1950

The development of character portrayal in the English novel from Lyly through Defoe

https://hdl.handle.net/2144/4735

Boston University
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER PORTRAYAL IN THE ENGLISH
NOVEL FROM LYLY THROUGH DEFOE

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(Ph. B. Providence College, 1941)
submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
1950
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## TOPICAL OUTLINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. SIXTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature of deportment</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE WORKS OF JOHN LYLY</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphues: The Anatomie of Wyt</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of Euphues</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didactic aim</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor characters</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphues and his England</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of Philautus</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of the ladies</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. SIDNEY'S ARCADIA</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin of the novel</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal description</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of interpreter</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal characters</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward love</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment of guile</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor characters</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of characterization</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. NASHE AND THE RISE OF REALISTIC PROSE FICTION</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early realism</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jest books</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beggar-books</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conny-catching pamphlets and repentant tracts</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nashe's The Unfortunate Traveller</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to Lazarillo de Tormes</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of realism</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portraiture</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech characteristics</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External morality</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE LONG VOID</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dearth of production</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imported romances</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance characterization</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-romances</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal biography and The Mary Carleton Narratives</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realism of characterization</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of the type</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epistolary impulse</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. BUNYAN'S THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place in novel history</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verisimilitude of characters</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realism</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluations of Bunyan's contribution</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. APHRA BEHN'S OROONOKO</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story outline</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance elements</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrait</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character contrast and didactic aim</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realism</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. THE WORKS OF DANIEL DEFOE</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of emotion</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic motivation</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of conscience</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor characters</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dialogue</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticism of The Fortunate Mistress</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characterization and motivation in The Fortunate Mistress</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot action of The Fortunate Mistress</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. CHARACTER WRITERS AND THE NOVEL</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of the type</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories of relationship between &quot;character&quot; and novel</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship of type characterization and purpose</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suggested alternative</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation of character contribution</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Because the field of the English novel is extensive and interest in the period from Lyly through Defoe is comparatively slight, histories of the novel devote little attention to the subject of character development previous to Richardson. In their surveys of this period the histories note literary tendencies, works which are considered contributory forms, and the more important novels. This method of development suggests by implication that the novel which appeared with Defoe and Richardson was the result of a combination of forces, all of which were manifest in either novels or other literary types which appeared previous to Defoe and Richardson. Since characterization is the basis of the novel, the historians' presentation implies that this aspect of the novel was subject to the same developmental forces.

Professor Bernbaum, on the other hand, believes that one form, the fictitious criminal biography, offers a much more direct, and therefore more logical approach to the novel as it appeared with Defoe. Bernbaum's theory suggests that in characterization this literary type is especially significant as a forerunner of Defoe.¹

¹ Ernest Bernbaum, The Mary Carleton Narratives, p. 103
The purpose of this thesis is to determine which of the proposed solutions to the problem of the rise of the novel is more satisfactory as an explanation of the characterization illustrated by Defoe's works.

To do this it is necessary to examine the characters in each of the major works from Lyly through Defoe, to illustrate the methods of characterization utilized by each author, and to determine the contribution of each novelist to the advance of realistic characterization. Since the years between Nashe and Bunyan lack novelists of major stature, this period is best considered in the light of the then prevailing literary tendencies, and in this portion of the study Bernbaum's claims for the criminal biography are examined. Because both Cross and Raleigh appear to believe that the "character," the most popular minor literary type of the seventeenth century, was influential in novel development, the relationship between these two forms must be investigated.

Critical studies that consider characterization previous to Richardson are surprisingly few. While occasional glimpses of accomplishment in characterization are found in special histories of the novel, of those works available during the course of this study only Wolff's *The Greek Romance in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Chandler's *Literature of Roguery*,

and Haviland's *The Roman de Longue Haleine on English Soil*, offer anything but general observations. Critical essays are silent on the subject of characterization previous to Richardson, none directly related to this study having been found.

Only one history of the novel, Baker's monumental *History of the English Novel*, devotes more than a paragraph or two to the character writers, yet most attribute, at least by implication, varying degrees of influence. Critical essays on the character writers are fairly numerous, Baldwin having contributed three essays on various aspects of the characters. Thompson's *Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance* and Miss Murphy's *A Cabinet of Characters* present what appear to be the most scholarly criticism of the characters.
CHAPTER I

SIXTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND

Sixteenth century England showed an insatiable curiosity in her study of the habits, languages and literature of her neighbors. Demonstrating a catholicity of taste, the English translated, adapted, and imitated French, Italian, and Spanish literature. Fiction, travel, religion, education, manners, morals, and government—everything new was of interest. Growing in strength and importance, England looked to the Continent for models in all things, and one need only to read Ascham\(^1\) as he inveighs against the "Italianate Englishman" to realize that she found them, to the dismay of some of the more conservative Englishmen.

Of great concern were the education and demeanor of the gentleman, and volumes of both domestic and foreign origin throughout the century testify to the interest in the subject. The *Boke of the Governour*, published by Sir Thomas Elyot in 1531, was one of the more noted early volumes intended to direct the education of those who would hold high office. The fourth edition was published in 1544 and other editions appeared later in the century. Probably the most influential conduct book translated during this period was Castiglione's *Courtier* (1561). Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby after extended

\(^1\) Roger Ascham, *Scholemaster*, pp. 502-504
travels in Italy and residence in Rome, the book presents the picture of the ideal Renaissance gentlemen. It is interesting to note that the picture emerges as the result of drawing-room discussions, a characteristic of Lyly's second work, *Euphues and his England* (1581). In addition to Hoby and Elyot, two other famous English Renaissance figures contributed to the growing list of works on conduct and education. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, more noted as adventurer, sailor, and colonizer, turned his attention to the subject of education in *Queene Elizabeth's Achademy*, published after 1562. Ascham's *Scholemaster*, printed in 1660, concerns not only education, but also bitterly condemns novelty in dress, speech, and manners, particularly those modelled on the Italian. Within ten years, North's *Diall of Princes* (1567) appeared. This was a translation of Guevara through the French and employed most of the elements of the style to be made popular by Lyly. The book is a didactic novel designed to delineate the life and character of an ideal prince, Marcus Aurelius. Other translations of Guevara were *A Looking Glasse for the Court* (1575) and his *Golden Epistles* (1577).

In fiction the epic romances continued to be printed and reprinted, but the day of valorous deeds and knights in shining armor was passing, and the Italian novelle with their pictures of society and manners were being translated, adapted, and imitated in such collections as Paynter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566) and Pettie's *Pettie Palace of Pettie his Pleasure*. 
Paynter's collection included tales from Herodotus, Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus among the ancients, and Boocaccio, Bandello, Fiorentino, and Straparole among the more modern Italians. That these collections were intended to entertain is obvious from their titles.

In addition to the collections, individual works were written, of which Gascoigne's *The Adventures passed by Master F. J.* (1572), in some respects anticipated Euphues in its treatment of love, polite society, and the use of letters.

Since the novelle pictured a society in which England was interested, what was more logical than a combination of this and the lectures and sermons on religion, education, life, and love in which the Elizabethan was also interested? Intended both to please and to instruct, such a work should offend no one and should appeal to a great audience. Such was the practical conclusion of John Lyly whose *Euphues* (1579) and *Euphues and his England* (1581) mark the beginning, however slight, of the English novel.
CHAPTER II

THE WORKS OF JOHN LYLY

Euphues: The Anatomie of Wyt, is more often remembered as the popularizer of a style of writing and speech than as the progenitor of the English novel, and the first reading provides ample explanation for this. It is almost an impossibility to maintain the narrative thread while being bombarded with puns, rhyme, repetition, alliteration, and similes, in addition to what has often been called "unnatural natural history". Only with the second reading and the conscious stripping away of the impediments does the story appear, and despite its possibilities, it is slight.

A young man of Athens, tired of friends and surroundings, travels to Naples where he meets and becomes an intimate friend of Philautus, a native of that city. Introduced by Philautus to his beloved Lucilla, Euphues immediately falls in love with her and she with him. Both repress any lingering affection for Philautus and pledge their undying love. Lucilla, however, proves fickle, marries another, and Euphues and Philautus, having the additional bond of mutual commiseration, are rejoined in friendship.

This is the entire narrative of Euphues. The remainder of the book consists of a series of moral disquisitions in the form of lectures on the education of children, arguments for the existence of God, and letters of advice, reproof, caution
or consolation to various people, some of whom are unknown to the reader. The letters, with one exception, have no relationship to the narrative.

As judged by modern standards, Lyly's lack of success as a writer of prose fiction, is almost universally admitted. One notable exception, however, is Sir Edmund Gosse who says:

Lyly conceived a new thing, the novel of character and analysis, where hardly anything happens externally but all the interest is based on the clash of temperaments and the secret movements of the soul.

This rather enthusiastic evaluation may be misleading to one who has not read the text. That he may have unconsciously conceived a new thing may be granted, but because reader interest is not genuinely aroused, his success in execution is slight. This Sir Edmund fails to emphasize. An analysis of plot and characterization reveals the extent to which the statement must be modified.

The opening paragraph sketches briefly the character and condition of Euphues, a young man of Athens. Wealthy, handsome, brilliant, the brilliance being of wit, not wisdom, his time is spent in jesting, quipping, merry taunting, and uttering fine phrases. Inferior to none, he feels superior to all, and deserting friends and Athens determines to travel and arrives finally at Naples where he decides to settle. The author reveals little more of Euphues' character other than that he is

1 Sir Edmund Gosse, "Lyly and his Euphuism", Silhouettes, p. 25
wary in his offering of friendship to those who soon swarm about him.

The first opportunity to observe Euphues in action occurs when an old man, Eubulus, concerned at the manner of the young man's living, proffers kindly advice. In his response Euphues clearly exhibits the faults with which he has been drawn. Taunting and railing, he reveals the unlovely picture of a smug, complacent, and disrespectful young man overly impressed with his own capabilities. Rather than reproduce an extensive portion of a tiresome speech, the following sentence exhibits sufficiently well the attitude and character of Euphues.

But it may be, that you measure my affections by your owne fancies, and knowing your selfe either too simple to rayse the siege of pollycie, or too weake to resist the assault by provessse, you deeme me of as lyttle wit as your selfe, or of lesse force, eyther of small capacitie, or of no courage.2

After two months residence in Naples, Euphues determines that Philautus is most worthy of friendship and most desirable as a friend. Approaching him at the first opportunity, Euphues offers himself as Damon to Philautus' Pythias.

Shortly after the exchange of pledges of eternal friendship, Euphues accompanies Philautus to the home of Don Ferado, whose daughter, Lucilla, had been courted by Philautus for three years. Before the evening is over Euphues and Lucilla are violently in love. The sudden and devastating reversal of

2 John Lyly, Euphues: The Anatomie of Wyt, p. 193
friendship and love which ensues, and the feelings it arouses in both Lucilla and Euphues are then exhibited in soliloquys. Lucilla alternately berates and commends herself for her preference for Euphues, considers the effect such an alliance would have on her father, and finally determines so to behave herself "as Euphues shall thinks me his owne, and Philautus persuade himselfe I am none but his." 2

Euphues, in the meantime, without considering the effect on Philautus, determines that:

...where love beareth sway, friendship can have no shew: As Philautus brought me for his shadowe the last supper, so will I use him for my shadowe til I have gained his Saint...and because I resemble him in wit I mean a little to dissemble with him in wyles. 3

He succeeds in deceiving Philautus, convincing him that he has fallen in love with Livia, a gentlewoman of the household of Don Ferado. Philautus, the faithful friend, responds to Euphues' appeal for help by returning with him to Don Ferado's home where, by one of those surprisingly fortuitous chances more common to the romance, Euphues and Lucilla are thrown together alone. After Lucilla hears Euphues' initial declaration of love, she artfully plays him until, fearing she may have been too severe, she succumbs and confesses her love, yet, as Lyly says, "alwayes keepinge the body undefiled."

Euphues' subsequent actions reveal even greater depths of villainy, for Philautus discovers the situation and, in a

2 Ibid., p. 207
3 Ibid., p. 209
soliloquy, of course, declaims against friendship and blames both Euphues and Lucilla for the situation in which he finds himself. He then writes a letter to Euphues in which he expresses the hope that Euphues experiences a like unhappiness. At the same time he spurns any revenge of arms. At this point, Lyly presents the most uncomplimentary picture of Euphues. Having received a heated letter from his once dearest friend who has done him nothing but good and who, in return, has had both friendship and love betrayed, "Euphues haung reade the contents was well content, setting his talke at naughte, and aunsering his taunts in...gibing tearmes..."

Poetic justice overtakes Euphues, and on his next visit to Lucilla he finds himself discarded in favor of Curio, a man of neither wit nor wealth. Euphues repents his past behavior and resolves to return to Athens and there make philosophy his study. Don Ferado, broken hearted at the behavior of his daughter, dies, and Lucilla marries Curio. Philautus momentarily rejoices at the misery of Euphues, but his better nature asserts itself and in turn he pities the false friend. The old friendship is revived, and both abandon Lucilla as most abominable.

After writing a "cooling Garde for Philautus", and a letter of justification and explanation to the "grave matrons and honest maidens of Italy", Euphues takes his farewell.

4 Ibid., p. 235
From this point on, all that holds the discourses and letters together is their common authorship, one letter which reveals the fate of Lucilla, and Lyly's interpolation of the information that after ten years Euphues abandons philosophy for the study of divinity. This last is offered to account for the discourse that follows in which Euphues converts an atheist.

The narrative portion of Euphues occupies less than one half of the text, and this is probably an accurate index of Lyly's interest in the story, for it is apparent that Lyly's concern was to offer moral instruction rather than to entertain. His object was to portray a young man of great potentiality who, because of his inflated ego, suffers a severe fall, and then to utilize this person as a moralist on diverse aspects of human experience.

The initial entry of Euphues on the Stationers' Register is of interest at this point.

'Secundo die Decembris (1578) Gabriell Cawood Licenced vnto him the Anotamie of witt Compiled by John Lyllie vnder the hande of the bishopp of London... xljd' Stationers' Register, ii342 (Arb. Transcript)5

The entry as a compilation is significant because the emphasis lies upon the letters, discourses, and dissertations, the moral portion of the text that did not originate with Lyly.

Lyly's principal concern in the narrative is, naturally, the behavior of Euphues, and other than his deliberate

5 Ibid., p. 100
characterization, he offers two situations by means of which the reader may judge Euphues. In the first, Euphues' spiteful and scornful rejection of the well-intended counsel of Eubulus is effective character portrayal, for it is revelation of Euphues acting in response to a stimulus. In the second and basic situation, the triangle, Euphues illustrates an almost complete lack of moral fiber. Betraying friendship was bad enough, but Euphues gloating over the misfortune of Philautus is despicable. Even Lucilla, whom both Euphues and Philautus finally agree to be abominable, considered her duty to Philautus before resolving upon a course of action. What then is Euphues who does not consider his cherished friend before robbing him of his love?

Lyly succeeds in portraying the type he wishes, but in a sense he succeeds too well. He sets forth the qualities of a youth and places him in situations in which he must act and reveal some aspect of his character. The situations, however, are too few, and the responses uniformly exhibit Euphues in an unfavorable light. This makes his transformation all the more remarkable, although his letter of consolation to Eubulus exhibits a degree of priggishness hardly desirable in the model character Euphues of the letters and lectures is supposed to be.

Since the action of the narrative is so slight, and because Euphues is the principal concern, the other characters are slightly drawn. Internal motivation for the action of Lucilla is absent and she becomes incredible. That a woman
could meet a man and fall in love with him immediately is possible; that she might reject the suit of one who had been a lover for three years and accept a new suitor despite foreknowledge of parental disapproval may also be possible; but that on her next meeting with the new lover, she should reject him so completely and finally in favor of a man of admittedly inferior quality, is to stretch possibility to the breaking point.

