MRS. HUMPHRY WARD:

A STUDY IN OUTDATED VICTORIAN REACTION

by

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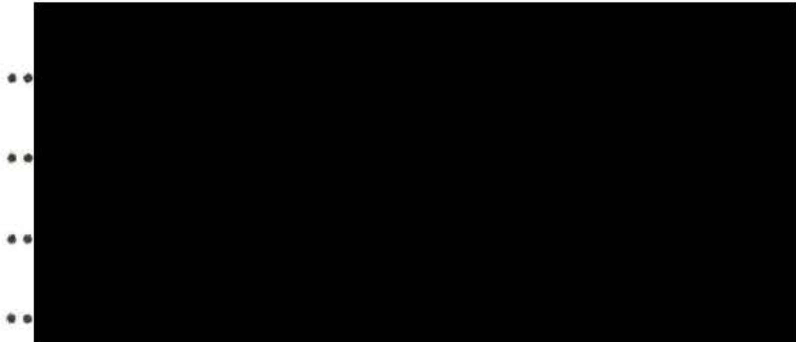

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ABSTRACT

This is a consideration of the life and work of Mrs. Humphry Ward, one of the most widely read novelists in England during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. All Mrs. Ward's most important novels and some of the less successful books were works of religious, social, or political propaganda; she strove in them for the practical realisation of her ideas. In her social work she did achieve some positive results, but in the realm of religion and politics her efforts were not attended with much success.

Her failure can be attributed to the facts that she exerted herself in too many fields of activity and that her essentially mid-Victorian upbringing and character alienated her from the world of many contemporaries in the latter part of her life. Despite her many advantages and her success as a novelist, her life, except for some of her social work, has proved a failure. Less than fifty years after her death, she seems a figure from the remote past. Yet, because of her influence in her own time and because of her connections with so many of the leading figures of the time, a study of her life casts light on the England of fifty to a hundred years ago.

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CHAPTER I

FROM THE GREAT EXHIBITION TO THE GOLDEN JUBILEE

Eighteen fifty-one was a year of unlimited promise to many Victorians. This was the year of the Great Exhibition organized by the Prince Consort to show the nation and the world the industrial, technical and scientific triumphs of the Industrial Revolution which gave Britain the proud claim to be "The Workshop of the World". The Great Reform Act of 1832 and subsequent legislation, while bringing the ideal of social justice nearer, had not upset the balance of society; the threat of a Chartist Revolution had faded since 1848; and the average Briton looked forward to a period of stability and progress. Mrs. Humphry Ward's formative years, from her birth in 1851 to the completion of her first best-seller in 1887--the Golden Jubilee--coincide very neatly with the central and most "Victorian" period of nineteenth century Britain.

Yet, even in 1851, there were disturbing signs that many more challenges were to threaten the accepted values. Religious controversies inside and out of the Church of England were fierce and the second wave of secession by Tractarians into the Roman Catholic Communion was led by Archdeacon Manning in 1851. This was also the year in which Harriet Martineau published _Letters on the Laws of Man's Social Nature and Development_, a work which created a great stir by denying the operation of God in the world. Concomitantly, Mrs. Lydia

Bloomer arrived in London from the United States and provoked a wave of ridicule and detraction not only of the long, loose trousers she was trying to popularize, but also of the whole concept of the "New Woman".[1]

Only in poetry does the work of the middle of the nineteenth century seem flat and uninspired in comparison to that of the previous generation, the Romantics. Byron was still being read--even in some very respectable families--Wordsworth was being ridiculed by many but others, including Matthew Arnold, Walter Bagehot, Harriet Martineau, and J.S. Mill, still remained loyal. Tennyson reached the peak of his popularity in the decade after he succeeded Wordsworth as Poet Laureate in 1850. Browning's reputation was spreading, but his magnum opus, The Ring and the Book, was not published until 1868 and 1869.[2] Matthew Arnold's first books of poetry which were published in 1849 and 1852 had not been at all successful and in 1851 he abandoned the Poetic Muse and became an inspector of schools.[3]

In contrast, the mid-nineteenth century was one of the greatest periods of the English novel. Dickens, Thackeray, Trollope, Kingsley, the Brontes, George Eliot and Mrs. Gaskell were at different stages in their writing careers. Dickens reigned supreme; he had already written Pickwick Papers, Oliver Twist, Nicholas Nickleby and at the end of 1850, David Copperfield. Still to come were Hard Times, Our Mutual Friend, Great Expectations, and A Tale of Two Cities. Dickens was, and still is, very popular. His characters and caricatures are alive, his humour is sometimes really amusing and his satires can be very biting. His

sentimentality and love of the melodramatic appealed to the age. Nevertheless, Dickens also wrote with a more serious purpose; like Disraeli earlier in his novels, he was pointing out the need for social and political reform--a need of which the Victorians were to become more conscious as the age progressed.

The genius of Thackeray had already been demonstrated by the publication of Vanity Fair and Pendennis in the 1840's. George Eliot in 1851 was editing and writing for the Westminster Review and was about to start on her long liaison with George Lewes and the writing career which was to produce Adam Bede, The Mill on the Floss, and Silas Marner. At the same time, the sensation caused by the work of the Bronte sisters was at its peak. Charlotte Bronte had published Jane Eyre in 1847, Shirley in 1849, and Villette in 1853 shortly before her death. Emily Bronte's Wuthering Heights appeared in 1847 just before she died and this strange and powerful novel ensured her immortality. Anne Bronte's Agnes Grey and The Tenant of Wildfell Hall which were published in 1847 and 1848, are generally regarded as below the standard of her sisters' novels. In contrast to the Brontes, Anthony Trollope was just beginning his career of writing about the safe and ordered world of the clergy and lay people of the Cathedral city of Barchester. At the end of 1851 Household Words included the first issue of Mrs. Gaskell's Cranford, an intimate picture of a rural household.

The mid-nineteenth century novelist who had a great influence on Mrs. Humphry Ward was Charles Kingsley, whose Alton Locke, Tailor

and Poet, published in 1850, was an angry exposé of the sweated labour in the clothing trade. The hero in bitterness initially turns to Chartism, but is later converted to the Christian Socialism of Kingsley and Maurice. The way in which Alton Locke educates himself is similar to the self-education and success of George Eliot's Bartle Massey in Adam Bede and Mrs. Humphry Ward's David Grieve in the book of the same name. The self-taught working man is a logical extension of the Broad Church idea that moral improvement depends on personal effort rather than on subscription to outworn dogma. In Kingsley's Yeast, the millionaire who comes to understand the wants of the poor and to accept that the few must serve the many bears a certain resemblance to Mrs. Humphry Ward's Marcella and her husband in Marcella and Sir George Tressady.

Charles Kingsley was closely associated with Thomas Hughes, product of Dr. Arnold's Rugby and author of Tom Brown's Schooldays. They both belonged to the group of Christian Socialists formed after the failure of Chartism by F. D. Maurice, a Unitarian who had joined the Church of England. Perturbed by the breach between the popular movements and the Anglican Church, the Christian Socialists attempted to meet working class demands by practical Christianity. Although their political work, mainly trying to establish co-operatives and writing pamphlets, was not very successful, their educational achievements were considerable. They were particularly concerned with adult education and the Working Men's College founded by Maurice and others in 1854 later became Queen's College, London University. The writings of Kingsley and Maurice's Theological Essays and his Essays and Reviews

published in 1853 and 1860 did much to prepare people to accept that Christianity was still a real way of life rather than the arid intellectual system which it had become for many, and to persuade them to believe in the brotherhood of man and in their responsibility for their fellow men. The writings of the Christian Socialists also helped pave the way for acceptance of liberal reforms in the Church. Yet, despite their emphasis on brotherhood and co-operation the Christian Socialists were not egalitarian; they held that the hierarchical society was necessary to avoid anarchy, very much the view of Mrs. Humphry Ward later in the century.

Other sections of the Broad Church movement also owed much to Dr. Arnold. His doubts about subscribing to the 39 Articles, his distrust of dogma, and his devotion to the Scriptures, even though he admitted that the Bible was only in parts the revealed truth of God, placed him in the vanguard of the progressive thought of his time. He was regarded as so advanced that the Rugby trustees had serious doubts as to his suitability as headmaster of their school, and Arnold himself thought of emigrating with his family to the freer air across the Atlantic.[4]

Two of the most influential leaders of the second generation Broad Church movement in the second half of the nineteenth century were Arthur Stanley and Benjamin Jowett. Stanley, one of Dr. Arnold's pupils, held strong Latitudinarian and Erastian views and wanted a relaxation of rules for ordinands, especially subscription to the 39 Articles; he opposed much of the Church dogma and wanted the

Athanasian Creed dropped, and although he disagreed with Colenso he supported his right to express his opinions. Made Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford in 1856, his writings attracted Royal attention. He became a favourite of the Prince Consort, and because of this in 1862 the Queen chose him to accompany the Prince of Wales on a journey to Egypt and Palestine. In 1864 he became Dean of Westminster and proved a successful preacher and a competent administrator of the Abbey. Because of his respect for Dr. Arnold and his friendship for her father, Tom Arnold, and her uncle, Matthew Arnold, Dean Stanley took a paternal interest in the young Mary Augusta Arnold and officiated at her wedding to Thomas Humphry Ward.

Benjamin Jowett also exerted a strong influence on Mrs. Humphry Ward during her Oxford days; she regarded herself as one of his friends and disciples:

> The records of him which his death revealed--and his closest friends realized it in life--show a man perpetually conscious of a mysterious and blessed companionship; which is the mark of a religious man, in all faithes and all churches.[5]

Even more than the views of Dr. Arnold, Jowett's liberal theology aroused the wrath of the Anglican Establishment. While students at Balliol in 1845, he and Stanley had been horrified at the treatment of W.G. Ward, who had been stripped of his degrees for not conforming to the Anglican Church. Staying at Oxford, Jowett had further demonstrated his classical scholarship by his translations of St. Paul and he scandalized the Tractarians by his books of criticism and essays. His great respect for German scholarship--particularly for Hegel and also

for those German scholars who studied the Bible critically, according to historical evidence rather than with faith--he passed on to his pupils. Mainly because of his Biblical criticism his salary as Professor of Greek was blocked from 1855 to 1865 by the High Church party from Christ Church which regarded him as a dangerous heretic. His contribution to the legislation which abolished the test for entry into Oxford and Cambridge and freed the universities from the monopolistic control of the Church of England in 1870 further aroused the wrath of orthodox Churchmen.[6] Jowett's influence is also demonstrated by the number of influential people who studied under him. His pupils included such leading late nineteenth century men as Lord Lansdowne, Lord Milner, Lord Coleridge, Lord Justice Bowen, Lord Goschen, Herbert Asquith, Matthew Arnold, and T.H. Huxley.[7]

T.H. Green, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford and leader of the English "Idealist School" of Philosophers, was another of Jowett's followers. His school of thought which is regarded as neo-Hegelian, and is opposed to the materialist and Utilitarian ideologies, sees all human experience as the revelation of the absolute and eternal being. Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere is dedicated to him, and he appears in the book thinly disguised as Henry Grey.[8]

In opposition to the Liberalism of Arnold, the Christian Socialists, Jowett and T.H. Green, there was the Conservative High Church movement, also called the Oxford Movement or Tractarianism. Seeking to strengthen the Church organization and discipline the Oxford Movement had started in 1833 with Keble's sermon on National Apostasy

occasioned by the proposal to secularize some of the revenues from the Irish bishoprics. Through tracts and sermons Keble, Newman, Froude, Pusey, Ward and their followers denounced the liberal and erastian tendencies of the Anglican Church and advocated the revival of Catholic doctrines and the restoration and strengthening of ecclesiastical authority. Bitter controversy between the "Tractarian" and "Broad Church" movements resulted. Dr. Arnold wrote:

> ...for what is to become of the Church if the clergy begin to exhibit an aggravation of the worst superstitions of the Roman Catholics, only stripped of that consistency which stamps even the errors of the Romish system with something of a character of greatness?[9]

Although Dr. Arnold and others rejected and opposed the Oxford Movement it attracted a great deal of support in its early years. Both Matthew Arnold and Arthur Stanley regularly attended Newman's sermons. The lack of consistency in the Tractarian acceptance of the Catholic faith while refusing Catholic discipline was pointed out by Dr. Arnold and soon became apparent to some of the leaders of the Oxford Movement whose secession to Rome weakened the movement greatly. In 1845 after Ward was stripped of his degrees at Oxford, Newman led the first wave of converts into the Catholic Church. He was followed by two sons of William Wilberforce (a third son was Bishop of Oxford); by Manning in 1851 and by Thomas Arnold, eldest son of Dr. Arnold and father of Mrs. Humphry Ward, in 1854. The Arnolds and the Wilberforces were but two of the great Victorian families split by this religious dispute which raged for more than a generation.

At least the Broad Church and the Oxford Movement had a common faith in God, but even greater challenges were being made to accepted beliefs in the middle of the nineteenth century. The stir caused by Harriet Martineau's atheistic opinions expressed in 1851 was far eclipsed by the sensation which followed the publication of Darwin's The Origin of Species by Natural Selection in 1859. The implications of the theory of evolution and natural selection were seen as a direct challenge to Christian doctrines of the creation of man and his sudden fall.

Despite the violent attacks from outraged churchmen, Darwin also received much support from more rational beings. T.H. Huxley soon appeared as "the mouthpiece of Darwin",[10] and was the first to use the term "agnostic" to define his own position. He held that religion consisted in "reverence and love for the ethical ideal and the desire to realize that ideal in life".[11] In due course, from the sciences, the theory of evolution and natural selection was applied to wider fields. Herbert Spencer, although he believed in the importance of the individual, applied the evolutionary concept to philosophy which he regarded as a system of completely co-ordinated knowledge based on a single principle:

> ...he turned to science and philosophy, and spent nearly forty years in working out a complete system of the universe, applicable to every detail of thought, conduct, and social life. This synthesis had little influence upon first-class minds, but it was one of the major forces affecting public opinion in the third generation of the century.[12]

More directly related to agnosticism was the Positivism of Auguste Comte whose work was first translated into English by Harriet Martineau in 1853. Comte rejected all supernatural ideas and in place of God put Humanity. Charles Bradlaugh, an avowed freethinker and atheist who had many followers in the seventies and eighties, regarded Christianity as a delusion which was hindering the progress of man. His exclusion from the Commons from 1880-85 because of his claim to make an affirmation of allegiance instead of taking the customary parliamentary oath on the Bible did much to focus public opinion on the man and his ideas.

In some ways parallel to the scientific revolt against accepted values in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the artistic rebellion against the materialist standards of the day. This found its expression first in the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood founded in 1848 by a small group of young artists and writers united in opposition to the conventional systems of artistic teaching. In the fifties and the sixties Holman Hunt, Millais and the Rosettis were the best known Pre-Raphaelites. Later in the century, William Morris and Swinburne were the leading advocates of the principles of the Brotherhood, which was mystic and romantic and in painting advocated fidelity to nature which they considered best exemplified by the late medieval painters.

Like the Pre-Raphaelites, John Ruskin, one of their defenders, feared that the cult of material prosperity would result in cultural and spiritual desolation. Ruskin's writing career extended from the publication of Modern Painters in 1843 until nearly the end of the century, although he did not publish much after his breakdown in 1878.

He felt that there was a direct relationship between the artistic and moral values of society, thus linking his concern with social problems to his fine aesthetic sense. His greatest achievement was to make the British middle class realize that true art was moral and that it did have a social value. As a girl, Mrs. Humphry Ward was greatly influenced and moved by Modern Painters and Stones of Venice, but in 1868, after reading Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism, she regarded her uncle as her literary and aesthetic mentor and learned to love the literature and culture of France even more than those of Italy.[13]

Matthew Arnold was also concerned that the new materialism was choking to death the finer spiritual and artistic values, an idea very well expressed in his poem, The Scholar Gypsy. He maintained that literature, particularly French literature at that time, could regenerate the finer values by its criticism of life. Religion he regarded as more valuable for its poetic than for its literal truth and to him conduct rather than faith was the supreme test of worth. In 1869 Arnold made a new social classification in his Culture and Anarchy. His "Barbarians" and his "Populace" corresponded roughly to Disraeli's two nations of "the Rich and the Poor", but he added a third and very important class between the two nations, "the Philistines". They were middle class materialists who had rejected reason and painful thinking and who read a great deal of sentimental and melodramatic literature. They were highly moral and prudish and, like Queen Victoria, adored Sir Martin Tupper's poetry, Perennial Philosophy, and thought that Home, Sweet Home was a most beautiful song. Whether they were after facts, money or gentility, or whether they were abundant in sweetness

but deficient in light these "Philistines" were united by their common characteristics into a tightly-knit and powerful class.[14]

However, it should be noted that these "Philistines" were the very same people who read Robert Elsmere in such large numbers at the end of the century and whose literary and moral tastes Mudie's, which was established in New Oxford Street in 1852, was so careful to consider. Mudie was quite arbitrary in excluding from his circulating library any books not up to the moral and literary standards of himself and his clientele. The man who ordered two thousand copies of The Mill on the Floss was obviously a man whose likes and dislikes authors had to take into account.[15]

Also joining the battle against the "Philistines" late in the century were Walter Pater, Oscar Wilde and "the Aesthetes", and "the Decadents" of The Yellow Book. Walter Pater, strongly influenced by Ruskin and T.H. Green, wrote his best critical work in 1873, Studies in the History of the Renaissance. Mrs. Humphry Ward thought his Marius the Epicurean, published in 1885, "the most beautiful of the spiritual romances of Europe since the Confessions".[16] In this book Pater argues that we must not shun any experience which leads to pleasure and that the only significant way to spend our lives is in the pursuit of the spirit of heavenly beauty which is best expressed in art. While a fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford, Pater was frequently visited by the Humphry Wards and he may have turned Mr. Humphry Ward's interest from literature to art.

A far wittier representative of the aesthetic movement was Oscar Wilde, who owed much to Matthew Arnold and Pater. His more

enduring literary output began with the publication of his delightful book of fairy tales, The Happy Prince and Other Tales, in the same year as Robert Elsmere--1888.

