I. THE DUAL CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP IN *HAVELOK THE DANE*

II. TOWARD A FIGURAL READING OF WILLIAM BLAKE'S *THE MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL* AND *MILTON*

III. SYMBOLISM IN MORLEY CALLAGHAN'S SHORT STORIES

by

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ABSTRACT

I. Havelok the Dane is the story of a king. An analysis of the concept of kingship embodied in Havelok's development toward kingship shows that the dual concept--theocratic and political--which was prevalent in the late thirteenth century (the period in which the extant form of the poem was written) is embraced by the poem. A religious reading alone is not sufficient, insofar as certain aspects of Havelok's development are not thereby explained. A political reading is needed as well. What may seem to us a contradiction is really a complementary inter-relationship. This complementarity is borne out by a brief look at the political thought of the times. Insofar as Havelok exhibits aspects of rulership based on contractual agreement, Havelok the Dane seems to be concerned with the class consciousness of the middle classes. As such, it is neither a "popular" poem--sympathetic with the concerns of commoners--nor is it a "chivalric" poem--sympathetic with the concerns of the aristocracy. Since its ecclesiastic view of kingship is modified by the contractual view of kingship, Havelok the Dane seems to be largely sympathetic with the concerns of the upper bourgeoisie.

II. William Blake's overt and challenging statements regarding his relationship to Christ in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell suggests that an analysis of this relationship may be fruitful. Particularly, Blake's insistence that he is Christ reincarnated, and further his proposed reincarnation of Milton in Milton in terms of himself and Christ, leads to the possibility that Blake interpreted the role of the prophet (himself, Milton, and Christ) in the medieval figural sense. After a brief look at what the figural interpretation implied in the middle ages, we propose an approach to Milton from the medieval figural point of view.

III. Critics have often noted that Morely Callaghan uses symbolism, particularly Christian symbolism, in his works. The extent of his reliance on symbols, however, has not been investigated. A study of the symbolism in his short stories, to which we will confine ourselves, shows not only that he has always relied on symbolism, but that, more importantly, in a given story his symbolism often clarifies an otherwise obscure or uncertain theme. It is hoped that this study will persuade critics to look more closely at Callaghan's symbolism as it appears in his longer works.

Rosemary

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THE DUAL CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP IN HAVELOK THE DANE

Introduction

Havelok the Dane[1] tells the story of the development of an ideal king. In view of this fact, it is remarkable that a large portion of the narrative concerns itself with activities, interests, and ambitions of the royal hero which are at odds with his status. Early in the poem Havelok loses his kingdom, but curiously, he never regrets his loss of rank and property. His lament (ll. 570-74) as the badly treated heir apparent in Grim's cottage is simply that--a lament. His utterances on this occasion, particularly his "Weilawei," are utterances which we might expect any hero to pronounce at the low point of his career. They merely elicit our sympathy, and do so primarily because of the bad treatment Havelok is suffering, and not because of his victimization at the hands of Godard. It is interesting to note that, though Havelok refers to his royalty occasionally, he never once regrets his loss or complains about his new life as a commoner in England.

Havelok very readily adapts to his lowly life in England, performing menial labours with skill and pride. His attitude toward work is clearly illustrated by his own

words, "It is no shame forto swinken" (l. 799), which he utters as part of his justification for helping Grim with his chores. Havelok's initial attempt to justify his decision to work is couched in pragmatic terms. He protests that he eats more than Grim's five children together (ll. 793-4). Yet his stance in l.799 ultimately reflects a moral, and not a pragmatic, attitude. His moral outlook is implied even by his pragmatic justification for his decision to work. Havelok wishes to do his share of the work in order, as it were, to earn his daily bread, for to eat food one has not earned, he tells us, is shameful: "To liggen at hom it is ful strong" (l. 802).

Havelok clearly adopts a new life style in England. As a consequence, he also adopts a new philosophy, and ultimately a new political outlook, both of which are at odds with traditionally defined royal concerns. Havelok's new life style plays a major part in his development as the ideal king of England. We observe that Havelok is divinely sanctioned, primarily by his magical signs. In spite of this, however, Havelok embodies values which conflict with the function of a theocratic king. Among them is his relationship to and understanding of the people of England as a whole, that is to say, the social and economic classes of which the population is comprised: primarily workers, merchants, gentry and nobility.

This point of view is most clearly brought out in the poem's treatment of Havelok's magical signs of royalty, chief

of which is his "kinemerk," a luminescent cross on his right shoulder. Havelok's mark provides any Dane with conclusive proof of his royalty, yet it is powerless to prevent Godard's usurpation of the throne of Denmark. Indeed, Havelok himself comes very close to being murdered. Royalty, it seems, must be tempered with, and defended by, physical strength. In England, moreover, no one sees Havelok's mark before he marries Goldeboru, and Goldeboru is the only Englishman ever to do so. Havelok wins the hand of England's Queen, and the respect and homage of the English people, with no help of his mark. In Denmark, Ubbe sees the mark only after Havelok has proven his valour, strength, and nobility by defeating sixty-one brigands. The mark simply confirms Ubbe's impulse to honour Havelok. Havelok's mark, then, first gets him out of Denmark and into the lowly life awaiting him in England. Following this, the mark serves only to confirm Havelok's already apparent worth. The attributes of divine sanction and royal birth are not enough proof of Havelok's suitability for the English throne. Havelok is made to prove himself worthy throughout the story in a series of ever broadening and progressively more difficult tests.

Rather than Havelok's "kinemerk," it is Havelok's relationship to the people of England which ultimately proves his suitability for kingship, especially as witnessed by their love and respect for him and by his performance of acts in their favour. In effect, in rising through the ranks

from labourer to merchant and finally to king of England, Havelok is made intimately aware of the needs and concerns of England's people. In spite of his marriage to Goldeboru, however, he is not immediately recognized as the king, nor has he the power to regain the throne for Goldeboru. Havelok must return to Denmark in order to regain his power from the place in which he lost it. Once in possession of power, once he commands an army, he is able to return to England and regain the throne for Goldeboru. Again, Havelok's legal right to the English throne, added to his right to kingship by birth and by divine sanction, is not enough to secure the English throne. Havelok needs the power of an army--finally a political force--with which to defeat the evil English guardian.

If most of the discussion so far has laid stress on the political aspects of Havelok the Dane, it is for a good reason. While it is true that the Christian element in the poem is very important, it should be evident that the religious aspects of the poem are modified by political concerns. Havelok the Dane cannot be read simply as a Christian poem because Havelok does not act simply as a Christian hero. The political aspects of the poem modify the religious in much the same way that they modify the influence and importance of Havelok's "kinemerk." The religious aspects as a whole serve to confirm the political ideology stressed in the poem. Havelok succeeds England's ideal king (Athelwold) by virtue

of his religious and political excellence. A religious reading of Havelok the Dane will not explain the poem's views on kingship. The structure of the plot and the development of the hero suggest that a political reading is needed as well.

The extant form of Havelok the Dane was written in the late thirteenth century,[2] and reflects contemporary views on kingship.[3] What, then were the dominant concepts of kingship during the 13th century? The nature of kingship was a matter of much controversy, but two concepts stand out clearly as the most general and important. The king was considered to be king by the grace of God.[4] He was, in effect, divine himself. Ernst Kantorowicz points out in The King's Two Bodies that "the king appears the perfect christomimetes" (p. 48), and attributes the essential difference between the king and Christ to the nature of grace. He states that "Christ was king and Christus by his very nature, whereas his deputy on earth was king and Christus by grace only. . . . In other words, the king becomes 'deified' for a brief span by virtue of grace, whereas the celestial King is God by nature eternally" (p. 47). Walter Ullman points out in Principles of Government that as a consequence of his divinity "the theocratic king, so far from belonging to the people, stood in principle and in government outside and above the people" (p. 128). He was, in short, above his people and above the laws of the land, master of all and servant to none. This,

very briefly, formed the basis for the theocratic view of kingship. But political issues modified this view. The king was forced by political exigencies to concede the right to make laws to the people effected by the law.[5] He entered into contractual relationships first with his barons and finally with all his people. This, very briefly, is the basis for the political, or more specifically the contractual,[6] view of kingship.

By the 13th century, then, the English king was no longer thought of as simply a theocratic ruler; he was at the same time, and indications are that this was considered more important,[7] a political ruler, subject to certain contracts, and thereby subject to law.[8] A dichotomy was established which resolved the conflict between the two views. The king was considered above the law, yet subject to it; he was divine, yet mortal; he ruled as an autocrat, yet he agreed to contractual rule; he claimed his power by the grace of God, yet compromised his power in parliament. Walter Ullman points out the inter-relationship between these seemingly contradictory views of kingship:

> Just as it is true to say that the medieval king was theocratic, in the same way it is true to say that this same king was also a feudal overlord. For the feudal function in the king as feudal overlord must be separated conceptually from the theocratic function. . . . As ruler the medieval king harboured in his breast two irreconcilable functions: the theocratic one, according to which his own voluntas created law, and which he exercised on the strength of his own considerations, unimpeded and independent as they were, and the feudal one, according to which it was not his voluntas alone that constituted the material force of law, but the implicit or explicit consent of the feudal tenants-

> in-chief to the law. . . . It is clear that the feudal function of the king was diametrically opposed to his theocratic function. . . . It is the contractual nature of the feudal nexus which puts the feudal king on a level fundamentally different from that of the theocratic king.[9]

To arrive at an understanding of the dual concept of kingship in Havelok the Dane, we will first read it as a religious poem which depicts Havelok as a theocratic king. A religious reading of the poem has not been fully done. The few comments critics have made in this regard are by the way[10] and do not explain the development of Havelok as a theocratic king. The religious reading will be followed by a political reading. Generally, critics who have dealt with the political aspects of the poem have restricted themselves to one or two issues[11] which do not completely explain the development of Havelok as a political king.

I. Havelok as a Theocratic King

As soon as the author secures the attention of his audience with the prologue, he begins his story with an attractive opening: "It was a king bi are dawes" (l. 27). Under the rule of this King, Athelwold, England flourished in a golden age of security, order, and prosperity. An idyllic picture quickly develops in which the king is the main-stay and backbone of all that is good in the land. He loves good and hates evil; he punishes the wicked and rewards the good; but most of all, "He louede god with al his miht, / And holi kirke, and soth, and riht" (ll. 35-6).[12] So peaceful and happy is life in England under this king that the author tells us "Krist of heuene was him with" (l. 63).

The impression conveyed by this opening passage is that Athelwold is an ideal king and that England is fortunate to have him. The author prays that Christ should reward him in heaven: "Forto hauen of him the mede" (l. 103). England's golden age is clearly seen as dependent on this king's rule, a king whose theocratic nature is developed as his story unfolds. In the following passage, the author names this king, Athelwold, and promptly puts him on his death bed: "Than him tok an iuel strong" (l. 114). The immediate concern is for an England that will be left without its ideal ruler.

Athelwold himself is concerned for England's future, and seeks Christ's advise: "Crist, hwat shal y don? / Louerd, hwat shal me to rede?" (ll. 117-8). His concern for England is thus seen as a concern for a Christian land.

On the strength of the consent of his earls and barons, for whom he has sent, Athelwold decides to make Godrich guardian of England until his baby daughter comes of age. The ceremony which bestows guardianship on Godrich is full of Christian symbolism. The king swears Godrich to his duties on "messbok," "caliz," "pateyn," "corporaus," and "messe-gere." Godrich's mission is a sacred one, and his promise carries the strength of a holy vow. In effect, Godrich may be said to enter into a covenant with the theocratic king and, through him, with God. Godrich is to preserve the Christian goodness in England which Athelwold has secured till England's legitimate heir comes of age and marries a man fitting Athelwold's description (ll. 199-200).

Athelwold, having seen to the future security of England, prepares to die a Christian death. He receives the sacraments, confesses 505 times, pays a severe penance (self-flagellation, even till his "blod ran of his fleysh"). He also gives away all of his material possessions in order to enter heaven more easily as a pauper, and dies calling on Christ and repeating the words Christ cried out before His death:

'In manus tuas,' loude he seyde,
Er that he the speche leyde;
To Iesu Crist bigan to calle,
And deyede biforn his heymen alle.
(ll. 228-31)

Many religious and emotionally-laden words and phrases have gone into the 128 lines which tell of this ideal king's death. This passage stresses the point that Athelwold's death is a great loss to England because Athelwold was ideal by virtue of his connection with Christ, a connection which is strongly suggested by his dying words, words which recall Luke 23:46:[13]

Et Clamans voce magna Iesu ait: Pater,
in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum. Et
haec dicens, exspiravit. (Vulgate)

The grief that is felt by the people attending Athelwold's death suggests that an era has passed:

Ther was sobbing, siking, and sor,
Handes wringing, and drawing bi hor.
Alle greten swithe sore,
Riche and poure that there wore;
And mikel sorwe haueden alle,
Leuedyes in boure, knihtes in halle.
(ll. 234-39)

As if to accentuate Athelwold's holiness,

Belles deden he sone ringen,
Monkes and prestes messe singen;
And sauteres deden he manie reden,
That God self shulde his soule leden
Into heuene, biforn his sone,
And ther with-uten ende wone.
(ll. 243-47)

The first two passages of the story, then, establish England as a Christian land, as an ideal country ruled by a theocratic king.[14] They further show the Christ-like death of this king, and the void it leaves. It is hoped by impli-

cation that the king's wishes will come true, that his daughter will be married to the appropriate man and put on the throne by Godrich as soon as she is of age. As we shall see, Athelwold's description of the qualities he wishes his successor to have are very important to the story in that it functions as proof of Havelok's qualifications for the English throne. Athelwold wants Goldeboru to be married to "the hexte man that mihte liue, / The beste, the fairest, the stangest ok" (ll. 1080-81). The securing of another idyllic state for England is here made the poem's central narrative concern.

In spite of Athelwold's diligence, however, his careful plan is disrupted by Godrich's actions following Athelwold's burial. Godrich siezes England, forces all the earls and barons to swear allegiance to him, institutes a large bureaucracy, and holds the country in fear and awe:

> Al Engelond of him stod awe;
> Al Engelond was of him adrad
> So is the beste fro the gad.
> (ll. 277-79)

Not only does Godrich assume complete control, but he does so "Til that the kinges dowhter wore / Tuenti winter old and more" (l. 259). The heritage Athelwold left behind, the state of the promised land, seems no longer to be as safe as it was once thought to be. Fifteen years pass. In the meantime, Goldeboru grows to be "wis . . . chaste . . . fayre" (l. 288). Godrich now worries over losing his power and wealth to her,

and, mouthing curses to justify his greed, he decides to imprison Goldeboru. In a castle at Dover, "therinne dede hue fede / Pourelike in feble wede" (ll. 322-3).

Up to now, Godrich had not technically broken his vow to Athelwold,[15] but his imprisonment of Goldeboru overtly makes him a traitor in word and deed. However, Godrich is no ordinary villain. Several times, the author identifies him with Judas. He tells us Godrich is "Also a wicke traytur Iudas" (l. 319), and elsewhere calls him "that Iudas . . . . That werse was thanne Sathanas" (ll. 1133-34). Godrich is identified with the Christian archetypal traitor and with the arch-fiend himself. His treason is not simply temporal; by implication, it reverberates in heaven. When Godrich breaks his solomn vow, he virtually sins against God. Since the security of England's heritage, and indeed the Divine Right, lies in Goldeboru, this act of Godrich's is synonymous with Judas' in that it betrays both the divinely appointed king and a religious vow for the sake of material gain. Godrich betrays the promised land by betraying God's divinely appointed representative on earth. The author does not spare his curses on Godrich, and calls on Christ the miracle maker to avenge Goldeboru:

> Iesu Crist, that Lazarun
> To liue brouhte fro dede bondes,
> He lese hire with hise hondes;
> And leue sho note him y-se
> Heye hangen on galwe-tre,
> That hire haued in sorwe brouht,
> So as sho ne misdede nouht! (ll. 331-37)

The author is clearly playing on the sympathies of his audience by making the security of England as important as the state of Christianity itself. Just as Judas must hang for betraying Christ, so Godrich must hang for betraying God's representative on earth. England (under Godrich) is like a dead man (Lazarus) whom Jesus Christ must revive. The present situation in England is appealed to Christ, who is asked to save Goldeboru, and therefore England. We are thus prepared for the coming of a formidable hero who will set these wrongs right. But he will have to be extraordinary in order to overcome the power and evil of Godrich and restore England to its former idyllic state. Athelwold's replacement, in short, must also be divinely appointed.

The narrative now turns to Denmark, where, surprisingly enough, England's situation seems to duplicate itself.[16] The story of Denmark begins with "In that time, so it befelle" (l. 339), an indication that Providence is at work in Denmark, and that the workings of Providence can explain the parallels between the English and the Danish stories. In fact, as we shall see, chance occurances play an important part in the development of the story, and may be taken at each point to indicate the working of Providence.[17] We may take it, then, that it is not merely by chance that the story unfolds as it does. As the Danish story develops, it becomes clear that Denmark bears the divinely appointed king which England is in such desperate need of, and Providence will see to it

that this hero will succeed in saving England.

The Danish story which now begins has so many parallels to the English story that the audience's interpretation of these events is guaranteed to promote the conclusion that England may look forward to the Danish hero as their ideal king. While the events in England were occuring, "so it bifelle" that there was a Danish king, Birkabeyn, who ruled as well as a king could rule; this king

> was fayr man, and swithe wiht,
> Of bodi he was the beste kniht
> That euere mihte leden ut here,
> Or stede on ride, or handlen spere.
> (ll. 334-37)

This description clearly parallels the description of Athelwold, though it is much shorter. The story proceeds very quickly through Birkabeyn's imminent death, his fulfilling of religious rites, his asking advice of all his knights as to the caring of his two daughters and one son, and his entrusting the rule of Denmark to Godard until such time as the son comes of age.

Godard,like his English counterpart Godrich, is made to swear to his duties on "auter, and on messe-gere . . . belles . . . messe-bok" (ll. 389-91). Having seen to the future security of Denmark, Birkabeyn gives up all of his material possessions and dies. Interestingly, he does not cry out to Christ or utter the words "In manus tuas," though the author does wish that Birkabeyn may enter heaven (ll. 404-07). Birkabeyn, then, is a good and devout king, but he is not connected with Christ in the way that Athelwold

is. We may infer that Havelok cannot be the ruler England awaits by virtue of his birthright alone. There must be some other indication that God approves of him. Of course, Havelok's magical signs, as we shall see, provide the needed proof.

The two stories parallel each other in ways which point out significant relationships between them.[18] Where relationships need emphasis, the author makes direct and obvious comparisons. Even some of the lines are similar. Compare, for instance, the author's prayer for Athelwold, "God self shulde his soule leden / Into heuene, biforn his sone" (ll. 245-46), to his prayer for Birkabeyn, "leue that it mote wone / In heuene-riche with Godes sone!" (ll. 406-07). The parallels between the two stories continue as Godard immediately breaks his word to Birkabeyn. No sooner is Birkabeyn buried than Godard, "the kinges oune frende" (l. 375), locks the three children in a castle and deprives them of food and clothing (recalling Godrich's treatment of Goldeboru). Godard is also depicted as the archetypal traitor:

> Thanne Godard was sikerlike
> Vnder God the moste swike,
> That eure in erthe shaped was,
> With-uten on, the wike Iudas.
> (ll. 422-25)

At one point later in the story, Godard is also called "that Sathanas" (l. 2512). The author also asks Christ to curse Godard: "Crist him warie with his mouthe!" (l. 433). Both Godrich and Godard are developed as Judas figures who betray their country and violate their vows.

With the introduction of Havelok, the Danish story begins to develop on its own right. Whereas little was said of Godeboru's condition during her imprisonment (ll. 322-23), a great deal more is said of Havelok's (ll. 447-64). The impression is that Goldeboru is of secondary importance, while Havelok now takes over as the leading character and the primary concern of the story as a whole.

Godard meets Havelok's complaints regarding the treatment he and his sisters are getting (ll. 455-64) with incredible cruelty. He cuts the two girls' throats and mutilates them (actually, he cuts them up into little pieces: "And sithen hem alto grotes"). As Godard approaches Havelok with the bloody knife, Havelok kneels before "That Iudas" and with rhetoric that is surprising in a child he begs for his life, promising to give up his title and all his claims and rights and to leave Denmark forever.[19]

Godard's "pity" for Havelok is interpreted by the author as a miracle: "Ther was miracle fair and god" (l. 500). The sparing of Havelok's life recalls the miracle Christ performed in saving Lazarus from death (ll. 331-32). That Godard should not wish to kill Havelok with his own hands (ll. 505-06) after what he has just done to Havelok's sisters is indeed a miracle, and suggests that Havelok is protected by Providence. Godard is nevertheless intent on having Havelok killed. But his calling on a fisherman--someone with easy access for escaping the country--to drown Havelok at

midnight plays right into the hands of Providence. This sort of irony, as we shall see, attends every seemingly destructive move which either Godrich or Godard makes toward Havelok.

When Havelok is bound and carried off by Grim to be drowned, the author calls on Christ to avenge Havelok:

> Iesu Crist, that makede go
> The halte, and the doumbe speke,
> Hauelok, the of Godard wreke!
> (ll. 542-44)

The situation in England is again paralleled by that in Denmark, and both nations may be said to depend on Christ for justice. Of course, Havelok is to be Christ's instrument in carrying out this justice (see below, p. 23). The indication that Havelok is a divinely appointed king comes with Grim's discovery of Havelok's "kinemerk." As it is only by night that Havelok's mark can be seen, Grim's waiting until midnight indicates that Providence is at work. As Leue is looking for candles, she sees a light[20] shining from Havelok's mouth, and asks Grim "Hwat is the liht here, as thou menes?" (l. 598). When Grim investigates, he finds the bright "kyne-merk" on Havelok's right shoulder, a mark which is later described as a cross (ll. 1261-62 and 2139-40), and instantly knows him to be the future king of Denmark and England. Havelok's cross is a reminder of Christ carrying the cross on His right shoulder, and of divine right. Following the author's pleas to Christ for help, following the miracle that attended Godard's sparing of Havelok's life, and following the associations of Godrich and Godard with Judas and Satan, it becomes reasonable to

see Havelok as a saviour figure,[21] and thus as a suitable replacement for Athelwold.

Grim's reaction to the "kinemerk" is reminiscent of Peter's repentance following his denial of Christ. Compare Peter's reaction in Mark 14:72 ("As he considered that, he wept audibly") to Grim's reaction when he recognizes whom he was about to murder; he "Sore gret, / And sone fel him to the fet, / And seide, 'Louerd, have merci'" (ll. 615-17). Grim's 42-line speech reads very much like a prayer. Grim expresses his devotion to Havelok in no uncertain terms; note the play on "louerd," which means both temporal master and divine Lord:

> Thoru other man, louerd, than thoru the
> Shal i neuere freman be.
> Thou shalt me, louerd, fre man maken,
> For i shal yemen the.
> (ll. 627-31)

Grim's declaration that he cannot be free except through Havelok expresses the Christian point of view that freedom is possible only through Christ.

But Grim's reaction to Havelok's mark is not the only indication of Havelok's divine appointment. Grim's function in the story from this point on is also reminiscent of Peter's guardianship of Christ through His church. Significantly, Grim promises to care for Havelok in exactly the ways in which Athelwold and Birkabeyn had asked of the guardians they had picked for their respective children. Just as Peter was the guardian of Christ's faith through his establishment of the

Church, so Grim, who is also a fisherman, may be expected to establish a new home for Havelok--which he does by founding the town of Grimsby.