The purpose of Lyly in drawing Lucilla becomes apparent in her conversation with Euphues when she announces her change of heart.

...I haue chasen one (I must needs confesse) neither to be compared to Philautus in wealth, nor to thee in wit, neither in birth to the worst of you both, I thinck God gaue it me for a just plague for renouncing Philautus, & choosing thee, and sithens I am an ensample to all women of lightnesse, I am lyke also to be a myrrour to them all of unhappinesse,...

Here is the motivation for her act, proceeding not from her character but from Lyly's intention to make of her an "ensample to all women of lightnesse".

Philautus is hardly more than a name, for his only purpose is to act as target for Euphues' duplicity. In his actions, however, as is indicated by his forgiveness of the treachery of his friend, he reveals a more noble character than Euphues.

6 Ibid., pp. 238-9
With the exception of Euphues, the *Anatomie of Wyt* does not portray character, for the fiction is intended as bait to lead the reader to the moral disquisitions. Euphues is portrayed only so far as is necessary to create an intellectual concept to indicate the danger of the use of wit and abuse of wisdom.

Euphues and his England, although less well known than the *Anatomie of Wyt*, is more deserving of consideration as the first English novel. Rather than the patently didactic aim of the first of Lyly's books, the intention in the second is to entertain readers as well as to praise England. The title page with its "DELIGHTFUL TO be read" and the address "to the ladies" indicates the appeal of the edition. This does not mean that moral purpose is abandoned, but rather that it is toned down. Euphues' lectures and observations are more evenly distributed throughout the text, more characters and action are introduced, and the length is increased. Its principal deficiency, as in *Anatomie of Wyt*, is its lack of action.

On the voyage to England, Euphues tells a moral tale for the edification of seasick Philautus, and after landing and meeting Fidus the companions hear the tragic tale of Fidus and Iffida. Parting from Fidus, the pilgrims journey to London where Philautus is smitten with love for Camilla, and Euphues alters his opinion of women as expressed in the "Cooling Garde". Because of this alteration Philautus accuses Euphues of preaching one thing while believing another. Once more the
friendship is severed, and Philautus seeks forgetfulness in his fruitless pursuit of Camilla. Unable to win her, he resolves to end his life, but instead renews his friendship with Euphues, falls in love with Fraunces, and happily for both the reader and Philautus, he is at last successful in love. Euphues leaves England and retires to the Mount of Silexedra where he contemplates his old griefs.

Although *Euphues and his England* is longer and contains more characters than the *Anatomie of Wyt*, characterization is weak. Once again purpose restricts possibilities, for Lyly was more interested in portraying polite society than in writing a love story. Love, the cornerstone of *Euphues and his England*, is love as a topic of conversation and argumentation rather than a motivating force which might reveal character or personality.

When Philautus is finally convinced of the hopelessness of his suit, he expresses his supposed emotions in a long soliloquy and resolves upon suicide. A man in love as he is supposed to be might conceivably do this. It proves to be merely talk, however, and though temporarily dejected he almost immediately finds relief in a new love, Fraunces. If the letters and soliloquys are to be accepted as indicative of his true feelings, how can one account for his falling in love again so quickly except by attributing to him the fickleness of Lucilla? It appears that the analysis is merely a rhetorical device similar to that employed in the Greek romances and that
since most of the communing of the second book does not result in choice or avoidance of a course of action, it does not indicate character.

Philautus, it is true, is a more lively conception than in the first book, but this is necessary, for he is the protagonist and not Euphues, whose role is that of an observer and commentator. Lyly occasionally reveals Philautus in a comment or two, and Euphues, despite his name, further exhibits his unlovely nature when Philautus appeals for a restoration of their friendship. Euphues now is the injured party and his castigating response is so different from Philautus' generous action in the same situation in the first book that Euphues must sink even lower in the opinion of the reader.

The ladies of the second part, Camilla, and Iffida of the Fidus tale, are drawn with more vitality than Lucilla, but this does not indicate success. Lucilla was impossible. These, being English women, are virtuous, beautiful, witty, and wise, worthy of respect and love. Although nothing could restore Euphues' complete faith in the sex, he is forced to admit the possibility of virtue and worth in women, and, as a result, alter the attitude he adopted after the affair with Lucilla. Only to this extent is there any indication of changing character.

Lyly makes little attempt to create literary personalities. Only once in either book is one of the characters described, and this is limited to the revelation of the age of
Camilla, and the color of her hair and eyes. The dialogue is tedious and undifferentiated. The action is slight and the analysis, which seems to have impressed one critic so greatly, is not revelatory of character, but is simply rhetorical expression of an emotion.

Lyly's sole claim to fame as a novelist must rest with the execution of a new thing, a widely popular native English narrative which approximates the novel, and is not a romance as was Sydney's *Arcadia* which superseded his work.
CHAPTER III

SIDNEY'S ARCADIA

While in exile from the court in 1580, Sir Philip Sidney began the Arcadia which he called "an idle work... a trifle... triflingly handled". Written primarily for the entertainment of his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, the romance contains faults which Sidney might have amended had he intended his work for general consumption. In spite of any corrections which might have been made in the work, however, the modern reader would still experience difficulty in maintaining interest in its involved plot, sub-plots, and multitudinous characters. In contrast with Euphues, however, it is an enjoyable book.

Saintsbury, in his History of Elizabethan Literature says:

The Arcadia especially when contrasted with Euphues has the great merit of abundant and stirring incident and interest, of freedom from any single affectation so pestering and continuous as Lyly's similes, and of constant purple passages of poetical description and expression which are indeed not a little out of place in prose, but which are undeniably beautiful in themselves. But when this is said, all is said.

This statement minimizes the importance of the Arcadia, for this work, between 1590 and 1674, went through seventeen editions, was translated into French, provided Shakespeare with

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1 Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, p. XXXV
2 George Saintsbury, History of Elizabethan Literature, p. 41
the under plot of King Lear, furnished, if the charges of Milton be true, King Charles I a prayer in his distress, and resulted in the writing of several Arcadian romances by later authors.

Sidney's Arcadia is a combination of several romance types--heroic, chivalric, and pastoral. Fundamentally it is a combination of Montemayor's Diana, with traces of the Amadis and of the Greek pastoral romance framework of Heliodorus. Sidney combines a peasant revolt, a foray against a city, and a siege of a castle with attendant battles and knightly contests, with the Greek pastoral setting and machinery. Although the combination provides a new variety, like the romances which preceded it, it fails to develop character to any great extent.

That Sidney was not interested in character portrayal or in giving the reader a human portrait may be assumed from the lack of personal description of nearly all of the characters. Only Musidorus and Pyrocles are described physically at any time. The first description is an almost accidental reference; the second is a studied effort to reproduce for the reader the impression the heroes made on the audience at their trial. These two instances are the only visual aids in the entire Arcadia.

The first of these appears in Book II. Pyrocles, recounting his past adventures to Philoclea, speaks of the passion of Queen Andromana for both Musidorus and Pyrocles,
she being "torn in her mind between the lovely brownness of Musidorus his face and this colour of mine." 3 Certainly this scanty reference does little to delineate either man. The second and last description occurs in the latter half of the last book when the young men are on trial for their lives. Here Sidney devotes some care to the dress and personal appearance of both Pyrocles and Musidorus. For the first time we learn that Pyrocles has fair auburn hair and extremely white skin and that Musidorus has black curly hair. Immediately following, this lengthy description is offered:

Musidorus was in stature so much higher than Pyrocles as commonly is gotten by one years growth. His face, now beginning to have some token of a beard, was composed to a kind of manlike beauty. His colour was of so well-pleasing brownness, and the features of it such as they carried both delight and majesty; his countenance severe and promising a mind much given to thinking. Pyrocles, of a pure complexion and of such a cheerful favour as might seem either a woman's face in a boy, or an excellent boy's face in a woman: his look gentle and bashful which bred the more admiration, having showed such notable proofs of courage. Lastly though both had both if there were any odds, Musidorus was the more goodly, and Pyrocles the more lovely. 4

Although this passage is hardly capable of delineating clearly the abstract heroes, it does indicate a slight attention to personal appearance entirely lacking in Euphues. Its placement near the close of the story, however, may be indicative of Sidney's lack of concern for this kind of detail so

3 Sidney, op. cit., p. 198
4 Ibid., p. 457
much desired by the modern reader who would have his characters fully drawn in both appearance and action.

Other important characters, even the heroines Pamela and Philoclea, are completely without distinguishing physical features. There is, however, one person who might be real despite the criticism of Jusserand who observes, "Barely does he outline in his Arcadia the portrait of a cowardly peasant". That person is, strangely enough, Dametas, majordomo of the lodge of King Basilius and his family.

While Dametas does not occupy a position in the story comparable to that of the nobles, he is certainly as alive and comprehensible to the reader as any of the aristocracy. Sidney gives us the rolling head, shambling gait, one track mind, and muttered speech of a figure to be scorned. Dametas' thoughts are of sheep, weather, and forage—but what of this? His station demands it. As befits his position, he is a coward, but he conceals it under an air of braggadocio which becomes abject fear when put to the test. In revealing this cowardice, Dametas provides the humorous episodes of the story. In all things, Dametas is a low person, an object of contempt. This leads Sidney to do with him in concrete terms what he does with Pyrocles and Musidorus in high flown praises which reveal so little of person or character. In approaching caricature Sidney almost creates a human.

5 Jules J. Jusserand, Literary History of the English People, p. 538
Although lacking that kind of description which enables a reader to see the subject, The Arcadia does possess key passages which set characteristics of the chief personages. Most of these passages are spoken by Kalander in the first book, and it must be admitted that his observations and conclusions are accurate. It is through him that the background of King Basilius and his family becomes known, and through him that one learns of the qualities to be displayed by the members of that family.

Of the daughters he tells Musidorus:

...methought there was (if at least such perfections may receive the word of more) more sweetness in Philoclea, but more majesty in Pamela; methought love played in Philoclea's eyes and threatened in Pamela's; methought Philoclea's beauty only persuaded but so persuaded as all hearts must yield: Pamela's beauty used violence, and such violence as no heart could resist. And it seems that such proportion is between their minds: Philoclea so bashful as though her excellencies had stolen into her before she was aware; so humble that she will put all pride out of countenance; in sum, such proceedings as will stir hope, but teach hope good manners;—Pamela of high thoughts who avoids not pride with not knowing her excellencies, but by making that one of her excellencies to be void of pride; her mother's wisdom, greatness, nobility, but (if I can guess aright) knit with a more constant temper.

Kalander describes Gynecia, the queen, as:

a woman of great wit and of truth of more princely virtues than her husband; of most unspotted chastity but of so working a mind, and so vehement spirits, as a man may say it was happy she took a course for good for otherwise it would have been terrible.

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6 Ibid., pp. 18-19
7 Ibid., p. 18
Of Basilius, Kalandar says little other than to indicate that he is aged, capable of ruling a country which is naturally peaceful, yet not so wise as a king should be.

The character of Musidorus and Pyrocles is nowhere treated as that of the royal family. The heroes are judged solely by their actions and speeches. Occasionally one finds such phrases as "Pyroclean nature," which nature is characterized by gay bravery in battle, but Sidney nowhere deliberately draws or summarizes character as he does with the royal family of Basilius.

Although the reality of Sidney's characterization is slight, consistency of characterization is maintained. There can be no doubt that despite the speed with which the story was reputedly written, Sidney had definite types in mind and had sufficient interest in them to preserve the type throughout.

Philoclea and Pamela most clearly illustrate this aspect of the novel during their imprisonment by the wicked Cecropia. Throughout this portion of the text the girls act and speak most consistently with the earlier sketch by Kalander. Philoclea had been described as shy, modest, and unassuming; Pamela, as wise, great and noble. When Philoclea is pressed by Cecropia to marry Amphialius, there are no stormy denials, but rather a quiet and firm resistance. Pamela, on the other hand, who is approached by Cecropia on the same mission, is haughty, angry, and disdainful. In addition, her speeches are prefaced by Sidney's observations of flashing eyes and
flushed cheeks. Lest these differences pass unnoticed by the reader, Sidney editorializes their attitudes in a comparatively brief but succinct statement. "But if Philoclea with sweet and humble dealing did avoid their assaults, she (Pamela) with the majesty of virtue did beat them off." 8

There is, in addition, a notable difference in speech and action of the heroines during the events which lead to the trial. Philoclea is tearful and helpless, but Pamela is eminently practical in reminding Musidorus that they must first decide what attitude to take toward one another. This done, she permits herself the luxury of tears.

Part of Kalander's analysis of Gynecia sounds genuinely human, for it is spoken in a language so plain as to be almost blunt, and it reflects a sincerity lacking in most of the dialogue. When he describes her as being "a woman of so working a mind, and so vehement spirits as a man may say it was happy she took a course for good, for otherwise it would have been terrible," he accurately hits upon her chief characteristic, her vehement spirits.

Gynecia is a young woman married to an elderly king withdrawn from the court and company. When an Amazon appears at the lodge, the queen is not long in penetrating the disguise and falling in love with Pyrocles, who, she cleverly concludes, is in love with Philoclea. Tormented by an unlawful passion, she clearly reveals how accurately Kalander had judged her.

8 Ibid., p. 268
Yet if my desire, how unjust soever it be, might take effect, though a thousand thousand deaths followed it, and every death followed with a thousand shames, yet should not my sepulchre receive me without some contentment. But alas! though sure I am that Zelmene is such as can answer my love, yet as sure I am that this disguising must needs come for some foretak'en conceit, and then wretched Gynecia, where canst thou find any small ground-plot for hope to dwell upon? No, no, it is Philoclea his heart is set upon. Is my daughter I have borne to supplant me? But, if it be so, the life I have given thee, ungrateful Philoclea, I will sooner with these hands bereave thee of, than my birth shall glory she hath bereaved me of my desire. In shame there is no comfort but to be beyond all bounds of shame. 9

Vehement spirits indeed! Her subsequent actions are those of a strong-willed woman in love, a woman without pride in pursuit of a reluctant lover, but she is not so vehement that she seriously reconsider the measure she suggests in her soliloquy. She does, however, pursue Pyrocles relentlessly, willing and eager to be an adultress. This unreasoning pursuit leads her eventually to a trial at which she is charged with the murder of her husband. Naturally, the trial ends happily, and Gynecia becomes once more her normal, virtuous self.

Her transformation is not unreasonable, for she endures a severe shock as a result of her passion for Pyrocles, and certainly such a shock would be quite capable of restoring her to her senses. It is less out of character than some conversions which take place in later novels. Richardson's Squire B..., whose character is consistently black, becomes a model man without any appreciable reason, excepting only frustration.

9 Ibid., pp. 122-123
Basilius is more shadowy than others of his family. Elderly, not overly wise, he is completely deceived by Pyrocles posing as Zelmane, and makes a rather ridiculous figure skipping like a lamb to prove that youth is not yet gone. His acceptance and interpretation of the oracle are injudicious, but his refusal to accept the advice of a wise counsellor is worse. Even as Gynecia is restored to her normal self, so Basilius after his serio-comic tryst with the supposed Amazon, and his unfortunate adventure with the love potion, is restored to a more kingly kingship.

Sidney's treatment of Musidorus and Pyrocles, as previously noted, differs from that of the other principal characters. Since the story is essentially their story, there is no interpreter who can sketch an outline as Kalander does for others. Despite this, Sidney's conception is not difficult to perceive. Both are noble, valiant, faithful, and resourceful, but one cold glance or remark from their love suffices to transform them into timid, quaking faint-hearts.

