'THE STRIFE OF WORDS': VIOLENCE IN THE WRITING OF DOROTHY RICHARDSON

by

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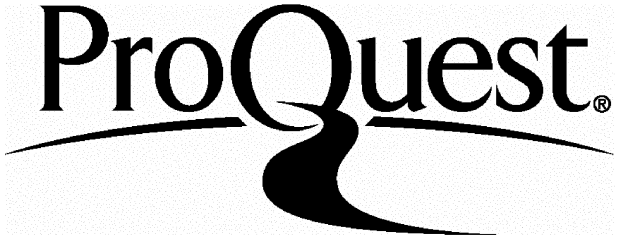

'The Quakers ... worked everywhere, ploughing up the land, calling men to cease the strife of words'.

Dorothy Richardson, *The Quakers; Past and Present*, p. 28.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Dorothy Richardson's thirteen volume novel-sequence *Pilgrimage*, written between 1913 and 1954. Critical approaches to this work are diverse; however, I was struck by an apparent general contradiction in literary studies of Richardson. While all critics agree that Richardson's writing is fluid in form and celebrates multiplicity, most nevertheless acknowledge psychological conflict in her work, and many use the language of strife in describing her. My thesis focuses on the violence in Richardson's work, making it explicit, rather than implicit, as previous critics have done. I argue that Richardson's fascination with violence is a continuing complex preoccupation, which must be taken into account to modify existing readings of her.

I begin by examining *The Quakers; Past and Present* (1914), arguing that this book not only served as Richardson's apprenticeship as an author, and allowed her to explore her mystical leanings, but it also enabled her to express her preoccupation with violence. I then analyse *Pointed Roofs* (1914), the first volume of *Pilgrimage*, comparing Richardson to women writers such as Elizabeth von Arnim, Katherine Mansfield and Violet Hunt, who were fascinated and repulsed by the latent aggression and masculinity of pre-war Germany. I consider the connections between the feminist element and the formal daring of *Pilgrimage* within the context of feminist fiction of its time, arguing that the linked themes of social and literary rupture constitute forms of violence. I then turn to the significance of London in *Pilgrimage*, focusing on the accosting of women by men in public spaces, and Miriam's encounters with beggars, with reference to Virginia Woolf, May Sinclair, and H.G. Wells. Finally, I locate the centrality of hatred in *Pilgrimage*, examining what I term Richardson's 'unreasonable' hatreds - or those which are not explicable in terms of reasonable alibis. I conclude that one of the desired goals of Miriam's and of Richardson's quest is coming to terms with hatred and violence. The character of Jean functions as a check on Miriam's hatreds; Jean is an externalisation of Richardson's own internal drive to suppress hatred.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

One of my first undertakings in this study of Dorothy Richardson's thirteen volume novel-sequence *Pilgrimage* (which she wrote between 1913 and 1954), was a thorough perusal of the secondary literature, in order to ascertain what had already been said about her. As Carol Watts, George H. Thomson and Joanne Winning have provided comprehensive surveys of the existing Dorothy Richardson criticism,[1] I shall not re-cover well trodden ground by giving a lengthy account of my reading here; rather, I shall refer to relevant critical works at specific points in my argument. Winning, whose thesis usefully explores aspects of gender, femininity and lesbian sexual identity in *Pilgrimage*, arguing that the latter forms 'the subtextual motivation of the text', has noted the diversity of critical approaches to Richardson's novel-sequence:

> [This] clearly indicates that it is a vast and complex text which supports multiple and often contradictory readings. Despite the apparent cohesion conferred upon it by the parameters of the chronological narrative, *Pilgrimage* is in fact a text of fragments, written over a period of forty years and through a panorama of changing cultural and historical

[1]See Carol Watts, *Dorothy Richardson* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers, 1995), Select Bibliography, pp. 91-93; George H. Thomson, *A Reader's Guide to Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage* (University of North Carolina at Greensboro, NC: ELT Press, 1996), Chapter Five: A Select Bibliography, pp. 145-169; and Joanne Winning, *Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage as Archive of the Self* (PhD thesis, 1996), Introduction, pp. 5-17. Other critical studies have been published since these works appeared. Those I have found particularly useful are Jacqueline Rose's 'Dorothy Richardson and the Jew' in *States of Fantasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) pp. 117-132, an examination of Richardson's problematic representations of race and Englishness; Susan Gevirtz's *Narrative's Journey: the fiction and film writing of Dorothy Richardson* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1996), which takes as its subject *Pilgrimage* and Richardson's late 1920s 'Continuous Performance' columns about the early silent cinema, and explores the ways in which each illuminate and interrogate the other, usefully defining Richardson's theories of reading and viewing practices; and Kristin Bluemel's *Experimenting on the Borders of Modernism: Dorothy Richardson's Pilgrimage* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1997), a study of the relationship between experimental forms and oppositional politics in *Pilgrimage*, which connects the work's challenge to the literary and cultural norms of its period with Richardson's construction of a lesbian sexuality, her use of medicine to interrogate class structures, and her feminist critique of early twentieth century science.

landscapes. For this reason it defies and eludes a unitary reading, throwing up endless shifts and contradictions.[2]

Indeed, one issue all the critics seem agreed upon is that Richardson's writing is typically modernist in its open-endedness, its impressionism, and its celebration of multiplicity. Jean Radford, for example, reads *Pilgrimage* as a precursor of *ecriture feminine* in 'its unboundedness, fluidity, refusal of closure, its pleonastic, metonymic qualities ...'[3] Stephen Heath believes that Richardson is 'writing in the end for silence', away from the reductive and categorising impositions of language, notably male language, and that she narrates her protagonist's life as 'a story in elsewheres and silences'. Heath explains that 'the point is ... that there is no one, only the myriad, the flow that only by a fiction - the old idea of the novel - can be stopped in some simple unity, some given identity'.[4] Watts, who argues that *Pilgrimage* offers 'a form of cultural memory of a difficult coming-to-consciousness, a struggle over gendered meanings and identities which is no less contested today', uses the term 'mobile impressionism' to describe Miriam's consciousness. Watts writes: 'the novel ... attempts to represent the way in which an individual inevitably experiences the "now" of his or her cultural moment as partial and unrealised, and as a changing reorientation to past events and to the pressures of the future'.[5]

Reading through the Richardson criticism, however, I was struck by an apparent contradiction. While focusing on the formal fluidity of *Pilgrimage* and its refusal of fixed meanings, most critics nevertheless acknowledge psychological conflict in Richardson's work, and many use the language of strife in writing about her. Gillian Hanscombe, for example, who interprets *Pilgrimage* as an exposition on the nature of female

[2]Winning, *Pilgrimage as Archive*, p.6.
[3]Jean Radford, *Dorothy Richardson* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 113-114.
[4]Stephen Heath, 'Writing for Silence: Dorothy Richardson and the Novel', pp. 133 & 134, in Susanne Kappeler and Norman Bryson (eds.), *Teaching the Text* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983).
[5]Watts, *Richardson*, pp. 1, 60, & 40.

subjecthood, states that 'the whole corpus of [Richardson's] writing is derived from her central role conflict between the demands made upon her as a woman, first by life, and secondly by art'. 'The opposition between men and women ... arouses, at a deep level aggression and violence...' Hanscombe also refers to Miriam's 'psychological battle-readiness'.[6]

Invoking the same metaphor of battle, Radford provides the following explanation of Miriam's 'psychic conflicts':

> Miriam cannot choose between her dual inheritance (or identifications) and refusing to repress either, she resolves to live out the conflict. In Nietzschean terms, one might say that the impossibility of the dialectic locks her into a structure of opposition (a 'battlefield'), transcendence of which is either a fantasy or an acceptance of the condition as unresolvable.[7]

While Bluemel writes,

> Richardson's modernism, like her modern world, is not necessarily characterized by the triumph of avant-garde thinking over traditional thinking, but by the traces of the struggle between them.[8]

Thus, there is an implicit acknowledgement of violence in Richardson's work. However, this sits uneasily with the received critical view of Richardson as open-ended, multitudinous, and impressionistic. The metaphor of battle used by Hanscombe and

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[6]Gillian Hanscombe, *The Art of Life: Dorothy Richardson and the Development of Feminine Consciousness* (London: Peter Owen, 1982), pp. 27, 85, & 96.
[7]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 84.
[8]Bluemel, *Experimenting on the Borders of Modernism*, p. 145.

Radford, with its attendant implications of extreme disturbance and of the exertion of force against a fixed object or stance, is not easy to reconcile with terms like 'unboundedness, fluidity, refusal of closure' (Radford), 'the myriad, the flow' (Heath), or 'mobile impressionism' (Watts). In other words, there seems to be a certain disjunction, or ambivalence, in the critical discourse. On the one hand, the language used by Richardson's critics as exemplified by these latter terms seems to assume that fluidity is non-violent and incorporates contradictions (this is conveyed as much by metaphor as by direct statement). On the other hand, the violence of the battle metaphor which cuts across this assumption creates a contradiction, a shifting critical register. Critical discourse seems uncertain in its approach to these aspects; there is an element of ambivalence, of wanting it both ways. Observing this paradox, I decided that my approach for this thesis would to be to bring out the violence in Richardson's work, making it explicit, rather than implicit, as her critics have done. As I shall argue, Richardson's fascination with violence is a continuing, complex preoccupation, which must be taken into account to modify existing readings of her.

The violence in Richardson's work also sits uneasily with the received view of modernism as open-ended, multitudinous and incorporating contradictions (rather than being broken by contradictions). In her introduction to *The Gender of Modernism*, Bonnie Kime Scott provides the following definition: 'Modernism as caught in the mesh of gender is polyphonic, mobile, interactive, sexually charged'.[9] These terms specifically associate modernism with boundlessness, reciprocity, freedom of form. However, I shall be arguing that the forcefulness and fixity of the violence I have located in Richardson's work, as well as the aforementioned contradiction which its implicit acknowledgement by Richardson's critics creates, are not incorporated within the account of fluidity and boundlessness associated with modernist experimentation, but are directly opposed to it.

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[9]Bonnie Kime Scott (ed.), *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990) p. 4.

For while it could, perhaps, be argued that it is part of the fluidity of *Pilgrimage* to incorporate contradiction, as well as the violence inherent in contradiction (to reiterate Winning, it is 'a vast and complex text which supports multiple *and often contradictory* readings - italics mine), I believe that Richardson's work is not that ecumenical; that its contradictions, far from being seamlessly absorbed, in fact jostle against one another, and cause problems which are not easily resolved. In my reading of *Pilgrimage*, violence and fluidity are polarised terms; Richardson's violence is not absorbed by the fluidity of her work, but is opposed to it. Similarly, I believe that this violence is not compatible with the account of modernism as fluid and open-ended, but in fact counters it. Put another way, fixity is as important as fluidity; boundaries as important as boundlessness. In a sense, I shall be arguing for Richardson's need for boundaries.

Richardson's engagement with violence occurs on several levels: for instance, literary violence, social and sexual violence, and the violence of shock, and my thesis will explore a variety of these. My opening chapter examines Richardson's formative work, *The Quakers; Past and Present* (1914), and argues that the writing of this book not only served as Richardson's apprenticeship as an author, and provided her with an opportunity to scrutinise her own mystical leanings, but it also enabled her to explore and express her preoccupation with violence. I look at the variety of ways in which this preoccupation emerges: for instance, characters are described through violent metaphorical language, there is a recurrent preoccupation with spiritual crisis and conversion, and the language of war and invasion predominates. I also consider what I term 'implicit' violence: namely, pressure within the text generated by Richardson's changes of prose style, and by her extreme intrusiveness as an author. I conclude with a brief comparison of *The Quakers; Past and Present* with other early twentieth century works on Quakerism, to gauge the extent to which Richardson's interest in violence rendered her unusual for her time. Chapter Two is devoted to *Pointed Roofs* (1914), the first volume of *Pilgrimage*, and reads Richardson in the context of women writers such as Elizabeth von Arnim,

Katherine Mansfield and Violet Hunt, who were simultaneously fascinated and repelled by the barely latent aggression and masculinity of pre-war Germany. My investigation uncovers similarities as well as important differences between Richardson and these authors. In the third chapter, I explore the links between the feminist element and the formal daring of *Pilgrimage*, arguing that the connected themes of social and literary rupture constitute forms of violence. At the same time, I situate the novel-sequence within the broader context of feminist fiction of its day, comparing and contrasting *Pilgrimage* with the 'New Woman' novels of the 1890s and later suffragette fiction, with particular emphasis on the themes of feminist anger and violence. Chapter Four looks at the significance of London in *Pilgrimage*, by addressing instances of the accosting of women by men in public spaces. The chapter also examines Miriam's encounters with beggars, which are linked to the accosting passages insofar as both display the violence of shock. This leads to a consideration of the ways in which being exposed to the diversity of London offered Richardson scope to explore and fantasise about her preoccupation with violence. I include a comparative analysis of Virginia Woolf's treatment of accosting and beggars, with brief reference to May Sinclair and H.G. Wells. The regularity with which accosting occurs suggests its significance as a subject in modernist writing, for it dramatises the limitations of women's increased freedoms. The fifth and final chapter locates the centrality of hatred in *Pilgrimage*, and examines what I term Richardson's 'unreasonable' hatreds; in other words, those which cannot be explained in terms of reasonable alibis, such as the position of women. I approach this topic through an analysis of the proliferation of metaphors drawn from physical aggression in the text, and then turn to the moral and literary effects of hatred, before exploring the links between hatred and creativity in Richardson's work. Finally, I discuss Richardson's ambivalence towards hatred, and her partially successful attempts, particularly in the later volumes, to stamp this emotion out. In conclusion, I argue that one of the desired 'ends' of Miriam's and of Richardson's quest is coming to terms with

hatred and violence. The character of Jean, 'an embodiment of unconditional love, all-encompassing and yet prepared to relinquish everything',[10] also functions as a check on Miriam's hatreds; this figure is an externalisation of Richardson's own internal drive to suppress hatred. Jean enables Richardson to dramatise her moral and aesthetic aims: communion, ecstasy, transcendence of self, and to show Miriam moving closer to a realisation of these.

At specific points in my argument, I shall return to the secondary literature to show how it has, in a sense, skirted around the various aspects of violence in *Pilgrimage*. Where appropriate, I shall also refer to general discussions of violence in literature.[11] Although I shall be taking a different angle to that of existing Richardson criticism, my argument is not incompatible with this body of work. My aim is to supplement rather than contradict existing critical views

Linked to my search for a fresh thematic approach to *Pilgrimage* has been the search for a fresh critical approach. On this score, I cannot claim great methodological ambitions; in a sense, I developed my method as I went along, as a way of locating violence in Richardson and in other women writers of the period. I gradually settled on a literary critical approach: close reading and detailed analysis of the language of certain passages, paying particular attention to recurring metaphors by which Richardson defines violence and hatred, her vocabulary and sentence structure, missing or idiosyncratic punctuation, multiple associations of words, typographical devices such as ellipses, and

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[10]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 74.

[11]Violence in literature is the subject of increasing interest, but it has not heretofore been thought of in relation to explicitly feminist, explicitly modernist writers. Although a work like *The Violent Muse: Violence and the Artistic Imagination in Europe 1910-1939*, edited by Jana Howlett and Rod Mengham (Manchester University Press, 1994), brings into focus the fascination with sexual and political violence displayed by many European painters and writers of the period, all of these are men. Women are portrayed as victims of violence, but violence itself is regarded as an exclusively male tradition. Richard Slotkin likewise links violence with the American frontier tradition in his illuminating book, *Regeneration through Violence* (London: HarperCollins, 1996). My thesis examines violence in the work of Richardson, a feminist, modernist writer, and in other feminist fiction of her time.

other complexities. I have tried to describe what happens to, or in, the way Richardson writes at those moments when the topic of violence arises.

This literary critical method is just one way of approaching *Pilgrimage*. I am taking the techniques of literary criticism as far as I can, to interpret psychological moments. I have adopted this angle not because I think it is the only one, but because in certain ways it has opened up new and productive insights into Richardson's work. Moreover, while it differs from that of most recent Richardson criticism, there are a few people thinking along similar lines, and whose approach has helped inform my own. In *Narrative's Journey*, for example, Gevirtz alternates close readings of Richardson's prose with more general discussions of Richardson's theories of reading, writing and viewing; her larger aim is to open up the dialogue between *Pilgrimage* and Richardson's late 1920s 'Continuous Performance' columns about the early silent cinema. In these close readings, Gevirtz pays acute attention to syntax and cadence, motion and the visual arrangement of the words on the page. Her analysis of the Foreword to *Pilgrimage* is but one example of this method in practice. As it is too long to quote in its entirety, the opening paragraph will suffice:

> Mirroring the emphasis on metaphoric and linguistic motion present in *Pilgrimage*, the Foreword ventures on what Richardson calls 'the lonely track [that] had turned out to be a populous highway' (10). As in *Pilgrimage*, travel themes and languorously long sentences work together to demonstrate the importance of the structure/content relation. In the Foreword, Richardson calls the process by which she arrived at a 'feminine equivalent to the current masculine realism' an 'adventure'. Displaying her link with the cinema, her array of active verbs and metaphors of motion give an almost filmic sense of a tangible person moving through physical space and time. To the writer who speaks in the

> Foreword (and who represents one of her many personas) Richardson gives a dramatic distance by referring to her in the third person, or by referring to herself as 'the present writer'. She describes her writing life as her 'adventure' and herself as an 'adventurer'. This third-person 'She' is a heroic character courageously choosing between the more traditional military route of 'following one of her regiments' or the more dangerous unchartered route of 'following the briskly moving script'. 'She' - the Foreword heroine - valiantly chooses the latter, more dangerous route.[12]

This reading eventually broadens into a larger discussion of how the statements about poetics in the Foreword frequently echo the statements about writing and narrative structure that are made throughout *Pilgrimage* and in Richardson's critical writings, especially those about film. The focus of my thesis is on what Gevirtz calls the 'structure/content relation'.

I have also found Danny Karlin's book, *Browning's Hatreds*, an extremely useful model for my work, both in its thematic content and its methodology. I have loosely followed Karlin's methodological approach, which is predominantly literary: he analyses the effect of hatred on Browning's language, paying close attention to tone and point of view, and identifying in Browning's physical and physiognomical descriptions of hatred a set of recurring facial expressions and gestures along with a set of recurring images.

In Chapter One, Karlin explains that he began writing this book after noticing the large quantity of Browning's poems which are concerned with hatred, or in which hatred plays a significant part. As I observed earlier, I was similarly struck by the preoccupation with violence and hatred in Richardson's work. I therefore found it productive in Chapter Five to transpose Karlin's central questions: what is the figure of hatred doing in Browning's work? And what larger questions does it raise about Browning's creativity? to

[12]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 16.

Richardson. Karlin's work on the links between hatred and creativity was particularly useful to my final chapter, as was his discussion of the connections between hatred and pleasure.[13]

Why compare a nineteenth century male poet with an early twentieth century woman writer? Firstly, there is the obvious similarity that both were radically experimental, and pushed their respective mediums to the limit. Moreover, in the course of reading Karlin, I realised a number of affinities between Richardson and Browning, and these provided further stimulus to my thinking about Richardson. Chief among these are the fact that Browning's conceptual vocabulary is partly drawn from religion, principally the Bible, but also - like Richardson - the tradition of Puritan polemical writing, including Bunyan. Also, recourse to physical violence as a metaphor for intellectual or moral hatred is part of a general habit of mind in Browning and in Richardson. Browning's poetry is driven by oppositions, at every level of structure, theme and style. Both he and the characters he creates are riven with the passion of conflict and argument, whether with others or themselves. So too, as I shall argue during the course of this thesis, are Richardson and Miriam.

At certain junctures in my argument, I became aware that I was being drawn beyond the boundaries of literary criticism, into psychological speculation about Richardson's life and state of mind at the time she was writing. At these moments, I drew back, because to continue would have been to write a biographical or psychoanalytic thesis. There is as little discussion of violence as a theme in biographies of Richardson as there is in the criticism.[14] This may well be a profitable line of enquiry for the future, but given my

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[13]Danny Karlin, *Browning's Hatreds* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). Karlin's discussion of the connections between hatred and pleasure takes place on pp. 23-24, while 'Hatred and Creativity' is the subject of his fourth chapter, pp. 68-93.

[14]The exception to this is, of course, Richardson's mother's suicide. The most comprehensive biographical account is *Dorothy Richardson: A Biography* by Gloria Fromm (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1977). John Rosenberg's *Dorothy Richardson: The Genius they Forgot* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), written to commemorate the centenary of her birth, is altogether less incisive.

emphasis on literary criticism, I decided not to engage in biographical speculation. My aim has been to examine the effect of violence on Richardson's literary imagination, rather than the place of violence in her unconscious. I have also, deliberately, not brought in any kind of theoretical apparatus to analyse or explain Richardson's preoccupation with violence. Instead, my aim has been to illuminate the effect of this preoccupation on her language; to open up violence in *Pilgrimage* as a topic, and set it going for debate.