The novelists of the last third of the century are not equal to the great writers of the middle of the century. Henry James seems to have stood the test of time best, but he with Hardy, Butler, Meredith and Gissing never enjoyed the success of a Dickens or a Thackeray. During these years the most successful prose fiction was for children. Lewis Carroll's Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass, Robert Louis Stevenson's Treasure Island and Kidnapped, and Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines and She all rank among the best books ever written for children.

Despite the dearth of great novelists after 1870, much more fiction was being published to satisfy the ever greater reading public as the population grew and literacy spread after Forster's Education Act. In particular, the suburban middle class, a most important section of the reading public, was growing very fast. This class of physicians, teachers, civil servants and other professional and white-collar workers increased from 357,000 in 1851 to 647,000 in 1881--an increase of 80% in thirty years.[17]

The returns from the Publishers' Circular show the great change in reading habits. In 1870 the largest category of new books published were those on religion with 811 volumes, novels and other fiction came fifth on the list with 381 volumes. By 1886, novels were the largest group with 969 titles, while only 752 religious works were published. Second and third rate writers like Mrs. Henry

Wood, Mrs. Oliphant, Marie Corelli, Hall Caine and Ouida took advantage of this rising popularity of the novel to turn out many best sellers.[18] This was the heyday of the woman novelist, who seemed to be more in tune with the reading public than the men who were writing. The period favoured the novelist and Mrs. Humphry Ward had the added advantage of writing a book with a serious purpose which made it acceptable to a far wider circle than the mainly sentimental and melodramatic works of Ouida and her colleagues. One of the sentiments all these best-selling women novelists had in common with Mrs. Humphry Ward was a distrust of the "New Woman" whom Mrs. Henry Wood satirized so vigorously.[19] Ouida despised and derided the feminist movement[20] and Marie Corelli was most upset by the views expressed in Ibsen's A Doll's House.[21] Not until the early twentieth century did English society come to accept the phenomenon of the "New Woman" who was demanding equality with men in education, the learned professions and government, and who was rebelling against the marriage bond and the conventional restrictions on women's dress, manners, and mode of living.

A far more serious threat to the established order of society was the rise of socialism from the late eighteen-seventies. For almost a generation after the failure of Chartism, working class politics had been relatively inactive, but partly as a result of the influx of political refugees from Europe and because of the economic depressions of the late seventies and the middle eighties, working class demands were becoming more vociferous. These demands were made on a society which was already losing its confidence because

of economic difficulties and the scientific challenge to accepted values. People were realising that their lives were not secure, and some were even despairing; his worries and his difficulties in coping with all the new knowledge make Robert Elsmere a truly representative figure of the eighteen-eighties.

In 1881 the political refugees combined with the London radicals to form the Social Democratic Federation. In 1884, the Fabian Society and William Morris' Socialist League were established in the same year as the Third Reform Act which gave Britain almost universal adult male suffrage. In 1886, Keir Hardie became the first secretary of the Scottish Miners' Federation and Henry Broadhurst was the first trade union official to become a member of the government. Working class unrest expressed itself in many strikes and riots culminating in Bloody Sunday in 1887 when Socialist demonstrators and police suffered over a hundred casualties.

At a time when these disturbances were warning symptoms of the collapse of the old order Mrs. Humphry Ward was just starting her writing career. Her political, social and religious beliefs had been so definitely established during the first thirty-six years of her life that she found it difficult to accept the rapid and bewildering changes in the society which thirty years before had seemed almost immortal.

Footnotes

[1]Most of the general information in this chapter comes from standard works of reference and surveys of Victorian literature and ideas. I have used mostly: Dictionary of National Biography; Cambridge History of English Literature XII-XIV; E.L. Woodward, The Age of Reform: 1815-1870; R.C.K. Ensor, England: 1870-1914; Raymond Chapman, The Victorian Debate; Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading; Amy Cruse, After the Victorians; and Raymond Williams, Culture and Society: 1780-1950.

[2]Information from Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading, Chapter IX.

[3]D.N.B.

[4]Essays in Intellectual History, dedicated to James Harvey Robinson by his former seminar students; W.P. Hall, The Three Arnolds and Their Bible, p. 73.

[5]M.A. Ward (Mrs. Humphry Ward), A Writer's Recollections, p. 130.

[6]Ibid., p. 131.

[7]Ibid., p. 300.

[8]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, Intro., p. xii.

[9]Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading, p. 24.

[10]Amy Cruse, After the Victorians, p. 22.

[11]Ibid., p. 22.

[12]Woodward, The Age of Reform, p. 529.

[13]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 57.

[14]Amy Cruse, The Victorians and Their Reading, Chapter XI.

[15]Ibid., Chapter XV on Mudie's.

[16]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 121.

[17]R.A. Levine, (ed.), Background to Victorian Literature, p. 90.

[18]R.C.K. Ensor, England: 1870-1914, p. 159-160.

[19]M. Elwin, Victorian Wallflowers, p. 231.

[20]Ibid., p. 308.

[21]Amy Cruse, After the Victorians, p. 128.

CHAPTER II

THE ARNOLDS AND THEIR CIRCLE IN THE EARLY LIFE OF MRS. HUMPHRY WARD

Mary Augusta Arnold was born in Hobart Town, Tasmania, on June 11, 1851, the first child of Thomas Arnold, the younger, and Julia Sorell. Not only was her father a member of one of the leading intellectual and literary families of Victorian England--the Arnolds and their circle--but through her mother's family the child had important connections in Tasmanian society.

For three generations the Sorells had been prominent in Tasmania.[1] A French Huguenot family which had fled to Britain after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, they first achieved distinction in the person of General William Alexander Sorell of the Coldstream Guards in the late eighteenth century. His son, also called William, rose to the rank of Colonel, and was Julia Sorell's grandfather. Colonel William Sorell had served under Sir John Moore in Spain before being appointed Deputy Adjutant-general at the Cape of Good Hope in 1807. At the Cape he was successful, being promoted to Adjutant-general, but in 1807 he had left his wife and seven children in England, and proved most unwilling to support them. Only after his nearly destitute wife had appealed to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was William Sorell finally persuaded in 1818 to resume paying for the support of his family.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town Colonel Sorell had become involved with a Mrs. Kent, the wife of a brother officer. The resultant scandal meant his resignation from the army and his return to England in 1813 with his mistress. In 1817 he was punished, or promoted, or banished, by his appointment as Lieutenant-governor of Tasmania, the colony where the most recalcitrant of the New South Wales convicts were usually sent at that time. As Lieutenant-governor, William Sorell proved remarkably popular and successful. He suppressed the bushrangers who were terrorizing travellers in the colony, built roads, established a weekly post, saw the income of his colony increase by many times, and he encouraged more voluntary settlers and the import of the first pure-bred Merino sheep.

However, by openly establishing Mrs. Kent in Government House he scandalized some of the settlers who under the leadership of one of the richest and most powerful men in Tasmania--a Mr. Kemp--protested to the Colonial Office. His subsequent recall in 1824 distressed many of the settlers, who begged the Colonial Office to allow him to remain and who collected a purse of £750 for him. Back in England he lived in retirement on a pension of £500 a year until his death in 1848. Presumably Mrs. Kent stayed with him.

Colonel William's eldest son, a third William Sorell, appears as a far more respectable character than his father; he obtained from Lord Bathurst permission to go to see the Colonel either to bring about a reconciliation between his parents or, more probably, to make his father take an interest in his career. When he arrived in Hobart,

he found that his father was about to return to England, but the young man liked Tasmania and decided to stay there after he was offered the position of Registrar of Deeds by the new Lieutenant-governor. William Sorell occupied this and other important posts in the colony until the end of his career.

William Sorell married a Miss Kemp, daughter of the eccentric settler who had led the move for the recall of his father in 1824. One of their children was Julia, Mrs. Ward's mother. This marriage was also unhappy, but this time it was the wife who disrupted the marriage. She ran away with an army officer leaving stranded and destitute her three daughters whom she had brought to England for their education.

Safely back in Tasmania, Julia became one of the belles of the colonial society. Her daughter refers to her great beauty,[2] but her portrait painted by Wainewright, a forger transported to Tasmania, shows a pleasant but rather thick-necked and chubby young woman.[3] Of legendary beauty or not, Julia enchanted Thomas Arnold, the second son of Dr. Arnold, and they were married on June 12, 1850.

In comparison to that of the Arnolds, the importance of the Sorell family pales into insignificance. Mrs. Ward was always very conscious of being an Arnold, and in her memoirs after the first few pages she makes no mention of her Sorell connections except for a passing reference to a cousin. She appears rather ashamed of the colourful family life of her Sorell grandparents and great-grandparents and carefully avoids mention of it in her memoirs.

A far more respectable marriage was that of her Arnold grandparents who faced the world as a devoted couple. Dr. Arnold, who died at the age of 47 in 1842, had, during his fourteen years as headmaster of Rugby, done much to raise the moral and scholastic tone of public school education in England. A liberal theologian of considerable stature, he was the most important leader of the Broad Church movement of his generation. The great friendship with the Wordsworths, despite the political differences of the two men, was an important reason for the Arnolds' move in 1833 to Fox How which was within walking distance of Rydal Mount, the poet's home.[4] The two widows continued to be friends and Mrs. Ward remembered being taken to see Mrs. Wordsworth in 1856 or 1857.[5] She greatly admired Wordsworth and was influenced by his transcendentalism and identification of the person with nature and natural forces. Her daughter, Dorothy Ward, carried the family feeling for Wordsworth even further by seeing his ghost in 1911.[6]

Another important friendship was that of the Arnolds with the Martineaus, although Harriet Martineau could not have had views more directly opposed to the conservatism of Wordsworth. The Arnolds also met the Brontes who were living not too far away, and the two families called upon each other.[7]

The Doctor and his wife had nine children, five sons and four daughters. The eldest son, Matthew, was the leading member of the Arnold family of his generation. In addition to writing poetry and critical works, he had a valuable career as an Inspector of Education.

Like his father, Matthew was in the vanguard of the intellectual life of his day; and like his father, he held advanced theological views.

The second son, Thomas the younger, or Tom, who was Mary Augusta's father, seems to have been overshadowed by his distinguished and successful father and elder brother.[8] Despite his ability he never settled down and established himself. Tom went up to Oxford in 1842 and became close friends with Arthur Hugh Clough, the poet. From 1843 to 1845, Tom was a member of an intellectual society at Oxford called the Decade; other members included Jowett, Arthur Stanley, Hartley Coleridge and Matthew Arnold.

Discontented with the life and institutions of Britain, Tom decided to seek a new life at the other side of the world, in New Zealand, where his father had bought a two hundred acre farm near Wellington and a lot in the town.[9] Idealists seldom make good farmers and Tom failed. In 1848 the newly appointed Governor of Tasmania, Sir William Denison, hearing that a son of Dr. Arnold of Rugby and an Oxford man with a first-class degree was in New Zealand, offered him the post of Inspector of Primary Education in Tasmania.[10] Tom accepted and went to Hobart where he met his wife.

Even in the early years of their marriage problems arose over religion. Julia Arnold, a strictly Orthodox Protestant, was shocked by her husband's liberal and almost heretical views. He was most unwilling to have their first children baptized.[11] Then, in 1853, he began to feel a mysterious pressure which impelled him to send for Newman's Tracts for the Times, even though he had never bothered to go to hear Newman preach at Oxford. After some months of thought he

was received into the Roman Catholic Church in October 1854. His wife, like most of the Tasmanian settlers strongly anti-Catholic, was horrified by this decision. At the beginning of 1856 when his conversion was widely known, Tom Arnold had to give up his educational work and, finding no other post, he returned to England with his wife and children. When they arrived safely back in England after a rough passage, the three small children were left with their grandmother at Fox How while Tom Arnold looked for a job. He appealed to Newman and found a post teaching under him at the projected Catholic University in Dublin. Mary Augusta stayed at Fox How which became her home. However, when her father became classics master at the Oratory School she rejoined her family at Edgbaston near Birmingham.

Dr. Arnold's third son, William Delafield Arnold, was like Tom, a restless and idealistic young man.[12] Disgusted by the idleness and sterility of life at Oxford, he left at the age of twenty without taking his degree and joined the Indian Army. In India he was even more shocked at the vicious idleness of the life led by officers and he began to write the largely autobiographical novel _Oakfield_ which bitterly attacked the abuses of British rule.

In 1850 William Arnold married and seemed happier, but he continued work on his novel which was finally published in 1853, just after he had been invalided home to England. As Mrs. Humphry Ward regards the novel as suffering from Rugby earnestness which overmasters in it any purely artistic impulses, it must have been a very earnest work indeed.[13]

In spite of his poor health, William Arnold returned to India to become Director of Public Education in the Punjab at the end of 1855. During the horrors of the Mutiny and its aftermath, he managed to do valuable work at the cost of weakening his health. Following his wife's death in 1858, and after sending the four small children home by ship, William Arnold took the overland route back to Europe. But his health was failing and he died at Gibraltar in the beginning of 1859. The orphans were adopted by their aunt, Jane Forster, and her husband, W.E. Forster, and they took the name of Arnold-Forster. One of them, Oakeley Arnold-Forster, later became a not-very-successful Secretary of State for War in A.J. Balfour's cabinet.

Like his older brothers, Edward Penrose Arnold, the fourth son, found his vocation in education and was a successful, if not distinguished, Inspector of Schools in Devon and Cornwall from 1860 until his death in 1878.[14] The fifth son, Walter Arnold, defied the family tradition and after a spell in the Royal Navy and Durham University, he went into business.[15]

The eldest of the Arnold daughters, Jane, was an intelligent woman, who in 1850 married W.E. Forster, a leading Quaker and the politician responsible for the Education Act of 1870, but he was not at all successful as Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1880 to 1882 in Gladstone's second government. Having no children of their own, they had willingly helped look after Tom Arnold's children after their arrival from Tasmania and later they adopted William Arnold's orphaned children. Jane Forster and her lifelong friend, Harriet Martineau, greatly admired the work of the Brontes, particularly Charlotte

Bronte's Jane Eyre. Jane Forster wrote an interesting letter about the visit she and her husband made in 1850 to Charlotte Bronte, who had been living alone since the death of her sisters.[16]

The second Arnold daughter, Mary, was widowed young, and married as her second husband a clergyman called Mr. Twining. A keen liberal and disciple of F.D. Maurice, she shocked her husband's Tory parishioners.[17] The third sister, Susan Arnold, married a Mr. Cropper and went to live in Liverpool.[18] The youngest sister, Frances Arnold, never married and spent some time looking after Mary Augusta Arnold, whom she taught to read.[19]

Like his parents, Tom Arnold had quite a large family. There were eight children and the four boys were baptized in the religion of their father who, regretting his conversion to Catholicism, had returned to the Anglican Church for eleven years before being reconverted to the Roman Catholic faith. The girls were baptized in the religion of their mother, who remained staunchly Protestant. Those who had the closest relationship with Mary Augusta were her sister, Julia, and her brother, William. Julia, who married Leonard Huxley, the son of T.H. Huxley, was a highly intelligent woman, who ran a very successful school at Priorsfield from 1902 until her death in 1908.

The Times described Priorsfield as among the most successful girls' schools in England. It catered for eighty boarders, mainly from distinguished families and Julia Huxley was an excellent teacher of English literature and a sympathetic and liberal teacher of religion.[20] Both Julia and Leonard Huxley were not so much interested in their own success as that of their children in whom the blood of both

the Huxleys and the Arnolds flowed:

> Knowing that he would never achieve the brilliance of his father he (Leonard) looked forward to the product of the Huxley and the Arnold blood. If only judgement could be suspended until T.H.'s grandchildren were deployed upon the world, then the world would understand. Julia Arnold, as confident of the Arnold blood as Leonard of the Huxley, thought much the same way. Nothing would be allowed to block the prospects of the children, for whom nothing but the best was suitable--and from whom nothing but the best would be tolerated.[21]

Julia and Leonard Huxley seem to have proved their argument by the success of their sons, Sir Julian and Aldous Huxley. Aldous Huxley later spent quite some time after the death of his mother with the Wards at Stocks.

William Arnold became quite a successful journalist on the Manchester Guardian and a private teacher at Oxford. Another brother, Francis, became a doctor and his son was killed in the 1914-1918 War. Theodore is only mentioned as a boy going to school at the Oratory School. One sister, Ethel, remained unmarried and another, Lucy, married Dr. E.C. Selwyn, the headmaster of Uppingham and lost two sons in the First World War.

While growing up, Tom Arnold's children were again disturbed by a change in his religion. In 1864, by now head classics master at the Oratory School, he was proving too liberal for Newman. The occasion of the quarrel was that the former had given a boy a prize for translating a book by Dr. Dollinger whose liberal interpretation of Roman Catholic doctrine was not in favour with the clerical authorities. In 1865, Arnold left the Roman Catholic Church and rejoined

the Anglican Communion. He settled with his family in Oxford and while tutoring privately he began to make a reputation for himself by his studies in Early English. He was so successful that he stood a good chance of being elected to the Professorship of Early English in 1876.[22] But for years his family had been worried by his nostalgia for Rome and the possibility of his reconversion. Their minds were not set at rest by his habit of muttering the Latin prayers while attending Evensong. As was feared, just before the crucial election he was received into the Roman Catholic Church again, thus putting an end to his hopes of winning the chair. However, he remained in Oxford for at least part of every year, even after 1882 when he began teaching at the Royal University in Dublin. After the death of his wife in 1888, Tom Arnold settled permanently in Dublin where he later remarried.[23]

As a child, Mary Augusta Arnold had avoided some of these turmoils by living at Fox How or by being away at school. In 1858 she had gone to the school at Ambleside run by Miss Anne Clough, sister of the poet, and later head of Newnham College, Cambridge. From the beginning of 1862 until the end of 1865 she was very unhappy at a school in Shropshire where Mangnall's Questions, a book of questions and answers that the child had to learn by heart, was still the common textbook. She enjoyed the last year and a half of her schooling at Miss May's school which was rather more expensive than the school run by Miss Davies. In her memoirs, Mrs. Ward has little good to say of her schooling:

> As far as intellectual training was concerned, my nine years from seven to sixteen were practically wasted. I learnt nothing thoroughly or accurately, and the German, French, and Latin, which I soon discovered after my marriage to be essential to the kind of literary work I wanted to do, had all to be re-learnt before they could be of any real use to me.[24]

After leaving school in 1867 at the age of sixteen, Mary Arnold joyfully plunged into the life of the university town where her parents seemed to have settled down at last. Particularly kind to the girl who became their ardent supporter in their fight against the conservative churchmen at Christchurch were Jowett, who became Master of Balliol in 1870, and the Pattisons--he was Rector of Lincoln and she later married Sir Charles Dilke after the death of Mark Pattison.