It is depth of feeling rather than any lack of moral fiber, one should conclude, which impels Pyrocles to attempt suicide when he believes Philoclea to have been beheaded. Unfortunately, the attempt assumes an air of the ludicrous, for Pyrocles, running across the cell with the intention of dashing his brains out, trips and merely knocks himself unconscious by his fall to the floor.
Between the original *Arcadia* and the revised edition the heroes undergo a transformation in their attitude toward love. In the original, both attempt the virtue of their beloved, and to judge from one speech of Pyrocles, one must assume that he was successful. In the new, nothing of this kind takes place.

One of the most striking qualities of both men is their ability to dissemble. Both pose as something they are not; both account for their presence by telling, with no apparent preparation, long-winded, acceptable accounts of themselves; and each demonstrates the ability to fabricate falsehoods or stratagems to fit any exigency.

Musidorus, as Dorus the shepherd, completely and easily deceives Dametas, Mopsa, and Miso regarding his true identity, principally, it would appear, because they are stupid--of low station in life and of no mental ability. That the king, queen, and princesses accept him for what he appears to be is apparently because of his wit. His stratagem in removing Dametas and his family from the lodge by playing upon the greed of Dametas, the jealousy of Miso, and the vanity of Mopsa, is worthy of any rogue who ever practiced upon the unsuspecting dolts who inhabit the world of peasants.

Pyrocles, as Zelmane, is not so successful in his disguise as an Amazon, but Gynecia alone perceives the truth. His trickery in handling Basilius and Gynecia is the device often found in the novella in which a husband, expecting to find a mistress, finds his wife. In its primary object the
ruse, in spite of its age, achieves the desired end. Its consequences, on the other hand, prove almost disastrous.

Whether this proficiency in deception is a virtue or whether it is indicative of a not too honest nature may be determined by the occasions which produce it. The disguises and stories permit the heroes to be close to the beloved, while each of the later stratagems is designed to procure for the princes the opportunity to elope with Philoclea and Pamela. Since love is the motivating force, and because their love is pure, there can be no objection to their actions or stain upon their honor.

One more character, Amphialus, is worthy of comment, for he is probably the most dramatic of the entire Arcadia. He is essentially noble, but his love for Philoclea causes him to act and to condone actions utterly foreign to his nature. Almost against his will he is responsible for the continued imprisonment of the princesses and Pyrocles. Unable to win Philoclea, unwilling to harm her, yet equally determined to keep her, he is a symbol of all powerful but unsuccessful lovers. Even more touching is the fate that seems to pursue him throughout life. By nature composed of all of the finest qualities of nobility, he is consistently an agent of death, even to those he cherishes most. From the time he is forced to kill his best friend in self-defense until he is borne away by the sorrowing Queen Helen of Corinth, his is a star-crossed life. Unfortunately, Sydney was neither capable of nor interested in bringing this character to life.
The many minor characters of the *Arcadia* have, as is pointed out by Wolff, "a half moralistic purpose hinted by their names: Clinias 'a verball craftie coward,' Philanax a model counsellor, Evarchus a model King, Colodoulos a model servant, Anaxius a model of pride...etc."10 Although these are all types, those who appear with any frequency are so clearly differentiated that there is little doubt as to what they represent.

What is true of these minor characters is also true, although less obviously, of the major. Prose had not outgrown its almost completely utilitarian nature, and Sidney, although writing for the entertainment of his sister, does attempt to portray modes of action to be emulated or avoided. To achieve this his characters maintain an almost absolute consistency; but as Wenger points out, "Those of relatively high consistency tend to become type characters:..."11 Sidney's characters being ideal types lack the power of appealing to the emotions, since the ideal usually evokes only intellectual appreciation. To create a complete personality it is necessary to provide inconsistencies, for of such is humanity made.

In Sidney's "Apology for Poetry" he expresses the theory of ideality which is exhibited throughout the *Arcadia*.

10 Samuel Lee Wolff, *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, p. 330

11 Christian N. Wenger, "An Introduction to the Aesthetics of Literary Portraiture," p. 621
Writing of the third or "right class" of poets, he states:

For this third be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be; but range, only reigned with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be.\(^\text{12}\)

While this theory is opposed to verisimilitude, one should not assume that Sidney contributed nothing to characterization. By the adoption of the Greek pastoral and the elimination of the magical elements of the chivalric, he brought the romance nearer to reality. No longer were readers of the romance required to wander through enchanted castles or to face dragons or witches. As a result, the atmosphere and actions became more credible, and the "suspension of disbelief" was facilitated. This by no means implies that Arcadia is reality; it is, however, much more real than an enchanted land, and its characters more nearly approach the ideal types men hoped to be in the time in which Sidney wrote.

\(^{12}\) Sir Philip Sidney, "Apology for Poetry", p. 565
CHAPTER IV

NASHE AND THE RISE OF REALISTIC PROSE FICTION

While England was reading the romance and novella, another and quite distinct type of literature was appearing, a type which reflected to some extent the conditions which produced the picaresque novel in Spain. Many of England's landless and homeless, wandering the countryside or settling in London, turned to knavery to subsist. Such a group, with their tricks and deceits and with a jargon of their own, were ready made for prose writers who claimed to have observed them in action.

This interest was no new and sudden departure from literary tradition but was closely related to the spirit and interest which had created the legendary Robin Hood and the medieval fabliaux. Chaucer's pilgrims included the Pardoner, who was a rogue; the drunken Miller, a cheat; and the Summoner, a cheat and bribe-taker. The tales of the Miller, Reeve, Cook, and Shipman are fabliaux, and the Canon's Yeoman's Tale, with its swindling alchemist, indicates entertainment to be derived from tales and anecdotes of the seamier side of life.

Most important of the realistic types in order of their appearance in the sixteenth century were the jest-books, the beggar-books, the conny-catching pamphlets, and the repentant tracts.
Jest books became popular with the translation of *Eulenspiegel* by William Copland about the middle of the sixteenth century, and according to Chandler, between this time and 1600, seven different collections were published. When these jests centered about a character as in *Scogging’s Jests* (1565) or Skelton’s *Merie Tales Newly Imprinted* (1567), the works approached the picaresque novel in the roguery of the central character.2

Besides the jest-books, and more closely related to the conditions of England at the time, were the beggar-books. In 1561 appeared Awdeley’s *Fraternity of Vagabonds* in which, supposedly with information furnished by one of their numbers, the author catalogues the orders of knaves, employs their cant, and even more interesting, describes three of the cheats in detail. Thomas Harmon’s *Caveat or Warening for Commen Cursetors Vulgarely Called Vagabones* followed five years later. More elaborate than its predecessor, the book lists the orders of criminals, provides anecdotes characterizing each order, and finally lists and describes some supposedly living vagabonds.3

The conny-catching pamphlets and repentant tracts which appeared in the last decade of the sixteenth century were originated by Robert Greene, whose life qualifies him as an authority on the practices of the swindlers and sharpers of

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of whom he wrote between 1590 and 1592. Apparently repenting of his past actions, he wrote a series of five repentant tracts, beginning with A Mourning Garment and ending with The Repentance of Robert Greene, Master of Arts. Between these two were published the conny-catching pamphlets which described in detail the methods by which the conny is victimized. In the third and last of this series, Greene comes closer to fiction, for in this, ten stories are told illustrating the devices of the criminals. Although realistic, all of these pamphlets are not fiction; many are simply anecdotes loosely strung together. Greene's, A Disputation Between a Hee Connie-catcher and a Shee Connie-catcher has the two vying for honors for their sex in their profession and revealing further the methods of the tribe. The Blacke Books Messenger, written by Greene in 1592, is closest of all his works to the picaresque novel soon to appear; in this, Ned Browne tells of the story of his life from youth to his capture in Low Countries where, sentenced to hang, he repents and commits suicide by leaping from a window.

The jest-books and beggar-books are important as indications of the growing attempt to present realistic pictures of life, but the works are of little literary merit. The conny-catching pamphlets make no attempt to portray character. It is difficult, therefore, to attribute to these types any direct influence on characterization, but in the jest-books is to be

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4 Ibid., pp. 93-101
found much of the spirit that animates the pranks of Jack Wilton, and in the repentance of Ned Browne may be found the moral justification which was to be so characteristic of English fiction of realism.

Although Greene's last prose works had tended toward a fiction of roguery, the distinction of producing the first native English picaresque fiction was reserved for Thomas Nashe, whose *Unfortunate Traveller* or *Life of Jacke Wilton* was published in 1594, two years after Greene's death. More than twenty-five years earlier, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the first Spanish picaresque novel, had been translated into English and entered on the Stationers' Register. The widespread popularity of *Lazarillo* precludes the assumption that Nashe did not know the work, but the differences between the two novels are so great that *Lazarillo* cannot be considered the model for the *Unfortunate Traveller*.

*Lazarillo* serves seven masters; Jack serves only one. Lowborn Lazarillo is the son of a washerwoman; Jack is a page with pretensions to being a gentleman at the court of Henry VIII. Lazarillo's tricks are inspired by hunger; Jack's more by love of a practical joke for the sake of the prank than to satisfy dire necessity. Lazarillo's travels give him an opportunity to satirize the various classes of society of his country. Jack makes the Grand Tour, and his satire is not restricted to the social scale. The objects of his satire illustrate the greater diversity of Jack's interests. He mocks
the pedants of the universities in his description of enter-
tainment at Wittenberg for the Duke of Saxony. He steps out of
character and rages at the Anabaptists under John of Leyden.
More gently, he plays upon the romances in his mock heroic
description of the tournament at which Surrey upholds the
beauty of his Geraldine in true romantic fashion. Finally
he heaps contempt upon the Englishman who apes foreign manners
and dress. Jack's wider ranging mockery is hardly similar to
the more limited satire of Lazarillo. The last important
difference is the lack of similarity between Jack and Lazarillo
in attitude toward their masters. Jack's is an unfeigned
admiration; Lazarillo tolerates until better offers. Certainly
the disparity between the two novels indicates that Nashe owed
little to his Spanish predecessor.

Nashe is not primarily concerned with creating a fic-
tional being, but rather with realistically portraying those
incidents from Jack's career which best give him scope for
observation. To do this he combines as many of the manifold
interests of the Elizabethans as possible within the scope of
realistic writing. Travel, satire, practical jokes, thorough-
going villainy, biting assaults, popular prejudice, history
and morality—all are represented. To provide for all these,
the interpolated story becomes a means of presenting any
desired aspect unaccountable for by Jack's character.

Jack, though roguish, is no villain, so he recounts
another's story to titillate the Elizabethan's fascination for
bloody crime, preferably Italian or Spanish. So too, Jack plays upon popular prejudice in portraying the wiles of the unscrupulous Italians, and becomes the victim of villains rather than the author of pranks through most of the latter half of the book. This aspect of picaresque fiction is often overlooked; it is equally possible that the rogue story may be concerned with his misadventures as with his successes.

Because histories of the novel generally consider Nashe and Defoe to be the first two great literary realists, their names have often been linked. Nashe, however, differs in emphasis on incident. Where Defoe is calm and matter of fact, piling detail upon detail, and convincing by minuteness of observation and occasional self-correction, Nashe is much more exuberant. His intention is to provide "...some reasonable conveyance of historie, & varietie of mirth." 5 To provide mirth he creates amusing incidents of the camps, and the detail is less often that of place or occasion, than of person. Nashe is much more given to portraiture than Defoe, and while this may be caricature, as in the case of the captain, Jack's second victim, his quick vivid strokes present in a few lines a better comprehension of person than anything in Defoe.

Jack, a master at crooked dice play, supports both himself and a captain. Wearying of the drain on his earnings,

5 Thomas Nashe, The Unfortnate Traueller, p. 3
Jack determines to remove his despoiler by a stratagem. By flattery, Jack persuades the captain, "whose head was not encombred with too much forecast", to undertake a mission as spy in the French camp and to kill the French King.

Jack describes the effect of the flattery:

Oh my Auditors, had you seen him how stretcht out his lims, scratcht his scabd elbowes at this speach, how hee set his cap over his ey-browes like a politician, and folded his armes one in another, and nodded with the head, as who would say, let the French beware, for they shall finde me a divell; if (I say) you had seen but halfe the action that he vsed, of shruching vp his shoulders, smiling scornfully, playing with his fingers on his buttons, and biting the lip; you wold have laught your face and your knees together.\footnote{Ibid., p. 16}

With such a portrait one needs no more to understand the captain's character; the visual imagery is such that further words are superfluous. The succeeding ventures of the captain only exhibit more clearly how true a picture Nashe drew.

With the camp cider merchant, Nashe's treatment is different. Throughout his narrative of the prank by which he secures free cider for the army, Jack interjects an occasional line or two picturing the man or his reaction to Jack's suspense filled fable. Though the method differs, the result is an effective portrait. Jusserand\footnote{Jusserand, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 545} has suggested that in creating Falstaff, Shakespeare may have combined the wit of

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 16
  \item \textit{Ibid.}, p. 17
  \item Jusserand, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 545
\end{itemize}}
Jack with the description of the tapster. That the elements of Falstaff are present in the combination is true, and if originals must be found to account for the creation of Sir John, these are as worthy as any.

When the English exile who rescues Jack from the gallows lectures him at length on the dangers of becoming affected by foreign habits and manners as a result of traveling, Nashe again exhibits his skill in type characterization by portraying the Englishman who apes the Spaniard, Italian, or Frenchman. Dress, manners, and morals are anatomized in the best character-book fashion, although the formal English "characters" were not to appear until 1608 when Joseph Hall's *Characters of Virtues and Vices* was published.

Best of Nashe's "characters" are those representing the influence of Spain and Italy. The Englishman from Spain wears:

- a skull crownd hat of the fashion of an older deepe porringer, a diminutive Aldermans ruffe with short strings like the droppings of a mans nose, a closer bellied dublet coming down with a peake behind as farre as the crupper, and cut off before by the brestbone like a partlet or neckcher, a wide pair of gascoynes, whichungathered wold make a couple of womens ryding kirtles, huge hangers that haue half a cow hide in them, a rapier that is lineally descended from halfe a dozen Dukes at the least.

Let his cloak be as long or as short as you will: if long, it is faced with Turkey grogeran raueled: if short, it hatha cape like a Calues tung, and is not so deepe in his whole length, nor hath so much cloath in it I will justifie, as only the standing cape of a Dutchmans cloke; I haue not yet tutcht all, for he hath in either shee as much taffatie for his tyings as wold serve for an ancient, which serveth him (if you will haue the mysterie of it) of the owne accord for a shoo-rag. A soldier & a braggart heis (thats concluded) he irdeth strouting, dancing on hys toes with his hands vnder his sides. If you talk with him, he makes a dish cloth of his owne Country in comparison of Spaine, but if you vrge him more particularly wherein
it exceeds, he can give no instance but in Spaine they have better bread than we have:...9

Turning next to the "Italianate" Englishman, Nashe presents a character of a nation which would pass muster in any character-book.

