CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION: THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP
The century that began with Jane Austen's well-balanced heroines of strong will, who literally "will" themselves into normal behaviour, rushes towards its end with the wilful self-destructiveness of Hardy's heroines and heroes, who "will" themselves not into normality but into an obsession with guilt and penance.¹

The difference from earlier fiction is now both psychological and structural. The world view of conventional Christianity is by now shattered by Darwin's theory of human evolution. Beliefs are shaky. With Hardy, too, religion becomes more of a memory of past rituals:

Hardy continued to love the country parsons long after he had ceased to believe what they kept repeating from generation to generation ... He became a skeptic not with the sneer of the disbeliever who rejoices in shaking off priestly bonds nor the indifference of a rationalist for whom faith is never an option, but with the gnawing and tender regret of the lapsed Christian. "I have been looking for God fifty years," he wrote toward the end of his life, "and I think that if he existed I should have discovered him." From the pen of a twentieth century writer such a remark would seem merely flippant; from Hardy it is simple honesty.²

The loss of faith marks the beginning of the spiritual isolation of an entire generation. There is no God to hold
responsible for the misfortunes and miseries of the world. Industrial and scientific progress bring with it a heritage of confusion and spiritual uncertainty. A frightening consequence of this world is Sue Bridehead. Walter Allen, in *The English Novel*, says Sue is the most subtle delineation of a not uncommon type of woman in the modern world and it is significant that the only writer on Hardy who has fully understood his achievement in creating her is D.H. Lawrence. The social problems of marriage and divorce, and repressive moral censorship by Victorian public opinion are continued, through Hardy, in Lawrence's novels, and the problems of modern unrest and modern introspectiveness and modern melancholy are probed into further. After Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd*, the conventional happy ending becomes a thing of the past. "The imitation of the older form, the containment of a novel's moral and emotional climax by marriage, collapses." There is a revision of relationships; a fresh look is taken at woman's position in these relationships. "The unfathomable mystery of the essential otherness" intrigued Hardy as much as it did Lawrence later:

the peculiar Lawrentian sense of the paradox of personal relations, especially of those between a man and a woman which make and validate a marriage; the insistence that the more intimate and essential the relations, the more must the intimacy itself be, for the
two lives that are brought into so essential a contact, a mutual acceptance of their separateness and otherness. Hardy's outspokenness where sex is concerned made him, in the eyes of his contemporaries, the English counterpart of European novelists like Flaubert, Tolstoy and Zola. However, Hardy's is an older art of story-telling than theirs. His is an intensely local world and his provincialism, not fashionable life, is his strength. He revives "Wessex" to denote a particular region in England and his characters thus live in an additional dimension of history and myth. Most of them seem to live in a timeless era that is detached from historical events and changes, and assume thereby the largeness of myth. Acutely aware of the modern world, he looks back to the past and recreates a world that is more primitive and pagan than the changed actual world of nineteenth century England. George Eliot's rural world, though somewhat earlier in time, and provincial, seems more modern than Hardy's. Social life in Hardy is not the same as in Jane Austen, Thackeray or George Eliot. His characters stand in relation to other things -- the weather, the topography or some traditional skill. Giles Winterborne is always remembered as the peasant good with trees and at one with nature; Gabriel Oak is the good shepherd, honest, faithful and steady; Tess the dairymaid. What concerns Hardy most is the individual's response to the deep-rooted passions, above all, sexual love.
In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the situation of women changed radically — from subordinate domesticity and repression to the beginnings of emancipation. Through the eighteenth century and the nineteenth, the English novel was firmly ensconced in a social world. The fact of social class was taken for granted not only by Richardson but by Jane Austen too. Marital position and, at most times, status have been important to the patterning of the plot. The woman has for long been the person to whom things happen. She has been subject to a standard of womanliness which, while being restrictive and not quite fair, is her only means of survival. From her constricting world, she moves outward. Woman need no longer be only a figure of endurance. Bathsheba Everdene, vivacious, independent, confesses that she wants somebody to "tame" her as she is too independent. Assertive herself, she would like a more assertive Gabriel too. The struggle, problems and the relationships involving women have intrigued both Lawrence and Hardy. Much of the earlier writing depicting women with affection, understanding and perceptiveness have come mainly from women novelists. Woman now begins to receive proper attention and proper valuation.