During these early days at Oxford, she also made friends with the Paters, Dean Stanley, the Mandell Creightons--he was to become Bishop of London--J.R. Green, the historian, and T.H. Green, the philosopher. Other distinguished acquaintances included the novelist, George Eliot, and the historians, Taine, Froude, and Freeman.[25]

As she rubbed shoulders with such distinguished figures, it is not surprising that Mary Arnold aspired to be a scholar and a writer. Her work in the Bodleian on the early Church in Spain enabled her to contribute the biographies of several Spanish churchmen to the _Dictionary of Christian Biography_ in 1877.[26] Her first publication was a story in _The Churchman's Magazine_ in 1870 and her first scholarly work was an article on the _Poema del Cid_ which appeared in _Macmillan's_ in 1872. During the seventies she also

became a contributor to the Saturday Review.[27]

At the end of 1870 Mary met Thomas Humphry Ward, son of a London rector and Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford. Dean Stanley officiated at their wedding on April 6, 1872. The young couple moved into a small house in North Oxford and settled down very happily to the academic and social life of Oxford in the seventies. Mrs. Ward always looked back on this period as the happiest time of her life.[28]

The Wards were especially friendly with the Paters, who lived opposite them and were influenced by Walter Pater's skepticism and his disbelief in Christianity. Mary Ward tells how Pater caused great consternation at a dinner party by telling the very High Church wife of a well-known professor that no reasonable person could be expected to govern his life according to the opinions and actions of a man who died over eighteen centuries ago. The professor and his wife walked out of the dinner party.[29]

Besides her studies which were to lead to her best-selling novel, Mrs. Ward was very busy with women's education at Oxford. Working with Mrs. Creighton, wife of the future Bishop of London and a close friend, and with Mrs. Max Müller, English wife of the distinguished German Orientalist and philologist who had introduced the study of comparative philology to England, she organized the first series of lectures for women in Oxford. These lectures were so successful that they led to the establishment of Somerville Hall, of which Mrs. Ward was the first secretary.[30]

A visit to Paris in the Christmas vacation of 1874 strengthened Mrs. Ward's Francophile sympathies which had previously been aroused by Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism published in 1868. The Wards were enchanted by Paris and the French on their first of many visits to France. Armed with many introductions to literary and artistic circles in Paris, the Wards met many people in their short holiday. From Max Müller they had an introduction to Ernest Renan, the distinguished philosopher and philologist whose influence on Mrs. Ward was great, particularly after his visit to Oxford in spring 1880. Max Müller also introduced the young couple to Madame Mohl, who had been Madame Récamier's protegée and who, at the age of eighty-one, was still holding a salon in the Rue de Bac. During this visit they renewed their acquaintance with Taine, the great French historian who had visited Oxford in 1871 and they saw for the first time Sarah Bernhardt playing Phèdre at the Théâtre Français. Other distinguished men they met included Gaston Paris, head of French philology at the Collège de France and François Charmes, who was to become the editor of the Revue des deux Mondes. Besides Renan, the most important new friend was Edmond Scherer, Senator and literary critic who edited Amiel's Journal Intime which he gave to Mrs. Ward to translate in 1884.[31]

By 1880 and 1881 the Wards were looking beyond the academic world of North Oxford. In April 1880, Renan's visit to Oxford contributed to the final moulding of Mrs. Ward's political and religious philosophy. Believing in the aristocratic ideal and feeling that the

greatest good of the greatest number was a dangerous illusion, Renan maintained that the aim of each generation was to realize through a few chosen spirits an ideal superior to that of the previous generation. He stressed the solidarity between the chosen few and the masses which produce them; each group had a duty to the other. Because he could neither accept ecclesiastical authority nor the Roman Catholic doctrine, Renan had given up his studies for the priesthood, and in 1862 he had aroused a storm when in his inaugural lecture as Professor of Hebrew and Chaldaic Languages of the Collège de France he had declared that Jesus Christ was an incomparable man.[32] Consequently, he had been suspended from his Chair. Yet, he was still religious and idealistic, but from a humanistic rather than from a divine point of view.

In 1880 Mrs. Ward wrote Milly and Ollie which was published the following year. The modest success of this tale for children based on her summer holidays with her family in 1879 encouraged her desire to write fiction.

One of the Bampton Lectures given in March 1881 by the Rev. John Wordsworth, great-nephew of the poet and later Bishop of Salisbury, was a turning point in Mrs. Ward's life.[33] Wordsworth's slashing attack on the Broad Churchmen, Stanley, Jowett, T.H. Green and Matthew Arnold so enraged her that she wrote a pamphlet arguing against the sermon. Although this pamphlet was withdrawn within a few hours of being put on sale because it lacked the printer's name, it is important as a statement of the theme of the novel Robert Elsmere.[34]

In May 1880 Humphry Ward was offered the position of writer of leaders for The Times and the Wards moved to London in early 1881. In the capital, as in Oxford, the Wards were busy with their family, two daughters--Dorothy and Janet--and a son, Arnold, born in 1874, 1876, and 1879. Like their father, the children seem shadowy figures in comparison to their mother, who had a powerful personality and who as the years went by, became more and more the centre around which the life of the family revolved. Arnold became a close political disciple of his mother and as an ultra-conservative Unionist MP for West Hertfordshire from 1910 to 1918 earning the nickname of "Member for Mrs. Humphry Ward".[35]

Dorothy never married and became her mother's secretary and companion, also serving on committees for her and nursing her as she grew older. Janet married George Trevelyan and did cause a family fuss at the age of nineteen by making a speech in support of the suffragettes. She wrote A Short History of the Italian People and the very dull Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward. The fact that throughout the biography Janet refers to her mother as Mrs. Humphry Ward gives a rather forbidding impression of the family relationship. The dullness of Janet's writing may be partly due to the fact that from the age of seventeen to twenty--at her mother's suggestion--she was translating into English a monumental work on the New Testament by a German scholar, Adolf Jülicher.[36]

Mrs. Ward's dominant role in her family is not only apparent from her memoirs and her daughter's biography, but also from the comments of other visitors. Edith Wharton, who met the Wards for the

first time in 1905 refers to "the affectionate deference towards the household celebrity".[37] Gertrude Bell, the well-known traveller, in 1896 wrote a description of a lunch she had with the Wards in Florence:

> I lunched with the Wards. Mrs. Ward was a great dear; I don't think she looks very bad, but she is fearfully nervous about herself, which is a disease in itself, and all her family sit around and shake their heads at her, which is most depressing.[38]

The ill health which Mrs. Ward seemed to "enjoy" started during the eighties with writer's cramp and during the nineties manifested itself in sharp pains in the legs. There was some theory of a shifting kidney. Whatever was wrong with her, she did manage to lead an exceptionally busy and active life until her death when she was nearly seventy. Her many activities must have made Mrs. Ward feel rather tired at times.

In 1899 Gertrude Bell had lunch with Wards again, this time in Rome. She wrote to her mother:

> Mrs. Ward was extremely kind. She and I walked about the terraces till tea, after which she took me into her sitting room and showed me her preface to Jane Eyre, very good I thought--so did she! 'Now this is so true', she said, pointing to a passage in an impersonal way! Never mind, she was a great dear. They pressed me to return after Athens. I should have liked to have stayed with them, though the atmosphere is a little rarefied.[39]

Mrs. J. Comyns Carr, owner of the New Gallery at the end of the nineteenth century, gives a characteristic picture of Mrs. Ward:

> Another celebrity who was always surrounded by an adoring crowd was Mrs. Humphrey (sic) Ward, but, while Lily Langtry's coterie had a decided masculine preponderance, Mrs. Ward's was composed entirely of women. Although many declared that they admired her intellect, men did not seem to care to break through this circle of faithful females, and I doubt if the novelist ever noticed their absence. My most vivid memory of her that day was seeing her standing in front of G.F. Watts' 'Angel of Death', pointing out its strange beauties to her rapt devotees.[40]

Mrs. Ward's seriousness was portrayed by Max Beerbohm's cartoon.[41] Matthew Arnold in carpet slippers and a rumpled suit is lounging against the wall with his elbow on the mantelpiece and smiling sardonically down at the earnest figure in front of him. Standing up primly in front of her uncle is Mrs. Ward dressed as a child with her hair tightly pulled back and tied with a ribbon. The caption reads: "To him, Miss Mary Augusta, his niece: 'Why, Uncle Matthew, oh why, will not you be always wholly serious?'"

Once they were settled in London in 1881 the Wards found that they had introductions to many different circles of London society, to literary, journalistic, artistic, political and diplomatic leaders. Julia Arnold's marriage to Leonard Huxley brought new friends and acquaintances. They met such politicians as Lord Goschen, Joseph Chamberlain and Georges Clemenceau. They also met such luminaries as Lord Acton and Robert Browning. They became friendly with the American Ambassador Lowell and with his successors, Hay, Bayard, and Choate. Through Frederick Whitridge, an American who married Matthew Arnold's daughter, Lucy, Mrs. Ward later met Theodore Roosevelt. Their closest American friend, however, was the novelist Henry James, whom they met in 1882 at the house of Andrew Lang, poet, student of folklore and anthropology, and historian of Scotland. They also knew leading artists like Burne-Jones, Alma-Tadema and G.F. Watts. The artistic connections were more particularly important after 1884 when Humphry Ward became art critic for The Times.

Mrs. Ward conceived a great admiration for one of "The Souls", Laura Tennant, who was to become the wife of Alfred Lyttelton, successor to Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1903. Other brilliant members of "The Souls"--an association of leading members of London society who shared intellectual and aesthetic interests--with whom the Wards became acquainted, were Margot Tennant, later the wife of Herbert Asquith, and the Balfour brothers--Gerald, who was to be a Cabinet Minister, and Arthur, the future Prime Minister.

Although John Morley had attacked her uncle's handling of Ireland, Mrs. Ward became a close friend of the Liberal politician and biographer of Gladstone. She had been originally recommended to Morley by Jowett and before leaving Oxford had been contributing pieces to Pall Mall, then being edited by Morley. Later editor of Macmillan's from 1883 to 1885, Morley invited Mrs. Ward to write for the periodical.

All this writing gave her severe writer's cramp and from 1883 until 1891 when she became a district nurse in the East End of London, Miss Gertrude Ward, her young sister-in-law, came to live with the family in Russell Square and acted as the author's secretary. Eighteen eighty-four was a particularly busy year with the writing and publication of articles, Mrs. Ward's first novel, Miss Bretherton, and her translation of Amiel's Journal Intime. Amiel had been a Swiss Huguenot mystic deeply influenced by Hegel. Jowett considered his work "a curious combination of skepticism and religious feeling".[42]

The translation which appeared at the end of 1885 aroused a limited enthusiasm, but Gladstone did read it with interest.[43]

In 1891, presumably as a result of Mrs. Ward's financial success, the family moved to a much better address--Grosvenor Square--which they kept as their London home until the beginning of the First World War. At the same time, they were looking for a place in the country. They had enjoyed leasing Borough Farm for use in summer and at the weekends from 1883 to 1890, but then they had built a house called Grayswood Beeches near Haslemere. The area proved too suburban and crowded, so in 1892 they built a house at Stocks near Aldbury and this was their home for the rest of their lives.

After the publication of Robert Elsmere in 1888 made Mrs. Ward a celebrity, she took her position as a distinguished author very seriously and worked hard in many fields until her death in 1920. Besides writing numerous long novels, she wrote political, religious, and social pamphlets and produced three books on England's war effort in the First World War. She wrote articles and prefaces and appeals, and was a constant correspondent to The Times. She made speeches, opened buildings and bazaars and spent much time and effort on political, social, and educational causes. She also travelled extensively not only in Britain, France, and Italy, but also to the United States and Canada. Just before she died she was one of the seven chosen to be the first female Justices of the Peace and was invited by the University of Edinburgh to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. Although she seems to be almost completely forgotten today, there is little doubt that in her time Mrs. Humphry Ward was a leading and

highly respected figure in a wide variety of human activities. In her later career, she was not regarded as a great novelist by the critics, but her social and political work kept her very much in the public eye until her death.

Footnotes

[1]Information on the Sorell family comes from: Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 4-7; J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 1-3; The Service Publishing Co., The Cyclopaedia of Tasmania, pp. 10-11; and John West, The History of Tasmania, II, pp. 66-90.

[2]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 4.

[3]Robert Crossland, Wainewright in Tasmania, facing p. 35.

[4]G.M. Harper, William Wordsworth, II, p. 372 and p. 378.

[5]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 81.

[6]Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[7]Ibid., p. 32.

[8]Tom Arnold's story is mainly taken from his autobiography, Passages in a Wandering Life and Mrs. H. Ward, A Writer's Recollections.

[9]T. Arnold, Passages in a Wandering Life, p. 64.

[10]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 18.

[11]Ibid., pp. 19-22.

[12]Ibid., pp. 58-71.

[13]Ibid., p. 60.

[14]Ibid., p. 71.

[15]Ibid., p. 27.

[16]Ibid., p. 38. On his marriage to Jane Arnold Forster had been expelled from the Quaker brotherhood for marrying a non-Quaker, but his sympathies remained with his co-religionists. The other great sorrow in his life was his failure as Chief Secretary for Ireland which he blamed on lack of support from Gladstone and the government. Shortly

after their marriage the Forsters visited Haworth where Charlotte Bronte had been living alone since the death of her sisters. Jane Forster wrote an interesting letter about their visit: "Now there is something touching in the sight of that little creature entombed in such a place, and moving about herself like a spirit; especially when you think that the slight frame still encloses a force of strong, fiery life, which nothing has been able to freeze or extinguish."

[17] Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 72-74.

[18] Ibid., p. 74.

[19] Ibid., p. 74.

[20] The Times, December 1, 1908, p. 13.

[21] Ronald Clark, The Huxleys, p. 130.

[22] J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 26-27.

[23] T. Arnold, Passages in a Wandering Life, pp. 132 ff.

[24] Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 96.

[25] Ibid., pp. 96-118.

[26] Kunitz & Haycraft, Twentieth Century Authors, p. 1472.

[27] Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 143.

[28] In comparison with his wife, T. Humphry Ward seems a shadowy figure. Information on his life comes from three sources: Mrs. H. Ward, A Writer's Recollections; J.P. Trevelyan, Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward; and Who's Who: 1926, p. 3018. Born in 1845, he was the son of the Rev. Henry Ward, Vicar of St. Barnabas near Euston Road in London. After obtaining a first-class degree in classical greats from Oxford in 1868, he became Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose College. His major work were the volumes of The English Poets, which he edited from 1881 until 1914. From 1884 until 1909, he was art critic for The Times, having spent three years writing leaders for that paper. He also wrote books on English art. He died May 6, 1926.

[29] Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 121.

[30]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 152.

[31]Ibid., pp. 153-160.

[32]"Renan, Ernest", Encyclopaedia Britannica (1965), XIX, 145. The actual words used by Renan in his speech were: "Un homme incomparable - si grand que, bien qu'ici tout doive être jugé au point de vue de la science positive, je ne voudrais pas contredire ceux qui, frappés du caractère exceptionnel de son oeuvre, l'appellent Dieu - opéra une réforme du judaïsme, réforme si profonde, si individuelle, que ce fut, à vrai dire, un création de toutes pièces." Ernest Renan, Oeuvres Complètes, II, pp. 329-330.

[33]The Bampton Lectures were an annual series of eight lectures delivered at Oxford by an Anglican clergyman. The 1881 lectures were neither the first nor the last of the lectures to cause an academic storm. In 1836, Dr. Hampden's appointment as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford was vehemently opposed by Newman and the Tractarians because his 1832 Bampton Lectures had seemed to cast doubt on the Creeds and their authority. The 1836 attack on the Broad Churchmen by his "apostolical" colleagues presents an ironic contrast to the 1881 attack on the Tractarians by the Broad Church supporters. Dean Church, The Oxford Movement, (1922), Chapter IV; S.L. Ollard, A Short History of the Oxford Movement, (1932), pp. 52-53.

[34]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 167-170.

[35]Kunitz & Haycraft, Twentieth Century Authors, p. 1474.

[36]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 172.

[37]Millicent Bell, Edith Wharton and Henry James, p. 97.

[38]Elizabeth Burgoyne, Gertrude Bell: 1889-1914, p. 43.

[39]Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[40]Mrs. J. Comyns Carr, Reminiscences, Eve Adam (ed.), p. 164.

[41]Max Beerbohm, The Poet's Corner.

[42]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 210.

[43]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 148.

CHAPTER III

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S NOVELS

Despite her many activities Mrs. Humphry Ward was, and is, best known as a writer of novels. Today, even though few have read her books, she is remembered primarily as an author and her political and social work is largely forgotten, except for those problems with which so much of her writing was concerned. Though she is now regarded as a minor figure among Victorian authors, several of her novels, especially her earlier ones, enjoyed considerable critical and popular acclaim in their day.

In 1884, interested in the brilliant success of the American actress, Mary Anderson, Mrs. Ward wrote her first novel for adults—*Miss Bretherton*. Published by Macmillan's in December 1884, this was the story of a beautiful but shallow actress from the West Indies who was enjoying a popular success although lacking the qualities of a true artist.[1] The hero of the novel is a rich lawyer, Eustace Kendall, who is more interested in scholarly pursuits than in the practice of the law. His elder sister has married a French Senator and Eustace is as at home in Parisian society as he is in London. After meeting Isabel at a tea party, Eustace goes to see her performance, but despite her dazzling beauty onstage, he is not at all impressed by her acting. Even though she is a popular success, she is not a great actress, she is weak in speaking, she has bad taste,

and is "incompetent and unpromising as an artist".[2] Nevertheless, Isabel and Eustace are attracted to each other.