Once the identity of Havelok as a saviour figure is established (we recall that it would take such a personage to restore order in England), the poem then hastens to get Havelok over to England. From here on, Havelok's development is guided by Providence. He is seen by progressive stages to conform to Athelwold's requirements for Goldeboru's husband. In Grimsby, Havelok grows into a strong and healthy lad who eagerly helps Grim with his work. We are told enough about his life in Grimsby to know that he is coping very well. As soon as Havelok has proved himself capable as a fisherman's helper in Grimsby, a hard famine strikes and forces Havelok to leave for the city, Lincoln, where he must fend for himself. This move to the city places Havelok in a larger sphere of influence, in a more complex social situation.

Havelok has no trouble getting work as a cook's helper. During his working days with the cook, Havelok gains a far-reaching reputation, something which could not have happened if he was still at Grimsby:

> Of him the word ful wide sprong,
> He he was mikel, hu he was strong,
> Hu fayr man God him hauede maked.
> (11. 959-61)

Havelok is developed as an admirable character, and soon the author overtly prepares him for kingship:

It was neuere man that yemede
In kineriche, that so wel semede
King or cayser forto be,
Than he was shrid, so semede he.
(ll. 975-78)

Havelok comes to be recognized as a very special person. People of all ages and all classes come to love him.

Him loueden alle, stille and bolde,
Knihtes, children, yunge and olde;
Alle him loueden that him sowen,
Bothen heye men and lowe.
(ll. 955-58)

At the games, Havelok is noted to stand tallest among the atheletes (ll. 982-83); he wins easily at wrestling (ll. 984-85); and he is said to be the strongest man in England (ll. 989-90). Havelok's reputation for strength becomes legend when he throws the shot put, on his first try, twelve feet further than the best throw of the day (ll. 1052-54). Havelok is now described in terms of the qualities Athelwold required of Goldeboru's husband (see above, p.11):

Hu he was fayr, hu he was long,
Hu he was wiht, he he was strong;
Thorhut England yede the speke,
He he was strong, and ek ful meke.
(ll. 1063-66)

So strong is Havelok's reputation, that Godrich devises a plan whereby he believes he can secure the throne of England for himself. He recalls that Athelwold bid him marry Goldeboru to:

The hexte man that mihte liue,
The beste, the fairest, the strangest ok.
(ll. 1080-81)

His plan to disinherit Goldeboru by marrying her to Havelok, whom he believes to be a "thral," clearly points out the working of Providence. Godrich judges Havelok to be the "hexte" (highest) on physical grounds only, but unknown to Godrich, Havelok is also the "hexte" man in England morally as well; indeed he will come to be the "highest" in social terms too. So Godrich ironically fulfills Athelwold's decree. The act which Godrich expects will guarantee his safety actually serves to defeat him.[22] The irony is further strengthened by Goldeboru's resignation to the marriage on the grounds that "Sho thougte, it was Godes wille" (l. 1166). Havelok and Goldeboru are married by the Archbishop of York, who came to the parliament at Lincoln "Als God him hauede thider sent" (l. 1180). Thus the marriage is not only ironic in that it meets Athelwold's real requirements, but it is approved by God, and is brought about by Providence, and confirmed by God's ecclesiastical representative, the Archbishop of York.

Havelok is as afraid of Godrich's hatred as he is of bringing shame to his new bride, so he decides to return to Grimsby. When he arrives with his bride, he is warmly welcomed and receives an inheritance from Grim, who has died. Interestingly, Grim's sons and daughters proclaim their loyalty to Havelok in terms which recall Grim's devotion to him (ll. 1218, 1228-30). The personal loyalty which Havelok enjoys has increased from one, Grim, to several,

Grim's family, and prefigures the loyalty Havelok will enjoy of the entire nation. There follows a great feast of re-union, which celebrates Havelok's marriage and his securing of some wealth, and which prefigures his coronation.[23]

That night, Goldeboru lies awake thinking of how she has been betrayed (ll. 1249-50). Soon she sees the light issuing from Havelok's mouth, and when she looks closer, she notices the bright cross on his right shoulder. Goldeboru, however, does not know the significance of Havelok's mark. With a touch of humour, she thinks Havelok is either a highwayman or dead. But her fears are soon answered by the voice of an angel,[24] who tells her that Havelok is the future king of both Denmark and England, and that she shall rule beside him as his queen. Goldeboru joyfully kisses Havelok as he sleeps, accepting him at last, and realizing that God's will has indeed been done. The angel's message may be said to represent God's word. Once again, we are given an indication that Havelok is appointed by God to be king.

Havelok wakes to tell her of his own dream, in which he embraced both Denmark and England and gave both nations to Goldeboru. Havelok asks Goldeboru what his dream could mean, and she answers that within a year he shall be king of both countries, and that she shall be his queen. She advises him to take Grim's sons and go to Denmark right away, and reassures him that he is bound to succeed.[25] Early the following morning, Havelok goes to church and prays to

Christ for success. He asks for vengeance: "Wreke me yet on mi fo" (l. 1363), claiming it as his right: "That is mi riht, eueri del: / Iesu Crist, thou wost it wel!" (ll. 1383-84). His prayer for vengeance recalls the author's pleas to Christ for vengeance (ll. 331-33, 433-35, and 542-44), but also provides a sharper focus for that vengeance. The curses and calls for vengeance have become progressively closer to Havelok, from the author's general plea to Christ (ll. 331-37), to his call to Christ to avenge Havelok (ll. 542-44), and finally to Havelok's own call for his own personal vengeance (ll. 1363-84). In effect, Havelok prays to become the instrument of Christ's justice, and to restore peace and order to Denmark, and later to England.

Havelok arrives in Denmark and meets Ubbe, the "justice" who remains loyal to Havelok's father. He joins in a feast with Ubbe,[26] and is sent to Bernard Brun's cottage to spend the night. Here Havelok meets his greatest challenge. The cottage is attacked by sixty-one brigands, but Havelok, in a miraculous feat of strength, single-handedly kills them all (ll. 1918-19). Havelok's outstanding strength and his ability to fight are emphasized, and his victory is seen as a punishment of evil-doers: "Hauelok on hem wel he wreke" (l. 1901). The thieves, moreover, are called "Kaymes kin and Eves" (l. 2045), and Havelok's victory is directly associated with a moral victory over evil. As if to quell any doubts, Bernard's opinion of

Havelok echoes the author's opinion of Athelwold (ll. 25-6) and Birkabeyn (l. 87-8):

> He is the beste man at nede
> That euere-mar shal ride on sted!
> (ll. 1970-71)

The shift from the past tense in the author's opinion of both Athelwold and Birkabeyn to the present and future tenses in Bernard's opinion of Havelok emphasizes that Havelok is the ideal replacement for both former kings, and that he will win the thrones of Denmark and England.[27]

Havelok receives several severe wounds in the course of his battle with the thieves, but his quick recovery implies that he is invincible. The entire episode impresses Ubbe so much that he wishes to knight Havelok (ll. 2041-42). That night, Ubbe sees a light shining from Havelok's "bour." When he investigates, he sees the light shining from Havelok's mouth, and immediately sends for the entire company of "Mo than a hundred" (l. 2117). In this light, which "So ther brenden serges seuen" (l. 2125),[28] the entire company sees the mark which identifies Havelok as the heir:

> So weren he war of a croiz ful gent
> On his riht shuldre, swithe briht,
> Brihter than gold ageyn the liht;
> So that he wiste, heye and lowe,
> That it was kunrik that he sawe.
> . . . . . .
> So that he knewen, at the laste,
> That he was Birkabeynes sone,
> That was here king.
> (ll. 2139-43, 2149-51)

Ubbe's earlier impulse to knight Havelok (ll. 2042-43) has been confirmed by Havelok's mark.

Ubbe promptly swears allegiance to Havelok and sends for all his loyal subjects, before whom he pays homage to Havelok. The company swears allegiance to Havelok on "O bok ful grundlike" (l. 2307), recalling the religious nature of the fealty to the king which we have seen with Athelwold (ll. 185-9) and Birkabeyn (l. 338-9). The oaths taken, Ubbe dubs Havelok a knight and immediately "made him king heylike and wel" (l. 2329). The progression of the entire story, Havelok's development as king, points to this moment as the climax of Havelok's career, the moment in which he is recognized and honoured as a theocratic king. Though the coronation itself is dealt with briefly (l. 2329), the celebrations which follow are the most elaborate in the poem (ll. 2320-53), and establish this to be the high point of the story.[29] Havelok's actions from now on are the actions of a theocratic king dispensing justice.

When the long celebrations are over, Havelok sends his army of over 5000 men, all of whom "sweren on the bok" (l. 2372), to find Godard and bring him to Havelok. Havelok's men, led by Robert, easily overcome Godard's men, capture Godard, and return him to Havelok. Godard is sentenced by the assembly and made to confess ("shriue") before he is punished. As is fitting for a thief and a traitor, Godard, "that Sathanas," is flayed, dragged, and

hanged. In purging Denmark of its evil guardian, Havelok's victory in Denmark is complete.

Havelok now entrusts Denmark to Ubbe and returns to England to claim the throne for Goldeboru. Significantly, Havelok does not resort to any ruse in order to defeat Godrich.[30] In fact, nowhere in the story does Havelok resort to cunning in order to gain an end. His character is devoid of stratagem or ingenuity. His victories are attributable only to his strength and to his inevitable destiny. On the other hand, Godrich's actions are full of strategem. His elaborate speech to the troops before the battle (ll. 2574-2605) may be seen as a ruse on his part which is bound to fail, in spite of its cunning, primarily because of Godrich's evil intent of defeating the divinely appointed king of England.

The entire battle (ll. 2624-2753) builds up to the single combat between Havelok and Godrich, and the outcome of this battle determines the outcome of the whole war. The defeat of treachery in England comes about as a result of Havelok's direct intervention. He fights Godrich himself (he did not fight Godard); his overwhelming fighting ability, proven in his battle with the thieves in Denmark, seems to have been reserved specifically for this occasion, when he defeats a cunning adversary by strength and goodness.[31]

Havelok's victory over Godrich recalls his victory over Godard, and both victories point to Havelok's imminent idyllic rule of England.[32] Havelok cuts off Godrich's right hand, and turns him over to the assembly for sentencing. They tie Godrich backwards on a filthy ass, ride him to Lincoln, and burn him at the stake. They dispossess all of his children "for his utrage" (l. 2837), thus completing the purge. Now Havelok accepts the English people's homage:

> Hauelok anon manrede tok
> Of alle Englishe, on the bok,
> And dide hem grete othes swere,
> That he sholden him god feyth bere
> Ageyn hem alle that woren liues,
> And that sholde ben born of wiues.
> (ll. 2850-55)

Though the coronation and feasting in England are much shorter (ll. 2948-50) than their Danish counterparts, elaboration here is not necessary. Havelok's destiny has by now been fulfilled, and the coronation and feasting are a matter of course.[33] It is sufficient that the feasting is said to last forty days (as its counterpart did in Denmark), and that the entire proceedings are marked by peace, joy, and harmony. There follows in England sixty years of perfect rule under Havelok, an era which recalls the idyllic conditions which existed under Athelwold. Athelwold's wishes have finally come true, and England is once again ruled by an ideal, theocratic king. Finally, as if to guarantee the continuation of this state of affairs, Havelok and Goldeboru have fifteen children, all of whom are destined

to become kings and queens (ll. 2978-83). What the poem started out with, an idyllic England ruled by a divinely appointed king, it now ends with,[34] with the added assurance of the perpetuation of this blissful state for many generations to come.

II. Havelok as a Political King

The question of whether or not Havelok will actually become king of England and Denmark is never in doubt. We are assured of Havelok's success from the beginning, in the title and the prologue, and later by Grim and by the angel. In this connection, therefore, the story lacks suspense. Yet such a long narrative as this must hold something of interest for its audiences. Since the question of whether or not Havelok will succeed is never in doubt, the question of interest must be related to how Havelok succeeds. The poem is in fact interested in Havelok's development toward kingship; it is concerned with defining the kind of king Havelok will be, rather than with the fact that he will become a king.

As we have seen, Havelok is developed as a theocratic king. Yet, if that were the author's only interest many of the events that occur in the poem should not have been necessary. For example, Havelok has always carried his "kinemerk," and could have revealed it at any time, something he never does. At least, following his marriage to Goldeboru, he need not have been made to pass the later tests before claiming the English throne. He is concerned about shaming her with his low rank, yet he does not tell her his real rank. In Denmark, he could have shown his mark to Ubbe as soon as he landed. The fact that he does not reveal his

true identity enables the tests to be carried out before he is recognized.

If the poem had specifically intended merely to reinstate an ideal king to the throne of England, then many incidents would not have been necessary to the plot. However, nearly every major incident points out some specific characteristic of the hero--persuasiveness, courage, endurance, beauty, strength, ability in combat, invincibility, humility, loyalty, mercy. Each incident may therefore be seen as providing proof of Havelok's qualifications for the throne.[35] Here we have a hero who is not only loved as a man but who is also recognized as kingly material long before he claims his rights. Thus, Divine Right is coupled with political issues--primarily through the testing--in order to produce the perfect ruler.

The alternate, political view of kingship was a live social issue throughout the thirteenth century in England. The king's theocratic function was strongly contested by the baronial oppositions during the rule of John and of Henry III.[36] As Ullman points out in Principles, "alertness and vigilance on the part of the baronage . . . put formidable fetters on the theocratic king, so formidable in fact that his theocracy almost vanished out of sight" (p. 154). The Magna Carta was the primary achievement of the baronial oppositions, and was upheld in later years by the coronation oaths which Henry III and Edward I took in support

of the interest of the Crown, regardless of papal opposition to such interests.[37] Edward I was the first English king to freely uphold the principles of contractual government initiated by the Charter; indeed, it was Edward who first held a Parliament which included representatives from all three estates, and which has been called the Model Parliament of 1295. By this time, the idea of dynastic succession to the throne took precedence over Divine Right, just as the English common law (lex terrae) superceded theocratic rule. The result was that by the end of the thirteenth century the king's theocratic function was completely dominated by his political function, a function controlled by law and upheld by Parliament. Ullman points out that by the mid-thirteenth century, "the earlier theocratic conception of the office has faded into the background" (Principles, p. 180). As Kantorowicz puts it, "in England, not the king alone, but the king jointly with lords and commonweal formed the 'mystical body' of the realm" (p. 228).

Yet the barons were not alone in their opposition to the king's theocracy. At the Parliament of Lincoln in 1301 (the one mentioned in Havelok the Dane?), magnates--that is, the upper bourgeoisie--were successful in establishing their own interests in the administration of the realm. Powicke points out that "they presented a bill on behalf of the whole country, a form of procedure hitherto unknown" (p. 704), which called for the observance of the terms of the

Charter in defiance of papal taxation. By this time, then, the king's function as ruler was modified to suit the interests of barons and of the upper classes, of propertied classes and of merchants. Edward's concession of such demands was due to his dire need for money in order to finance his wars on the Continent, money he could raise through the taxation of the very classes he made concessions to. It was the political exigencies of the time which led to the eventual dominance of the political over the theocratic function of the king.[38] As we shall see, there is much in Havelok which can be explained in view of the contemporary issues of the late thirteenth century.

Reviewing the opening lines of the story, we find that the description of England's golden age is defined in terms of political and economic considerations as well as religious ones. The story begins:

> It was a king bi are dawes,
> That in his time were gode lawes
> He dede maken, and ful wel holden.
> (ll. 27-9)

Athelwold is a good law maker as well as a reliable enforcer of those laws. His charitable activities inspire the love of his people of all classes:

> Him louede yung, him loueden olde,
> Erl and barun, dreng and thayn,
> Kniht, and bondeman, and swain,
> Wydues, maydnes, prestes and clerkes,
> And al for hise gode werkes.
> (ll. 30-4)

The story begins with Athelwold's viability as a political leader, and as we shall see, it is exactly this role which largely defines the conditions which make life in England ideal under his rule. The listing of such a large range of classes, moreover, appears throughout the story (ll. 30-3, 260-61, 1326-29, 2183-85, 2260-61, and 2465-66), and helps to convey the notion that Athelwold is good for the entire nation.[39]

Within the political description which begins the English story, the religious concerns are given little space (ll. 35-6). We are told in some detail, not of the moral goodness Athelwold's reign inspires, but of the economic benefits the middle classes enjoy.[40] Athelwold loves good and hates evil. But goodness is defined as loyalty to the king, that is, as acceptance of the king's political system. Evil is defined as theft and disloyalty, that is, as direct action against the king's system or against propertied classes who constitute that system. Athelwold's hatred of evil is expressed as a hatred for betrayers and thieves:

> Wreieres and wrobberes made he falle,
> And hated hem so man doth galle.
> (ll. 39-40)

We are then given a glimpse of the practical outcome of Athelwold's policies. We are told that merchants can travel all over England without fear of being robbed. The flourishing economic conditions in Athelwold's England are implied here:

Thanne mihte chapmen fare
Thurhut Englond with here ware,
And baldelike beye and sellen.
(ll. 51-3)

It is only after we are told of England's prosperous trade that the author tells us "Krist of heuene was him with" (l. 62). The Christian element is slight (here, one line; previously, two); the political element is elaborate. The author launches into a description of the woe and misery awaiting those who dare to defy the just and upright king. The king's goodness is exemplified by his severe punishment of thieves and seducers; the country's security and prosperity is witnessed by the fact that merchants can travel and carry on their business with little or no risk of being robbed; the joy in the nation is based on its prosperity; punishments are uncompromisingly cruel and serve to deter outlaws.[41] In short, we are given a list of characteristics which define an ideal political rule. It is by these standards that the future king of England will be tested. Havelok must be loved by all the people of England, he must be the best soldier in the nation, and he must protect the economic interests of the middle class and upper classes.

Athelwold's concern before he dies is (as we have seen, pp. 8-9) for the future of England. However, he does not act on his own initiative. Although he calls to Christ for advice (ll. 117-8), he also calls all of his earls and barons and seeks their advice as well. We may infer that his

actions are acceptable to Christ, but we must notice that Athelwold acts exclusively on the basis of his noblemen's advice. It is the noblemen's idea to elect Godrich to the guardianship, an idea which Athelwold quickly accepts. This entire passage points out the contractual relationship between Athelwold and his baronage. Athelwold, we may assume, consults his baronage on all matters of national importance. Athelwold's action in seeking advice from his baronage establishes an important political precedent which we must look for in England's future king.

Godrich's actions following Athelwold's burial amount to a coup d'etat, for he "al Engelond / Sone sayse intil his honde" (ll. 250-51). He puts loyal knights in all the castles, has "alle the Englis" swear allegiance to him, places his own justices, sheriffs and peace-makers ("Grith-sergeans") all over the land, so that "non him durste ben ageyn" (l. 272). He holds the nation not in love or respect but in fear, "So is the beste fro the gad" (l. 279). The major difference between his domination of England and Athelwold's rule, therefore, is that Godrich's actions are dictatorial, and violate the contractual relationship which Athelwold had established.

The economic conditions in England under Godrich are not revealed, but religious associations define Godrich as a traitor and a thief, the very kind of outlaw against whom Athelwold defended England. The final proof of Godrich's

treason--which amounts to his theft of the nation--comes after he imprisons Goldeboru, and provokes the author to equate him with Judas. England's future king, then, as well as conforming to Athelwold's standards, must have the power to overthrow Godrich and rescue England from Godrich's dictatorial hold. In fighting Godrich's dictatorship, Havelok is in effect fighting for Athelwold's contractual type of rule.

Now that the future king's task is established, we are ready to meet Havelok. The Danish story does not include a description of the state of Denmark. We are simply told that Birkabeyn is a good king and a good fighter, that he has three children, that he is suddenly taken ill, and that he will soon die. We are told enough that is similar to the English story to give us an idea of the interests of the author in the Danish story. The English story took 312 lines, while the parallel Danish story up until the time when there seems to be no hope for the children takes only 107 lines. There is obviously a greater concern over the fate of England, if not by weight of numbers of lines alone, then certainly by the relative haste with which the Danish story is told. The parallels make it clear that English sympathies for the English story are projected onto the analogous Danish story. The solution for Denmark's predicament will begin to show connections with the solutions for England's.

Denmark may or may not be an ideal kingdom, but Birkabeyn is a good Christian king, as his death shows. Havelok is therefore acceptable, at least by birthright, as kingly material. The situation Havelok is placed in by Godard is almost identical to Goldeboru's, but it is drawn with more detail and over many more lines (17 lines devoted to Havelok, as opposed to 2 lines for Goldeboru). Whatever Havelok does in reaction to his imprisonment is beyond anything Goldeboru can do. Goldeboru is in fact helpless, as is England, until Havelok marries her. The marriage, in bringing her to life, both as a character and as a political entity (she prompts Havelok to go to Denmark, knowing that it will end in her recovering the throne of England), prefigures England's acceptance of a foreigner as king. The fact that Havelok escapes death and the fact that he is able to begin a new life in a new land provide some hope that Goldeboru too may some day be freed. If Havelok is ever able to avenge himself on Godard, then we may expect that Goldeboru too may some day avenge herself on Godrich. In short, the doubling of plot allows us to transfer certain outcomes from the Danish story to the English story. The result of the doubling of plot, then, is to make England the subject of the poem, and the securing of England's former idyllic state as the poem's central narrative aim.[42]

The author propels his narrative along with little care as to what inconsistencies he may introduce. It

becomes quite clear, when we look at these inconsistencies, that the author is primarily concerned with getting Havelok over to England so that he may win the approval of the English people. The very existence of Havelok's two sisters seems to have been introduced specifically to create the impression that Godard is the cruelest of men.[43] Why would Godard kill the girls first, if the real threat to his control is Havelok? Why does he bother, or take the time, to cut them up into little pieces? Even Godard's excuse to Grim that "Al wile i taken on me the sinne" (l. 536) for drowning Havelok serves to exonerate Grim, for Godard need not make such a declaration. When Leue throws the bag containing Havelok against a rock, Havelok's skull cracks, providing him with the opportunity to "Weilawei!" (l. 570)--a naturalistic detail which intensified our sympathy. How is it, moreover, that Grim knows Havelok will be king of both Denmark and England? Why does he return to Godard and demand his rewards on a lie? Surely we need no further proof of Godard's perfidy. The final result of all these inconsistencies is that Havelok is forced to leave Denmark and go to England. Grim accepts a fiendish proposition (we notice that this acquiescence is completely out of character),[44] decides not to carry it out, tries to get his reward anyway, is threatened by Godard, and is finally compelled to flee from Denmark with his family and Havelok. Clearly, psychological consistency and realism are sub-

ordinated to the author's narrative requirements and to his need or desire to arouse our sympathy for the hero with the use of rhetoric.

The story of Havelok's life in England is essentially the story of his acceptance first by the people of England and later by Goldeboru. Havelok's circumstances change in ways which bring about his acceptance. On the one hand, Havelok gains the favour of the people because of his personal qualities, and on the other hand, he gains Goldeboru's favour when she discovers that he is indeed a king. The revelation of Havelok's rank comes only after he has married Goldeboru, so that his personal qualities become very important to the poem's concept of kingship. Havelok's new life, then, is something of a rebirth,[45] the purpose of which is to test his personal qualities and his suitability for the English throne.