Hardy comes at the fag end of one tradition, that of the solid extroverted English novel originating mostly with Henry Fielding; but he also comes at the beginning of another tradition, that of the literary "modernism"
which would dominate the twentieth century. 7

The question of women's specific problems in the modern world are no longer irrelevant. The feminine principle is well-established in the fictional worlds of Hardy and Lawrence. Between the two writers there is, from folk heroine to modern woman, an entire gamut of intriguing womanhood. In Hardy's novels, there is an element shedding light on women that attracted Lawrence and made him feel kin to it.

In Jane Austen's world, a happy marriage could be a union that is an advantage to both, and each improves from the other. At worst, marriage is the only honourable means of provision for a young woman of small fortune, as in the case of Charlotte Lucas. Marriage marks a resolution of conflict as all problems are ironed out before an Elizabeth Bennet marries a Darcy. Jane Austen does draw attention to poor marriages, like the one between the elder Bennets, where a husband gives in to cynicism in the face of his wife's silliness; Charlotte Lucas marries Mr Collins not out of any heartfelt conviction, but, as the eldest daughter in a family of many daughters and limited means, chooses this opportunity to ensure herself a secure future. When, in Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice, Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy make their way past comic misunderstandings to a happy marriage, they share a sense of superior cultivation. Their additional advantage of status serves as a protection against the dull world outside. Emily Brontë's
Catherine and Heathcliff are barely aware of the common life, which to them becomes totally irrelevant. But by the time we come to the modern individual, we see that he has scant, if any, means of escaping into a private world. There is a constant and sustained tussle between the individual and the larger community. Edwin Muir observes that Hardy "is on women's side against man, just as he is on man's side against nature, and for the same reason, for woman is the final victim." By nature and by tradition the more vulnerable, woman finds a special niche for herself in Hardy's novels. Only one of Hardy's major novels ends in a happy marriage. However, in the process, a vivacious and confident young woman is tossed about by circumstance as much as by her own recklessly impulsive nature. In subsequent novels, Hardy dwells on marriage as a continuing process, and contemporary marriage conventions come in for attack. Hardy perhaps was never Christian but he had earnest and deep convictions of what was good and bad in human life. Holloway sees Hardy's view as simple enough:

"In Hardy's world it is right to live naturally ... To live naturally is to live in continuity with one's whole biological and geographical environment."

To Hardy's mind, intellectual culture is at the bottom of human unhappiness. It is education that isolates Grace from the ways and the people of Hintock when she comes home after her education abroad. It brings on an element that is alien
to the natural culture of the countryside. The simple country girl and the educated young woman in her give rise to conflict within herself. It is her cultivated side, persuaded by her ambitious father, that wins over her spontaneous, instinctive self when she agrees to marry Fitzpiers. Giles Winterborne and Marty South know the language of the trees, of the natural world; they draw strength from their proximity to, and kinship with, nature and are deeply rooted in the substance of instinctual life.

Education reaching the rural community has succeeded in pushing a wedge into their sensibility. Tess, educated up to the sixth standard in the National School, speaks two languages. However, she is still rooted in the ready and the spontaneous. Grace Melbury represents a more prominent divide. Grace's divided response allows her to repudiate Giles in favour of Fitzpiers. It is again education and awareness that bring such conflicts within the sensitive Sue Bridehead. Tess herself is hardly troubled by any intellectual ambition; she remains a warm-hearted, unpretentious country girl. As Hardy shifts attention to the signs of deracination of an overwrought will, instinctual life gradually loses ground to the acute awareness and demands of personality. Before the advent of the modern girl we see

Tess ... that rare creature in literature: goodness made interesting.10

She has, apart from affection and trust, the powers of
suffering, struggle and survival. This is what Sue, with her intellect and education, seems to lack. She eventually proves unequal to living out her early beliefs, in the face of adversity.

Lawrence's Hermione Roddice too suffers from an excess of intellectual drive. Wanting in warmth and spontaneity, she goes through with blinkers on her emotions and perceives everything through her mind. However, the college educated Ursula suffers no ill-effects as we later see.