Hearing of a new play by Wallace, a well-known and highly respected playwright, Isabel wants the title role, but both Wallace and Eustace feel that the part would be too difficult for her. Isabel is very upset, but she meekly accepts their opinion and goes to Europe for a holiday with the further intention of benefiting from the educational advantages of travel. In Venice she meets Eustace's sister and her husband, the French Senator, and it is this couple who take her in hand, encourage her to learn French and develop her artistic and cultural powers. Her talents flower magically and Wallace is convinced that Isabel is now a consummate artist, worthy of the title role of Elvira. Eustace agrees, although he is disturbed by the thought that when Isabel becomes a truly great artist and actress she will be lost to him because of the demands of her career. He nobly avoids her. However, his sister realizes that these two love each other and with her dying breath she tells Eustace to offer his love to Isabel. The lovers are happily reunited.

This happy ending did not appeal to Henry James, who regarded the book as "delicate and distinguished", but wished that Isabel "had been carried away from Kendall altogether, carried away by the current of her artistic life, the sudden growth of her power".[3] Mandell Creighton, later Bishop of London and an old friend from Oxford, thought that Mrs. Ward had written the book "as a critic not as a creator".[4] Mainly favourable comments came from other distinguished

critics like Walter Pater, John Morley, and Edmond Scherer.[5] This book's theme of the newcomer who, after an initial setback, gains by effort admittance to the established elite is one that frequently recurs in Mrs. Ward's books and it is in accord with her conservative but not reactionary social and political views.

Yet Miss Bretherton was only a short trial run in the world of fiction before the writing of a much more ambitious work. Since attending the Bampton Lecture in spring 1881, Mrs. Ward had longed to write a major book presenting to the public the problem of a sincerely religious and liberal parson who finds that he can no longer accept the doctrines of the Established Church, particularly those regarding miracles. The hero, Robert Elsmere, has to leave the Anglican Communion and struggle through a spiritual wilderness before finding serenity in a new spiritual life. Contrasted to the hero is his wife, Catherine, also a deeply religious and sensitive person, but she cannot understand how her husband can defy the wisdom built up over the centuries and leave the Established Church. There is no doubt that Robert Elsmere was planned as a novel of religious and social propaganda for the Broad Church movement as interpreted by Mrs. Humphry Ward.

This sort of book was not new to English literature, although little of that genre had been written since the middle of the nineteenth century. Mrs. Ward was writing in accordance with the mid-Victorian tradition of Kingsley's Alton Locke, Newman's Loss and Gain, Froude's Nemesis of Faith, or of Dickens.

Robert Elsmere was started in the autumn of 1886, but it was rejected by Macmillan's after they had seen some of the early chapters, on the grounds that the subject was not likely to appeal to the British public. So Mrs. Humphry Ward took her work to Mr. George Smith of Smith, Elder and Co., the firm which had published the novels of Charlotte Bronte. In May 1886, she received an advance of £200, and George Smith became not only Mrs. Ward's publisher for the rest of his life, but also her dear friend.[6]

Although she had hoped to finish the novel in a year, Mrs. Ward found it both longer and more difficult to write than she had anticipated. On March 9, 1887 she completed the first draft which still had to be shortened considerably. Partly because she was tired and worried about her mother who was dying of cancer, it took nearly a year to reduce the novel to eleven hundred pages, which would make three convenient volumes. The novel was published on February 24, 1888.

The characters in Robert Elsmere were derived partly from Mrs. Ward's circle of friends and acquaintances. T.H. Green was the model for Henry Grey, into whose mouth the author actually puts some of the published words of T.H. Green. The appearance of the Squire, but not his character, is very much that of Mark Pattison, and Amiel, the ineffectual intellectual, supplied the model for Langham. The author's experiences and her theological doubts are a very important part of the novel. There is a close parallel between Mrs. Ward's studies of early Christian Spain and Robert Elsmere's work on early

Christian France, and the conclusions he reaches on the validity of human testimony are those reached by the author. Catherine Elsmere is, as Mrs. Ward writes in her introduction to the book, not really a fictitious character, but she is a composite character based on family, friends, and other influences on the author's youth, even though the demands of the plot make Catherine intellectually narrower than those real-life characters on whom she was based.[7]

The story opens in Westmoreland, where Catherine is living at Burwood Farm and taking charge of her two younger sisters and her rather faded mother, as well as the local villagers on whom she exercises her inclination for good works. She is undoubtedly pure, unselfish and good. She meets Robert Elsmere, who has come to Westmoreland to recuperate after a breakdown brought on by overwork as a junior don at Oxford. At Oxford Robert had been greatly influenced by two men, his exceptionally brilliant but hesitant and retiring tutor, Edward Langham, and by Henry Grey, who was creating a stir by his sermons challenging various aspects of Christianity, particularly the belief in the miraculous.

Catherine and Robert marry and move into a quiet country rectory at Murewell in Surrey. The eccentric Squire, Roger Wendover, is away and the estate and the tenants are being neglected and mismanaged by his agent. At Murewell the new Rector divides his time between his studies on early Christian France, aided by the Squire's excellent library, and his pastoral duties which are made more difficult by the agent's callous indifference to the sorry plight of the

tenants. Conditions are so bad as to endanger both the material and the spiritual welfare of the people and Robert, realizing one cannot separate the two, does his unsuccessful best to bring about an improvement. He argues:

> Dirt and drains, Catherine says I have gone mad upon them. It is all very well, but they are the foundations of a sound religion.[8]

Edward Langham comes to visit the Elsmeres and becomes very friendly with Rose, much to the distress of her older sister, Catherine, who distrusts Langham as a freethinker. But the attention of the Elsmeres is distracted from family problems by the outbreak of an epidemic of diphtheria directly attributable to the insanitary state of the tenants' cottages. Both the Elsmeres work very hard to bring physical and spiritual comfort to the unfortunate tenants, yet the epidemic does have one fortunate outcome--the Squire realizes how he has been neglecting his responsibilities and sacks the unsatisfactory agent and agrees to Robert's suggestions to repair and to build new cottages. When they realize how many intellectual interests they have in common, the Squire and the Rector become close friends, and the latter is greatly influenced by the Squire's scholarly attempts at a rational examination of the stories of the miracles that play so important a part in the Christian faith.

Robert is convinced that the stories of miracles owe more to unreliable human witnesses than to the actual facts and that a Bible suitable for the simple men of the first century is no longer acceptable to the enlightened men of the nineteenth century.

> In the stillness of the night there rose up weirdly before him a whole new mental picture - effacing, pushing out, innumerable older images of thought. It was the image of a purely human Christ - a purely human, explicable, yet always wonderful Christianity.[9]

In the subsequent months of mental anguish, Robert remembers the words of Grey: "God is not wisely trusted when declared unintelligible."[10] Robert decides that he must leave the Church whose doctrines he can no longer accept. His last act as Rector of Murewell, very much in the tradition of the Victorians, is to rehabilitate the wicked agent who had been sacked by the Squire--he saves him from the demon drink.

Most unwillingly, Catherine has to accept Robert's decision and the couple go to London, where Robert does social work for a Unitarian minister in the East End. Meanwhile, the love story of Langham and Rose comes to a sudden end when Langham, scared by the inevitability of marriage, breaks the engagement and retreats into a pessimistic quietism, though after a holiday Rose recovers from the shock and emerges as a nobler character. To Mrs. Ward, Langham, based on Amiel whose work she knew so well, provided a dreadful warning of the dangers of being an ineffectual intellectual. This fear of being impractical and ineffective may explain why she drove herself so hard working in political, social and religious fields as well as in the intellectual and literary spheres.

In the slums Robert starts the Elgood Street centre with story-telling sessions, a scientific Sunday School and other educa-

tional and social activities. Not only because of religious difficulties but also because Robert is being taken up by society women who are willing to help his work but pointedly exclude Catherine from their invitations, the Elsmeres begin to drift apart. The breach is healed when Catherine comes closer to an understanding of the value of her husband's work after witnessing the tragic death of one of the East Enders and when Robert finds that the women who are entertaining him are more interested in his manly charms than in his work.

As a result of his social work Robert finds himself moving out of the spiritual wilderness back to a form of humanistic and rational religion which is a basis for his good works:

> The real difficulty of every social effort—you know it and I know it—lies, not in the planning of the work, but in the kindling of will and passion enough to carry it through. And that can only be done by religion - by faith.[11]

The author is very obviously lecturing to the reader in the passage quoted above. So Robert works out his plans for the new religion, The New Brotherhood of Christ, which is to be practical, centred on human rather than supernatural values, and emphasizing efforts to alleviate the material, cultural and spiritual distresses of those in need. The inspiration for members is to be the life and tragic death of Christ.

Back in the East End, after a holiday in Normandy where he weakened himself in an attempt to save an old man from drowning, Robert organizes the New Brotherhood. Although two-thirds of the

Committee are working-men, control is very much in the hands of Robert and the upper crust third of the Committee. Robert works very hard, although he makes time to go to see Roger Wendover, the Squire of Murewell, who is dying insane. Finally, Robert's condition is critical, he is suffering from phthisis, and Catherine takes him to Algeria to recuperate. It is too late; Robert has worked himself to death, but all is not lost because after his death, Catherine, with the help of Flaxman, an aristocrat who marries Rose, carries on the work of the New Brotherhood.

It soon became apparent that Smith, Elder and Company had published a best-seller. The reviews were mainly favourable and early sales were reasonably brisk, but what brought Robert Elsmere to the attention of the public was Gladstone's review, "Robert Elsmere and the Battle of Belief" published in the May issue of the Nineteenth Century. After May, the volume of sales rose sharply. Gladstone admired the book, although he did not find it easy to read and he opposed the attack on the Established Church.

> 'Mama and I', he wrote to Mrs. Drew, 'are each of us still separately engaged in a death grapple with Robert Elsmere. I complained of some of the novels you gave me to read as too stiff, but they are nothing to this. It is wholly out of the common order. At present I regard with doubt and dread the idea of doing anything on it, but cannot yet be sure whether your observations will be verified or not. In any case it is a tremendous book.'

And, on April 1 (1888), he wrote:

> 'By hard work I have finished and am correcting my article on Robert Elsmere. It is rather stiff work. I have had two letters from her. She is much to be liked personally, but is a fruit, I think of what must be called Arnoldism.'[13]

Gladstone also wrote to Lord Acton on April 1, 1888:

> It is not far from twice the length of an ordinary novel; and the labour and effort of reading it all, I should say, sixfold; while one could no more stop in it than in reading Thucydides. The idea of the book, perhaps of the writer, appears to be a movement of retreat from Christianity upon Theism, a Theism with Christ glorified, always in the human sense, but beyond ordinary measure.[14]

That a book which Gladstone found difficult to read should sell so well may be remarkable, but by 1891 70,500 copies had been sold in Britain and over half a million disposed of in the United States where the laws of international copyright were not yet in effect. Many copies with Gladstone's review were given away as premiums with a bar of soap by an American company.[15] As a best-selling novelist, Mrs. Ward found herself rich, famous and respected. She received letters by the thousand from people of all sorts who had one thing in common, they had read Robert Elsmere.

Although not a great book, Robert Elsmere can claim an honorable position in the novels of the second rank. It is well constructed and well written and even if the characters seem passionless---a reflection of the author's character---the intellectual and moral perplexities of the age are vividly conveyed to the reader, and it satisfied the ever-increasing public appetite for new novels far better than most of the shoddy novels published after the age of Dickens and Thackeray. Robert Elsmere presents an interesting dramatization of a problem which people were deeply interested in at that time---the problem posed by the conflict between the beliefs of religious orthodoxy and the implications of the new scientific dis-

coveries. The worried man adjusting to the reality of the Industrial and Scientific Revolutions and deciding what he ought to do is a typical figure of the late Victorian age.

> It is a truly Victorian book in the melodramatic fall after temptation, the noble renunciation and death, but it is a Victorianism of its own decade and looks neither back nor forward. It caused a sensation because people were troubled by problems of belief, which only a few years later would not sustain the interest of a long novel. The scenes in the East End of London link with the new naturalism of Moore and Gissing. Elsmere's emotional distress at the mocking attitude of the secularists among whom he worked is another indication of the poignancy and regret in sensitive Victorian agnostics.[16]

Mrs. Ward continued in this vein with six similar novels of religious, social or political propaganda containing some touches of realism when dealing with the lives of the slum dwellers. David Grieve, published in 1892, is the story of a working-man who, despite many difficulties and temptations, achieves not only material prosperity, but also spiritual serenity. Like Robert Elsmere, David Grieve loses his faith and moves in secularist circles. He also reads German scholarship which deeply impresses him. David succumbs to physical temptation in the guise of a Paris love affair with a very Bohemian artist, but he does return to Manchester where he marries Lucy, daughter of the bookseller who was his first employer. Lucy does not understand her husband and shows her unworthiness of him by carping at his philanthropic work and by proving a social failure at the smart house party to which they are invited. Meanwhile, David's headstrong sister, Louie, who takes after the

French side of the family, has run away with a disreputable Frenchman who drinks himself to death. The repeated use of characters who are led astray by their foreign blood indicates Mrs. Ward's mistrust of foreigners; yet she did not believe herself prejudiced and she professed to admire the French in particular.[17] Then Louie's daughter, Cecile, dies of diphtheria and Louie herself commits suicide after the end of a love affair with a young student.

Lucy is discovered to have a malignant form of cancer and this, strangely enough, improves her character and after much suffering she dies nobly leaving David with a small son called Sandy, who was modelled on Mrs. Ward's nephew, Julian Huxley.[18] With his sensual temptations overcome, David Grieve develops a vague form of natural religion and achieves peace. The self-educated working man is not an unusual figure in Victorian literature and David Grieve bears a certain resemblance to Kingsley's Alton Locke in the book of that name and to Bartle Massey in George Eliot's Adam Bede. Despite mixed reviews[19] David Grieve sold well not only in Britain but also in the United States.[20]

The next novel, Marcella, was published in 1894 and is very much a political work. Like its predecessors, this book tells the story of the arduous progress of a soul towards reason, patience, and self-discipline. Marcella Boyce's father has inherited the family estate, even though in his youth he had been cut off by the family after a youthful scandal involving gambling, a chorus girl, fraud and three months in prison. During a rather unsettled youth Marcella had endured poverty and had mixed in doubtful circles where she had acquired Social-

ist ideas. Mrs. Ward's distrust of Socialism and other working-class movements is apparent in many of her novels.

Marcella meets and falls in love with Aldous Raeburn--one of the bright young hopes of the Conservative party, and they become engaged, but they quarrel over politics when Marcella supports a Mr. Wharton, a scoundrel and a Socialist, against Aldous' candidate. The breach between the engaged couple is further widened when Aldous refuses to sign the petition for clemency for one of his labourers who is executed for the murder of a gamekeeper, and whose son dies just before his execution. The engagement is broken.

Then Marcella discovers that Wharton has accepted a bribe to change the editorial policy of his newspaper to oppose a strike, and she is disillusioned to hear that Wharton is to marry a rich and plain heiress of thirty-five. She realizes how worthy Aldous is and decides that she must surrender her will to him. It is clear that Lord Maxwell is by no means a reactionary; he does realize that in his position he is obliged to devote himself to the service of the many. They are reconciled and set a date for the wedding. This idea of noblesse oblige--the duty of the privileged few to work for the good of the masses--is a recurrent theme in Mrs. Ward's writing. Her devotion to good works, particularly in the poorer parts of London, shows that she was prepared to devote much of her time and energy to helping the less fortunate.

The Story of Bessie Costrell was written in fifteen days, which is obvious when one reads it, and was published in 1895. This story of

a village woman who is ruined after succumbing to the temptation to spend her father's life savings, is an attempt at rustic realism. Strangely enough, Henry James wrote to express his admiration:

> May 8, 1895. I think the tale very straightforward and powerful - very direct and vivid, full of the real and the juste. I like your unalembicated rustics - they are a tremendous rest after Hardy's - and the infallibility of your feeling for village life. Likewise I heartily hope you will labour in this field and farm again.[21]

The publication of Sir George Tressady in 1896 marked a return to the political novel and the world of Aldous and Marcella Maxwell. Sir George Tressady, who has just been elected to the Commons, belongs to a new right wing party which might be in a position to hold the balance of power in the Commons and which opposes the factory reforms proposed by Lord Maxwell. Marcella Maxwell is an important political figure in her own right and tries to gain support for her husband's Factory Bill; the young couple show their sympathy with the working classes by spending as much time as possible among them in a house in the East End with only five servants. Marcella's influence combined with the workings of conscience persuade Sir George Tressady to break with his party and vote for the Factory Bill; his speech swings enough support for the Bill to pass its second reading, but his political career is ruined by his last minute switch. Back in the Tressady estate which depends largely on coal mines, there are financial troubles for Sir George caused by a miners' strike and domestic difficulties caused by his wife's discontent with life in a backwater. Fortunately, she finds she is pregnant and the couple is reconciled, though Sir

George does not live to see his baby--he dies heroically trying to save some of the trapped miners who had just returned to work after the strike.

Unlike the characters in preceding novels, the hero and heroine of Helbeck of Bannisdale, published in 1898, refuse to compromise. Alan Helbeck, member of an old Catholic family and a representative of the dying old medieval world, meets Laura Fountain, a modern young woman and a liberal Protestant who represents the freedom of the modern world. They fall in love and decide to marry, but Laura feels she cannot cope with the Catholicism of Alan and the priests and nuns who have so much sway over him. So the engagement is broken.

Alan's reaction is to become more bigoted and withdrawn and to prepare to enter the Jesuits, but when Laura returns to Bannisdale to nurse her stepmother they are reconciled. They become engaged again, and Laura begins taking Catholic instruction. Deeply in love with Alan but realizing she cannot submit to what she regards as the Catholic tyranny, Laura feels she cannot break the second engagement and destroy Alan, so she drowns herself in what she makes appear to be an accident. Although rather melodramatic with characters who often seem caricatures, Helbeck of Bannisdale does achieve a certain power in tracing the path to doom made inevitable by the characters and circumstances of the protagonists. This is the last of Mrs. Ward's books that is well written and it does present a problem of some significance. By 1898, Mrs. Ward appears to have finished working out her social, political, and religious philosophy and the later books either tend to repeat what

is in the earlier books or to deal with trivialities. Mrs. Ward's popularity was waning by this time, not so much because of the decline in the quality of her books, but rather because her moment had passed and public taste and ideas had moved beyond her essentially Victorian concepts. A nineteenth century person by inclination and upbringing, she never really appears to be at home in the twentieth century.

