imperial power. Norton Topics Online provides further texts on three of these topics: the debate about the benefits and evils of the Industrial Revolution, the debate about the nature and role of women, and the myriad issues that arose as British forces worked to expand their global influence. The debates on both industrialization and women's roles in society reflected profound social change: the formation of a new class of workers — men, women, and children — who had migrated to cities, particularly in the industrial North, in huge numbers, to take jobs in factories, and the growing demand for expanded liberties for women. The changes were related; the hardships that the Industrial Revolution and all its attendant social developments created put women into roles that challenged traditional ideas about women's nature. Moreover, the rate of change the Victorians experienced, caused to a large degree by advances in manufacturing, created new opportunities and challenges for

women. They became writers, teachers, and social reformers, and they claimed an expanded set of rights.

In the debates about industrialism and about the Woman Question, voices came into print that had not been heard before. Not only did women writers play a major role in shaping the terms of the debate about the Woman Question, but also women from the working classes found opportunities to describe the conditions of their lives. Similarly, factory workers described their working and living conditions, in reports to parliamentary commissions, in the encyclopedic set of interviews journalist Henry Mayhew later collected as *London Labor and the London Poor*, and in letters to the editor that workers themselves wrote. The world of print became more inclusive and democratic. At the same time, novelists and even poets sought ways of representing these new voices. The novelist Elizabeth Gaskell wrote her first novel, *Mary Barton*, in order to give voice to Manchester's poor, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning tried to find ways in poetry of giving voice to the poor and oppressed.

The third section of this Web site, "The Painterly Image in Victorian Poetry," investigates the rich connection in the Victorian period between visual art and literature. Much Victorian aesthetic theory makes the eye the most authoritative sense and the clearest indicator of truth. Victorian poetry and the Victorian novel both value visual description as a way of portraying their subjects. This emphasis on the visual creates a particularly close connection between poetry and painting. Books of fiction and poetry were illustrated, and the illustrations amplified and intensified the effects of the text. The texts, engravings, and paintings collected here provide insight into the connection between the verbal and the visual so central to Victorian aesthetics.

Britain's identity as an imperial power with considerable global influence is explored more comprehensively in the fourth topic section. For Britain, the Victorian period witnessed a renewed interest in the empire's overseas holdings. British opinions on the methods and justification of imperialist missions overseas varied, with some like author Joseph Conrad throwing into sharp relief the brutal tactics and cold calculations involved in these missions, while others like politician Joseph Chamberlain considered the British to be the "great governing race" with a moral obligation to expand its influence around the globe. Social evolutionists, such as Benjamin Kidd, likewise supported the British dominion through their beliefs about the inherent developmental inferiority of the subject peoples, thus suggesting that Europeans had a greater capacity for ruling—a suggestion that many took as complete justification of British actions overseas. Regardless of dissenting voices, British expansion pushed forward at an unprecedented rate, ushering in a new era of cultural exchange that irreversibly altered the British worldview.

Victorian Age 2) Industrialism – Progress or Decline

The Industrial Revolution — the changes in the making of goods that resulted from substituting machines for hand labor — began with a set of inventions for spinning and weaving developed in England in the eighteenth century. At first this new machinery was operated by workers in their homes, but in the 1780s the introduction of the steam engine to drive the machines led manufacturers to install them in large buildings called at first mills and later factories. Mill towns quickly grew in central and northern England; the population of the city of Manchester, for example, increased by ten times in the years between 1760 and 1830.

By the beginning of the Victorian period, the Industrial Revolution had created profound economic and social changes. Hundreds of thousands of workers had migrated to industrial towns, where they made up a new kind of working class. Wages were extremely low, hours very long — fourteen a day, or even more. Employers often preferred to hire women and children, who worked for even less then men. Families lived in horribly crowded, unsanitary housing. Moved by the terrible suffering resulting from a severe economic depression in the early 1840s, writers and men in government drew increasingly urgent attention to the condition of the working class. In her poem *The Cry of the Children*, Elizabeth Barrett Browning portrays the suffering of children in mines and factories. In *The Condition of the Working Class* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1564), Friedrich Engels describes the conclusions he drew during the twenty months he spent observing industrial conditions in Manchester. His 1845 book prepared the ground for his work with Karl Marx on *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), which asserts that revolution is the necessary response to the inequity of industrial capitalist society. Elizabeth Gaskell, wife of a Manchester minister, was inspired to begin her writing career with the novel *Mary Barton* (1848) in order to portray the suffering of the working class. In *Hard Times* (1854), Charles Dickens created the fictional city of Coketown (*NAEL* 8, 2.1573–74) to depict the harshness of existence in the industrial towns of central and northern England. During the 1830s and 1840s a number of parliamentary committees and commissions introduced testimony about the conditions in mines and factories that led to the beginning of government regulation and inspection, particularly of the working conditions of women and children.

Other voices also testified powerfully to the extremities of working-class existence in industrial England. *Poverty Knock,* a nineteenth-century British folk song, catalogs the hardships of the weaver's job. Correspondent Henry Mayhew's interviews with London's poor portray the miseries of life on the streets. Drawing an analogy from popular travel writings, reformer William Booth's *In Darkest England* compares the dense and gloomy urban slums to the equatorial forests of Africa. Especially dramatic are the contrasting accounts of C. Duncan Lucas, who writes in 1901 about the pleasant "beehive of activity" that he sees as the typical London factory, and crusader Annie Besant, who passionately analyzes the

economic exploitation of workers by wealthy capitalists. Ada Nield Chew's letter about conditions in a factory in Crewe states strongly the case for improving wages for the tailoresses who "ceaselessly work" six days of the week. These sharply different perspectives define an important argument in the debate over industrialism: Was the machine age a blessing or a curse? Did it make humanity happier or more wretched?

Victorian Age 3) The Woman Question

Many of the historical changes that characterized the Victorian period motivated discussion and argument about the nature and role of woman — what the Victorians called "The Woman Question." The extension of the franchise by the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867 stimulated discussion of women's political rights. Although women in England did not get the vote until 1918, petitions to Parliament advocating women's suffrage were introduced as early as the 1840s. Equally important was the agitation to allow married women to own and handle their own property, which culminated in the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts (1870–1908).

The Industrial Revolution resulted in changes for women as well. The explosive growth of the textile industries brought hundreds of thousands of lower-class women into factory jobs with grueling working conditions. The new kinds of labor and poverty that arose with the Industrial Revolution presented a challenge to traditional ideas of woman's place. Middle-class voices also challenged conventional ideas about women. In *A Woman's Thoughts About Women* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1596–97), the novelist Dinah Maria Mulock compares the prospects of Tom, Dick, and Harry, who leave school and plunge into life, with those of "the girls," who "likewise finish their education, come home, and stay at home." They have, she laments, "literally nothing to do." Likewise in *Cassandra* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1598–1601), Florence Nightingale, who later became famous for organizing a contingent of nurses to take care of sick and wounded soldiers during the Crimean War, writes passionately of the costs for women of having no outlet for their heroic aspirations.

Popular representations of Florence Nightingale, "The Lady with the Lamp," reflect the paradox of her achievement. While her organization of nurses was an important advance in hospital treatment, the image of her tending the wounded seems to reflect a traditional view of woman's mission. Even Queen Victoria herself represents a similar paradox. Though she was queen of the British Empire, paintings and photographs of her, such as Winterhalter's *The Royal Family in 1846,* represent her identity in conventional feminine postures and relationships.

Texts in this topic address both the hardships faced by women forced into new kinds of labor and the competing visions of those who exalted domestic life and those who supported women's efforts to move beyond the home. Journalist Henry Mayhew's interviews with a seamstress and a fruit seller vividly portray the difficulties of their lives. In *Of Queen's Gardens* John Ruskin celebrates the "true wife," and Elizabeth Eastlake's "Lady Travellers" proposes her as a national ideal, while in *The Girl of the Period* Eliza Lynn

Linton satirizes the modern woman. In contrast, two fictional characters, Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre and George Gissing's Miss Barfoot, from *The Odd Women,* speak passionately of the wish that their existence be "quickened with all of incident, life, fire, and feeling." All of these texts show how complex the debate was on what the Victorians called "The Woman Question."

Victorian Age 4) The Painterly Image in Poetry

Nineteenth-century aesthetic theory frequently makes the eye the preeminent means by which we perceive truth.

- In *The Hero as Poet* (1840), Thomas Carlyle writes, "Poetic creation, what is this but seeing the thing sufficiently? The word that will describe the thing follows of itself from such clear intense sight of the thing."

- In his definition of the pathetic fallacy (1856; *NAEL* 8, 2.1322), which to him characterizes bad poetry, John Ruskin differentiates "between the ordinary, proper, and true appearances of things to us; and the extraordinary, or false appearances, when we are under the influence of emotion."