Grim is very successful at fishing and trading in the town he founds. The author elaborates on his efforts and the fruits of his labours--indeed, Grim becomes a rich merchant. His success at trading with the English is a good indication of the compatibility of English and Dane, and prefigures Havelok's acceptance by the English. The first indication of the standards Havelok embodies comes with his desire to work in order to earn his daily bread. Havelok does not want preferential treatment; he asks no favours on account of his rank. He wishes to survive on

his merits as an ordinary working man. Moreover, he works exceptionally hard, and seems as well to enjoy his work. We are told:

> Wel he it bar, and solde it wel,
> The siluer he brouhte hom ilk del;
> Of al that he ther-fore tok
> With-held he nouht a ferthinges nok.
> So yede he forth ilke day,
> That he neuere at home lay.
> (ll. 817-22)

Havelok's actions, sentiments, and honesty are sure to please the baronage and the bourgeoisie, who would like nothing better than to have the idea of honest and hard-working labourers celebrated through the ideal king.

As soon as Havelok has proven his willingness and ability to work hard and honestly, a famine strikes and forces him to go to Lincoln, where Grim tells him there is ample opportunity for work. The manner in which Havelok gets work is interesting. For two days, he finds no work at all, but on the third day, presumably provoked by hunger, he knocks down nine or ten strong lads in order to carry a load for the cook (ll. 871-73). He gets a piece of bread for his effort ("a ferthing wastel," l. 878), but the next day, having learned his lesson well, he knocks down sixteen lads (l. 890) in order to help the cook. His strength, speed, and eagerness so impress the cook, that Havelok is hired on a permanent basis. Havelok is so pleased that he offers to work for no wages, but for food and shelter only (ll. 909-20). The cook's attitude is

reflected in lines like: "Wel is set the met thu etes, / And the hire that thu getes" (ll. 907-08), and "Datheit hwo the mete werne!" (l. 926). The cook knows a good bargain when he sees it. Again, Havelok's sentiments and competitive actions best serve the interests of employers--barons, land holders, the upper bourgeoisie--rather than employees.

During his working days with the cook, Havelok gains a reputation. His character begins to blossom, and its effect on everyone he meets is intoxicating. He works extremely hard and is the best at everything he tries; he loves children and takes time to play with them; he is meek, courteous, and happy; and he is loved by people of all ages and all ranks:

> Him loueden alle, stille and bolde,
> Knihtes, children, yunge and olde;
> Alle him loueden that him sowen,
> Bothen heye men and lowe.
> (ll. 955-58)

As Havelok's reputation grows, the cook decides to dress him in better clothing than the rags which he wears. The cook immediately notices how striking Havelok looks in smart clothing. In fact, Havelok is said to look like a king:

> It was neuere man that yemede
> In kineriche, that so wel semede
> King or cayser forto be,
> Than he was shrid, so semede he.
> (ll. 975-78)

The games provide the right opportunity to compare Havelok's qualities with England's finest men. Through the

games, Havelok is finally recognized as the best man in the land. He is the tallest and handsomest in the field, and proves, with his easy wins at wrestling and shot putting, that he is also the strongest. Havelok becomes a legend, and the enumeration of his superior qualities echoes Athelwold's description of his choice for Goldeboru's husband:

> Hu he was fayr, hu he was long,
> Hu he was wiht, hu he was strong;
> Thorhut England yede the speke,
> Hu he was strong, and ek ful meke.
> (ll. 1063-66)

Havelok's reputation is so impressive that it inspires Godrich's idea to marry him to Goldeboru. The marriage brings together the two threads of the poem, and foreshadows the inevitable conclusion. Thus, it is Havelok's personal qualities which lead him to the throne of England, first by winning the people's love and admiration, and then by ironically forcing him to marry England's legitimate heir.

Havelok is unhappy about the marriage for Goldeboru's sake. He is afraid that he might shame her with his low rank. But why does he not tell her that he is a king? Most likely because it would reduce the impact of the angel's prophecy. In any case, Havelok's fear of shaming Goldeboru and his fear of Godrich's hatred drive him out of Lincoln and back to Grimsby, where his inheritance and a small band of loyal friends await him--in other words, where his means of getting to Denmark awaits him. That night, Goldeboru

interprets Havelok's dream correctly, and wisely advises him to go to Denmark, for it is through Denmark that the English throne can be won.[46] Havelok needs an army with which to defeat Godrich, and if he is successful in Denmark he will have one. Of course, Havelok could have gone to Denmark without having married Goldeboru. He could have gone to Grimsby before he was forced to marry Goldeboru, perhaps simply to see Grim's family, or perhaps because he was sent for on account of Grim's death. But he would not have been able to claim the English throne. The fact that he never communicated with Grim's family actually works in his favour. It remains for him to defeat Godard in Denmark, secure a Danish army, and return to England to win back the English throne for Goldeboru.

In the 180 lines which are missing from the text (between ll. 1444 and 1625), Havelok must have made his preparations for the journey, and set sail for Denmark. When we next see him, he is asking Ubbe for permission to sell his wares. We should note that Havelok arrives in Denmark as a rich merchant--he gives Ubbe his gold ring as a toll in order to sell his wares (ll. 1627-31). Havelok has risen up the economic scale from poverty to wealth, just as he has risen in status from scullion to Goldeboru's husband. By the time he is knighted and crowned in Denmark, Havelok has scaled all social ladders, from the lowest extreme to the highest. But when Havelok meets Ubbe, he

does not reveal his true identity. He has to pass a final test of strength and invincibility before he is recognized as the Danish heir.

Ubbe is well pleased with Havelok, and invites him to a feast. At the end of the feast Ubbe, fearing for Havelok's life because of Goldeboru's beauty, sends them to Bernard's cottage for the night (would the castle not be safer?). Thus Havelok is conveniently placed in the setting of his most challenging test. Sixty-one men attack the cottage in order to rob it. They are referred to as thieves, and no mention is made of any desire on their part to take Goldeboru.[47] It is only Havelok's outstanding ability to fight which is emphasized. The descriptions of the various brawls take up more lines than any other incident in the poem (230 lines), and are vividly and lustily portrayed, with thieves losing eyes and brains, hearts and heads.[48]

While Havelok's victory is described as a punishment of evil-doers, much more stress is laid on its social and economic implications. Bernard's elaborate account (it extends over 47 lines) of the battle to Ubbe emphasizes these concerns. Bernard points out that Havelok not only saved lives but property as well. The defence of the cottage is equated with the defence of the whole country.[49] Havelok's victory provides the final proof that he is the ideal king, for he can withstand tremendous odds in defence of his nation's economic welfare. As we have seen (above,

p. 24), Bernard's appraisal of Havelok's abilities (ll. 1970-71) echoes the author's appraisal of Athelwold (ll. 25-6) and Birkabeyn (ll. 87-8).

Havelok is quickly recognized as the heir, and is crowned king before the people of Denmark. Havelok's first act as a king is to knight Grim's three sons and make them barons with a retinue of twenty knights each. This is the first of a series of generous rewards he bestows on his friends, and serves as reward for political loyalty. Now that he is king of Denmark, Havelok readily achieves the goals set for him by the author. His army defeats Godard's, and Havelok restores peace and order to Denmark. By leaving Godard's punishment in the hands of the assembly, Havelok behaves in the manner expected of the ideal king, the manner established by Athelwold. Havelok consults his people on matters of national importance. Interestingly, Godard is hanged as a thief and a betrayer, the very crimes Athelwold fought so hard against. The severity of Godard's punishment (ll. 2493-2510) recalls Athelwold's severity against outlaws, and foreshadows the return of peace and order to England.

Havelok leaves Denmark in Ubbe's trust, and returns to England to win the throne for Goldeboru. The fact that he fights Godrich in a single combat (he did not fight Godard) suggests that Havelok has been groomed throughout the story for this moment. Moreover, by finally fulfilling

Havelok's destiny in England, the author clearly establishes the theme of the story as the restoration of the old order in England by Havelok.

As he had done with Godard, Havelok leaves Godrich's punishment in the hands of the assembly. He applies in England the same procedures he established in relation to the dispensation of justice in Denmark. Again, he establishes himself as a ruler who takes his people's advice on matters of national importance--in short, as a political ruler.

As soon as Havelok accepts the homage "Of alle Englishe, on the bok" (l. 2851), he sets about rewarding his loyal friends. The Earl of Chester is to marry Gunnild of Grimsby (Grim's daughter); the cook Bertram receives Godrich's earldom of Cornwall and Leuiue of Grimsby for a wife; Ubbe gets Denmark; and Grim's sons are raised to nobility.[50] Again, Havelok issues rewards for political loyalty. These rewards cut across class lines, thus demonstrating the author's (and Havelok's) acceptance of upward social mobility, a notion contrary to the interests of the aristocracy and of a theocratic king. Once again, the poem's interest in the middle and upper middle classes is made manifest, this time by Havelok's rewards.

The last major events of the story are Havelok's coronation in England and the feast that follows. We have seen that Havelok's coronation in England is the culmination

of his career, and as such fulfills both religious and political prophecies. Yet there is one important point to note regarding both his coronations. There are no clerics present, and Havelok's right to rule is not confirmed by a bishop. In the usual practice in England in the thirteenth century, as E.L.G. Stones points out, "until the Coronation had taken place the ruler had not been hallowed as king by the Church. The most important part of the ceremony was not the placing of the crown on his head (though this 'crowing' was included) but the consecration of the sovereign by the Archbishop with holy oil."[51] Havelok is elected entirely by the people, and no prelates attend his coronations. In this respect, Havelok's accession is similar to Edward I's.[52] No religious service is performed on the important occasions of Havelok's coronations, and only one religious symbol--the "bok"--is used in the final acts of homage. In fact, there is only one mention of the ecclesiastic hierarchy in the poem, on the occasion of Havelok's wedding. The absence of religious concerns is striking. Except for Havelok's mark and the "bok", religious symbolism and imagery is dispensed with entirely following Goldeboru's dream. Havelok's mark and the "bok" are by the end of the story commonplace props rather than religious symbols.

The Christian element in the poem as a whole functions as a confirmation of already established facts. For example, the idyllic state of Athelwold's England is described in

political terms first, and is followed by Athelwold's Christian death; Ubbe discovers Havelok's identity only after Havelok has proven his worthiness for the throne. Moreover, the absence of clerics from both coronations confirms the impression that the religious concerns of the poem are modified by the political concerns. Havelok is sanctioned by God from birth, but he is sanctioned by the English people, that is he is accepted as their king, only after he has met certain standards.

Since the thematic concern of the poem is the restoration of ideal rule in England, we must look closely at how that ideal rule is defined. Since the only indication we have of this is in the descriptions of Athelwold's rule and in Havelok's moral and political attitudes, we must assume that Havelok restores economic security as well as moral goodness to England. It should be apparent that the political aspects of the story are closely related to its religious aspects, and that they are very hard to separate. As Ernest Baker points out, "we can hardly, therefore, speak of any politics or political theory in the Middle Ages as a separate or distinguishable factor or subject of study."[53] The role of Christianity in the poem is to strengthen the political view by giving it moral and spiritual depth. Though the theocratic concept of kingship is present in Havelok, it has been modified considerably by the political (feudal-contractual) concept, just

as in the late thirteenth century in England the theocratic functions of the king were modified by political concerns. Moreover, just as the object of such a conception of kingship in the poem is to uphold middle and upper middle class standards, so it was that in the late thirteenth century in England the political thought was modified to suit the interests of the barons and the magnates. Thus, the re-definition of kingship in the poem reflects the political concerns of the period. In embodying these complementary aspects of the king in the character of Havelok, the author of Havelok the Dane reveals his dual concept of ideal kingship.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Rev. W.W. Skeat, ed., The Lay of Havelok the Dane, 2nd ed. rev. by K. Sisam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963). All quotes are from this edition, and will henceforth be followed by line references. I have eliminated italics, brackets, and have changed the thorn whenever it appeared to "th" to facilitate typing.

[2]Skeat, p. xxv, states that "the first draft of the poem must surely have been composed earlier than 1300, but how much earlier it is impossible to say."

[3]For the political thought of the late thirteenth century, see: Walter Ullman, A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1968); Ullman, Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1961); Gerhart B. Ladner, "Aspects of Medieval Thought on Church and State," Review of Politics, IX (1947), 403-27; B. Wilkinson, "The Political Revolution' of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in England," Speculum, 24 (1949), 502-9; Sir Maurice Powicke, The Oxford History of England: The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307, 2nd. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); and Otto Gierke, Political Theories of the Middle Ages, trans. by F.W. Maitland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958).

[4]For a thorough account, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), esp. pp. 223-32. See also, Ullman, History, and "Theocratic Kingship," in Principles, pp. 117-37; and Gierke, "The Idea of Monarchy," in Political Theories, pp. 30-37.

[5]See Ullman, History, and "Feudal Kingship in England," in Principles, pp. 150-92. Wilkinson's article, "The 'Political Revolution'," deals with this question specifically.

[6]Ullman, in both books, uses the word "feudal" to describe contractual rule. Other historians and political scientists, however, use the word differently--often in ways which Ullman defines as theocratic. For this reason, I have avoided the word. Historians and political scientists do, however, agree on the contractual nature of kingship.

[7]Kantorowicz, p. 231, states that "late medieval kingship, from whatever point of view it be considered, had become polity-centered after the crisis of the thirteenth century." Ullman, History, p. 149, states that "the English development from the early thirteenth century onwards showed the preponderance of the feudal function of the king at the expense of his theocratic function." For an interesting speculation about the role of the king's feudal function, see H.G. Richardson, "The English Coronation Oath," Speculum, 24 (1949), 44-75.

[8]Ullman, History, p. 146, argues that "from a practical point of view, especially from that of development of 'political' theory, the feudal side was considerably more important." Later, he states that "the unilateral non-observance of the law by the king was prevented . . . because the community of the realm had a share in the creation of the law, they had become partners of the law-creative process and could thus force the king to observe it,"(p. 152).In Principles, Ullman also points out that the law had the right to force the king's observance, p. 189.

[9]Ullman, Principles, p. 150.

[10]Dieter Mehl points out, without discussion, that Havelok is divinely appointed and that Providence works in his favour, in "Havelok the Dane," The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc., 1969). Judith Weiss states that "Athelwold establishes an ideal of the perfect Christian king," in "Structure and Characterisation in Havelok the Dane," Speculum, XLIV (1969), 247-57, but does not deal with the question of divine appointment. Herbert L.S. Creek suggests, on the basis of the religious element in Havelok, that "the author belonged to the clergy . . . was very religious in character, if not in profession, priest rather than minstrel," in "The Author of 'Havelok the Dane'," Englische Studien, 48 (1914-15), 204.

[11]Weiss, p. 249, simply states that Athelwold "rules constitutionally but firmly." Mehl, pp. 170-71, states that "Havelok presents the picture of an ideal government by a strong and rightful King and a severe warning against disloyalty and lawlessness . . . it obviously wants to glorify the blessings of a well-ordered commonwealth and of loyalty towards the legitmate ruler." Robert W. Hanning, in "Havelok the Dane: Structure, Symbols, Meaning," Studies in Philology, 64 (1967), 586-605, subordinates the political issues in Havelok to what he calls its "romance preoccupations." He

concludes that "Havelok the Dane celebrates human development, and shows that love has a privileged role to play in the combined process of maturation and recovery," on(p. 605). Hereafter cited as "HD".

[12]cf. Psalm 146:9: "The Lord preserveth the strangers; he relieveth the fatherless and widow: but the way of the wicked he turneth upside down." Athelwold in some ways resembles the historical Cnut. Marc Bloch, in Feudal Society (trans. by L.A. Manyon, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963, pp. 24-5), points out that Cnut was "a religious-minded and moralizing legislator" who created perhaps the first union of England, aided and protected merchants, and who was served loyaly. I think it more likely, however, that Athelwold, if he is to be associated with any historical king, is meant to represent Edward I, and I believe also that this association is meant to carry over to Havelok as well. Not only do political associations hold, but so do personal characteristics. Edward was pious, tall, handsome, strong, and able in battle and in sport. He was said to be loved by all his people. He hated his enemies and loved his friends. He wore plain clothing. He believed that his life was controlled by Providence. Finally, on his death bed, he entrusted England and his young son to the guardianship of one of his loyal viceroys. See L.F. Salzman, Edward I (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1968), pp. 41-2 and 176-8; T.F. Tout, "The Early Foreign Policy and Legislation of Edward I," in The History of England From the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III (1216-1377) (New York: Greenwood Press, 1st. pub. 1905, repr. 1969), pp. 136-7; and Tout, Edward I (London: MacMillan and Company Ltd., 1913), pp. 58-85. Edward's attributes are portrayed in two political songs--one French, the other English--which lament his death. The events of Edward's life as depicted especially in the English version echo very closely the events of Athelwold's life and death. See Thomas Wright, The Political Songs of England (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), pp. 243-48. The similarity between the deaths of Athelwold and Edward is striking. It is more than likely that the author of Havelok used these songs, as he did Edward's life and character, in order to make his poem richer in connotation for his audiences.

[13]Such an association is not uncommon in medieval literature. For example, in the twelfth century Morte Arthur, King Arthur, an ideal Christian king, also dies crying in manus tuas (l. 4326). Interestingly Edward I "prepared himself for death, and with a prayer for the divine mercy on his lips, quietly passed away." Tout, Edward the First, p. 229.

[14]See Robert Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1966). Hanning studies the development of the medieval historical imagination and shows that the medieval exegete believed England to be a New Jerusalem, or to use St. Augustine's term, a Chosen City of God. The history of England, in this view, merely attested to the temporal realization of God's Providential plan. The view is entirely eschatalogical, and sees the ultimate goal of history as redemption at the other end of time. Each historical incident merely reflects the state of the English nation at a given, temporal moment. Hereafter cited as VH. See also Kantorowicz, p. 83; and Gierke, pp. 7-8.

[15]Though he would be several years late, Godrich could still marry Goldeboru to the appropriate person. Until now, he has merely ruled too rigidly; now, however, he usurps the throne.

[16]Mehl,p. 169, points out that "this doubling of plots is a means of intensifying the drama and underlining its significance." For a discussion on double plots, see William Empson, Some Versions of Pastoral (Connecticut: James Laughlin at Norfolk, New Directions, 1960). See also Angus Fletcher, Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964). The device is unique to this version of the Havelok story. See n. 39.

[17]Hanning VH, p. 15, suggests that "the Judeo-Christian world view denies to blind chance any role in shaping human destiny, and therefore implicitly denies human freedom from the providential control of God."

[18]Mehl, p. 169, points out that "a comparison of these parallel episodes shows that the author stresses the common features, but at the same time avoids monotony by skilful variation in detail."

[19]Hanning, "HD," p. 592, suggests that "the loss of social identity implicit in Havelok's surrender of sovereignty determines and prefigures his subsequent, explicit loss of personal identity in leaving Denmark to grow up as a fisherman's son in England." In addition to this prefiguration, there may be an allusion here to Christ, who knelt before Judas at the Last Supper to wash his feet, "for he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean" (John 13:16).

[20]Kantorowicz, p. 74, points out that the head and shoulders of kings referred "to the christus domini." He also suggests that "the haloed person,or rather the person qua halo, his ordo, 'never died'," p. 84. Light in Christian symbolism normally represents the Holy Ghost, if it is located about the head. The Holy Ghost, if it is located about the head. The Holy Ghost shone about Christ's head after He was baptised. The Book of Ephesians, 5:8-14, interprets light as Christ's redemptive power: "all things that are reproved are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light. Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepeth, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." Adolf Katzenellenbogen finds that "it is the head that was chosen as a symbol to denote Christ's divinity," in "The Image of Christ in the Early Middle Ages," in Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages, ed. by Robert Hoyt (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1967), p. 70.

[21]The saviour figure is sometimes referred to by critics as a Christ-figura. Eric Auerbach defines the term in "Figura," Six Scenes From the Drama of European Literature. Trans. by R. Manheim (New York: Meridian Books Inc., 1959), pp. 11-76. Also see Hanning, VH, p. 7. The two conceptions of the medieval king parallel the two conceptions of Christ, in majesty as God and on the crucifix as Man. See Adolf Katenellenbogen, pp. 66-84. Kantorowicz states that "the One who is God and Annointed by nature, acts through his royal vicar who is God and Christ by grace', and who in officio figura et imago christi et Dei est. That is to say, the king, otherwise an individual man, is in officio the type and image of the Annointed in heaven and therewith of God" (p. 48). Also see Kantorowicz, "Fictio Figura Veritatis," pp. 291-313. Auerbach points out that "only the figura, not the natura of this world will pass away" (p. 54). Just as the nature of Christ is eternal and timeless, so the "grace" which defines Athelwold's theocracy never dies. Though the individual earthly representative, the figura, may die, his spirit, or nature, never dies. In Havelok, Athelwold's theocracy is replaced by Havelok's. In this connection, it is interesting that Francis P. Magoun Jr., has found that the historical King Aethelwulf of England was connected with Christ by virtue of his geneology as it appears in The Old English Annals (c. 855). He concludes that "the total effect is to make Aethelwulf by accident or design, but in any case a pointed way, a collateral relative of Our Lord." In "King Aethelwulf's Biblical Ancestors," Modern Language Review, 46 (1951), 249-50.

[22]The irony has been discussed by Weiss, p. 248, and Mehl, p. 169.

[23]Hanning, "HD," pp. 596-7, suggests that "the third occasion for a meal is also the first in which the prime motive is not the assuaging of violent hunger . . . the present meal is an elaborately prepared, joyfully consumed banquet serving not so much to fill empty stomachs as to celebrate Havelok's installation as head of Grim's household. Seen in this light, the dinner also prefigures Havelok's final coronation feast; it thus looks both forward and backward along the arc of the hero's development."

[24]The visitation of an angel to Goldeboru recalls the visitation of Gabriel to Mary in Luke 1:26-38, and the angel's visitation to Joseph in Matthew 1: 20-4. In both biblical visits, the function of the visitation is that of reassurance.

[25]Hanning, "HD," p. 603, suggests that "the poet wishes to emphasize at this crucial moment the role of love in Havelok's development. As soon as Goldeboru accepts Havelok, she becomes a valuable companion."

[26]Ibid., p. 598: "The near-royal fare and the joyful occasion with its many toasts ("And fele sithes haueden wosseyled") underscores the importance of the moment: Havelok is back in his own land and is on the threshold of the victory toward which he has been maturing and developing since the very first night--and meal--in Grim's house."

[27]Ibid., pp. 601-2: "The third occasion in which Havelok's strength manifests itself combines the greatest display yet of personal power with clear indications of the social uses of that power, and thus prepares the audience for the hero's imminent accession to kingship, where both personal and social power are essential. . . . No such social consequences attend the fight analogues of this one in the earlier versions of the story . . . the incident rather looks back to the poet's introductory praise of the good king Athelwold."

[28]The union of the seven original Churches of Christ is still symbolized by a candlestick which holds seven candles. The "serges seuen" which shine so brightly from Havelok's mouth may imply that Havelok embodies the unity and power of the Church of Christ.

[29]Hanning, "HD," p. 598, suggests that "the fifth [feast] crowns the series. It is Havelok's coronation feast, and is preceded by games and tournaments, songs and minstrelry." The number forty probably alludes to Christ's life.

Celebrations were usually said to last forty days. G.R. Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medievel England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), pp. 68-76, points out the significance of the number: "As Christ was 40 weeks in his Mother's womb, and fasted 40 days, and was dead 40 hours, so for 40 days after His resurrection He appeared to [His disciples] and continued the teaching which He had given them for 40 months by many arguments, being made immortal for 40 days!"

[30]In the French versions, following Goldeboru's advice, Havelok stakes dead men up on horses in order to give the appearance of a large army.

[31]It is common in medieval literature that a single combat between the hero and the villain allegorically represents the battle between Christ and Satan. See Marie deLourdes Lemay, The Allegory of the Christ-Knight in English Literature (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1932), who suggests that the single combat of chivalric poetry was used by homilists as an allegory of the battle against Satan, p. 38. See also, Owst, passim. Godrich is the prime evil force in England, and Havelok is the prime good force sent to defeat him. In this sense, the battle is allegorical.