In 1911 Mrs. Ward did try to repeat her early success by returning to the novel of religious propaganda. In _The Case of Richard Meynell_, the problems posed in _Robert Elsmere_ are reconsidered but a different conclusion is reached reflecting the author's changed view. Catherine Elsmere, who has been continuing Robert's work, reappears with her grown daughter, Mary. They meet Richard Meynell, leader of a group of Modernist parsons who decide to stay in the Church and fight for their views. The book ends with Catherine's death, Mary's engagement to Richard and the decision of the Modernists to appeal to the Privy Council against their expulsion from the Anglican Communion for heresy. Compared to _Robert Elsmere_, this is a weak and unconvincing book with a variety of inane sub-plots which confuse and distract the reader.

After _Helbeck of Bannisdale_, Mrs. Humphry Ward turned to history for inspiration and wrote four novels with stories taken from history in a modern setting. _Eleanor_, published in 1900, was based on the love story of Chateaubriand and Madame de Beaumont and was set in Italy. _Lady Rose's Daughter_ (1903) is the story of Madame du Deffand, who found that her paid companion Julie de l'Espinasse was entertaining

habitués of her salon while she was out of the house. The Marriage of William Ashe (1905) is the story of Byron and Lady Caroline Lamb, while Fenwick's Career (1906) tells of the artist Romney and his friendship with Lady Hamilton. Generally uninspired, these four books give the author a chance to depict the top ranks of society, that élite which can be entered by birth or sometimes by outstanding achievement, and which really rules England.[22]

After 1906 came fourteen lean years during which Mrs. Humphry Ward wrote thirteen bad novels. Although she still used her novels to express her point of view, the books were high society pot boilers which became increasingly melodramatic and more closely concerned with the glittering life of the aristocracy. These unlucky thirteen resemble the work of Marie Corelli or Mrs. Oliphant or even Ouida, caught in a peculiarly passionless moment. The term "silver fork" which implies an affectation of gentility, seems an appropriate description of these books.[23]

The first of these, The Testing of Diana Mallory (1908) is very much a love story in the ruling élite with a variety of melodramatic events influencing the course of the plot. Diana Mallory is tested when it is discovered that her mother had been convicted of murder, with the result that her fiance, Oliver Marsham, who has political ambitions, breaks the engagement. Later he is injured during an election campaign by a flying stone and is blinded and seems doomed to the life of a hopeless invalid until Diana returns to him and devotes herself to nursing him back to good health. Towards the

end this book reads like a pallid imitation of Jane Eyre.

Daphne or Marriage à la Mode (1909), a diatribe against divorce and modern disrespect for the sanctity of marriage, is partly the result of Mrs. Ward's trip to North America in 1908. Daphne, an American girl dangerously affected by Feminist and modern ideas, meets and marries a rather more conventional Englishman called Roger, who is visiting the United States. Back in England, Daphne is unhappy and jealous of Roger's distant cousin who would have been a better match for him. They quarrel and Daphne obtains from an American court a divorce based on the most circumstantial evidence and wins custody of their daughter. As an Englishman, Roger refuses to recognize the jurisdiction of the American court and tries to kidnap his daughter. When this fails, Roger breaks down and starts drinking himself to death, and his collapse is hastened by the death of their daughter. Then Daphne is persuaded by her friend, a feminist and a divorcee who on her deathbed repents the breakdown of her marriage to go back to Roger; but it is too late, Roger is going to die soon and the marriage cannot be mended. Although Mrs. Ward denies any anti-American bias in the introduction to this book, her disapproval of many things American is made abundantly clear.

Another of the fruits of the visit to North America was Canadian Born (1910) which describes Mrs. Ward's train trip across Canada from Montreal to Vancouver and tells the love story of Lady Elizabeth Merton, an English widow, and George Anderson, a Canadian pioneer and engineer.

Despite various difficulties--Elizabeth's brother is dying and George's father is a drunkard and a tramp who is killed trying to hold up a train--the love of these two triumphs and Lady Elizabeth settles happily on a farm in Saskatchewan with George and occupies herself with good works and raising a family. Underlying the love story is a theme very close to Mrs. Humphry Ward's heart--the greatness and the close links in the British Empire, particularly the specially warm relationship between Britain and her oldest dominion.

The Mating of Lydia (1913) is another love story, but this time the setting is rural England and the theme is the effect or lack of effect of wealth upon the main characters. Edmund Melrose is a miser who spends all his money on antiques and neglects his family to become a lonely old man. His daughter, Felicia, and her lover, Lord Tatham, find themselves both very rich at the end of the book, but they hold the author's view that great wealth is a sacred trust which must be used constructively for the general good. Lydia Penfold, the heroine, is an artistic young woman uncorrupted by wealth, while her fiance, Claude Faversham, is tempted by the prospect of Edmund Melrose's great wealth to betray his ideals, but his love for Lydia enables him to overcome the temptation.

The Coryston Family (1913) deals with the dangers of a family dominated by a woman, particularly if the family has political influence, and the story of the disastrous results of Lady Coryston's power is told in this feeble novel. Naturally the characters move in the highest political and social levels. Delia Blanchflower (1915)

was written as an anti-suffragette novel in which Delia realizes the errors of her feminist views and repudiates the influence of the mentally unbalanced suffragette, Miss Marvell, to marry Mark Winnington, her guardian and a bachelor with the old-fashioned virtues. Mark's enlightened conservatism and his horror of the suffragette movement are essentially Mrs. Ward's feelings.

Eltham House (1915) was based on the story of Lord Holland who ran away with Lady Webster in 1796, although Mrs. Ward does not allow her characters the happy ending enjoyed by their historical prototypes. In the novel the couple are separated by social and moral pressures and he goes to South America for a long time; she becomes desperate when she receives no letters from him, and dies shortly after her husband's return to England. In fact, Lady Webster did obtain her freedom at great cost, the loss of her fortune, but the Hollands lived happily even if respectable ladies did not call on her because she was a divorced woman, and Holland House became the centre of a brilliant social and political circle. It is unfortunate that Mrs. Humphry Ward's sense of propriety, typical of many Victorians, would not allow her to give Eltham House a happy ending.

A Great Success (1916) is the story of genteel society and the problems encountered by newcomers to the "silver fork" set. The newcomers are Arthur, a don whose lectures on English political figures make him a social as well as an academic success, and his wife, Doris, who just cannot cope with the aristocratic house parties. She is very unhappy and the marriage is threatened until Doris saves Lady Dun-

stable's son from a most unsuitable marriage. Lady Connie (1916) is a nostalgic novel of Oxford in the eighteen-eighties and tells how a young aristocrat is ennobled by his love.

Missing (1917), a novel set in wartime, also has an ennobling theme. While George Sarratt is missing in action his wife, Nellie, is tempted by the importunities of a wealthy baronet. Eventually George, who has been suffering from amnesia, is found critically ill in a hospital in the North of France. Nellie rushes to his deathbed and afterwards feels guilty because she had been tempted by the baronet, so she tries to atone by being a wholly dedicated V.A.D. aide and emerges with a purer and a nobler character as does the baronet under her influence. The book ends with the hint that Nellie might eventually marry him. Another book of war propaganda, The War and Elizabeth or Elizabeth's Campaign (1918), has as its theme the importance of the home front in the war. Mr. Mannering is refusing to co-operate with the County War Agricultural Committee and to plant on his parkland. Softened by the influence of his patriotic and indispensable young secretary, Elizabeth Bremerton, and by the death of his wounded son who dies with the word "England" on his lips, Mannering does decide to support the war effort. An even more melodramatic novel of war propaganda on the importance of the home front is Harvest (1920) about two women farming so that the men can be free to fight. The heroine, Rachel Henderson, has a past—a divorced husband and a night with another man in Canada—which troubles her greatly when she and an American Captain fall in love.

She is sure he will no longer love her when he knows and that his strict Unitarian family would never accept her, but despite her confession the Captain still loves her and they plan to marry. Mrs. Ward cannot permit a woman with a past to marry and live happily ever after, so Rachel dies in the Captain's arms after being shot by her crazed ex-husband.

Cousin Philip or Helena (1919) is perhaps one of Mrs. Ward's worst novels; it is another of the "silver fork" melodramas. It tells of the problems encountered by Lord Buntingford, a single man in his forties, who finds himself guardian of his headstrong young cousin, Helena. Lord Buntingford was thought to be a widower, but his wife turns up with a son suffering from brain damage, and after convincing Lord Buntingford that the boy is his, she dies. Lord Buntingford marries his very eligible cousin and they look after the boy who is a deaf mute but not mentally deficient. Helena agrees to marry a very suitable young man.

In Mrs. Ward's novels the recurrence of certain themes and incidents gives some indication of her beliefs and prejudices. In no less than nineteen of the novels there is a noble death towards the end, and nine of these are preceded by a deathbed scene in which the hero or heroine is told what to do to solve some difficulty. The problems caused by the inability to cope with the manners and customs of high society---it is usually the wife who has not the social graces and charm of her husband---play an important part in half of the novels. This is very much in accordance with Mrs. Ward's preoccupation with

the governing aristocracy of England, to which admission could be obtained by ability, but there would be difficulties arising from lack of the right education.

The author's sense of propriety would only allow the consequences of a past scandal to be overcome if the character concerned was not directly to blame--as in The Testing of Diana Mallory, Canadian Born and Lady Rose's Daughter. However improved in character the guilty one may be, he or she is not allowed to escape the consequences of the past sin. This theme is stressed particularly in Daphne, Lady Connie, Eltham House and Harvest. Another often repeated theme is that of the dangerous mob which throws stones with sometimes disastrous results. A moral danger is that of drink which is often responsible for the downfall of significant characters in the novels.

The most distinct pattern that emerges from reading the novels is the steady decline in quality, even if the books still enjoyed good sales. After the publication of Helbeck of Bannisdale in 1900, Mrs. Ward contributed very little of literary or social value with the possible exception of The Case of Richard Meynell which was in any case largely a rehash of Robert Elsmere. In the first years of her writing career she did have something to say on matters that not only interested the readers of the time, but are still of interest to some readers today, even though it is hard to accept that in the eighteen-eighties so many people were genuinely interested in the problem of the miraculous element in Christianity. The interest aroused by Gladstone's rebuttal of her attack on the Established Church did much

to increase the circulation of Robert Elsmere, but paradoxically, her books were considered as suitable and respectable even by families which normally disapproved of novel reading. Even on the Sabbath an exception could be made in the ban on reading novels in favour of Mrs. Ward's work. She was a serious writer and many felt that she was not read so much for pleasure but for the fund of information which she was so eager to pass on to the public. Morally she was "safe", the good were rewarded and the bad were punished and no hint of sex or impropriety appears in her work; even the sins for which the wicked are punished seem singularly tame.

> [Mrs. Humphry Ward] ...never said a humorous thing in her life. Her books are as innocent of laughter as they are of impropriety. They are a feast of reason but not a flow of soul. When you approach them you do not feel that you are going to have a rollicking time.... But when you take down Robert Elsmere or Marcella or Richard Meynell you behave with decorum. You feel the importance of being earnest. Levity in such company would be like sacrilege. You would as soon think of being gay at a University Extension Lecture. And indeed Mrs. Ward is really an Extension lecturer in disguise.[24]

With the advent of the twentieth century, Mrs. Ward who was unable to leave the problems of the nineteenth century found herself an anachronism, more and more remote from the mainstream of literary, academic and theological thought. The Times wrote in her obituary:

> With the death of Mrs. Humphry Ward ... disappears one of the last of the great Victorians; one of that brilliant group of novelists not the least ornaments of the nineteenth century. She had lived on into an age indifferent to the controversies and conflicts which were the basis and background of her best works.[25]

Her twentieth century books were so inferior to her earlier works because she was no longer writing about something that deeply concerned her and because she was writing about something she did not understand too well--the glittering social side of the élite which ruled England. As she was so busy with educational, political and philanthropic activities she had far less time to write her books later in her life; yet in the first eighteen years of her career as a novelist she wrote eight books compared to seventeen novels and three war propaganda books written in the last eighteen years. It is not unfair to damn her later books. Frank Swinnerton wrote about the year 1910: "Hall Caine and Mrs. Humphry Ward had become occasions for ribald comment."[26] Despite her excessive earnestness, her lack of humour and imagination and her inability to convey any sort of feeling that was not intellectual, Mrs. Humphry Ward in her earlier works did use a powerful and balanced intellect to produce reasoned and well constructed books which were far better than is generally thought.

Footnotes

[1]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 192-193. It was generally assumed that Isabel Bretherton was a portrayal of the real-life Mary Anderson, an exceptionally beautiful American whose acting was similarly regarded by the critics as shallow, but Mrs. Ward denied that the fictional Isabel was a portrait of Mary Anderson.

[2]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Miss Bretherton, p. 297.

[3]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 195.

[4]Ibid., p. 196.

[5]Ibid., pp. 195-196.

[6]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 50. Mrs. Ward's dealings with her publishers are most clearly described in this work.

[7]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, Intro., p. xi.

[8]Ibid., I, p. 306.

[9]Ibid., II, pp. 48-49.

[10]Ibid., II, p. 65, T.H. Green actually did say this.

[11]Ibid., II, p. 463.

[12]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 55. "Three volumes, printed as closely as were those of Robert Elsmere, penetrated somewhat slowly among the fraternity of reviewers. The Scotsman and the Morning Post were the first to notice it on March 5, nine days after its appearance; the British Weekly wept over it on March 9; the Academy compared it to Adam Bede on the 17th; the Manchester Guardian gave it two columns on the 21st; the Saturday 'slated' it on the 24th; while Walter Pater's article in the Church Guardian on the 28th, calling it a 'chef d'oeuvre...'."

[13]John Morley, The Life of Gladstone, III, pp. 356-357.

[14]John Morley, The Life of Gladstone, III, p. 357.

[15]Kunitz and Haycraft, Twentieth Century Authors, p. 1473.

[16]Raymond Chapman, The Victorian Debate, p. 280.

[17]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 152-158.

[18]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 98-99.

[19]The Times felt that David Grieve was even better written than the previous novels. The Times, January 22, 1890, p. 10. The Scots Observer and Mrs. Oliphant in Blackwood, reviewed the book unfavourably. Cited in Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 282. The British Weekly described David Grieve as "an almost absolute failure". Cited in Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 99. The editor of the Spectator thought that the unfavourable reviewers were suffering from "unaccountable imbecility" and that the book was excellent. Cited in Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 283.

[20]By that time the laws of international copyright were in effect in the United States, enabling Mrs. Ward to benefit from the substantial royalties from sales of David Grieve in the United States.

[21]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 112.

[22]This point will be considered in greater detail in Chapter IV which deals with Mrs. Ward's political beliefs.

[23]The Oxford English Dictionary (1933) says that the term silver fork is "used to designate a school of novelists about 1830 distinguished by an affectation of gentility".

[24]A.G. Gardiner, Pillars of Society, p. 125. cf. The Times, March 25, 1920, p. 17 in support of Gardiner's view. The writer points out that in Robert Elsmere, there are references to no less than 75 of the classics of English, Latin, Greek, German and French literature.

[25]The Times, March 25, 1920, p. 20.

[26]Frank Swinnerton, The Georgian Literary Scene, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

MRS. WARD'S POLITICS

Like many other earnest Victorians, Mrs. Ward was deeply concerned with practical politics which she regarded as the potential means of righting many of the ailments of society. Her Arnold connection meant that from an early age she was concerned with political ideas and actions, and, as one of the privileged few, she fully agreed with the Broad Church assertion of her duty to work for the less fortunate masses. Her grandfather, Dr. Arnold, was a reasonably orthodox liberal who supported the great reforms of the eighteen-thirties, but he could only be defined as a radical by such a high Tory as Wordsworth.[1] During her youth Mrs. Ward was greatly influenced by Mr. and Mrs. W.E. Forster, the uncle and aunt who looked after her during the unsettled childhood years. Forster, a member of Gladstone's first and second Governments, is remembered both for the Education Act of 1870 and for his unhappy years as Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1880 to 1882; during both his terms of office he was under fire from the more radical members of the Liberal Party, both in his constituency and in the Commons.[2] A third major political influence on Mrs. Ward was that of the Oxford liberals, namely Jowett and Pattison.

Until 1880 there seemed little reason to believe that Mrs. Ward would not end her days as a rather Whiggish Liberal; but the separation of the Whigs from the Liberals on Irish Home Rule, and the general re-

drawing of political divisions towards the end of the nineteenth century saw her move to increasingly conservative beliefs. As with so many others, it was Mrs. Ward's disenchantment with Gladstone's Irish policy that led to her split with the Liberals. During her visit to her uncle at Dublin at Christmas in 1880 she concluded that his difficulties were not only the result of the Land League's outrages and of the attacks by the radical members of the Cabinet, in particular Joseph Chamberlain and John Bright, but that they were also the result of Gladstone's lack of support.[3] With Gladstone's introduction of the Irish Home Rule Bill in 1886, the final break with the Liberals came, and both the Wards became staunch Unionists.