II

A thesis on violence in the writing of Dorothy Richardson cannot avoid discussion of the fictionalised account of her mother's suicide, which occurs at the end of the third volume of *Pilgrimage*, *Honeycomb* (1917). Without straying into biography,[15] I shall give a literary analysis of Richardson's representation of this event here, both as starting point for my discussion of violence in her work, and as an example of my method in practice. The episode itself functions as a counter-example to my central argument, for it covers an incredibly violent act in such a way that the violence is not given full force, but is dissolved into the novel's flow. Indeed, Richardson was initially reluctant to provide any account of the suicide at all. The first time she sent the manuscript of *Honeycomb* to her publisher, Gerald Duckworth, it did not include the final chapter containing the death. Duckworth pressed her to write another chapter; he felt that the novel lacked a satisfying conclusion without it.[16]

In *Honeycomb*, the events leading up to the suicide of Mrs Henderson, Miriam's mother, detail her worsening depression. In the penultimate chapter, the full extent of her mother's despair is brought home to Miriam, when the former suddenly declares, 'my life has been so useless'. This utterance gives Miriam 'a jolt':

> Here it was ... a jolt ... an awful physical shock, jarring her body ... She braced herself and spoke quickly and blindly ... a network of feeling vibrated all over to and fro, painfully.
>
> 'It only seems so to you', she said, in a voice muffled by the beating of her heart. Anything might happen - she had no power .... Mother - almost

[15]For an account of the biographical circumstances of Mary Richardson's suicide, see Fromm, *Richardson*, p. 22.
[16]Fromm, *Richardson*, pp. 95-96.

killed by things she could not control, having done her duty all her life ...
doing thing after thing had not satisfied her. (I, 472)[17]

The words 'here it was' suggest that the knowledge of Mrs Henderson's condition is already in Miriam; her 'shock' seems to be one of recognition rather than of surprise. Nevertheless, this shock is powerful; it is imaged as actual bodily spasm which manifests itself in physically violent and painful symptoms. To be jolted is to be sharply jerked; 'jarring' holds connotations of discordance or painfulness; and Miriam 'braced' herself as though preparing for an attack. The oscillating movement suggested by the vibrating 'network of feeling' seems gentler than being jarred or braced; however, we are explicitly told that it is painful. Miriam's speech is 'muffled' by the beating of her heart, and this difficulty is enacted in the way in which the language of the passage becomes broken up into phrase fragments: 'anything might happen - she had no power ... Mother - almost killed by things she could not control'. The breakdown of syntax may also reflect Miriam's agitation at being confronted by her own failure to recognise the intensity of Mrs Henderson's sense of uselessness.

The passage is thickly sprinkled with ellipses - a typographical device frequently used by Richardson - and these alert us to a level of meaning not present in the text. They direct our attention to the blanks and repressions in consciousness, or 'that which is left unsaid or is unsayable',[18] and invite questions about the content of this. As so often in Richardson's work, the exact meaning of the ellipses is left open to the reader's interpretation, but I would suggest here that they point to Miriam's own emotions, to the 'network of feeling' that is mentioned but not elucidated: namely, Miriam's helplessness, anger and fear that surely must have been part of the scene (the word 'network' suggests a complex system of intersecting elements). In a sense, the violence of the suicide is

[17]All page numbers refer to *Pilgrimage*, unless otherwise stated.
[18]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 69.

prefigured in the language of the passage; it is manifest in Miriam's acute physical symptoms, and in the literal disintegration of Richardson's sentence structures.

The Henderson family decides that Miriam will take her insomniac mother, whom the doctor insists is only suffering from 'nerves', to a boarding house by the seaside (I, 475). As Mrs Henderson says to her, 'you are the only one' who understands. During the day, Miriam attempts to divert her mother by taking her for walks and to watch the entertainment on the pier; at night, she tries to lull her to sleep by reading the Bible and brewing beef tea. Once, they manage to fall asleep at two o'clock in the morning, but when Miriam wakes a few hours later, she hears

> the sound of violent language, furniture being roughly moved, a swift angry splashing of water ... something breaking out, breaking through the confinements of this little furniture-filled room ... the best, gentlest thing she knew in the world, openly despairing at last. (I, 488)

The opening of this extract reports the sounds that filter through Miriam's consciousness as she surfaces from sleep; all of them are violent or forceful. The description of 'something breaking out' is Miriam's interpretation of these sounds as she wakes up more fully, and presumably refers to her mother's anger and despair, which are imaged as something physically smashing its way out of the small cluttered room. There is a stark contrast between the violence of Mrs Henderson's noise and desperation, and the statement that she is 'the best, gentlest thing [Miriam] knew in the world'. Once again, the violence of suicide is prefigured in the language of the passage. And once again, the ellipses signal a hidden level of activity in the text; here, I believe that they direct us to Miriam's own reactions, which are not directly given.

Later that day, Miriam and her mother visit an elderly homeopathist. After examining Mrs Henderson, he tells Miriam that she must summon trained help, brushing aside her

protestations that they cannot afford it. 'It is very wrong for you to be alone with her', he adds gravely. Afterwards, they walk home, and the chapter, and *Honeycomb*, end as follows:

> On the way home they talked of the old man. 'He is right; but it is too late', said Mrs Henderson with clear quiet bitterness. 'God has deserted me'. They walked on, tiny figures in a world of huge grey-stone houses. 'He will not let me sleep. He does not want me to sleep .... He does not care'.
>
> A thought touched Miriam, touched and flashed. She grasped at it to hold and speak it, but it passed off into the world of grey houses. Her cheeks felt hollow, her feet heavy. She summoned her strength, but her body seemed outside her, empty, pacing forward in a world full of perfect unanswering silence.
>
> The bony old women held Miriam clasped closely in her arms. 'You must never, as long as you live, blame yourself, my gurl'. She went away. Miriam had not heard her come in. The pressure of her arms and her huge body came from far away. Miriam clasped her hands together. She could not feel them. Perhaps she had dreamed that the old woman had come in and said that. Everything was dream; the world. I shall not have any life. I can never have any life; all my days. There were cold tears running into her mouth. They had no salt. Cold water. They stopped. Moving her body with slow difficulty against the unsupporting air, she looked slowly about. It was so difficult to move. Everything was airy and transparent. Her heavy hot light impalpable body was the only solid thing in the air, weighing tons; and like a lifeless feather. There was a tray of plates of fish

> and fruit on the table. She looked at it, heaving with sickness and looking at it. I am hungry. Sitting down near it she tried to pull the tray. It would not move. I must eat the food. Go on eating food, till the end of my life. Plates of food like these plates of food .... I am in eternity ... where their worm dieth not and their fire is not quenched. (I, 489-490)

Mrs Henderson's suicide occurs between the second and third paragraphs of the extract. This shattering event - the culmination of her rage - is represented by a blank space in the text.[19] In life, Mary Richardson cut her throat with a kitchen knife, but we are nowhere supplied with any details of this. In fact, one would hardly know what had happened without recourse to biography. In one sense, the blank space on the page functions like Richardson's ellipses, for it represents the gaps in consciousness, or what is literally 'unsayable'. Richardson wrote *Honeycomb* between 1915-1917, twenty years after her mother's actual suicide in 1895, but even at this distance in time, it appears that she is literally without the words to describe it.

I shall now turn to the events immediately preceding and following the suicide. In the opening paragraph, Mrs Henderson's rage appears to have settled, for the time being at any rate, into a more resigned emotion - 'clear quiet bitterness', although her despair is still apparent in the finality of 'it is too late', and in the distracted repetition, 'He will not let me sleep. He does not want me to sleep ...' The paragraph contains a Lilliputian shift of perspective: Miriam and her mother have shrunk to 'tiny figures' among the 'huge grey-stone houses'. This emphasises Miriam's sense of their smallness, helplessness, and isolation - the houses appear devoid of occupants, moreover, 'grey-stone' seems a particularly inhuman and unforgiving substance. Miriam is probably responding to Mrs Henderson's sense of having been deserted by an uncaring God.

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[19]In a sense, this is comparable to Virginia's Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927), where the significant deaths occur in parentheses in the book's middle section.

The thought that 'touches' Miriam and 'flashes' past her seems to indicate something hopeful - perhaps a possible answer to their predicament. However, before it is even articulated, it disappears into 'the world of grey houses', which has become a symbol of their despair and isolation. With the disappearance of positive thought, Miriam becomes dislocated from her body; this may signal withdrawal from responsibility for a situation she does not have the resources to cope with. Her body is 'outside her', 'empty', and 'pacing forward'; by implication, some unnamed part of her is not moving forward with it. Miriam's empty body is pacing in 'a world full of perfect unanswering silence', at which point the paragraph ends. This world of silence is then literally enacted by the blank space in the text; a space which contains the suicide that Richardson lacks the words to describe.

After the suicide, there is a move away from linear narrative development. Richardson's prose actually mimics the process of dislocation and dissociation that is occurring in Miriam. The paragraph begins with complete sentences. Even through her distress, Miriam registers the old woman's accent - the way she enunciates 'my gurl' - with characteristic precision. Radford, I think rightly, attributes this exactness of detail about accent, voice and manner to the trauma of Richardson - and Miriam - being forced out of their class by the father's bankruptcy.[20] But by the sixth line of the paragraph, Richardson's syntax has disintegrated into grammatically incomplete phrase fragments: 'everything was dream; the world'. This sense of the world being indistinguishable from dream is also present in Miriam's confusion about the old woman: we are told that she goes away, but Miriam did not hear her come in. The pressure of the woman's embrace seems to come 'from far away', and, in a dream-like distortion of scale, her body is 'huge'. Miriam adds that perhaps she has dreamed her appearance and her words. Miriam's feeling of dislocation and her dream-like state are further registered in the fact that she cannot feel her hands.

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[20]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 20-21.

The declaration 'I shall not have any life. I can never have any life; all my days' reveals Miriam's grief for her mother's death, and her guilt. But at the same time, the sudden introduction of the first person 'I' (these fluid transitions from narrator into character, and vice versa, are typical of Richardson's technique) brings in a compelling immediacy, which reflects Miriam's strong counter-desire to have an unmarked, guilt-free life. The next few lines concentrate on the sensations of Miriam's tears and of her body. The detail of her tears lacking salt functions as another reminder of death, for salt is a symbol of life. Richardson's prose is broken into small jerky sentences: 'they had no salt. Cold water. They stopped'. Both the uneven rhythm, and the slow pace created by these short sentences enact Miriam's difficulty in moving 'against the unsupporting air', which is a physical manifestation of her sense of dissociation. Her movements are hampered by a series of oppositions described in the text. Her surroundings are 'airy and transparent', but her body is 'the only solid thing in the world'. Similarly, although her body is 'heavy', it is also 'light' and 'impalpable'; it weighs tons, yet it is a 'lifeless feather'. The tray of food in front of Miriam symbolises life and sustenance, yet with spectacle of her dead mother occupying her mind, it makes her sick. All of this points to two central oppositions implicit in the passage: the mother who provided Miriam's first nourishment and sustenance is dead; moreover, 'the best gentlest thing' in the world has committed this ultimate act of violence against herself. At the same time, Miriam is hungry, and the admission of physical appetite once again signals her desire to live.

The repetitive and long-drawn sentences 'I must eat the food. Go on eating food, till the end of my life. Plates of food like these plates of food' suggest an elongated time scale. They mimic the 'eternity' in which Miriam must go on eating plates of food to live; the 'eternity' in which she must also live with her mother's death. The final words of the novel-chapter are a quotation from the Gospel According to Mark. I agree with Gevirtz that these lines suggest transubstantiation, since the Gospels are often read during communion:

> The presence of these Gospel lines strongly suggests that the fish on Miriam's plate is also symbolically the fish that Christ turned into loaves and the fruit is the fruit of the vine. In the Book of Mark ... Christ twice performs the miracle of turning fish into loaves. He anticipates the more astonishing miracle involving bread and fruit a few lines later at the Last Supper, when he compares bread to his body and the fruit of the vine, wine, to his blood, implying that he will soon die and these symbols of his body will become the means of access to God.[21]

Thus, there seems to be a connection between Mrs Henderson's wound, these lines from the Gospel anticipating Christ's cruxifixion, and the references to transubstantiation. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of these links, which are implied by association only. Richardson's refusal to impose a definitive meaning is typical of her method, and forces the reader to supply his or her own interpretation, thereby contributing to what she called 'creative collaboration'. Nonetheless, I believe that what is unmistakable and significant about the ending of *Honeycomb* is its drive towards transformation; both Miriam's hunger and the idea of transubstantiation suggest the possibility of transforming the violent horror of Mrs Henderson's suicide into something else. Moreover, Richardson herself, at the time of writing, undertakes another transformative act - that of turning her mother's death into fiction. In other words, she is seeking transformation through writing. Both Miriam and Richardson are trying to absorb the violence of this death, to deal with it by changing it into something else.[22]

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[21]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 173.

[22]See Lynette Felber, *Gender and Genre in Novels Without End: The British Roman-Fleuve* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), pp. 92-95, for a useful discussion of the ways in which Miriam's repressed memory and guilt over the death resurface periodically throughout the text.

I am not trying to suggest any simple cause and effect here; I certainly do not wish to attribute the violence in Richardson's work to her mother's suicide. At this stage, I am simply noting that there are two opposing tendencies in her writing, towards and against violence; an idea I shall develop more fully in the main body of this thesis. The account of Mrs Henderson's suicide is the prime example of the latter tendency. Although the violence of this death is prefigured in the language of preceding passages, the act itself is presented in a way that dissolves and transforms its force. Boundlessness is the issue here, not boundaries; in this sense, the episode accords with the received critical view of Richardson.

CHAPTER ONE

'THE STRIFE OF WORDS': VIOLENCE IN *THE QUAKERS; PAST AND PRESENT*

In 1907, Richardson spent almost a year at a Quaker farm on Windmill Hill on the Sussex coast; a visit which appears in fictionalised form in volume twelve of *Pilgrimage*, *Dimple Hill* (1938). This was the beginning of a life-long interest in the Quakers. Quakerism was the only religion which Richardson ever felt an affinity for, although she never considered herself one of them. She produced two books about them: the first, *The Quakers; Past and Present*, was published in 1914. Coinciding closely with the beginning of her writing of *Pilgrimage* in 1913, Richardson's study of the Quakers provided her both with an opportunity to explore her spiritual interests, and with a starting point for formulations of *Pilgrimage*. The significance of this work has generally been overlooked;[1] however, Gloria Fromm, Richardson's biographer, succinctly plots the appeal of the Quakers for her:

> They had an affirmative attitude to life, they believed in 'the possibility here and now of complete freedom from sin', and they recognised the 'spiritual identity' of a woman. The 'inner light', they felt, was universal; women were not 'an appendage to be controlled, guided and managed by

[1]Although many critics have written about Quakerism in *Pilgrimage*, almost none mention *The Quakers; Past and Present*. Sydney Janet Kaplan (*Feminist Consciousness in the Modern British Novel*, London: University of Illinois Press, 1976), Rachel Blau DuPlessis ('Beyond the hard visible horizon', in *Writing Beyond the Ending: Narrative Strategies of Twentieth Century Women Writers*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, pp. 142-161), Radford (*Richardson*) and Watts (*Richardson*), for example, fall into this category. In her essay 'Dorothy Richardson's Theory of Literature: The Writer as Pilgrim' (*Criticism* 12, Winter 1970, pp. 20-37), Shirley Rose cites passages from *The Quakers; Past and Present*. However, her focus is Richardson's attempt 'to describe the aesthetic experience without binding art and the artist to definitions', and she bypasses the importance of Quakerism to Richardson. Gevirtz briefly mentions *The Quakers; Past and Present* in a discussion of the ways in which Quaker philosophy 'intersected with [Richardson's] concerns about women's relation to God within organized religion and with her concerns about the relation between revelation and aesthetics' (*Narrative's Journey*, pp. 96, 115-116).

man'. But perhaps most important of all, the Quakers seemed to Dorothy to be searching always for the 'centre of being' where one might remain, remote and impersonal, and yet 'see freshly all the time'. This was ... where she herself wanted to be; and in the process of finding her way, she evolved a technique for her art.[2]

In his reading of *Pilgrimage* as spiritual autobiography, Avrom Fleishman calls Richardson's book on the Quakers 'the major current in [her] intellectual development', and echoes Fromm's view:

> Beyond providing a focus for her spiritual interests and her emotional needs, Richardson's study of the Quakers gave her (or reinforced) the pattern of living and its appropriate figure which are writ large in *Pilgrimage* ... For *Pilgrimage* is distinguished among autobiographical writings not merely by its consistent figure of 'making a journey to the heart of reality' but by its repeated testimony to the central irony of religious experience, that the journey is always to where one already is, that the quest is for what is already possessed ... that the discovery is always a rediscovery and the illumination a repetition.[3]

The Quakers; Past and Present provided Richardson with an opportunity to examine her own mystical leanings, and, in a sense, served as her apprenticeship as an author. But although both Fromm and Fleishman rightly mention the work's importance, neither of them afford it a detailed consideration. I want to open it up for exploration, while arguing for a different, perhaps surprising, aspect that the critics have omitted

[2]Fromm, *Richardson*, p. 61.
[3]Avrom Fleishman, *Figures of Autobiography: the Language of Self-Writing in Victorian and Modern England* (Berkely and London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 432-433.

completely: I aim to show that the writing of *The Quakers; Past and Present* also enabled Richardson to explore and express her preoccupation with violence. As this chapter will reveal, it was a preoccupation clearly evident from the outset of her career.

Richardson's fascination with violence emerges in *The Quakers; Past and Present* in several ways; in other words, the book contains diverse levels of violence, and I shall be considering a variety of these. Physical violence appears in the form of persecution suffered during the Quakers' early history. Richardson's language is steeped in violence throughout; images of battle and of struggle abound. Richardson is deeply interested in religious conversion, which, as I shall argue, is a violent moment, a moment of crisis. The work also contains implicit forms of violence: rhapsodic instances in which Richardson breaks away from the position of factual historian into a different prose style; and times of authorial obtrusiveness where the imposition of her views generates pressure within the text. After examining these different aspects of violence, I shall briefly compare *The Quakers; Past and Present* with other contemporary works on Quakerism, in order to gauge the extent to which Richardson's interest in violence rendered her unusual for her time.[4]

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[4]Richardson's other work on the Quakers, *Gleanings from the work of George Fox* (London: Headley) also appeared in 1914. As the title suggests, it is an anthology complied from Fox's selected writings. Interestingly, far from dwelling on the violence with which Fox's work is filled (there are accounts of persecution of the Quakers, threats of God's vengeance upon unbelievers, and stories of Divine retribution in practice), Richardson tends to omit these, and concentrates instead on the affirmative passages. For instance, she selects the following quotations from the first volume of Fox's *Journal*:

> Keep down, keep low, that nothing may rule nor reign but life itself.
> All friends to be kept cool and quiet in the power of the Lord God and all that is contrary will be subjected, the lamb hath victory, the seed is the patience. (Quoted in *Gleanings*, p. 39)

In Fox's *Journal*, there is a far fiercer passage in between these extracts, which Richardson edited out:

> ... he cometh with ye eye of ye lord to see what must be fed with Judgement & what is for ye fire, & what is for ye sword ... & this brings all to be downe low ... soe now before all these wicked spirits be gott downe, which are rambling abroad, frends must have patience ... (*Journal* I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911, p. 322)

Richardson's purpose in putting this book together was largely propagandistic, to make Quaker doctrines accessible and attractive to a wider number of people, and I believe this is the reason for her omission of

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

The Quakers; Past and Present traces the history of Quakerism from its founding by George Fox up to the time of writing. Richardson locates three major developments: the first, corresponding roughly to the life of Fox, covers the period of expansion, persecution and establishment; the second, the 'century of Quietism' is the retreat of Quakerism and the quiet cultivation of the Quaker method; and the third stretches from the modern evangelistic revival until the present day. In other words, a period of activity and violence is succeeded by one of retreat, followed by the return of activity. Significantly, Richardson devotes two-thirds of her study (sixty two out of a total of ninety three pages[5]) to the first violent and bloody stage in Quaker history.

Richardson's preoccupation with physical violence emerges both in descriptions of individual lives and in more general discussions of persecution suffered by the Quakers. Of course, persecution and violence were inescapable facts of the Quakers' early history, so there is nothing remarkable about the presence of these elements in Richardson's account. What is significant is the large proportion of the book she devotes to this period.

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the harsher elements. As will become clear in the course of this thesis, Richardson's interest in violence was highly complex, and at times contradictory.

[5]This includes a separate chapter on the spread of Quakerism in America, a period marked by persecution.