[32]Mehl, p. 169: "The two victories over Godard and Godrich and the execution of the two traitors correspond exactly to the first parts of the poem and herald a return to the blissful state of law and order described at the beginning."

[33]Hanning, "HD," p. 589, dismisses this feast as anti-climactic.

[34]Weiss, p. 250: "The romance closes, as it began, with a picture of the right king in power, punishing wrong-doers (2809-41), suitably rewarding his followers (2897-2927), conciliating his former adversaries (2858-83), and consulting his people on important issues (2808-17)."

[35]It is interesting that the author never mentions the mothers of Havelok and Goldeboru. In terms of myth, the absence of mothers and the concern with fathers, or male autocrats whom the hero tries to overpower, implies a concern with political power. For an excellent account of this situation in myth, see Otto Rank, The Myth of the Birth of the Hero and other Writings, trans. by F. Robbins and Smith Ely Jellife, ed. by Philip Freund (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), pp. 65ff.

[36]See J.E.A. Jolliffe, Angevin Kingship (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963).

[37]Powicke states that due to his coronation oaths Edward stood against the Pope in favour of the Crown, p. 343. Richardson suggests that in his coronation oaths, "Edward swore to maintain 'l'estate de la corone'" (p. 50). Also see Kantorowicz, pp. 347-81; Ullman, Principles, pp. 179-89; and Bloch, pp. 375-93.

[38]The extreme view is stated by Sir R.W. Carlyle: "We venture therefore to say, and we do it without hesitation, that the proper character of the political civilization of the Middle Ages is to be found in the principle that all political authority, whether that of the law or of the ruler, is derived from the whole community, that there is no other source of political authority, and that the ruler, whether emperor or king, not only held an authority which was derived from the community, but held this subject to his obedience to that law which was the embodiment of the life and the will of the community." In A History of Medieval Political Thought in the West. Vol. III (The Political Theory of the Thirteenth Century), (Edinburgh and London: William and Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1962), p. 474.

[39]Weiss, p. 247, states that "the concept of the whole country and its possession is as vital to the action in England as it is in Denmark."

[40]Mehl, p. 166, asserts that "there is no doubt that the poem is addressed not to a courtly, but to a middle-class audience, with the intention of appealing to a great variety of tastes." There may be an allusion here to Edward I's campaign against thieves. Powicke, pp. 345-6, points out that "the one thing done in the Lent Parliament of 1305 'that all the chroniclers have thought worthy of note' was an ordinance of trailbaston. . . . This measure against felons and trespassers, however drastic, was taken by the king . . . to deal with the scoundrels who had disturbed the land in anxious times." Powicke also states that under Edward I the administration of merchant laws "was probably more effective than it had ever been" (p. 625). Powicke discusses the three main merchant charters which brought this about, pp. 619-25.

[41]These attributes of the ideal king fit descriptions of Edward I. See T.F. Tout, Edward the First (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1913), pp. 58-85. I believe Havelok like Athelwold, represents the historical Edward I. See n. 12, and n. 40 above.

[42]See above, n. 16. Fletcher suggests that "double plots are bound to suggest a magical relation between the two levels on which the plots are told. Each plot recreates the logic, the coherance, the persuasive force of the other, and the result is that we get something like a miraculous redemption of the two worlds that 'belong together'," p. 182.

[43]Weiss, p. 248, notes that "these parallels already compel us to notice the difference between the two traitors--Godard being more villainous than Godrich--and prepares us for their trials, when they are eventually brought to justice."

[44]M. Mills accepts these inconsistencies. He suggests that Grim's character derives from a tradition of "brutal fisherman" characters, and that Grim does not "act on his own behalf, but as the instrument of an evil master, and this modification brings him to some degree within the orbit of the much-better-known character type of the hired assassin who fails, through pity, to carry out his orders." In "Havelok and the Brutal Fisherman," Medium Aevum, XXXVI, #3 (1967), 227. Mills agrees with Creek that "the character and conduct of Grim may be 'honeycombed with inconsistencies and difficulties' when judged by limited and a priori notions of what constitutes plausible human behaviour," but argues that these inconsistencies generate excitement and that "in helping to produce this excitement the story of the brutal fisherman has played a vital part" (p. 230).

[45]Edmund Reiss, "Havelok the Dane and Norse Mythology," Modern Language Quarterly, 27 (1966), 119, notes that the passage over water is a common occurance. He states that "Grim takes Havelok to a new life. It should also be noted that in folklore and myth the journey over water functions not only as a journey to the Otherworld, the land of the dead, but also as a rebirth; and often in folk literature before the young potential hero is able to fulfill his destiny, he must undergo a symbolic death and rebirth, as well as a lowering of status." For an excellent account of this device in myth, see Rank, pp. 65ff. For an account of this device in medieval literature, see Owst, pp. 68-76.

[46]The events of the wedding night do not include any mention of sex, whereas in the French versions the marriage is consummated. As Hanning points out, "HD," p. 603, "the discovery of Havelok's destiny by Goldeboru becomes the sole determining factor in cementing the relationship of hero and heroine."

[47]In the French versions, it is Ubbe's sixty knights who attack the cottage with the express purpose of taking Goldeboru, for they had been greatly impressed by her beauty. In our story, the sexual motivation is changed to a social one, for now the bandits come to steal. The effect is to make our version of the story a distinctly socially conscious poem.

[48]Weiss, p. 253, points out that "this, and not the battles to regain Denmark and England, is the true 'epic' struggle of the poem, when Havelok is one against sixty, like a bear surrounded by dogs (1838-39), and performs heroic feats."

[49]Hanning, "HD," p. 600: "When the incident is made known to Ubbe, stress is laid on Havelok's success in saving Bernard's life and goods, and on the common danger from which Havelok has delivered the area in destroying the brigands."

[50]Weiss, p. 256: "The writer's sympathetic interest in them is patent, especially in his portrayal of Grim's family. Their qualities of generosity and fidelity merit their elevation to the aristocracy: Havelok's descriptions of Gunnild and Leuiue seem to assert they are natural aristocrats (2874-77 , 2916-21)." Creek suggests that "the care in suitably rewarding the humbler persons of the story is an element of its popularization," p. 204.

[51]Edward I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 11. Ullman, History, points out that "the electors in theory presented the candidate for the office to be conferred by the officiating ecclesiastic hierarchy at the coronation service" (p. 135). In Principles, he points out that in the coronation service, the theocratic tenants of the king were revealed (pp. 129-30). He goes on to say that elections "were preparatory to the solomn and formal conferement of the divinely conceived office" (pp. 145-46).

[52]The usual practice was disregarded by Edward I, who assumed his rule while abroad, without the sanction of the Church, but with the authority given to him by his subjects. Powicke points out that "a proclamation in the name of the new king declared that he had succeeded by hereditary right, by the will of the magnates, and their oath of fealty" (p. 225). Also see Kantorowicz, pp. 328-31.

[53]"Introduction: Mediaeval Political Thought," in The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Mediaeval Thinkers (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1st. pub. 1923, repr. 1967), p. 16. Ullman also points out in Principles (p. 114), that the concept of "politics" did not include merely temporal concerns in the middle ages, but was inseparably tangled up with ecclesiastic concerns.

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TOWARD A FIGURAL READING OF BLAKE'S THE MARRIAGE OF HEAVEN AND HELL AND MILTON

Introduction

This essay proposes a way of looking at William Blake's poetry; it offers, not a reading in any full sense, but a provocative way to approach further study of Blake's poetry. This is not intended as, nor can it be in such a short space, a complete study of Blake's poetry as a whole, or for that matter of the two poems under consideration. It is intended only to introduce an approach to Blake's poetry, hitherto not considered, by looking particularly at two of Blake's poems. A study of Blake's exegetical position in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell and Milton indicates that Blake's vision may have been largely a historical vision which revealed human beings acting out roles in what is essentially man's progression through time to redemption. In this connection, one of the central features of Blake's vision is the presence of a figure whose role it is to redeem man. These two elements in Blake's vision, the historical perspective of redemption and the role of the redeemer, provide the basis for the position taken in this essay. They offer an interesting

method of interpretation, one which is rooted in the medieval Christian view of history, a view which has been variously called typological or figural.

The figural interpretation of history rests essentially on connections between the Old and New Testaments and is designed to illustrate the fulfillment of prophecy in the course of events from the creation of the universe to the Last Judgement. Historical events revealed something much larger and deeper, the significance of which was revealed by Christian history. Eric Auerbach, who defines the figural mode in his brilliant essay "Figura," explains figural connections in this way:

> Figural interpretation establishes a connection between two events or persons, the first of which signifies not only itself but also the second, while the second encompasses or fulfills the first. The two poles of the figure are separate in time, but both, being real events or figures, are within time, within the stream of historical life. Only the understanding of the two persons or events is a spiritual act, but this spiritual act deals with concrete events whether past, present, or future and not with concepts or abstractions; these are quite secondary since promise and fulfillment are real historical events, which have either happened in the incarnation of the Word, or will happen in the second coming. . . . [O]nly the figura, not the natura of this world will pass away, and the flesh will rise again.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Figural prophecy implies the interpretation of one worldly event through another; the first signifies the second, the second fulfills the first. Both remain historical events; yet both, looked at in this way, have something provisional and incomplete about them; they point to one another and both point to something in the future, something still to come, which will be the actual, real, and definitive event. . . . Thus history, with all its

> concrete force, remains forever a figure, cloaked and needful of interpretation. . . . [A]ll history . . . remains open and questionable, points to something still concealed, and the tentativeness of events in the figural interpretation is fundamentally different from the tentativeness of events in the modern view of historical development. In the modern view, the provisional event is treated as a step in an unbroken horizontal process; in the figural system the interpretation is always sought from above; events are considered not in their unbroken relation to one another, but torn apart, individually, each in relation to something other that is promised and not yet present. Whereas in the modern view the event is always self-sufficient and secure, while the interpretation is fundamentally incomplete, in the figural interpretation the fact is subordinated to an interpretation which is fully secured to begin with: the event is enacted according to an ideal model which is a prototype situated in the future and thus far only promised . . . . [E]very future model, though incomplete as history, is already fulfilled in God and has existed from all eternity in His providence. . . . Thus the figures are not only tentative; they are also the tentative form of something eternal and timeless; they point not only to the concrete future, but which is at all times present, fulfilled in God's providence, which knows no difference of time. This eternal thing is already figured in them, and thus they are both tentative fragmentary reality, and veiled eternal reality. [1]

The historicity of events distinguishes the figural mode from either allegory or symbol. As Auerbach points out, the figural interpretation

> differs from most of the allegorical forms known to us by the historicity both of the sign and what it signifies. . . . Figural phenomenal prophecy . . . had grown out of a definite historical situation. [2]

Distinguishing the <u>figura</u> from the symbol, Auerbach states that

> the differences are self-evident. The symbol must possess magic power, not the figura; the figura, on the other hand, must always be historical, but not the symbol. Of course Christianity has no lack of magic symbols; but the figura as such is not one of them. What actually makes the two forms completely different is that figural prophecy related to an interpretation of history--indeed it is by nature a textual interpretation--while the symbol is a direct interpretation of life and originally no doubt for the most part, of nature. [3]

The figural interpretation suggests a unique interpretation of time. Individual earthly events are viewed in their direct vertical relationship to providence, "so that," as Auerbach points out,

> the earthly event is a prophecy or figura of a part of a wholly divine reality that will be enacted in the future; it is always present in the eye of God and in the other world, which is to say that in transcendence the revealed and true reality is present at all times, or timelessly. [4]

Both history and figura are real temporal indications of the fulfillment of Providence. On the one hand, God's eternal plan is witnessed by the progression of the Eternal City, the New Jerusalem. As Ernst H. Kantorowicz points out,

> transcendental Jerusalem means timeless Eternity rather than continuity within Time. The original city of Christ, Jerusalem's material body, had been destroyed by Titus. . . . Yet, "Jerusalem haloed" might descend to earth at any moment. [5]

God's plan is also witnessed by the individual figurae who appear throughout history. Kantorowicz suggests that

> one constructed a body corporate whose members were echeloned longitudinally so that its cross-section at any given moment revealed one instead of many members--a mystical person by perpetual

> devolution whose moral and temporary incumbent was of relatively minor importance as compared to the immortal body corporate by succession which he represented.[6]

The ideas which this essay will apply to Blake's Marriage of Heaven and Hell and Milton are taken directly from the medieval figural mode of interpreting existence. Blake's procedure implies a figural interpretation of history, and correspondingly our critical procedure in dealing with Blake's writings should embody figural interpretation. Since Blake's vision suggests the figural interpretation of history, we may profitably apply a figural reading to his poetry. A figural reading of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell suggests that the Blake-persona is a Christ-figura, and that Blake's interpretation of history--his concern with and treatment of historical events and places--is essentially a figural interpretation. Since the Marriage, as has often been remarked, presents an early (if not the first) synthesis of Blake's vision, it is an appropriate place to begin our application of a figural reading. It will be seen that the Marriage introduces us to the Christ-figura, and identifies it as Blake himself.

The Milton-character in Milton will also be seen as a Christ-figura, and Blake's apocalyptic vision as an essentially figural one. Milton is entirely devoted to the development and definition of the figura, a figura much more complex than the simple one presented in the

Marriage. Further, Milton connects the figura directly to the Eternal City, identified as England, and so seems to present a fairly complete expression of the figural mode. It is hoped that this brief introductory study will encourage critics to pursue a more extensive analysis of Blake's historical vision than it has been possible to accomplish here.

I. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell

The Marriage of Heaven and Hell may be seen in essence as Blake's statement of faith in the Christ figura. The entire poem, except for the epilogue which was a later addition, is concerned with discussing the characteristics of a type of hero with whom Blake identifies and in whom he trusts for man's salvation. Several "characters" are mentioned as examples or types of Blake's hero. In the figural interpretation, they would be seen not as wholly separate individuals, separate in body and spirit, but as Christ figurae, identical in spirit and in significance, though different in body. The Marriage of Heaven and Hell may present a multiplicity of heroes, but we may take them to represent, as figurae, something unique, eternal, timeless, and without change--that is, Christ. In this way, the figural interpretation, when applied to Blake's poetry, suggests a unity which may otherwise be missed.

Blake introduces us to a prefiguration of the Messiah in the very first word of the poem. The "Argument" begins:

> Rintrah roars & shakes his fires in the burden'd air:
> Hungry clouds swag on the deep.[7]

Rintrah is identified as the "just man" walking in the paths of righteousness. His condition is described as having

changed from ease to perilousness. This change constitutes Rintrah's fall, and represents Adam and Eve's transportation from Eden to Earth. The third stanza identifies Rintrah with Adam by describing Rintrah as "Red clay brought forth." Rintrah, then, represents fallen man, that is, he is a figuration of Adam.

In his present state, Rintrah-Adam is pursued by a "villain" who is identified as "the sneaking serpent [who] walks / In mild humility." This villain is Satan, who will "drive / The just man into barren climes." We may anticipate Blake's reference to Isaiah in the next section of the Marriage in order to determine the figural nature of the figures presented in the "Argument." Rintrah-Adam's raging in the "barren climes" is reminiscent of John the Baptist's voice crying in the wilderness:

> In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and saying, Repent ye for the Kingdom of heaven is at hand. For this is he that was spoken by the prophet Esaia, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.
> (Matthew 3: 1-3)

Matthew asserts that John is the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecy in Isaiah (40:3), and as such prefigures Christ. The prophet-figura John anticipates Christ, just as he was himself anticipated by Isaiah, who was also a prophet-figura. Rintrah-Adam, like John the Baptist, acts as a figural phophet and is connected as figuration with Adam, who prefigures Christ (see Romans 5). Though His

coming is presaged, there is no sign yet of the actual presence of the Messiah. Blake in effect presents us with a condition which needs to be resolved. He establishes a fallen world in which the virtuous are in conflict with the villainous, and he prophecies an event or a person that will restore order in the universe by redeeming Rintrah-Adam.

We have seen the "just-man" driven by the "sneaking serpent" from his "paths of ease" to walk in "barren climes." Satan induces Rintrah-Adam to give up his natural Eden-like state and the result is that Rintrah-Adam now exists in a void. A great wrong has been committed. But the feeling by the end of the "Argument" is that the Messiah is on His way to right this wrong. Meanwhile, Rintrah-Adam rages impatiently in expectation of the salvation he knows is coming and which he deserves. The "Argument," in short, is Blake's prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, and fittingly introduces the Marriage.[8]

The very next lines punctually inform us that the Messiah has arrived:

> As a new heaven is begun, and it is now thirty-three years since its advent: the Eternal Hell revives. And lo! Swedenborg is the Angel sitting at the tomb; his writings are the linen clothes folded up. Now is the dominion of Edom, & the return of Adam into Paradise. (pl. 3)

In this passage Blake effectively establishes himself as the Messiah anticipated in the "Argument," and in doing so

establishes himself as a Christ figura. The basis for Blake's position in this paragraph is Swedenborg's prophecy that a New Age was to come in 1757. Not only was 1757 the year of Blake's birth, but when Blake wrote these lines he was thirty-three years old. This passage, as has often been noted, refers to Christ's resurrection. The "Eternal Hell," which we are to read as Blake's version of salvation, revives with Blake's advent. In this way, Blake establishes himself as the Messiah of the New Age.

To prove that his announcement is true, Blake uses not only Swedenborg's prophecy but also an allusion to Biblical proof of Christ's resurrection. Swedenborg has been described as the "Angel sitting at the tomb." Matthew 28:5-7 explains the Angel's function:

> And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye: for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified, He is not here: for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay, And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead; and behold, he goeth before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him: lo, I have told you.

Blake uses Swedenborg as the voice of Heaven, sent to earth to quiet the fears and raise the hopes of man. Further, "The linen clothes folded up" constitute the material proof of Christ's resurrection. The manner in which His shroud lay in His tomb is complete and sufficient proof of His resurrection.[9] Not only is Swedenborg's prophecy the voice from Heaven, but also his writings insist that the

Messiah has risen, or in effect that Blake is at hand. By overtly identifying himself with Christ, Blake establishes himself as the Christ *figura* prophecied in the "Argument."

The result of Blake's resurrection into the New Age is defined by the concluding remarks of plate 3 of the *Marriage*. In the Biblical references Blake gives us, we find that Edom is a city set aside by Jesus for the express purpose of containing evil, leaving only the good to enter into Paradise (see Isaiah: 34-5). In contrast to the annihilation of Edom at the hand of Jesus, the joy of the redeemed will stand out radiantly, for He will rebuild the Chosen City of Jerusalem in fulfillment of prophecy:

> For behold, I am creating new heavens and a new earth . . . for I create Jerusalem an occasion for Joy; and her people will rejoice. . . . Rejoice with Jerusalem and exalt in her, all you who love her; rejoice exceedingly, all you who mourn over her. (Isaiah 65: 17-18)

The result, then, will be Adam's return into Paradise in ultimate fulfillment of prophecy and in accordance with God's providence. The references to Isaiah satisfy a figural interpretation. In Isaiah, the old dispensation is destroyed by a vengeful Christ, and a new one, containing the redeemed, replaces it. Blake identifies himself as Isaiah, or more accurately, recognizes himself as a figural prophet equal to Isaiah. Like Isaiah, he warns us that the time has come for the eternal count to be taken, or as he says in the third "Memorable Fancy," to separate

the Sheep from the Goats. In doing all this, Blake establishes himself as one of the series of figural prophets, from Adam to Christ and from Isaish to himself, whose purpose on earth is to prepare man for salvation.

In "The Voice of the Devil," Blake characterizes the Messiah as Desire, and claims that John Milton had understood the history of man in reverse. Blake states that Milton wrote "at liberty when of Devils & Hell" because "he was a true Poetand of the Devils party without knowing it" (pl. 4). Here, Blake lays the foundation for Milton, in which John Milton comes to realize his mistake, and corrects it by "self-annihilation," that is by accepting the role of Desire in man's salvation. Referring to Job, Blake also states that is was the Messiah who was cast out of heaven, and thereby equates the Devil with the Messiah. Thus, in "The Voice of the Devil," we are presented with a figura who is essentially a devil by conventional standards, and whose chief characteristic is the capacity for Desire.

Blake is more interested in the figura than in the psychology of man. His statement that man can be redeemed "by an improvement of sensual enjoyment" (pl. 14) refers directly to salvation, "The ancient tradition . . . of six thousand years" (pl. 14). He states that sensuality leads to the perception of the infinite and it is this perception which is important to Blake, not sensuality in itself. In

A Vision of The Last Judgement Blake proclaims that "Error Is Created Truth Eternal Error or Eternity will appear It is Burnt up the Moment Men cease to behold it . . . it is a hinderance & not Action it is as the Dirt upon my feet, No part of Me" (Erdman, p. 555). According to medieval Christian exegesis, the letter is merely a figuration of the infinite spirit.[10] For Blake, "sensual enjoyment" produces a perception of the infinite by "melting apparent surfaces away, and displaying the infinite which was hid" (pl. 14). Not only is Desire a creative force "which formed a heaven of what he stole from the Abyss" (pl. 5), it is also the way to salvation. In Christian terms, the way to Salvation is through Christ, who is also a boundless creative force. Thus Desire represents Christ; it is a figura which prophesies the coming of the Messiah whom Blake identifies as the Devil. Blake calls the figura by other names, Energy, the Poetic Genius, and the Prolific, but these names represent the same redemptive ideal--boundless energy and creativity.

In the third "Memorable Fancy," Blake proclaims that "one portion of being, is the Prolific, the other, the Devouring" (pl. 16). But he refuses to equate God with either of these states: "God only Acts & Is, in existing beings and men" (pl. 16). God is also beyond existence, as he is outside time; "Existing beings or Men" are mortal and finite. In other words the nature of God is infinite

and the states of man are transitory; God is the natura, the gracia, and man is the figura, the ombre. But the two states of man co-exist, and "whoever tries to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence" (pl. 16-17). By refering to the parable of the sheep and goats (in Isaiah), Blake indicates that he means the Prolific to be Energy, "the only life," the Poetic Genius, or the capacity in man to perceive the infinite, and the Devouring to be man's constricting "bound or outward circumference of Energy," the limitations of the transitory world of the five senses. That is, man consists of body and soul, and the two are totally inseparable. Indeed, death is defined in Christian terms as the separation of body and soul. Blake means it literally when he states that an attempt at reconciliation--that is, at a unification which denies their independent existence--is an attempt to destroy existence. In an annotation to Berkeley's Siris, Blake states that "Jesus considered Imagination to be the Real Man" (Erdman, p. 653), and that "Forms must be apprehended by Sense or the Eye of Imagination Man is All Imagination God is Man & exists in us & we in him" (Erdman, p. 654).

Several "Proverbs of Hell" are cogent to our discussion. "A fool sees not the same tree that a wise man sees" is a statement of belief in the powers of man's perceptions. The wise man looks beyond the mundane reality of this world, and perceives the infinite. All of worldly

existence is a figuration of divinity, and the wise man is capable of seeing what lies behind this world. Time is finite, but the timelessness of God's Providence cannot be measured in finite terms, and "The hours of folly are measured by the clock, but of wisdom: no clock can measure." Yet "Eternity is in love with the productions of time." Infinite time, providence, is revealed by events in finite time, history. "The cistern contains: the fountain overflows" offers a pair of metaphors which explains the duality of body and soul. The cistern is the form which contains the upward-surging energy of the fountain; it is the body which enables the spirit to rise into the heavens. "All wholsom food is caught without a net or a trap" proposes the idea that food for the soul is not recognizable in material terms; such food is the product of the imagination.