- In *The Function of Criticism at the Present Time* (1865; *NAEL* 8, 2.1384–97), Matthew Arnold defines the ideal in all branches of knowledge as "to see the object as in itself it really is."

This emphasis in nineteenth-century aesthetic theory on seeing the object as it really is has a counterpart in the importance of illustrating literature, particularly novels. Dickens worked most frequently with two great illustrators, George Cruikshank and Phiz (the pseudonym of Hablot Knight Browne). William Makepeace Thackeray drew his own illustrations. In the works of these authors and others, the juxtaposition of text and picture creates a characteristic nineteenth-century style, which the critic Martin Meisel defines in his book *Realizations* as a union of pictorialism with narrative, creating richly detailed scenes that at once imply the stories that precede and follow and symbolize their meaning.

At the same time, developments in visual technology made it possible to see more and in new ways. Nineteenth century optical devices, creating illusions of various sorts, were invented near the beginning of the century: the thaumatrope, the phenakistoscope, the zoetrope, the stroboscope, the kaleidoscope, the diorama, and the stereoscope. Other inventions — such as the camera lucida, the graphic telescope, the binocular telescope, the binocular microscope, the stereopticon, and the kinetoscope — projected, recorded, or magnified images. Most important, the photographic camera provided an entirely new way of recording objects and people and transformed many areas of life and work.

The selections in this topic concentrate on one aspect of the Victorian visual imagination: the visual illustration of poetry through the accumulation of visual detail. In *Mariana* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1112–14), for example, Tennyson conveys Mariana's despair through the objects that surround her. In a review, Arthur Henry Hallam uses the term "picturesque" to describe Tennyson's first volume of poems. Contrasted with the descriptive, which gives an objective account of appearances,

the picturesque presents objects through the medium of emotion. Such poetry lends itself to illustration, and nineteenth-century editions of poetry, such as *Moxon's Illustrated Tennyson* or Macmillan's 1862 edition of Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market and Other Poems*, frequently contained illustrations, much as novels did.

Illustration's importance in nineteenth-century literary theory created a particularly close connection between painting and poetry. Dante Gabriel Rossetti painted portraits to illustrate his poems, such as *The Blessed Damozel*, and created pairs of poems and paintings such as *Lilith*, *Sibylla Palmifera*, and *Astarte Syriaca*. Poets also frequently took painting as the subject of their poetry, as in Robert Browning's *Fra Lippo Lippi* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1271–80) or *Andrea del Sarto* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1280–86). Similarly, a number of writers created prose descriptions of great paintings that were almost a kind of prose poetry, like John Ruskin's description of J. M. W. Turner's *The Slave Ship* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1321–22) or Walter Pater's description of Leonardo Da Vinci's *La Gioconda* (*NAEL* 8, 2.1510–11). Nineteenth-century artists felt a kinship between picture-making with words and picture-making with images that linked the sister arts of poetry and painting in close relationship.

Victorian Age 5) Victorian Imperialism

Great Britain during Victoria's reign was not just a powerful island nation. It was the center of a global empire that fostered British contact with a wide variety of other cultures, though the exchange was usually an uneven one. By the end of the nineteenth century, nearly one-quarter of the earth's land surface was part of the British Empire, and more than 400 million people were governed from Great Britain, however nominally. An incomplete list of British colonies and quasi-colonies in 1901 would include Australia, British Guiana (now Guyana), Brunei, Canada, Cyprus, Egypt, Gambia, the Gold Coast (Ghana), Hong Kong, British India (now Bangladesh, India, Myanmar, Pakistan, Sri Lanka), Ireland, Kenya, Malawi, the Malay States (Malaysia), Malta, Mauritius, New Zealand, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somaliland (Somalia), South Africa, the Sudan, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Trinidad and Tobago. Queen Victoria's far-flung empire was a truly heterogenous entity, governed by heterogenous practices. It included Crown Colonies like Jamaica, ruled from Britain, and protectorates like Uganda, which had relinquished only partial sovereignty to Britain. Ireland was a sort of internal colony whose demands for home rule were alternately entertained and discounted. India had started the century under the control of the East India Company, but was directly ruled from Britain after the 1857 Indian Mutiny (the first Indian war of independence), and Victoria was crowned Empress of India in 1877. Colonies like Canada and Australia with substantial European populations had become virtually self-governing by the end of the century and were increasingly considered near-equal partners in the imperial project. By contrast, colonies and protectorates with large indigenous populations like Sierra Leone, or with large transplanted populations of ex-slaves and non-European laborers like Trinidad, would not gain autonomy until the twentieth century.

As Joseph Chamberlain notes in *The True Conception of Empire*, the catastrophic loss of the American colonies had given rise to a certain disenchantment with empire-building. But despite a relative lack of interest in the British imperial project during the early nineteenth century, the Empire continued to grow, acquiring a number of new territories as well as greatly expanding its colonies in Canada and Australia and steadily pushing its way across the Indian subcontinent. A far more rapid expansion took place between 1870 and 1900, three decades that witnessed a new attitude towards and practice of empire-building known as the new imperialism and which would continue until World War I. During this period Britain was involved in fierce competition for new territories with its European rivals, particularly in Africa. It was becoming increasingly invested, imaginatively and ideologically, in the idea of empire. It found itself more and more dependent on a global economy and committed to finding (and forcing) new trading partners, including what we might call virtual colonies, nations that were not officially part of the Empire but were economically in thrall to powerful Great Britain. All of these motives helped fuel the new imperialism. British expansion was not allowed to progress unchallenged — the Empire went to war with the Ashanti, the Zulus, and the Boers, to name a few, and critics like J. J. Thomas and John Atkinson Hobson (*NAEL* 8,

2.1632-34) denounced imperialism as a corrupt and debasing enterprise — but it progressed at an astonishing pace nonetheless.

The distinction between imperialism and colonialism is difficult to pin down, because the two activities can seem indistinguishable at times. Roughly speaking, imperialism involves the claiming and exploiting of territories outside of ones own national boundaries for a variety of motives. For instance, Great Britain seized territories in order to increase its own holdings and enhance its prestige, to secure trade routes, to obtain raw materials such as sugar, spices, tea, tin, and rubber, and to procure a market for its own goods. Colonialism involves the settling of those territories and the transformation — the Victorians would have said reformation — of the social structure, culture, government, and economy of the people found there. Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Minute on Indian Education" gives us a good sense of this kind of interventionist colonialism at work.

"NEW CROSES FOR OLD ONES!"

The Empire did not found colonies in all of its possessions, nor were colony populations necessarily interested in anglicizing the indigenous peoples they shared space with, as is clear from Anthony Trollope's dismissive assessment of the Australian aborigines. But in general Great Britain was able to justify its expansion into other peoples lands by claiming a civilizing mission based on its own moral, racial, and national superiority. As we see from the selections by Edward Tylor and Benjamin Kidd, late-Victorian science sought to prove that non-Europeans were less evolved, biologically and culturally, and thus unable properly to govern themselves or develop their own territories. Other writers like W. Winwood Reade and Richard Marsh described the imperfectly evolved colonial subjects as fearsome cannibals and beasts, hardly human at all. Thus they were patently in need of taming, and taking on this job was "The White Man's Burden" in Rudyard Kiplings famous phrase.

Notes:

- The Victorian era was a period of dramatic change that brought England to its highest point of development as a world power.
- The early Victorian period (1830–48) saw the opening of Britain's first railway and its first Reform Parliament, but it was also a time of economic distress.
- Although the mid-Victorian period (1848–70) was not free of harassing problems, it was a time of prosperity, optimism, and stability.
- In the later period (1870–1901) the costs of Empire became increasingly apparent, and England was confronted with growing threats to its military and economic preeminence.
- The extreme inequities between men and women stimulated a debate about women's roles known as "The Woman Question."
- The most significant development in publishing was the growth of the periodical.

Summaries

The Victorian era was a period of dramatic change that brought England to its highest point of development as a world power. The rapid growth of London, from a population of 2 million when Victoria came to the throne to one of 6.5 million by the time of Victoria's death, indicates the dramatic transition from a way of life based on the ownership of land to a modern urban economy. England experienced an enormous increase in wealth, but rapid and unregulated industrialization brought a host of social and economic problems. Some writers such as Thomas Babbington Macauley applauded England's progress, while others such as Mathew Arnold felt the abandonment of traditional rhythms of life exacted a terrible price in human happiness.