Italy, the Paradice of the earth, and the Epicures heauen, how doth it forme our yonge master? It makes him to kis his hand like an ape, cringe his necke like a starueling, and play at hey passe repasse come aloff when he salutes a man. From thence he brings the art of atheisme, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poysoning, the art of Sodomtrie. The only probable good thing they have to keepe vs from utterly condemning it, is, that it maketh a man an excellent Courtier, a curious carpet knight; which is, by interpretation, a fine close leacher, a glorious hypocrite. It is now a privie note amongst the better sort of men, when they would set a singular marke or brand on a notorious villaine, to say, he hath been in Italy.10

Although Nashe possesses the ability to sketch portraits, he takes little pains to apply this touch to Jack, Surrey, or Diamante, his most important characters. Jack offers a brief description of his dress on his return from France, and "a blacke budge edging of a beard on the upper lip, & the like sable auglet of excrements in the rising of the ankle of my shinne," indicate his youth. Later, he reveals that his age is eighteen. Only at the lists of love in Florence is Surrey sketched, and then Nashe presents an extremely detailed mock-heroic description of the knightly combatants, a picture not intended to satirize Surrey but to express once more his

9 Nashe, op. cit., pp. 95-96
10 Ibid., pp. 96-97
attitude toward one of the features of the romance which he had labelled in The Anatomie of Absurditie "fantastical dreams", and "feyned no where acts." 11

A further aspect of Nashe's characterization worthy of note is a quality of Jack's speech. Many literary historians have noted Nashe's quotation concerning euphuism, but it bears repeating:

Euphues I readd when I was a little ape in Cambridge, and then I thought it was Ipse ille; it may be excellent good still, for ought I know, for I lookt not on it this ten yeare; but to imitate it I abhor. 12

Despite this protestation, Nashe occasionally employs Euphuistic devices and flavors the speech of Jack with similitudes and examples from classical writings. These are most noticeable when Jack attempts to persuade the captain to undertake the mission into the French camp. Carried away by his own wit, he culls the bestiary and informs the captain that "...as the Eagle in his flying casts dust in the eyes of Crowes and other Fowles, for to blind them, so he must cast dust in the eyes of his enemies", 13 In persuading the captain of the honor of being a spy, Jack points out, "Vlysses, Nestor, Diomed went as spies together in the night into the Trents of Rhoesus, and intercepted Dolon the spie of the Troians." 14

11 Ibid., p. IV
12 Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel, p. 11
13 Nashe, op. cit. p. 17
14 Loc. cit.
Far from being inconsistent, Nashe by this means establishes firmly the court connection of Jack, for no lowborn person could ever speak so. It is a careful attempt to establish a character, and a surprisingly good device to appear so early.

After seeing, doing, and reporting to his heart's content, there is left only one thing for Jack—reformation, and Nashe does not fail. The merry rogue is so shaken by the melodramatic tale and execution of Cutwolfe that he instantly reforms, marries his mistress, and returns to the army of Henry VIII in France. Once again is reaffirmed the necessity of having the hero on the proper side of the fence—even if he must be forced to vault it, as Jack does, on the last page of the book.

The epilogue of *The Unfortunate Traveller* probably accounts for Nashe's lack of further effort in developing this kind of writing, for he states:

All the conclusiue epilogue I wil make is this, that if herein I haue pleased anie, it shall animate mee to more paines in this kind. Otherwise I will sweare vpon an English Chronicle neuer to bee out-landish Chronicler more while I liue. Farewell as many as wish me well.\(^{15}\)

It may be assumed that since only two editions of the book were published, both in 1594, Nashe felt that he had pleased an insufficient number to justify continued efforts in this vein.

\(^{15}\) *Ibid.*, p. 123
CHAPTER V

THE LONG VOID

Although others produced novels before the end of the century, Lyly, Sidney, and Nashe are by far most important. Each introduced a genre; Lyly, the informational-conversational; Sidney, the pastoral; and Nashe, the picaresque. Each author produced a landmark in the history of the English novel. Of the other writers of English fiction prior to the end of the century, Emanuel Forde, Nicholas Breton, Thomas Lodge, Henry Chettle, and Robert Greene, only Lodge's Rosalynde (1590) and Greene's Pandosto (1589) have achieved distinction of a sort, and that because they provided plots and characters for As You Like It and A Winter's Tale. Forde's most popular contributions were The History of Ornatus and Artsesia (1598) and The History of Parismus (1598), which, despite pastoral elements, were chiefly chivalric romances destined for an early death among the literary but enjoyed throughout the century by the less sophisticated. Only Chettle and Breton followed Nashe in the picaresque vein, the former producing Piers Plainnes Seven Years Prenticeship in 1595, an attempt to combine heroic, pastoral, and picaresque elements, and the latter publishing The Miseries of Mavillia (1599) in which the heroine suffers a series of misfortunes rather than being an agent of others trials. These novels at the close of the century mark
the end of English invention of merit in the novel for more than fifty years.¹

When one considers the broad base laid down by Elizabethan novelists, the long gap between these writers and Bunyan appears difficult to explain. A survey of the literary field at the time, however, reveals the presence of several forces which would militate against the production of original fiction. Principal among these forces were the great popularity of the drama during the first quarter of the century, the abundance of Spanish anti-romances and picaresque fictions, and the tremendous popularity of the French heroic romances.

Whatever the reason, English picaresque fiction had no practitioners until Richard Head produced the first part of The English Rogue (1665), which, in 1668, was expanded by Francis Kirkman. Commenting on this work Chandler says:

"Lacking in art and feeling, never finished yet of bewildering extent, it is less a novel than a chaotic collection of all the picaresque tricks on record at the moment of its publication. It knows no unity; it attempts no study of character or manners; it imitates but one phase of the Spanish romances of roguery, and neglects everything that made them a link in the development of the modern novel."²

As the chief experiment in the picaresque novel in the seventeenth century, it serves to indicate how deficient the period was in this phase of realistic prose fiction.

¹ Chandler, op. cit., pp. 199-202
² Ibid., p. 211
Although England was without any notable picaresque contributions, English interest in the type was not lacking. Translations of three Spanish rogue stories, Mendoza's *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1554), Aleman's *Guzman de Alfarache* (1599), and Quevodo's *La Vida del Buscon* (1626), went through twenty editions between 1622 and 1680, and numerous redactions of other less well known tales of roguery appeared throughout the century.³

More popular and more numerous than the picaresque novels were the French romances. Although not all were heroic, this was the most popular and most numerous variety, having been read in the original French by both court circles and upper class English society. The first of the heroic romances to appear in translation was Gomberville's *History of Polexander* in 1647. Between this date and 1685, according to Haviland's bibliography,⁴ ten heroic romances including Cassandra, Pharamond, and Cleopatra by Calprenede, and Ibrahim, Artamenes, Clelia, and Almahide by Scudery, appeared in translation.

Unlike the picaresque importations which appear to have killed off competition, the French romances had many English imitators. Richard Brathwait, Nathaniel Ingelo, Sir George Mackenzie, Roger Boyle, Samuel Gotte, John Reynolds, John Bulteel, and John Crowne, the dramatist, all essayed the

³ Ibid., p. 206

⁴ Thomas Philip Haviland, *The Roman de Longue Haleine on English Soil*, pp. 178-183
type. Of their works only Boyle's Parthenissa (1654) achieved any degree of popularity, and this possibly more by reason of his person than genuine accomplishment, for the romance was never completed. For the most part the English romances tended to subordinate the heroic element, or at least to modify it, by a strong infusion of political or religious allegory.

When a diet is so sustained as was the English by material such as the romance, the possibility exists that there may have been some effect on later English characterization. The possibility necessitates a survey of the then prevailing romance attitude toward characterization.

According to Tieje, characterization in the heroic romances was motivated by either of two forces, valor or love, depending on whether the writer was Calprenede or Scudery. The heroes and heroines were usually, but not always, as is commonly believed, of noble extraction. Low characters, however, were not admitted, and no figure such as Dametas would mar these works. In addition, these heroes and heroines could never be permitted a low action. This strict adherence to propriety to a great extent counteracted Scudery's and Calprenede's rejection of ideality. As a result, more or less fixed types were established.

The hero is young, brave, generous, pious, sensitive, handsome, and, above all, a chaste and devoted lover. The

5 Ibid., pp. 100-129
6 Arthur Jerrold Tieje, The Theory of Characterization in Prose Fiction Prior to 1740, pp. 15-29
heroines are possessed of youth, beauty, wit, physical weakness, piety, and delicate sensibility, but they are not so beautiful that a mere picture of them inflames the heart of some unfortunate man, as occurs in the Arcadia.

Disguise as utilized in the Arcadia is abandoned in most of these as unreal. A further move toward verisimilitude is the fact that the heroes are not of such extreme sensibility as are Musidorus and Pyrocles of the Arcadia.

Portraits, the French equivalent of the English "characters," were utilized extensively in these romances. As the name suggests, these present physical as well as moral characteristics. The object of many a barbed shaft, these portraits, according to Haviland, were not always the conventionalized hero and heroine. After citing a specimen he points out that descriptions abound which contain the essence of good characterization, but that they are infrequently exhibited because they offer much less opportunity for the witty pen of the critic.

Scudery and Calprenede, in their romances, theorized at length regarding their art. One observation of Scudery which she attempted to apply, directly concerns characterization. In addition to the delineation of action and person, she believed it necessary to probe the mind of her hero. As

7 Haviland, op. cit., p. 79
she expressed it:

...it is not by things without him, it is not by the

caprichios of destinie, that I will judge of him; it is

by the motions of his soul, and by that which he speaketh.8

Much of the theorizing of Calprenede and Scudery might

have proved useful had it been followed and advanced by English

imitators, but the prefaces that contained the theorizing were

usually omitted in English translations. It is doubtful, there­

fore, that what may have been of merit in the romancers' theory

served as a guide to the English.

One other romance written at this time is important as

a forerunner of Richardson, at least in its analysis of feeling.

This is Madame de La Fayette's Princess of Cleves published

in England in 1688. This romance, which has been styled

sentimental-psychological, was almost instantly popular. The

tone was natural and sober, but of even more importance was the

restrained analysis of, and the importance attached to feeling.

Unfortunately nothing of this kind was produced in England,

and the next great exemplar of the type is Marivaux, whose

Marianne, published in England in 1736, it is suggested by

Baldwin,9 may have influenced Richardson.

Despite the remarkable popularity of the romances

which were published well into the eighteenth century,

Haviland's investigation reveals no demonstrable evidence of

8 Ibid., p. 80

9 Edward Chauncey Baldwin, "Marivaux's Place in the

Development of Character Portrayal", pp. 168-187
their influence on the works of the major novelists previous to the rise of the Gothic novel. Even here he points out, "Slight as any traces are in Miss Reeve, they are even less evident in Mrs. Radcliffe, Walpole and others of the Gothic school." 10

Throughout the seventeenth century there ran a strong counter-current to romances. This tendency was exhibited in the anti-romance importations which were to be of more importance in influencing the English novel because they were proponents of realism. Don Quixote, the first of these translated into English, was immediately popular, but England produced no worthy imitations. France, on the other hand, produced many successors to the type. Among the more notable were Le Berger Extravagant (1627) and Francion (1622), by Sorel, and Le Roman Comique (1651), by Scarron. These were translated and published in the years 1653, 1655, and 1676 respectively. The first of these applies the Don Quixote method to the Astree, curiously enough appearing in translation four years before the translation of the work it mocked. Le Roman Comique is closer to genuine realism that does not consist in picturing the seamier side of life. 11

One realistic type generally ignored by historians of the novel deserves particular notice. This is the criminal

10 Haviland, op. cit., p. 170
11 Chandler, op. cit., pp. 206-207
biography, a relative of the conny-catching pamphlets of the previous century. Produced for popular consumption by opportunists who wrote for the moment, the biographies were extremely numerous and popular among the lower classes, particularly in the city. Chandler devotes a separate chapter to these, but considers them factual accounts deficient in characterization and indicative only of interest in realism.\(^\text{12}\) As a result, he does not attribute to them any particular importance in the development of the novel.

Professor Bernbaum, unsatisfied with the literary historians’ accounts of the origin and rise of realistic prose fiction,\(^\text{13}\) investigates the criminal biography and concludes, in *The Mary Carleton Narratives*, that this type offers a more logical solution to the problem.

Mary Carleton was an English criminal about whose adventures contemporaries wrote twenty narratives. Thirteen of these accounts have been preserved, as has the transcript of her trial. By comparing the narratives against each other and against the account of her trial, Bernbaum determines the amount of material that may be considered factual. Following this, he examines *The Counterfeit Lady Unveiled* (1673) by Francis Kirkman and reveals the extent to which bare incidents have been elaborated, motivation supplied, characters added, and interest heightened.

\(^{12}\) Ibid., Chap. IV

\(^{13}\) Cf. post., pp. 55-58
Despite Kirkman's assurances that insofar as he is able to judge, the material is factual, that he interviewed several of her victims and professed lovers as well as the principal characters, and that at times he quotes their words, Bernbaum presents sufficient evidence to indicate that Kirkman availed himself of previous accounts, and with additions of his own created an intentionally fictitious work rather than a carelessly inaccurate biography.

Turning to characterization, Bernbaum illustrates from the text of *The Counterfeit Lady* the methods by which Kirkman attempts to reveal Mary's feelings, thoughts, and motives, in addition to his efforts to portray her in progressive stages rather than to treat her as a fixed character.

Whether or not Kirkman was building better than he knew, it is certain that in this story for the first time we clearly see the character of Mary developing from that of a romance-reading girl, through that of a sorely tempted and partly deluded woman, into that of a deliberate and habitual criminal. 14

In concluding his analysis of *The Counterfeit Lady*, Bernbaum points out that Kirkman assumes the attitude of a stern moralist whose expressed intention was to, "'divert ourselves,' but, 'to the end that we may see our vices and thereby amend our own wicked lives..." 15 The moral concern is then illustrated by extensive quotations from Kirkman's introduction and conclusion.

14 Bernbaum, op. cit., p. 68

15 Ibid., p. 76
In his summary of the narrative technique illustrated in The Counterfeit Lady, Bernbaum writes:

The serious moral tone, the minute depiction of occurrences, the coherence of the plot, the tracing of the motives of the characters, and the elaborate creation of verisimilitude,—these qualities, whose combination is usually considered original with Defoe, we have seen to be prevailing traits of The Counterfeit Lady. Not merely in a single respect, nor in an occasional passage, but in many essential particulars, and in his narrative as a whole, Kirkman maintains the manner commonly associated with Defoe.16

The evidence for the place of The Counterfeit Lady in the history of the rise of fictional realism and character portrayal is so great that the work cannot be ignored in any study which looks forward to the generally acknowledged realism of Defoe, which, in Moll Flanders, The Fortunate Mistress, Colonel Jack, and Captain Singleton, is expressed in autobiographical accounts of rogues or criminals.

In the last twenty years of the seventeenth century a new contribution was made to the growing realistic impulse. In 1678 the Portuguese Letters was translated from the French and appeared as Five Love Letters from a Nun to a Cavalier. Almost immediately afterward appeared an English imitation. Of these groups of letters Singer writes:

Both groups of letters...attempt to make the characters involved real flesh and blood people and from that point of view, add to the growing epistolary literature that vein of verisimilitude which in the work of later epistolarians, and especially of Samuel Richardson, becomes so all pervading a characteristic.17

16 Ibid., p. 90
17 Godfrey Frank Singer, The Epistolary Novel, p. 47
Between 1678 and 1734, according to Singer, forty-two works were published in which the letter appears as the principal method of narration, and ten others made extensive use of the letter. While all of these are not novels, many are designedly fiction and are of sufficient scope to be classed as novels. Among these, twenty-three are devoted to the recounting of love stories that are much more emotional than any of the previous works which had appeared in English literature.\(^{18}\)

According to the prevailing theory of the rise of realistic portrayal of character, this type furnished instruction for later novelists in their attempts to portray emotion realistically.\(^{19}\)

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18 Ibid., pp. 48-58

19 Bernbaum, op. cit., p. 4
CHAPTER VI

BUNYAN'S, THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

The most noted author of prose fiction of the seventeenth century was neither a member of a literary circle nor the inheritor of a literary tradition, but rather a humble man much of whose adult life was spent in prison. In 1678 John Bunyan published *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a religious allegory which became almost instantly popular with the middle classes and which has retained its popularity even until our times. It is somehow fitting that a work which was to a great extent ignored by the literary at the time of its publication should be today the only widely read fiction of the seventeenth century.