In plate 2, Blake makes his most direct figural statement. He maintains that "Priesthood," the reasoning art which catagorizes and defines, invented a system of logic and of proprieties which abstracted the particular and hid the true meaning of existence from mankind. "Thus men forgot that All deities reside in the human breast." Blake here states that humanity itself contains divinity, that is that man is the figuration of Christ. In order to emphasize this point, Blake follows this statement with the second "Memorable Fancy," in which Isaiah and Ezekiel,

both Old Testament figurations of Christ, proclaim this to be true. Isaiah proclaims that "my senses discover'd the infinite in everything" (pl. 13), and Ezekiel proclaims that "we of Israel taught that the Poetic Genius (as you now call it) was the first principle . . . prophecying that all Gods would at last be proved to originate in ours & to be the tributaries of the Poetic Genius" (pl. 13).

In the last "Memorable Fancy," Blake proclaims that "Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules" (pl. 23-4). The Angel who hears this is consumed by the fire of imagination and rises from the flames as Elijah the prophet. Blake tells us that "this Angel . . . is now become a Devil" (pl. 24), that is a figura. Here, Blake anticipates Milton, in that the Angel is transformed by a perception of the infinite in Christ. Indeed, as has often been noted, Blake anticipates his Prophetic Books as a whole when he declares that "I have also: The Bible of Hell: which the world shall have whether they will or no" (pl. 24).

The function and multiplicity of the prophet-hero introduced to us in the Marriage as a whole can be explained by the figural interpretation. Rintrah is Adam, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Elijah, John the Baptist, and Blake himself. The Marriage may be said to present a broken, incomplete geneology of prophets who prefigure Christ. Christ himself is Desire, the Devil, Imagination, the Poetic Genius, and

Blake himself. He is the essence, or nature, embodied by the figurae. Moreover, the view of time and eternity in the Marriage is eschatological, and suggests the typological nature of Blake's prophet figures.

In this connection, "The Song of Liberty" adds the historical dimension to the figural interpretation to the Marriage. That the "Song" is a later addition to the Marriage may indicate that Blake thought the Marriage incomplete without it, that his perception and interpretation of history was essential to his exegesis. The "Song" contains Blake's first expression of his view of history, a view which is enriched by a figural reading. By adding it to the Marriage, Blake may in effect be asking his readers to consider the role of history in his exegesis, for as Northrop Frye points out in Fearful Symmetry,

> Everything that has ever happened since the beginning of time is part, Blake says, of the literal Word of God. The ordinary historical concept of human existence as a dissolving flux in linear time is therefore the literal approach to life, the corporeal understanding based on memory. [11]

"The Song of Liberty" is clearly a song of revolution. It is also a stirring commentary on the state of fallen Rintrah-Adam. It defies the limiting Urizen and glorifies the redemptive powers of imaginative Los. Historical events are put in figural perspective, and thereby affirm and fulfill eschatological prophecy. In this respect, the "Song" acts as an introduction to Blake's Prophetic Books. We are

introduced to four major characters--Jerusalem, Albion, Urizen, and Los--who will appear in Blake's later works.

The "Song" opens with "The Eternal Female groan'd!" This is Jerusalem, "The Emanation of The Great Albion," and together with Albion represents the figural Eternal City. Albion, Blake tells us in A Vision of the Last Judgement, is "our Ancestor / patriarch of the Atlantic Continent / whose History Preceded that of the Hebrews / & in whose Sleep / or Chaos / Creation began, [his Emanation or Wife is Jerusalem]" (Erdman, p. 548). As Kathleen Raine points out, "there is virtually no difference between the four-fold man, Albion, and the four-fold city; they are one and the same."[12] Jerusalem gives birth to the fiery Los, "the new born terror howling." Thus, Providence supplies the Saviour.

Albion is sick, and current historical events provide material evidence of his illness, which is attributed to "the jealous king" who "promulgates his ten commands." With his introduction of this king, Urizen, Blake presents his first explanation of the fall of Rintrah-Adam. Albion's illness, the present historical human condition, is a result of Urizen's domination of Los, symbolized by Urizen casting out Los: ". . . forth went the hand of Jealousy among the flaming hair, and hurl'd the new born wonder thro' the starry night." Reason has taken over the work of Desire, as in Milton Satan does the work of Palamabron (pl. 6).

Rintrah-Adam, the imaginative aspect of Albion, rages because he is powerless under this domination; he anticipates the Messiah and looks forward to redemption.

The "Song" as a whole tells us that what Rintrah-Adam has been waiting for has arrived. Los arrives, is born of the Eternal City, an offspring of Albion and Jerusalem, in fulfillment of prophecy. Los adds another dimension to Blake's figura, the dimension of Imagination. His birth may be figurally identified with Christ's resurrection, and consequently with Blake's advent as well. Los, who is born to redeem England, effectively represents Blake's spirit, which in the context of the Marriage is the spirit of redemption. Los' birth does not go unchallenged. Blake suggests that in his own day Reason has cast out Imagination. As a result, Albion "fled away." Urizen fell, "Down rush'd beating his wings in vain, the jealous king . . . Falling, rushing, ruining!" From the "vast wilderness" that he has fallen to, he "promulgates his ten commands" with the help of "his grey brow's councillors, thunderous warriors, curl'd veterans, among helms, and shields, and chariots, horses, elephants: banners, castles, slings and rocks." These are elements of Priesthood, and Urizen's actions are those of a Devourer.

In spite of Urizen's domination over Los, Blake's confidence in redemption is evidenced by how quickly and effectively Los manages to overcome Urizen: "the son of

fire . . . stamps the stony law to dust," and proclaims to the world that "Empire is no more! Now the Lion & Wolf shall cease." This hopeful cry for a transformed humanity echoes Isaiah 65: 17-25:

> For behold, I am creating new heavens and a new earth . . . the wolf and the lamb shall feed together; the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

Whereas in the fallen world, contraries must exist, and "One Law for the Lion & Ox is Oppression" (pl. 24), in the redeemed world, only the Imaginative state exists, and the battle between the contraries will be over.

The "Song" is basically the figural history of man told in terms of the powers that lie within man. Dormant, unimaginative man is dominated by Reason, which is merely "the bound or outward circumference of Energy." The essence of man is redeemable only by imaginative life, which has been curbed by "stony laws" and "pale religious letchery." But if providence is allowed to operate, if man follows his impulse, then redemption is inevitable. History, Blake suggests, now presents man with an opportunity--the French revolution--to break these chains.

Blake proclaims in the "Song" that the Last Judgement is at hand. Los is born, and will free Albion from Urizen's bonds. Thus the eschatological prophecy of human history is about to be fulfilled and the elements of this redemption are the Christ <u>figura</u> and the Eternal City <u>figura</u>.

II. Milton

In Milton, Blake reverses John Milton's historical exegesis as it appears in Paradise Lost. Whereas Milton sees the Fall as a result of Passion, Blake sees it as a result of Reason; and whereas Milton sees the hope of man's redemption in the powers of Reason, Blake sees it in the power of Passion. Much work has been done to show the influence that Milton had on Blake.[13] S. Foster Damon, for example, concludes that "the works of Milton influenced Blake more than any other book except the Bible."[14] Virtually any major question regarding the relationship of Milton and Blake has been discussed by one critic or another.

But Milton was not alone in influencing Blake's vision of history. A.L. Morton shows that the seeds of the figural vision remained planted in the Antinomian sects, which had had a great influence on Blake's temperment, symbology, and ideas.[15] Morton suggests that Blake, as well as Boehme and Swedenborg, both of whom strongly influenced Blake, shared "a common tradition with the Antinomian sects who flourished in England, and above all in London during the revolutionary decades of the seventeenth century" (p. 34).

Among the Antinomians were Ranters, Quakers, Muggletonians, Seekers, and Traskites, all of whom believed that God existed in man, most of whom believed that He existed in all created beings, and many of whom believed that He had no other existence. They believed also that the moral and ceremonial law was no longer binding on God's people, and that it was the result of a curse, now lifted, which the anti-Christian orthodoxy still attempts to impose. According to Morton, Blake drew many of his conceptions of the "Everlasting Gospel" and much of his symbolism of the destruction of Bablyon and the building of Jerusalem from the teachings of the Antinomians. In particular, he suggests that many of the statements and terms in the Marriage, especially in the "Proverbs of Hell," are connected with Antinomianism.

The belief in the individual as a Christ-figura seems to have been part of the Antinomian creed. Morton points out (p. 54) that

> the third Adam was part of the Ranter Mythology, so John Robins, 'the God the the Shakers,' was asked in prison: 'why do your followers term you the third Adam? To that I answer particularily (said he) in the behalf of myself. So I am for three reasons. The first Adam was made a living soul, the second a quickened spirit, and in this law stands all the council of God the Father. The first, the servant of death appointed; the second, the Son of life therewith foreordained. And I am the third Adam that must gain what the first lost.'

The concept of Jerusalem as the figural Eternal City seems also to have been kept alive by the Antinomians. Morton

states (pp. 26-27) that Jerusalem is Utopian, and that "it is one of a vast series, rising and being destroyed throughout time." Finally, the connection between the Christ-*figura* and the Eternal City made by the Antinomians echoes the connections which both Blake's vision and the figural interpretation suggest. Morton quotes the Antinomian creed (p. 64):

> Let every Christian as much as in him lies, engage himself openly and publicly before all the World in some general pursuit for the building up of Jerusalem.

Thus, Blake does not suddenly discover something new in Milton; he finds, rather, an overt expression of it in a poet whom he considers to be great.

The title, *Milton*, clearly suggests a direct relationship between a paradise that was lost and the poet-prophet who is the subject of *Milton*. The subtitle, "To Justify the Ways of God to Men," claims the same purpose as John Milton's epic, in which Milton states that he wishes to "assist Eternal Providence, / And justify the ways of God to man."[16] The parallel between the structures of *Milton* and *Paradise Lost* are evident and two examples will be sufficient to show their relationship. *Milton* opens with the incantation: "Daughters of Beulah! Muses who inspire the Poet's Song," which parallels John Milton's invocation: "Sing, Heavn'ly Muse" (*PL*. 1:5). Blake asks why his Milton was moved to leave heaven and re-enter earth:

> Say first! what moved Milton
> . . . . . .
> to redeem & himself perish?
> What cause at length moved Milton to this unexampled deed?
> (M. 2: 16-21)

This echoes John Milton's question about Adam and Eve:

> Say first what cause
> Moved our grand parents in that happy State,
> Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
> From their Creator. (PL. 1: 28-31)

Several critics have shown the close structural relationship between Milton and Paradise Lost, notably, Denis Saurat in his Blake and Milton,[17] and we need not pursue this point any further. What interests us now is how Blake uses this material to present his own exegesis. Blake's Milton functions throughout his epic much the same way as Adam does in Paradise Lost. Blake's Milton is the object of salvation; he enters the fallen world to attain salvation; he functions as a Christ-figura; it is through him that man not only understands his figural role in history but also attains salvation; and it is the union of Christ with Milton that signals the final step of redemption. In Paradise Lost, Adam fulfills similar functions.

The relationship between Milton and Paradise Lost does not end with structure, but involves themes as well. Damon finds that in Milton Blake has re-evaluated and even corrected John Milton's chief ideas.[18] In relation to Paradise Lost, H.F. Fletcher has shown strong Hebraic and Semitic influences in Milton, influences which

finally evolve into Milton's figural vision of history.[19] It was C.A. Patrides who finally delineated Milton's figural vision in his excellent book Milton and the Christian Tradition. Patrides points out the relation of Milton's exegesis to Hebraic and Judeo-Christian traditions, stating that "Milton stands heir to the Hebrew prophets and the early Christians and the early medieval historians."[20] He defines Milton's own vision as figural (Patrides prefers the term "typology," but the meaning is identical). Specifically, he maintains that Paradise Lost is Milton's fullest and finest expression of the figural view:

> In Paradise Lost we have the most successful attempt in poetry to fuse the essential aspects of the Christian view of history into a magnificent whole. First, we have the didactic spirit that prevades Michael's revelation of the future to Adam. Second, we have explicit affirmation that temporal events are a record of divine judgements. Above all, we have the universalistic and Christocentric view of history.[21]

The figural nature of Paradise Lost is, according to Patrides, further illustrated by the "action of the poem," which "moves always sub specie aeternitatis." The Archangel Michael's speech to Adam "looks across the ages at the translation of the vision into history:"[22]

> So shall the world go on,
> To good malignant, to bad men benign,
> Under her own weight groaning, till the day
> Appear of respiration to the just,
> And vengeance to the wicked, at return
> Of him so lately promised to thy aid,
> The Woman's Seed, obscurely foretold,

> Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
> Last in the clouds from heav'n to be revealed
> In glory of the Father, to dissolve
> Satan with his perverted world, then raise
> From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
> New heav'ns, new earth, ages of endless date
> Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
> To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss.
> (PL. 12: 537-51)

Interestingly, "the world . . . groaning" here is echoed in the "Song," in which "The Eternal Female groaned!" Not only is the Archangel's speech and expression of the figural vision of history, but it is also told in ominous terms reminiscent of the Book of Isaiah. The redemptive scheme of Paradise Lost anticipates and influences Blake's vision in the Marriage and Milton. Blake found in Paradise Lost a way of expressing what he wanted to say about the figural vision of history.[23] He also found the familiar conflict between Reason and Passion. Blake not only found in Milton a great poet who shared his views, he also found a prophet who had failed, and whom Blake could redeem.

For Blake, it is not a good God (Milton's Reason) who has cast out an evil Satan (Milton's Passion) as in Paradise Lost, but rather it is an evil Urizen (Blake's Reason) who has cast out a good Los (Blake's passion-imagination). In "The Voice of the Devil," we are told that

> It indeed appear'd to Reason as if Desire was cast out, but the Devil's account is, that the Messiah fell & form'd a heaven of what he stole from the Abyss. (MHH. pl. 5)

Blake's revision of Milton's exegesis in Paradise Lost amounts to a reversal of the values placed on the two central figures. Milton's God was a negation, one who stifled human action, and was therefore evil; his Satan was passionate, an active force reminiscent of Blake's imaginative Los. The true Messiah is the one Milton called Satan, who formed a heaven beyond the reach of Reason's grasp, a grasp which holds the "Mundane Shell."

The characters which appeared in Blake's earlier works begin to find their proper places within the eschatological epic unit which constitutes the prophetic books. In Milton, Blake calls John Milton's reasoning God "Satan" and his passionate Satan "Jesus the Imagination." In Paradise Lost, it is by reason that God justifies his ways to Adam, and it is by desire that Satan tempts Adam. According to Blake, Adam, being a figura and of the Devil's party like Milton, succumbs to Satan because it is perfectly natural and right for him to do so. Blake finds justification for Adam's role in the Book of Job, in which, as Blake tells us, "Milton's Messiah is call'd Satan" and "prays to the Father to send the comforter or Desire that Reason may have Ideas to build on, the Jehovah of the Bible being no other than he, who dwells in flaming fire" (MHH. pl. 5). Thus, for Blake, God is Jesus the Imagination, whom Milton mistakenly thought to be the evil Satan. For

Blake, Satan is constricting reason, whom Milton mistakenly thought to be the good God. In Blake's redemptive scheme, Milton is not simply Adam; he is the Second Adam, or Albion the Eternal Man who is also the Eternal City. Just as John Milton makes Adam a figural hero, so Blake makes his Milton a figura. Blake's Milton-figura is a complex configuration and Blake needs the entire epic Milton to develop it. Blake uses the figural interpretation to explain how salvation is attained by showing that it is synonymous with the act of accepting Christ as the Saviour, which in turn is synonymous with the act of understanding man's role in history as figural.

In Milton, Milton and Blake become one and the same figura, and the union of Milton, Blake, Albion, and Jesus constitutes final salvation. This simultaneity of elements is perhaps the single most important aspect of Milton, and effectively expresses Blake's figural vision. Since "Truth can never be told so as to be understood, and not be believed" (MHH. pl. 10), any man who understood figuration, and consequently his own role in history, was saved.[24] Another way of expressing this simultaneity is with reference to the Last Judgement. Blake says in A Vision of the Last Judgement:

> Whenever an Individual rejects Error and embraces Truth, A Last Judgement passes upon that individual.
> (VLJ. p. 84)

Harold Bloom explains that:

> The brief epic Milton shows an individual poet-prophet, Milton, rejecting Error in Eternity, and descending to earth again to embrace Truth, thus passing a Last Judgement upon himself. When Milton enters Blake, to be joined with him, a Last Judgement is passed upon Blake as well. 25

Yet the figura of Blake-Milton is not complete with Blake and Milton; it is coupled in Milton with Jesus the Imagination. As Frye suggests,

> For Blake, there is no God but Jesus, who is also Man, and who exists neither in the past like the historical Jesus, nor in the future like the Jewish Messiah, but now in a real present, in which the real past and the real future are contained. The word "eternity" in Blake means the reality of the present moment not the indefinite extension of the temporal sequence. [26]

By including the idea of the Eternal City in Blake's exegesis, Frye suggests the figural interpretation;

> Blake begins Milton by speaking of his own brain as part of the Garden of Eden. . . . The Promised Land . . . is the imaginative form of what existed historically as the theocracy of Israel. . . . We note that Blake speaks in the first line of his poem not of a poet or a prophet but of a "Bard," in his day an almost technical term for a tradition of British poets going back to the dawn of history. "All had one language, and one religion: this was the religion of Jesus, the Everlasting Gospel."[27]

We agree with Frye that "history itself became the gradual recovery of Paradise by God awakening in Man."[28] The figura in Milton is not altogether complete until all the necessary elements have been brought together. This bringing together of the necessary elements of the figura is the principal event in Blake's Milton, an event, moreover which occurs instantaneously. As Paley suggests,

> Milton is not a narrative with allegorical meaning; it is a series of figural events embedded in a myth, events which are not sequential but which should be apprehended simultaneously. [29]

The "Preface" to Milton opens with much the same kind of statement as is made in the Marriage. It tells us that the present age lives on "Stolen and Perverted Writings" which concentrate on logic,[30] and that the New Age is at hand in which "Inspiration" will rule "Memory." Particularly, Blake finds fault with Milton, who was "curbed by the general malady & infection from the silly Greek and Latin slaves of the Sword."[31]

The second paragraph of the "Preface" calls out to all men of inspiration, the "Young Men of the New Age," to declare Mental war on the ignorant Hirelings" of Memory. Blake's attack on men dominated by Reason is blatant, and his weapon is faith in Jesus the Imagination, the spirit of Los in "The song of Liberty." Salvation, he claims, is ours if only we rely on our imaginations:

> We do not want either Greek or Roman Models if we are but true & just to our own Imaginations, those Worlds of Eternity in which we shall live for ever; in Jesus our Lord. (pl. 1)

Here, Blake restates his belief that "Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not from rules" (MHH. pl. 23-4), and further declares that each man's imagination constitutes the eternal world that is Christ. As a whole, the "Preface" equates the Inspired man with Jesus and gives him the promise and fulfillment of redemption. The Christ figura

is established in terms of each individual man, for in each man's imagination is the "abyss" of heaven waiting to be realized.

To complete his introduction to Milton, Blake includes the famous hymn which sings of the Eternal City figura, and of the Christ figura's role in salvation:

> And did those feet in ancient time.
> Walk upon England's mountains green:
> And was the holy Lamb of God,
> On England's pleasant pastures seen!
> (pl. 1)

Blake connects the historical city with the historical figura and simultaneously unites them with the current historical England and the current historical Blake:

> I will not cease from Mental Fight,
> Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand:
> Till we have built Jerusalem,
> In England's green & pleasant Land.
> (pl. 1)

Blake's mental fight is the struggle of Imagination to overcome Reason, and the success of this struggle determines the establishment of England as the Eternal City, a realm composed solely of figurae. The "Preface" is a direct and affirmative statement of the figural nature of Blake's vision. As Frye points out,

> The imaginative form of Israel, the Garden of Eden or Promised Land, is the same place in the imaginative form of Britain, usually called Atlantis, and the famous hymn "And did those feet in ancient time," which begins Milton, identifies the two! [32]

Almost as a reminder of Old Testament views, Blake ends his "Preface" by wishing, along with Moses, "Would to

God that all the Lords people were Prophets." With this biblical reference, Blake ties all figural prophets from pre-Mosaic patriarchs to himself. They are tied together in the typological line of eschatalogical providence. They are figurations of one another insofar as they exist simultaneously in Eternity, in the Eye of God. As Paley points out,

> Blake, having invoked the divine wisdom in the opening lyric, in this way expresses the hope that all men will join him in 'Mental Fight', in building the prophetic community, Jerusalem, in England's green and pleasant land.[33]

The multiplicity and simultaneity of Blake's figura is explained in The Four Zoas:

> Expanding they behold as one
> As One Man all the Universal family & that one Man
> They call Jesus the Christ & they in him & he in them
> Live in Perfect harmony in Eden the land of life
> Consulting as One Man. (FZ. 21: 3-7)

Blake's vision is cosmic and universal; given the figural preconditions, his vision is not mystical, but rather a conception of the real world and of real historical events.[34]

Briefly, the simultaneous events which constitute the plot of Milton reveal a process of assimilation. Milton comes down to earth and after re-uniting with his six-fold Emanation passes through Albion's vortex, whereupon he falls down to Blake and enters his left foot, becoming one with him. This act indicates the fulfillment of the six thousand year old prophecy[35] which "Milton's Angel knew"

(pl. 21: 52). The Archangel's prophecy of Christ's second coming in Paradise Lost is fulfilled by Los's entrance into Milton-Blake;

> And I became One Man with him arising in my strength:
> Twas too late now to recede. Los had entered into my soul.
> (pl. 22: 12-13)

This recalls the multiplicity of Christ in The Four Zoas, p. 21: 3-7 (quoted above, p. 97). With the addition of Los's Imagination, Milton-Blake fulfills the typological prophecy[36] which Los remembers:

> He recollected an old Prophecy in Eden recorded,
> That Milton of the Land of Albion should up ascend
> Forward from Ulro from the Vale of Felpham; and set free
> Orc from his Chain of Jealousy. (pl. 20: 57-61)

Milton-Blake-Los himself affirms that he has come in fulfillment of prophecy in a speech which echoes the vision of history in the Archangel's speech in Paradise Lost (12: 537-51; see above, pp. 90-91):

> I am that Shadowy Prophet who Six Thousand Years ago
> Fell from my station in the Eternal bosom.
> Six Thousand Years
> Are finishd. I return! both Time & Space obey my will.
> I in Six Thousand Years walk up and down: for not one Moment
> Of Time is lost, nor one Event of Space unpermanent.
> But all remain: every fabric of Six Thousand Years
> Remains permanent. (pl. 22: 15-21)

Los's assimilation of history into the prophetic vision puts the figura into its universal and timeless context. As Frye points out,

> history itself becomes the gradual recovery of Paradise by God awakening in Man. Jesus himself suggests such a process when he speaks of the Holy Spirit as continuing his work until the last day. If Milton had done this, the Holy Spirit, who is Los or the imaginative form of time, would not have remained a vacuum in his poem (as Blake claimed in MHH). Thus the integration of Milton and Blake with Los results in a complete vision of the shape of time, in which time and history are seen as a single human form, "the world of Los, the labour of six thousand years."[37]

The "fury and strength" which now grips Milton-Blake-Los stirs Albion. The union pushes its way down to Ulro, Blake's mechanistic Hell, where it meets Milton's emanation, the "sweet River" Ololon. Ololon is made to see that she is the cause of the fall because she is the cause of the dominance of reason in Milton; she is horrified, and asks,

> Are those who condemn Religion and seek to annihilate it
> Become in their Femin[in]e portions the causes & promoters
> Of these Religions, how is this thing? this Newtonian Phantasm
> This Voltaire & Rousseau: this Hume & Gibbon & Bolingbroke
> This Natural Religion! this impossible absurdity
> Is Ololon the cause of this? (pl. 40: 9-14)

Realizing her error,

> So saying, the Virgin divided Six-fold & with a shriek
> Dolorous that ran thro all Creation a Double Six-fold Wonder!
> Away from Ololon she divided & fled into the depths
> Of Milton's Shadow as a Dove upon the stormy Sea.
> (pl. 42: 3-6)

Having thus effectively self-annihilated, Ololon is free to enter Milton-Blake-Los. In effect, Milton, with the help of Blake and Los, accepts the feminine principle of

sensuality, and in so doing self-annihilates and opens the way to salvation. Now Jesus descends from the heavens:

> Then as a Moony Ark Ololon descended to Felphams Vale
> In clouds of blood, in streams of gore, with dreadful thunderings
> Into the Fires of Intellect that rejoic'd in Felphams Vale
> Around the Starry Eight: with one accord the Starry Eight became
> One Man Jesus the Saviour. wonderful! round his limbs
> The Clouds of Ololon folded as a Garment dipped in blood
> Written within & without in woven letters: & the Writing
> Is the Divine Revelation in the Litteral expression:
> A Garment of War, I heard it namd the Woof of Six Thousand Years
> . . . . . .
> Jesus wept & walked forth
> From Felphams Vale clothed in Clouds of Blood, to enter into
> Albions Bosom, the bosom of death & the Four surrounding him
> In the Column of Fire in Felphams Vale.
> (pl. 42: 7-22)

With the assimilation of Jesus into Milton-Blake-Los-Ololon, Blake's <u>figura</u> is finally defined, and salvation attained in fulfillment of the prophecy of six thousand years.