The early Victorian period (1830–48) saw the opening of Britain's first railway and its first Reform Parliament, but it was also a time of economic distress. The Reform Bill of 1832 extended voting privileges to men of the lower middle classes and redistributing parliamentary representation more fairly. Yet the economic and social difficulties associated with industrialization made the 1830s and 1840s a "Time of Troubles," characterized by unemployment, desperate poverty, and rioting. The Chartists, an organization of workers, helped create an atmosphere open to further reform. The "condition of England" became a central topic for novelists including Charles Kingsley, Elizabeth Gaskell, and Benjamin Disraeli in the 1840s and early 1850s.

Although the mid- Victorian period (1848–70) was not free of harassing problems, it was a time of prosperity, optimism, and stability. The achievements of modern industry and science were celebrated at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park (1851). Enormous investments of people, money, and technology created the British Empire. Many English people saw the expansion of empire as a moral responsibility, and missionary societies flourished. At the same time, however, there was increasing debate about religious belief. The Church of England had evolved into three major divisions, with conflicting beliefs about religious practice. There were also rationalist challenges to religion from philosophy (especially

Utilitarianism) and science (especially biology and geology). Both the infallibility of the Bible and the stature of the human species in the universe were increasingly called into question.

In the later period (1870–1901) the costs of Empire became increasingly apparent, and England was confronted with growing threats to its military and economic preeminence. A variety of socialist movements gained force, some influenced by the revolutionary theories of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The literature of the 1890s is characterized by self-conscious melancholy and aestheticism, but also saw the beginnings of the modernist movement.

The extreme inequities between men and women stimulated a debate about women's roles known as "The Woman Question." Women were denied the right to vote or hold political office throughout the period, but gradually won significant rights such as custody of minor children and the ownership of property in marriage. By the end of Victoria's reign, women could take degrees at twelve universities. Hundreds of thousands of working-class women labored at factory jobs under appalling conditions, and many were driven into prostitution. While John Stuart Mill argued that the "nature of women" was an artificial thing, most male authors preferred to claim that women had a special nature fitting them for domestic duties.

Literacy increased significantly in the period, and publishers could bring out more material more cheaply than ever before. The most significant development in publishing was the growth of the periodical. Novels and long works of non-fiction were published in serial form, fostering a distinctive sense of a community of readers. Victorian novels seek to represent a large and comprehensive social world, constructing a tension between social conditions and the aspirations of the hero or heroine. Writing in the shadow of Romanticism, the Victorians developed a poetry of mood and character. Victorian poetry tends to be pictorial, and often uses sound to convey meaning. The theater, a flourishing and popular institution throughout the period, was transformed in the 1890s by the comic masterpieces of George Bernard Shaw and Oscar Wilde. Very different from each other, both took aim at Victorian pretense and hypocrisy.

TimeLine

of the

Victorian

Age

English Literature

The Victorian Age

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
1830 Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*	1830 Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway
1832 Sir Charles Lyell, *Principles of Geology*	1832 First Reform Bill
1833 Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*	1833 Factory Act. Beginning of Oxford Movement
1836 Charles Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*	1836 First train in London
1837 Carlyle, *The French Revolution*	1837 Victoria becomes queen
	1838 "People's Charter" issued by Chartist Movement
	1840 Queen marries Prince Albert
1842 Tennyson, *Poems.* Robert Browning, *Dramatic Lyrics*	1842 Chartist Riots. Copyright Act. Mudie's Circulating Library
1843 John Ruskin, *Modern Painters* (vol. 1)	
	1845-46 Potato famine in Ireland. Mass emigration to North America
1846 George Eliot, *The Life of Jesus* (translation)	1846 Repeal of Corn Laws. Browning marries Elizabeth Barrett
1847 Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre.* Emily Brontë, *Wuthering Heights*	1847 Ten Hours Factory Act
1848 Elizabeth Gaskell, *Mary Barton.* William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*	1848 Revolution on the Continent. Second Republic established in France. Founding of Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood
1850 Tennyson, *In Memoriam*	1850 Tennyson succeeds Wordsworth as Poet Laureate
1851 Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*	1851 Great Exhibition of science and industry at the Crystal Palace
1853 Matthew Arnold, *Poems*	
1854 Dickens, *Hard Times*	1854 Crimean War. Florence Nightingale organizes nurses to care for sick and wounded
1855 R. Browning, *Men and Women*	
1857 Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh*	1857 Indian Mutiny. Matrimonial Causes Act
1859 Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species.* John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty.* Tennyson, *Idylls of the King* (books 1-4)	
1860 Dickens, *Great Expectations.* Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*	1860 Italian unification
	1861 Death of Prince Albert
	1861-65 American Civil War
1862 Christina Rossetti, *Goblin Market*	
1864 R. Browning, *Dramatis Personae*	
1865 Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*	1865 Jamaica Rebellion
1866 Algernon Charles Swinburne, *Poems and Ballads*	
1867 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital*	1867 Second Reform Bill
	1868 Opening of Suez Canal
1869 Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy.* Mill, *The Subjection of Women*	
	1870 Married Women's Property Act. Victory in Franco-Prussian War makes Germany a world power

1871 Darwin, *Descent of Man*	1871 Newnham College (first women's college) founded at Cambridge
1872 Eliot, *Middlemarch*	
1873 Walter Pater, *Studies in the Renaissance*	
	1877 Queen Victoria made empress of India. Gerard Manley Hopkins joins Jesuit order
	1878 Electric street lighting in London
	1882 Married Women's Property Act
1885 Gilbert and Sullivan, *The Mikado*	1885 Massacre of General Gordon and his forces and fall of Khartoum
1886 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*	
1888 Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills*	
1889 William Butler Yeats, *Crossways*	
	1890 First subway line in London
1891 Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles.* Bernard Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism.* Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Grey.* Arthur Conan Doyle, *Adventures of Sherlock Holmes*	1891 Free elementary education
1893 Shaw, *Mrs. Warren's Profession*	1893 Independent Labour Party
1895 Wilde, *The Importance of Being Earnest.* Hardy, *Jude the Obscure*	1895 Oscar Wilde arrested and imprisoned for homosexuality
1896 A. E. Housman, *A Shropshire Lad*	
1898 Hardy, *Wessex Poems*	1898 Discovery of radium
	1899 Irish Literary Theater founded in Dublin
	1899-1902 Boer War
1900 Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*	
	1901 Death of Queen Victoria; succession of Edward VII

Quiz From *The Victorian Age*

1. Which ruler's reign marks the approximate beginning and end of the Victorian era?

- **a)** King Henry VIII
- **b)** Queen Elizabeth I
- ● **c)** Queen Victoria
- **d)** King John
- **e)** all of the above, in that order, with Victoria's reign marking the most pivotal period for England's colonial efforts in India, Africa, and the West Indies

2. Which city became the perceived center of Western civilization by the middle of the nineteenth century?

- **a)** Paris
- **b)** Tokyo
- ● **c)** London
- **d)** Amsterdam
- **e)** New York

3. By 1890, what percentage of the earth's population was subject to Queen Victoria?

- **a)** 1%
- **b)** 10%
- **c)** 15%
- ● **d)** 25%
- **e)** 95%

4. What did Thomas Carlyle mean by "Close thy Byron; open thy Goethe"?

- **a)** Britain's preeminence as a global power will depend on mastery of foreign languages.
- **b)** Even a foreign author is better than a homegrown scoundrel.
- ● **c)** Abandon the introspection of the Romantics and turn to the higher moral purpose found in Goethe.
- **d)** In a carefully veiled critique of the monarchy, Byron and Goethe stand in symbolically for Queen Victoria and Charles Darwin respectively.
- **e)** Leave England and emigrate to Germany.

5. To whom did the Reform Bill of 1832 extend the vote on parliamentary representation?

- **a)** the working classes
- **b)** women
- ● **c)** the lower middle classes

○ **d)** slaves

○ **e)** conservative landowners

6. Elizabeth Barrett's poem *The Cry of the Children* is concerned with which major issue attendant on the Time of Troubles during the 1830s and 1840s?

○ **a)** women's rights and suffrage

◉ **b)** child labor

○ **c)** chartism

○ **d)** the prudishness and old-fashioned ideals of her fellow Victorians

○ **e)** insurrection in the colonies

7. Who were the "Two Nations" referred to in the subtitle of Disraeli's *Sybil* (1845)?

◉ **a)** the rich and the poor

○ **b)** Anglicans and Methodists

○ **c)** England and Ireland

○ **d)** Britain and Germany

○ **e)** the industrial north and the agrarian south

8. Which of the following novelists best represents the mid-Victorian period's contentment with the burgeoning economic prosperity and decreased restiveness over social and political change?

◉ **a)** Anthony Trollope

○ **b)** Charles Dickens

○ **c)** John Ruskin

○ **d)** Friedrich Engels

○ **e)** Oscar Wilde

9. Which event did *not* occur as part of the rise of the British Empire under Queen Victoria?

○ **a)** Between 1853 and 1880, 2,466,000 emigrants left Britain, many bound for the colonies.