During the eighteen-nineties Mrs. Ward expounded her ideas most clearly in her "political" novels, David Grieve, Marcella and Sir George Tressady. Her view is that somewhere at the top there is an aristocratic élite which is also open to a small number of the exceptionally talented. This great reverence for the upper classes seems to reflect Mrs. Ward's basically middle class background. While enjoying their privileged status the members of the élite have a twofold obligation--firstly, they must devote themselves to the welfare of the masses and secondly, they must transmit to future generations the accumulated culture and wisdom of the past. Her almost tremulous respect for The Crown and Royalty is revealed by her letters describing her visit to Windsor to meet Queen Victoria's eldest daughter, the Empress Frederick, on November 18, 1898. In letters to her father and her daughter she described the Empress Frederick, who

had read and enjoyed her books--particularly Sir George Tressady and Helbeck of Bannisdale, as "very attractive", "sensitive", "impulsive", "more charming than I had imagined", "a thorough Englishwoman", "absolutely English", and "sympathetic".[4]

In accordance with her respect for Royalty and for the aristocracy in general, Mrs. Ward opposed socialism, and indeed, any other form of collectivist political philosophy, and favoured individualism, while not denying the importance of a social conscience. For example, David Grieve's thoughts on socialism are really hers:

> But Socialism, as a system, seems to me, at any rate, to strike down and weaken the most precious thing in the world, that on which the whole of civilized life and progress rests - the spring of will and conscience in the individual. Socialism, as a spirit, as an influence, is as old as organized thought and from the beginning it has forced us to think of the many when otherwise we should be thinking of the one.[5]

In Marcella this emphasis on the individual is part of the political philosophy of Hallin, the wise man of left-wing politics: "He would have built his State on the purified will of the individual man."[6]

Her respect for the upper classes is also based on its fine qualities and its mission at home and abroad:

> It was the common philosophy of the educated and fastidious observer; and it rested on ideas of the greatness of England and the infinity of England's mission, on the rights of ability to govern as contrasted with the squalid possibilities of democracy, on the natural kingship of the higher races, and on a profound personal admiration for the virtues of the administrator and the soldier.[7]

By the "higher races" Mrs. Ward means those of European, preferably Anglo-Saxon, origin, and when she talks of Imperial unity and fellow-

ship she refers only to the so-called "White Dominions"---Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. It is not hard to understand why Mrs. Ward was so attracted by the Imperialism of Kipling and Chamberlain---despite her earlier criticism of him---and the theme of the "white man's burden" which not only satisfied her aristocratic views, but also satisfied her ideals of social service. The views of the three generations of Arnolds on Imperial affairs present an interesting contrast. Although Dr. Arnold was not greatly concerned with problems of Empire, his purchase of land in New Zealand and his threat to seek the freer air of the United States indicate a measure of dissatisfaction with England and some sympathy for the Colonies.[8] The second generation, typified by Tom Arnold, his brother, William, and other members of their circle like Goldwin Smith and the poet, Clough, were in more active rebellion against the status quo. They looked to the Colonies to provide a freer and purer life and remained anti-Imperialist until they died.[9] Members of the third generation, on the other hand, like Mrs. Ward and H.O. Arnold-Forster, were strongly Imperialist and ardent supporters of "the Establishment".

On practically every political, as well as religious matter, Mrs. Ward and her father found themselves in sharp disagreement:

> Yet there was hardly a public question, especially in his later years, on which Mrs. Ward and her father did not differ profoundly; for Tom Arnold hated "Imperialism" and the modern world, especially such manifestations of it as the Omdurman campaign and the South African War. Mrs. Ward, on the other hand, watched the former with all the pride and dread that comes from a personal stake in the adventure; for was not Colonel Neville Lyttelton[10] in command of a brigade, and had he not left his wife and children under our care at Stocks Cottage?[11]

The opposition of Lloyd George and a substantial wing of the Liberal Party to the South African War further strengthened Mrs. Ward's support of the Conservative Party and the Imperialist cause:

> And, as inevitably happens in all such controversies, the passion felt by the other side contributed to the hardening of her own opinion, so that the end of the war found her more staunch an Imperialist, more definite a Conservative, than she would have admitted herself to be before it.[12]

Clearly expressed in Lady Rose's Daughter, 1903, is the theme of the "white man's burden". Mrs. Ward describes the exhaustion of Sir Wilfrid Bury, quite an old man, who has just returned from Teheran:

> It was the weariness of the governing Englishman, and it was answered immediately by that other instinct, partly physical, partly moral, which keeps the elderly man of affairs to his task. Idleness? No! That way lies the end. To slacken the rush of life, for men of his sort, is to call on death - death, the secret pursuer, who is not far from each of us. No, no! Fight on! It was only the long drudgery behind, under alien suns, together with the iron certainty of fresh drudgery ahead, that gave value, after all, to this rainy, this enchanting Piccadilly - that kept the string of feeling taut and all its notes clear.[13]

The trip to North America in the Spring of 1908 appears to have confirmed Mrs. Ward's Imperial beliefs. Although Daphne, 1909, condemns much in the New World, Canadian Born, published the next year, with its love story of an English aristocrat and a Canadian pioneer, reflects the author's respect and admiration for her image of a Canada and Canadians—an image of another England across the Atlantic. Underlying the love story is the theme of the ties that bind England and Canada together. In particular, Mrs. Ward enjoyed her trip across Canada in a private car—the best way to travel—provided by Sir

William van Horne, head of the Canadian Pacific Railway. She and her daughter, Dorothy, were overwhelmed by the vastness of the Prairies and the majesty of the Rockies. In Vancouver they renewed their acquaintance with Mackenzie King, who had been a resident at the Passmore Edwards Settlement and who showed them the sights of the city including Chinatown.[14] The hero of Canadian Born expresses Mrs. Ward's views on Canada: "Yes, we are loyal, as you are—loyal to a common ideal, a common mission in the world."[15] "Yes! - we stand together. We march together, but Canada will have her own history; and you must not try to make it for her."[16]

In Toronto Mrs. Ward met her father's friend, Goldwin Smith—a Free-trader, a Republican, and an opponent of Imperialism:

> It was difficult after a time to keep patience with the Englishman whose most passionate desire seemed to be to break up the Empire, to incorporate Canada in the United States, to relieve us of India, that "splendid curse", to detach from us Australia and South Africa, and thereby to wreck for ever that vision of a banded commonwealth of free nations which for innumerable minds at home was fast becoming the romance of English politics.[17]

Except on the political incorporation of Canada into the United States, Goldwin Smith proved a more accurate prophet.

However, Mrs. Ward never doubted that she was right; her Imperial convictions were reinforced by her reactions to the First World War in which men and women from all over the Empire contributed to victory. She felt that if he had lived the loyalty of the British Empire during the war would have persuaded Goldwin Smith to change his mind:

> I wish he could have stood with me, eight years after this conversation, on the Scherpenberg Hill, then held by a Canadian division, the approach to its summit guarded by Canadian sentries, and have looked out over that plain where Canadian and British graves, lying in their thousands side by side, have for ever sealed in blood the union of the elder and the younger nations.[18]

The extra load of work entailed by the First World War proved a serious strain on Mrs. Ward's health, and it marked a climax in her life. Naturally, she took on tasks besides her literary and social work. She was an energetic member of the "Joint Advisory Committee" on solders' pensions and she converted the Passmore Edwards Settlement, the social centre she was running in London, to a temporary hostel for Belgian refugees.[19] However, her war work which she thought the most important was the writing of three books of propaganda at the suggestion of Theodore Roosevelt in a letter of December 27, 1915 asking for a series of articles on England's fine war effort to counteract Anglophobia in the United States.

> What I would like our people to visualize is the effort, the resolution and the self-sacrifice of the English men and women who are determined to see this war through.[20]

Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary, and Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions, as well as officials at the Admiralty and the War Office, favoured Roosevelt's idea and Mrs. Ward toured munitions factories, visited the Fleet, and made three visits to France, seeing the B.E.F. in action and even going up to the front line.[21]

In her third volume on the war, The Fields of Victory, 1919, she declares flatly that it was Britain which won the war:

> But, as it happened, the British Army was at its zenith of power, numbers, and efficiency, when the last hammer-blows of war had to be given--and our Army gave them.[22]

Of the French and American contributions to victory she wrote:

> [The French Army after Verdun was] ... inevitably husbanding its resources in men and yielding to the Armies of its Allies the hottest work in the final struggle.
>
> The young and growing American Army, which had only been some six months in the fighting line, and was still rather a huge promise.[23]

At the end of the war, while admitting that England was weary of her many responsibilities, Mrs. Ward concluded that the Imperial bonds were stronger than ever:

> She is glad and thankful - the 'weary Titan' - to hand over some of her responsibilities to America, and to share many of the rest. She wants nothing more for herself - the Great Mother of Nations - why should she? She has so much. But loss of prestige? The feeling in those with whom I have talked, is rather the feeling of Kipling's Recessional - a profound and wondering recognition that the Imperial bond has indeed stood so magnificently the test of these four years, just as Joseph Chamberlain, the Empire-builder, believed and hoped it would stand, when the day of testing came;... .[24]

Although the war had justified Mrs. Ward's faith in the Empire it required her to recognize more clearly the slow decline of the English aristocracy, which she had already noted in 1913 in The Coryston Family.[25] Yet, in 1915 she still does not feel that democracy provides a satisfactory answer to the problems of society. Mark Winnington, the hero of Delia Blanchflower, watches a protest march of desperate striking dockers and imagines their thoughts:

'For God's sake, you who have intelligence and education, and time to use them, think for us! - think with us! - find a way out! More wages - more food - more leisure - more joy! By God! We'll have them or bring down your world and ours in one ruin together!'... And then far back, from the middle of the last century, there came to Winnington's listening mind the cry of the founders of English democracy. 'The vote - give us the vote! - and bring in the reign of plenty and peace.' And the vote was given. Sixty years - and still this gaunt procession! - and all through industrial England, the same unrest, the same bitterness.[26]

Later in the conflict which, by the way, she regarded as a purifying experience for England,[27] when she had seen the magnificent efforts made by so many English men and women at the battlefront and at home, her distrust of the masses appreciably lessened. In Missing, a war novel which enjoyed quite a popular success—it sold 21,000 copies in the United States alone in the two months after its publication[28]—the hero tells his wife about the democratizing effect of the wartime army:

Nothing counts but what you are - it doesn't matter a brass ha'p'orth what you have. And as the new armies come along that'll be so more. It's 'Duke's son and Cook's son,' everywhere, and all the time. If it was that in the South African war, it's twenty times that now. This war is bringing the nation together as nothing ever has done, or could do. War is hellish! - but there's a deal to be said for it![29]

Finally in Harvest, which appeared in 1920 and was her last novel, Captain Ellesborough talks of the effect of the events of 1914-1918:

But all the time there's revolution going on beside it [the war] all over the world... . All I know is that the people who work with their hands are going to get a bit of their own back from the people who work with their heads - or their cheque-books. And I'm glad of it![30]

One of Mrs. Ward's most unfortunate prejudices, her mistrust of foreigners, appears to have been confirmed by what she saw in the war. From her earliest novels the foreigner, with a few exceptions, was portrayed as unreliable, eccentric or comic; and in many cases important characters in the novel are led astray by their admixture of foreign blood, and this even if they have been educated in England. For example, the Squire in Robert Elsmere has a great respect for German scholarship, yet he talks about the Germans as a "nation of learned fools, none of whom ever sees beyond his own professorial nose".[31] Naturally, wartime patriotism made Mrs. Ward even more anti-German, and in Lady Connie (1916), a nostalgic look back at late nineteenth century Oxford, the author imagines the thoughts of a German millionaire who has come to buy an English collection of pictures:

> This England, with her stored wealth, and her command of the seas - must she always stand between Germany and her desires? He found himself at once admiring and detesting the English scene on which he looked. That so much good German money should have to go into English pockets for those ill-gotten English treasure! What a country to conquer - and to loot![32]

Despite her anti-German sentiments and xenophobia generally, Mrs. Ward had a respect for Italy which dated back to her first reading of Ruskin and to the very pleasant holidays she had spent in that country;[33] and Eleanor, (1900), showed the contrast between the reactionary old Italian order and progressive, modern Italy—"an object lesson to England and the world".[34] In the books written after 1914 she barely mentions Italy, presumably because she dis-

approved of Italian neutrality at the start and then of the ineffectual contribution made by Italy to the Allied cause. In a reference to a girl who was a quarter Italian, her prejudice shows itself clearly:

> Her Italian blood betrayed itself throughout, alike in the keen pleasure she took in the various devices of her small plot [to see her miserly father]: in the entire absence of any hampering scruples as to the disobedience and deceit which it involved; and in the practical intelligence with which she was ready to carry it out.[35]

With some reservations, she does look on the French and Americans rather more favourably even if they sat back and let England win the war. Despite her professed admiration and love for the French, after reading her books one has to pity them for not being English. For example, in David Grieve it is her maternal French ancestry which leads Louie Grieve to sin and suicide. Fortunately, David, her brother and the hero, takes after the paternal side of the family—respectably English.

The Americans, whom she regards as fellow Anglo-Saxons, even though they are misguided, are sometimes most unfavourably depicted; Daphne (1909), is highly critical of the United States, and other works also betray a keen awareness of American faults:

> But an American that isn't quick's got no right to exist. You're bound to have heard the last thing, and read the last book, or people just want to know why you're there.[36]

In contrast to her unyielding xenophobia and Imperialism, Mrs. Ward did significantly change her views on the issue of votes

for women as a result of her wartime experiences. Although for a quarter of a century before 1914 she had actively opposed female suffrage, after this she did modify her views on the franchise for women, which she now no longer opposed so fiercely on principle. This was not only because she was so busy with other work, but also because she learned from her travels in England, France and Belgium that women were in fact capable of taking a full part in the life of the nation.[37]

Despite her work for women's causes since the early days at Oxford when she had joined with Mrs. Max Müller and Mrs. Mandell Creighton in campaigning for women's medical education, in providing lectures for women, and in founding Somerville Hall, Mrs. Ward did not believe that women ought to be given the Parliamentary vote. However, she did feel that women ought to play a more important role in local government which dealt directly with such matters of health, housing, social work and education of which women had had some practical experience.[38] A year after the publication of Robert Elsmere had made her a celebrity, Mrs. Ward in May 1889 made the first public statement of her opposition to woman suffrage when, with other distinguished women, she signed "A Woman's Appeal against Female Suffrage" which was published in The Times.[39] Other signatories included the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderney, Mrs. Alma-Tadema, Mrs. Matthew Arnold, Mrs. Mandell Creighton, Mrs. W.E. Forster, Mrs. Goschen, Mrs. T.H. Green, Mrs. T.H. Huxley, Mrs. Max Müller, Miss B. Potter, Mrs. L. Stephen and Mrs. A. Toynbee. Many of these later regretted

their signature. For example, both Beatrice Potter and Mrs. Creighton in 1906 proclaimed their adhesion to the suffragist movement.[40] The former, later Mrs. Sydney Webb, must have found her early opposition to the suffragette movement embarrassing, and it has been suggested by Constance Rover, a well-known writer on the suffragettes, that this may explain why the Fabians were lukewarm in support of votes for women.[41]

The "Appeal" gave five principal reasons for the opposition of the signatories to the female franchise. Firstly, women already had enough share in local government where they could play a useful political role, although Mrs. Ward later felt that it was necessary to campaign more actively for the greater representation of women on local government bodies. Secondly, once involved in the heat of party politics, women would lose their indirect influence on the decisions made by the men. This argument could perhaps apply chiefly to the well-educated and informed women capable of influencing the decisions of the man in their lives. Thirdly, and this reason was perhaps more justifiable, it was argued that while male suffrage was still limited there would be grave difficulties in the implementation of female suffrage. For example, the problem would arise whether votes should be given to wives of electors or given on a different set of qualifications.

Fourthly, and rather more vaguely, was the argument that the time was not yet ripe for the enfranchisement of women. Finally, the "Appeal" argued that during the past fifty years injustices to women

had been remedied by governments of men only, elected by men--an over-optimistic view in the year when the first London performance of Ibsen's Doll's House caused a furor by asserting the rights of a married woman.

After this statement of opposition Mrs. Ward concerned herself with other matters for some years. However, in 1907, alarmed by the increasing activity of the suffragettes, she actively campaigned against them. Her first volley in the battle of words, mainly to be written words, were fired at Mr. Dickinson's Women's Enfranchisement Bill which was talked out of the Commons on March 8, 1907. In a letter to The Times, Mrs. Ward argued that, even though it might sometimes be difficult to distinguish between local and Imperial affairs, women's suffrage should still be confined to local government where women were fitted to play a useful role.[42] She felt that as they could not directly involve themselves in military and Imperial matters the vote would give women "power without responsibility"; and she feared the addition to the voter's roll of a large number of unstable and ignorant women. Some of the obvious inconsistencies in Mrs. Ward's letter were immediately pointed out at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union held to protest the government's failure to support the bill. Mr. Israel Zangwill, quite a successful novelist, pointed out that he did not play a direct part in military affairs, but had the vote; whereas most soldiers and sailors, on the other hand, were not qualified for the franchise at all. He regarded the catchword "power without responsibility" as

Mrs. Ward's best contribution to fiction.[43]

After her visit to North America the following year, Mrs. Ward again put herself in the forefront of the battle by writing to The Times that she had seen that after sixty years of agitation the woman suffrage movement in the United States was in the process of defeat and extinction at the hands of the women themselves, and she concluded that a similar defeat of suffragism would follow in England.[44] As the next four years were to see the addition of five suffrage states—Washington, California, Oregon, Arizona and Kansas—she certainly misjudged the strength of the suffragette movement in the United States. The letter ended with a promise of an English anti-suffragist movement. Her daughter states that Mrs. Ward was persuaded to start this organization by Lord Cromer and other prominent opponents of votes for women.[45]

When the new organization—the Woman's National Anti-Suffrage League—was founded in July 1908, The Times in a leading article was enthusiastic:

> When Mrs. Ward affirms that the proposed change would be a disaster for England, and first and foremost for the women themselves, we are satisfied that she is expressing the view of the great bulk of Englishwomen... . The real reason why women ought not to have the political franchise is the very simple reason that they are not men, and that, according to a well-known dictum, even an Act of Parliament cannot make them men.[46]

At the inaugural meeting of the League on July 21, 1908 Lady Jersey presided; Lady Haversham was chosen provisional chairman; and Mrs. Ward, who was put in charge of propaganda and publications, moved the adoption of the League's manifesto which tended to repeat the arguments

previously expressed in the "Appeal" of 1889 and in the novelist's frequent letters in the correspondence columns of The Times, and which firmly reiterated the plea for women to confine themselves to local government. In her speech Mrs. Ward produced the rather ludicrous argument that female suffrage might be possible for small and unimportant countries, but such a great country as England with her world-wide responsibilities just could not afford to take the risk of giving the vote to women.[46] This argument must have pleased such notable proconsuls of Empire as Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Joseph Chamberlain and Rudyard Kipling, all of whom had joined the opposition to female suffrage.

As chairman of the publications sub-committee, Mrs. Ward busied herself with the production of a number of pamphlets and The Anti-Suffrage Review, which first appeared in December 1908. A distressing debate with Mrs. Fawcett, a leading suffragette not as militant as the Pankhursts, on votes for women, strengthened her resolve to confine herself to the war of the written word. To the meeting on February 26, 1909 in the Passmore Edwards Settlement Hall twice as many suffragettes as anti-suffragettes were invited and Mrs. Ward lost the debate by 74 to 235.[47] Mrs. Fawcett, who appears to have liked and respected Mrs. Ward despite the disagreement on the franchise, gives an interesting glimpse of Mrs. Ward after the debate:

> She [Mrs. Ward] said to me with violence in the little room at the back of the platform, to which we were both shepherded when the meeting was over, Mrs. Fawcett wrote afterwards, 'I shall NEVER do this sort of thing again, NEVER; and I shall write to the papers to say so.'[48]

Mrs. Ward had great faith in the efficacy of a letter to the papers, particularly to The Times, and after this debate there is no mention of any direct confrontation with the suffragettes.