Marriage is seldom an affirmation of harmony very early in Hardy; we see marriage not as a resolution of conflict but as a lived out process with its fair and natural share of problems. It is acknowledged to be a problematic relationship, where both partners enter into a truce with unequal expectations. Elizabeth and Darcy, as Anne Elliot and Captain Wentworth, resolve misunderstandings before uniting in a happy marriage. But in the Hardy world, it is not so simple. Ill-matched couples must suffer their marriages. In The Woodlanders, the question of divorce is broached. Marriage is no longer considered sacred but is a contract that is, or should be, terminable in cases of disharmony. It is later, however, in Jude the Obscure, that a marriage is actually dissolved. This promises both the man and the woman a degree of freedom from a tie when it is no longer one of mutual love and trust. Hardy had denied that Jude the Obscure was meant
to be a treatise on the marriage question. But the truth is that this is the first work of literature in which marriage is studied with such an honest eye. Fidelity too takes on a fresh meaning in the new context:

If fidelity is the most precious and elusive of the Wessex virtues, fidelity for the sake of conventional appearance and fidelity to an unworthy partner is condemned as absolutely wrong. Neither the sexual act nor even the imminence of a child is in itself sufficient grounds for marriage.¹¹

Marriages can be, and are, wrecked by social ambition. Grace, allowing herself into a socially "better" marriage, opens her eyes to the reality of a promiscuous husband, but must bear her lot. Eustacia Vye also marries for the wrong reasons. Prudish convention unite Jude and Arabella, not once but twice. The fickle Sue seems to flit in and out of relationships unable to hold on to her early beliefs. The happiness that Jude and Sue share comes outside the formal binding of marriage. This happiness belongs to two people who seem instinctively to belong to each other, not necessarily bound by formal ties. The Return of the Native is the first major Hardy novel that deals with marriage not as a resolution of the plot but as a continuing process. There is discord in marriage. Eustacia's tragedy is consequent upon her nature. She is unable to settle into the Egdon community because of a lack of kinship with it. Hers is a destructive sexuality,
not bound morally to any one man and she is aware that

"... want of an object to live for —
that's all is the matter with me."
(RN, p.145)

Restless in Egdon, she dreams of far-away Paris, anxious to
make marriage with Clym her passage to the world outside.
Clym himself marries Eustacia with the idea that one day she
would help him in his work among the people at Egdon. Hardy
conceives of marriage as

a dramatic illustration of the human
impulse to work at cross purposes long
before he wrote *Jude the Obscure*.

Sue is not Hardy's first study of the wilful woman. However,
Sue's wilfulness is compounded by modern confusion, and after
disaster she reverts to self-imposed constraints. She has
none of the calm that Tess displays, and none of the fortitude
of Jude. When she returns to Phillotson to atone for her life
with Jude and renounces her early convictions, is it the
response of the woman in her, or of the severely disturbed
individual that she is? Is she basically incapable of living
out her convictions or is it that the world and her circum­
stances are simply too overwhelming? In all her relationships
with men, she displays the very modern fear of personal commit­
ment. When marriage is no longer a very desirable goal for
women as it was assumed to be, it is partly the fear of
commitment that accounts for this attitude. But the plight of
ill-matched couples and their helplessness in an irreversible tie concerns both Hardy and Lawrence. In part, *Jude the Obscure* is an attack on indissoluble marriage with a frank acknowledgment of sexual incompatibility. However, it is not a very sudden or radically new direction of attitude in Hardy. And Sue is not the first study into the psychology of the epicurean woman. After Bathsheba Everdene spurns Oak's initial hesitant approach, she learns through bitterness and humiliation the worth of a good man's love. Grace Melbury, similarly, prefers Fitzpiers over Giles Winterborne and suffers for it. Eventually, however, she must return to Fitzpiers although Hardy provides little evidence that would point towards a potentially reformed Fitzpiers. Hardy, in *The Woodlanders*, still hesitates to stray away from form, and manipulates a conclusion that leaves the reader unconvinced. Apprehension about public opinion led him to contrive his conclusions to satisfy an orthodox reading public. In *Tess*, too, the final union between Angel Clare and 'Liza-Lu is rather far-fetched. By *Jude the Obscure*, Hardy abandons form for sincerity of purpose, no longer bound by any obligation to his readers:

> Coming at the moment it did, *Jude* played a part in the modern transformation of marriage from a sacred rite to a secular and therefore problematic relationship.¹³

There is a very honest appraisal of the modern young woman who struggles to gain a foothold in life. In Hardy's world,
"the great disaster for an individual is to be deracine". 14

Sue suffers from restlessness, a trait that Hardy saw as characteristically modern:

In personal background, novelistic technique, choice of locale and characters, Hardy remains mostly of the past, but in his distinctive sensibility, he is partly of the future. 15

Jude is a picture of modern deracination. He seems an anticipation of modern rationality struggling to become proudly self-sufficient and thereby cutting itself off from its sources of physical life. 16

Sue's nature is not a coherent force, and it does not remain consistent, but is an undefined area in which conflicting impulses clash. In Tess and Jude, Hardy faces difficulties: the problem of ethics without dogma and the problem of the restless and isolated modern ego. Hardy is distinctly ahead of his time in recognizing the consistency of irrationality in human conduct. When a writer works out a plot, he tacitly assumes that there is a rational structure in human behaviour. But in modernist literature, these assumptions become questionable. In Jude, plot does not signify as it did in Hardy's earlier novels. Jude anticipates clearly the theme of personal relationships which is to form a pervasive theme in the twentieth century novel, with its accompanying loneliness and rootlessness. It is dominated by psychology and
it is not the kind of book that can offer the lure of catharsis or the relief of conciliation. All through his novels, Hardy's attachment to the rural world is deep, providing him with something equivalent to a moral absolute:

But Hardy, by the point he had reached in *Jude the Obscure*, could no longer find in the world of Wessex a sufficient moral and emotional support.

To Hardy, the rural world has always had some kind of sustaining power. The people in *Jude* are deracine, restless and anchorless, not because the world of Wessex no longer provides emotional support. It is in the absence or in the renunciation of this world that the individual finds no moral refuge, losing himself in the urban jungle. The uprooting of traditional English life resulting from a new historical situation and its accompanying changes in intellectual and social life marks the turmoil of not one individual but of an entire social group. Sue hovers between a self-recriminating and repenting Christian, and a social rebel who revels at the thought of freedom. Her indecisions, her attitudes, even her charm "are all conditioned by the growth of intellectual skepticism and modernist sensibility."

The closeness that Sue and Jude share is a special one too. They are not merely romantic lovers. They share
intellectual companionship and each sees in the other a point of understanding in the confusion of an incomprehensible world:

Lonely, distraught, rootless, they cling to one another like children in the night. Exposed to the racking sensations of loneliness, they become prey to a hint of panic whenever they are long separated from each other. The closeness of the lost — clutching, solacing and destroying one another — is a closeness of a special kind, which makes not for heroism or tragedy or even an exalted suffering but for that somewhat passive "modern" sadness which suffuses *Jude the Obscure.*

Even as the woman grows estranged from society as traditional beliefs lie shattered and psychological stability becomes yesterday's strength, a woman begins to be partner to man in more ways than one. Hardy was distinctly ahead of his time in recognizing this aspect of the romantic role. Woman need no longer be an appendage to a man. Hardy's women have been wilful, restless, patient, long-suffering, calm, torn by nerves, coquettish, guileless, high-handed, compassionate, wronged, subject to men's desires, also spurning his advances:

The radicalism of Hardy's representation of women resides, not in their "complexity", their "realism", their "challenge to convention", but in their resistance to reduction to a single and uniform ideological position.
However, one thing clearly emerges: woman becomes individual, a person, noticed, and thought about for her own sake. It is a significant step forward. Hardy has shown tremendous understanding towards the individual trapped in a hopeless marriage. Certainly, this relationship is basic to every other human relationship, as Lawrence observes. For too long, marriage had stood unassailable. But now, its unquestioned validity is no longer taken for granted:

I have been charged since 1895 with a large responsibility in this country for the present shop-soiled condition of the marriage theme. I do not know. (Postscript, Jude, p.X)

Hardy probably did not know what he was doing. Drawing attention to the miseries of bad marriage, he demystifies the bond, and suggests that incompatibility be resolved by divorce, and shows the strength in the natural sincerity and commitment of people sharing life outside the tie. There is obviously more to marriage than a church wedding. His candid handling of the marriage theme and his compassionate treatment of woman, with a moral shift in the shape of experience, led to a great public outrage, and Hardy gave up writing novels and turned to his first love, poetry,

... but having already turned the stream, he left it running in what became the direction and channel of the twentieth century.22
Lawrence saw in Hardy a soul kin to his own. Woman, to Lawrence, is always a totality, a steadying whole:

In a man's life, the female is the swivel and centre on which he turns closely, producing his movement. Every man seeks in woman for that which is stable, eternal.