○ **b)** In 1876, Queen Victoria was named empress of India.

◉ **c)** To save costs and maximize profits, the day-to-day government of India was transferred from Parliament to the private East India Company.

○ **d)** From 1830 to 1870, the sum total of investments abroad by British capitalists had risen from £300 billion to £800 billion.

○ **e)** In 1867 the Canadian provinces were unified into the Dominion of Canada.

10. What does the phrase "White Man's Burden," coined by Kipling, refer to?

○ **a)** Britain's manifest destiny to colonize the world

◉ **b)** the moral responsibility to bring civilization and Christianity to the peoples of the world

○ **c)** the British need to improve technology and transportation in other parts of the world

○ **d)** the importance of solving economic and social problems in England before tackling the world's problems

○ **e)** a Chartist sentiment

11. Which best describes the minority of Evangelicals in the Church of England?

○ **a)** A group of unattractive people relegated to the colonies to perform missionary work where they wouldn't tarnish the aesthetics of the Church of England.

◉ **b)** Also called Nonconformists or Dissenters, Evangelicals led the missionary movement in the colonies, advocated a Puritan moral code, and were responsible for the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire as early as 1833.

○ **c)** They were part of the High Church or the "Catholic" side of the church.

○ **d)** They were devout "tractarians," as described by John Henry Newman.

○ **e)** They pertained to all three divisions of the Church of England: Low, Broad, and High.

12. Which of the following best defines Utilitarianism?

○ **a)** a farming technique aimed at maximizing productivity with the fewest tools

◉ **b)** a moral arithmetic, which states that all humans aim to maximize the greatest pleasure to the greatest number

○ **c)** a critical methodology stating that all words have a single meaningful function within a given piece of literature

○ **d)** a philosophy dictating that we should only keep what we use on a daily basis.

○ **e)** a form of nonconformism

13. Which of the following terms is defined as the application of a scientific attitude of mind toward studying the Bible, seen as a mere text of history and not an infallibly sacred document?

○ **a)** New Criticism

○ **b)** Critical Inquiry

○ **c)** Scientific Bibliology

◉ **d)** Higher Criticism

○ **e)** New Historicism

14. Which of the following discoveries, theories, and events contributed to Victorians feeling less like they were a uniquely special, central species in the universe and more isolated?

○ **a)** geology

○ **b)** evolution

○ **c)** discoveries in astronomy about stellar distances

◉ **d)** all of the above

○ **e)** tractarianism

15. Which of the following contributed to the growing awareness in the Late Victorian Period of the immense human, economic, and political costs of running an empire?

○ **a)** the India Mutiny in 1857

○ **b)** the Boer War in the south of Africa

○ **c)** the Jamaica Rebellion in 1865

○ **d)** the Irish Question

◉ **e)** all of the above

16. Which of the following authors promoted versions of socialism?

○ **a)** William Morris

○ **b)** John Ruskin

○ **c)** Edward FitzGerald

○ **d)** Karl Marx

◉ **e)** all but c

17. Which best describes the general feeling expressed in literature during the last decade of the Victorian era?

◉ **a)** studied melancholy and aestheticism

○ **b)** sincere earnestness and Protestant zeal

○ **c)** raucous celebration mixed with self-congratulatory sophistication

○ **d)** paranoid introspection and cryptic dissent

○ **e)** all of the above

18. Which of the following acts were *not* passed during the Victorian era?

○ **a)** a series of Factory Acts

○ **b)** the Custody Act

◉ **c)** the Women's Suffrage Act

○ **d)** the Married Women's Property Rights Acts

○ **e)** the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act

19. Which contemporary discussions on women's rights did Tennyson's *The Princess* address?

    ○   **a)** the grueling working conditions for women in textile factories

    ○   **b)** the debate on women's suffrage

    ◉   **c)** the need to enlarge and improve educational opportunities for women, resulting in the establishment of the first women's college in London

    ○   **d)** the question of monarchical succession and if a woman should hold royal power

    ○   **e)** the establishment of a civil divorce court

20. What did Victorian journalists mean by terming certain women "surplus" or "redundant"?

    ◉   **a)** They remained unmarried due to a population imbalance between the sexes.

    ○   **b)** Their willingness to work for low wages resulted in a surplus of textiles, causing them to drop in price.

    ○   **c)** They were women writers who wrote frequently about similar topics.

    ○   **d)** They were divorced.

    ○   **e)** They prostituted themselves as a way to make money in a market economy that didn't provide extensive job opportunities to women.

21. Fill in the blanks from Tennyson's The Princess.
Man for the field and woman for the _____:
Man for the sword and for the _____ she:
Man with the head and woman with the _____:
Man to command and woman to _____.

    ○   **a)** crop; scabbard; foot; agree

    ○   **b)** throne; scepter; soul; decree

    ○   **c)** school; scalpel; pen; set free

    ◉   **d)** hearth; needle; heart; obey

    ○   **e)** field; sword; head; command

22. Which of the following Victorian writers regularly published their work in periodicals?

    ○   **a)** Thomas Carlyle

    ○   **b)** Matthew Arnold

    ○   **c)** Charles Dickens

    ○   **d)** Elizabeth Barrett Browning

    ◉   **e)** all of the above: In addition to short fiction, most Victorian novels appeared serialized in periodicals.

23. What best describes the subject of most Victorian novels?

    ○   **a)** the representation of a large and comprehensive social world in realistic detail

    ○   **b)** a surrealist exploration of alternate states of consciousness

    ○   **c)** a mythic dream world

○ **d)** the attempt of a protagonist to define his or her place in society

◉ **e)** a and d

24. Why did the novel seem a genre particularly well-suited to women?

○ **a)** It did not carry the burden of an august tradition like poetry.

○ **b)** It was a popular form whose market women could enter easily.

○ **c)** It was seen as a frivolous form where one shouldn't make serious statements about society.

○ **d)** It often concerned the domestic world with which women were familiar.

◉ **e)** all but c

25. What was the relationship between Victorian poets and the Romantics?

○ **a)** The Romantics remained largely forgotten until their rediscovery by T. S. Eliot in the 1920s.

○ **b)** The Victorians were disgusted by the immorality and narcissism of the Romantics.

○ **c)** The Romantics were seen as gifted but crude artists belonging to a distant, semi-barbarous age.

◉ **d)** The Victorians were strongly influenced by the Romantics and experienced a sense of belatedness.

○ **e)** The Victorians were aware of no distinction between themselves and the Romantics; the distinction was only created by critics in the twentieth century.

26. Experimentation in which of the following areas of poetic expression characterize Victorian poetry and allow Victorian poets to represent psychology in a different way?

○ **a)** the use of pictorial description to construct visual images to represent the emotion or situation of the poem

○ **b)** sound as a means to express meaning

○ **c)** perspective, as in the dramatic monologue

◉ **d)** all of the above

○ **e)** none of the above: Victorians were not experimental in their poetry.

27. What type of writing did Walter Pater define as "the special and opportune art of the modern world"?

○ **a)** the novel

◉ **b)** nonfiction prose

○ **c)** the lyric

○ **d)** comic drama

○ **e)** transcripts of Parliamentary debates

28. What factors contributed to the increased popularity of nonfiction prose?

a) a new market position for nonfiction writing and an exalted sense of the didactic function of the writer

b) a Puritanical distrust of fictions and a thirst for trivia

c) the forbiddingly high cost of three-volume novels and the difficulty of finding poetry in bookshops outside of London

d) the deconstruction of the truth-fiction dichotomy and an accompanying relativistic sense that every opinion was of equal value

e) c and d

29. For what do Matthew Arnold's moral investment in nonfiction and Walter Pater's aesthetic investment together pave the way?

a) a renewed secularism in the twentieth century

b) modern literary criticism

c) late–nineteenth-century and early–twentieth-century satirical drama

d) the surrealist movement

e) none of the above: Victorian prose was mostly forgotten until recently and had little impact on literature of or after its time.