INDIVIDUAL LIVES

Richardson's biography of George Fox is the longest and most revealing account of a Quaker life. It is a linear, biographical narrative, told in segments, and interrupted by accounts of the general history of the movement and discussions of Quaker beliefs. Richardson focuses on Fox's inward, spiritual development; there is virtually no external description. In contrast to the pleonasm of *Pilgrimage*, Richardson's writing is dramatic, fast-moving, succinct:

> Until his twentieth year he worked with a shoemaker, who was also a dealer in cattle and wool, and proved his capacity for business life. Then a crisis came, brought about by an incident meeting him as he went about his master's affairs. He had been sent on business to a fair, and had come upon two friends, one of them a relative, who tried to draw him into a bout of health-drinking. George, who had had his one glass, laid down a groat and went home in a state of great disturbance, for he knew both these men to be professors of religion. (p.5)[6]

Nothing happens in this paragraph without motion. At the opening, we are rushed through twenty years of Fox's life - as well as a potted biography of his employer - in a single sentence. The next sentence reveals Fox's spiritual crisis - an invisible thought-event - through metaphors of movement. The 'crisis' is 'brought' by an 'incident' which, so to speak, comes to meet Fox. This odd quasi-personification renders Fox's spiritual conflicts almost tangible and intensely dramatic. Active verbs and a taut prose style - not a word is wasted in extraneous detail - contribute to the sense of drama and motion. The language of movement in the third sentence has a slightly different effect: it portrays Fox

[6]All page numbers in this chapter refer to *The Quakers; Past and Present*, unless otherwise stated.

as not being in control, as being somehow the victim of external forces ('he had been sent'; 'had come upon'; his friends 'tried to draw him'), which is presumably a result of his unawakened spiritual state. The final sentence at last names its subject directly: 'George'. Fox has been referred to and described in each sentence of the extract, moving from 'his' 'he' 'his' 'him' 'he' 'him' to 'George'. This technique of deferring the subject until the end of a paragraph is yet another means of creating movement, for it draws the reader forward to the climax: namely, the beginning of Fox's quest, or pilgrimage, towards religious enlightenment. Having taken us to this point, the writing slows down sufficiently to allow two descriptive details: the 'one glass' and the 'groat'. These contrast Fox's sobriety and honesty with the intemperance and hypocrisy of the so-called 'professors of religion'.

Both the pilgrimage theme and the metaphors of movement used in *The Quakers; Past and Present* appear in *Pilgrimage*. Like George Fox, Miriam Henderson, the protagonist of Richardson's novel-sequence, is a pilgrim. And as Radford writes: 'the form of *Pilgrimage* is framed or patterned around a series of extended metaphors of life as a journey - a journey with specific religious or spiritual reference which only the word "pilgrimage" could provide'.[7] Gevirtz points out that a sense of motion 'is associated with the idea of a quest', and that Richardson 'allegorizes and makes visible Miriam's mental life throughout *Pilgrimage*' through metaphors of motion.[8] Thus, parallels of language and theme between *The Quakers; Past and Present* and *Pilgrimage* are beginning to emerge. The two works are necessary trajectories of the same artistic preoccupations.

In the following paragraph, Fox's energy and vitality are effectively conveyed, despite the lack of physical description:

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[7]Radford, *Richardson*, p 25. See Chapter Two (pp.25-43) of Radford's work for a fuller discussion of the quest motif, and of the relationship between *Pilgrimage* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.
[8]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, pp. 17 & 18. I am indebted to Gevirtz's excellent reading of metaphoric and linguistic motion in Richardson's Foreword to the 1938 edition of *Pilgrimage* (pp.16-18).

> He grappled with the difficulty at once. He spent the hours of that night in pacing up and down his room, in prayer and crying out, in sitting and reflecting. He was thrown in on himself. If God was not with those who professed him, where was he?
>
> The labours and gropings of the night simplified before dawn came to the single conviction that he must 'forsake all, both young and old, and be a stranger unto all'. There was no hesitating. He went forth at once and wandered for four years up and down the Midland counties [....][9] (*ibid.*)

Once again, this passage is characterised by motion. Fox, who has now embarked on his quest, is continually moving; he is always tackling problems head on. Within the space of a few lines, he grapples, paces, prays, cries out, sits, reflects, and wanders around the Midlands for four years - again, large chunks of time are compressed into a single sentence. The sparseness of descriptive detail and the use of active verbs also work to propel the language forward. The sense of urgency is emphasised by the terse injunctions 'at once' and 'there was no hesitating'.

However, there is another important metaphorical strand here. Fox's spiritual dilemma is evoked through metaphors of strife: 'he grappled', 'he was thrown in on himself', 'the labours and gropings of the night'. The violence and physicality of this language are immensely striking. Fox is portrayed as being locked in combat with an opponent. 'Grapple' evokes a physical fight being played out at close quarters. 'He was thrown in on himself' almost suggests him being wrestled to the ground. 'Labours' imply mental or bodily exertion, while 'groping', which can also be read literally or figuratively, holds connotations of blindness and desperation. By personifying Fox's struggle, Richardson

[9]Throughout this thesis, ellipsis or stops appearing in quotations of Richardson's work belong to the text, unless they are in square brackets, in which case they signal my omission of part of the text.

has again rendered inward, invisible conflicts concrete and dramatic, but this time the effect is achieved through violence.

Aside from his spiritual difficulties, Fox is rather a shadowy, two-dimensional figure. Richardson supplies no details, for instance, of his physical appearance. The gap left by the bareness of characterisation is filled by metaphors of motion and violence. In other words, Fox is defined through movement and through violence. One might say that in Richardson's text, he exists through these qualities.

This point seems confirmed by the fact that the only physical details Richardson does supply are descriptions of physical abuse and torture:

> [Fox] was given up to justice, ordered to be whipped, and then handed over to the mercy of the mob, who beat him until he fell senseless. Presently rising up, he bade them strike again. A mason numbed his arm with a blow from a staff; the arm recovered instantly under the power of his outgoing love for his persecutors. (p.25)

A stark and powerful tone is created by the simplicity of the vocabulary, by the use of the archaic 'bade' and 'staff' - which may be an attempt to lend gravitas to her account or to recreate the atmosphere of period - and by the ironic overtones of 'justice' and the 'mercy' of the mob. At the same time, the straightforwardness of vocabulary and sentence structure moves the narrative rapidly forward. There is an interesting precision of detail about the physical violence suffered by Fox. We are presented with a careful catalogue of atrocities: he is whipped, beaten and has his arm struck by a staff. These details are especially interesting because Richardson's life of Fox is otherwise so compressed. The description of Fox's arm recovering under the power of his 'outgoing love for his persecutors' reveals an extraordinarily dynamic view of the world: emotions are forces, capable of active agency.

There is only one attempt to define Fox's character, and this is closely connected with another violent incident, Fox's arrest:

> Fox - whom we may imagine already the man William Penn later on described for us as 'no busy-body or self-seeker, neither touchy nor critical ... so meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company ... I never saw him out of his place or not a match for every service and occasion; for in all things he acquitted himself like a man - yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly minded man - civil beyond all forms of breeding in his behaviour' - rose with his challenge, threw down the gauntlet to biblicism, and declared that the Light was not the Scriptures, but the Spirit of God ... (p.19)

Considering that this is the only description of Fox's character, it is interesting that Richardson suddenly retreats behind the cloak of factual historian, and uses William Penn as her source. This sudden flight behind Penn's authority, which absolves Richardson of the need to describe Fox herself, seems to indicate some difficulty with summing up character. Her selection of this particular quotation is interesting, for although it begins by describing the founder of Quakerism in terms of balance and moderation ('meek, contented, modest' etc.), it ends with a portrayal of him as virile and masculine: 'for in all things he acquitted himself like a man - yea, a strong man'. Richardson's choice of these words seems to suggest an underlying preoccupation with masculinity and by implication violence; an idea confirmed by her own language at the extract's end: 'he rose with his challenge, threw down the gauntlet to biblicism'. These phrases are redolent of physical warfare. 'He rose' means 'he got up', but it can also mean 'he ceased to be submissive' or 'he rebelled' (hence the expression 'rose in arms'). Similarly, 'threw down the gauntlet is a figurative way of saying 'issue a challenge', yet a gauntlet is an armoured glove.

As well as revealing Richardson's preoccupation with violence, this passage also shows something of the complexity of that preoccupation. Earlier, she informed us that the episode ended in Fox's arrest and imprisonment (p.18). Yet by ending the paragraph with ellipses, she avoids a graphic description of these events. I believe that the ellipses function similarly to those in *Pilgrimage*; in other words, they alert us to a level of activity not present in the text. The ellipses direct our attention to a missing link, to the gaps and repressions in consciousness, and invite questions about the content of these. In this case, perhaps Richardson was aware of her fascination with violence, and was deliberately exerting self-censorship to try and counteract it. As so often in her work, the exact significance of the ellipses is left open to the reader's interpretation, but their presence here does seem to suggest some ambiguity in her attitude towards violence.

Richardson's depiction of James Naylor displays similar characteristics to her account of Fox. Naylor brought the Quakers unfavourable publicity when he rode into Bristol and permitted in his honour 'a triumphant procession, the singing of hosannas and Messianic worship' (p.31). Richardson's liking for Naylor is plain - he is 'one of the sweetest and ablest Quaker writers and preachers' (*ibid.*) - and she offers a brief defence of his conduct:

> [He was] of an acutely suggestible temperament, and less stable than his followers, unsettled by the success attending his work both in the north and the south and by the adulations of some of the more excitable of his fellow workers. (p.31)

Apart from these unsatisfyingly vague adjectives: 'sweetest', 'ablest', 'suggestible', 'less stable', no attempt is made to define Naylor's character. As with Fox, the most detailed part of Richardson's brief account is devoted to the violent punishment inflicted on him:

> He suffered in the pillory, was whipped through London and Bristol, his tongue was bored, his forehead branded, and he was kept in prison for three years. (p.31)

Like Richardson's biography of Fox, there is a precision about the details of torture here, which renders the description vivid, and provides a sharp contrast to the sketchiness of Richardson's characterisation.

Thus, certain patterns are beginning to emerge. Richardson concentrates on the persecution inflicted on her characters, and this interest in violence seeps into her language. Characters are defined by violence; literal violence is augmented by metaphorical violence, as form and content bleed into one another.

FOOTNOTES

Richardson often uses footnotes as a means of supplying details of physical cruelty and torture. 'Incidents [...] of beatings, stonings, and assaults of a more disgusting nature', she writes, 'are typical of the treatment received with unvarying sweetness by the Quaker missionaries' (p.25). She uses footnotes to elaborate on the 'more disgusting' episodes:

> [Fox] early recognised the need of a definite church organisation, and matured a system where final acceptance by the society as a whole was helped on by an incident occurring during his eight months' confinement in Launceston gaol.*
>
> *Part of which was spent in a dungeon reserved for witches and murderers, and left uncleansed year after year. (pp. 30-31)

There is a kind of grisly enjoyment about this inclusion of totally superfluous information. The filthy 'dungeon', 'witches' and 'murderers' introduce a decidedly gothic note, which provides a sharp contrast to the fast pace and matter-of-factness of most of the main body of the text. A similar example occurs in Richardson's chapter 'Quakerism in America':

> For more than half a century after the savage persecution* by the Puritans [...] had come to an end, Quakerism was a steadily growing power in America.
>
> *The first Quakers to reach America were two women, Anne Austin and Mary Fisher. When they arrived at Boston, their luggage was searched,

> their books were burned in the market-place by the hangman; they were stripped and examined for signs of witchcraft, and after five weeks imprisonment and cruelty were shipped back to Barbadoes. Then followed a series of persecutions too horrible to be detailed, increasing in severity from fines - fireless, bedless, and almost foodless - imprisonment in chains in the Boston winter, floggings (one part alone of the punishment of the aged William Brand consisted of 117 blows on his bare back with a barred rope, while two women were stripped to the waist in the mid-winter snow and lashed at the cart-tail through eleven towns), ear-croppings, and tongue-borings, to the death penalty suffered by three men and one woman. The intervention of Charles II referred only to the death penalty. Whippings continued until 1677, and imprisonment for tithes until 1724. (p.63)

I have quoted this footnote in its entirety to display the wealth of detail it contains. The opening sentence is short: an objective statement about the first Quakers to arrive in America. The following sentence, a catalogue of abuse suffered by these women, expands to incorporate the particulars of their mistreatment. The inclusion of the details of the ritualistic burning of books by the hangman in a public space, and the suspicion of witchcraft adds a macabre note. The sentence is nevertheless syntactically balanced, and fairly matter of fact. As in Richardson's biography of Fox, a large chunk of time (here an eventful five weeks of 'imprisonment and cruelty') is despatched with great speed. However, something interesting happens in the third sentence: the writing goes out of control in a manner that seems closely akin to excitement. For despite Richardson's disclaimer that these persecutions are 'too horrible to be detailed' (which in itself is an intrusion of personal opinion and emotion in a historical report), she immediately goes on to describe them at some length. The account is confused: Richardson switches from the

particularised abuse of Anne Austin and Mary Fisher to the general abuse suffered by the Quakers, but the reader is not told this, and has to deduce it for himself/herself. This sentence is the longest yet, and is crammed with a complicated and increasingly gruesome catalogue of atrocities. The two sets of parentheses which help incorporate these - Richardson uses both hyphens and brackets to mark them off - only increase the tangled, chaotic quality of the syntax. Again, Richardson seems to relish the details of torture. The descriptions of the half naked women being whipped and dragged through the snow and the barred rope falling on aged flesh, for instance, possess a visual, dramatic character, like a camera lens zooming in for a close up.[10] The return to short sentences and the insertion of precise historical detail at the end mark a shift of gear, a return to matter of fact historical reportage, as though Richardson had regained control.

I would suggest that Richardson's footnotes create a secondary narrative, which could be read in two ways. On the one hand, it could be argued that the footnotes act as a means of repression, as a way of relegating to a secondary status that which is 'too horrible to be detailed' in the main body of the text. According to this reading, their function corresponds to that of the ellipses in *Pilgrimage*, which, as I have said, also represent the gaps and repressions in consciousness (of course in the novel-sequence, these gaps are not filled in elsewhere by a secondary narrative). It could equally well be argued, however, that footnotes are a way of emphasising particular information, of specifically isolating and drawing our attention to what they contain.

I think that, contradictory as they seem, both readings point to the same thing, namely to the significance of violence in Richardson's writing. For if the footnotes, like the ellipses in *Pilgrimage*, signal an area of repression, they are still drawing our attention - albeit indirectly - to what is problematic, and therefore of special interest. Indeed, as the quality of excitement in my last example indicates, the violence it contains warrants

[10]For excellent accounts of the importance of film in Richardson's writing, see Watts, *Richardson*, and Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*.

careful notice. Whichever way Richardson intended the footnotes, they highlight the incidents of violence they describe.

Paradoxically, far from being a deterrent, persecution was actually a means of confirming identity and faith. In *The Story of Quakerism*, Elizabeth Emmott notes that

> The spread of Truth was not hindered, but rather helped by all the persecution; and the steadfastness and patience of the sufferers led many to inquire more carefully into their faith and way of worship.[11]

Moreover, as Richard T. Vann writes, acts of persecution were actually responsible for influencing Quaker institutions:

> ...the reality, and perhaps even more the omnipresent threat, of persecution, gave a distinctive cast to Quaker discipline and institutions, as we are reminded by the fact that the leading agency of community will and common concern is called to this day the Meeting for Sufferings.[12]

Violence was a major factor in shaping Quakerism, both stimulating its growth and colouring its practices. This is registered (perhaps unconsciously) by Richardson; as we have seen, she defines her characters through violence, and my next section reveals that the book is steeped in the language of strife, even when describing peaceful periods in Quaker history.

The presence of violence in Quakerism intersected with Richardson's preoccupation with violence. As Fromm and Fleishman have pointed out, there were other important

[11]Elizabeth Emmott, *The Story of Quakerism* (London: Headley, 1908), p. 60.
[12]Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 91.

areas of resonance between Richardson's preoccupations and Quaker philosophy, such as her interest in mysticism and her concerns about the status of women within organised religion. At the same time, however, I believe that violence was one of the previously unacknowledged factors which drew her to Quakerism.

'THE STRIFE OF WORDS': METAPHORS OF BATTLE

Richardson's preoccupation with violence is revealed in the language of *The Quakers; Past and Present* through an abundance of metaphors drawn from physical aggression. We have already seen that she depicts Fox's spiritual dilemmas through metaphors of strife (for instance, 'he grappled with the difficulty at once' p.6; 'with the restiveness of one under a bondage' p.8). However, this figurative violence is not confined to descriptions of spiritual difficulties. It is attached to a wide variety of subjects, and is deeply ingrained in Richardson's literary register.

Of course, there are other strands of imagery running through the book. Principal among these are images of light borrowed from Quaker theology,[13] of water (especially in the form of a stream),[14] and of natural growth and farming.[15] These images are mainly used to describe spiritual concepts and the growth of religious movements. By using metaphors taken from the natural world, Richardson is able to endow the spirituality and religious history she describes with a sensual vitality, so that the reader experiences them as immediate and alive. This drive to animate historical or abstract concepts is related to what Gevirtz describes as 'one of the main characteristics of the transfigurative moments that occur throughout *Pilgrimage* in which inanimate things ... become animate and are infused with light'.[16] This is not the place for a detailed analysis of these metaphors, except to say that they are what we have come to expect from Richardson. More

[13]Examples of imagery of light include: 'to keep open a rearward window to the light of accumulated experience and teaching' (p. 3); 'Fox [...] [called] all men to see their creeds in the light of the living experience that had first produced them, to live themselves in that light shining pure and original within each one of them, the light which wrote the scriptures and founded the churches' (pp. 9-10).

[14]Examples of water imagery include: 'this perpetual stream of evangelical work' (p.85); 'as we find the fresh life [of Quakerism] threatening here to crystallize into formal idealism, there to flow away into pantheism or antinomianism, again to pour into a dead sea of placid illumination' (pp. 20-21).

[15]Examples of natural growth/farming imagery include: 'the full blossom of the Genevan theology' (p.3); 'in pious London [...] the obscure Waiters, Ranters and Seekers were the most favourable soil' (p.28).

[16]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p.24.

surprising are the images of violence pervading the book, occasionally even mixed up with her images of natural growth.

Richardson details the spread of Quakerism - an important theme to which she devotes a significant amount of textual space - in the language of war and of invasion: 'Ireland was broken into by William Edmondson, an ex-Cromwellian soldier [...] By 1656 the Continent had been attacked' (p.29); 'they achieved a foothold in Virginia in the face of indignant persecutions of the Episcopalians' (p.82).[17] She writes as though the Quakers were an invading army; the growth of the movement is imaged as a military campaign. Both these extracts appear in the context of accounts of fierce persecution of the Quakers, so it could be argued that Richardson's metaphors of war here are a response to this violence. She implies that, far from being passive, the Quakers counteracted persecution by the aggressive invasion of territory.

Richardson occasionally even writes about the growth of Quakerism in the language of Empire:

> The American colonies seemed to the early leaders of the Quaker movement to offer at once a field for the free development of their faith and a base whence they might spread to the ends of the earth. (p. 61)

Images of war appear once again to describe the development of religious faith: 'field' can mean battleground, and 'base' could be a military base or operational headquarters. The phrase 'whence they might spread to the ends of the earth' is redolent of the language of Empire in its grandiloquence, its description of the appropriation of vast expanses of territory, and the attendant implications of supreme and extensive dominion.

[17]Further examples of the spread of Quakerism depicted in the language of war include: 'they had come down in June, and in August were so far settled as to undertake expansion east and west [...]' (p.28); 'Quakerism, gaining most of its converts from the army, became in the end a rapidly expanding force' (p. 28); 'the undisciplined ranks of the second generation' (p.57); 'their failure to capture the world' (p.57).

The fiction of Empire, as exemplified by the work of Kipling and H. Rider Haggard, is exclusively male and extremely violent territory. By portraying Quakerism in the terms of Empire, Richardson is emphasising its active, virile, masculine and aggressive side.

Closely related to the spread of Quakerism is the interaction of the Quakers with other religious groups; an interaction that often bordered on conflict. These encounters are also detailed by Richardson in the language of warfare:

> In pious London, sunk in theological strife, the obscure Waiters, Ranters and Seekers were the most favourable soil.
>
> The Quakers, however, worked everywhere, ploughing up the land, calling men to cease the strife of words. (p. 28)

This is a prime example of mixed metaphors: images of violence cut across images of nature and of farming. London is simultaneously depicted as a battleground of different religious sects, and as a breeding ground of true faith. Here, far from being the aggressors, the Quakers are the peacemakers and farmers. 'The strife of words' is an interesting phrase, for it conjures up an image of words clashing against one another, indicating that tension and conflict are somehow inherent in language itself.[18]

Elsewhere, the Quakers are portrayed as aggressive and virile in their dealings with other religions. For example, '[Quakerism's] successful tilting with Puritan Protestantism' (p.56), which is an intensely masculine image: 'tilting' or jousting suggests knights engaged in horseback combat. The Quakers, moreover, emerge victorious.[19]

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[18]The theme of language (or writing) and violence is more fully developed in my fifth chapter, in the section entitled 'Hatred and Creativity' (pp. 239-245).