The man's attitude is not one of mastery but of mutual interdependence. One must be a single, separate whole before one can enter into a satisfying relationship with another. The attitude of the man is:

"She is the unknown, the undiscovered; into which I plunge to discovery, losing myself."

And what we call real love always has this attitude.

The ideal relationship is one that is held balance by the man and the woman. Fear of and apprehension at the possibility of female dominance marks Lawrence's work. Anna in *The Rainbow* is the Magna Mater, a figure of dominance that defeats the growth of any long term relation with a man. Lawrence's primary focus is on the individual life in its inescapable relations with others. Education in Hardy is a cause of the individual estrangement from society for with its advent vanishes the spontaneous response to life. However, Ursula retains her capacity to love; her sensitivity is not marred by her intellect. Education and awareness have placed
her and her sister, Gudrun, in a class to which marriage has lost its earlier significant and unquestioned place. Yet they wonder: if not marriage, what?

The sisters found themselves confronted by a void, a terrifying chasm, as if they had looked over the edge. (W in L, p.57)

Ursula and Birkin look towards a readjustment between the sexes which will bring woman out of her atrophy. Ursula has had her share of unrest in The Rainbow, struggling to arrive at something enduring in her eventually unsuccessful relationship with Skrebensky. The ease with which she recovers from this experience does not belong to Hardy's Sue Bridehead. Sue's epicurean temperament and urge to self-destruction are compounded by spiritual isolation. Hardy's reading public was outraged at Hardy's candid handling of marriage:

The fury aroused by Jude the Obscure was the fury of outraged optimism, not of outraged prudery.26

But having dealt with the question of woman and her social and sexual position, Hardy paves the way for later portrayals of the emergent woman. When Lawrence sees the struggle in Ursula, it is Ursula the individual who strives towards the unknown, hoping to lose herself in its mystery. Her womanhood is significant, although she does not expressly fight for any female cause. Unlike other young women of her time, Ursula is not bothered about the women's vote. Her struggle is at once
individual and intensely personal.

As in Hardy, there is in Lawrence the feeling that too intellectual a life results in an unbalanced development, leading eventually to unfulfilling relations. The too spiritual can also snuff out the essential physicality of life. Miriam's intense spirituality leads her to see Paul not as a man but as some god: before whom she must sacrifice herself. It is unnatural and, consequently, their relationship suffers. It is also her fierce possessiveness that estranges Paul from her. Hermione Roddice is to lose her hold over Birkin similarly in *Women in Love*. This fear of the dominating woman stalks Will Brangwen in *The Rainbow* and Oliver Mellors in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

In *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Connie turns towards a natural man, more attuned to the physical world than Clifford. War renders Clifford physically and sexually crippled. But his lack of vitality is not new. It is doubtful whether Connie could have had a satisfying and total relationship with him even if he had been physically whole. What she cherishes in Mellors is his natural tenderness and spontaneous response to the woman in her. Clifford himself is utterly insensitive to Connie's needs, mistaken in his idea that togetherness of mind is enough to sustain a marriage, maintaining that what matters is "the life-long companionship ... the living together from day to day, not the sleeping together once or
twice". (Lady Chatterley's Lover, p.46)

The woman's needs are acknowledged, and found to be legitimate. Over and above both the man and the woman is what they share:

The great relationship, for humanity, will always be the relation between man and woman ... 

And the relation between man and woman will change forever, and will forever be the central clue to human life. It is the relation itself which is the quick and the central clue to life, not the man, not the woman, nor the children that result from the relationship as a contingency ...

Men and women are subtly and changingly related to one another; no need to yoke them with any "bond" at all. The only morality is to have man true to his manhood, woman true to her womanhood, and let the relationship form of itself, in all honour. For it is, to each, life itself.27

What about the woman who undermines the man's worth and what about the beauty and vanity of womanhood? In The White Peacock, Lettie's refusal to marry George leads ultimately to George's becoming a broken man. Anna's arrogance in The Rainbow throws Will into a state of uncertainty about himself. Sue's hesitations, impulsive wilfulness and disregard for the man's needs wreck the lives of three men to varying degrees. However, Gabriel Oak is made of sterner stuff. He
has an inner strength that no woman's capriciousness can break.