In addition, Mrs. Ward was using her novels to convey her views on the question of the vote. The first direct reference to the issue is in The Testing of Diana Mallory, (1908); and the heroine's opinion is: "Dear, you can't wish it! - you can't believe it! To brutalize - unsex us!"[49] The following year, Daphne stressed the close relationship between suffragism and the breakdown of the family:

> Yet, of course, she [Daphne] was a 'Feminist' - and particularly associated with those persons in the suffrage camp who stood for broad views on marriage and divorce.[50]

In 1913, The Corysston Family told of the disastrous results from too much power in the hands of a woman. The message that woman's place is in the home comes clearly across in this mawkish dialogue:

> 'I say, Lester, if we can't find generosity, tenderness, an open mind - among women - where the devil are we going to find them?' He stood up. 'And politics kills all that kind of thing.'
> 'Physician, heal thyself,' laughed Lester.
> 'Ah, but it's our business!' - Corysston smote the table beside him - 'our dusty d___d business. We've got somehow to push and harry and drive the beastly world into some sort of decency. But the women! Oughtn't they to be in the shrine - tending the mystic fire? What if the fire goes out - if the heart of the nation dies?'[51]

Later in the book the theme of the woman remaining uncontaminated by the squalor of political reality is repeated: "What the deuce have women to do with politics! Why can't they leave the rotten things to us?"[52]

For a woman whose many activities left her little time for tending the "mystic fires" this seems a strangely inconsistent attitude. The culmination of this literary campaign came with the publication of the anti-suffrage novel, Delia Blanchflower. Delia, basically a "good girl", falls under the malign influence of Miss Marvell, an embittered and nearly insane suffragette whose activities reach a climax with the arson of Monk's Lawrence, country seat of the Home Secretary. In the blaze the caretaker's crippled child is killed. Delia comes to her senses and marries Mark Winnington, who holds strong views against votes for women:

> But can women share the male tasks that make and keep us a Nation, amid a jarring and environing host of Nations? - an Empire, with the guardianship of half the world on its shoulders?[53]

> And while England ponders, bewildered by the very weight of her own load, and its responsibilities, comes, suddenly, this train of Maenads rushing through the land, shrieking and destroying.[54]

Mrs. Ward believed that her anti-suffrage activities, particularly the writing of Delia Blanchflower, made her unpopular and had a markedly deleterious effect on the circulation of her novels.[55] Yet, the decline in sales is more logically attributed to the deteriorating quality of her novels, and Delia Blanchflower is a particularly badly-written book.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Ward had become involved in the political career of her son, Arnold Ward, who, defeating the Liberal incumbent, was elected and re-elected the Unionist Member of Parliament for the constituency of West Hertfordshire in the January and December elections of 1910. Mrs. Fawcett criticized Mrs. Ward's inconsistency in campaigning for her son

while maintaining that women were unfit to vote, but Mrs. Ward replied by asserting the right of educated women to try to influence male voters.[56] Her Letters to My Neighbours, published in January 1910, were circulated to the West Hertfordshire electors and the family felt that these made a substantial contribution to Arnold Ward's victories.[57] These articles contained her views on the important issues of the day--the fate of the House of Lords which she wanted to save, Tariff Reform which she favoured, the new Land Taxes which she abhorred, Home Rule for Ireland which she still opposed, and various other "Radical Absurdities" which she mocked.[58]

As a Member of Parliament until 1918, Arnold Ward proved to be as conservative as his mother. In September 1911 he refused to accept payment as an MP, returning his cheque to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.[59] Before that, in July 1910, he had opposed Mr. Shackleton's Female Suffrage Conciliation Bill, not on the sensible grounds that it would undemocratically give the vote to older single women, but on the ridiculous grounds that female suffrage would effectively give the woman two votes:

> There is one point in our present situation tonight which powerfully illustrates the indirect influence of women in politics at the present day. I do not know whether it is indiscreet to mention it, but in the course of making enquiries among a great many members as to their attitude upon this question, I find nothing more striking than the number of instances in which, I will not say the opinion, but the course of action, of a given Member is being influence - wisely and legitimately influenced - by some particular individual women. Innumerable unseen women will guard the entrance to those Division Lobbies tonight, and will be voting through us. It is now proposed, in addition, that they should have votes for themselves, thus practically having two votes, while we have none at all.[60]

The spectacle of these Imperial decision makers cowering before their mothers and wives does not inspire confidence in the British Empire. Despite, or because of, Arnold Ward's opposition the bill passed, but it was referred to a Committee of the Whole House and died a natural death when Parliament was dissolved. The Liberal leaders understandably did not favour a bill which would give the franchise to the predominantly Conservative sector of the population—elderly spinsters.

At the same time as Shackleton's bill was before the House, the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage was formed under the presidency of Lord Cromer; and in December of the same year, this male organization merged with the women's League to form the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage. Not surprisingly, Lord Cromer became President of this new body, while Lady Jersey stepped down to become Deputy-President. Naturally, Mrs. Ward continued to play an important part in the organization, now as chairman of the Local Government Advancement sub-committee, which campaigned for more women in the local level of government.

When Lloyd George spoke in November 1911 favouring woman suffrage, Mrs. Ward became almost demented. In her reply she wrote of the grave threat of woman suffrage to England's international prestige and Imperial power and she observed:

> Moreover, the whole future of legitimate and slowly developing power that now lies before English women of every class will have been endangered; the 'wild women' of these latter days will have become an institution, and English politics will have begun to drop to the window-breaking level.
>
> All this our Welsh Chancellor risks with a light heart. One is reminded of a famous saying of Mommsen: 'The Celts have shaken all the States, and founded none.'[61]

The following August Mrs. Ward again wrote to The Times, asking for support for her Local Government Advancement Committee, and pointing out that there were only twenty-one women on all the English borough and county councils and that there were two hundred Boards of Guardians without a single woman member.[62] She and aides actively campaigned for some women candidates for local government, but the case of Miss Willoughby does not indicate that their efforts were attended with much success. Miss Willoughby stood as an Independent Moderate for the Hoxton seat on the London County Council; she had been unable to get the official backing of the Moderate (or Conservative) Party. Despite the optimism of Mrs. Ward and the canvassers, Miss Willoughby received only 158 votes, trailing far behind the other four candidates who polled over two thousand votes each.[63]

Just before the war, Mrs. Ward appeared to be modifying her stand on female suffrage already, when she favoured the Scottish Home Rule Bill which would encourage the division between enlarged local assemblies with adult suffrage and local legislative powers, and the central Imperial Parliament, which would be elected by men only. She felt that this could be the basis of a "middle suffrage party".[64] Her support for Scottish Home Rule provides an interesting contrast to her earlier fierce opposition to Home Rule for Ireland.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the issue of votes for women was overshadowed by more urgent concerns, and the magnificent work done by women did much to demonstrate the falsity of the argument that the female sex was unfit to take a full part in the affairs of the

nation. When, in 1917, Mr. Lloyd George announced his intention of extending the franchise to women, Mrs. Ward opposed the timing of the proposal rather than the principle behind it. She argued that as two hundred Members of Parliament and two million male electors were serving overseas the time was not right for such an important decision, but she expressed her admiration for what women had done and thought that the issue could be considered after the war.[65]

When, in January 1918, Lloyd George's Bill came to the Lords from the Commons, Lord Curzon, then President of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, made a stirring speech supporting Lord Loreburn's amendment to reject the clause on female suffrage. Mrs. Ward, sitting in the Gallery next to her old friend and antagonist, Mrs. Fawcett, was thrilled; Lord Curzon, the hero of the anti-suffragettes, would save the day. Then she was stunned to hear Lord Curzon announce that, despite his personal feelings, he would not support Lord Loreburn's amendment because a substantial majority in the Commons had approved the principle of woman suffrage. The Bill passed the Lords, and Mrs. Ward could do nothing but write a reproachful letter to Lord Curzon:

> As to your speech, it seemed more and more impossible that it should not be followed by a vote. If your views were still such, was it conceivable that you should not give effect to them by a vote? ... . Then came the anti-climax ... . The effect absolutely disastrous.[66]

Mrs. Ward's lack of bitterness at this defeat is shown by the fact that less than two months later she joined with Mrs. Fawcett and other important women in submitting a "Memorial" urging support of Lord Buckmaster's bill to provide for the admission of women to the Bar; and one of the

arguments used was that since female suffrage had been approved by such a great majority of the Commons, women should also be admitted to equality in the legal profession.[67]

Tired and aging, Mrs. Ward must have been pleased to be able to retire with dignity from political controversy. Although the issue of female suffrage dragged her into the political arena, she did not enjoy direct participation in political strife. Throughout the novels she repeated the theme of women avoiding the dirty game of politics. Except for times of crisis, like the First World War, she maintained that the woman's place was in the home, and that even educated and intelligent women could be satisfied with only an indirect influence on public affairs. In politics she wanted to mould opinion, not to act. Yet, the demands of twentieth century politics and her fear of becoming an ineffectual intellectual, like Amiel, and her social conscience, drove her into a prominent place in the political battle.

Footnotes

[1]G.M. Harper, William Wordsworth, II, p. 372.

[2]R.C.K. Ensor, England: 1870-1914, p. 19 & pp. 73-75.

[3]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 176-180, and, J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 40.

[4]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 319-322.

[5]Mrs. Humphry Ward, David Grieve, II, p. 490.

[6]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Marcella, II, p. 177.

[7]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Sir George Tressady, I. p. 53.

[8]Ibid., See Chapter I, p. 5.

[9]Ibid., See Chapter II, pp. 22-23.

[10]Neville Lyttelton, later General Sir Neville Lyttelton, was Chief of General Staff from 1904 until 1908. He was the nephew of Mrs. Gladstone and brother to Alfred Lyttelton, who succeeded Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary.

[11]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 174-175.

[12]Ibid., p. 176.

[13]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Rose's Daughter, pp. 77-78.

[14]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 214-220. The reference to Mackenzie King is on page 219.

[15]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Canadian Born, p. 441.

[16]Ibid., p. 442.

[17]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 251.

[18]Ibid., p. 252.

[19]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 267-268.

[20]Ibid., p. 270.

[21]Ibid., pp. 271-300.

[22]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Fields of Victory, p. 17.

[23]Ibid., p. 19.

[24]Ibid., p. 14.

[25]Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Coryston Family, p. 145. "How much longer will this rich, leisurely and aristocratic class, with all its still surviving power and privilege, exist among us? It is something that is obviously in the process of transmutation and decay, though in a country like England the process will be a very slow one."

[26]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Delia Blanchflower, p. 328.

[27]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections. p. 370. "They mean, surely that a new heat of intelligence, a new passion of sympathy and justice has been roused in our midst by this vast and terrible effort, which, when the war is over, will burn out of itself the rotten things in our social structure, and make reforms easy, which, but for the war, might have rent us in sunder."

[28]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 289.

[29]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Missing, p. 38.

[30]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Harvest, p. 113.

[31]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, II, p. 380.

[32]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Connie, p. 115.

[33]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 264-267.

[34]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Eleanor, p. 41.

[35]Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Mating of Lydia, p. 423.

[36]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Eleanor, p. 424.

[37]Mrs. Humphry Ward, England's Effort, pp. 41 et al. Throughout the book, Mrs. Ward stresses the great impression made on her by the work of the women in the munitions factories which increased their output tenfold from December 1914 to December 1915. On page 41 she relates her conversation with a works superintendent: "As to the women!" - he throws up his hands - "they're saving the country. Hours? They work time and a half or, with overtime, twelve hours a day, seven days a week."

[38]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, pp. 152-153.

[39]The Times, May 30, 1889, p. 5.

[40]Ibid., November 5, 1906, p. 8.

[41]Constance Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Britain: 1866-1914, p. 159.

[42]The Times, March 8, 1907, p. 6.

[43]Ibid., March 8, 1907, p. 6.

[44]Ibid., June 30, 1908, p. 9.

[45]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 230.

[46]The Times, July 22, 1908, p. 14.

[47]Ibid., February 27, 1909.

[48]Ray Strachey, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, p. 233.

[49]Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Testing of Diana Mallory, p. 272.

[50]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Daphne, p. 207.

[51]Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Corysston Family, p. 119.

[52]Ibid., p. 155.

[53]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Delia Blanchflower, p. 330.

[54]Ibid., p. 331

[55]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 239.

[56]The Times, June 20, 1910, p. 10.

[57]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 250-251.

[58]The Times, January 24, 1910, p. 7.

[59]Ibid., September 14, 1911, p. 4.

[60]C. Rover, Women's Suffrage and Party Politics in Great Britain: 1866-1914, pp. 39-40.

[61]The Times, November 27, 1911, p. 9.

[62]Ibid., August 12, 1912, p. 8.

[63]Ibid., March 4, 1913, p. 6.

[64]Ibid., May 15, 1914, p. 9.

[65]Ibid., May 23, 1917, p. 9.

[66]Leonard Mosley, Curzon: The End of an Epoch, pp. 173-175.

[67]E.M. Lang, British Women in the Twentieth Century, pp. 160-161.

CHAPTER V

MRS. WARD'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND SOCIAL WORK

In marked contrast to her increasingly reactionary political philosophy, Mrs. Ward remained consistently tolerant and liberal in her religious beliefs throughout her life. Not only did she favour the inclusion of all shades of Christian belief within the Anglican Church, but she also felt that other religions--even those of the "lesser races"--could have as much validity as Christianity. Writing in reply to Gladstone's argument--in his critical attack on Robert Elsmere--that the amazing rise of Christianity alone proved the reality of miracle, she maintained:

> To the historian there is no miracle, moral or physical, in the matter, any more than there is in the rise of Buddhism or of any other of those vast religious systems with which the soil of history is strewn. He sees the fuel of a great ethical and spiritual movement, long in the preparation from many sides, kindled into flame by that spark of a great personality--a life of genius, a tragic death.[1]

This is very similar to Ernest Renan's belief that Jesus Christ was not God, but an exceptional man who reformed Judaism so profoundly as to create a new religion.[2] Her religious ideas found a practical mode of expression in her social work, which she regarded as the "sensible" means by which religion could conquer evil and sin. Reporting a conversation with Gladstone on April 8, 1888, she wrote in an appendix to Robert Elsmere:

> I suggested that though I did not wish for a moment to deny the existence of moral evil, the more one thought of it the more plain became its connection with physical and social and therefore removable conditions.[3]

The origin and development of Mrs. Ward's religious views can be clearly traced back to Dr. Thomas Arnold, who was always a partisan of the liberal viewpoint, opposing theological reactionaries and at the same time abhorring dogma and the imposition of tests on belief for admission to the Anglican Church. He himself had had serious doubts about subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles, and consequently, on all occasions he favoured charity and toleration on matters of belief. In the next generation the Broad Church or Latitudinarian persuasion, led by Matthew Arnold, Jowett, and Dean Stanley, took a similar position. Mrs. Ward, moreover, was greatly influenced by the Christian Socialism of F.D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley, who emphasized practical Christianity by working among the poor to lessen their remoteness from the Established Church. Her unsettled childhood and her parents' disagreements were mainly the result of sectarian disputes; her father had to leave Tasmania in 1856 after his conversion to Roman Catholicism became known. Later, he quarrelled with Newman and had to relinquish his post at the Oratory School because of his sympathy towards the liberal Catholicism of Dr. Dollinger and he rejoined the Anglican Communion. Still later, he lost not only many private pupils but also the chance of election to the Chair of Early English at Oxford when he reconverted to the Catholic Church in 1876; consequently, it is hardly surprising that Mrs. Ward herself should favour religious free-

dom and support the decisions of the individual conscience.

The intellectual provenance of Mrs. Ward's religion can be traced to three major sources. Firstly, Balliol was the college not only of Jowett, whose liberalism had made him the rallying point for all those discontented with the narrowness and rigidity of the Established Church, but also of T.H. Green, who was tearing down the irrational and supernatural elements in Christian belief while still supporting the principles of the Christian moral code. In Robert Elsmere, Green appeared as Grey, the hero's spiritual mentor, and the Greenian or Modernist message is also expressed in the next book, David Grieve. Secondly, during the eighteen-seventies, Mrs. Ward's own research in the Bodleian on early Spanish Christianity demonstrated to her the doubtful origins of much of orthodox Christian doctrine, and, in particular, she realised the apocryphal nature of the supernatural and miraculous in religion. Thirdly, the work of foreign scholars, particularly in Biblical criticism, further confirmed her doubts as to the literal authenticity of the Scriptures. She particularly admired Renan in France and Adolf Harnack in Germany for their painstaking research and rational publications.

In those of her novels with religious themes, Mrs. Ward not only convincingly demonstrated some of the absurdities in the old religion, but she also tried less successfully to expound the new religious philosophy which she had developed under Green's influence. Robert Elsmere tells the story of a sincere and deeply religious man whose intellectual powers make him painfully aware of the many ir-

rationalities and apparent inconsistencies in the dogma and doctrines of the Church of England in which he has taken Holy Orders. Intellectual honesty compels him to give up his living, and he goes to London to work in the slums for a Unitarian minister. After a period in the spiritual wilderness he evolves a new form of practical Christianity stripped of the supernatural and miraculous elements and based instead on the wisdom of the soul and the effort of the individual. The organization which Robert Elsmere formed--the "New Brotherhood"--was later to inspire the foundation of the University Hall and the Passmore Edwards Settlements.