[19]Occasionally, the Quakers appear beleaguered, assailed by threats from other religions, which are imaged as hostile forces: '[Quaker teaching] has [...] survived through many crises [...] in spite of the perpetual danger of being overwhelmed by the Calvinism amidst which it was born, and which to this day takes large toll of the society, and perpetually threatens the whole group' (p. 42); 'the society as a whole was swept forward [...] by the invading wave of Protestant evangelism' (pp. 81-82). More often, though, the Quakers are the active aggressors.

Richardson's chapter on the retreat of Quakerism, which one would imagine to be the least violent, also contains images of battle. Here, the Quakers are described as a defeated and retreating army: 'passing through European Christendom and beyond, they gathered in their fellows, retreated to camp, gave up their original enterprise, and became a separatist sect' (p. 50).

The reforms achieved during this second period of Quakerism are also described in extremely harsh terms:

> Seeing in these characteristics of the main mass nothing but the ravages of laxity, the faithful nucleus of the society determined on a measure of reform. (p. 55)

> The Quakers went forward from their great purgation [...] the younger generation forced either to conform to the traditional pattern or to suffer banishment [...] (p. 56)

In the first example, 'ravages', with its connotations of devastation and plunder, echoes Richardson's war metaphor. This implicit violence in the language continues in the second extract: 'purgation' is a cleansing or purification by the expulsion of tainted elements, and involves a possibly violent, certainly forceful act. Similarly, 'forced to conform' holds suggestions of coercion, and the bleak alternative: '*suffer* banishment' (italics mine) implies a somewhat painful exile. Far from being peace-loving, the Quakers are portrayed as severe and forceful, meting out harsh punishment. Even this peaceful period of their history is described by Richardson in the language of violence.

Perhaps the most interesting and unexpected images of violence in *The Quakers; Past and Present* are those attached to Richardson's descriptions of consciousness. At the

centre of her book, as it was at the centre of her mind, is a long analysis of the Quaker practice of silent meeting:

> [...] when in everyday life our attention is arrested by something standing out from the cinematograph show of our accustomed surroundings, we fix upon this one point, and everything else fades away to the margin of consciousness. The 'thing' which has had the power of so arresting us, of making a breach in the normal, unnoticed rhythm of the senses, allows our 'real self' - our larger and deeper being [...] to flow up and flood the whole field of the surface intelligence. (p. 33)

The word 'arrest', which appears twice, and means to seize or to bring to a halt, is redolent of abruptness and violence. Thus, the experience of achieving the deeper reality described by Richardson is set in motion by a violent act. Similarly, 'making a breach' in the rhythm of the senses suggests a tearing or breaking. Richardson uses the metaphor of water (with a hint of the natural growth/farming metaphor in 'field') to describe consciousness. Our 'larger and deeper being' flows up - a smooth, gentle motion - and then 'floods'. Flooding is an irruption, suggesting suddenness, force and destruction. Throughout this passage, violence is a necessary part of the process of reaching a heightened state of consciousness.

Richardson continues her analysis as follows:

> The religious genius, as represented pre-eminently by the great mystics [...] have consciously bent all their energies to breaking through the veil of sense, to making a journey to the heart of reality, to winning the freedom of the very citadel of life itself. Their method has invariably included what [...] we must call the deliberate control of all external

> stimuli, a swimming, so to say, against the whole tide of surface intelligence. (p. 35)

Images of violence and of journeying are used to describe the effort to push beyond the barriers of everyday consciousness. Richardson's journeying images ('making a journey to the heart of reality', 'winning the freedom of the very citadel of life') recall the metaphors of movement I noted in her accounts of individual lives. They are strongly reminiscent of a pilgrimage or quest, in which the hero must travel through unknown or perilous territory and pass a series of tests or trials. The perilousness of this undertaking is underlined by images of violence. 'Breaking through the veil of sense' suggests a violation of sorts; and 'winning the freedom of the very citadel of life' holds echoes of Richardson's war metaphor - a citadel is a fortress. Richardson emphasises the conscious channelling of energy or 'deliberate control' necessary to 'breaking through the veil of sense' - in other words, it is a purposeful, willed act. At the same time, 'swimming against the tide' (the water metaphor appearing again) implies struggle against the odds. For Richardson, the attempt to reach her 'larger and deeper being' was a process inextricably bound up with struggle and violence.

In *The Rise of Puritanism*, William Haller notes that metaphors of wayfaring and warfaring pervade seventeenth century Puritan literature. These two images, which come from the *Old Testament*, were used to present the central experience of Christian morality: temptation.[20] Several critics have noted the influence of Puritan literature, especially of Bunyan, on Richardson.[21] It appears likely that this influence extended to the borrowing of these images, especially the image of battle, for her study of the

[20]William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism 1570-1643* (New York: Knopf, 1938), pp. 142-150.
[21]See, for example, Fleishman, *Figures of Autobiography*, pp. 433, 438; Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 22-43; Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, pp. 115-117.

Quakers.[22] However, this is a matter of conjecture, and there is no concrete evidence to support it.

Interestingly, Richardson expressed severe reservations about metaphor as a trope. 'The thought life of man if it is to maintain itself alive must go warily along a thread thrown forward across an abyss of metaphors', she writes in her essay 'The rampant metaphor'.[23] As Radford argues,

> The objection seems to be that metaphors propose/impose an equivalence between things, whereas for Richardson there are multiple similarities ... Another objection to metaphor voiced by Richardson is that it reveals too much too directly.[24]

This explanation accords with the received view of Richardson's work as resisting unified interpretation and advocating multiplicity. But there is a significant contradiction. Despite Richardson's professed dislike of metaphor, she was unable to avoid it. As the metaphors of war and strife in *The Quakers; Past and Present* prove, Richardson could not help proposing equivalents and imposing fixed meanings. Moreover, what the use of these metaphors - even the choice of the aggressive adjective 'rampant' in the essay title 'The rampant metaphor' - 'reveals' about Richardson is the deep-rootedness of her attraction towards violence, and an underlying preoccupation with masculinity. Violent metaphorical language runs like a leitmotif through *The Quakers; Past and Present*, to an extent that goes beyond the reasonable explanation of the persecution suffered by the Quakers. Richardson's figurative violence, which attaches itself to violent and non-violent events alike and even to descriptions of consciousness, forms one of the principal

[22]It should be noted that metaphors of warfaring and wayfaring are not Quaker images; the idea of temptation was not central to Quaker thought, for they disagreed with the Puritan belief that no soul, even though redeemed, could be free of sin in this life.
[23]Draft essay 'The rampant metaphor', cited in Radford, *Richardson*, p. 122.
[24]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 122-123.

image groups in her literary register. This aspect of her work must be taken into account in any reading of it.[25]

[25]I shall continue the discussion of Richardson's imagery in my final chapter, with an examination of the language of struggle in *Pilgrimage*. (See Chapter Five, 'Metaphors of Struggle', pp. 220-228.)

SPIRITUAL CRISIS AND CONVERSION

The Quakers; Past and Present reveals a recurrent preoccupation with spiritual crisis and conversion. Richardson's account of Fox, for instance, is essentially the story of a religious quest: Fox's spiritual conflicts and subsequent conversion. Following the pattern of many seventeenth century spiritual autobiographies, Richardson concentrates on Fox's conversion, rather than the subsequent years spent preaching which are despatched in a few sentences.[26] Richardson displays an intense awareness of Fox's spiritual condition prior to his conversion. She seems to identify with spiritual difficulties, and she slows down the rapid pace of her narrative to consider them:

> He begs the priests to tell him the meaning of his troubled state - not as one doubting, but rather with the restiveness of one under a bondage, keeping him from that which he knows to be accessible.
>
> One minister advised tobacco and psalm-singing, another physic and bleeding. (p.8)

The present tense opening of this passage, 'He begs', lends immediacy to the description, and indicates the urgency of Fox's difficulties. Richardson makes it clear that he has not been assailed by the rather passive dilemma of 'doubting' (with its connotations of uncertainty and indecisiveness), but that he is actively struggling under a constraint: 'with the restiveness of one under a bondage'. Once again, Fox's spiritual conflicts are described in terms of physical strife and movement, and the fact that his movement is restricted only enhances the dramatic tension of the account. This image of

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[26]In concentrating upon Fox's conversion, Richardson follows the pattern of Fox's *Journal* among other works, which was one of her sources for this study. She dispenses with the rest of his life as follows: '[Fox] spent altogether some six years in prison. For the rest, his life was one long missionary enterprise, and during his detentions he worked unceasingly' (p. 30).

captivity powerfully and economically conveys the excessive spiritual anguish which often preceded conversion. And the proffered - and entirely physical - cures of 'physic and bleeding' are just as violent and extreme as the spiritual malady.

In *The Social Development of English Quakerism*, Richard T. Vann notes that the instant of conversion, which follows spiritual conflict, is a violent moment, a moment of crisis:

> It is certainly true that no believer in instantaneous conversion could have wished for more spectacular psychic disturbances than those which often characterised the early Quaker evangelism. As Charles Marshall describes the first preaching of Audland and Camm at Bristol: 'Ah! the seizings of Souls and prickings at heart, which attended that season; some fell on the ground, others crying out under the sense of opening their States ...'[27]

The violent agony of conversion is registered in a passage Richardson selects from Fox's *Journal* to illustrate this period of his experience:

> 'Now I was come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new; and all creation gave another smell unto me than beyond what words can utter'.[28]

Fox's entry into 'the paradise of God' is imaged as a pre-verbal experience ('beyond what words can utter'), a rebirth in which he experiences the world freshly, as though for the first time. However, it is a violent rebirth; using the Old Testament image of the flaming sword at the entrance to the Garden of Eden, Fox depicts the process of

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[27]Richard T. Vann, p. 37.
[28]Quoted in *The Quakers; Past and Present*, p. 9.

conversion as a baptism by fire. Like Richardson, he describes spiritual conflicts in terms of a physical ordeal. (While it is possible that Richardson absorbed this descriptive habit from Fox, the language of strife is ingrained in Richardson's literary register in a way that goes far beyond any influence Fox's writing may have had.)

The pattern of conversion through violence is a familiar one in seventeenth century spiritual autobiography.[29] Violence is a necessary part of the experience, for it is the violence that tells you that you have been redeemed.

Richardson's acknowledgement of conversion as a violent moment emerges again in her extremely compressed description of Robert Barclay's life:

> By the time the classical apologist of Quakerism - Robert Barclay, a member of an ancient Scottish family, liberally educated at Aberdeen College and in Paris, who had on his conversion forced himself to ride through the streets of his city in sackcloth and ashes - had published his book, any justification of Quakerism had, from the point of view of the laity at large, ceased to be necessary. (p.43)

Barclay's biography is squeezed into a parenthesis, as though it is of secondary importance to the general discussion of Quaker history which it interrupts. Richardson sums him up in three brief phrases. But these phrases are telling, for they reveal what is important to her about a life. She mentions Barclay's family - origins are evidently significant - his education, and his conversion. This last is again portrayed as a violent event: Barclay inflicts physical torment upon himself, displaying what Vann calls 'the psychic disturbances and excitements of conversion'.[30] Richardson once more defines a

[29]Conversion is depicted as a violent act in the work of Isaac Pennington, for instance: 'He prayed much, conned sermons and awaited some incursion of grace. Eventually "light and mercy sprang upon him" and dragged him out of the doctrinal morass ... [He was] "forcibly taken by the hand of the Lord ..." ' Isaac Pennington, *Works* III, 90-91, 545, cited in Vann, *Social Development*, pp.22-23.
[30]Richard T. Vann, *Social Development*, p. 43.

character through violence, this time self-inflicted violence. Her interest in conversion furnishes further evidence of her preoccupation with violence.

IMPLICIT VIOLENCE

CHANGES OF PROSE STYLE

A rather different, implicit violence occurs when Richardson breaks out of the matter of fact style of historian into rhapsodic or epiphanic moments. These instances are usually associated with her attempts to formulate the Quaker doctrine of inner light, a concept that was of paramount importance to her. Consider, for example, the following matter of fact passage about Fox's life:

> His distress grew, amounting sometimes to acute agony of mind: 'As I cannot declare the great misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery'.
>
> Brief intermissions there were when he was 'brought into such a joy that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom'.
>
> But on the whole his wretchedness steadily increased. None could help. The written word had ceased to comfort him. He wandered days and nights in solitary places taking no food. (p. 8)

This extract, which describes Fox's spiritual torment prior to his conversion, shares many characteristics with my previous examples of Richardson's descriptions of individual lives. The short, simple sentences and the sparseness of descriptive detail propel the narrative forward. The starkness of this writing enacts the bleakness and despair of Fox. He is again portrayed as active and in motion: 'he wandered days and nights'; and large amounts of time are passed over in a short narrative space. Richardson once more endows spiritual conflicts with physicality: 'acute agony of mind' is suggestive

of an extreme bodily malady. The appropriation of unacknowledged quotations taken from Fox's *Journal* as interior dialogue animates the writing, and creates a novelistic effect.

This passage is immediately followed by a lyrical description of Fox's epiphany, which is accompanied by a marked change of style:

> Illumination came at last - a series of convictions that truth cannot be found in outward things, and, finally, the moment of release - the sense of which he tries to convey to us under the symbolism of a voice making his heart leap for joy - leaving him remade in a new world. (p. 8)

The quality of this writing is very different; the quotation consists of a single sentence, which is longer and more complex than the previous ones. Richardson's punctuation is extremely free; the liberal use of hyphens breaks up the sentence, giving it a stop-start quality, almost as though excitement was impeding the full articulation of thought. The writing actually enacts its meaning, forcing the reader to participate in the events it describes. At the opening, the main stress falls on 'illumination'; the word dominates and irradiates what follows, as Fox's epiphany dominated and irradiated his life. Similarly, the switch from hyphens to commas in the second line accelerates the pace, rushing the reader towards 'the moment of release', and thereby enacting the momentum and excitement of Fox's gathering conviction. The imagery of light (which is borrowed from the Quakers), and the sense of the difficulty of finding words to describe mystical experience are central Richardsonian concerns, both in *The Quakers; Past and Present*, and in *Pilgrimage*. Richardson's succinctness has disappeared; the prose is transfigured.

The following example of Richardson's rhapsodic or epiphanic style occurs shortly after this passage, and reveals similar characteristics:

> [Fox] came back to the world with his message for all men, all churches, with no new creed to preach, but to call all men to see their creeds in the light of living experience which had first produced them, to live themselves in that light shining pure and original within each one of them, the light which wrote the scriptures and founded the churches; to refuse to be put off any longer with 'notions', mere doctrines, derivative testimonies obscuring the immediate communication of life to the man himself. (pp. 9-10)

Again, this is an extremely long, elastic sentence (consisting of eighty-nine words). It is especially striking for the amount of repetition: 'all men', 'creed/s', 'light', 'living/live/life'. These repeated words signal key concepts: light, life, systems of belief, and the idea of inclusiveness incorporated in 'all men'. Here, as elsewhere in the book, Richardson is stressing the pre-existence of the doctrine of inner light in other mystical and religious groups throughout history. She is in effect saying that one does not have to be a Quaker to have access to the light within. It is as though she is reassuring herself about its universality.

The repetition in this passage has another interesting effect. It creates a kind of circularity: many phrases echo a word, or words, from the previous one (for example: 'the *light* of *living* experience which had first produced them, to *live* themselves in that *light* - my italics). Put another way, the text keeps looping back on itself, and this layering forces a continual re-reading, which slows down the narrative pace, and brings the reader into closer contact with the texture of the language itself. In certain phrases - particularly those with the words 'light' and 'live' in them - the repetition and the alliteration of 'l' sounds almost cause a sensual overload of language. In other words, the passage calls attention to itself as writing, which signals that Richardson has arrived at a

particularly important moment. This prose style provides a striking contrast to the fast pace and starkness of earlier passages.

At the end, the repetition of ' "notions", mere doctrines, derivative testimonies' has a different effect. It obscures the end of sentence: 'the immediate communication of life to the man himself'. Thus, the writing actually enacts the obfuscating effect of these doctrines.

Both these quoted passages look forward to the 'feminine prose' of *Pilgrimage*, which, as Richardson decreed in her Foreword, 'should properly be unpunctuated, moving from point to point without formal obstructions' (*Pilgrimage*, I, 12). This new kind of sentence, fragmented across the conventions of English syntax and punctuation, was the technical unit that provided the basis for her novelistic vision; a vision she describes in the Foreword as 'a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism' (I, 9).

The extracts are also similar to the many epiphanic moments in *Pilgrimage*. Gevirtz calls these moments 'shrine site' passages, and defines them as 'Miriam's increasingly frequent visitation to moments of pleasurable unity with the world - a unity often arrived at through the synesthetic merging of the world and words'. Gevirtz lists some of the technical characteristics of these moments as an 'emphasis on sound, rhythm, and repetition ... idiosyncratic and missing punctuation, an alternating rhythm of life and death mirrored by thematic alterations of light and darkness ...'[31] As we have seen, the epiphanic passages in *The Quakers; Past and Present* share most of these characteristics. The only ones which do not feature are the themes of darkness and death; these in fact appear in Fox's pre-conversion passages. The epiphanic moments in *The Quakers; Past and Present* thus anticipate the 'shrine site' passages of *Pilgrimage*.

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[31] Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, pp. 20 & 166.

There are more epiphanic moments in *Pilgrimage* than space allows me to list here. A few exemplary ones include: *Honeycomb*, p. 458; *The Tunnel*, pp. 13 & 77; *Interim*, pp. 322, 392, 404 & 405; *Oberland* p. 124, and *March Moonlight* pp. 555-556 & 658.

As I have said, Richardson's epiphanic style emerges in *The Quakers; Past and Present* whenever she attempts to formulate the doctrine of inner light. The idea of a deeper reality within each individual was of crucial importance to her. In these discussions of it, her personality breaks (probably unconsciously) through the role of factual historian, out into the writing. Of course, this is not literal violence, but the sharpness of the contrast between styles causes a form of rupture, and is a source of tension in the narrative.

AUTHORIAL INTRUSIVENESS

Another closely related pressure within Richardson's writing in *The Quakers; Past and Present* is her extreme intrusiveness as an author. This is at odds with her professed dislike of authorial intervention, as stated, for example, in the 1938 Foreword to *Pilgrimage*: 'Always [...] one was aware of the author, and applauding, or deploring, his manipulations' (I, 11). There are numerous instances in *The Quakers; Past and Present* when it ceases altogether to be a factual history, and becomes a working out of Richardson's central preoccupations (some of which were mentioned in my discussion of Richardson's epiphanic moments).

There were many areas of crossover between Quakerism and Richardson's own ideas, and this is partly why she was attracted to the Quakers and identified with them in certain respects. Leaving aside for a moment the violence which shaped the Quakers' early history and to which she was drawn, these include her personal leaning towards mysticism. She writes,

> All have the light. We are all mystics. We all live our lives on various levels, at first hand. But [...] while those who have mystical genius need no chart upon their journey, most of us need a plain way traced out for us through the desert. (p. 44)

The use of the first person plural signals that Richardson has moved from the realm of factual history into an exploration of her own concerns. Images of light and of journeying are again used to describe the attempt to achieve a higher level of spirituality. The word 'desert' suggests that the route is desolate and lacking in signposts or guidance. I would suggest that Richardson's interest in the Quakers and her book about them

enabled her to trace a way through this 'desert'; it was a means of studying and gaining understanding of her own mystical tendencies.

The first three sentences of the passage once again refer to the universality of inner light; the repetition signals the importance of the concept to Richardson. This was a significant area of resonance between Quaker philosophy and Richardson's own beliefs. For the Quakers, the experience of mysticism was not a gift of grace to a few, but open to every man or woman, if he or she could find their way to reaching the spirit of God in themselves. This universalist stance, which Richardson returns to throughout her book, was close to 'her own pantheistic aesthetic based on the possibility of seeing God everywhere',[32] and thus extremely attractive to her.

Equally important was the Quakers' search for the 'centre of being'. The following passage describes George Fox's method, and that of mystics in general:

> The religious genius, as represented pre-eminently by the great mystics [...] have consciously bent all their energies to breaking through the veil of sense, to making a journey to the heart of reality, to winning the freedom of the very citadel of life itself. Their method has invariably included what - again borrowing from psychology - we must call the deliberate control of all external stimuli, a swimming, so to say, against the whole tide of surface intelligence, and this in no negative sense, no mere sinking into a state of undifferentiated consciousness, but rather, as we have seen with Fox, a setting forth to seek something already found - something [...] which has already proclaimed itself in moments of heightened consciousness - in the case of the religious temperament at 'conversion'. (p. 35)

[32]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 108.