As the rural community feels the urban pressures, there grows a sustained opposition between the country and the city, and between the individual and the community. In the changing relationships, love is endangered. The kind of love between Oak and Bathsheba that is as strong as death becomes increasingly rarer. As modern pressures lead to greater psychological problems, the individual sees himself in a new light, not as an appendage of the social order, but as a person in his own right. Victorian complacency gives way to a self-consciousness that struggles for an identity in a fast-changing modern world. Hardy, skeptical of the modern way of life, is basically rooted in the rural community and in the past, although his novels do look towards the future. His consciousness of the past gives him a standard by which to measure the present. Sue's personal drama is woven from the materials of historical change, the transformation and the uprooting of traditional English life. The contours of her psychology are shaped by the new historical situation, and conditioned by the growth of increasing skepticism. This trend perceived by Hardy continues through Lawrence well into the twentieth century.

In the quest for the ideal personal relationship, there is also a quest for the ideal womanhood. Both Miriam
and Clara in *Sons and Lovers* prove inadequate to the real need of Paul. John Middleton-Murry calls "The Rainbow ... radically, the history of Lawrence's final sexual failure". Ursula does fail to save her relationship with Skrebensky because she finds nothing in it that is worth saving. To her, he presents no mystery of "otherness". His sensibility falls short of hers. And even as she suffers out of their failed relationship, it is not the final failure, just as *Sons and Lovers* is not either. As Ursula recovers, she looks with hope towards the future. Her fate is not sealed and she can yet look forward towards fresh horizons, wiser for the failure. Lawrence's failure really comes, I should say, in *The Plumed Serpent* where he attempts a relationship between man the master and woman the submissive inferior. The entire exercise goes against the grain of his belief in the nature of the man-woman relationship. *Women in Love* stands as a strong refutation of his strange Mexican adventure. His final belief is in what Ursula and Birkin share -- a relationship in which each balances the other, each an entire entity, needing no external prop to support their bond. It is there in the instinctive sympathy between Lady Chatterley and gamekeeper Oliver Mellors that transcends all social considerations.

In this context, marriage becomes an exercise in futility. Where the couple is ill-matched, marriage is only a cruel and irreversible tie. And where the natural bond is
deep and total, marriage becomes redundant, because such a relationship can support itself, requiring no social consent. In *Women in Love*, marriage between Ursula and Birkin is an affirmation of their commitment to each other. The questioning of marriage begins with Hardy. His candour in handling the theme shocked the sensibility of his times. But indignant public opinion could do little to stem the tide that Hardy let loose. This primary relationship gets respectful recognition and the theme of sexual love is zealously taken up by Lawrence. He had great faith in his own relationship with his wife, Frieda, and "the one bright book of life" becomes the "perfect medium for revealing to us the changing rainbow of our living relationships". He warns us not to look for absolutes:

> All things flow and change, and even change is not absolute.

Every relationship must be subtly changing; it is not an unchanging bond but one that grows and matures.

Modern neurosis has produced in Sue a fear of commitment and her freedom is, consequently, negative and destructive: "a self-possessive individualism which sees all permanent commitment as imprisoning, a fear of being possessed which involves a fear of giving."

Lawrence looks askance at the over-intellectualized woman who fears such commitment. The ideal Lawrencean woman
retains her instinctive response to life and people, trusting the promptings of her blood above the dictates of cold reason. She must retain her faith in man if she is to be fulfilled and not be the

Modern woman, who, "emancipated" from her belief in men, is peculiarly self-conscious and has an unappeasable and abstract belief in love. 33

She must live in the light of her own womanhood, and be true to herself. She must be a free and autonomous being, not competing with man but striving to be his natural counterpart even while she remains whole and separate.

Hardy and Lawrence together stand as "explorer-novelists" of the changing rainbow of the man-woman relationship.

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7 Howe, p.139.

8 Edwin Muir quoted in Wotton, p.177.


10 Howe, p.130.


12 Ibid., p.27.

13 Howe, p.134.

14 Holloway, p.285.

15 Howe, p.139.

16 Ibid., p.142.

17 Ibid., p.145.

18 Ibid., p.137.
19 Ibid., p.138.
20 Ibid., p.139.
22 Friedman, p.74.
24 Ibid., p.445.
25 Ibid., p.490.
26 Guerard, p.37.
27 Lawrence, p.531.
29 Lawrence, p.535.
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31 Ibid., p.536.