Whereas Robert Elsmere is basically the story of despair and intellectual travail ending with the death of the hero, David Grieve, on the other hand, tells of the hero who does not have to undergo the anguish of parting with his old beliefs and who, through everyday life and practical affairs, achieves spiritual serenity. Mrs. Ward herself thought these two novels expressed the two sides of the Greenian philosophy:

> But with this analysis of what may be called the intellectual presuppositions of Robert Elsmere, my mind began to turn to what I believed to be the other side of the Greenian or Modernist message--i.e. that life itself, the ordinary human life and experience of every day as it has been slowly evolved through history, is the true source of religion, if man will but listen to the message of his own soul, to the voice of the Eternal Friend, speaking through conscience, through Society, through Nature. Hence David Grieve, which was already in my mind within a few months of the publication of Robert Elsmere![4]

The Case of Richard Meynell, sequel to Robert Elsmere, was published in 1911, twenty-three years after the first opus, and, despite this long interval, the sequel is essentially a rehash of the ideas of its predecessor. However, there is one significant difference--unlike Robert Elsmere, Richard Meynell decides to stay in the Church of England and fight for his beliefs. Yet another novel on religion, Helbeck of Bannisdale, which was published in 1898, is concerned rather with the conflict between modern enlightened Protestantism and reactionary Roman Catholicism, and not with the exposition of any particular religious philosophy.

Despite pages of theological argument which appear complex, the ideas developed in all of the novels are basically simple. The author hopes to strip Christianity of the supernatural and the miraculous; to open the membership of the Established Church to as many Christians as possible; to accept Christ as a great inspiration to all men; to preserve Christian morality; and to work for one's fellow men. The more critical and negative ideas are well argued and clearly expressed, but the attempt to expound positive beliefs does not seem convincing. The arguments are often vague and confused, betraying the lack of a real understanding of the subtleties of theological thought. Mrs. Ward sometimes even descends to pointless generalities such as, "To reconceive the Christ! It is the special task of our age,"[5] or "Yet--is truth divided?"[6] Through the verbiage this confession of faith by David Grieve means little more than God is there and God is good:

> That the spiritual principle in Nature and men exists and governs; that mind cannot be explained out of anything but itself; that the human consciousness derives from a universal consciousness, and is thereby capable both of knowledge and of goodness; that the phenomena and history of conscience are the highest revelation of God; that we are called to co-operation in a Divine work, and in spite of pain and sin may find ground for an infinite trust, covering the riddle of the individual lot, in the history and character of that work in man, so far as it has gone--these things are deeper and deeper realities to me. They govern my life; they give me peace; they breathe to me hope.[7]

Mrs. Ward's religious thinking is further muddled by her belief in a form of Wordsworthian Transcendentalism--mystical communion with God through Nature. In the introduction to Richard Meynell, she wrote:

> In other words, - the words of a great poet, - 'the form remains, the function never dies'.[8] Only, men are perpetually pouring into both the new forces both of their beliefs and their disbeliefs. Aye, and insensibly, in the long run, the form and functions themselves change; the stream deflects its course and makes a new channel; the inward process becomes the outward; and that which seems to have least commerce with change becomes, when we least expect it, the minister and fountain of new life.[9]

Of greater value than her confused religious thought was Mrs. Ward's social work which began with the founding of the University Hall Settlement in September 1890; this was modelled not only on the fictional "New Brotherhood", but also on Toynbee Hall. The novelist had been greatly impressed by the success of the latter institution.[10] In company with such religious liberals as Dr. James Martineau--brother of Harriet Martineau, Lord Carlisle--a temperance supporter and social reformer, and Stopford Brooke--the popular preacher who, like Robert

Elsmere, had left the Anglican Church because he could not subscribe to its doctrines, Mrs. Ward made plans for the creation of the "New Brotherhood" in Bloomsbury. The residents at the Settlement would continue their careers while devoting their spare time and energy to social and charitable work in a hall in Marchmont Street--a street not far from Bloomsbury, but its slums presented a striking contrast to the upper middle class respectability of that area. In Words to Residents, a booklet written for the opening, Mrs. Ward made the social aims of the Settlement clear:

> Whether on charity organization committees, or in poor-law and sanitary work, in teaching and lecturing, in boys' clubs, in recreative evening classes, in the different country holiday associations of London, in school management, in hospital visiting, in the many attempts that may now be made to cheer and brighten the lives of the poor and struggling, by education, there is ample room for all who come. ... Speaking broadly, the ideal of the hall is that it should be a colony of men engaged in their ordinary avocations of life, but spending out of their margin of leisure and strength such time and energy as they can upon the special tasks of the settlement.[11]

To the founders, the religious aims of University Hall were more important than the social work. Yet the Settlement failed in its aims to be a centre of religious thought, while the social work proved far more successful than the founders had expected.

From the beginning there were close links with Unitarianism. Dr. Martineau and Lord Carlisle were both Unitarians, and Stopford Brooke, while remaining free of any religious affiliation, was most sympathetic to the sect. The first Warden, Philip Wicksteed, was persuaded to leave his ministry at the Unitarian chapel in Little

Portland Street to come to University Hall. Some of the committee, including Stopford Brooke and Lord Carlisle, wanted to call it a Unitarian settlement, but Mrs. Ward opposed this, not wanting to make a final break with the Anglican Church while she still felt that there was some chance of influencing it towards more Latitudinarian beliefs. Accordingly, she resolutely maintained the non-sectarian nature of the settlement.[12] The novelist's sympathies with Unitarianism are betrayed in Robert Elsmere, for it was a Unitarian minister whose understanding helped the hero out of his spiritual wilderness.

The religious purposes of University Hall were fulfilled by Biblical studies and theological lectures for the residents. An attempt was also made to encourage local people to attend lectures on religious themes, but this failed. In fact, the residents themselves began to object to the religious studies which they felt were intended to indoctrinate them with the ideas and ideals of Robert Elsmere's "New Brotherhood". Eventually, the lectures and classes on religion were discontinued, although in 1897 Mrs. Ward established the Jowett lectureship on a religious or philosophical subject.[13]

As the original religious aims of the settlement proved to be unfulfilled and the social work more and more successful, it became obvious that University Hall was too large and expensive for the residents, while the Marchmont Street Hall was inadequate for the crowds who attended concerts, discussions and debates, popular

lectures, children's playtime and club meetings. Consequently, it was decided that there should be a new building to house both the residents and the social centre. Money came from various sources, including £1,000 from Mrs. Ward and £800 from the Duke of Bedford, but the main contribution of £14,000 was given by Passmore Edwards—a retired newspaper proprietor and philanthropist who during his life had paid for twenty-four free libraries. A site in Tavistock Place was provided by the Duke of Bedford, ground-landlord of the area, for a nominal price on a 999 year lease; in addition, he agreed to return the ground-rent to the settlement. With the opening of the new building--named the Passmore Edwards Settlement—in autumn 1897, the committee was able to expand considerably its activities for the benefit of the poor people from the Euston and St. Pancras areas.

The founders of the Passmore Edwards Settlement were especially concerned with the children and anxious to save them from the temptations of idleness and the perils of the streets. In 1898, they organized a play centre for children on weekday evenings and Saturday mornings. Voluntary helpers amused and instructed the children by means of games, musical drill, singing, dancing, acting, story telling, handwork and slide shows. This proved so successful that in 1904 Mrs. Ward organized a committee to raise money for the opening of more play centres in London. The County Council was favourably impressed enough to make seven schools available for play centres in early 1905, and Toynbee Hall also opened a play centre. The movement proved itself in other parts of the country as well, and by 1918 in

London the settlement was administering some twenty-nine play centres, each for a thousand to fifteen hundred children.[14]

Realizing that there was far too much to be done by voluntary organization alone, Mrs. Ward hoped that local government would share in the tasks of providing play centres. Writing in support of Clause 35 of the Education Bill of 1906, which would empower local authorities to raise money for holiday and evening recreation centres for children, she explained:

> The whole plan was to be an experiment, to extend over two or more years, in the hope that it might ultimately lead to such interest in the matter on the part of the public as would bring in the local authorities - <u>in combination with voluntary effort</u> - and so secure to the children of London at once the trained superintendence of the authorities and the permanence given by a background of paid organization, together with the variety and the meeting of classes involved in voluntary effort.[15]

Despite the enactment of this clause, Mrs. Ward was unable to persuade the London County Council to raise money for this purpose for many years, although they did permit the use of school buildings for play centres, free of charge. Finally, in 1917 the Board of Education announced that it would contribute half the cost of approved play centres, and this was followed by the London County Council's decision in 1919 to pay a quarter of the cost, leaving voluntary workers the obligation to pay only the remaining quarter.

There still remained the problem of the want of occupation for children during the summer holidays, so it was decided to extend the provision of leisure activities to include a vacation school in August at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. The first vacation school started

in 1902 and provided the thousand children attending the two daily sessions with activities similar to those of the evening play centres and in the same way the idea of vacation schools spread to other parts of the country. Yet despite the success of the venture, Mrs. Ward was only able to persuade the Council to open vacation schools in 1911 and 1912. At the same time, they also provided supervised school playgrounds during these two summer holidays. Then, without any explanation the local authority, after 1912, refused to co-operate further in the provision of playgrounds and summer schools, and in 1921 they passed a resolution prohibiting any expenditure on supervised playgrounds and summer schools, perhaps because of the expense and the difficulty of maintaining adequate supervision.

In charitable work Mrs. Ward's most important achievement was in the provision of education for crippled and other physically handicapped children. She had always been particularly concerned at the neglect of educational opportunities for children physically unable to go to school and had been appalled to discover that some authorities sent such handicapped children to the same institutions as the mentally deficient. In 1899, after obtaining the approval of local and central educational authorities, she opened the first school in England especially organized for crippled children at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. By the end of the year there were forty-five children on the roll. Brought to the school in an ambulance donated by Sir Thomas Barlow, a well-known doctor, they were given lessons, provided with professional medical supervision, suitable exercises and a nutritious dinner. As

the school proved so valuable, Mrs. Ward began to campaign for similar facilities for all who needed them. As a result of the efforts she and others made, by 1909 the London County Council had been persuaded in conjunction with voluntary effort to pay for thirty schools enrolling 2452 children.[16]

Mrs. Ward also served on the After-Care Committee for Blind, Deaf and Cripple Children which was founded in 1906. This committee co-operated with the London School Board in giving training and advice to these children and helped them to find employment after leaving the special schools.[17] The final triumph came in 1918 when, after a campaign in the Press and after urgent representations to Local Education Authorities and Members of Parliament, Mrs. Ward managed to obtain the addition of a special clause to Fisher's Education Bill. This clause compelled local authorities to make arrangements for the education of physically defective children.[18]

Mrs. Ward's social work proved far more valuable and effective than her political activities; perhaps more important than even her best known novels, in which she had expressed her religious ideology. Despite the great interest aroused by the religious novels, she was not a success as a religious propagandist. Though a cursory glance gives the impression that a "new" religion is being developed by the novelist, a deeper study shows that there was little original thought in her religious philosophy. The criticisms of the irrationalities in the generally accepted Christian beliefs of the day are interestingly and dramatically presented to the reader, but they are little

more than a popularization of the skepticism of contemporary scholars like Renan and Harnack. The major positive and constructive element in Mrs. Ward's religious thought is not really anything new; it is a sincere plea for men and women to work for those less fortunate than themselves.

Although as a religious propagandist and the founder of a new religion, Mrs. Ward proved a failure--not even the early residents of the settlement she founded were prepared to subscribe to her religious beliefs; yet, her social work proved unexpectedly fruitful. She and her supporters did achieve direct results in helping children and adults in need; and their example encouraged other individuals, as well as local and central governmental bodies, to labour for the poor and the handicapped. As the results of her earlier efforts multiplied, she became more and more an organizer and fund raiser. Her fame as a novelist enabled her to attract public attention to the causes she was promoting, and the Press, particularly The Times for which her husband had written for so many years, co-operated cordially with her. Even if she sometimes envisaged herself as the lady of the manor helping the lower classes, she did feel for the unfortunate and she did manage to alleviate the sufferings of many. In the true tradition of "noblesse oblige" she never questioned the obligation to give of herself to those in need of help.

Footnotes

[1]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, II, App. II, p. 597.

[2]See Chap. II, footnote 32.

[3]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, II, App. I, p. 565.

[4]Mrs. Humphry Ward, A Writer's Recollections, p. 261.

[5]Mrs. Humphry Ward, Robert Elsmere, II, p. 359.

[6]Mrs. Humphry Ward, David Grieve, II, p. 410.

[7]Ibid., pp. 416-417.

[8]Wordsworth, The River Duddon, xxxiv After-Thought:

> "I thought of Thee, my partner and my guide,
> As being past away - Vain sympathies!
> For, backward, Duddon! as I cast my eyes,
> I see what was, and is, and will abide;
> Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide;
> The Form remains, the Function never dies."

[9]Mrs. Humphry Ward, The Case of Richard Meynell, Intro., p. 9.

[10]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 79.

[11]The Times, September 24, 1890, p. 4.

[12]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 83-85.

[13]Ibid., pp. 87-90 and 121-122.

[14]The Times, November 22, 1918, p. 12.

[15]Ibid., October 11, 1906, p. 13.

[16]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, pp. 135-140.

[17]The Times, January 28, 1907, p. 5.

[18]J.P. Trevelyan, The Life of Mrs. Humphry Ward, p. 294.

ENVOI

Although nearly forgotten, not quite half a century after her death, Mrs. Ward was, nevertheless, one of the most significant figures of her own day. Little of her reputation remains, except in the minds of a few who vaguely remember her as the author of Robert Elsmere, but to her contemporaries she was widely known as one of the most successful and active women of her generation. In the writing of novels, as well as in religious and political controversy, she aroused passionate public interest, even if her contributions were critical and negative rather than original and positive: for she had not the genius to create something new in the realm of ideas, blinded as she was by her preoccupation with the faults of the old beliefs. Although not bearing the stamp of genius, some of her novels--especially Robert Elsmere, Marcella, and perhaps Helbeck of Bannisdale--do deserve to survive as interesting reflections of the problems of late Victorian England. Mrs. Ward had the gift of presenting contemporary problems in an imaginative way. Her literary creations typified the image of their generation as much as those of Henry Fielding, Jane Austen, Scott Fitzgerald or John Osborne typified theirs.

In addition to her career as a novelist, Mrs. Ward was prepared to commit herself to a variety of causes, but with mixed results. As an intelligent and hard-working woman, she did what she considered to be her duty; as an Arnold, she had many advantages

giving her admission to leading political and artistic and intellectual circles. Her marriage to Humphry Ward brought her into contact with an even wider circle of the artistic and intellectual world. Yet, in many ways, her heritage was also a disadvantage, because she was trapped by it. The influences that moulded her were outdated, her mentors belonged to the two previous generations, and she scarcely managed to keep up with the present, let alone look to the future.

It was only as a comparatively young woman that she was truly in sympathy with her liberal contemporaries, as when she wrote Robert Elsmere. As the nineteenth century ended, rapid social and industrial progress left Mrs. Ward behind, branded as an anachronism from the previous age. Brought up to revere Gladstone, she could have little in common with Keir Hardie and Lloyd George. It is difficult to realize that she was only a few years older than such essentially twentieth century figures as Lord Northcliffe and George Bernard Shaw.

This increasing alienation from her own age made her a somewhat comic figure in her later life when her novels and her political views became so out of touch with reality. In addition, she did have many of the faults of the mid-Victorians, namely, smugness, snobbery and excessive earnestness. Nevertheless, she also possessed some of the finer qualities of that generation--a keen sense of duty, a catholic variety of enthusiasms, and an exceptional capacity for hard work. A woman who was respected and

befriended by such a diversity of great men--W.E. Gladstone, John Morley, T.H. Green, James Martineau, Henry James, and Theodore Roosevelt--certainly cannot have been of little consequence.

Even if she took herself too seriously, she took others seriously too, and the proof of this lies in her social work. The Passmore Edwards Settlement, since renamed the Mary Ward Settlement, still stands in London as a memorial to her efforts. It is unfortunate perhaps that she tried to do so much, for if she had been able to refrain from politics--particularly the opposition to female suffrage--she would not have been subjected to so much ridicule, and she would have had more time to devote to social welfare where she did so much good. Her lack of outstanding success and her neglect by posterity can be attributed as much to her estrangement from her generation as to her excessive enthusiasm for so many causes and her failure to concentrate her efforts. Mary Augusta Ward, in the end, was a woman out of her time. Her eagerness and her energies, her interests and her activities, really made her a fit colleague for Florence Nightingale rather than a contemporary of Nancy Astor.

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Vols. III & IV, David Grieve, (1892).

Vols. V & VI, Marcella, (1894).

Vols. VII & VIII, Sir George Tressady, (1896).

Vol. VIII, Miss Bretherton, (1884).

Vol. IX, Helbeck of Bannisdale, (1898).

Vol. X, Eleanor, (1900).

Vol. XI, Lady Rose's Daughter, (1903).

Vol. XII, The Marriage of William Ashe, (1905).

Vol. XIII, Fenwick's Career, (1906).

Vol. XIII, The Story of Bessie Costrell, (1895).

Vol. XIV, The Testing of Diana Mallory, (1908).

Vol. XV, Daphne or Marriage à la Mode, (1909).

Vol. XV, Canadian Born or Lady Merton, Colonist, (1910).

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__________. The Mating of Lydia. Toronto, 1913.

__________. The Coryston Family. New York, 1913.

__________. Delia Blanchflower. New York, 1915.

__________. Eltham House. Toronto, 1915.

__________. A Great Success. Toronto, 1916.

__________. Lady Connie. London, 1916.

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----------. England's Effort. Toronto, 1916.

----------. Towards the Goal. Toronto, 1917.

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APPENDIX

The Published Works of Mrs. Humphry Ward

The Novels:

Miss Bretherton. London, 1884.

Robert Elsmere. London, 1888.

David Grieve. London, 1892.

Marcella. London, 1894.

The Story of Bessie Costrell. London, 1895.

Sir George Tressady. London, 1896.

Helbeck of Bannisdale. London, 1898.

Eleanor. London, 1900.

Lady Rose's Daughter. London, 1903.

The Marriage of William Ashe. London, 1905.

Fenwick's Career. London, 1906.

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Other Writings:

Lives of Spanish Saints and churchmen, contributions to the Dictionary of Christian Biography. London, 1877.

Contributions to periodicals, particularly the Pall Mall Gazette, Macmillan's and the Anti-Suffrage Review.

Milly and Ollie, (A story for children). London, 1881.

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England's Effort, (War propaganda). London, 1916.

Towards the Goal, (War propaganda). London, 1917.

A Writer's Recollections, (Memoirs). London, 1918.

Fields of Victory, (War propaganda). London, 1919.

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		to	

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Publications:

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