I have already quoted part of this extract in my discussion of Richardson's metaphors of strife. Here, I want to bring out a slightly different aspect. Setting aside the question of the dynamics of mystical experience and its presumed explanation by 'psychology', we find Richardson focusing on the conscious and deliberate attempt to further these states of 'heightened consciousness'. Repetition and longer, more complex sentences - Richardson's epiphanic style - signal the departure from factual history into the realm of her particular preoccupations. Richardson emphasises the fact that such heightened states have already come of their own accord - 'something that has already proclaimed itself' - in a prior 'conversion'. Her phrase for this kind of experience is 'a setting forth to seek something already found' - and this statement holds the key both to her mysticism and to a controlling figuration of *Pilgrimage*. To reiterate Fleishman:

> *Pilgrimage* is distinguished among autobiographical writings not merely by its consistent figure of 'making a journey to the heart of reality' but by its repeated testimony to the central irony of religious experience, that the journey is always to where one already is, that the quest is for what is already possessed ... that the discovery is always a rediscovery and the illumination a repetition.[33]

For Miriam and for Richardson, mystical experience is an attempt to authorise a new self which, paradoxically, pre-exists the present one and is indeed one's authentic being.

Another preoccupation explored by Richardson in *The Quakers; Past and Present* is the Quaker attitude towards women. She devotes an entire chapter to this subject, which reflects its importance to her. Quaker attitudes were deeply implicated in questions of gender. Quakers were 'the most determined advocates of the recognition of a woman's

[33]Fleishman, *Figures of Autobiography*, p. 433.

spiritual identity' (p. 73). The 'inner light', they believed, was universal; a woman was not 'an appendage to be controlled, guided and managed by man' (p. 72). The Society of Friends provided Richardson with an institutional way of stating her belief in female values and female difference, yet one that quite deliberately avoided feminism.

> One of the most striking features of techniques of Quaker meetings [...] is the working out of the distinctive characteristics of the sexes. Their contradistinction, and the tendency psychology has roughly summarized of women, as a class, to control thought by feeling, and of men, as a class, to allow 'reason' the first place, is here at its height.
>
> The two rival and ever-competing definitions of reality both find expression. Reaction takes place without bitterness. (p. 75)

> [Women possess a] natural sense of direct relationship to life [...] instinctive individual aspiration and [a] sense of responsibility. (p. 77)

The first extract, with its passing reference to psychology, is couched in quasi-scientific language, and could be deemed 'masculine' in style. The second, which uses vaguer terms, and endows women with an almost mystical property, might be called 'feminine'. These contrasting prose styles literally reflect the basic distinction Richardson is expressing, which is between the ways men and women use their thinking minds. The 'masculine' reliance on logic, categorization, rationality, is opposed to 'feminine' intuition and feeling. Richardson sees the world of women as boundless, not restricted by the ordering imposed by masculine conventions, and this view is reflected in the open-ended, impressionistic language of the second passage. These are early formulations of the

essentialist view of women Richardson reaches in the later volumes of *Pilgrimage*, and in some of her Journalism.[34]

Significantly, Richardson's chapter on Quakerism and women dwells on the struggle which preceded Quaker acknowledgement of the public ministry of women:

> [Quaker recognition of the ministry of women] was the occasion of profound disturbance within the body. Heart-searching and hesitation rose here and there to an opposition so convinced as to form part of the programme of the first schismatics. Fox had to fight valiantly [...] he cut clean through the Pauline tangle of irreconcilable propositions, and forged from the depths of his conviction phrases that would, were they but known, do yeoman service in the present agitation for the release of the artificially inhibited responsibilities of women. (p. 73)

The word 'body', which here refers to the Society of Friends, also means living organism. Likewise, 'disturbance', 'heart-searching' and 'hesitation' could apply equally well to a group or society, or to an individual in distress. By imaging the Quakers as a

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[34]Richardson's complex attitude towards women is discussed more fully in the second and third chapters of this thesis.

She often referred to the Quaker view of women in her later Journalism, holding it up as exemplary, and linking her essentialist view of women to the Society of Friends:

> The early Quakers, wrapped as they were as 'men' in secular fear and distrust of 'woman', did not dare to deny her her human heritage of divine light and bravely took in the dark the leap of admitting her to full ministry. Only the Protestants have left her out altogether [...] Woman springs to the centre of an aristocratic church system - because men will have her there. ('The Reality of Feminism', *The Ploughshare* n.s. 2, Sept. 1917, pp. 241-46.)

> The characteristic [...] of being all over the place and in all camps at once, accounts both for her famous inability 'to make up her mind', her unashamed inconsistency and her ability as a peacemaker. It explains her capacity for 'living in the present' and at the same time her uncanny apprehension of what is yet to be. This apprehension, 'the spirit of prophecy in the daughters' which George Fox bade men respect when he was trouncing them for claiming authority over their wives, is the informing substance of her life. ('Leadership in Marriage', *New Adelphi* 2, June-August 1929, pp. 345-48.)

live body, Richardson animates and gives concrete physicality to conflict. Similarly, Fox's attempt to gain approval for the ministry of women is imaged as physical battle; he 'fights', and 'cuts clean through' as though with a sharp-edged weapon. Not only does this endow Fox's struggle with a dramatic physicality, it also continues the portrayal of him as virile and heroic. These descriptive techniques are by now recognisable as characteristic of *The Quakers; Past and Present.*

Richardson also contrasts the Quaker attitude towards women with the position of women within the Anglican church:

> Devout churchwomen, and, in particular, devout Protestants, are nourished on literal interpretation of records, which assure them of an essential inferiority to their male companions, and enjoin subjection in all things. At marriage, they sacramentally renounce individuality. (p.72)

This writing is coloured by anger. It seethes to the surface in the ironic discrepancy between churchwomen being 'nourished' - the word holds connotations of sustenance and nurture - and their 'essential inferiority' and 'subjection'. Likewise, 'sacramentally' and 'renounced', which are part of the language of prayer and praise, are used sarcastically, for what is being renounced is individuality. The position of women is one more arena in which Richardson's interest in conflict becomes apparent.

Thus, *The Quakers; Past and Present* provided Richardson with an early means of exploring some of the major concerns which shape *Pilgrimage*; it acted as a kind of 'dry-run' for the novel-sequence. As we have seen, this gave rise to significant parallels of language and theme between the two works, and I shall briefly recapitulate these. Central to the argument of this thesis is the preoccupation with violence which informs *The Quakers; Past and Present* and *Pilgrimage*, including the abundance of metaphors

drawn from physical aggression. In addition, both the pilgrimage theme and the metaphors of movement which feature in *The Quakers; Past and Present* appear in *Pilgrimage*. Richardson's occasional recourse to ellipses in her book on the Quakers also looks forward to their use in the novel-sequence. What I termed Richardson's rhapsodic or epiphanic style in *The Quakers; Past and Present* anticipates the 'feminine prose' of *Pilgrimage*, and shares many similarities with the novel-sequence's epiphanic or 'shrine-site' moments, for example, an 'emphasis on sound, rhythm, and repetition ... idiosyncratic and missing punctuation, an alternating rhythm of life and death mirrored by thematic alternations of light and darkness...'[35] Descriptions of consciousness in *The Quakers; Past and Present* underline the fact that such heightened states have already arrived of their own volition ('a setting forth to seek something already found'), and this statement anticipates a key figuration of *Pilgrimage*: for Miriam and for Richardson, the attempt to reach a higher level of consciousness is an attempt to discover a deeper self which, paradoxically, is already in existence and is actually one's authentic being. Another important preoccupation informing both works is the position of women: Richardson's book on the Quakers provided her with an institutional framework within which to state her belief in female qualities and female difference, yet one that avoided feminism. *The Quakers; Past and Present* enabled Richardson to articulate early formulations of the essentialist view of women she expresses in later volumes of *Pilgrimage*.

The above aspects of *Pilgrimage* which are informed by the 'dry-run' of *The Quakers; Past and Present* have already been discussed at greater length throughout the course of the chapter. What has not been mentioned until now is that *The Quakers; Past and Present* also contains many of *Pilgrimage's* characteristic stylistic traits; there is much in the former that accords with the received opinion of Richardson's writing, with 'its

[35]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, pp. 20 & 166.

unboundedness, fluidity, refusal of closure, its pleonastic, metonymic qualities'.[36] Within the book's organised, chronological framework, there exists a characteristically Richardsonian freedom of form, especially in the opening chapters. Richardson shifts from the broadly historical to narratives of individual lives to general discussions of Quaker beliefs and back again, seemingly with no logic. The second chapter, for instance, opens with an account of discussions between Fox and unnamed Puritan leaders, then considers the early persecution of Quakers by the mob and official Calvinism, jumps to a reconstruction of Fox's character, stresses the pre-existence of Quaker beliefs in other religious sects in England, turns to a brief consideration of seventeenth century European mysticism, returns to Fox, and then moves outwards once more to discuss the freedom of the Quaker church from the limits of institutions. There is no apparent structure imposed on the material; it is almost a 'stream of consciousness' flow of ideas. The later chapters are more coherent and more unified, as though Richardson gained direction as she wrote.

Like many seventeenth century spiritual autobiographies, including Fox's *Journal* which Richardson used as a source for her study, *The Quakers; Past and Present* is open-ended, resisting conventional closure. It finishes with a question: what direction will Quakerism take in the future?

Closely allied to looseness of structure and open-endedness is Richardson's willingness to accept as valid a number of interpretative options. Chapter Four ('The Retreat of Quakerism'), for example, reports views held by unnamed 'modern commentators' on the position of Quakerism in relation to mainstream religion and to other mystical groups:

> We may, perhaps, accept something of all these readings; we may recognise the unsuitability for the daily need of the world at large of a church neither primarily institutional nor primarily doctrinal. We may

[36]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 113-114.

> admit [...] the handicap of recognised feminine ministry; we may see the full unreason of birthright membership, and the change of base in the modern revival without, perhaps, being driven to conclude that England's attempt to introduce into field and market-place the hitherto cloistered mystical faith and practice has entirely failed. (p. 58)

Thus, what are commonly regarded as Richardson's characteristic stylistic traits are already in evidence: looseness of form, resistance to conventional closure, and openness to multiple interpretations.

COMPARATIVE STUDIES

A brief comparison of *The Quakers; Past and Present* with other early twentieth century works on Quakerism, many of which Richardson lists in her Bibliography,[37] will determine whether her preoccupation with violence was a common trend in the Quaker studies of her time, or whether it was peculiar to her, and thus doubly significant.

As I have stressed, the early history of Quakerism was extremely violent, and many of these other books contain graphic accounts of persecution in chapters whose headings give a good idea of their content, for instance, 'The Crown of Persecution',[38] 'Inside the Prisons', and 'The Boston Martyrs'.[39] Thus, Richardson's descriptions of physical violence are not in themselves unusual. What renders *The Quakers; Past and Present* different is that although it purports to cover the history of Quakerism up to the time of writing, Richardson devotes a large number of pages - two thirds of her study - to the early, violent period.[40]

While Richardson mentions the more peaceful aspects of Quakerism, such as missionary work, the injunctions against war and against oaths, and the importance ascribed to education, it is a passing mention, a paragraph here and there, rather than the focus of her work.[41] This provides a striking contrast to writers such as Elizabeth Emmott, who devotes entire chapters to 'The Work of Friends at Home', and 'The Work of Friends Abroad'. Rufus M. Jones's *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (1928)

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[37]The only books mentioned in this section which do not appear in Richardson's Bibliography are *Social Law in the Spiritual World* (London: Headley, 1905), and *The Faith and Practice of the Quakers* (London: Methuen & Company Ltd, 1928), both by Rufus M. Jones.

[38]T Edmund Harvey, *The Rise of the Quakers* (London: Headley, 1905).

[39]Elizabeth Emmott, *The Story of Quakerism.*

[40]Works devoted to the Quakers' early history, such as T. Edmund Harvey's *The Rise of the Quakers*, and William C. Braithwaite's *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912) obviously focus more heavily on the violent beginnings of Quakerism. *The Quakers; Past and Present* is unusual in that it covers the whole history of Quakerism to the time of writing, yet still concentrates on the violent aspects.

[41]For example, Richardson gives a brief description of the Meeting for Sufferings on page 39; the Quaker injunctions against war and against oaths are fleetingly mentioned on page 42.

contains chapters entitled 'Simplicity and Depth of Life', 'The Quakers as Peace-Makers', 'Friends and the Humanitarian Spirit'. It becomes apparent that Richardson made the violent aspects of Quakerism her focus, passing over the peaceful elements in a manner extremely unusual for her time.

As we have seen, the language of strife pervades *The Quakers; Past and Present*. I have located this language in the work of Rufus M. Jones, although it is far less common than in Richardson's study. It is limited to the description of spiritual struggles, and is never used in connection with the spread of Quakerism.[42] The language of strife is largely absent from the other early twentieth century works I have studied. Compare, for instance, the following accounts of Fox's spiritual conflicts:

> When he reached home he did not go to bed that night, but walked to and fro, or knelt in prayer, pouring out the trouble of his heart to God. (T. Edmund Harvey, *The Rise of the Quakers*, p. 15)

> He grappled with the difficulty at once. He spent the hours of that night in pacing up and down in his room, in praying and crying out, in sitting still and reflecting. (*The Quakers; Past and Present*, p. 6)

Both extracts are characterised by motion, but there is far more of a sense of urgency about Richardson's description. Richardson's Fox engages with his difficulty 'at once'; he paces up and down and cries out; his anguish is energetic and active. Harvey's Fox, on the other hand, is more sedate; he walks, kneels in prayer, and pours out his trouble in a liquid stream of language, which seems far less masculine and violent than Richardson's ejaculatory 'crying out'. The supplicating gesture of kneeling is also absent from Richardson's account. Richardson evokes Fox's spiritual dilemma through a metaphor of

[42]Rufus M Jones, *Social Law in the Spiritual World*, for example, pp. 11, 33, 45.

strife: 'he grappled'; she endows inward conflict with a concrete physicality. Neither this dramatic physicality, nor the language of strife are present in Harvey.

Similarly,

> [Fox] was almost in despair at finding everywhere the profession of Christianity without a Christlike life. Even the ministers had so little sympathy with his longings after truth and holiness, that some of them advised him to smoke tobacco or to take medicine as a cure for his low spirits! (Elizabeth Emmott, *The Story of Quakerism*, p. 16)

> He begs the priests to tell him the meaning of his troubled state - not as one doubting, but rather with the restiveness of one under a bondage, keeping him from that which he knows to be accessible.
>
> One minister advised tobacco and psalm-singing, another physic and bleeding. (*The Quakers, Past and Present*, pp. 7-8)

Unlike Richardson, Emmott does not register the violence of conversion. Emmott's Fox is more passive: contrast the carefully qualified 'almost in despair' with Richardson's graphic image of physical captivity, 'the restiveness of one under a bondage', in which Fox is actively struggling under a constraint. Richardson's Fox urgently 'begs' the priests for answers; the switch to the present tense lends greater immediacy. In Emmott's account, which is in the past tense throughout, we are told about the ministers' unsympathetic reaction to Fox's 'longings'. 'Longings' are a more passive emotion than 'restiveness'. Emmott further decentres Fox's crisis by making the ministers the subject of the sentence. Even the ministers' remedies are milder in Emmott's account; she does not mention the violent option of bleeding. These differences are fairly representative of the

contrast between the language of *The Quakers; Past and Present* and its contemporary works on Quakerism.

A striking disparity begins to emerge between Richardson's position on Quakerism, and that of other writers of her time. Richardson's widespread use of the language of strife, her portrayal of Quakerism as virile and masculine, and her preoccupation with violence to the near-exclusion of the missionary and pacifist elements render her unique among these authors. This confirms that her interest in violence is an idiosyncratic and highly significant factor in her writing.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reads *The Quakers; Past and Present* as an apprentice work, which not only served as a vehicle for Richardson's exploration of her mystical leanings, but also enabled her to express her preoccupation with violence. It attempts to locate *Pilgrimage* in the context of Richardson's non-fiction writing, by showing the ways in which her study of the Quakers was generative of later preoccupations in the novel-sequence.

The central argument of the chapter is that violence is a previously unremarked element that Richardson was drawn to in Quakerism, and this fact should be taken into account to modify existing readings of her. I have attempted to detail the numerous ways in which Richardson's complex and sometimes ambiguous fascination with violence emerges in *The Quakers; Past and Present*. Significantly, a large proportion of the book is devoted to the first violent and bloody stage in Quaker history. Richardson's characters are described through metaphors of violence and through the persecution inflicted on them. Footnotes are often used to highlight the violent incidents they describe. Metaphors of strife are attached to violent and non-violent events alike and even to descriptions of consciousness, forming one of the book's principal groups of images. Richardson's recurrent interest in the essentially violent nature of spiritual crisis and conversion furnishes further evidence of her preoccupation with violence. Implicit violence is also present in changes of prose style and instances of authorial intrusion, when Richardson switches from factual history into a working out of her own concerns. Although these are not literal forms of violence, both are a source of tension and create rupture in the narrative. Finally, a brief comparison of *The Quakers; Past and Present* with other early twentieth century works on Quakerism reveals that Richardson's extensive use of the language of strife, her emphasis on the virile and masculine aspects of Quakerism, and her fascination with violence to the near-exclusion of the missionary and pacifist elements render her unique among the authors I examine, confirming that her

interest in violence is an idiosyncratic and important factor in her writing. Throughout, I argue that Richardson's preoccupation with violence goes over and beyond reasonable explanations such as the 'normalisation' of the language of struggle in Quaker writing and writing about the Quakers, or even Richardson's own struggle to reach states of heightened consciousness.

Just as Richardson's preoccupation with violence coexists with recognised aspects of her work in *The Quakers; Past and Present*, so is it present in *Pilgrimage*. The following chapters will consider the various ways in which this preoccupation appears in and shapes the novel-sequence.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN GERMANY

'An exact chronicle of life in a German girls' school a quarter of a century ago', declared the *Times Literary Supplement* review of *Pointed Roofs* in 1915, '... is perhaps of all the themes which a novelist might choose the least likely to appeal to the public at the present moment'.[1] The timing of the novel's publication (it first appeared in the autumn of 1915) seems unlucky to say the least, for Richardson's largely sympathetic response to German culture was clearly unpalatable to a nation gripped by war fever. Hanscombe, I think rightly, sees this as a contributing factor in the establishing of adverse critical reaction to Richardson's work.[2]

At the same time, Richardson's fictionalised account of her experiences as an English teacher in a German girls' school occupied well known fictional terrain; it was part of a novelistic tradition which includes Charlotte Bronte's *Villette*. *Pointed Roofs* is less experimental than the succeeding novel-chapters of *Pilgrimage*. In terms of its German theme, it is oriented within known parameters. There were several women writing about Germany roughly contemporaneously with Richardson: Elizabeth von Arnim, Katherine Mansfield and Violet Hunt, to name but three. Formally and stylistically too, *Pointed Roofs* is less innovative and complicated than the volumes which follow, though still a departure from novelistic convention in 1915.

In this chapter, I intend to examine Richardson's complex attitudes of attraction and repulsion to Germany, and her response to its militarism, in the light of other writing about Germany during the First World War and the years immediately preceeding it, particularly writing by women. Because of the thematic parallels between *Pointed Roofs*

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[1]*Times Literary Supplement*, 23 September, 1915.
[2]Introduction to the Virago edition of *Pilgrimage* (1979), p. 1.

and these works, I have found it useful to establish both their similarities and Richardson's 'difference' by means of lengthy comparative analysis. In this way, I have aimed to provide both context and starting point for an exploration of Richardson's engagement with conflict in *Pilgrimage*.

I shall begin with a brief account of Anglo-German relations, in order to outline the historical setting. In his excellent study, *The Death of the German Cousin*, Peter Edgerly Firchow describes the curious ambiguity of feeling towards Germany which existed in England during the last years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth: 'Culturally, in terms of religion and "Race", Germany was often viewed as an ally, even as a "cousin"; politically and militarily, it came increasingly to be thought of as an enemy'.[3]

Firchow traces the awakening of English awareness of German culture in the eighteenth century: George I became England's first German king in 1714; and during the middle years of the century, England joined Protestant Prussia in its war against a coalition of Catholic powers and Russia. As the century ran its course, Gothic architecture and Gothic romance became increasingly fashionable. Walter Scott translated Burger's *Leonore*; Kotzbue became a great success (albeit briefly) on the London stage; and Schubert, Schumann, and Hugo Wolf, among other lieder composers, set much of the best lyric poetry of the age to music.