When Blake sees this final vision, and knows that it represents the New Age, he faints in ecstasy:

> My bones trembled, I fell outstretched upon the path
> A moment, & my Soul returned into its mortal state
> To Resurrection & Judgement in the Vegetable Body.
> (pl. 42: 25-27)

Blake ends Milton with an apocalyptic vision that recalls the <u>Book of Isaiah</u>:

> Los listens to the Cry of the Poor Man: his Cloud
> Over London in volume terrific, low bending in anger.
> Rintrah & Palamabron view the Human Harvest beneath
> Their Wine-presses & Barns stand open; the Ovens are prepar'd
> The Waggons ready: terrific Lions & Tygers sport & play
> All Animals upon the Earth, are prepard in all their strength
> To go forth to the Great Harvest & Vintage of the Nations.
> (pl. 42-3: 34-40)

When Milton-Blake accepts his role as figura, when these assimilations are complete,Blake's imagination is fired up, as indicated by Los entering his soul. These two acts are actually simultaneous and identical. That is, accepting the figural interpretation is seeing with the imagination. In this respect, the Fall constituted the separation of imagination, or the loss of the figural vision, from man's consciousness, thus binding him to the corporeal world. Man's redemption comes for Blake with the realization that Energy, or Imagination, is divine, and that it is contained "within the human breast." Los establishes a typological relationship between Milton and Blake which is fulfilled by the assimilation of Christ into the Milton-Blake figure. Moreover, Christ's descent to earth, and His assimilation into this figure, brings about the salvation of the Eternal City, Jerusalem. "The Woof of Six Thousand Years" represents the traditional Christian estimate of the world's existence before the Last Judgement, which Blake sees in Isaiah's terms (see Isaiah 34 & 35). Salvation is brought about by

the proper assimilation of various characters in Albion and simultaneously by the historical fulfillment of typological prophecy. Blake, moreover, uses his own term for what we have been calling figura:

> States Change: but Individual Identities never change
> nor cease:
> You cannot go to Eternal Death in that which can never
> Die.
> Satan & Adam are States Created into Twenty-Seven
> Churches
> And thou O Milton art a State about to be Created
> Called Eternal Annihilation that none but the Living
> shall
> Dare to enter: & they shall enter triumphant over
> Death
> And Hell & the Graves: States that are not, but ah!
> Seem to be.
> . . . . . .
> Whatever can be Created can be Annihilated Forms
> cannot
> The Oak is cut down by the Ax, the Lamb falls by the
> Knife
> But their Forms Eternal Exist, For-ever. Amen
> Halleljah.
> (pl. 33: 23-38)

As in the figural interpretation (see above, p. 67), the States of Blake (figura) may pass away, but not their Forms (natura).[38]

The catalyst which sets off the process of salvation is "self-annihilation," a rejection of reason as a governing principle and an acceptance of sensuality as a necessary part of salvation. The Fall of Man is synonymous with the loss of balance of the human personality, characterized by the disintegration of the four Zoas in the holy body of Albion. It is only when the four Zoas have become re-oriented

that Christ enters Albion. The prominence of the role of psychological balance in Blake's poetry has received much attention.[39] Blake's chief interest, however, is not in the psychology of man, but in man's salvation. Blake's psychological delineation of the Fall, which is paralleled in his delineation of his contemporary history, is a way for him to explain man's errors. Psychology, important as it is to Blake, is a tool which he uses in order to express his ultimate, redemptive vision.

This is not to minimize psychology as Blake uses it. As we have seen (above, pp. 77-78), a proper psychological balance enables man to improve his sensuality, and this in turn leads to the perception of the infinite, that is, of divinity, eternity, Christ. In effect, Blake suggests that the proper psychological balance <u>is</u> Christ, and that every individual is capable of realizing Christ through his capacity for Desire. In <u>Milton</u>, all the characters who appear actually exist in Blake's brain, and are part of him. Blake is suggesting that we are all like him--a source of the infinite. The imagination is not simply a part of man's psychological make-up. It is in essence Christ himself; man's total, unrealized, constrained psyche contains within it the fruits of eternity. In this light, Blake's <u>Milton</u> is a grand expression of the broadest and noblest kind of humanism, for it presents a view of man as infinite as the universe and as endless as time, yet at the same time as individual and specific as the individual human psyche.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Eric Auerbach, "Figura," Six Scenes From the Drama of European Literature, trans. by R. Manheim (New York: Meridian Books Inc., 1959), pp. 53-4, 58-60.

[2]Ibid., p. 54.

[3]Ibid., p. 57.

[4]Ibid., p. 72.

[5]Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 83. Also cf. Auerbach, pp. 58-60. For a study which treats the question of England as Jerusalem, see Robert W. Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1966). Hanning studies the development of the medieval historical imagination and shows that the medieval exegete believed England to be a New Jerusalem, or to use Augustine's term, a Chosen City of God. The history of England, in this view, merely attested to the temporal realization of God's Provindential plan. The view is entirely eschatological, and sees the ultimate goal of history as redemption at the other end of time. Each historical event merely reflects the state of the English nation at a given, temporal moment.

[6]Kantorowicz, p. 313. Also cf. Auerbach, pp. 49-52.

[7]William Blake, The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, in The Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. by David V. Erdman (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), p. 34. All quotations of Blake's works will be from this edition, and will henceforth be followed by plate, or ed. and page, references.

[8]Morton D. Paley suggests that "The Marriage is a celebration of 'the return of Adam to Paradise,' and the Argument leads up to this event." In Energy and the Imagination: A Study of the Development of Blake's Thought (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 261.

[9]A typical defense of this position can be found in John R.W. Stott's Basic Christianity (London: Staples Printers, Ltd., 1965).

[10]Beryl Smalley states that "the Word is incarnate in Scripture, which like man has a body and a soul. The body is the words of the sacred text, the 'letter,' and the Eternal meaning; the soul is the spiritual sense." In The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Notre Dame, Indianna: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), p. 1.

[11]Northrop Frye, Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), p. 340.

[12]Kathleen Raine, Blake and Tradition, Vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 256. Peter Fisher states that "Jerusalem . . . is that part of Albion which remains separate only in his wandering away from eternal existence. Their reunion, therefore, is part of Albion's recognition that she is herself united to the 'Divine Image'." In "Albion and Jerusalem," in Critics on Blake, ed. by Judith O'Neill (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970), p. 95.

[13]See S. Foster Damon, William Blake: His Philosophy and Symbols (Gloucester: Peter Smith, The Murrey Printing Co., 1958); John Beer, Blake's Humanism (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1968); and Bernard Blackstone, English Blake (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1966).

[14]"Blake and Milton," in The Divine Image, ed. by Vivian de Sola Pinto (New York: Haskell House, 1968), p. 85.

[15]The Everlasting Gospel (New York: Haskell House, 1966). cf. Frye, Fearful Symmetry, Ch. 2. For the influence of Swedenborg and Boehme, see Raine, both vols.

[16]Paradise Lost, 1:24-6. All references to Milton's works will be from The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. by Douglas Bush (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965), and will be followed by a line reference.

[17]Saurat, Blake and Milton (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965). Also see essays in The Divine Image, op. cit.; Frye, Fearful Symmetry; and Raine, Blake and Tradition, both vols.

[18]"Blake and Milton," p. 95.

[19]See Fletcher's Milton's Rabbinical Readings (n.p.: Archon Books, 1966); and his Milton's Semitic Studies (New York: Gordian Press, 1966). Also see J.M. Evans, Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

[20]Milton and the Christian Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 257.

[21]Ibid., p. 259.

[22]Ibid., p. 262.

[23]Saurat notes that "in his Catalogues, Blake refers to Milton's History of Britain as his covering authority: 'Believing with Milton the ancient British History'." (p. 82); and that "for both poets, their figures were not mere allegories or political personifications of psychological faculties, but supernatural conscious beings, realities" (p. 133).

[24]Raine, suggests that "to Blake . . . the immortality of the soul was a question not of afterlife, with or without a physical body, but of a truer understanding of the nature of consciousness" (Vol. II, p. 100).

[25]"States of Being: The Four Zoas," in Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed. by Northrop Frye (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), p. 118.

[26]"Blake's Introduction to Experience," in Blake: A Collection of Critical Essays, p. 25.

[27]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[28]Fearful Symmetry, p. 339.

[29]Paley, p. 228. Paley uses the term "Figural" without discussion or explanation of how figuration applies to Blake's poetry.

[30]See Jean H. Hagstrum, "William Blake Rejects the Enlightenment," in Blake: A Collection, pp. 142-55.

[31]For an analysis of possible Neo-Platonic influence in Blake's poetry, see George Mills Harper's "Time and Eternity," in his The Neoplatonism of William Blake (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 134-150. The connections between Blake's vision and Neo-platonism are more dubious than Harper suggests. Blake condemned Platonism, not just in the "Preface" to Milton, but elsewhere as well. For example, in his "Annotations to Berkeley's Siris," Blake states that "What Jesus came to remove was the Heathen or Platonic Philosophy which binds the Eye of Imagination. The Real Man" (Erdman, p. 654). The figural interpretation suggests an apparent similarity between Blake's vision and Neo-platonism. However, Blake's "Forms" are not abstractions or ideals; they are historical facts, figura. Time, moreover, cannot be evil if "Eternity is in love with the productions of time" (MHH. pl. 7).

[32]"Notes for a Commentary on Milton," in The Divine Image, p. 111.

[33]Paley, pp. 251-2.

[34]P. Berger would not agree. He asks, "what becomes of nature itself, and the visible world? They simply disappear. Blake has scarcely perceived them, or seeing, has straightway forgotten them." In William Blake: Poet and Mystic (New York: Haskell House, 1968), p. 26.

[35]Paley, pp. 240-1, says of Milton's descent to Albion: "Milton, here a type or figural representation of Christ, passes through the domains of repressive Law and the will-to-power to become incarnate in regenerate man. . . . . indicating that man need not wait for the consummation of history that is to occur with the opening of the Eighth Eye, but may himself become an epitome of history, passing through all Seven Eyes to a regenerate life."

[36]Paley, pp. 249-51, suggests that these prophecies have not been fulfilled.

[37]Fearful Symmetry, p. 339.

[38]In A Vision of the Last Judgement, Blake reverses the meaning of these terms: "These States Exist now. Man Passes on but States remain for Ever . . . it aught to be understood that the Persons Moses & Abraham are not meant but the States Signified by those Names the Individual being representatives or Visions of these States" (Erdman, p. 546). However, the meaning is clear; in Milton, a State is a figura, and a Form its nature or spirit.

[39]For a fairly complete Jungian analysis, see W.P. Witcutt, Blake: A Psychological Study (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1966). Other studies can be found passim, in Raine; Fry, Fearful Symmetry; Damon, William Blake; and Blackstone.

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SYMBOLISM IN MORLEY CALLAGHAN'S SHORT STORIES

Introduction

Morley Callaghan's short stories contain a large number of figurative devices which contribute to varying degrees to the development of theme. The intention of this essay is to present a first step toward a re-evaluation of Callaghan's stories by looking at the range, function, and variability of these figurative devices. The definition of the different devices Callaghan uses is not dealt with; instead, the diffuseness of Callaghan's symbolic technique is pointed out. The concern here is to present a broad over-view of a large number of stories which will illustrate the extent to which Callaghan relies on figurative devices for the structuring of his stories. The terms "symbol" and "symbolism" then, are given no special significance, and refer to the whole group of figurative devices Callaghan uses in his short stories.

A study of Morley Callaghan's short stories reveals that from his earliest short story, "A Girl With Ambition" (1926), to his later collection, Morley Callaghan's Short Stories (1959), Callaghan has consistently relied on symbols to structure the development of theme. Callaghan,

moreover, allows his symbols to function on many different levels for many different purposes. The same symbol, the weather, for instance, can suggest that a character is undergoing a cathartic experience, as in "The Two Brothers," or it can point out the imminence of death, as in "Watching and Waiting." On the other hand, an object or event which functioned as a symbol in one story may not have the same role to play in another.

Generally, it is safe to say that Callaghan's short stories as a whole have been enriched by the use of symbolism. Yet it is not safe to say that his technique in relation to his use of symbolism has developed or improved, as have other aspects of his technique.[1] There is no development in Callaghan's use of symbols. Some of his earliest stories exhibit as much skill in their use of symbolism as his latest ones. Nor is there a general trend toward using more symbols as time goes on. Callaghan has always used symbols as a convenient tool with which to tell a story. As Victor Hoar states,

> Morley Callaghan has never been a symbolist, but he has persistently resorted to symbols in order to convey both meaning and form to his audiences.[2]

Hoar does not, however, discuss the symbolism in Callaghan's works as a whole, though he briefly considers Freudian symbolism, particularly in relation in No Man's Meat (pp. 47-49).

In his use of symbolism, which may be complex or simple, Morley Callaghan seems to rely on certain types

of symbols which may be grouped together. Aspects of nature, particularly the weather, animals, inanimate objects, lights, buildings, and clothing seem to form the major categories of symbols Callaghan uses in his short stories. For example, the weather may be developed as an integral part of the story, such as in "Watching and Waiting" (1959), or it may be mentioned in passing, as in "Soldier Harmon" (1928). The latter story opens in late winter and closes with the first sign of spring. Similarly, when Miss Schwartz went shopping in "A Wedding Dress" (1936), "the snow was melting and the sidewalk steaming" (p. 54)[3] suggesting that a new life was about to begin for her. The intervening crisis at the trial is reflected in the change in the weather, for now "snow was falling heavily" (p. 57).

Occasionally, a character's thoughts provide the clue to a symbol's function. In "A Sick Call" (1932), Father Sullivan is surprised to see "the mauve-silk bed-light and the light wall-paper with the birds in flight. It looked like a little girl's room" (p. 92). The impression the room gives us is that John is very protective where his wife is concerned. Several stories briefly treat inanimate objects. For instance, the dollar bill in "The Cheat's Remorse" (1938) represents the hopes of Phil and the girl, and Phil's two-headed coin represents the injustices that can occur during difficult times. Buildings can become refuges for Callaghan's characters.

Rose seeks forgiveness and solace in the Cathedral in "An Escapade" (1929). Similarly, Father Sullivan in "The Young Priest" (1927) finds he can cope only with the life within his Cathedral.

Lights often play an important part in Callaghan's stories. They usually suggest the recognition of some truth. Inez's refusal to turn on her light in "The Duel" (1936) forces Jim to realize that she no longer wants to see him. The light from Tom's flashlight in "Watching and Waiting" serves an ironic purpose. While it allows him to identify his wife's visitor, it temporarily blinds Marion, causing her to panic and shoot him. Joe Stanin realizes how much Jeannie means to him in "Magic Hat" (1959) when he finally notices her hat under the light of a street lamp.

The use of lights is one indication that Callaghan relies to a large extent on Christian symbols, or at least symbols which may be interpreted in terms of Christianity. Lights may bring about a moment of self-awareness or insight,[4] and lights could in this sense represent the Holy Ghost. Some of the characters are clearly intended to represent Christian heroes, such as Alice in "Let Me Promise You," whose true nature as a devoted woman is revealed by the collar she wears. Many of his themes centre around Christian conceptions of goodness, understanding, compassion, and love for all mankind. Brandon Conron,

in Morley Callaghan,[5] has done an adequate study of the Christian element in Callaghan's works as a whole. Yet Callaghan is not strictly speaking a religious writer. As S.J. Fajardo suggests,

> if he is a religious writer, it is only insofar as one can restrict the values of love and compassion to the realm of religion. To Callaghan religion has been an entity on which he could reflect these values.[6]

Though much of Callaghan's symbolism is highly influenced by, and can be readily interpreted with reference to, the Christian tradition, it is important to see it as a tool Callaghan uses for expressing his own themes rather than as a method of expressing purely Christian themes.

In view of the purpose of this essay--to present a broad over-view of the role of symbols in Callaghan's stories--this essay has been structured according to theme rather than according to groups or categories of symbols. In this way, it will be seen that Callaghan not only relies on various kinds of symbols to develop theme but also that the same object or event may play different roles in different stories. The main concern is always to show that in his stories Callaghan made use of a diverse and loosely-defined set of figurative devices to develop his themes.

Callaghan's themes may be divided into two general categories: those concerned with love in all its facets and those concerned with the result of various social

pressures on different individuals. Sometimes the individual is successful in achieving love or in overcoming social pressures, and sometimes he is not. Needless to say, several stories may be considered under more than one category; yet it will be convenient to discuss stories within each of these two thematic categories according to the specific concerns within each story. The stories concerned with love will be discussed in four groups, each dealing respectively with family love, love between husband and wife, sexual love, and uncertainty in love. The stories concerned with the effects of social pressures on individuals will be divided into five groups, each dealing respectively with the individual's failure in facing social pressures, his search for love, his search for freedom, his search for identity, and his search for faith.

I. Love

The most compelling of the four stories which deal with family love is "The Two Brothers" (1936). Here, Callaghan uses a favorite group of symbols, aspects of nature, to show the re-unification of the two brothers in love and trust through a cathartic experience. As the story opens, a "little wind from the lake" (p. 276) is blowing as Peg goes to see Tom. Soon, the sun sets, and Peg and Tom enjoy each others' company in a moonlit field as "Tom began to think that the silence and the peace between them was beautiful" (p. 227). The transformations of nature will suggest the inner turmoil of the characters throughout the story.

We are told about Frank's crime and imprisonment, and of Tom's fear that Frank might try to escape. Then the peaceful serenity of the scene is disturbed by thick clouds which begin to obscure the moon, and "by a strengthening wind from the lake" (p. 278). As the couple leaves for home, the wind rises. At the same time, Tom's jealousy of Frank is revealed. Peg's re-assurances do not satisfy Tom, and "he went to bed with the wind blowing much stronger. . . . His loneliness, the darkness and the sound of the wind began to distort all his thoughts" (p. 250).

Finally, the storm begins to rage in fury, tearing away shingles and breaking waves on the lake-shore, and Tom's tortured sleep is disturbed by Frank's tapping at the window. The weather suggests that Tom's jealousy mounts to a fever pitch. Significantly, it is in the midst of his tortured half-sleep that the object of Tom's anguish appears.

Frank wants Tom to help him escape by rowing with him across the lake in the storm. The wind,a force of nature, is against them, and the rowboat is "tossed back by the first wave" (p. 282). As they start to row out, "The wind swept around the point lashing the rain at their faces" (p. 282). The journey of escape is very difficult, and perhaps unnatural; but when it is accomplished the wind lets up and the rain stops. Like the weather, the brothers are temporarily exhausted. The importance of this journey is underlined for us: "All their lives they might have been training for this one trip across the eight-mile lake" (p. 282).

But Tom, who had thought he would be rid of his brother's threat to his love for Peg, ironically realizes his own failure of love towards his brother. He sees that he cannot allow Frank to escape: "He put out his hand and touched his brother's shoulder, and at that moment with the wind blowing and the water lapping on the

beach, his voice faltered, for he felt a great tenderness for his brother that could not be expressed" (p. 284). In that moment, Tom gives in to his love for his brother, and acts accordingly by fighting to prevent Frank's escape.

The fight is savage; Frank flays out at Tom as they both "roll over and over on the wet sand and closer to the line of the water" (p. 285). In flaying Tom, Frank's hostilities are released, and as he finally accepts his brother's love, he breaks down, "crying with his face pressed in the sand." Tom's compassion is aroused by Frank's cathartic breakdown, and he prays for his brother to stop crying "because he, himself, couldn't stand it there on the beach with the water lapping on the shore" (p. 285). Both brothers experience a purging of their bottled-up emotions, and coincidentally the storm subsides and the clouds scatter. Now, as the moon,with its blessing of love and understanding, shines through "more fully on the dark water he remembered all the joy he had felt when the same light had shone on the field of buckwheat and Peg had belonged so surely to him . . . but that was just a part of his and Peg's world; it didn't touch Frank" (p. 286).

Just as the story has come around full circle, so has the nature symbolism. The development from qualified

happiness, through cathartic storm, to secure happiness is carefully marked by the transformations of nature. Tom's jealousy of Frank and, in turn, Frank's contempt for Tom are finally satisfied. The symbolism here is chiefly responsible for the unity of the story, making this one of Callaghan's most satisfying stories.

Just as we are presented in "The Two Brothers" with a reconciliation between the two brothers, so in "A Cap for Steve" (1959) we are presented with a reconciliation, this time between father and son. Generally speaking, the cap is something which four characters want. In his attempts to get it, each character reveals something about himself. Particularly, the cap represents the love that is missing between father and son. Steve at first wants the cap because it is his and because it has come to represent a kind of bond with Eddie Condon, his baseball hero. Steve lacks the attention his father should be giving him, and he therefore places all of his devotion on his cap. The Hudson boy, on the other hand, gives the impression of wanting the cap to support his father's attitudes about the power of money. He insists that he bought the hat, and that Dave should take the matter up with Mr. Hudson, who happens to be a lawyer. Mr. Hudson wishes to prove his position to his son (and, we think, to himself) by bribing Dave with a lot of money: "Mr. Hudson thought he had Dave sized up; he had looked at him and decided he was

broke" (p. 32). He offers Dave $5, but the money is refused. He offers $10, and frowns when even that is refused. His anxiety about having to prove to his son that money can buy anything is obvious: "He looked at his own boy with indulgent concern, but now he was embarrassed" (p. 33). Finally, he offers $20, and when Dave leads Steve to accept it, he feels triumphant: "Laughing jovially, Mr. Hudson led them to the door. His own boy followed a few paces behind" (p. 34).