Two reasons may be offered for its lack of consideration by upper class contemporaries. The first is that it is a religious allegory; the second, that since Bunyan was uneducated and a dissenter, he was hardly the type to be acclaimed by polite society. Together these reasons account for the almost completely indifferent attitude on the part of that class of society which almost invariably established literary merit. Because the neglect is undeniable, it would appear that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was not influential in the development of the novel.

Bunyan's work is worthy of notice, however, for despite the allegory, the characters are more appealingly human than
any others of prose fiction of the century. It is, indeed, the essential humanity of the characters which accounts for so much of the popularity of the book. From the moment that Christian meets Evangelist and is directed on his way, Bunyan's Christian is a man, not merely an abstraction.

The Man therefor read it, and looking upon Evangelist very carefully, said, Whither must I fly? Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger over a very wide field, Do you see yonder Wicket-gate? The Man said, No. Then said the other, Do you see yonder shining Light? He said, I think I do.1

Bunyan's ability to portray simply and vividly the actions of his characters is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in this short passage. Its very simplicity and naturalness effectively create verisimilitude unequalled for many years. In a few simple strokes Bunyan created, not an allegorical abstraction, but a man in doubt seeking the way.

Throughout the pilgrimage other indications of the humanness of the characters prevent the allegorical significance from so completely dominating that the sense of genuine people is lost. When Christian overtakes Faithful, we once again are made aware of human beings whom we might know. Faithful is recounting his adventures.

Now when I had got about halfway up the Hill Difficulty I looked behind me and saw one coming after me swift as the wind; so he overtook me just about the place where the Settle stands.2

1 John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 15
2 Ibid., p. 75
At this point Christian interrupts:

Just there, said Christian, did I sit down to rest me; but being overcome with sleep, I there lost this Roll out of my bosom.3

Faithful, very much the man with a story to complete, and impatient lest he lose his chance, chides, "But good Brother, hear me out."

Such a natural protest affirms the reality of the man Faithful.

The characters, despite names suggestive of the Moralities, are more than abstractions, for the speech ascribed to each is eminently fitting. Not only does the length of his speech identify Talkative, but his expressions are the universally identifying marks of the man in love with the sound of his voice. How well we recognize "That's it that I said," "Besides," "Further," and "I will add..." The dialogue is always that of men as men are observed.

Bunyan's characters not only speak as human beings speak, but they act as we know them to act. A good example may be cited from the second book, in which Christina and her children take up the pilgrimage. Bunyan is said to have been an indulgent father, and although it may be difficult to picture as such a man the author of Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners, in the scene in which Matthew becomes

3 Loc. cit.
sick as a result of eating the fruit of Beelzebub's Orchard, Bunyan makes sure use of an experience common to all parents at one time or another. As so often happens when children overeat, the boy must take medication. The complaints of the child that the physic goes against his stomach, the pleading mother who invokes the child's love for his mother and family, the mother's sampling of the medicine and her assurance of its pleasant taste, and the final acquiescence of the child all strike a responsive chord in the reader. This scene is as truly real as anything of the rogue stories or conny-catching pamphlets, yet is so much more respectable, so much more familiar!

Aphra Behn is generally recognized to have employed some of the devices which Defoe used much later in creating the illusion of reality. Yet Bunyan, too, the non-literary Baptist preacher, anticipates one of the Defoe touches, when By-ends and his companions succumb to the lure of Demas at the Silver mine. Bunyan in his own person recounts the event:

Now whether they fell into the Pit by looking over the brink thereof, or whether they went down to dig, or whether they were smothered in the bottom by the damps that commonly arise, of these things I am not certain; but this I observed, that they never were seen again in the way.5

This is similar to Defoe's device of modifying a statement for the sake of accuracy for the purpose of lending

4 Ibid., p. 143
5 Ibid., p. 113
greater credibility to the balance of the account. Here Bunyan might dramatically describe a plunge to perdition. Instead, he chooses to profess ignorance on the point. Will not his other statements be more readily accepted? Consciously or unconsciously Bunyan is at times an artistic realist.

Lest too much be assumed from this presentation, it should be noted that the allegory does obtrude at times on the story, that the dialogue at times becomes tedious with disquisitions on points of religious differences, and that basically Bunyan's intention is to provide religious instruction and moral edification rather than entertainment.

Because the allegory was neglected by those who might well have profited by his accomplishments, a reasonable evaluation of Bunyan's influence seems to indicate that his contribution was made to the spirit of literature. In The Pilgrim's Progress for the first time in a widely popular novel, characters are drawn from middle class English life and are treated with respect.

In their evaluation of The Pilgrim's Progress, historians of the novel look forward to Defoe and find in Bunyan the beginning both of realism and the novel.

Of Bunyan, Raleigh writes:

Yet how rich are his works...in literary as well as practical and moral lessons, in demonstrations whereby the novelists might profit to learn character-painting, admirable narrative, and the attainment of illusion of reality.6

6 Raleigh, op. cit., p. 116
Cross is more emphatic in his evaluation:

To John Bunyan the English novel owes a very great debt. What fiction needed, if it was ever to come near to portraying life was first of all to rid itself of the extravagances of the romances and the cynicism of the picaresque story teller. Though Bunyan was despised by his contemporary men of letters, it surely could be but a little time before the precision of his imagination and the force and charm of his simple and idiomatic English would be felt and then imitated.7

Because of the obvious difference between the works of Bunyan and Defoe, Miss Morgan feels that Bunyan's works scarcely belong to the history of prose fiction.8 In the same discussion she adds her praises to the swelling chorus:

In his use of accurate detail to produce the illusion of reality, in the naturalism of his characters, and in the adoption of a vigorous, colloquial, yet dignified style, he was a worthy predecessor of Defoe.9

Gosse says of The Pilgrim's Progress, "It is absolutely original as an attempt at realistic fiction, and it leads through Defoe on to Fielding and the great school of English novels."10

Since histories of the novel generally ignore the criminal biographies, the student has a tendency to overlook observations such as those of Miss Morgan or Cross with respect

7 Cross, op. cit., p. 21
8 Charlotte E. Morgan, Rise of the Novel of Manners, p. 138
9 Ibid., p. 123
to Bunyan's place in the history of the novel or the opinion of Bunyan held by his contemporaries. The result is that the student believes that here at last is the realistic impulse for the first time, and that The Pilgrim's Progress is a major factor in the development of a realistic portrayal of life and character.
CHAPTER VII

APHRA BEHN'S OROONOKO

Although the heroic romances had no great lasting effect on English prose fiction of the seventeenth century, one novel of importance does reflect the influence of the type. Neither in length, nor scope, nor structure, was this exhibited, but in characterization. Aphra Behn, in her novel Oroonoko (1688), clearly portrays the romance hero and heroine.

Oroonoko, an African prince, after falling in love with and marrying the beautiful princess Imoinda, is deprived of her by his grandfather, the jealous king, who sells her into slavery. A short time later Oroonoko is treacherously made a slave by an English sea captain and transported to Surinam where the author makes his acquaintance. In true romance fashion Oroonoko and Imoinda, now Caesar and Clemene, are reunited. Wearying of slavery and unable any longer to place confidence in the promises of the whites, Caesar prevails upon the slaves of the plantations to revolt. Overtaken by their white masters and convinced by their wives and children, the slaves surrender, as finally does Caesar after a written guarantee of pardon is secured. Once again the treachery of the whites is displayed; Caesar is cruelly whipped and mistreated. Resolving upon revenge, Caesar and Clemene flee once more until, realizing the hopelessness of their position, Caesar kills his beloved wife to spare her further ignominy. Weakened by sorrow, hunger, and
a self-inflicted ripped abdomen, Caesar is again taken prisoner, restored to partial health, then seized from his plantation to be hacked to death by his enemies as he calmly smokes a pipe.

The heroic elements as reflected in characterization are notable throughout. The portrait, so common to the imported romance, is used to describe Oroonoko:

He was pretty tall but of a Shape the most exact that can be fancy'd; the most famous Statuary could not frome the Figure of a Man more admirably turn'd from Head to Foot. His Face was not of that brown rusty Black which most of that Nation are, but a perfect Ebony or polished Jet. His Eyes were the most awful that cou'd be seen, and very piercing, the white of them being like Snow, as were his Teeth. His Nose was rising and Roman, instead of African and flat, his Mouth the finest shaped that could be seen; far from those great turn'd Lips, which are so natural to the rest of the Negroes, The whole Proportion and Air of his Face was so nobly and exactly form'd, that, bating his Colour, there could be nothing in Nature more beautiful, agreeable and handsome...His Hair came down to his Shoulders, by the Aids of Art, which was by pulling it out with a Quill and keeping it combed; of which he took particular care.

The remainder of the passage extolls the perfections of his mind, which, of course, were not exceeded by those of face and form.

That the nobility of the heroic character was not dependent on trappings of royalty is evident when Oroonoko, as a slave, is landed on Surinam. Conscious that his rich attire was causing people to stare, he requested and received clothes more befitting a slave.

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1 Aphra Behn, Oroonoko or The Royal Slave, p. 154
Nevertheless, he shone through all and his Osenbrigs could not conceal the Graces of his Looks and Mein. The Royal Youth appeared in spite of the Slave and People could not help treating him after a different manner without designing it...his Eyes insensibly commanded Respect and his Behavior insinuated it into every Soul.

Oroonoko is the sum of heroic qualities in description and no less so in action. Since valor was essential to the hero, Oroonoko is the epitome of valor. As a prince in command of an army he single handedly turns the tide of battle, restores courage to the faint hearts of his beaten troops, and wins the day. As a slave, but still a hero, he saves the lives of his white companions by seizing a sword and with one thrust disposing of a mighty, charging tiger. One note is added to the hero; his behavior at his bloody execution is more savage stoicism than any traditional romance feature.

The attitude toward love and the actions of the lovers are representative of what may be found in the romances. True love is instantaneous, and the eyes speak the language of love. When, with the king, Oroonoko visited the apartment of Imoinda, she told him, "with her angry but Love darting Eyes that she resented his coldness and bemoaned her own miserable Captivity."

Nor were his Eyes silent but answered hers again... And they spoke so well, and so effectually as Imoinda no longer doubted but she was the only delight and darling of that Soul she found pleading in 'em its right of Love, which none was more willing to resign than she.~

2 Ibid., p. 180
3 Ibid., p. 163
In addition to the power of love in silent communication, love has remarkably devastating powers upon the strongest, most valiant of men. When Oroonoko visits Imoinda's apartment:

at the first Glance from her Eyes, notwithstanding all his determined Resolution, he was ready to sink in the place where he stood; and had certainly done so, but for the support of Aboan, a young Man who was next to him; which, with his Change of Countenance, had betray'd him, had the King chanc'd to look that way.

Of such stuff was the romance hero made. Throughout the narrative, character contrast emphasizes the nobility of Oroonoko's thoughts and actions. His acceptance of his obligations of loyalty and duty is in marked contrast with the cruel and unjust actions of his senile grandfather. It is in that portion of the novel that concerns his dealings with the whites, however, that the contrast becomes most apparent. Beginning with the treachery of the sea captain who abducts Oroonoko and his party, through the cowardice, guile, and deceit of Governor Byam, to the vicious cruelty of Bannister, the actions of the whites offer a striking contrast to the dignified nobility of Oroonoko. The purpose is obvious; Oroonoko's character is not only that of the heroic romance hero, but the exemplar of Mrs. Behn's stated thesis that:

These People represented to me an absolute Idea of the first State of Innocence, before Man knew how to sin: And 'tis most evident and plain, that simple nature is the most harmless, inoffensive and vertuous Mistress. T'is she alone...that better instructs the World, than all the Inventions of Man.

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4 Ibid., p. 162
5 Ibid., p. 149
Mrs. Behn's presentation of the somewhat heroic story is more effective than that of the romances because of her attempts to create verisimilitude. Her anticipation of the Defoe technique of first person narrative with the author's attestation of truth, differs only in that Defoe's narratives are autobiographical. In another respect, too, Mrs. Behn adds to the realism of the account and increases the readers' willingness to accept her story as truth. Her knowledge of Oroonoko's past life, gained in talks with the hero, is not so complete that there are not points about which she is uncertain or professes ignorance. Concerning the marriage of Oroonoko and Imoinda the author states, "There is a certain Ceremony in these Cases to be observed, which I forgot to ask him how performed." In the passage quoted from the apartment scene it will be noted that the expression "Change of Countenance" is used. Almost immediately the author clarifies the statement:

And I have observ'd, t'is a very great Error in those who laugh when one says, "A Negro can change Colour"; for I have seen them as frequently blush, and look pale, and that as visibly as ever I saw in the most beautiful White.6

Remarks such as these, while not in themselves completely convincing, do serve to reinforce the illusion of reality of character and truth of narrative. These instances, chosen because of their intimate relationship to character credibility, might be multiplied many times in illustrating Mrs. Behn's detailed

6 Ibid., p. 162
observations of flora, fauna, geography and customs of Surinam.

Devices notwithstanding, the principal characters remain heroic and essentially unreal. Oroonoko is not described as a Negro, but as a classic featured European. His knowledge of history, current and classical, is not that of an African native, but that of the young university graduate, and his graces are those of an ideal courtier. The day of romance was already waning, and attempts at realism only accentuate the futility of the romance character.
CHAPTER VIII

THE WORKS OF DANIEL DEFOE

After the publication of Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko, more than thirty years passed before another English novel of merit appeared. When Robinson Crusoe was published in 1719, however, the reading public generally recognized it as a new type of realistic fiction and welcomed it enthusiastically. The almost immediate popularity of the book spurred its author, Daniel Defoe, to the writing of four more novels within the next five years.

In each of his novels Defoe treated seriously the lives of the middle class characters of whom he wrote, and provided for the reader a minuteness of detail of incident that created an air of verisimilitude previously unequalled. Each of his later novels purported to be an autobiographical account of the adventures of criminals or rogues, and since these four, Captain Singleton (1720), Moll Flanders (1722), Colonel Jack (1722), and The Fortunate Mistress (1724), offer a better opportunity for the study of Defoe's methods of character portrayal than Robinson Crusoe, they form the basis for the criticism that follows.

Because the autobiographical form focuses attention on one central character, characterization assumes a more important role in the novels of Defoe than in those of his predecessors. In spite of this the characters do not achieve a complete
reality of their own. Instead, they assume reality in Defoe's works as a result of his attention to detail of incident. Since these incidents are genuinely realistic, the participating characters must of necessity be accepted as real.

This, however, is not enough. There must be a feeling of kinship with, a sympathy for, or sympathetic understanding of the characters to render them complete being. It is this element that is so largely lacking in Defoe's novels. Seldom does a painful or happy experience strike a responsive chord in the reader. The failure to arouse an emotional response results in a detached, dispassionate interest, an interest rather like that of one who examines a social worker's case history.

This attitude is the result of Defoe's usual preference for leaving the reader to imagine the feelings of the characters, who, like Moll, may merely remark, "It is impossible to express the horror of my soul all the while I did it."¹ On the few occasions when he does take pains to detail the actions of a person under emotional stress, he comes closer to creating a touching scene. In Colonel Jack, for example, Defoe presents a pathetic picture of young Jack's fears and worries occasioned by his possession of money for the first time. Because of the holes in his pockets, he cannot safely carry his money there; when he places his money in his shoes, his feet

¹ Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders*, p. 181
hurt so he cannot walk. At last he discovers what he believes to be a safe hiding-place in a hollow high in a tree. After depositing his hoard, he thrusts his hand in again to rearrange his store. To his horror he discovers his money has fallen further down into the tree:

Well, I thrust my hand quite up to the elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity; I got a stick of the tree and thrust it in a great way, but all was one; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such great passion; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed and cried all the while most violently; then I began to think I had not so much as a half-penny of it left for a half-penny roll, and I was hungry, and then I cried again; then I came away in despair crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.²

At the last of these fruitless attempts, when he comes down the opposite side of the tree, he finds his money within an unnoticed hollow at the base.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I hollo'd quite out loud when I saw it; then I run to it and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times, then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I know not what, much less do I know what I did, though I shall never forget the thing..."³

In briefer scenes, too, Defoe occasionally creates a fairly vivid picture of misery. Roxana cries as she sits on the floor of a barren room sorting a heap of clothes in hope of

² Daniel Defoe, *Colonel Jack*, p. 282
³ Loc. cit.
finding something to sell in order to provide food for her children. Instances such as these indicate that Defoe is capable of creating moving scenes. Unfortunately he fails to develop them effectively.