30. Which of the following comic playwrights made fun of Victorian values and pretensions?

a) W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan

b) Oscar Wilde

c) George Bernard Shaw

d) Robert Corrigan

e) all but d

Twentieth Century

Global war is one of the defining features of twentieth-century experience, and the first global war is the subject of one of this period's topics, "Representing the Great War." Masses of dead bodies strewn upon the ground, plumes of poison gas drifting through the air, hundreds of miles of trenches infested with rats—these are but some of the indelible images that have come to be associated with World War I (1914-18). It was a war that unleashed death, loss, and suffering on an unprecedented scale. How did recruiting posters, paintings, memoirs, and memorials represent the war? Was it a heroic occasion, comparable to a sporting event, eliciting displays of manly valor and courage? Or was it an ignominious waste of human life, with little gain to show on either side of the conflict, deserving bitterly ironic treatment? What were the differences between how civilians and soldiers, men and women, painters and poets represented the war? How effective or inadequate were memorials, poems, or memoirs in conveying the enormous scale and horror of the war? These are among the issues explored in this topic about the challenge to writers and artists of representing the unrepresentable.
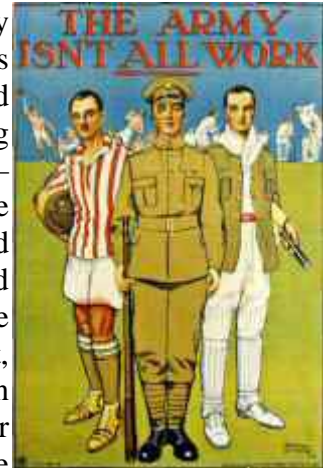
Another of the twentieth century's defining features is radical artistic experiment. The boundary-breaking art, literature, and music of the first decades of the century are the subject of the topic "Modernist Experiment." Among the leading aesthetic innovators of this era were the composer Igor Stravinsky, the cubist Pablo Picasso, and the futurist F. T. Marinetti. The waves of artistic energy in the avant-garde European arts soon crossed the English Channel, as instanced by the abstraction and dynamism of *Red Stone Dancer* (1913-14) by the London-based vorticist sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. Other vorticists and modernists include such English-language writers as Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, and Mina Loy, who also responded to the stimulus and challenge of the European avant-garde with manifestos, poems, plays, and other writings. This topic explores the links between Continental experiment and the modernist innovations of English-language poets and writers during a period of extraordinary ferment in literature and the arts.

Another of the defining features of the twentieth century was the emergence of new nations out of European colonial rule. Among these nations, Ireland was the oldest of Britain's colonies and the first in modern times to fight for independence. The topic "Imagining Ireland" explores how twentieth-century Irish writers fashioned new ideas about the Irish nation. It focuses on two periods of crisis, when the violent struggle for independence put the greatest pressure on

literary attempts to imagine the nation: in the aftermath of the Easter Rising of 1916 and the later outbreaks of sectarian violence from 1969 (known as the Troubles) in Northern Ireland. How do poems, plays, memoirs, short stories, and other literary works represent the bloodshed and yet the potential benefits of these violent political upheavals? Do they honor or lament, idealize or criticize, these political acts? And how do these literary representations compare with political speeches and treaties that bear on these defining moments in modern Irish history? "Imagining Ireland" considers these and other questions about literature and the making of Irish nationality, which continue to preoccupy contemporary writers of Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the Irish diaspora.

Today we know it as World War I, but those who lived through it called it the Great War. At first, the war was predicted to last only a few months and to result in a resounding success for the British Empire and its allies. But as the years passed and the casualties mounted into the millions, it became clear that this conflict was quite different from its predecessors. With nearly nine million soldiers killed (one in five of those who fought) and survivors afflicted with prolonged physical and mental suffering, the war marked a sea-change in the course of military and political history. It also represented a challenge to anyone wishing to give meaning to the enormity of the death toll and the futility of trench warfare. Soldiers living in rat-infested and water-saturated trenches fired machine-guns at unseen soldiers in other trenches; when they went "over the top" into no-man's-land, they became completely vulnerable. The use of the term "Great War" suggests the challenge of representing something so new and awful, so vast and traumatic.

Once it became clear that both sides had settled into their trenches, which stretched from Switzerland to the North Sea, people naturally wondered what had gone wrong. Patriotic poems and songs from previous wars, such as Henry Newbolt's "Vitaï Lampada" (1897-98), linked the British soldier's fighting prowess with his moral superiority, fairness, and skill. World War I also elicited representations that blurred the line between war and athletics, such as Jessie Pope's jingoistic poem "The Call" (1915) and the recruiting poster "The Army Isn't All Work." But as soldiers' expectations of a just, valorous, sporting war gave way to hideous, anonymous carnage, characteristic expressions of irony emerged. For soldier poets such as Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen, irony proved a useful means of representing the gulf between expectation and reality, the murderous war and the unsuspecting nation, the soldier's comrades in the trenches and the unseen enemy across no-man's-land. Bitterly ironic statements such as Siegfried Sassoon's "A Soldier's Declaration" helped call attention to the rage and bewilderment of the trench soldier; but their chilly reception by an equally bewildered reading public reinforced cultural divisions. Some readers at home condemned the war poets' attacks as unpatriotic, and opinion remained divided between those who had fought and knew, and those who preferred not to know.

Some poets also disliked the soldier poets' graphic and caustically ironic depictions of the war. In the words of W. B. Yeats in his 1936 preface to *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*, the bitterness of war poets was an unconstructive "passive suffering." Yeats refused to include in his anthology combatant poets such as Owen and Sassoon. He preferred in poetry a more active heroism, such as that he invented for the speaker of "An Irish Airman Foresees His Death."

As casualties from both the Allied and Central Powers ran into the millions, military tactics became increasingly desperate. These included the deployment of mustard gas, submarine attacks on

shipping lines, and howitzer shelling and zeppelin bombings of cities miles behind the front lines. Such tactics signaled a breakdown of the rules of warfare in favor of indiscriminate killing of both the soldiers and the civilians they protected. Civilian artists now found they had an authentic, lived experience of war they could express. The involvement of millions of women in the war effort, such as those depicted in the poster "We Need you, Redcross," eroded the distinction between civilian women and the men who went off to save the country. Munitions, factory, and textile jobs were vacated by enlistees and quickly filled by women for whom the war represented an economic opportunity. Although recruiting posters such as "Women of Britain say—GO!" associated women with the English countryside that valiant soldiers ought to defend, poems such as Jessie Pope's "War Girls" represent women as empowered by the challenge of their wartime jobs. Frustrated by the war's length and carnage, some poets, such as Sassoon and Ezra Pound, allude disparagingly to the women and the civilization soldiers were supposedly protecting. Pound's *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley*, for example, refers to Britain as "an old bitch gone in the teeth."

Because of its massive scale and controversial impetus, monuments to the war often indicate the difficulty of representing it. Commemorative physical structures tend to look like a mixture of massiveness and stripped-down, minimalist gestures, as if trying to speak volumes and remain silent at the same time. The Menin Gate and the Cenotaph of Whitehall both stand in mute remembrance of a massive loss that can barely be imagined, much less represented. The spareness of the Cenotaph, meanwhile, allowed two contemporaries to draw different conclusions about its significance: Henry Morton's *Heart of London* records his impression of the monument as a symbol of unity and communal reverence, while Charlotte Mew cannot help but notice, in her poem "Cenotaph," how incongruous this great static symbol of grief appears in the middle of a degraded mercantile hub. Like the divergences between jingoists and satirists, soldiers and civilians, feminists and antifeminists, these differences over war memorials reflect competing views over how to represent a war that ultimately defies representation.

20^{th} *Century* 3) Modernism Experiment

The early part of the twentieth century saw massive changes in the everyday life of people in cities. The recent inventions of the automobile, airplane, and telephone shrank distances around the world and sped up the pace of life. Freud's theory of the unconscious and infantile sexuality radically altered the popular understanding of the mind and identity, and the late-nineteenth-century thinkers Karl Marx and Friedrich Nietzsche in different ways undermined traditional notions of truth, certainty, and morality. Theoretical science, meanwhile, was rapidly shifting from two-hundred-year-old Newtonian models to Einstein's theory of relativity and finally to quantum mechanics.

At least partly in response to this acceleration of life and thought, a wave of aggressively experimental movements, sometimes collectively termed "modernist" because of their emphasis on radical innovation, swept through Europe. In Paris, the Spanish expatriate painter Pablo Picasso and the Frenchman Georges Braque developed cubism, a style of painting that abandoned realism and traditional perspective to fragment space and explode form. In Italy, the spokesperson for futurism, F. T. Marinetti, led an artistic movement that touched on everything from painting to poetry to cooking and encouraged an escape from the past into the rapid, energetic, mechanical world of the automobile, the airplane, and Marinetti's own "aeropoetics." Dadaists such as the Frenchman Marcel Duchamp, author of the ready-made *Fountain* (1917), a urinal, began a guerilla campaign against established notions of sense and the boundaries of what could be called art. In music, meanwhile, composers such as the Frenchman Claude Debussy and Russian-born Igor Stravinsky were beginning experiments with rhythm and harmony that would soon culminate in the outright atonality of composers such as the Austrians Arnold Schoenberg and Alban Berg.