On their way home, Steve and Dave are at odds. When Dave tries to justify taking the money, Steve counters with: "That man knew how much his boy wanted that cap" (p. 34), and Dave feels trapped by his poverty and by the depression. Dave feels trapped into betraying his son's deepest wish to own something of value to Steve by his need to think in terms of money. At home, he tries lamely to justify himself to his wife and again to Steve, but he realizes that "he was covering up his own failure. For the failure had been his, and it had come out of being so separated from his son that he had been blind to what was beyond the price in a boy's life" (p. 35). Following this moment of insight, Dave pleads with Steve to accept his own father as a companion and as a coach, in other words, as a replacement for the cap. Steve is now ready to forget about the cap, as he ironically realizes that Mr.

Hudson did not in fact know "how much his boy wanted that cap" as Dave now does. Steve knows now that: "With that man the cap was--well it was just something he could buy, eh Dad?" (p. 36). In his own father, Steve gains far more than the cap could have given him. The cap merely replaced the love and attention he craved, while his father now offers these things to him in actual fact. Father and son are finally united in their love and in their mutual concern and understanding for one another.[7]

We are also presented with a reconciliation in "Very Special Shoes" (1959), but this time the reconciliation is between a young girl and the memory of her mother. When the story opens, Mary's mother is still alive, although she knows, as Mary does not, that she will soon die. She buys Mary a pair of expensive red shoes in spite of the fact that the family is very poor--more because she knows she is going to die than because she had promised Mary the shoes. When she dies, Mary wants to wear her new shoes to the funeral. The family objects, but her father agrees to let her wear them if she allows them to be dyed black. Mary accepts, and wears them every day, polishing them nightly. The dyed shoes effectively represent the love which is not seen but is there nevertheless. Her special shoes take on a secret meaning for her, for

> she suddenly felt a strange kind of secret joy, a feeling of certainty that her mother had got the shoes so that she might understand at this time that she still had her special blessing and protection. (p. 134)

The fourth story which deals with family love, "Their Mother's Purse" (1959), presents a striking contrast to the previous three, for here we are presented with the disintegration of a family's unity, represented by the meaning the purse has for each character. Joe discovers his sister Mary stealing two dollars from their mother's purse, and confronts Mary before she leaves. When she explains that her husband, whom she has married secretly, is in the sanitarium and that she must have all the money she can get, Joe is more startled at realizing that the family's unity has broken up than he is at her secret marriage or at her theft. He realizes that Mary and he have grown apart from their parents, even though their parents "were still close together" (p. 138).[8]

The second group of stories concerned with love deals specifically with the relationship between husband and wife. In "Watching and Waiting" (1959), the jealous passion that drives Tom to spy on his wife is reflected in the weather, a symbol Callaghan used for similar purposes in "The Two Brothers." The night Tom sees their young neighbour giving his wife "a large green bass," an obvious phallic symbol, "the sky was darkening; the wind had broken

the surface of the lake into choppy little waves with whitecaps, and soon it would rain" (p. 19). Tom's emotional storm is gathering, and will soon be released. As Tom quarrels with his wife, the wind rattles a window in the house, and the lake darkens into the night, suggesting that Tom's emotional state is beginning to infringe on his reason and consequently on his relationship with his wife.

Tom drives away wildly, and reaches "the top of the highest hill in the country" where "the first of the rain whipped across his face, slashing and cutting at him" (p. 22). His jealousy is torturing him, and his passion is at its peak. He broods on the hill for a long time, till at last the desolation of the surrounding countryside forces him to consider the desolation of his deserted wife. In a flash of lightning, he has a vision of her as she was when she had called him back as he drove away, and in this lucidity he decides to return to her.

But Tom is "helpless against his hunger to justify his lack of faith in her" (p. 23), and so he decides to spy on her. When he finds the door to the house locked, and goes to the shutters to listen, "The rain streamed down his face and ran into his open mouth" (p. 23). Tom has at last completely given in to his jealousy. His blindness is reflected in the fact that he cannot tell that both voices in the house are women's voices: "it was hard to hear anything above the noise of the wind in

the trees and the roll of the waves on the shore" (p. 24). His jealousy overcomes his reason, just as the wind drowns out the women's voices. Incensed, Tom rushes blindly to his death.

The negativism of "Watching and Waiting" is contrasted by the hopeful attitude presented in the other two stories in this group. Dejection turns to optimism in "The Blue Kimono" (1935). The two year old boy represents George's and Marthe's hopes for the future. When the boy gets a fever, George bitterly blames the bad luck that seems to have plagued them for so long. But when the child is given an aspirin, his fever soon subsides. George plays with his son with renewed vigor, while Marthe plans to mend the tattered kimono. The baby's quick recovery ironically points out their inherent pessimism in that the baby was not suffering from infantile paralysis as they had feared, but rather from a common cold. Their new-found optimism at the end of the story suggests that they have learned from their experience with the baby not to exaggerate their situation. Just as George and Marthe are seen to over-react when their baby gets a fever, so they initially feel that Marthe's kimono is an old and tattered piece of rag. While they are worried for their baby's health, Marthe huddles into her kimono as George compares its condition to their hopes and aspirations:

> The kimono now was ragged and gone; it was gone, he thought, like so many bright dreams and aspirations they had once had in the beginning, like so many fine resolutions he had sworn to accomplish, like so many plans they had made and hopes they had cherished. (p. 142)

As soon as the baby's fever diminshes both parents become jubilant and full of hope once more. George plays "fiercely" with his son and Marthe realizes that the kimono could be mended. Just as they had exaggerated their baby's illness and the worthlessness of the kimono, which had once brought them so much happiness, so now they realize that with a little work on their part their lives could improve considerably. The baby merely needs some aspirin, and the kimono a few simple stitches.[9]

A similarly uplifting theme is dealt with in "The Rocking Chair" (1936). Thomas's loneliness is alleviated by the presence of a rocking-chair which his late wife once liked. The love they shared is preserved for him, after her death, in the rocking-chair. When the story opens, Thomas feels "a kind of awakening after the winter" (p. 231). It is two days before Easter, and Elsie's rebirth is suggested in Thomas' thoughts:

> church choirs would chant that the dead had returned to life, and for some reason it stirred him to feel that Elsie was so alive and close to him in his own thoughts. (p. 231)

Hilda Adams tells him of a rocking chair Elsie had wanted before she died, and Thomas' thoughts are especially receptive to the idea of buying it for Easter. He suggests to

the salesman that "It isn't so much what a chair looks like as what it'll stand up under" (p. 233), thus revealing his concern for loyalty and strength. When Hilda rocks on it, he quickly tells her to move, then sits on it himself. Hilda, of course, does not understand what the chair means to Thomas, and leaves feeling insulted. Thomas catches himself wondering how he could expect the chair to replace Elsie, but as the story closes, "he went rocking, rocking, back and forth" (p. 236). The chair is there to alleviate his loneliness and to comfort him with some concrete evidence of the love that once was.

The third group of stories is concerned with the problems of sexual love. Three stories deal with the resolution individual characters come to in relation to their sexual life. Lola's anxiety in "The Faithful Wife" (1929) is reflected in the weather.

On the day she calls George, "The snow was falling lazily and melting slowly when it hit the sidewalk" (p. 154), making the sidewalks very slippery. This reflects the potential foolhardiness of what Lola is about to do, for if the man she calls to her room does not, in effect, tread carefully, he may slip, or in other words lose his temper over being deceived and harm her in some way. All goes well, however, and when George leaves her "she was quite satisfied with the whole affair" and "Snow was falling lightly and there were hardly any footprints on

the sidewalk" (p. 157). Lola accomplishes what she has set out to do, and further is able to leave no trace of their brief adventure. The ring mark on Lola's finger suggests that Lola cannot forget she is married and that she will be faithful to her husband. The clearly visible mark indicates that this episode is a passing affair which she intends to forget as soon as it is over.[10]

In contrast to Lola's searching out of love, Hilda Rower, in "Ancient Lineage" (1936), withdraws from her sexual need. Hilda's lack of a love life is replaced by her family's history. Secluded behind tall trees and within a brick house, Hilda and her mother live together in memory of the family's past glories. Hilda, as she speaks to Flaherty, slowly reveals her attitude toward her family's history. She relaxes into an easy conversation and a sensuous comportment: "She was talking slowly, lazily, relaxing in her chair, a warm fluid oozing through her veins, exhausting but satisfying her" (p. 162). The erotic nature of her involvement is unmistakable. The moonlight falling on Hilda Rower excites Flaherty because it seems to reveal her potential as a lover to him; as he lies in bed, he realizes that she has become important to him, and visualizes her as he had left her, in "the pale moonlight . . . and wondered if it was still shining on her bed, and on her throat, and on her contented,

lazily relaxed body" (p. 163). But he knows that her "ancient lineage had taken the place of a lover in her life" (p. 163).

Rose's digression in "An Escapade" (1936), a visit to a popular Protestant Church, leads to her temptation and her final turn away from it. At first, going to the theatre where Reverend Simpson is preaching, Rose feels self-indulgent "in her thick warm coat" (p. 116). The snow falls in "big flakes" and seems to caress her gently because "the lazily falling snow [is] giving her, in her thick warm coat, a fine feeling of self-indulgence" (p. 116). She is encouraged, even tempted, to digress. The environment she goes to is strange to her. Everything about the theatre, from its light to its doorman, suggests its inappropriateness for Rose. As she sits down in the theatre, we are given the impression that she is ripe for temptation:

> She unbuttoned her coat carefully, leaving a green and black scarf lying across her full breasts, and relaxed in the seat, getting her big body comfortable.

When she feels she has to leave the gray-haired man who has been holding her hand and who has aroused that"feelings she had not had for years" (p. 119) in her, she gets ready to leave by buttoning her coat. Realizing her guilt, she escapes from the theatre. The snow now falls hard, suggesting her inner turmoil, as it is "driving along with the

wind" (p. 119). She finds it hard to escape her feelings. As if to protect herself, she sinks her chin "into her high collar" (p. 119). When she boards the street-car that will take her to her own church, she shakes the snow off her coat, so that her protective covering is not endangered by unwanted feelings. In the street-car, she shakes the snow off her coat, and notices that "On the side-streets snow was thick" (p. 120). The suggestion here is that all needs but the direct ones are sinful. She had digressed into the paths of temptation, had forsaken her own church for another, had proven weak, and has now to go to her own church to pray for penance and to forget her escapade. "The illuminated cross on the Cathedral spire" beckons Rose, but she feels lonely walking toward it, for she is alone in her conscience. Inside the Cathedral, she stares at the altar lights which suggest that she has seen her failure.

In contrast to the adaptability of the characters in the preceding three stories, the characters in the following three stories are unable to come to terms with their sexual energies. In "Sister Bernadette" (1936), Sister Bernadette's attitude toward her clothing reflects her attitude toward her role as a nun: "To her, the notion that her Nun's habit might be protecting her from sharp retorts from the nurses was intolerable" (p. 306). She

does not wish to have her calling or social convention interfere with her passion for life. She wishes to experience the same "sharp retorts" of life at large that any woman might be subjected to. Her clothes help to establish her character, and further to foreshadow her discovery at the end of the story. She accepts an illegitimate birth into the hospital, but becomes so attached to the baby that she delays its release. She is attracted to this particular baby rather than to any of the others in the hospital simply because it is illegitimate--the result of a sexual permissiveness which flaunts long-established rules and conventions. The baby's father, for instance, is married to another woman, not to the baby's mother. But as the parents feel more and more at home in her ward, she resents them, "for she felt with disgust that the sordidness in the life of the mother and father might be touching her through the baby and disturbing her too much" (p. 310). After the mother is released, Sister Bernadette carries the baby to the window and looks out to the city teeming with life, a life in which she has no part to play and to which she must always remain a spectator. In the bright lights, she sees "the life of a great city at night moving under her eyes" (p. 311). When she thinks of the baby's parents being free to do what they please in the city below, she once again objects to the possibility of their enjoying each other's company, this time by

citing convention: "But that man ought to be at home with his wife" (p. 311). At the end of the story, she is overwhelmed and more unhappy than she has ever been in her life; her sexual urges, repressed for so long, have suddenly surfaced, and are competing with her chosen calling for her attention:

> Her soul . . . was now overwhelmed by a struggle between something of life that was lost and something bright and timeless within her that was gained . . . she began to hug the child that was almost hidden in her heavy black robes as she pressed it to her breast. 11

Mrs. Austin is totally immersed in her erotic fantasies in "A Regret for Youth" (1929). She constantly looks at herself in the "large expensive mirror" (p. 204). The mirror provides her with some comfort, for it allows her, while idly combing her hair, to stare into it and have "pleasant thoughts in her head" (p. 204). But when she begins to have conversations with young Mr. Jarvis, she begins to look into the mirror in order to assess herself: "She . . . smiled at herself in the mirror. She fingered her hair. For the first time in months she looked closely at her hair and was glad it was so nice" (p. 207). She fantasizes in front of the mirror, "pretending she was not alone" (p. 207). When she refuses to sell it to Mrs. Oddy for rent, the envious Mrs. Oddy tells her she is "becoming a laughing stock," and that everyone thinks she is "a big cuckoo, you and your mirror" (p. 208).

Mrs. Oddy is more correct than she realizes when she adds that "they say you're looking for a husband in the mirror" (p. 208). Mrs. Austin replies simply that "The mirror is company for me in a way" (p. 208), suggesting that the mirror actually means much more to her.

Soon, Mrs. Austin imagines she may be attractive to Jarvis, and that perhaps they could go away together. It is then that she notices "the handsome oak frame, the wide bevel" (p. 209) of the mirror for the first time, suggesting that she notices a new beauty in her illusions which seems to change the nature of the mirror and consequently of herself. She feels that Jarvis' love will bring out her own beauty in the same way as the mirror's beauty is there for the beholder who cares to look. She allows herself to fantasize to the extent that "she let herself think they were going away together" (p. 211). Her final primping before the mirror and her satisfaction at herself allow Jarvis' parting words to her to have the power they do: "'You're a good sport,' he said. 'I got an aunt just like you'." (p. 211). We are not told how these words affect Mrs. Austin, but the symbolism allows us to assume that their effect was crushing. Mrs. Austin's carefully constructed dream world collapses as quickly and as completely as a mirror shatters when it hits the ground.

The awakening of Sheila's sexual awareness in "One Spring Night" (1936) results in her feeling shame. Her long walk with Bob provides the catalyst; they walked hand in hand, stopping occasionally to kiss. But they walked so long that Sheila's shoes blister her heel. When Bob notices that something which "had been growing in her for such a long time was showing in the softness of her dark, eager face" (p. 289), he feels ashamed: "There was a breathless excitement in him and something like a slow unfolding that was all lost in guilty uneasiness" (p. 289). When they reach her home, Sheila has "a new full, softness" (p. 292) on her face as she thinks of the time she had had with Bob and of her timid question: "If there was someplace I could go. . ." (p. 292). The blister on her heel symbolizes her awakening sexuality, and when Bob innocently tells her that "it turned out all right," she feels guilty for the joy she took in her new feelings:

> All the feeling of the whole night was surging through her; she could hardly hold within her all the mixed-up feeling that was stirring her, and then her face grew warm with shame and she said savagely, "why don't you go? Why do you want to sit there talking, talking, talking?" (p. 292)

The last group of stories we will consider under the general thematic catagory of love is one which treats the problem of a character's uncertainty of love. Three stories treat the resolution of this uncertainty. In "It Had to be Done" (1939), Catherine successfully secures Cris's love exclusively for her. When she visits Mrs.

Mumford's estate with Chris, she immediately feels its hypnotic effect: "she felt suddenly lost in a country that belonged to a rich woman" (p. 354). She is so certain that Mrs. Mumford can manipulate Chris once he is within her own house that she decides to go in after him. She combats Mrs. Mumford's hold on Chris with her own fresh sexuality, and succeeds more than she had hoped to in getting him to leave, for as he rushes her down to the road "he seemed to be holding her to him tighter than ever before" (p. 357). The spell of Mrs. Mumford's house is completely broken, and Chris is free to love Catherine.[13]

In "Let Me Promise You" (1936), the uncertainty of the weather reflects the uncertainty of the relationship between Alice and Georgie: "Earlier in the evening it had started to snow, then it had begun to drizzle and now the rain was like a sharp sleet" (p. 163). Alice wishes it would snow so that there would be

> an unbroken layer of fine thin snow, a white sheet that would remain undisturbed till Georgie came with his single line of foot-prints making a path up to her door. (pp. 163-4)

She then dreams of Georgie coming to her on some "bitterly cold dry evening." The symbolism suggests that Alice wishes to devote herself to Georgie, and that she wishes he would turn to her for her love and her comfort. But the weather is not cold; it simply "can't make up its mind to snow or rain" (p. 164). This reflects, in turn, Georgie's uncertainty about taking the watch; he accepts it, is embarrassed,

and returns it when she complains that he has given it more attention that he has her. Alice gives Georgie a sweater and a watch. The sweater will keep him warm, but the watch will remind him of appointments he is to keep, or of things he has left undone. The sweater makes him feel comfortable in Alice's presence, reminding him of her warmth, her security, and her love. The watch, on the other hand, makes him feel "ashamed to be going" (p. 166), reminding him that his relationship to Alice needs more time, or at least needs to be finalized in one way or another. When he refuses the watch because Alice complains that he has paid more attention to it than to her, she is desperately disappointed. In her frustrated anger she knocks the watch against a wall and breaks it. At this point, the watch seems to have failed in its purpose. The "black crep dress with the big white nun-collar" (p. 163) which Alice wears suggests that she is capable of total devotion. After she breaks the watch, she kneels down (in prayer?) before it and cries. Georgie is so moved when he sees here there that he realizes he never really knew her, and furthermore that he loves her. The promise she makes to him on her knees suggests that she is taking a vow. After she makes the promise, Georgie notices her "white nun-collar" and "her soft pleading eyes" (p. 168). He thinks her lovely and sees her as "a wild thing," a

passionate being completely devoted to her nature and to her love for him. Alice is touched by happiness when he finally decides to stay, and immediately wishes she could find more ways in which to devote herself to him: "If there were only more things she had and could give, she thought; if she could only give everything in the world and leave herself nothing" (p. 168). The nun-collar is clearly intended to point out her sense of devotion and her capacity for personal sacrifice.

Because of the way Alice cries over the broken watch, Georgie realizes that "he had never looked right at her and seen her before. He did not know her. The warmth of her love began to awe him" (pp. 167-8). The watch ironically fulfills its purpose in re-uniting the recently separated lovers. Further, as an added hold on Georgie, Alice promises to save for a new watch to replace the old one, thus committing him to a lengthy relationship and the promise of a new life together.

In "Magic Hat" (1959), Jeannie decides to make a Chinese coolie hat to alleviate her loneliness. As she makes it, the hat reminds her of the good times she had had with Joe, and the hat takes on a new significance for her. By the time she has finished making it, she is ready to wear it as a sign of the love that exists between the two lovers. When Jeannie goes to meet Joe "It is cold

and snowing a little, with a wind from the mountain" (p. 342). On their way to his apartment, "it was snowing hard," and Jeannie's hat is ruined. But Joe does not notice the hat, and Jeannie is very disappointed, thinking that he has not really cared for her after all. The relationship seems to be at an end for her. Yet, by some quirk of chance, it is the leaking hat which finally attracts Joe's attention and makes him see her in a new light. It is then that he realizes how much she means to him. Jeannie, however, is upset at his considering it "a clown's hat," and runs away from him. But Joe catches up to her and as he hugs her, "The melting snow from his hat dripped on her face as he held her hard against his wet coat" (p. 345). Thus, as the snow melts from his hat onto her face, so too does he realize that he cannot leave her, and that their lives are intricately wound together. Ironically, the hat has managed to perform its magic on Joe, and both are satisfied that "the course of their lives could change as a result of a little thing like an unpremeditated glance at a hat" (p. 346). As if to underline the irony of the hat's magic, when Jeannie is in her room at the end of the story, preparing to leave with Joe "she sat down on the bed and looked at it for a long time with profound surprise" (p. 346).

Yet uncertainty in love is not always resolved satisfactorily. For instance, in "Silk Stockings" (1959),

David's present of a pair of expensive silk stockings to Anne is a sign of his desire to possess her. When he discovers that she is in love with another man, he feels thwarted, thinking that her acceptance meant that she also accepted and returned his love. Though in the end he agrees not to tell her mother that she is going out to meet her lover, he does not reconcile himself to losing her till he notices the stockings under a street light--"he felt glad to think that something of his was going with her" (p. 338). Yet Dave is unable to cope with the fact that she is meeting her lover, and he becomes "desperately uneasy" when he remembers covering up for her when her mother calls down the stairs. The stockings on her legs still represent his feeling of ownership. Dave is finally unable to face the fact that Anne may accept a gift she really needs without feeling indebted to him for it beyond normal gratitude.

The same kind of rejection of love is portrayed in "The Duel" (1936). The light from Inez's room represents her response to Joe's pleas. When Inez goes up to her room after her quarrel with Joe, she does not turn on the light. Joe cannot even make out her shadow passing "across the lowered window-shade" (p. 331). Joe expects her to turn on her light because he does not believe that she could deny him so completely. But she does not turn on the

light, and Joe realizes he is beaten. The dark room pointedly tells him she no longer wants to see him.

It should be apparent that Morley Callaghan uses symbols to define and develop the emotional state of his characters. Often, the changing weather represents the unsteadiness of emotional ties between characters. However, Callaghan uses a variety of symbols, ranging from dyed shoes to a family tree, for the same purpose. Always, it is not the type of symbol which is important, but its function in the story. As we shall see, this may also be said of those stories which deal with the problems of social pressure and its effect on individual characters.

II. Social Pressures

In two of the stories concerned with the effect of social pressure on individuals, Callaghan explores those traits of a character which lead to his eventual defeat. Callaghan refuses to judge his characters. They are failures because of the pressures created by the relationship between the individual and society. Gus' psychotic breakdown in "Amuck in the Bush" (1927) comes about as a result of his being out of place both in nature and in society. When the story opens, the sun is so hot that the platform of the lumber-yard "burned through the boots of the men piling lumber" (p. 82). Gus is affected by the heat and does not feel like working. When Walton, his boss, yells at him, Gus unsuccessfully tries to hit Walton with a plank. Gus' potentially dangerous nature is exhibited here, and foreshadows his attempt to kill Walton's wife as revenge for his getting fired.

Gus follows Mrs. Walton into the bush, but he is as much out of place here as at the lumber yard. His impulsive, dangerous nature is not in keeping with "the orange sky on the blue mountains, and [at] the still waters of the bay" (p. 87), and he gets tangled up in vines and undergrowth. Nature repels his attempt to harm Mrs. Walton: thick

clouds cover the moon as an evil omen, a "night-bird screeched," "the lapping water underneath the pier scared him," and finally, when he is tied with three ropes--one for each shot he fired at Mrs. Walton--to a lamp-post, "there was a gray streak of light in the sky across the bay," and a bat "swooped and darted around the light overhead" (pp. 87-8).[14]

The light, the moon, and the three ropes represent the necessary restraints of social order, and these are counteracted by the bat, the clouds, and the three shots Gus fired. In addition, Gus entered a wild, tangled bush to commit his outrage, and when he re-enters the town, or civilization, and is caught, he merely "whined out loud, 'Have pity on me . . . I don't want to die, Mr. Walton. Please, Mr. Walton, for Christ sake'" (p. 88). Because Gus is at home neither within society nor within the wilds of nature where he gets tangled up and stumbles, he is understood to be a potentially dangerous psychotic. In this story, Callaghan has represented the one hint we are given of Gus's dangerousness with symbolism which makes the final outcome, and even his failure at violence, inevitable. Gus is a complete failure because he is simply out of place wherever he goes.