A further barrier to reader sympathy is the impression that characters often are almost devoid of feeling or finer emotions; their cloak of calculation and their inability to love deeply alienate sympathy. Moll and Roxana are mothers many times over, yet neither displays normal maternal concern for her children. From the time she accepts the jeweler as her paramour until she returns to England years later, Roxana does not give one thought to the children left behind. When she bears her second child by the prince, her attitude is completely, coldly, practical. She says:

> It lived not above two months; nor, after the first touches of affection (which are usual, I believe, to all mothers) were over, was I worry the child did not live, the necessary difficulties attending it in our travelling being considered."\(^4\)

Moll is hardly more tender; she must be persuaded that her child will be well cared for before she consents to dispose of it irrevocably, so that she will be free to marry her London friend, but at no other time does she indicate any concern for her numerous offspring.

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\(^4\) Daniel Defoe, *The Fortunate Mistress*, p. 90
Roxana, Moll, and Colonel Jack exhibit a peculiarly unemotional attitude toward love and marriage. Roxana, the most perverse of all creatures, after ten years regrets having failed to marry her Dutch merchant, but she delays when the opportunity is offered and holds him off until she learns definitely that there is no possibility of marrying the prince whose mistress she had once been. Then she is willing to marry the merchant and be a good wife. When the jeweler dies, Roxana is heartbroken and cries herself sick. Almost immediately thereafter she accepts a prince as her new lover, although she is no longer compelled by necessity to live as a mistress.

Moll's marriages are calculated to give her the security she so earnestly desires; love plays no part in the selection of a husband. Peculiarly, the man who is least able to provide security is the one whom Moll loves most, her love being discovered only after she learns he is even poorer than she. When he makes his noble gesture by deserting her, but leaves behind his watch and most of his money, Moll is stricken. Her actions and words in this instance indicate that Moll is capable of deep affection, and her later efforts on behalf of Jemmy prove it. Such instances are rare, however. Roxana and Moll, whether as mistress or wife, are completely loyal to lover or husband, but a revelation of love or even a feeling of deep affection is seldom betrayed.
Colonel Jack's marital adventures are numerous, but at no time does he exhibit any love for the women he marries. His practical nature leads him to choose as his fourth wife one who he believes would be a good mother for his children, although he might consider her only an "upper servant" in the household. Later, he casually mentions the death of this wife and two of his children.

Basic motivation in Defoe's novels is usually external circumstance. Moll, Roxana, and Colonel Jack in his youth, are all rogues, yet none is a rogue by choice. In this they differ greatly from characters of picaresque novels that appeared before Defoe. Moll says of her course that, "...vice came in always at the door of necessity, not at the door of inclination." Of the beginning of her sinful life Roxana says:

"My circumstances were my temptation; the terrors behind me looked blacker than the terrors before me; and the dreadful argument of wanting bread, and being run into the horrible distresses I was in before, mastered all my resolution, and I gave myself up..."

In his preface to Colonel Jack, Defoe says, "Circumstances formed him by necessity to be a thief." Later, Jack's tutor echoes these same sentiments, when he holds that necessity is such a temptation as human nature is powerless to resist.

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5 Defoe, Moll Flanders, p. 119
6 Defoe, The Fortunate Mistress, p. 36
7 Defoe, Colonel Jack, p. 260
8 Ibid., p. 407
Captain Singleton's case is a slight variation. His criminal life begins only after he expended a fortune with the help of friends he called spoilers. He is similar to Jack in that his religious and moral education had been neglected during his boyhood. Thus appears a basic pattern of motivation—need and ignorance, neither of which are due to faults of character.

Moll and Roxana have additional strong motives. Although necessity forced both to sin, neither was willing to give up a prosperous living. Both succumbed to avarice and both freely admit the fault. Similarly, Moll and Roxana admit vanity as a cause of their sins. Moll's vanity contributed to her initial downfall, and Roxana, who claimed no fondness for her way of life, was proud of her beauty and gloried in the adulation of great men.

This parallelism among Defoe characters extends also to conscience, for his sinners never effectively silence the still small voice that warns them of God's justice. Here again there are variations. Captain Singleton, who had no moral training, is almost oblivious to conscience; Moll's is extremely active, but ineffective.

The activity of conscience does not prevent sin in any of the characters. Only after the commission of evil does it speak, and then it is stifled in time for the next occasion. Morality is a gloss, a sop to a Puritan, middle class England which refused novels of Restoration licentiousness. This new reading public insisted on morality, and practical Defoe gave
it to them. He gave them histories, not novels, and he gave them moral instruction. These were books they could read without danger of eternal perdition.

Just as conscience does not prevent sin, neither does it cause reformation. Roxana abandons her career as mistress only when she is as wealthy as she could hope to be. She is past the age at which a woman has much market value as a mistress, and she is tired of her disagreeable old lord—. At this point self searching begins, and she can find no answer to "Why am I a whore now?" She very logically abandons the life.

Moll's luck deserts her, and she finds herself in Newgate sentenced to death. Terrified at the prospect, she repents. Moll claims that it is sincere repentance for having sinned rather than mere fear of punishment. An examination of her situation seems to refute this claim. Although she is condemned to death, there is a slight chance that she will be transported to the colonies. What course is open to her excepting reformation? Should she be transported, her money will be sufficient to begin a plantation, for she can never maintain herself as pickpocket or thief in Virginia. Should she be hanged, her peace is made with God. Moll is eminently practical.

Captain Singleton's reflections are held to a minimum; having had no moral education, he is untroubled by his sins. Only once does fear of God impress him. On this occasion a terrible storm gives all the pirates something to think about; all, that is, excepting the Quaker, who is too busy saving the
ship. At the height of prosperity, Walters broaches repentance, and when Singleton is shown a method of escape from piracy, he joins the parade of penitents. His reaction to reformation is in marked contrast to that of Moll and Roxana. Convinced that his life has been sinful, he feels that the sin attaches to the money and that true repentance can be achieved only by disposing of his wealth! Since this would nullify years of conscientious effort as a pirate, such a course could not be permitted, and it is the Quaker who provides the solution. Pointing out that it would be impossible to restore the money to its rightful owners and that it would be wrong to abandon it to others who had no legitimate claim to it, he convinces Singleton they should consider themselves obligated to use the money to relieve the worthy distressed. This, for Singleton and the Quaker, is the best possible compromise between the needs of this world and the demands of the next. As a compromise it is a masterpiece.

Colonel Jack's is a brief life of crime. Despite the fact that he lives so long as a street urchin without bed or home other than the glass-house, he is a strangely innocent youth, and becomes a pickpocket without realizing that his game is an offense. From the first he shows a tender heart ill becoming one of his trade, and when he turns highwayman, his conscience troubles him sorely. With Jack, however, conscience is not awareness of sin, but a feeling of pity for the victim, a pity which in one instance leads him to make restitution!
Fortunately the amount of money involved is small.

Because Jack has had no moral training or religious education, fear of God can come only with awareness of moral evil. This awareness begins toward the end of the second portion of his life. In the meantime his excellent behavior as overseer and plantation owner has banished from the reader's mind the unwitting sinfulness of Jack's early life. His repentance, therefore, seems pointless, for other than foolish marriages for which his punishment is temporal, he leads an almost model existence after leaving England.

Defoe characters are almost uniformly devoid of humor. Too engrossed with the business of living to find any occasion of levity, they march soberly through crime to repentance with no saving gift of laughter. Certainly these are a far cry from the merry rogues of the picaresque predecessors with whom they have often been linked because of their lives and origin. It is a tenuous link, however, for social satire and hearty deviltry are foreign to these novels. A prank for the sake of a prank is unknown, and if one excepts Roxana's exhortation to the ladies to marry anything but a fool, hardly an act or word of any of Defoe's major characters would cause a smile. All the more remarkable, therefore, is the Quaker pirate of Captain Singleton.

William Walters is a truly unique Defoe character, for he somehow has been endowed with a sense of humor. Naturally, this is neither bubbling nor prankish, but rather, grave, dry humor
which quite befits his Quaker profession. It is, nevertheless, effective. A hypocrite he, but his hypocrisy deceives no one, least of all himself—and he smiles—not a sly smile, but an open, engaging smile. Because of it, the reader quickly becomes fond of William even as Singleton did.

It would seem that Defoe, too, must have been fond of William, for only in Captain Singleton does one find a character for whom incidents seem to have been created. Events assume interest because William takes a hand, and although Singleton is captain, it is the Quaker whose sage advice is so often followed to a successful conclusion. This aspect of the novel is unique in Defoe.

In all of his other novels Defoe focuses attention on the main character to the exclusion of interest in others, except insofar as they directly affect the principal personage. Here, however, Singleton is often subordinate in interest to William. Although Singleton remains the narrator, the story is no longer his alone, but his and William's, a change for the better. William comes closer to a genuine rogue, and by reason of his wit, to a genuine human being than any other Defoe character.

Only one other minor character approaches the position Walters holds in Captain Singleton. Amy, Roxana's maid, by her presence throughout the novel and by her essential contribution to Roxana's welfare, assumes as important a position as William, but she does not excite interest as he does. A lower class copy of her mistress, Amy's only redeeming quality is her almost
fanatical devotion to Roxana. Ironically, it is her concern for Roxana's welfare which causes her dismissal from her mistress' service. While Susan is attempting to prove that Roxana is her mother, Amy threatens to kill the girl. For this she is discharged. Shortly thereafter, Roxana states that Amy did commit the murder. Since the girl continues her pursuit of Roxana and eventually accomplishes her purpose, the reader is left to wonder, for the subject is never mentioned again.

Amy is noteworthy as a minor character if for no other purpose than to illustrate Defoe's lack of concern for creating personality. Throughout the novel, interest is so centered on Roxana that Amy, although essential to the story, excites no interest in herself. Her actions are of interest only as their outcome affects Roxana's welfare.

A factor that contributes heavily to the lack of personality exhibited by the characters of these novels is the customary absence of conflict between characters. As indicated previously, it is against external circumstances that they struggle. Only in The Fortunate Mistress is there a clash of wills or opposition of desires, and even then it does not result in a greater degree of portrayal of the minor character, Susan. While it is natural to assume that an abandoned child would desire to find her mother, at no time is the reader aware of Susan's motives. She does not appear to be possessed by the natural desire to have a mother, but rather merely to prove that Roxana is her mother; this despite the fact that in attempting to do so she
deprives herself of financial assistance, jeopardizes the well-being of her brothers and sister, and even endangers her life. She becomes for the reader an idea rather than a person, a concept of retribution in human form rather than a pitiable young woman in search of a mother's love.

Defoe's lack of concern with the characters as such is indicated by his failure to describe the physical appearance of even one character. Surroundings, actions, and dress may be detailed, but a reader may scan every line of any of Defoe's novels without learning the height, weight, coloration, or any other feature that might assist in creating an approximate image. Characters are reflected by actions; never by portraits.

Dialogue, one of the most effective means of characterization, Defoe uses only sparingly, and fails to distinguish major characters by its use. Speech is merely a method of communication devoid of characteristic expression. Any words of Moll, Jack, Roxana, or Singleton could be credited to one of the others with no loss or change of individuality. In the minor characters he sometimes attempts to indicate the speaker by the use of dialect or, as with William Walters and Roxana's housekeeper, by the use of the conventional Quaker speech mannerisms. In both Robinson Crusoe and Captain Singleton Defoe attempts dialect, but the strain is too much, and one finds Xury, the Mohammedan youth who accompanied Crusoe in his escape from the Moors, saying at one moment "...look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast
asleep," and in the next breath, when ordered to go ashore to kill the monster, saying "Me kill; he eat me at one mouth."\textsuperscript{9} The plantation negroes of Colonel Jack occasionally speak a peculiar dialect, but Defoe usually eliminates the difficulty by the use of indirect discourse.

Most consistent and effective use of dialogue appears in that portion of Captain Singleton in which William is involved. The Quaker's speech is the man--dry, droll, and gently gibing. During a battle between the pirates and a larger Portuguese man of war, the guns of the pirate ship stove a large hole in the side of the attacker. Walters' approaches Singleton with a suggestion. "Friend," says he very calmly, "what dost thou mean? Why dost thou not visit thy neighbor in the ship, the door being open for thee?"\textsuperscript{10} The advice is not wasted; a boarding party attacking through the large hole soon gains the victory. William, here as elsewhere, is humorously mocking in his offering of advice, which is usually accepted and always sound.

When taken prisoner, the Quaker informs the pirate leaders that he will make himself useful, but that he cannot meddle during a fight.

\textsuperscript{9} Defoe, \textit{Robinson Crusoe}, p. 26

\textsuperscript{10} p. 138
No, no, says the captain, but you may meddle a little when we share the money. Those things are useful to furnish a surgeon's chest, says William, and smiled, but I shall be moderate.\textsuperscript{11}

Most of the Quaker's speech is directly quoted, and Defoe often adds descriptive touches such as "Our merry Quaker came drily to me...," "...says he very calmly," "...says William gravely," and "...says the dry wretch:" Such elaboration is most unusual and perhaps indicates a more than usual interest in the character. Whether this is so or not, only William is so treated with any degree of consistency, and characterization gains by the process.

In his criticism of Defoe's novels, Chandler writes of \textit{The Fortunate Mistress}:

This sombre story is not enlivened by a ray of humor. It is bloodless and unnatural...Roxana is almost without emotion. She certainly wins no sympathy. Her passion is controlled by avarice. She knows no parental instincts. Her children are disposed of as readily as they are begotten. Marriage she considers a crushing limitation upon individual liberty. Naturally the prosperous alone are to be loved...

More serious than the lack of emotion is the lack of psychology. Defoe has been called a realist, but here he is essentially unreal. His characters not only possess no natural affections, but they act without adequate motives. In Paris a Jew takes a mad antipathy to Roxana merely because she has commented upon his ugliness. He hounds her about in consequence, and even lays a murder at her door. Long afterwards, when everybody else has forgotten him, Roxana sends a friend to France to ascertain his whereabouts. Her action is unreasonable, but it reawakens the readers belief that a crisis is impending. Instead, nothing further is ever said of the Jew. Again, Roxana, when she has every advantage to gain by accepting the proffers of marriage made by a Dutch merchant who has

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. 131
already won her favors, sends him away and will not receive
him until a dozen years have elapsed...

The most absurd situation, however, is Roxana's forcing
the jeweler, upon whose favors she is wholly dependent,
to outrageous infidelity with her own maid. The Jeweler
has no desire to forsake his mistress, but Roxana insists,
and even supervises the deed merely that thereafter the
maid shall not be able to boast her moral superiority.
With characters so perverse in motive, with personages who
are merely puppets it is only natural that the morality
of Roxana should be external and distorted.12

If the many charges are true, the novel deserves
Chandler's hearty condemnation. If, on the other hand, they
are inaccurate, The Fortunate Mistress may be psychologically
sound and sufficiently motivated. Because the criticism is
based on motivation and Defoe's characterization of Roxana,
a detailed examination of the charges should reveal Defoe's
failure or accomplishment in this aspect of the novel.