In England, this outbreak of modernist experiment influenced a loosely interrelated network of groups and individuals, many of them based in London. In anglophone literature, "modernism" more nearly describes an era than a unitary movement. But what connects the modernist writers—aside from a rich web of personal and professional connections—is a shared desire to break with established forms and subjects in art and literature. Influenced by European art movements, many modernist writers rejected realistic representation and traditional formal expectations. In the novel, they explored the Freudian depths of their characters' psyches through stream of consciousness and interior monologue. In poetry, they mixed slang with elevated language, experimented with free verse, and often studded their works with difficult allusions and disconnected images. Ironically, the success of modernism's initially radical techniques eventually transformed them into the established norms that would be resisted by later generations.

Among the earliest groups to shape English-language modernism were the imagists, a circle of poets led initially by the Englishman T. E. Hulme and the American Ezra Pound, in the early 1910s. Imagist poetic doctrine included the use of plain speech, the preference for free

verse over closed forms, and above all the creation of the vivid, hard-edged image. The first two of these tenets in particular helped to shape later modernism and have had a far-reaching impact on poetic practice in English. Shaped by Asian forms such as the haiku, the imagist poem tended to be brief and ephemeral, presenting a single striking image or metaphor (see "An Imagist Cluster" in *NAEL*). Pound soon dissociated himself from the movement, and the imagists—including the poets H. D., Richard Aldington, and John Gould Fletcher—continued to publish their annual anthology under the leadership of the American poet Amy Lowell.

Pound, meanwhile, went on to become a literary proponent of vorticism, an English movement in the visual arts led by the painter and writer Wyndham Lewis. The vorticists championed energy and life over what they saw as the turpitude of European society and sought to tap into or create the concentration of energies they dubbed a "vortex." After having published only one issue of their now notorious journal *Blast*, the vorticists suddenly found their often violent rhetoric and their ambivalence about English national identity at odds with the real violence of World War I and the wartime climate of patriotism. The second issue of *Blast*—published behind schedule and dubbed a "war number"—declared the vorticists' loyalty to England in the fight against German fascism on aesthetic grounds. It also announced the death in the trenches of one of the movement's leading lights, the French-born sculptor Henri Gaudier-Brzeska. This loss and the general dispersal of the vorticists mark a major turning point for English modernism.

As modernism developed, the flashy, aggressive polemics of Lewis and Pound were replaced by the more reasoned, essayistic criticism of Pound's friend and collaborator T. S. Eliot. Eliot's *Waste Land* and James Joyce's *Ulysses* were technically innovative and initially controversial (*Ulysses* was banned in the United States and Great Britain), but their eventual acceptance as literary landmarks helped to bring modernism into the canon of English literature. In the decades to come, the massive influence of Eliot as a critic would transform the image of modernism into what Eliot himself called classicism, a position deeply rooted in a sense of the literary past and emphasizing the impersonality of the work of art.

In the post-World War II period, modernism became the institutionally approved norm against which later poetic movements, from the "Movement" of Philip Larkin to avant-garde Language Poetry, reacted. Nonetheless, the influence of modernism, both on those artists who have repudiated it and on those who have followed its direction, was pervasive. Joyce, Eliot, Virginia Woolf, and other modernists provided compositional strategies still central to literature. Writers as diverse as W. H. Auden, Samuel Beckett, Derek Walcott, and Salman Rushdie have all, in one way or another, continued to extend the discoveries of the modernist experiment—adapting modernist techniques to new political climates marked by the Cold War and its aftermath, as well as to the very different histories of formerly colonized nations. Like the early twentieth-century avant-garde in European art and music, meanwhile, literary modernism has continued to shape a sense of art as a form of cultural revolution that must break with established history, constantly pushing out the boundaries of artistic practice.

20^{th} *Century* 4) Imagining Ireland

Easter 1916 to the Troubles

Europe's former colonies struggled often violently for political sovereignty as nation-states. Ireland, Britain's oldest former colony, was one of the first to fight for its independence in the first half of the twentieth century. In addition to the creation of a new government, Ireland's struggle for independence entailed creating new ideas about Irish national identity through literature and the arts. This Norton Online Topic explores how twentieth-century Irish writers attempted to re-imagine Ireland, particularly during two periods of crisis: in the aftermath of the Easter Rebellion in 1916 and the later outbreaks of sectarian violence from 1969 (known as the Troubles) in Northern Ireland.

The 1916 Easter Rising grew out of Irish political and cultural nationalism and the desire for political sovereignty in Ireland. The growing resentment over the British control of Ireland led a secret revolutionary group known as the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) to plan to take over Dublin on Easter Sunday, April 23, 1916.

On the day after Easter, Monday, April 24, 1916, a group of Irish leaders (including Thomas Clarke, Padraic Pearse, Thomas MacDonagh, and James Connolly) and about 1,600 Irish rebels, both men and women, took over several buildings and streets in the center of Dublin. On the steps of the General Post Office in Dublin, Pearse issued a Proclamation of Ireland's independence from British rule, announcing the birth of the Republic of Ireland and the institution of a provisional government. Five days later, with much of Dublin's city-center in ruins and aflame, the leaders were forced to surrender to a much larger British military force. In the ensuing weeks, fifteen of the leaders of the Easter Rising were executed by firing squad. At the time of the Easter Rising many Irish people were skeptical of the rebels' efforts to force the British Empire from Ireland. But after the swift execution and mass imprisonment of the Irish rebels, the public became more fervently nationalist, opposing the British presence in Ireland. As a result, the leaders of the Rising became martyrs within the public imagination.

The Easter Rising challenged modern Irish writers to re-imagine the Irish nation and national identity. Irish writers criticized the tyranny of British colonialism and shared the hope for an independent Ireland. Yet they also depicted the dangers of Irish nationalism, including its connections with armed violence, with cultural exclusion and racism, and, especially, with the ethic of blood sacrifice. In different ways, both W. B. Yeats's poem "Easter, 1916" and Sean O'Casey's play *The Plough and the Stars* ask skeptical questions about a violent Irish nationalism, even as they imagine an Ireland free from colonial rule.

Many Irish writers have figured the Irish nation as a woman to be fought for, as in the Easter 1916 Proclamation: "Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom." Since the rise of feminism in the 1960s, contemporary Irish women writers such as Eavan Boland (*NAEL*) have attempted to revise this image of Ireland as woman—both to bear witness to real Irish women's oppression and to criticize how the long history of British colonialism has limited Irish conceptions of gender and nationality.

Though Ireland gained national independence in 1922, the island of Ireland is not politically united. The twenty-six counties that comprise most of the island form the Republic of Ireland; the largely Catholic Republic (called only "Ireland") is fully independent from British rule. The six counties forming Northern Ireland are still under British control, and they constitute a separate political entity. Northern Ireland is also religiously divided between a Roman Catholic minority and an Ulster Protestant majority, and Ulster Protestants have historically had more political and economic power than Northern Irish Catholics. The combination of political and economic inequality and religious differences between these two groups has contributed to the waves of political and sectarian violence, or Troubles, since the late 1960s.

The Troubles began when civil rights marches by Northern Irish Catholics for equal housing, voting, and economic rights were forcibly broken up by the Northern Irish police, or Royal Ulster Constabulary. On Sunday, January 30, 1972, during a demonstration against the unlawful imprisonment of Catholics, British soldiers fatally shot thirteen unarmed demonstrators and wounded another fourteen. "Bloody Sunday" inflamed Northern Irish Catholics and led in the

1970s and '80s to increased armed conflict between Catholic and Protestant paramilitary groups, frequent bombings, the deployment of more British troops and tanks to the streets of Northern Ireland, and the illegal internment of Catholics suspected of paramilitary ties. By the 1990s, however, political leaders from both sides (including Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein

and John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labour Party) began a series of talks to end the conflict in Northern Ireland. With the help of other Northern Irish leaders, British Prime Minister Tony Blair, and U.S. President Bill Clinton, these talks culminated in the Good Friday Agreement on April 10, 1998. This document effectively gives Northern Irish people the power to implement and run their own government apart from Westminster, London. The following month, the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland overwhelmingly passed by referendum the Good Friday Agreement. Despite the passing of the Agreement and the IRA announcement of a ceasefire in 1994, the political climate in Northern Ireland remains tense.

Like earlier modern Irish writers, contemporary Northern Irish writers have also felt compelled to respond to the Troubles in order to re-imagine Northern Ireland. The frequency and intensity of the Troubles have placed new pressures and raised new questions for Northern Irish writers. How, for instance, can a Northern Irish writer illustrate the disturbing nature of political violence without sensationalizing it? Can literature effectively offer

consolation in the face of such atrocities? How can national unity and inclusiveness be imagined amidst ongoing cultural, political, and religious divisions? In works that range from elegy to farce, these are among the questions grappled with by writers of different political and religious communities, including Seamus Heaney, Paul Muldoon, Michael Longley, Fiona Barr, and a London-born writer of Irish parentage, Martin McDonagh.