A climactic moment in the relationship between the two countries was undoubtedly the joining of the English and Prussian armies at Waterloo against the common enemy Napoleon. Once this mutual end was achieved and Napoleon vanquished, the old balance of power on the continent could be reinstated. England was free to concentrate its attention on India and the East without the anxiety of a major European rival. At about this time, influenced by Carlyle's much vaunted championship of Germany and the

[3]Peter Edgerly Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin* (New Jersey, London, Canada: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1986), p. 10.

increasing focus on linguistic and racial researches, the English became interested in their racial alliance with 'Our German Cousins'.[4]

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71, however, revealed Prussia to be a far more powerful potential enemy than anyone had suspected. In the boom years which followed the formation of the German Empire in 1871, the new iron and coal industries on the Ruhr began to demonstrate that a united Germany had the power to equal and perhaps to surpass the foremost industrial power of the age, Britain. Germany was becoming a threat; a rival to be reckoned with, not only in industry, but also in the colonial field, in trade, and in military strength.

As German might increased, a cooling-off of English attitudes developed. Although Germany and the Germanic ancestry of the English continued to be popular subjects, an uneasiness crept into Anglo-German relations. This period marks the beginning of a dramatic transformation of England's image of the German national character. The 'good' German; the amiable, musical, beery, fundamentally peace-loving country cousin was about to be transformed into the 'bad' German; the savage and brutal Hun, a creature insanely obsessed with the desire to get at all costs and by any means to the top of the world.

British uneasiness about this change is reflected in the pre-war Invasion Scare literature. These tales, as well as their adverse effect on relations between the two countries, have been comprehensively documented by I. F. Clarke.[5] The most noteworthy example is probably Erksine Childers' *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), which was written to arouse a self-satisfied public to the danger of invasion. It describes the Germans diligently building up a secret naval base in the North Sea, from which to launch an attack on Britain. As Clarke points out, Childers' account of two Englishmen pitting their natively English skills of sailing and amateur sleuthing against the whole

[4]Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 32.
[5]I.F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, rev. ed. 1992), Chapters 1-4.

German military machine has an underlying mythic structure, for it evokes 'a renewal of the ancient anxiety for the survival of an island power in the face of an attempt at invasion by a great overseas military power'.[6]

The pre-war invasion stories were largely a spontaneous reaction to increasing German naval power. Less spontaneous, perhaps, was the propaganda produced by many British writers after the outbreak of war, in response to the Government's desire to counteract the proliferation of German propaganda in America. As Peter Buitenhuis has shown in *The Great War of Words*, a country's writers have seldom so unreservedly supported a national cause. With the exception of George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, and a few lesser known authors, British writers of all persuasions were during this period unequivocally on the side of the Allies. Arnold Bennett, for instance, eventually produced over four hundred items of literary propaganda, and, towards the end of the war was appointed head of the whole propaganda effort. John Buchan, Ford Madox Ford, Belloc, G.K. Chesterton and H.G. Wells (briefly Richardson's lover and her long-time friend) were also among those who wrote copiously.

Doubtless the change in the English perception of Germans from beery benevolent 'cousins' to bestial Huns owed much to this British propaganda. Buitenhuis concludes that the most damaging effect of Wellington House propaganda was to distort British perception of the Germans so powerfully and irreversibly that any discussions of peace through negotiation were stifled before they could effectively be begun.[7]

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[6]I.F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, p. 120.
[7]Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. xv, xvii, 37-53, 179-182.

WOMEN IN GERMANY: A TRADITION

Firchow draws attention to the stark opposition of contrasting pairs of national characteristics in much of the British literary response to the First World War. British spontaneity is contrasted with German rigidity; love is set against duty; pacifism against militarism; vitalism against mechanism; gentleness against brutality, and so on. Some of these oppositions predate the outbreak of war; however, the war served to intensify the polarisation of English and German characteristics.

Firchow rightly emphasises the suggestiveness of these polarities, pointing out that many of the characteristics perceived to be typically German are usually associated with masculinity; likewise, the British characteristics are usually thought of as female:

> The rigidity of the German nation is matched by the flexible softness of the British, the brutal militarism of the former by the gentle civility of the latter; German boastfulness by British modesty; ... the aggressive thrust of the German by the outraged defence of the British.[8]

In other words, the male/female polarisation has become mapped onto the German/English one. Firchow argues that in the light of this, the fact that much of the British fiction of the time specifically dealing with Germany was written by women, gains a new significance.

I would go further, and argue for a tradition of English women writing about Germany, some of them married to German men. My argument is supported by the very wealth of women writing about Germany during this time; by the similarity of theme, preoccupation and sometimes even plot in their novels; and by the consciousness of

[8]Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 77.

other women writing about Germany which appears, for instance, in the work of Sybil Spottiswode:

> She wondered what the other Englishwomen who had married into similar circumstances [i.e. who had married German men] had done.
>
> She comprehended the ecstatic eulogies which certain of her country-women have voiced in writing of the Fatherland.[9]

During the course of this chapter, I shall discuss the women writers who form this tradition: Elizabeth von Arnim, Katherine Mansfield, Sybil Spottiswode, I.A.R. Wylie, and Violet Hunt, with brief reference to a male author writing about Germany, E.M. Forster. I shall then examine the extent to which *Pointed Roofs* fits into this tradition, and shall analyse Richardson's interest in conflict within this context.[10]

[9]Sybil Spottiswode, *Her Husband's Country* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1911) pp. 400 & 300-301.
[10]Firchow's chapter 'The Loves of English Women and German Men' in *The Death of the German Cousin*, pp. 77-99, contains a discussion of these women writers. At times, I have drawn on Firchow's work, but have also attempted to extend it by examining novels which do not appear in his study, and by a more detailed textual analysis than he provides.

OPPOSITE POLES: ELIZABETH VON ARNIM AND E.M. FORSTER

The leading exponent of the tradition of 'Women in Germany' is undoubtedly Elizabeth von Arnim, who was born Marie Annette Beauchamp in 1866. She met her first husband, Count Henning von Arnim-Schlagenthin, while travelling with her father in Italy in 1889. 'In those days we didn't mind Germans', Elizabeth later wrote in her autobiography, *All the Dogs of My Life*, 'and my parents saw me being turned into one without a flickering of an eyelash'.[11]

Her first novel, *Elizabeth and her German Garden*, published anonymously in 1898, became a best-seller. In fact, Germany barely features in the book at all, since most of it is devoted to detailed descriptions of von Arnim's highly tuned 'sensibility'. Like the German setting, her German husband, 'The Man of Wrath', remains a vague figure, kept firmly in the background. As Firchow points out, however, 'more remarkable than her book ... is Elizabeth von Arnim's subsequent change of feelings towards Germany, for in this respect she serves as a kind of model for other British women writers about that country'.[12] In 1915, five years after her husband's death, she married Frank Russell and rejected her links with Germany. In his *Autobiography*, Bertrand Russell, Frank's older brother, noted that Elizabeth 'expressed regret at the fact that her five German nephews in the war are still alive'.[13]

Even before this overt repudiation of Germany, however, there are clear indications of anti-German feeling in her work. *The Benefactress* (published in 1901) is rooted in the 'German Cousin' tradition. Anna Estcourt's German uncle dies, leaving her an estate in Pomerania, and Anna resolves to invite impoverished gentlewomen to share her good fortune. Anna's neighbour, a handsome minor noble, falls passionately in love with her,

[11]Elizabeth von Arnim, *All the Dogs of My Life* (London: Macmillan, 1936), cited in Karen Usborne, *Elizabeth* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p.37
[12]Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 79.
[13]Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell, 1914-1944* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968) p. 57, cited in Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 79.

much to her annoyance. It is only when he is wrongly arrested and gaoled that she realises her love for him. The novel eventually ends happily. But intruding into this amiable 'German Cousin' novel is a chilling instance of historical foresight in the shape of a German parson called Adolf, an otherwise good and pious man, whose favourite subject is the thieving ways of the Jews:

> 'The Jews', [Anna] echoed. One of her greatest friends at home was a Jew, a delightful person, the mere recollection of whom made her smile, so witty and charming and kind was he. And of Jews in general she could not remember to have heard anything at all.
>
> 'They steal not only the money from our pockets and bread from our mouths', continued the parson leaning forward, his light grey eyes opened to their widest extent, and speaking in a whisper that made her scalp begin the process known as creeping, 'but blood - blood from our veins' ... His wife, hearing the well-known rapid speech of his inspired moments, glowed with pride. 'My Adolf surpasses himself', she thought. (*The Benefactress*, p. 115)

In expressing this stereotypical conception of Jews as money-grabbing, inhuman bloodsuckers, the parson himself is dehumanised; von Arnim achieves this through the description of his bulging eyes, and the effect of his whisper on Anna's scalp. The effect of the whole passage, with its juxtaposition of virulently anti-Semitic views and the proud oblivious wife looking on, is both menacing and comic.

The Caravaners (1909) carries an even clearer warning of the threat posed by Germany, which undermines its ostensible 'German Cousin' theme. The novel contains the message that war between England and Germany is almost inevitable, judging by von Arnim's reading of the German character. A review of *The Caravaners* in the *Spectator*

even went so far as to find her portrayal irresponsible, 'for this is a book, which, by its myriad pinpricks, aggravates the friction between the two nations'.[14]

Baron Otto von Ottringe (who is the narrator) and his wife Edelgard join a party of English and German friends on a caravanning holiday in Kent. The Baron is brutal, self centred, a snob and a chauvinist. He is the archetypal militaristic German bully, whose character is reflected in his leaden and over-elaborate prose. This is a devastating caricature of the Prussian male, to whom the 'great objects of life' are 'wealth, and war, and a foot on the neck of the nations' (*The Caravaners*, p. 108). Von Ottringe is constitutionally incapable of appreciating the good and the beautiful. A large proportion of the book is taken up by him hungrily licking his lips over England, 'that fat little land [which] will be a luscious morsel some day for muscular or continental (and almost certainly German) jaws' (*The Caravaners*, pp. 34-35).

The Baron envisages Prussian domination of Europe:

> I can see ... all the other slow-spoken and slow-thoughted Englishmen flapping ineffectually among the lower and more comfortable branches of the tree of nations ... but what about the Prussian Eagle sitting at the top, his beak flashing in the light, his watchful eye never off them? Some day he will swoop down on them when they are, as usual, asleep, clear out their similar well-lined nests, and have the place to himself - becoming, as the well-known picture has it ... in all his glory Enfin Seul. (*The Caravaners*, p.35)

This Darwinian image of the survival of the fittest, couched in the Baron's absurd rhetoric, fits the male/female, German/English polarity established by Firchow. The

[14]The *Spectator*, 1909 (exact reference not given), cited in Leslie de Charms, *Elizabeth of the German Garden* (London: Heinemann, 1958), p. 128.

Prussian eagle is all hardness (light flashing off his beak as he waits to pounce), a characteristic associated with masculinity; while the soft slow English, complacently asleep in their nests, could be thought of as feminine. The contrast between the two, like the anti-Semitic parson in *The Benefactress*, is half-comic, half-menacing. This mixture is characteristic of the effect of *The Caravaners* as a whole.

There is very little comedy, however, about von Arnim's novel *Christine* (1917), the story of a talented young British girl, bullied and abused by barbaric Germans. The novel consists of Christine's letters to her mother, written while she was studying in Berlin shortly before the outbreak of war. In the Preface, the authoress Alice Cholmondely (von Arnim published *Christine* under a pseudonym, for fear of possible German reprisals against her daughter, Beatrix, who was living in Germany) explains that she decided to publish the letters because she felt they might have a certain value in helping put together a small corner of a great picture of Germany 'which it will be necessary to keep clear ... before us if the future of the world is to be saved'. The book is thus a self-declared piece of propaganda.

The young letter-writer immediately becomes aware of the feverish interest in politics among all classes of Germans: 'They blaze with interest, they explode with it, they scorch and sizzle' (*Christine*, p. 60). She also encounters overt hostility because she is English: 'The Berlin man mutters the word Englanderin as though it were a curse, or says into one's ear ... - "Ros Bif" ' (*Christine*, p. 28).

Christine reflects the English/German polarity created by the war. The German has been de-humanised, transformed into the savage, bloodthirsty Hun:

> The drunken crowds - that's the word that most exactly describes them - yelling, swaying, cursing ... Somehow a spectacled professor with a golden chain across his black-waistcoated and impressive front, just opening his mouth and hurling any sort of noise out of it, till the veins on

> his head and neck and forehead look as though they would burst, is the strangest sight in the world to me ... (*Christine*, p. 201)

The power of this passage stems from the shocking gap between the figure of the professor, supposedly an embodiment of civilised and academic values, complete with all the outward trappings of civilisation (the golden chain and sober black waistcoat), and the way he behaves, opening his mouth to emit inarticulate animal noises until his veins bulge monstrously.

The polarity between England and Germany; the 'otherness' of the Germans, creates strong feelings of isolation and marginalisation in Christine. She notes,

> They're the oddest mixture of what really is a brutal hardness, the kind that springs from fundamental differences from ours in their attitude towards life, and a squashiness that leaves one with one's mouth open. (*Christine*, p. 47)

These are interesting metaphors when read in the light of the male/female German/English polarity. Here, it seems that the polarity between masculine and feminine exists within the German psyche, as well as between Britain and Germany. The Germans combine hardness and softness, masculinity and femininity. However, far from being positive, their femininity is repulsive, a 'squashiness' that leaves Christine open-mouthed. Her disgust is probably a reaction to her sense of alienation.

The feeling of displacement also brings out a fervent and patriotic love for England. Christine's love for England wins ascendancy over her love for Bernd von Inster, the German officer to whom she briefly becomes engaged. This conflict of loyalties, and the idea that patriotic love is stronger than the love for a German man occurs in other writing by English women about Germany during this period.

I have discussed *The Benefactress*, *The Caravaners*, and *Christine* at some length, because they reflect the increasing polarisation of England and Germany within the 'German Cousin' tradition. The same pattern is evident in the work of many women writing about Germany at this time.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of English writers' reactions to Germany stands a man whom von Arnim knew personally, E.M. Forster. From 1905 to 1906, Forster lived in Nassenheide, and acted as tutor to von Arnim's three daughters. Forster's fictional attempt to 'connect' the opposing yet sympathetic cultures of England and Germany in *Howards End* (1910), (which, unlike most works discussed in this chapter has an almost wholly English setting), almost certainly owes something to autobiography.[15] Like the von Arnim daughters, the protagonists of *Howards End*, Margaret and Helen Schlegel, are half German; they too are the offspring of a German father and an English mother; living embodiments of the joining or 'connecting' of the two nations.

Howards End registers both the Romantic idealism and the aggressive militarism of Germany. A sense of Imperial competition and approaching war intrudes into the novel at various junctures, usually when the Wilcoxes are present. Henry Wilcox, for instance, explains the necessity of sending his son to Africa in the following terms: 'England will never keep her trade overseas unless she is prepared to make sacrifices. Unless we get firm in West Africa, Ger- untold complications may follow' (*Howards End*, p. 131). Forster knew the dangers of this kind of Kiplingesque talk; he recognised its power to inflame nationalist dissatisfactions and rivalries. 'The remark "England and Germany are bound to fight" renders the war more likely each time that it is made, and is therefore made the more readily by the gutter press of either nation', comments the narrator of *Howards End* (p. 63).

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[15]Forster admitted this autobiographical element himself in an essay of 1959, when he stated that in *Howard's End* he had 'brought in the Oder Berge and other Pomeranian recollections'. (E.M. Forster, 'Recollections of Nassenheide', *The Listener*, 1 January 1959, p. 12, cited in Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 62.)

The Schlegels are the genetic and spiritual descendants of the Romantic idealistic Germany. Their father belonged to a type that, as the narrator concedes, 'was more prominent ... fifty years ago than now' (*Howards End*, p. 29). For Germany has been overtaken by the political and materialistic aspirations of militaristic Prussia. Recognising this, Schlegel moved to England (and married a wealthy Englishwoman!) nevertheless nursing the eternal hope that 'the clouds of materialism obscuring the Fatherland would part in time, and the mild intellectual light re-emerge' (*Howards End*, p. 29).

This 'mild intellectual light' is kept alive, after Schlegel's death, by his daughters. *Howards End* makes reference to a wide range of German cultural figures: Hegel, Kant, Beethoven, Brahms, Mendelssohn, Wagner, Bocklin, and Nietzsche. The following description of the painter, Bocklin, provides a useful window onto Forster's view of the difference between English and German culture:

> [Bocklin embodied] that interest in the universal which the average Teuton possesses and the average Englishman does not. It was, however illogically, the good, the beautiful, the true, as opposed to the respectable, the pretty, the adequate. It was a landscape of Bocklin's beside a landscape of Leader's, strident and ill-considered, but quivering into supernatural life. (*Howards End*, pp. 170-171)

Bocklin is an 'idealist' painter; his work incorporates exalted concepts - the 'universal', the 'true', the 'supernatural'. Leader, on the other hand, is prosaic - the adjectives 'respectable', 'pretty', and 'adequate' seem almost derogatory in comparison. Bocklin might be termed the 'passion' in us; Leader, the 'prose' (*Howards End*, p. 186). And Forster explicitly extends the comparison to one of nationalities: 'the average Teuton', 'the average Englishman'. This is, of course, not the whole of Forster's view of England and Germany, but it is a real and telling part of that view.

Unfortunately, Forster's attempt to build a 'rainbow bridge' between the two countries, a bridge 'that should connect the prose in us with the passion' (*Howards End*, p. 186), embodied in the marriage of Margaret Schlegel and Henry Wilcox, was in reality doomed to failure. Rainbow bridges will not stand under the harsh realities of war.

I have placed von Arnim, who insisted on the polarities between England and Germany, and Forster, one of the last of those in favour of 'German Cousinhood', here together, to provide a framework of opposites within which to position Richardson and the other writers of the 'Women in Germany' tradition.

OTHER WOMEN OF THE TRADITION

Before turning to a consideration of *Pointed Roofs*, I shall look at the work of the other women writers of the 'Women in Germany' tradition: Katherine Mansfield, Sybil Spottiswode, I.A.R. Wylie,[16] and Violet Hunt. With the exception of Mansfield, who, like her cousin von Arnim, insisted on the polarities between England and Germany (Hanson and Gurr suggest that Mansfield may have tried to emulate the satirical tone and stance of von Arnim's novels[17]), these authors reveal a complex mixture of attraction and repulsion towards Germany. Thus, they occupy varying positions between the opposite poles of von Arnim and E.M. Forster.

Rather than providing a catalogue of their novels, I shall approach these writers through a discussion of important common themes I have located in their work, and shall then examine the extent to which Richardson fits into this tradition.[18]

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[16]Information about Spottiswode and Wylie is scarce, except for short entries in biographical dictionaries. For further information about Wylie, see Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, pp. 79 & 81-85, and Wylie's autobiography, *My Life With George* (New York: Random House, 1940). Critical and biographical work on Spottiswode is virtually non-existent, apart from Firchow, pp. 79-81.

[17]C. Hanson and A. Gurr, *Katherine Mansfield* (London: Macmillan, 1981), p. 31.

[18]Two additional writers, whom I have termed fringe members of the 'Women in Germany' tradition, are Agnes Blundell and Henry Handel Richardson.

Blundell's *Pension Kraus* (London: Martin Secker, 1912) deals with a love affair between an English woman and a German man. Widowed Judith Thorngrove travels to Pension Kraus in Eisenbach in search of a new life, where she meets, and, after a convoluted courtship, eventually marries Dr Konrad Engel. This is a 'German Cousin' novel. The Germany portrayed is the old land of 'Dichter und Denker', not the power-mad, militaristic modern Germany. The Germans Judith encounters are, on the whole, remarkably cultured. Dr Engel is an accomplished pianist, and reads Shakespeare in the original. Judith does, however, find certain aspects of German life strange and uncongenial, especially the chauvinistic attitude of German men. Engel turns out to be a Doctor of Forestry (he was too ashamed to admit this earlier) and the novel ends with the two about to embark on an idyllic life in a house in the middle of the forest. We never learn what the reality of marriage is like for Judith, nor are the problems of adjusting to a new life in Germany touched upon. Because of this unrealistic two-dimensional quality, the novel is less interesting than the other 'Women in Germany' works, and I have decided not to include it in the main body of my text.

Henry Handel Richardson's novel (she was born Ethel Florence Lindsay Richardson), *Maurice Guest* (London: Heinemann, 1908), is set in Leipzig in the 1890s, where Richardson studied music. Although the sense that Leipzig is a musical city and that music is the birthright of every German is vividly depicted and translated into realistic detail (down to the problems the characters have with their landladies when they want to practice their instruments at unsociable hours), the musical life of the city ceases to be a central preoccupation after the end of part one, becoming lost under the fervour of the story of Maurice's love for Louise. As Maurice is English and Louise Australian (as was Richardson

POLARISATION OF ENGLAND AND GERMANY WITHIN THE 'GERMAN COUSIN' TRADITION

As in the novels of von Arnim, the increasing polarisation of England and Germany is reflected in the work of Spottiswode, Wylie and Hunt. Spottiswode's *Her Husband's Country* and Wylie's *Dividing Waters* were both published in 1911, and are strikingly similar in structure and point of view. Both novels are about marriage between an English girl and a German officer; marriage that, because of the gulf between the two nationalities, either breaks down or narrowly avoids failure. What is striking about these books is an idea which also appears in von Arnim's *Christine*, that individual attempts to bridge the gap between England and Germany are overshadowed and eventually blighted by the growing threat of war. Like *Christine* again, the heroines of Wylie's and Spottiswode's novels are torn between patriotic love for England and love for their German husbands.