The effect of social pressures on Michael in "The Two Fishermen" (1936) is so strong that he is unable to break the bonds of convention to publicly accept the

friendship of a hangman. The lake on which Smitty and Michael go fishing acts as neutral ground; it is well away from the towns and their societies. The two men can meet here as human beings rather than as reporter and hangman:

> they were far out on the water. . . . The town seemed to get smaller, with white houses in rows and streets forming geometric patterns, just as the blue hills behind the town seemed to get larger at sundown. (p. 197)

No fish are caught the first time they meet, and Smitty suggests that the fish are scared. Since the fish, as we shall see, represent Smitty's offering of freindship, Callaghan here suggests that the burden of fostering the friendship between the two men rests entirely on Smitty. Michael's failure to appear at the lake for fishing at dawn suggests his failure to begin a new relationship, and consequently, of adopting a new, more humanistic view of civilized life.

Yet Smitty catches "two good-sized salmon-bellied trout" that morning, and gives them to Michael at the hanging. With this gesture, Smitty offers Michael his total friendship, both as an individual and as a hangman. Smitty's dual personality and his dual role in life is also emphasized by the two sets of clothes he wears. When we are first introduced to him, we are told that he is "a little fellow without a hat . . . a very small man with

little gray baby curls on the back of his neck" (p. 196). His totally unassuming appearance here is sharply contrasted by his appearance at the hanging. There, he walked "erect, stepping out with military precision and carrying himself with a strange cocky dignity. He was dressed in a long black cut-away coat with gray striped trousers, a gates-ajar collar and a narrow red tie, as if he alone felt the formal importance of the occasion" (p. 200).

Michael is embarrassed by Smitty's gift, and keeps the fish tucked under his arm to keep it out of sight. When the mob starts throwing things at Smitty, Mortimer snatches the fish away from Michael and throws them at Smitty. Just as Michael had not met Smitty at down, and just as he denied knowing Smitty to Mortimer, so he stands back as the mob attacks Smitty, and thereby loses the friendship and had existed between them.[15]

Sometimes the social pressures which are brought to bear on the central characters force them to retreat from reality. In "Timothy Harshaw's Flute" (1936), the silver flute Timothy plays symbolizes his retreat from life into a world of fantasy. Timothy learned to play his flute while he was a student at the Sorbonne in Paris, and he and his wife now dream of going back to the city whose tradition promises them a new and exciting life. It is not surprising that after they review their situation, they decide that

the best solution to all their problems lay in their going to Paris to live.

With Timothy's help, Louis learns French and anything else she can about Paris. But Timothy gets a job in advertising in a newspaper only to get fired because "he couldn't understand he was appealing to the masses; he was always making sly jokes for his own amusement" (p. 242). Nevertheless, their hopes are kept alive because Louis manages to get a job, and by the end of December they manage to save $120.

Just when everything seems to be going so well, Louis becomes pregnant and has to quit her job. To console her, as well as himself, Timothy plays his flute. When the baby is born, he tells Louis that "Paris'll wait. It'll always be there for us" (p. 245), and goes on playing his flute. The flute represents first the Harshaws' dreams of a better life in Paris, and finally Timothy's retreat into his dreams when he realizes that they will never get to Paris.

Harry and Alfred, in "Last Spring They Came Over" (1926) live in a fantasy world from the beginning, a world they never leave no matter what happens to them. They constantly fantasize about having been to exotic places. While at Niagara Falls, they compare the Falls "favourably with a cataract in the Himalayas and a giant waterfall in Africa, just above the Congo" (p. 38). When Brophy tells

them about the Sikhs of Amritsar, Harry repeats Brophy's experiences later as though they were his own: "he would have it that Brophy and he had seen the same temple and he described the country in the words Brophy had used" (p. 42). At the end of the story, Harry has died, and Alfred has been fired and is penniless. As he leaves town, he tells his friends that he is about to join the Air Force, which he does not actually do. Throughout the story, exotic places mentioned by the two brothers suggest their escapist attitudes and their fear of facing the sordidness and hardship of the life around them.[16]

In addition to the individual's failure under social pressure, the next group of stories deals with the search for love in face of social encumberances. The clearest example is presented in "A Country Passion" (1928), in which the central concern is revealed very quickly through symbolism. Jim is looking over to the Corley's house, where he sees "two wire bird-cages on Corley's back veranda" (p. 6). His brother Jake notices him worrying and as "one of the canaries in a cage on Corley's veranda started to sing . . . Jake looked over and saw Ettie" (p. 7). We are told Jim's exact feelings for Ettie and for the state of his relationship to her. He feels they are both trapped by the Corleys. He feels that Ettie in particular is trapped within her parents' bonds, trapped like the canary, and that she is calling out to him, as the

canary sings, to set her free. As in "Amuck in the Bush," the sun indicates the intensity of emotion in Jim's concern for Ettie: "The sun shone on his thick neck. He turned around, shaking his head, and blinking his eyes in the sun" (p. 7). He is overcome with the thought of freeing Ettie.

When Jim is falsely accused of "seduction and abduction," and is driven to jail, "the leaves of the tree were so low they scraped against Jim's bare head" (p. 11). In jail, "the sun shone through the windows," and as he looks outside, "the sun was striking the tops of the trees." Jim's passion cannot be contained by the cell; the sun keeps reaching him. Jim is close to nature, and nature seems to show its sympathy for him by reaching out to him in his moments of need. At the end of the story, when Jim is caught after his escape, "it was getting dark and crickets were singing along the road" (p. 15), as if to lament his capture and the restriction it will mean for his emotional life.

The symbols which represent the failure of society are, appropriately, man-made objects. First, Jim notices a broken picket fence, and "he wondered how he could fix things up with Ettie" (p. 8). Ironically, he pulls it out and tosses it away--he disregards proper procedure. Secondly, looking out of his jail-room window, he notices the wall surrounding the jail: "Cracks and crevices were spoiling

it" (p. 13). He remembers it being built, but takes advantage of its weakness now to effect his escape, once more showing his disregard for proper procedure. The master irony of the story is the juxtaposition of these two sets of symbols in such a way as to make Jim's final confinement inevitable, while at the same time making neither Jim's nature nor society's rules, though both culpable, entirely responsible.

"Soldier Harmon" (1928) also portrays a character who wishes to be free to love. Joe feels more at home in the pool room than in the ring because: "that stuff up in the club there's real. The other ain't. The other's just motions" (p. 170). This contrast points out Joe's searching for real feelings. Joe realizes the make-believe nature of prize fighting, and sees the ring as a stage. His feeling out of place in the ring suggests that he wishes to be where he is loved, and foreshadows his final (but desired on his part) defeat as a boxer. As a result of his defeat, he is finally able to concentrate on developing his relationship with Molly.

Sylvia's search for lasting love in "It Must Be Different" (1936) expresses itself in her desire for a more meaningful relationship with Max than her parents shared with each other. She realizes that she must leave home and their influence if she is to succeed with Max. The door is the threshold to the outside world, and significantly, "the one fine free moment they had since coming in" is at

the door as Max is getting ready to leave. The world beyond the door offersthem the freedom to love one another, and it is there that their moment together "did not seem to belong to anything that had happened in the house that night" (p. 317).

In much the same way, in "The Rejected One" Karl's family tries to repress the love he feels for Mamie. His brother warns him not to marry her, while the rest of his family eyes her as though she were a whore. Mamie's clothes, which represent her sexual frankness,look too bold for Karl's family. Karl's brother, John, stares at her "furtively . . . in the way men turn on the street to watch a flashy woman" (p. 112). John's wife tells Karl what she thinks of Mamie with a glance: "in this one glance backward trying to figure out what he could see in a buxom, gaudy-looking girl like Mamie" (p. 113). They refuse to see her as a person, and condemn her for her appearance alone. As Karl follows her when she walks away from him, he feels sure that "he was doing something irrevocable that could not be undone. But he only knew that he dared not let her out of sight" (p. 116).

Miss Schwartz's search for love in "A Wedding Dress" (1929) leads her to romanticize about herself and her life. We are told that she "wanted something to keep alive the tempestuous feeling in her body, something to startle Sam" (p. 54). Her romantic aspirations are clearly indicated:

> She imagined herself wantenly attractive in the dress, slyly watched by men with bold thoughts as she walked down the street with Sam, who would be nervously excited when he drew her into some corner and put his hands on her shoulders. (p. 55)

Her sexual frustration and her romantic dreams are portrayed by her reactions to the dress she steals, which "was like something wicked clinging to her legs and her body" (p. 56). Ironically, the dress is too short and hangs "loosely on her thin body" (p. 56). The image she had for herself in that dress--her romantic fantasy--is ironically juxtaposed by the ridiculous way it looks on her in real life.

Two stories deal with an individual's search for freedom. In "The Life of Sadie Hall,"[17] Sadie gets wilder as she grows older until by the end of the story she takes a long drive out of town with her friends and goes to her first all night party. On her return, she and her friends are all killed on a level crossing where they are hit by an oncoming train. The level crossing suggests that Sadie has left the bounds of civilized life, has in effect gone astray, and that consequently she must pay for her crime.

In contrast to Sadie, Michael in "The Runaway" (1936) effects his escape to freedom. The moonlight symbolizes Michael's escape from his restrictive home:

> he saw the moonlight shining on the hay stacked in the fields and when he smelled the oats and the richer smell of sweet clover he suddenly felt alive and free. (p. 265)

The story ends with Michael ironically thinking of his exciting future at famous racetracks: "Over and over he kept thinking of places with beautiful names, places like Tia Juana, Woodbine, Saratoga, and Blue Bonnets" (p. 265).

The stories which deal with the search for identity often show a character experiencing a self-realization through the course of the narrative. Bill's realization that his wife has left him, in "A Princely Affair" (1929), comes only after months have passed. A series of pictures and newspaper clippings strongly evoke Bill's attitude toward his wife. The story opens with Bill Oakley staring at a calendar on which a fox hunt is depicted. Bill immediately associates his wife with the "fine tradition" implied by the picture, and notices himself dreaming about the fox hunt as he looks at himself in the mirror.

We find out that Bill's wife has been dancing with the Prince, and that Bill follows her growing notoriety in the newspapers and collects all her pictures and the stories about her. At work, he spends most of his time thinking or talking about his wife. His glass-topped desk exhibits three pictures of his wife, and his pockets are filled with the latest clippings and pictures, which are readily available to him whenever he wishes to talk about his wife. It becomes clear to us that Bill has created a fantasy world for himself in which his wife is "the little queen, the fairy princess" (p. 299).

Although Nora is in actual fact seeking adventure, glamour, and notoriety in her associations with the Prince, Bill is aware only of the fact that she gets her name in the papers as the Prince's dancing partner. We see that he has failed to understand his wife, that he sees her only as an impressive personage: "Nora had become a wonderful, strange woman he had read about, but could never expect to touch" (p. 301). He abstracts his wife, an act which foreshadows her inevitable departure for lands which keep getting further and further away--just as she has grown further away from him in their married life--until she finally disappears from his life altogether.

Bill, however, does slowly become aware of the situation. He feels very lonely in the tunnel when she leaves for Montreal. He feels more and more distant from her as he reads her letters. He is surprised to see "the expression on his face in the mirror" immediately after he tries to justify Nora's absence to Steiner. Finally, he realizes that he has been concerned for mere pictures rather than for his real wife when she sends him a picture in which she is wearing an expensive fur: "he was disappointed, and sat back in the chair, holding the picture in both hands" (p. 303). He begins to long for his wife, and begins to decline rapidly as he realizes she will never return.

Bill receives the final blow when Nora sends him a letter from Spain saying that she has joined the Prince there. He determines to give up his fantasies: "he stared at the letter, excited inside, then tore it in two. 'To hell with His Highness,' he said" (p. 306). He decides to transfer out West in order to leave behind everything connected with his fantasies, which he realizes had been traditions themselves, and that what he had called a tradition before he now saw as an illusion:

> The department was gone. What he told Carlton belonged to a tradition. It should all go together. (p. 306)

Self-realization is also disappointing to Father Sullivan in "The Young Priest" (1927). In this story, the Cathedral represents a refuge for the naive Father Sullivan, who fails to cope with a drunk and shameful Mrs. Gibbons. He leaves her house, a part of the real world, and walks slowly toward the Cathedral spire, a part of the world which is safe from harsh realities, and feels "with a kind of desperate clarity, that really he had been always unimportant in the life around the Cathedral" (p. 186). He realizes that although he has succeeded within the shelter of the Church, he has failed in the real world.

Joe's self-realization is the central concern of "The Shining Red Apple" (1936). Initially, the boy's hunger and Joe's meanness is pointed out by nature's reaction to the

apple core which Joe throws into the street: "it lay in the sunlight and was attacked by two big flies" (p. 147). The apple itself represents the irony that exists between the boy's hunger and Joe's punitive attitude toward life. The apples are "a little over ripe and going soft" (p. 146), yet to the boy they are extremely appetizing. As Joe continues to fail in his attempt to corrupt the boy, and as the boy resists, the apple changes its significance for Joe. Joe has been tempting the boy in every way he can for the sole purpose of catching him should he finally take the apple. But in the end Joe sympathizes with the boy and offers him an apple; however, he is too late and the boy runs away. Joe's kindness has arrived with his realization of the intensity of the boy's fear.

Luke Baldwin's realization in "The Little Business Man" (1959) results in his maturation. Luke builds "a secret life" for himself in which Dan, the eleven-year-old dog, is his companion. He is never lonely when Dan is around, can confide his deepest secrets in the dog, and slowly allows it to replace the friendship and love he lost when his parents died. But his uncle wants Dan drowned because he is not worth his keep. Luke not only behaves bravely in rescuing Dan from the lake, he also shows that he can learn to cope with the adult world by catering to his uncle's pragmatic views.

Dick's realization in "Homing Pigeon" (1959) is that of discovering his true home. As he crosses "the great bridge" and a tunnel to get to the city, he feels "an incredible elation, a puzzled breathlessness" (p. 359). His passage in this way symbolizes his discovery of a new life. At the end of the story, alone in New York city, Dick is eager to re-experience the feelings he had as he drove into the city: "[when] he saw the sweeps of lights and felt as if he had been away for a long time and was coming home" (p. 364).

Three of the stories which deal with self-realization are concerned particularly with the role of women in society or in relation to their husband's role. In "A Girl With Ambition" (1926), the girl, Mary, realizes her ambitions of being respected and looked up to, not on the stage as she had planned, but ironically on the seat of her husband's rig as the two of them deliver groceries. She gains Harry's respect for being pregnant--that is for fulfilling her role, not as a starlet, but as a woman and a mother. Mary's clothes reflect her state of mind and her aspirations. When she first goes out with Harry, "she was trying to be very practical, though pleased to have on her new blue suit with the short stylish coat" (p. 223). The following spring, when she meets Harry accidentally at a roller-rink, she is wearing "her classy blue coat with the wide sleeves and her light brown fur" (p. 227). But by the time she

begins to go out with Wilfred Barnes, she resumes the practical pose she started out with, and when she meets Harry this time, again by accident, at the dance-hall, she is wearing "a long blue knitted sage that the stores were selling cheaply" (p. 229). She had begun as a practical dresser, had dressed as elegantly as she could when her career seemed to progress, and when her career failed and she married Wilfred she reverted to practicality once more. She no longer has ambitions for the stage, and has accordingly transferred her energies to her marriage. Thus, just as the stage has been replaced by the rig, so too is her fancy clothing replaced by practical ones, for she cannot squander her money on clothes now that there will be a baby to feed.

Eleanor's lack of concern for her husband's affairs, early in "The Bride" (1936), changes because of her realization of her duty. Her veil and the newspaper's account of Walter's scholarship represent their respective concerns. Eleanor does not pay any attention to the article while she stands before Walter "hoping he would notice her little black veil" (p. 272). Walter is furious at her romantic concerns, especially when she disregards his own realistic concerns. When Walter leaves the room, Eleanor tries to read his article, "but the printed letters kept dancing up and down and were lost in a mist and her veil dropping down in front of here eyes" (p. 272). But Walter returns

later, and she admits to him that she is afraid of facing the future, a fear which her pre-occupations with the veil have prepared us for. Happily, their love for each other is strong enough to see them through this crisis, and they prepare for their morning sail to Europe, to which Eleanor now looks forward, "breathless with eagerness" (p. 275).

Frances' incorigible romanticism in "The Red Hat" (1931) is reflected in her actions dealing with the hat. For her, the hat is something elegant and cheerful of which her husband could be proud. But her husband objects to her having spent so much money on a luxury when the money is needed for necessities. In a fit of anger, he grabs the hat, twists it in his hands, and throws it to the floor, showing that he refuses to take part in the romantic fantasies of his wife. Frances, afraid of losing him, decides to sell the hat to her neighbour. But she arranges to have the option of buying it back at the same price whenever she gets the money, thus allowing herself to continue to dream about the future.

Finally, the search for faith is the central concern of "A Very Merry Christmas" (1959). Here, the figure of the Infant Jesus has been stolen from the crib at St. Malachi's church. The statue takes on a variety of values for different characters and is thus a complex symbol. Father Gorman is sure that the theft is "the work of communists or atheists" (p. 324). The old caretaker, O'Meara,

on the other hand, is a little more down to earth, and suggests that perhaps Mrs. Farrel has something to do with it, which in fact she does. While the priest sees the theft as the first of a series of violences against the church by communist and atheist conspirators, the caretaker suggests rather simply that "maybe someone really wanted to take God away," (p. 324) which again is true. The absence of the statue brings out the priest's materialistic, worldly attitudes, while it establishes the caretaker's faith in humanity and in God.

Mrs.Farrel's child had prayed to the statue for a red sleigh, promising to "give Him the first ride on it" (p. 327). That he takes the statue for the ride in his new sleigh illustrates the boy's faith in God and his willingness to offer himself to God in service. The child's faith in God is contrasted ironically to the priest's, for as O'Meara says, "God must surely have been with the child" (p. 327). In saying this, of course, O'Meara also illustrates his faith in God. The statue in the end reveals itself to have functioned as a test of faith, bringing out the true measure of the characters' faith in the miracle of Christmas and the goodness of God.[18]

It should be apparent from this over-view of Callaghan's short stories that for the thirty years or more in which they were written, Callaghan has relied on symbolism in varying degrees to structure his plots and

develop his themse. Within this long period of time, there is little evidence to show that Callaghan has worked toward a clearer definition of the various figurative devices which he used; he seems to have used them as convenient tools to tell his stories rather than as literary techniques which could be mastered.

It should also be apparent that Callaghan's use of symbolism is diffuse. The weather, for instance, may play an important part on one story, such as in "The Two Brothers," or it may play a secondary, if not insignificant, role in another, say in "A Wedding Dress." Sometimes, the absence of light is important to the theme, as in "The Duel," and at other times its presence is important, as in "Magic Hat." Moreover, light sometimes conveys meaning within the context of some other symbol. The shining of the moon in "The Two Brothers" represents the reawakening of love between Tom and Frank. The moon itself, however, may represent something entirely different from love; for instance, it represents freedom in "The Runaway."

Generally, it may be said that Callaghan's use of symbolism varies a great deal in range, function, suitability, and finally in quality. We may isolate a particular kind of device, for example, the pathetic fallacy in "The Two Brothers" and "Watching and Waiting," or the symbol which represents a one-to-one correspondence between object and meaning in "The Rocking Chair" and "Very Special Shoes."

However, we must also recognize the arbitrariness of such distinctions. Callaghan is in no way consistent in his use of figurative devices. He uses them loosely and perhaps even carelessly in some stories--"A Cocky Young Man"--while in other stories he uses them coherently and meaningfully --"A Princely Affair." In general, then, we may say that Callaghan uses symbolism as a useful and available tool, a tool which sometimes adds little to his stories, but which at other times points us to the theme by providing us with a distinct focus in the narrative.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For an analysis of Callaghan's technique in general, see Victor Hoar, Morley Callaghan (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), pp. 1-58; and William Walsh, A Manifold Voice: Studies in Commonwealth Literature (London: Chatto & Windus, 1970), pp. 185-212.

[2]Hoar, p. 38.

[3]Morley Callaghan, Morley Callaghan's Short Stories (Toronto: MacMillan, 1959). All quotations from Callaghan's stories will be from this edition unless otherwise noted, and will be followed by a page reference. The dates quoted are the earliest known dates of publication, and not necessarily the dates of composition.

[4]For an analysis of the "moment of insight" in Callaghan's works, see Hoar, pp. 103-4; Walsh, pp. 188-9; and J.D. Ripley's "A Critical Study of the Novels and Short Stories of Morley Callaghan" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis: University of New Brunswick, 1959), pp. 181 ff.

[5]Brandon Conron, Morely Callaghan (New York: Twayne, 1966).

[6]S.J. Fajardo, "Morley Callaghan's Novels and Short Stories" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis: University of Montreal, 1962), p. 107.

[7]Fajardo's interpretation is wholly sound. He suggests that "the cap stands as the symbol of Dave and Steve's reticence" (p. 68); he sees the cap "as a sort of catalyst" (p. 67) which brings father and son together in a new relationship.

[8]Conron correctly suggests that the story "illustrates how little parents really know their own children" (p. 152) and goes on to say that Joe's discovery of Mary's theft "brings home to him the realization of how easily or imperceptibly a family can drift apart" (p. 157).

[9]Hoar's suggestion, p. 26, misses the mark. He states that "the infant has functioned as the source of rejuvenation, proving once again that economics fade away before the life force." Conron, p. 104, suggests that "mutual concern for their child deepens their love for each other." Fajardo's view, p. 72, that at the end of the story the child becomes "the symbol of their love that once was the blue kimono," does not account for Marthe's wish to mend the kimono.

[10]Conron, p. 100, suggests the interesting point that Lola's frustration shifts to the "reluctantly noble young man."

[11]Morley Callaghan's Short Stories, p. 312. Hoar, pp. 25-6, argues that her feelings are maternal. The symbolism however, suggests the erotic nature of her feelings.

[12]Conron, p. 36, rightly suggests that "Jarvis' farewell reveals his genuine regard for her, but not in the amorous role which she has envisioned in her fairy mirror."

[13]Conron, p. 150, offers a worthwhile comparison. He states that "as the modest social and financial background of the one is set against the sophistication and opulence of the other, so also is Catherine's frank and even vulgar display of her physical superiority as a future wife contrasted with Mrs. Mumford's calculating and selfish possessiveness."

[14]Hoar, p. 67, suggests, and I agree, that "Rapp is not an animal. Callaghan doesn't argue for leniency, but there is compassion here." Conron, p. 43, offers the excellent suggestion that the bat "suggests man's destiny--his predominantly animal nature combined with the inherent capability for soaring aspiration. The bat's apparently purposeless darting around the light parallels the aimlessness of Gus's thoughts contrasted with the potential of illuminating intelligence."

[15]Fajardo discusses the "forbidding" difficulties of a totally Christian interpretation of the symbols in this story (pp. 68-71). He points out that Michael is the archangel who fought Satan, and that Smitty is a hangman, and not a victim as Christ was.

[16]See Fajardo's excellent interpretation of this story, pp. 34-7. He suggests that the brothers are untouched by reality, compares them to seasonal plants, and concludes that their lives constituted "an unending cliché" (p. 37).

[17]In A Native Argosy (Toronto: MacMillan, 1929), p. 119.

[18]Though he does not treat the symbolism, Conron appreciates the full significance of the ending of the story. He states that "this simple expression of faith in the Christmas spirit and the child's joyous gesture of gratitude quietly rebuke the priest's angry suspicions, Jimmie's mother's outraged sense of decorum and the gravely formal disapproval of the parishioners" (p. 152).

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