Roxana freely admits that her passion was controlled
by avarice and vanity. She makes no claim to virtue.
Similarly, Moll, instead of abandoning her career as thief,
continues because of avarice. Roxana's love is sold to the
highest bidder. Moll marries only for financial security; love
at no time is a determining factor in her selection of a hus-
band. Roxana is a faithful mistress; Moll is a faithful
mistress who possesses a certificate of legality. Chandler
apparently overlooks these parallels, for he has high praise
for Moll Flanders. Sufficient motivation is present. It
appears that Chandler objects to Roxana being Roxana.

12 Frank W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery, Vol. 2,
pp. 296-298
That Roxana knows no parental instincts is not completely true. In spite of her attitude at the time of the birth of the second illegitimate child by the prince, she does at other times demonstrate at least as much concern as Moll, whose children are merely momentary respites from other activities. Roxana weeps when she considers the unmerited disgrace of the life of her bastard child. Her past life would never have been discovered, and her downfall would have been averted had she not attempted to provide for her legitimate children.

That the prosperous alone are to be loved is true. Roxana is vain. She confesses that to be flattered and loved by men of high station feeds her vanity and pleases her most. Too, Roxana is of a higher level of society than Moll. Naturally, Roxana would not go down the scale any more than Moll would intentionally marry a pauper.

Chandler's charges concerning the Jew are far from accurate. The Jew recognizes Roxana's jewels as those reported stolen from the murdered merchant, and, hoping to obtain them for himself, he attempts to lay the murder at Roxana's door. The fact that he hears her say that he has a devil's face does not inspire any love in his bosom, but his actions are not a consequence of Roxana's unfortunate comment. Years later, after Roxana abandons her sinful life, she sends Amy to France specifically to inquire after the Dutch merchant. At the same time Amy is instructed to make additional inquiries concerning Roxana's husband, who was a member of the gens d'armes,
the prince to whom Roxana had been mistress, and the Jew. The primary mission is to secure information of the Dutch merchant. The rest is incidental and appears so. When Amy returns, she has news of all, including the Jew. Although the information concerning him is not positive, it is apparent that there is no further danger in France for Roxana on his account.

Even though Roxana later regrets her refusal to marry the Dutch merchant, her action at the time is not incomprehensible. Roxana is independently wealthy, and she has had one unfortunate experience in marriage to a husband who is still living. That husband wasted his fortune and her dowry, then abandoned her and her children. She hesitates to be once more dependent on a man; by law her fortune would be his when she married. For this reason she refuses marriage. When the merchant reduces her objections to this last, and then unwittingly removes it, she is unable to capitulate. As she says, should she:

...agree with him I then did as good as confess that it was on account of my money that I refused him; which, though it was true, was really too gross for me to acknowledge...13

Trapped in a dilemma of her own making, Roxana, ashamed and embarrassed, camouflages her reason under the arguments that a woman in marriage assumes a position like that of an upper servant and that the individual liberty of a woman deserves as much respect as that of a man. Certainly this

13 Defoe, The Fortunate Mistress, p. 128
position could well represent Roxana's true feelings, after the experience of her first marriage. Her refusal, therefore, is based on natural fear that has a foundation in experience. In addition, it is a common tradition of mankind that when a woman has all her objections shattered in an argument with a man, she often will clutch at anything, shut her mind and hold fast, leaving the man helpless and bewildered. This is the unfortunate fate of the Dutch merchant. If it is argued that her attitude is unreasonable, this must be admitted. Women, however, are not always reasonable, and Roxana is a proud woman. Motive here is a delicate thing growing out of a characteristic commonly attributed to women, and Defoe has struck correctly at an undeniable psychological quirk.

The situation to which Chandler objects most is the scene in which Roxana forces Amy to bed with the jeweler. Chandler's statement that the jeweler is "forced to outrageous infidelity" is far from accurate. Roxana informs the jeweler at the evening meal that his bed companion that evening will be Amy. Instead of protesting, he merely asks Amy for verification. When Amy, in bed, changes her mind and tries to leave, he restrains her. True, he has no desire to forsake his mistress permanently, but he certainly has no objection to a change of partner. This, however, is not the important point. The whole scene is shocking, and Chandler finds the situation "absurd."
Examination proves that here, too, Defoe is psychologically correct. Roxana is a good wife forced by circumstances to accept the jeweler or face poverty and starvation. She chooses the jeweler. Once Defoe's basic motivation of necessity is accepted, the rest follows naturally from Roxana's own nature and not from Defoe's dictatorial whim.

Possessed of an active conscience, as all Defoe characters are at one time or other, Roxana cannot justify to herself her own course. She says:

So with my eyes open, and with my conscience as I may say, awake, I sinned, knowing it to be a sin, but having no power to resist. When this had thus made a hole in my heart, and I was come to such a height as to transgress against the light of my own conscience, I was then fit for any wickedness, and conscience left off speaking where it found it could not be heard.  

There is no balm to sooth her conscience. She knowingly sins, and nothing Amy or the jeweler say can soften the sense of evil. A good woman is led to live in sin, deliberately and consciously, day after day, with no power to resist as she "transgresses against the light" of her own conscience. How would she feel? Of what sin is she capable? Such a person is prepared for any desperate act, an act of defiance that would prove conscience dead or kill its last remnants. But why this act?

Before the alliance was formed, Amy had offered to lie with the jeweler if it would benefit Roxana. Amy had argued persistently that Roxana was justified in accepting the

14 Ibid., p. 36
jeweler's offers, and had urged her, as strongly as she knew how, to accept. Roxana yielded. As time passed and Roxana was not pregnant, Amy remarked that she would have been pregnant had she been sharing the jeweler's bed. Here was the grand opportunity, and Roxana immediately seized it; Amy was promised her chance. During the scene, when Amy perceived that Roxana was determined, she ceased to struggle.

The jeweler insisted from the beginning of the alliance with Roxana that theirs was a husband and wife relationship, and that he regarded her as his wife. This, too, enters as partial motivation, as Roxana's remarks subsequent to the scene indicate.

I need say no more. This is enough to convince anybody that I did not think him my husband, and that I had cast off all principle, and all modesty and had effectively stifled conscience. . . . Had I looked upon myself as a wife, you cannot suppose I would have been willing to let my husband lie with my maid, much less before my face, for I stood by all the while; but as I thought myself a whore I cannot say but that it was something designed in my thoughts, that my maid should be a whore too, and should not reproach me with it.15

These statements complete the picture, revealing that in this one act Roxana denies any claim to being wife, strikes more or less unconsciously at Amy, and confirms unmistakably her wickedness. Sufficient internal motivation is provided; Defoe is not merely manipulating puppets.

The difficulty in this scene, and with Defoe's motivation in general, is that because of his concentration on the

15 Ibid., p. 38
creation of realistic incidents, he fails to portray clearly the characters involved. Wagenknecht states the difficulty most aptly when he says that Defoe's failure is not in conception, but in communication.¹⁶

Defoe's failure in communication and the consequent complexity is well illustrated by Roxana's attitude toward her children. From the time she leaves England until her return, she gives not one thought to the children she abandoned after her husband's desertion. Such an attitude stamps her as being completely indifferent to their welfare. After her return to England, however, she attempts to locate them and to improve their lot. Her account of these efforts and the resulting embarrassing chase by Susan take place after her reformation. If her endeavors to aid the children began after the change in her mode of living, Roxana's actions may be accounted for by her expressed desire to one day introduce herself to them as their mother. The difficulty with this explanation is that she claims she sought to aid them immediately after her return to England. If this is so, and there is no reason to doubt her word, her behavior is the result of plot action, the mother's attempt to aid her children resulting in her ultimate destruction. On the basis of the evidence in The Fortunate Mistress, the latter explanation is the more acceptable.

¹⁶ Edward Wagenknecht, Cavalcade of the English Novel, p. 38
This problem illustrates an aspect of Defoe's technique peculiar to The Fortunate Mistress. In place of the multiplicity of incidents of his previous works, Defoe utilizes larger, more leisurely episodes in which plot action, in the sense of causal relationships, is more fully developed for the first time. Plot action, however, necessitates more attention to motivation on the part of the author, and Defoe's art is not quite equal to the task. As a result, Roxana is extremely complex.

Contrary to the opinion of Chandler, The Fortunate Mistress is not the poorest of Defoe's works, but rather indicates that Defoe, in demonstrating touches of psychological insight and attempting a circular plot, was moving toward the novel as it was to appear within the next quarter-century.
Although the early seventeenth century produced no native prose fiction of merit, another form of character presentation was developed. Known as "characters," these brief prose efforts depict the generic qualities of persons, places, or things in short, crisp, antithetical sentences. The selection often begins with a "conceited" descriptive sentence, and, after illuminating the characteristics, closes with a witty summary. Naturally, variations in treatment occur, depending on author, intention, and subject, but the pervading similarity is the generic nature of the type.

In England, Joseph Hall's *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608) represents the first deliberate writing of this type. Isaac Casaubon had edited the ethical types of Theophrastus in 1592, and Hall's collection utilizes the same plan, setting the types in contrasting pairs. In treating of the virtues Hall depicts state of mind, but in the vices he sets his examples in typical action, and this latter treatment became a characteristic of later sketches. The type became immediately popular, and from the publication in 1614 of the second edition of Overbury's poem, *A Wife*, to which were added twenty-one "characters," to the end of the century, character-books and individual "characters" were numerous.
The titles of the Overburian "characters" indicate how quickly the purpose of the type deviated from the Theophrastian. Moral aim was displaced by satirical or laudatory, and in addition to vices and virtues, occupations, professions, and station in society came under the scrutiny of the writers. Titles such as A Tinker, An Excellent Actor, A Jaylor, A Country Gentleman, A Courtier, A Saylor, A meere Common Lawyer, and A Canting Rogue, taken at random from the complete Overbury collection, exhibit the wide range of interest.

In 1618 Geoffray Mynshul's Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners emphasized another aspect of the "characters." Written in a London prison, the collection studied place as well as person, with the result that in the short period of ten years almost every conceivable subject had been treated.

Adjusted to political and satirical writing as well as moral, the "characters" retained their popularity throughout the century. A few became almost standard pieces. Most numerous were the lawyer or attorney, physician, soldier, usurer, courtier, and prison, all of which appeared nine or more times by different authors. The lawyer and physician appeared nineteen and eighteen times respectively. The country squire or country gentleman appeared five times, as did six other characters. Additional evidence of the popularity of the
character is the number of writers of the type, more than seventy-four being listed by Gwendolen Murphy's Bibliography of Character Books.

The relationship of this type of writing to the novel has interested many. The name, the unquestioned popularity, and the innumerable types, together with the simultaneous development of the essay culminating in the de Coverly papers, appear to offer an easy path to character portrayal.

Opinions such as that of Cross, who writes that they had a "...direct bearing on the novel,"¹ or that of Raleigh, who believed that the characters "...may rank as an ancestor of the novel in the direct line,"² are fairly common. Neither of these offer proof. Others, notably Baker and Baldwin are more careful. They avoid the danger of the word "direct," and choose the "character," essay route in linking the novel and "character." Routh, in his essay "London and the Development of Popular Literature," represents the opposite view of "character" influence in the statement, "The characters cannot be regarded as having materially influenced the novel."³

¹ Wilbur L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel, p. 24
² Walter Raleigh, The English Novel, p. 113
³ The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. IV, p. 391
For the purpose of this study the positions of Cross, Baker, and Baldwin deserve examination. Cross writes:

Moreover, the character-sketch, which was the most prolific literary form in England and France during the seventeenth century, has a direct bearing on the novel. As conceived by Ben Jonson and Thomas Overbury, who had before them a contemporary translation of Theophrastus, it was the sketch of some person, real or imaginary, who embodied a virtue or vice or some idiosyncrasy obnoxious to ridicule.4

One might wonder what Cross means by "conceived" and also whether Overbury and those who added to the collection which bears his name had read the translation of Theophrastus. The important point here, however, is that to Cross, Jonson and Overbury wrote "character-sketches." Almost immediately following this he turns to the essays of Addison and Steele and notes Sir Roger de Coverly. After considering Sir Roger, Cross, justified by the loose use of the term "character sketch," concludes as follows:

When they had done this, they had not only created one of the best defined characters in our prose literature, but they had almost transformed the character sketch into a novel of London and provincial life. From the "Spectator" the character sketch with its types and minute observations and urbane ridicule passed into the novel and became part of it.5

The reasoning of Cross does not bear examination. The term "character sketch" may not be applied indiscriminately when considering the picture that emerges from the twenty-six

4 op. cit., p. 24
5 loc. cit.
papers which portray Sir Roger de Coverly, and a "character" as written by Overbury or Jonson, to use the writers he cites.

One is written in a series of twenty-six papers; the other in a single sketch known properly as a "character." Not merely in extent do they differ, but also in aim, style, method, and spirit. The aim of the "character" is to portray a generic type; its style is characterized by a disjointed series of crisp, "conceited" sentences which form a brief whole. The method is to abstract, from a large class of men or objects, those traits considered by the writers to be representative of a type. Its spirit is usually witty or satiric.

The periodical essays which develop the character of Sir Roger, on the other hand, differ on all points. They aim, in total, at the creation of an individual. In style, they are light, gay, and natural, and constitute a coherent whole. Their method is to apply to one man those features and characteristics of individuality which create a literary personality. In spirit, they are warm, sympathetic, and gently humorous.

From this analysis it is concluded that the term "character sketch" may not be applied equally to each, and that there is an essential difference between a "character" and the essays as written by Addison and Steele. One might as logically call a short story a novel. Both the short story and the novel are concerned with characters in action and the form of each is normally prose. Yet who fails to recognize an essential
distinction between the two because of differing aim, scope, and method?

Baker's approach is similar to that of Cross. He considers charactery a specialized kind of essay writing, and holds that it was so recognized by Breton, Mynshul, Stephens and others, when they called their characters essays. 6 Stephens wrote Satyrical Essays and Others in 1615. Later he added New Essays and Characters. Geoffray Mynshul's title is Essays and Characters of the Prison and Prisoners. Breton contributed Characters upon Essaies, Morall and Divine.

The titles of Mynshul and Stephens do not indicate that they considered their "characters" essays, but do indicate that the authors drew a distinction between the two forms. Breton's title hardly warrants Baker's conclusion. Miss Murphy's Bibliography of Character Books does not list one complete title which does not distinguish between "character" and essay when the volume contains both. Mynshul's volume is considered particularly noteworthy by Thompson because "...it helps us distinguish between the character proper and the essay." 7 After citing parallel passages from essay and "character" on the same subject, he concludes, "So different are the two

7 Elbert N. S. Thompson, Literary Bypaths of the Renaissance, p. 16
forms in the volume that the casual reader need never be at a loss to know on which one he may happen to open the volume." 8

The distinction is evident not only to the modern, but to at least one character writer of the period. Rich Flecknoe, in 1683, contrasting portrait, "character," and essay, distinguishes nicely, pointing out that "characters:

differ from Pourtracts, in that they are only pictures of Mind, abstracting from the Body, and from Essays, in that they discourse not, but give only the heads of things in general. 9

Baldwin, author of several essays on character writers, by definition of the "character," eliminates, to his satisfaction, the difficulty attendant on bridging the gap between this literary form and the novel. He defines the "character" as:

a short account, usually in prose, of the properties, qualities, or peculiarities which serve to individualize a type. 10

Following this, he notes that the "character properly speaking always represents a type, never an individual."