The bloody events of the 1916 Easter Rising and the Troubles in Northern Ireland, both historical outgrowths of British colonialism, have had a lasting impact on how Irish and Northern Irish writers imagine the nation. Irish writers such as Yeats, James Joyce, and O'Casey were among the century's earliest postcolonial subjects to forge, question, and critique the meaning of the Irish nation and national identity. Yeats and Joyce have influenced postcolonial writers from countries that gained independence later in the century, such as Salman Rushdie (India), Derek Walcott (St. Lucia), and Chinua Achebe (Nigeria). Contemporary Irish, Northern Irish, and Irish diaspora writers such as Heaney, Longley, Muldoon, Boland, Barr, and McDonagh continue to make sense of the still-present history of British colonialism, the fact and meaning of sectarian and political violence, and they sometimes even glimpse hope for peace and reconciliation.

Notes:

- The roots of modern literature are in the late nineteenth century.
- The war produced major shifts in attitudes towards Western myths of progress and civilization.
- The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of internationally acclaimed voices from the former imperial dominions.
- The years leading up to World War I saw the start of a poetic revolution.
- By the end of the century modernism had given way to the striking pluralism of postmodernism and postcolonialism.
- Samuel Beckett played a leading role in the anglophone absorption of modernist experiment in drama.

Summaries

The roots of modern literature are in the late nineteenth century. Rejecting Victorian notions of the artist's moral duty, the aesthetic movement widened the bread between writers and the general public. The "alienation" of the artist underlies key works of modernism. The last decades of Victoria's reign also saw the emergence of a mass literate population. Modernity disrupted the old order, casting into doubt previously stable assumptions about the self, community, and the divine. Freud's psychoanalysis changed understandings of rationality and personal development. As the influence of organized religion weakened, many writers looked to literature as an alternative.

As terms applied to cultural history, *Edwardian* (1901-1910) suggestsa period marked by intellectual change but social continuity with Victorian times, while *Georgian* refers to the lull before the storm of World War I. The war produced major shifts in attitudes towards Western myths of progress and civilization. The 1930s in Britain were called the red decade, for the only solution to economic dislocation seemed to lie in socialism or communism. Victory in World War II was accompanied by diminution in British political power. In the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher's conservative policies widened the gap between rich and poor and between the constituent parts of the United Kingdom. Under Tony Blair, elected in 1997, Scotland and Wales were empowered to elect their own legislative bodies.

In 1914, nearly a quarter of the earth's surface and more than a quarter of its population were under British dominion. Following victory in the Second World War, Britain lost its empire. The twentieth century witnessed the emergence of internationally acclaimed voices from the former imperial dominions. Migrants to Britain from the Commonwealth brought distinctive vernaculars and cultural identities with them, prompting a large-scale and ongoing rethinking of national identity. In the 1970s and 1980s a younger generation of black and Asian British writers emerged, including Salman Rushdie, Hanif Kureishi and John Agard.

The years leading up to World War I saw the start of a poetic revolution. The imagist movement arose in reaction against Romantic fuzziness and emotionalism in poetry. A new

critical movement went hand in hand with the new poetry, and T. S. Eliot was high priest of both. Poets looked back to the Metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century and produced work of much greater intellectual complexity than the Victorians. In the 1950s, poets such as Philip Larkin and Thom Gunn were members of "the Movement," which emphasized purity of diction and a neutral tone. Leading poets at the close of the century were the Irishman Seamus Heaney and the West Indian Derek Walcott, both of whom combine elements of the English literary tradition with the rhythms of their native lands.

The twentieth-century novel experienced three major movements. High modernism, lasting through the 1920s, celebrated personal and textual inwardness, complexity, and difficulties. High modernists like Woolf and Joyce wrote in the wake of the shattering of confidence in old certainties. The 1930s through the 1950s saw a return to social realism and moralism as a reaction against modernism. Writers like Murdoch and Golding were consciously retrospective in their investment in moral form. By the end of the century modernism had given way to the striking pluralism of postmodernism and postcolonialism.

Although there were major innovations in Continental drama in the first half of the twentieth century, in Britain the impact of these innovations was delayed by a conservative theater establishment until the late 1950s and 1960s. Samuel Beckett played a leading role in the anglophone absorption of modernist experiment in drama. In the shadow of the mass death of World War II, Beckett's absurdist intimation of an existential darkness without redemption gave impetus to a seismic shift in British drama. The Theatres Act of 1968 abolished the power of censorship that had rested in the Lord Chamberlain's Office. Wole Soyinka and Derek Walcott, two eminent poets from Britain's former dominions, helped breathe new life and diversity into English drama.

TimeLine

of the

Twentieth

Century

English Literature

The Twentieth Century

TEXTS	CONTEXTS
	1901-10 Reign of Edward VII
1902 **Joseph Conrad**, *Heart of Darkness*	**1902** End of the Anglo-Boer War
	1903 Henry Ford founds Ford Motor Company. Wright Brothers make the first successful airplane flight
	1905 Albert Einstein, theory of special relativity. Impressionist exhibition, London
	1910 Post-Impressionist exhibition, London
	1910-36 Reign of George V
1910 **Bernard Shaw**, *Pygmalion*	
1914 **James Joyce**, *Dubliners.* Thomas Hardy, *Satires of Circumstance*	**1914-18** World War I
1916 **Joyce**, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*	**1916** Easter Uprising in Dublin
1917 **T. S. Eliot**, *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*	
1918 **Gerard Manley Hopkins**, *Poems*	**1918** Armistice. Franchise Act grants vote to women over thirty
1920 **D. H. Lawrence**, *Women in Love*	**1920** Treaty of Versailles. League of Nations formed
1921 **William Butler Yeats**, *Michael Robartes and the Dancer*	**1921** Formation of Irish Free State with Northern Ireland (Ulster) remaining part of Great Britain
1922 **Katherine Mansfield**, *The Garden Party and Other Stories.* Joyce, *Ulysses.* Eliot, *The Waste Land.*	
1924 **Forster**, *A Passage to India*	
1927 **Virginia Woolf**, *To the Lighthouse*	
1928 **Yeats**, *The Tower*	
1929 **Woolf**, *A Room of One's Own.* Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That*	**1929** Stock market crash; the Great Depression begins
1930 **Siegfried Sassoon**, *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer*	
	1933 Hitler comes to power in Germany
1935 **Eliot**, *Murder in the Cathedral*	
	1936-39 Spanish Civil War
	1936 Edward VIII succeeds George V but abdicates in favor of his brother, crowned as George VI
1937 **David Jones**, *In Parenthesis*	
1939 **Joyce**, *Finnegans Wake.* Yeats, *Last Poems and Two Plays*	**1939-45** World War II
	1940 Fall of France. Battle of Britain
	1941-45 The Holocaust
1944 **Eliot**, *Four Quartets*	
1945 **W. H. Auden**, *Collected Poems.* George Orwell, *Animal Farm*	**1945** First atomic bombs dropped, on Japan
1946 **Dylan Thomas**, *Deaths and Entrances*	
	1947 India and Pakistan become independent nations
1949 **Orwell**, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*	
	1950 Apartheid laws passed in South Africa
1955 **Samuel Beckett**, *Waiting for Godot*	
	1956 Suez Crisis

	1961 Berlin Wall erected
1962 **Doris Lessing,** *The Golden Notebook*	**1962** Cuban missile crisis
1964 **Philip Larkin,** *The Whitsun Weddings*	
	1965 U.S. troops land in South Vietnam
1966 **Nadine Gordimer,** *The Late Bourgeois World.* **Tom Stoppard,** *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*	
1969 **Jean Rhys,** *Wide Sargasso Sea*	**1969** Apollo moon landing
1971 **V. S. Naipaul,** *In a Free State*	**1971** Indo-Pakistan War, leading to creation of Bangladesh
1972 **Seamus Heaney,** *North*	**1972** Britain enters European Common Market
	1973 U.S. troops leave Vietnam
1979 **Craig Raine,** *A Martian Sends a Postcard Home*	**1979** Islamic Revolution in Iran; the Shah flees. Soviets invade Afghanistan
1980 **J. M. Coetzee,** *Waiting for the Barbarians*	**1980-88** Iran-Iraq War
1981 **Salman Rushdie,** *Midnight's Children*	
	1982 Falklands War
1988 **Rushdie,** *The Satanic Verses*	
	1989 Fall of the Berlin Wall. Tieneman Square, Beijing, demonstration and massacre
1991 **Derek Walcott,** *Omeros*	**1991** Collapse of the Soviet Union
1992 **Thom Gunn,** *The Man with Night Sweats*	
	1994 Democracy comes to South Africa
	1997 Labour Party victory in the UK ends eighteen years of Conservative government
1998 **Ted Hughes,** *Birthday Letters*	**1998** Anglo-American bombing of Iraq. British handover of Hong Kong to China. Northern Ireland Assembly established

1. Which of the following phrases best characterizes the late-nineteenth century aesthetic movement which widened the breach between artists and the reading public, sowing the seeds of modernism?