Following her marriage to a German officer, Spottiswode's protagonist, Patience Thaile, encounters overt German hostility towards England. This brings out hitherto latent feelings of patriotism in her. 'The question of nationality is a much deeper one than she had imagined ... the bonds of patriotism can no more be denied than those of family, and ... in neither case can feuds destroy them', she decides (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 233). The 'fundamental differences in tastes, customs, and opinion' which exist between herself and her husband begin to seem unbridgeable; her only 'effective weapon' against him is physical attraction. Patience's German ordeal is brought to an abrupt and convenient end when her German baby dies, and her husband is thrown from his horse and killed. Afterwards, reflecting on her time in Germany from the safe distance of England, she becomes aware that her great mistake had been in 'not realising from the

herself), and as the student population of Leipzig is multinational ('If you don't want to, you need hardly mix with foreigners as long as you're here', an English student tells Maurice when he arrives), Anglo-German relations cannot be said to be the main theme of the novel.

first the radical and fundamental differences between the two nationalities' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 400). She also realises that she had been unfair to her husband, Rabenstedt, in seeing their marriage only from her point of view, without being able to appreciate his. 'All along', Spottiswode concludes, 'she had been grossly unjust in punishing the individual for the faults of his nation' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 411).

Wylie's *Dividing Waters* is altogether more sophisticated; the struggle of loyalties is more realistically detailed and less simplistically resolved than in Spottiswode's novel. Nora Ingestre (Wylie's heroine), like Patience Thaile, marries a German officer and sets up home in an apartment in Berlin. Nora adjusts to German life with patience, good humour, and courage, but when her brother, Miles, arrives for a visit, she begins to see Germany through his eyes, and to find the flat squalid, and her husband smug and self-satisfied. Like Patience, Nora begins to feel that her husband's nationality is an insurmountable barrier between them:

> She had married a stranger from a strange land, and he had remained a stranger, and that land had not become her home ... That she loved him, that his country had offered her welcome did not alter the one great fact that the faintest cry, the faintest call from her own people had drawn from her an irrepressible answer of unchanged allegiance. (*Dividing Waters*, p. 237)

Like Patience Thaile, Nora's first loyalty is to her country, not to her German husband. When writing about nationality, the language of both Spottiswode and Wylie verges on the melodramatic, but then, arguably, the relationship between England and Germany during this period was a melodramatic one, encompassing hatred as well as love, admiration and contempt.

Soon afterwards, a diplomatic crisis erupts between Britain and Germany. War seems inevitable, and Nora, like Christine, encounters overt anti-English feeling in the Berlin streets. Patriotism eventually proves to be a stronger force in Nora than love for her husband, Wolff von Arnim, and she boards a train for England. Miles also escapes, but unbeknown to Nora, he leaves Wolff to fight a duel on his behalf, and steals some secret documents belonging to the general staff from Wolff's desk. Wolff is mortally wounded in the duel and awaits death and disgrace, believing that it was Nora who absconded with the documents.

Back in Delford, Nora begins to realise just how narrow and confined life in 'muddle-loving' England is. At least marriage to Wolff possessed a kind of nobility, inspired 'by a great idea worthy of the sacrifices it demanded'. Nora's dying mother persuades her - in language reminiscent of E.M. Forster - to return to Berlin, and 'help build the bridge between the country of your birth and the country of your adoption' (*Dividing Waters*, p. 365).

Nora arrives in Berlin to find Wolff on his deathbed, but she is in time to restore his honour by returning the stolen papers, to assure him of her undying love, and to tell him about the child she is carrying - the child who will 'lead the way' in building a bridge between England and Germany. Nationality has been a barrier between them, but Wylie concludes exultantly that love is the stronger force: 'Love had pronounced the last triumphant word, and the sea between them had rolled away for ever' (*Dividing Waters*, p. 411).

Violet Hunt, like Elizabeth von Arnim, was brought into contact with Germany through a German love affair; her partner was Ford Madox Hueffer, better known as Ford Madox Ford. Hunt, however, suffered none of the conflict of loyalties between England and Germany endured by Spottiswode's and Wylie's heroines. With the outbreak of war, Ford swiftly discarded his German nationality (he changed 'Hueffer' to 'Ford' in

1911), became involved in the secret literary propaganda organisation at Wellington House, and later joined the British army.

Ford and Hunt first visited Germany together in 1910. *The Desirable Alien* (1913) is Hunt's light-hearted and conversational account of their German travels, and of various aspects of German life and culture. It begins firmly in the tradition of German Cousinhood. In the Preface by Ford Madox Hueffer, we are told that Hunt finds the Germans 'instinct with all the old Germanic virtues of kindliness, hospitality, modesty, and sobriety. You see, her first impressions are formed by a Germany of the pre-Franco-Prussian War type'.

At the outset, Hunt eagerly embraces Hueffer's nationality. Her first sight of the Rhine moves her deeply. Of herself and her fellow passengers aboard the Rhine steamer, she declares, 'we were all Germans, the proud possessors of this unique waterway'.

However, as the book progresses, less comfortable notes creep in. For instance, Hunt finds German society crushingly regimented: 'taxed, admonished, cared for, managed out of all individuality, this great people seem to lie in the hollow of the iron hand ...' (*The Desirable Alien*, p. 53). There is a cruel streak, too, in German nature; she is outraged to see a schoolmaster in a field showing his small pupils how to kill the mice that are ruining the crops. This episode underlines the fact that her sensibilities are still essentially British. These 'deeds of cruelty' are 'too much for the traces of British feeling still lingering in my alien breast'. 'I got back to Marburg', she informs us '... with several illusions less about the Germans ...' (*The Desirable Alien*, p. 322).

Most sinister of all are the tell-tale preparations for war. 'Warlike images are constantly in our minds', she writes (*The Desirable Alien*, p. 322). In the final chapter, Hunt sees unfinished German railway lines lying ready to be laid into Belgium. 'They can't carry them any farther than the frontier - as yet,' says Joseph Leopold, ominously adding 'but they are ready' (*The Desirable Alien*, p. 322).

Neither Wylie's nor Hunt's connection with Germany survived the outbreak of war. In Wylie's autobiography, *My Life with George* (1940), she gives an account of how she came to dislike Germany, but, unlike Nora, never changed her mind back again. Similarly, Hunt's autobiography, written in 1923, describes her German experience as abhorrent: 'Germany had been my Canossa, fatal to me. I had never liked Germans, never felt at home with them. I hated them, in fact'.[19] In the later work of these authors, the polarisation of England and Germany has become complete.

As I have said, Mansfield's writing differs from that of Spottiswode, Wylie and Hunt insofar as she insists on the polarities between England and Germany throughout. In this respect, she occupies a position close to von Arnim. But unlike von Arnim, Mansfield spent only a few months in Germany in 1909, first in a Bavarian nunnery and later in a pension at Woerishofen, where her mother had advised her to go after separating from her husband, George Bowden, and becoming pregnant by another man. The pregnancy ended in miscarriage, but Mansfield's experience of Germany provided her with the material for her first collection of short stories, *In a German Pension*, which was published in 1911.

The sharp satire of the *Pension* volume differs hugely from the lyrical technique that had become Mansfield's characteristic method by the 1920s. As Firchow comments, 'her insights are more in the nature of incitements: a kind of catalogue of German follies and villanies, a pension of German fools'.[20] Although C.A. Hankin believes that Mansfield's apparent focus on Germany was simply a vehicle through which she could examine her unease about the relationships between the sexes,[21] the fact that the biting irony never

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[19]Violet Hunt, *I Have This to Say - The Story of my Flurried Years* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926), p. 258

[20]Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 85.

[21]C.A. Hankin writes,

> In spite of their ostensible focus on the manners and attitudes of German men and women, the stories reiterate in their themes Katherine's youthful uneasiness about relationships between the sexes; and they are clear forerunners of some of the great

includes the narrator or the English makes plausible a simple nationalist reading of these stories; one which identifies the Germans alone as guilty of the abuses she savages.

These stories immediately established Mansfield as an important new writer. As Firchow notes, their success was 'attributable almost certainly as much to Mansfield's [anti-German] subject matter as to intrinsic merit ... to her credit it should be added that during the war she refused to allow the republication of the book for propaganda purposes'.[22]

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stories in which sexual ambivalence remains thematically central. (*Katherine Mansfield and her Confessional Stories*, London: Macmillan, 1983, p. 62.)

[22]Firchow, *The Death of the German Cousin*, p. 87.

'The Little Governess', which appears in *Bliss and Other Stories* (1920) is the only Mansfield story with a German background not included in the *Pension* volume, and is equally damning in its attitude towards Germans. It describes the encounter between the isolated and gullible little governess and an elderly German, who appears in the role of protector, but turns out to be lecherous and disgusting.

TROUBLE AT HOME AND ATTRACTION TO GERMAN DIFFERENCE

A predicament shared by Spottiswode's and Wylie's heroines, and, if there is an autobiographical element in the *Pension* volume (as seems likely), by Mansfield's narrator too, is misery in their English home lives. Unlike Mansfield's narrator, however, who is unrelentingly critical of Germans, trouble at home predisposes Patience Thaile and Nora Ingestre to be tolerant of foreign ways.

Patience feels alienated and imprisoned in her rural middle-class home, which is dominated by her patriarchal, self-centred father, who regards the needs of his wife and daughter as secondary to his passion for collecting antiques. An opportunity to visit friends in Pomerania comes as a heaven-sent escape from this stultifying existence, although Patience initially harbours some anti-German prejudice (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 36). Arriving in Germany, she finds that the main attraction of her new existence is its difference from home: 'irritated, exasperated and satiated with the exclusive cult of art, she had flown to a homely tastelessness, a happy vandalism, with a feeling of joyful relief' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 147). The 'difference' of Rabenstedt, the handsome and glamorous officer whom she later marries, is also the chief factor in her growing attraction for him. She is particularly drawn to his impulsiveness and un-British lack of reserve: 'well, that was one of the advantages of the Teuton temperament ... you plunged straight into a warm intimacy, and were not ashamed of showing your feelings' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 65).

The beginning of *Dividing Waters* is almost like a mirror image of *Her Husband's Country*. Nora, like Patience, feels imprisoned and frustrated in her rural home. Nora's father is a vicar, but he is every bit as selfish and hypocritical as Mr Thaile. Nora's initial reluctance to visit an old acquaintance of her mother's in Karlsburg (Karlsruhe), reveals her to be as prejudiced against Germans as Patience: 'with a lot of fat, greasy, gobbling Germans? ... I hate all Germans', she declares (*Dividing Waters*, p. 21).

Nora begins to realise how insular her view of Germans is when she meets her hostess, the elegant and cultured Frau Arnim, and Frau Arnim's daughter, Hildegarde. 'And now all my ideas are turned topsy-turvy', she writes to her mother. 'I keep on saying to myself, "Why, she is just like an Englishwoman", or "How English he looks!" ' She realises 'how true it is that all men are brothers' (*Dividing Waters*, p. 57). Here, Nora is responding to perceived similarities between England and Germany.

Elsewhere in *Dividing Waters*, German differences are regarded favourably, as when Wolff compliments Nora's piano playing by telling her that she does not play like an Englishwoman. Wolff himself, like Helmuth Rabenstedt, is handsome and dashing; his 'difference' is an almost heroic masculinity, which Nora finds irresistibly attractive: 'there was something gigantic in the stature, and something bulldog, tenacious, and yet keenly alive, powerfully intellectual in the face, with its square chin and massive forehead' (*Dividing Waters*, p. 338). This somewhat hyperbolic description captures the positive 'masculine' side of Germany: physical strength combined with intellect; power and glamour, which many of the 'Women in Germany' are drawn to. Its negative aspects are militarism and chauvinism.

IRREDEEMABLE GERMAN DIFFERENCE

For all the writers in the 'Women in Germany' tradition, there remain some irredeemable German differences. Foremost among these is the aforementioned chauvinism of German society. Patience Thaile, for instance, dislikes the down-trodden subservient wives 'useful only for reasons of sex and work, and never admitted to any semblance of mental equality' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 266). Her husband, Rabenstedt, holds the 'national belief that everything between a man and a woman must be 'of an entirely sexual nature' (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 376), and she achieves the painful realisation that the only way to make a success of her marriage is to renounce her emancipated values and adopt those of her husband's country:

> She must alter her whole outlook; instead of demonstrating the triumphant result of brilliance, wit and smartness, she must herself sink into a meek and unresisting subservience ... (*Her Husband's Country*, p. 269)

Patience's options are presented here in terms of opposites, which also hold gendered overtones. 'Brilliance, wit, and smartness' are all assertive qualities, which could arguably be thought of as traditionally masculine, while 'meek and unresisting subservience' is associated with the feminine. In Germany, male and female roles are polarised; emancipated or 'masculine' qualities are not acceptable in a 'German' wife. Likewise, in *Dividing Waters*, Miles draws Nora's attention to German chauvinism: Wolff wears spotless uniforms and rides a fine horse, while Nora works 'like a servant' at home (p. 215).

Mansfield's *In a German Pension* also records the sexual inequality of German society. Stories like 'At Lehman's' and 'Frau Brechenmacher Attends a Wedding' hold serious

feminist messages; they examine the economic factors that made it necessary for women to marry against their will, and also the prevailing ignorance about sexual matters that led to misery and disillusion for many women. These themes transcend national boundaries. Elsewhere, however, Mansfield explicitly contrasts the emancipated viewpoint of the first person narrator with that of the less enlightened German women she encounters:

> 'I like empty beds', I protested sleepily, thumping the pillow.
>
> 'That cannot be true because it is not natural. Every wife ought to feel that her place is by her husband's side - sleeping or waking. It is plain to see that the strongest tie of all does not yet bind you ...'
>
> I sat up stiffly.
>
> 'But I consider child-bearing the most ignominious of all professions', I said.
>
> For a moment there was silence. (*In a German Pension*, p. 31)

Frau Fischer's view is that a woman's 'natural' place is marriage and motherhood - at the expense of her individual identity, while the narrator's ironic linking of childbirth with 'professions' (the word holds connotations of advanced learning or science) reveals her desire for other vocations. Mansfield uses a wry and playful tone to communicate a serious message. As in *Her Husband's Country*, male and female roles are polarised, with only occasional real communication between the sexes. Mansfield's first person narrator generally occupies a no man's land position of alienation from both German men and women.

Another characteristic universally disliked by the 'Women in Germany' writers is German vulgarity, particularly the German preoccupation with bodily functions. Mansfield's lampooning of these features is especially savage. The opening story of the

Pension volume, 'Germans at Meat', for instance, is a biting caricature of a group of Germans guzzling their breakfast while commenting on the preposterously large breakfasts of the English. They are grotesquely absorbed with their inner bodily functions; at one point the narrator has to swiftly change the subject to avoid a detailed description of the effect of sauerkraut on the digestive system.

The inevitable Herr Professor, who makes an appearance in 'The Modern Soul', is also a man of gross appetites, both in the matter of food and in love. 'There is nothing like cherries for producing free saliva after trombone playing', he remarks. As he munches and spits out the stones, he is not surprised at her refusal of his offer to share them: 'it is your innate feminine delicacy ... Or perhaps you do not care to eat the worms. All cherries contain worms' (*In a German Pension*, p. 41). In the same story there is a musical evening - that is, German 'Kultur'. Even this, for Mansfield, is gross: 'the Frau Oberlehrer tripped onto the platform followed by a very young gentleman, who blew his nose twice before he hurled his handkerchief into the bosom of the piano' (*In a German Pension*, p. 47).

In a similar vein, Patience Thaile discovers that her new husband's eating habits, and those of his fellow German guests at the pension at which they are staying on their honeymoon, disgust her. The following passage is strikingly similar to 'Germans at Meat':

> Herr Schlund continued with his mouth full:
>
> 'As the Herr Professor says, there is some interesting news in the paper today. England seems in a pretty awkward position'. He smacked his lips and lifted his beer glass ...
>
> ... 'Well, of course Germany is the great ascending power of the world', the Professor replied, lifting a piece of cold meat from his plate, and placing it between the sliced halves of his roll. 'We cannot be surprised

that England feels a bit sore when she sees herself superseded everywhere by us ...'

Here he stopped to bite off a large corner of his improvised sandwich ...

(*Her Husband's Country*, pp. 222-223)

Like Mansfield's porcine Germans, these pension guests indulge their appetites while freely expressing anti-English sentiments. Spottiswode's aptly named Professor Grossman bears a remarkable resemblance to Mansfield's Herr Professor.

These feelings of disgust are linked to a sense of displacement in an alien environment. As Mansfield's narrator comments, 'I felt a little crushed ... at the tone - placing me outside the pale - branding me as a foreigner' (*In a German Pension*, p. 20). It is likely that this sense of isolation and alienation predisposed Mansfield to be critical, sharpening the edge of her satirical wit, and providing inspiration and material for her stories.

Perhaps even more striking than Spottiswode's and Mansfield's descriptions of German eating habits is Hunt's five page account of the duelling scars on the scalps of German students. She is both fascinated and repelled. She reports that '[the scars] used to attract my eyes and distract me from my dinner' (*The Desirable Alien*, p.114), as though her eyes have a separate agency from the rest of her, one she has no control over. The fact that she bothers to disavow responsibility for her fascination in this way reveals that she is troubled by it. These scars are proof of masculinity and sexual potency, 'the ... stuff ... of manhood', which attracts her. But they are also a visible - and thus to Hunt disturbing and repulsive - indication of the bestial side of man's nature: 'there is no excuse for a man making such a beast of himself to see' (*The Desirable Alien*, p.117).

Hunt's sense of the alien nature of the sight manifests itself in feelings of intense physical disgust: 'the swollen, puffy cheek, bloated like the contents of a pan of red-coloured jam that bubbles as it comes to the boil' (*The Desirable Alien*, p. 116). The exactness of this description is striking. The timing is precise: the jam is simmering; it is

on the point of boiling, but not quite fully there. Its power to invoke disgust comes from the fact that jam is a familiar and everyday foodstuff; we know its taste and texture intimately. Hunt's writing thus involves three of the reader's senses: we can not only visualise, but almost taste and feel the wounded cheek.

THE LANGUAGE OF STRIFE

Imagery of war appears with regularity in the work of many the writers of the 'Women in Germany' tradition. For instance, the Herr Rat in Mansfield's 'Germans at Meat' (Rat means counsellor in German, but there is a play on the English meaning as well) fixes his cold blue eyes on the narrator 'with an expression which suggested a thousand premeditated invasions' (*In a German Pension*, p.10). *Her Husband's Country* and *Dividing Waters* often depict the relationship between their English heroines and German officers through images of war. Patience Thaile realises that her only 'effective weapon' against her husband is physical attraction, and that if she is to make a success of her marriage she must 'sink into a meek and unresisting subservience ... must serve where she had thought to command' (*Her Husband's Country*, pp. 376 and 269). 'I have taken you prisoner of war', jokes Wylie's Wolff von Arnim; 'each ... fighting back thought as an enemy who might overshadow their victory' (*Dividing Waters*, pp. 62 and 244).

In other words, the increasing polarisation of Germany and England is reflected in the male/female relationships of *Her Husband's Country* and *Dividing Waters*, and in the literary register of Mansfield, Wylie and Spottiswode.

POINTED ROOFS

Although *Pointed Roofs* contains many similar features to the other 'Women in Germany' novels, there is the obvious difference that whereas the authors I have discussed have written 'conventional' narratives, the style Dorothy Richardson forged in *Pointed Roofs* is experimental, and moves away from the familiar positions offered in the nineteenth century novel. We are given none of the usual threads of information about character, identity and meaning to hold and follow, which puts considerable demands on us as readers: instead of simply receiving information in a passive fashion, we are asked to contribute to what Richardson called 'creative collaboration'. But as Richardson's experimental style has already been discussed by numerous critics,[23] and as my chapter is predominantly concerned with thematic material, I shall simply note this aspect of her writing and move on from it.