In an earlier essay, after considering "characters" and the essays of Addison and Steele, he concludes:

It is, of course, in the Character of Sir Roger de Coverly, as it is elaborately drawn in the twenty-six

8 Ibid., p. 19

9 Gwendolen Murphy, A Cabinet of Characters, pp. VII-VIII

papers in which his adventures, opinions, and conversations are recorded that the Character approached the novel most closely.11

Such reasoning appears inconsistent. In his definition he recognizes the generic quality of the "character," but then on the basis of the words "properties...which serve to individualize a type," he concludes that Overbury's "Country Gentleman" and Sir Roger de Coverly are both "characters" because they differ only in degree of individuality! What is an individualized type?

Raleigh recognizes the wide divergence between a "character" and Sir Roger:

The dreary character of the seventeenth century has received its death blow in these sketches drawn by men who loved the individual better than the type, and delighted in precisely those touches of character, eccentricities and surprises, that give life to a literary portrait. The keen undiscriminating satire of the generic description has given way to the gentle atmosphere of humor that envelopes and illumines the character of Sir Roger...12

Baldwin's article is of value, however, for it makes clear the reason for the attempts to connect "character," essay, and novel. The reason, of course, is Squire Western of Tom Jones. Since the Squire is portrayed in all three classes, there must be a connection. The conclusion remains an assumption.

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12 Raleigh, op. cit., p. 122
The final objection to be advanced against the "character," essay, novel path of characterization is the fact that neither Bunyan nor Behn, who wrote during the period of the popularity of the "characters," nor Swift nor Defoe, whose works followed the rise of the essay, nor Richardson, who is generally considered to have written the first English novel, may be pointed to as having been influenced by characters. Such a long period must be considered a strong argument of omission against the "character" influence.

That Fielding uses types which resemble some of the "characters" cannot be denied, nor is the purpose of this work to deny it. Their presence, however, should be explained, and this is possible if one considers the purpose of the author.

While the Unfortunate Traveller was being considered, it was noted that Nashe's character of the "Italianate" Englishman was anticipatory of the characters to follow in the next century. His drawing the character as he did was, of course, to satirize the type. The character writers who followed, as often as not wrote satirical sketches, observing, abstracting, and combining traits to show off the foibles, idiosyncrasies, and vices of the various types. Addison and Steele were intent on reformation of manners, but were more gentle and urbane. Sir Harry Quickset, Tom Folio, the Tory Foxhunter, Sir Timothy Tittle, Sir Andrew Freeport, the Political Upholsterer, and other creations, although different
from "characters," are designed to illustrate qualities deserving of respect or laughter, with the broader aim of improving society. In Tom Jones, Squire Allworthy, Square, Thwackam, and Partridge are types, while in Joseph Andrews, Parson Trulliber, the boorish squire, the poet, and the physician are particularly reminiscent of types to be found among the "characters." Fielding felt that the purpose of comedy was to laugh mankind out of their favorite follies. What better way than to present types recognizable to all?

In each instance of similar type characterization there appears a similar purpose, satire, either harsh or gentle. It is this same motive which to a great extent accounts for the types to be found in the early novel of manners. A broad view of society, it was felt, could best be presented through representative types. Thus, what Fielding has done with minor characters is simply to follow a logical and natural tendency that often may be observed even now in literature with a similar purpose.

The possibility of tracing relationship between character and novel has appeared so interesting that another avenue of approach, the drama, has too often been neglected. Although adequate treatment is not possible here, a brief resume of the subject is sufficient to indicate its importance.

Even before the first English collection of "characters" appeared, Jonson's Every Man Out of His Humor (1600) and Cynthia's Revels (1601) employed the device of having a
character on stage describe one about to enter. In these two dramas the descriptions are set pieces that might well be classed as "characters." Since the purpose of the drama is to present individuals, comparatively little use seems to have been made of the device. However, there does appear to have been an interaction between drama and "characters." As expressed by Miss Murphy:

...comedy was simulated by the character to seize type-peculiarities more keenly, but it would express these in its own way, by means of action; while the character had its attention drawn by the drama to certain fresh types, or to unnoticed details of familiar ones, and then it would express these, also in its own way, in its thumbnail sketches.13

From the Restoration to the end of the century, comedy was replete with types which might be found among the "characters" proper. Country squires, fops, and cheats of all kinds inhabited the London stage as well as the character books. In her introduction to "A Nice, Affected Beau," Miss Murphy points out that the character of "A Beau," by an anonymous "Lady," and Vanbrugh's Lord Foppington of The Relapse, are similar, Lord Foppington being simply the dramatization of "A Lady's" "Beau."

The latter dines at "Locket's where his Vanity, not his Stomach, is to be gratified with something that is little and dear." Lord Foppington declares, "I go to dinner at Locket's; where you are so nicely and delicately

13 A Cabinet of Characters, p. XX
serv'd, that, stap my Vitals, they shall compose you a Dish
no bigger than a Saucer, shall come to Fifty shillings."  

Here is one instance where there appears to be a direct
relationship between drama and "character." Because the aim of
comedy is similar to that of many of the "characters," and
because the popularity of both forms is unquestioned during
the latter portion of the century, there exists a strong
possibility of other examples of borrowing from one form or the
other.

The importance of such interaction lies in the types
which were utilized by the drama, for the characters of the
dramas come much closer to the characters of Richardson and
Fielding than do the rigid types found in the "character"
proper. As the theater declined in popularity in the early
years of the eighteenth century, sentimental and domestic drama
came closer to the changed taste of the English public, and
the characters of the drama approached those of the early
novel.

Richardson, generally conceded to have been the author
of the first English novel, was not unacquainted with the
drama. Ward has demonstrated the indebtedness of Richardson's
Clarissa to Rowe's Fair Penitent.  

Seeking the origin of
Lovelace, he finds Lothario the principal source. Motivation

14 Ibid., p. 335

15 H. G. Ward "Richardson's Character of Lovelace,"
of both characters is revenge, and parallel passages similar in tone and intent are illustrated in several instances. In one instance Ward quotes a letter of Belford:

The whole story of the other is a pack of damned stuff. Lothario 'tis true seems another wicked ungenerous varlet as thou knowest who; the author knew how to draw a rake: but not to paint a penitent.  

Again Ward cites a letter from Belford to Lovelace on the subject of Clarissa:

I have frequently thought on my attendance on this lady that if Belton's admired author Nic Rowe and such a character before him, he would have drawn another sort of penitent than he has done or given his play which he calls, "The Fair Penitent" another title. Miss Harlowe a penitent indeed! I think if I am not guilty of a contradiction in terms, a penitent without a fault, her parents conduct from the first considered.  

According to Ward, "This passage is proof that Richardson had continually Rowe's play on his mind when writing Clarissa."  

Fielding was dramatist turned novelist, and as such knew of the types appearing in comedy. While there is no direct evidence that he has drawn on previous dramatic works, it appears more natural to assume that his characters would be drawn from the theater rather than from a questionable knowledge of "characters" themselves. To assume a direct influence of "characters" when a more adaptable form was at hand appears to be straining probability.

16 Ibid., p. 493
17 Ibid., pp. 493-494
18 Ibid., p. 494
The most accurate estimate of the contribution of the "characters" would seem to be that they called attention to the variety of types to be found in contemporary society during the absence of the drama; following the revival of the drama, each form reinforced the other, one in brief word sketches, the other by attributing some of the qualities to an individual who expressed them in action. Most important, the "character" types became stereotypes, common property of all who followed.
CONCLUSIONS

In the works of the first three authors of the period examined in this study, there are no similarities in type or method of characterization. Each writer stands clearly distinct from the others. In Euphues (1579) and Euphues and his England (1581) Lyly's didactic purpose is paramount. The former is intended to illustrate the dangers of the abuse of wit; the latter to praise England. Only the character of Euphues is developed to any extent. Sydney's romance, the Arcadia (1590), devotes more attention to characterization, the finer characters representing ideal types whom the men of Sidney's period might hope to emulate, but never equal. Nashe's Unfortunate Traveller (1594) is the first English realistic novel, but the realism is that of incident, not character. Jack merely provides the thread of continuity which runs throughout the narrative.

Not only is there no similarity among the works of Lyly, Sidney, and Nashe, but in addition there is no connection between their novels and those of the three writers who followed. The Pilgrim's Progress (1678) of John Bunyan is an allegory frankly dedicated to religious edification. With this work, however, realism of ordinary life first makes its appearance. In realism of both dialogue and characterization Bunyan surpasses any of his predecessors, yet the undeniable fact that his work was scorned by his contemporaries militates against
the possibility of attributing to The Pilgrim's Progress any true influence on the novels of those who followed him.

Written to illustrate the thesis that nature better instructs the world than all the inventions of man, Aphra Behn's Oroonoko (1688) is clearly patterned on the heroic romances in its portrayal of character. Mrs. Behn's use of realistic devices throughout the narrative only accentuates the essential unreality of her characters. Romance characterization of the type exemplified by Oroonoko patently did not influence later novelists.

The novels of Defoe, which claim to offer salutary lessons in morality, exhibit the first truly realistic characters of the major novelists. Although the characters usually assume reality merely because of their participation in realistic incidents that are minutely detailed, only the infusion of the warmth of an emotional life is needed to create genuine personalities.

There is no evidence that the "characters" exerted a direct influence on the novel. It is hardly valid to assume from the presence of the squire in "characters," essay, and novel that there was an indirect influence. The presence in the works of Fielding of the squire and other characters reminiscent of the "character" proper is more logically explained by the presence of the same types in the drama with which Fielding was familiar.
Bernbaum's investigation of the fictitious criminal biography reveals that of all the predecessors of Defoe only The Counterfeit Lady (1673) of Francis Kirkman exhibits characters, characterization, and methods of narrative similar to those of Defoe. 1

It is apparent that in the works of the major novelists there is no similarity of character types or methods of characterization, and that there is no sign of evolutionary development which may be linked logically to the next writer. These facts combined with the lack of "character" influence indicate that the historians' account of the rise of the novel is less satisfactory as the source of characterization as it appears in Defoe than the criminal biography which illustrates all the methods utilized by Defoe.

The only characteristic common to all novels of the period is didactic purpose, and unless this is considered, characterization in the novel from Lyly through Defoe cannot be fully comprehended.

An Abstract of a Thesis
THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER PORTRAYAL IN THE ENGLISH NOVEL FROM LYLY THROUGH DEFOE

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(Ph. B. Providence College, 1941)
submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts 1950
ABSTRACT

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this thesis is to determine whether characterization in the English novel from Lyly through Defoe exhibits evolutionary tendencies, or whether one novel or literary form more logically may be considered the model for characterization as it appears in the works of Daniel Defoe.

Methods Used

The author examines the characters and methods of characterization of each of the major novelists from Lyly through Defoe, considers the period from Nashe to Bunyan in terms of then prevailing literary tendencies, and investigates the relationship between the seventeenth century "character" and the novel.

Summary

In the first two English works which may be considered novels, Euphues (1579) and Euphues and his England (1581), by John Lyly, didactic aim is paramount. In Euphues the fictional element is bait leading to the moral disquisitions that follow, and the two principal characters, Euphues and Lucilla, are examples of modes of conduct to be avoided. Only in this light are the characters comprehensible. The second work, while
closer to the novel in structure, is likewise deficient in characterisation, although there is ample expression of emotion. The emotion, however, is not revelatory of character, for it results in neither choice nor avoidance of significant action.

The next major novelist to appear was Sir Philip Sidney, whose *Arcadia* (1590) broke from the chivalric romance tradition in many respects and adopted Greek pastoral elements. Sidney made use of an interpreter to delineate characters, and the subjects thus outlined act in complete conformity to the description. On the whole the characters are rigidly consistent types which Sidney considered to be most in keeping with his theory of ideality as expressed in his "Apology for Poetry."

Throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century there was a gradual growth in popularity of realistic prose accounts of low life, but the first realistic novel was not produced until Thomas Nashe wrote *The Unfortunate Traveller* in 1694. As in previous realistic prose efforts, emphasis in *The Unfortunate Traveller* is on incident rather than character, but here for the first time unity is achieved by the presentation of incidents as a central character participates in or witnesses them. Nashe combined acuteness of observation, autobiographical method, and skill in vivid portraiture, to produce an approximation to verisimilitude not previously achieved nor equalled for more than half a century to follow.

Throughout most of the seventeenth century, translations
and redactions of French and Spanish romances and anti-romances achieved greater popularity than native English works among the upper classes. Despite this, English writers produced no truly important heroic romance or anti-romance fiction.

While literary circles enjoyed the imported romances, a descendent of the conny-catching pamphlets, the criminal biographies, satisfied the desire for spectacular realism among the less literary classes of the city. These works, so regularly disregarded by most novel historians, were investigated by Professor Bernbaum, whose conclusions are supported by sufficient evidence to indicate that at least one of these, The Counterfeit Lady (1673), by Francis Kirkman, is essentially fiction, is long enough to be considered a novel, and both portrays and develops character to a higher degree than any work which preceded it or which followed it until Defoe. Notable, too, are the similar claims to moral purpose of both Kirkman and Defoe.

In 1678 the translation of the Portuguese Letters introduced a new method of narration into English prose fiction. Historians of the novel consider that the consequent extensive use of letters to portray emotion realistically was an important contribution to the development of realistic character portrayal.

In the same year in which the Portuguese Letters were translated, John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress appeared. Frankly dedicated to religious edification, the allegory was scorned by the literary of the period. Because of this fact, Bunyan's genuine achievement in the creation of realistic
dialogue and action cannot be considered to have had any significant effect on the works of future novelists.

Didactic purpose is the most notable aspect of the little romance which constitutes the last important novel of the seventeenth century. Designed to illustrate the thesis that nature better instructs the world than all the inventions of man, Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko* (1688) attempted to reconcile two antagonistic spirits, realism and romance. The employment of realistic devices throughout the narrative, however, serves only to accentuate the essentially heroic romance nature of both the hero and heroine. Since later English characterization, particularly that of Defoe, is far from the type presented in *Oroonoko*, this novel was not a force in the development of realistic characterization.

During the next thirty-four years the budding English novel was without any outstanding additions. With Defoe, however, the novel of realism appeared, and for the first time in a major novel, characterization assumed an important place. Defoe's use of the autobiographical method focuses attention on the central character in his narratives of criminals or rogues, and his attention to detail of incident creates such realism that the characters must of necessity be accepted as real. However, in each of his last four novels the basic similarity of characters and the almost complete lack of humor and emotional warmth make it almost impossible for a reader to feel that the characters are truly human beings.
Defoe's last novel, *The Fortunate Mistress* (1724) exhibits his best work in characterization, for psychological insight in motivation is displayed in many instances, and Roxana's actions are not merely mechanical responses to external circumstances.

In view of the actions of his characters Defoe's claims to moral purpose may be discounted, for when in three of four cases the wages of sin is not death, but prosperity, the claims indicate mere lip service to a requirement of the reading public.

Frequent suggestions that the seventeenth century "character" influenced the novel are not substantiated by examination. The presence of the squire in "character," essay, and novel does not indicate indirect influence; the only common characteristic of the three methods of portrayal is similarity of purpose. The lack of the English "character" type in the novels of Bunyan, Behn, and Defoe argues strongly against direct "character" influence on the novel. The presence in the works of Fielding of type characters similar to those of the seventeenth century generic sketch, is explained logically by taking into account Fielding's knowledge of similar types which appeared in the drama with which he was familiar.
Conclusions

In the works of the major English novelists of the period from Lyly through Defoe, characterization does not exhibit evolutionary tendencies.

The fictitious criminal biography provides a satisfactory source of characterization of the type exemplified in the works of Defoe.

To comprehend characterization in the pre-Richardsonian novel it is necessary first to take into consideration the didactic purpose exhibited by each author of the period.
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