○ **a)** art for intellect's sake

○ **b)** art for God's sake

○ **c)** art for the masses

◉ **d)** art for art's sake

○ **e)** art for sale

2. What was the impact on literature of the Education Act of 1870, which made elementary schooling compulsory?

◉ **a)** the emergence of a mass literate population at whom a new mass-produced literature could be directed

○ **b)** a new market for basic textbooks which paid better than sophisticated novels or plays

○ **c)** a popular thirst for the "classics," driving contemporary writers to the margins

○ **d)** a, b and c

○ **e)** none of the above

3. Which text exemplifies the anti-Victorianism prevalent in the early twentieth century?

○ **a)** *Eminent Victorians*

○ **b)** *Jungle Books*

○ **c)** *Philistine Victorians*

○ **d)** *The Way of All Flesh*

◉ **e)** both a and d

4. With which enormously influential perspective or practice is the early-twentieth-century thinker Sigmund Freud associated?

○ **a)** eugenics

◉ **b)** psychoanalysis

○ **c)** phrenology

○ **d)** anarchism

○ **e)** all of the above

5. Which thinker had a major impact on early-twentieth-century writers, leading them to reimagine human identity in radically new ways?

○ **a)** Sigmund Freud

○ **b)** Sir James Frazer

○ **c)** Immanuel Kant

○ **d)** Friedrich Nietzsche

◉ **e)** all but c

6. Which scientific or technological advance did not take place in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century?

○ **a)** Albert Einstein's theory of relativity

○ **b)** wireless communication across the Atlantic

◉ **c)** the creation of the internet

○ **d)** the invention of the airplane

○ **e)** the mass production of cars

7. Which best describes the imagist movement, exemplified in the work of T. E. Hulme and Ezra Pound?

○ **a)** a poetic aesthetic vainly concerned with the way words appear on the page

◉ **b)** an effort to rid poetry of romantic fuzziness and facile emotionalism, replacing it with a precision and clarity of imagery

○ **c)** an attention to alternate states of consciousness and uncanny imagery

○ **d)** the resurrection of Romantic poetic sensibility

○ **e)** a neoplatonic poetics that stresses the importance of poetry aiming to achieve its ideal "form"

8. What characteristics of seventeenth-century Metaphysical poetry sparked the enthusiasm of modernist poets and critics?

○ **a)** its intellectual complexity

○ **b)** its union of thought and passion

○ **c)** its uncompromising engagement with politics

◉ **d)** a and b

○ **e)** a,b, and c

9. In the 1930s, younger writers such as W. H. Auden were more _____ but less _____ than older modernists such as Eliot and Pound.

○ **a)** popular; reverenced

○ **b)** brash; confident

◉ **c)** radical; inventive

○ **d)** anxious; haunting

○   **e)** spiritual; orthodox

10. Which poet could be described as part of "The Movement" of the 1950s?

○   **a)** Thom Gunn

○   **b)** Dylan Thomas

○   **c)** Pablo Picasso

○   **d)** Philip Larkin

◉   **e)** both a and d

11. Which British dominion achieved independence in 1921-22, following the Easter Rising of 1916?

◉   **a)** the southern counties of Ireland

○   **b)** Canada

○   **c)** Ulster

○   **d)** India

○   **e)** Ghana

12. Which of the following writers did not come from Ireland?

○   **a)** W. B. Yeats

○   **b)** James Joyce

○   **c)** Seamus Heaney

○   **d)** Oscar Wilde

◉   **e)** none of the above; all came from Ireland

13. Which phrase indicates the interior flow of thought employed in high-modern literature?

○   **a)** automatic writing

○   **b)** confused daze

○   **c)** total recall

◉   **d)** stream of consciousness

○   **e)** free association

14. Which of the following is not associated with high modernism in the novel?

○   **a)** stream of consciousness

○   **b)** free indirect style

    ○ **c)** irresolute open endings

    ○ **d)** the "mythical method"

    ◉ **e)** narrative realism

15. Which novel did T. S. Eliot praise for utilizing a new "mythical method" in place of the old "narrative method" and demonstrates the use of ancient mythology in modernist fiction to think about "making the modern world possible for art"?

    ○ **a)** Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*

    ○ **b)** Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*

    ○ **c)** James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*

    ○ **d)** E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*

    ◉ **e)** James Joyce's *Ulysses*

16. Who wrote the dystopian novel *Nineteen-Eighty-Four* in which Newspeak demonstrates the heightened linguistic self-consciousness of modernist writers?

    ◉ **a)** George Orwell

    ○ **b)** Virginia Woolf

    ○ **c)** Evelyn Waugh

    ○ **d)** Orson Wells

    ○ **e)** Aldous Huxley

17. Which of the following novels display postwar nostalgia for past imperial glory?

    ○ **a)** E. M. Forster's *A Passage to India*

    ○ **b)** Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea*

    ○ **c)** Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*

    ◉ **d)** Paul Scott's *Staying On*

    ○ **e)** c and d

18. Which of the following would be considered postcolonial novelists, defined as coming historically after the era of England's large-scale imperialism?

    ◉ **a)** Salman Rushdie

    ○ **b)** Joseph Conrad

    ○ **c)** Rabindranath Tagore

    ○ **d)** John Ruskin

    ○ **e)** a and c

19. When was the ban finally lifted on D. H. Lawrence's novel Lady Chatterley's Lover, written in 1928.

    ○ **a)** 1930

    ○ **b)** 1945

    ◉ **c)** 1960

    ○ **d)** 2000

    ○ **e)** The ban has not yet been formally lifted.

20. Which of the following was originally the Irish Literary Theatre?

    ○ **a)** the Irish National Theatre

    ○ **b)** the Globe Theatre

    ○ **c)** the Independent Theatre

    ○ **d)** the Abbey Theatre

    ◉ **e)** both a and d

21. What did T. S. Eliot attempt to combine, though not very successfully, in his plays *Murder in the Cathedral* and *The Cocktail Party*?

    ○ **a)** regional dialect and political critique

    ◉ **b)** religious symbolism and society comedy

    ○ **c)** iambic pentameter and sexual innuendo

    ○ **d)** witty paradoxes and feminist diatribe

    ○ **e)** all of the above

22. How did one critic sum up Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*?

    ◉ **a)** "nothing happens-twice"

    ○ **b)** "political correctness gone mad"

    ○ **c)** "kitchen sink drama"

    ○ **d)** "angry young men

    ○ **e)** "better than *Cats*"

23. In what decade did the "angry young men" come to prominence on the theatrical scene?

    ○ **a)** 1910s

    ○ **b)** 1930s

    ◉ **c)** 1950s

    ○ **d)** 1970s

○ **e)** 1990s

24. What event allowed mainstream theater companies to commission and perform work that was politically, socially, and sexually controversial without fear of censorship?

◉ **a)** the abolition of the Lord Chamberlain's office in 1968

○ **b)** the illegal performance of work by Howard Brenton and Edward Bond

○ **c)** the collapse of liberal humanist consensus in the late 1960s

○ **d)** the foundation of the Field Day Theater Company in 1980

○ **e)** the establishment of the Abbey Theater

25. Which of the following has been a significant development in British theater since the abolition of censorship in 1968?

○ **a)** the rise of workshops and the collaborative ethos

○ **b)** the emergence of a major cohort of women dramatists

○ **c)** the diversifying impact of playwrights from the former colonies

○ **d)** the death of the musical

◉ **e)** all but d

26. Which events in and after the 1960s contributed significantly to the decentralization of England from London to a more regional focus, ultimately also making way for a less homogenous vision of England and the popularity of postcolonial fiction?

○ **a)** Radio announcers were permitted to speak in regional dialects and multicultural accents.

○ **b)** The Arts Council designated many of its resources to supporting regional arts councils.

○ **c)** Regional radio and television stations appeared throughout the country.

◉ **d)** all of the above

○ **e)** Margaret Thatcher became the first woman prime minister.

27. What was the significance of the voyage of the *Empire Windrush*?

○ **a)** It brought the last group of English convicts to Australia in 1901.

○ **b)** It was sunk by the German navy in 1914, bringing the United States into World War I.

◉ **c)** It brought the first group of immigrants from Jamaica to England in 1948.

○ **d)** It delivered a small dog into space in 1959, and returned it to earth.

○ **e)** It was the last ship to be built at Clydeside before the collapse of the British ship-building industry.

28. What did Henry James describe as "loose baggy monsters"?

a) novels

b) plays

c) the English

d) publishers

e) his trousers