Pointed Roofs bears few overt traces of the war, for this is a retrospective account of Germany in the 1890s. Radford has the following acute comments to make about Richardson's retrospective technique:

> A past created as an enormous present, the minutiae of daily life operating as a 'making strange', a defamiliarised image ... The 'blow-up' of surface appearances can be read then not as the naturalisation deplored by Lukacs, but as a way of looking for the 'deep forms and shaping forces' which produce those appearances.[24]

So *Pointed Roofs*, written between 1912 and 1913, could be said to reflect the contrary attitudes of attraction to and anxiety about Germany common to many writers

[23]See, for instance, Hanscombe's chapter entitled 'A Woman's Sentence', *The Art of Life*, pp. 39-61, and Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 13-19.
[24]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 20.

of the period. But Richardson is unique in that her experience of Germany operates as a 'making strange' in several senses. Firstly, she is looking at an image defamiliarised because it is from the past. Secondly, she is, like the other writers of the tradition, literally an alien, a foreigner in a strange land. Radford proposes a third factor contributing to Richardson's feelings of alienation: at the age of seventeen, she was forced out of her class by her father's bankruptcy and into the job market - without training or funds. Radford suggests that Richardson's 'precision of detail about accent, voice and manner registers this class-displacement as both individual trauma and a presentation of the anxieties over demarcation lines within the bourgeoisie at the turn of the century'.[25] I would add that in *Pointed Roofs*, this wealth of detail can also be read as a presentation of the differences (as we shall see, this is partly positive, partly not) between England and Germany. Thus, in one sense, there is a link between the foreignness of Germany and Richardson's characteristic style.

[25]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 20-21.

TROUBLE AT HOME AND ATTRACTION TO GERMAN DIFFERENCE

Trouble at home is something that Miriam has in common with Patience Thaile and Nora Ingestre, and like these protagonists, it has the effect of making her more tolerant of foreign ways:

> She would rather stay abroad on any terms - away from England - English people [...] Away out here, the sense of imminent catastrophe that had shadowed her life so far had disappeared [...] she felt there was freedom somewhere at hand. (I, 30)

In hyperbolic tones, England and 'abroad' are presented as opposites: England, negatively, in terms of catastrophe and shadow; abroad, positively, as freedom and relief at escaping. This is reminiscent of Patience Thaile's initial reaction to the difference between the two countries: 'irritated, exasperated and satiated with the exclusive cult of art, she had flown to a homely tastelessness with a feeling of joyful relief' (*Her Husband's Country*, p.147).

Even before she leaves home, Miriam holds an idealised 'German Cousin' view of Germany: '[...] all woods and mountains and tenderness - Hermann and Dorothea in the dusk of a happy village' (I, 21). Miriam even speculates whimsically about marrying a German professor (I, 18); one wonders if Richardson had in mind the example of the other women writing about Germany during this period (unfortunately, there is no evidence in the letters or other extraneous writing to suggest that this is the case).

On arrival in Germany, Miriam identifies with several aspects of German life. As in *Dividing Waters*, the Germans play the piano differently; they possess 'a quality she had only heard occasionally at concerts, and in the playing of one of the music teachers at school' (I, 36). This quality may arise from the German readiness to express emotion

freely, though later, when she hears one of the English pupils at the school giving a piano recital, she decides that the difference is really one of self-consciousness. The English girls, though technically accurate, 'did not think about the music, they thought about themselves too' (I, 53). But Miriam, like Nora Ingestre, can play like a German. 'You are a real musician, Miss Henderson', declares Fraulein Pfaff (I, 57).

Miriam prefers the German church services, for the hymns do not sound like 'a "proclamation" or an order', and she feels 'happy and comfortable' (I, 74 and 75). Interestingly, in their hymn-singing at least, the Germans are presented as less regimented than the English. At the English church in Hanover, Miriam is repelled by the frigid gentility of the congregation: 'Certainly she did not belong to these "refined" English-women or men [...] It would be best to stay with the Germans' (I, 71). In a Hanoverian coffee shop, she watches the German women chatting. Although she is put off by their expressionless eyes, she prefers them to English women: 'they did not pretend to be refined as Englishwomen did [...] they were ... jolly .... They could shout if they liked' (I, 89). Unlike Patience, Nora, and Mansfield's narrator, Miriam is not sure that English refinement - which she perceives as an artificial role-playing - is preferable to German vulgarity. When Fraulein Pfaff says 'I think you have something of the German in you' (I, 118), Miriam does not reply directly, but it seems implicit that she agrees.

All of this is what Watts calls 'the accessible foreignness' of Germany, 'a source of excitement, offering [Miriam] confirmation, the prospect of transformation, in its estrangement'.[26] On one level, Germany offers Miriam the freedom to choose her

[26]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 8. I have found Watts's discussion of 'The Significance of Germany' (pp. 7-10) extremely helpful to my work. Watts explores Miriam's complex attitude to Germany: its foreignness is accessible and exciting, yet it is also menacing. Watts reads these contrary and unresolved positions as part of Richardson's project to portray 'what it means to live out a life in historical terms':

> If [Richardson's novel-sequence] rejects from the outset a contemporary sense of an ending, the nostalgia for a time before the war which was peaceful, stable, and forever England, it is because *Pilgrimage* remembers differently, refusing any simple notion of the modern as a break with a homogenous and tradition-bound past. This is a narrative

preferred mode of being, to define her own likes and dislikes, away from the constraints of home life.

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that recognizes privation - what has been left out - as a more general predicament: which ... works through mourning as part of the very structure of modernity itself. (p. 10)

POLARISATION OF ENGLAND AND GERMANY AND IRREDEEMABLE GERMAN DIFFERENCE

As Watts has noted, Miriam's Germany contains both 'a base, aggressive materialism and a dreamy idealism'; elements E.M. Forster finds in German culture in *Howards End*. In one sense, *Pointed Roofs* is closer to the work of Forster than to von Arnim and Mansfield, for the polarisation of England and Germany is less overt in Richardson than in these authors. Yet something of this English/German polarisation is present in *Pointed Roofs*. Watts observes that the context of Miriam's move to Germany 'is one of Imperial competition, a fact of which Miriam is not unaware ... Her own modern education, she points out, had made her "troubled about the state of Ireland and India" (I, 81)'.[27] Moreover, *Pointed Roofs* registers anti-English feeling. Unlike the protagonists of von Arnim, Spottiswode and Wylie, Miriam does not encounter direct hostility. But she does listen to a conversation between the schoolgirls about street-boys shouting 'Englanderin' after them (I, 117). This is reported as direct dialogue; we are not given Miriam's views. The exchange simply drops like a stone beneath the surface of the novel. But with the hindsight of 1912-13 (the time of writing), when relations between the two countries were rapidly deteriorating, it becomes imbued with prophetic significance.

The English/German polarisation is also registered in certain irredeemable German differences encountered by Miriam. She has to endure having her hair washed by the coarse Frau Krause, an ordeal which Richardson dwells on for four pages:

> Miriam's outraged head hung over the steaming basin - her hair spread round it like a tent frilling out over the table.
>
> For a moment she thought that the nausea which had seized her as she surrendered would, the next instant, make flight imperative. Then her

[27]Watts, *Richardson*, p.8.

> amazed ears caught the sharp bump-crack of an eggshell against the rim of the basin, followed by a further brisk crackling just above her. She shuddered from head to foot as the egg descended with a cold slither upon her incredulous skull. Tears came to her eyes as she gave beneath the onslaught of two hugely enveloping, vigorously drubbing hands [...] (I, 60-61)

This experience is described as a physical violation; something between a battle and a rape. 'Outraged' means subjected to violence or injury; it also holds connotations of rape. Similarly, the verb 'hung' incorporates both punishment (being hanged), and the shame (as in the expression 'hang one's head') which accompanies a real rape. The spreading 'tent' of Miriam's hair suggests shelter from the imminent attack, yet it proves too fragile to protect her.

The passage features the language of battle: for instance, 'seized', 'surrendered', 'the onslaught'. The 'sharp bump-crack' of the eggshell being broken and the ensuing 'brisk crackling' are likewise reminiscent of gunfire. The overtones of rape continue in the 'hugely enveloping, vigorously drubbing hands', which are portrayed as enormous, masculine and attacking; 'enveloping' suggests taking possession of Miriam's body. Miriam's response is feminine and passive: tears rise as 'she gave beneath the onslaught'. In the light of the German/English male/female polarisation discussed earlier, these suggestions of rape take on a special significance.

Miriam's feelings of repulsion manifest themselves in symptoms of physical sickness: 'the nausea which had seized her'. 'Shuddered' is another physical manifestation of disgust. Similarly, the onomatopoeia of the 'cold slither' of the egg vividly evokes its repulsive texture and temperature. The fact that Richardson's presentation of female consciousness usually excludes areas concerned with the body - bodily functions, physical sensations - makes the intense physicality of this description all the more

remarkable. Like Violet Hunt in her description of students' duelling scars, Miriam's sense of displacement, of being a foreigner, is enacted in moments of intense physical disgust.

On another occasion, Miriam accompanies a pupil to the doctor and is sickened by the 'dense staleness' of the consulting room. Miriam identifies two smells; one, she guesses to be stale cigar-smoke: 'it was like invisible dry fog and seemed to affect her breathing' (I, 87). Once again, Miriam's disgust manifests itself in physical symptoms. The other odour, 'a strange savoury pungency', she recognises as onions frying; the result of being too close to the kitchen. This set-up compares unfavourably with her recollection of a visit to a Harley Street oculist. 'His stately house, the exquisite freshness of his appointments and his person stood out now. The English, she assured herself, were more refined than the Germans' (I, 87). In this context, English refinement is definitely preferable to German vulgarity.[28]

Not that Miriam decides one way or the other, easily or finally. She returns to England after only six months, apparently as a result of a disagreement with the Fraulein, although we are never directly told this. Towards the end of her stay, Miriam seemingly rejects Germany and reaffirms her sense of English identity: 'the strange German girls [...] She hardly knew them'; '[the English girls] were her old friends. They knew her' (I, 180). But her feelings are ambivalent. When Millie, one of the English pupils, tells her that she would do anything to stay in Germany, Miriam replies, 'so would I - any mortal thing' (I, 183).

It could be argued that *Pointed Roofs* is typical of the tradition of 'Women in Germany' insofar as it expresses the contrary feelings of love and hatred towards Germany found in the works of the other writers I have discussed. But Miriam's complicated moods of

[28]Further instances of Miriam's disgust at German difference include her response to the German girls' request for beer (I, 105); and a visit to a farm where she is unable to drink the warm, freshly produced milk (I, 133).

attraction and repulsion, far from being unique to her attitude towards Germany, characterise her reactions to almost everything she encounters. In the words of Radford:

> This movement of identification, of 'belonging', followed by a rejection or self-imposed exile, is repeated in each of the thirteen novels. The major events of *Pilgrimage* are a series of attractions and withdrawals, from social groups, from sexual relationships, from new definitions of self.[29]

Pilgrimage reflects both the desire to belong, the desire not to be 'different'; as well as the fear of losing that 'difference' which would mean loss of identity. Thus, to dismiss Miriam's and Richardson's love-hate relationship with Germany as merely typical of a tradition is to over-simplify an extremely powerful and complex articulation of 'differences' staged in this Bildungsroman.

[29]Radford, 'Coming to Terms: Dorothy Richardson, Modernism, and Women', in *News from Nowhere*, 7, 1989, p. 32.

THE LANGUAGE OF STRIFE

As seen briefly in the previous section, Richardson's language registers a militarism, which, as Watts notes,

> from the hindsight of 1913, after more than a decade of invasion scares, is becoming deeply significant. The retrospection of the narrative invests the most innocent and unconscious of details ... with meaning.[30]

This section will take a closer look at these apparently 'innocent and unconscious' details. In fact, army imagery pervades *Pointed Roofs* to a striking degree. Miriam is often portrayed as being engaged in physical combat with Germany. On the train journey to Hanover, for instance, she reflects on her lack of experience as a teacher: 'it was impudence, an impudent invasion' (I, 29). This is a good example of Richardson's retrospective technique investing seemingly innocuous details with significance. The phrase both reflects Richardson's hindsight awareness of invasion scares and Miriam's anxiety about her ability to be a successful teacher; although an invader is an aggressor, she is also 'impudent', or presumptuous.

Elsewhere in her dealings with Germans, Miriam is often depicted as being threatened or attacked. Even the German pupils' innocent plea for beer, couched in the language of strife, becomes something altogether more menacing: 'they closed in on her again. Emma in the gutter in front of her. She felt arms and hands, and the pleading voices besieged her again' (I, 105). The phrases 'they closed in on her' and 'she felt arms and hands' imply physical threat; a suggestion which seems confirmed by the war connotations of 'besieged'.

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[30]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 9.

Yet Miriam usually resists these assaults; she reacts firmly, even aggressively (there are a few exceptions to this, notably the hair washing passage). In the case of the beer episode, she holds fast and refuses the girls' request. Later on, when Fraulein castigates the school for its unseemly interest in men: 'with the full force of her nerves [Miriam] resisted the echoes of Fraulein's onslaught' (I, 179). Military language features once again here: 'with the full force', 'onslaught'; even 'resisted' holds suggestions of battle. 'Nerves' are inward sensibilities, yet having 'nerve' also means courage or coolness in danger. Although it is Fraulein who perpetrates this assault, Miriam meets her on equally combative terms, resisting with 'full force'.

Another instance of Miriam's feisty response to German hostility occurs in her description of Herr Schraub, the history teacher, who is 'almost openly contemptuous of his class':

> his round red mass of face - expressionless save for the bristling spikes of his tiny straw-coloured moustache and the rapid movements of his tight rounded little lips persistently averted from his pupils [... He would] snap questions - indicating his aim with a tapping finger [...] (I, 78)

Herr Schraub is depicted as inhuman; his face is a featureless 'round red mass' (the colour red holds associations of bloodshed and burning); he is 'expressionless' save for the mechanistic 'bristling spikes' of his moustache, and the movements of his mouth. The description of his lips conveys Miriam's disgust: 'tight' implies meanness, while 'rounded' and 'little' are suggestive of effeminacy. The 'bristling spikes' of Herr Schraub's moustache once again evoke the military: 'spikes' are sharp wounding points or spears; 'bristling' means both standing upright, and readiness for a fight. He 'snaps' questions in a manner suggestive of a report or crack from a gun. This imagery of weaponry is

continued in his 'indicating his aim' like a marksman; the tapping finger is a substitute for a firing gun.

While the German pupils show no signs of adverse reaction towards this offensive man ('[they] made no modification of their polite attentiveness'), English Miriam responds with hostility: '[Miriam] made up her mind that were she ever so prepared for a correct reply, nothing should drag from her any response to these military tappings' (I, 78). This is an overt acknowledgement of Herr Schraub's militarism, which until now has been implicit rather than explicit. 'Nothing should drag from her' continues the imagery of physical combat - Miriam will not capitulate on any terms. She is highly unusual compared to the other 'Women in Germany' protagonists, for while Christine, Patience Thaile and Nora Ingestre respond to German aggression with renewed patriotic love for their country, Miriam reacts by becoming involved in combat herself.

Even when not directly engaged in battle with Germans, Miriam registers the militarism underlying their society. The schoolgirls moving around Hanover are often imaged as an army: 'a little contingent' of schoolgirls (I, 87) - a contingent is a troop contributed to form part of an army; 'the little party would file out' (I, 90) - a 'file' or line of men standing one behind the other has military connotations; '[Fraulein ...] assumed [Miriam] to fall in with the general movements' (I, 161) - 'fall in' is a marching term.

Similarly, the congregation of the German church is described as 'a troop, a little army under the high roof, with the great shadows all about them' (I, 76). This image of a shadow surrounded 'army' is a menacing one. Despite Miriam's liking for certain aspects of German life, such as church services and piano playing, she registers the sinister militarism beneath the surface, an awareness doubtless sharpened by Richardson's hindsight perspective at the time of writing.

This sinister quality is also noted in the description of male farm workers' eyes: 'they troubled her. They looked up with strange eyes. She wished they were not there' (I, 114); the 'evil-looking' eyes of a peasant woman (I, 115); and the 'expressionless' or 'evil'

eyes of the German women in a cafe (I, 89). Although brief, these descriptions form a minor leitmotif in the text, whereby the eyes of its citizens provide a window onto this troubling aspect of Germany.[31]

Towards the end of the novel, when Miriam reaffirms her English identity, she does so in terms of nationality and escape from oppression: 'she was English and free' (I, 180). However, there is some ambivalence about this affirmation, for as we saw, she also echoes Millie's desire to stay in Germany.

Thus, although Miriam approves of certain facets of German life, both Miriam and Richardson are highly responsive to German militarism. This is reflected in Richardson's language to a more pervasive degree than that of any 'Women in Germany' writer. Miriam is similar to the other protagonists in her dislike of militarism; however, she is unique in her active and aggressive reaction towards it.

[31]Other examples of Miriam registering the militarism of Germany include descriptions of the student Gertrude Goldring, who is Australian, but has lived with Fraulein Pfaff since the age of ten: Gertrude's eyes cut 'like sharp steel'; '[Gertrude's] voice conquered easily' (I, 39 & 40); Gertrude 'had battled gallantly along' (I, 86); and the German male students encountered on an outing to the country: 'a mighty shout rang through the wood. It was like a word of command' (I, 153). The piano playing of these students is described as being 'shaped by an iron rhythm'; it is 'an assault' by 'the unseen iron hands' (I, 157). This provides a sharp contrast to the expressive German piano playing Miriam loves.

GERMAN MEN

More clearly than any of the 'Women in Germany' writers, Richardson perceives that the conflict between Germany and England is one between 'men' and 'women'. As seen in the description of Herr Schraub, Miriam is on the whole repelled by German men. She discovers 'that the whole attitude of the Englishman and of [... the] Frenchman, towards her sex was different from that of these Germans'. German men 'despised women' (I, 77-79). There is a kind of two-way flow of hatred here; Miriam reacts to German men's contempt for women with a fierce answering hatred of her own. However, she ceases to wonder at their attitude when she realises that German women allow themselves to be despised. The highest aspiration of the German pupils is to find husbands and become hausfraus. Like Patience Thaile and Mansfield's narrator, Miriam registers the polarisation of male and female roles in Germany.

German officers are not exempt from Miriam's disapprobation. On the contrary, she specifically voices 'her contempt for all military men' (I, 93); their aggressive masculinity is anathema to her. In the course of the novel-chapter, she has only the briefest of encounters with one:

> An officer in pale blue Prussian uniform passed by flashing a single hard preoccupied glance at each of them in turn. His eyes seemed to Miriam like opaque blue glass. She could not remember such eyes in England. They began to walk more quickly. (I, 125)

This description differs from Spottiswode's and Wylie's portrayals of German officers as handsome and glamorous. In Richardson, it is the alien, menacing quality that is foremost. This officer is all masculine hardness; his glance is 'hard', his eyes resemble glass, an unyielding and brittle substance. Richardson is careful to emphasise, moreover,

that these eyes have nothing of the transparency and lustre of some glass; they are 'opaque', or impenetrable. The officer's foreignness or difference is continually stressed; his glance is 'preoccupied'; in other words, his thoughts are elsewhere and incomprehensible to Miriam. His opaque glassy eyes are explicitly contrasted with English eyes: 'she could not remember such eyes in England'. As I just stated, eyes have special significance in *Pointed Roofs*, and act as indicators of personality.

The officer is an embodiment of otherness. Richardson's description of him fits perfectly into the German/English male/female polarisation. The passage registers sexual tension in the use of the word 'flashing', which describes the briefness and hardness of the officer's glance, but also means to emit flame or sparks. Moreover, although Miriam's reaction to him is not given directly, it is reflected in the girls' accelerated walking pace, which denotes, I think, not just fear, but excitement as well.

The closest Miriam comes to a romantic involvement in Germany is an encounter with the middle-aged Pastor Lahmann. At one point, Miriam comes swinging into the room in an exultant mood, and Lahmann, attracted by the sight of the blond, bright-cheeked girl begins a low-key flirtation that throws her off balance. She is physically attracted to him: 'the sense of the outline of his shoulders and his comforting black mannishness so near to her brought her almost to tears' (I, 127). Here, the masculinity of the pastor's appearance, his broad shoulders and 'comforting black mannishness', elicit a physical response from Miriam. But unlike the German officer, Lahmann's masculinity is familiar rather than threatening. 'She stared easily and comfortably up into his great mild eyes, went into them as they remained quietly and gently there, receiving her' (I, 127). This is an interesting description, and provides a sharp contrast to the officer's opaque blue glass eyes. It is a moment of both exploration of and communion with the pastor, but seems completely lacking in sexual tension; his gentleness and Miriam's sense of being comfortable are emphasised. While the Pastor's mildness and gentleness might be ascribed to his religious calling, they are also qualities traditionally associated with the

feminine. Lahmann's brief connection with the feminine is further suggested by the fact that it is Miriam who takes the active, masculine role of entering his eyes, while he passively receives her. Miriam is comfortable precisely because, at this stage, he does not threaten her identity.

Lahmann is not only interested in Miriam but insightful about her, and recognises her ambitiousness. But her perception of him as comforting and unthreatening is abruptly punctured by his expressed ambition for 'a little land well-tilled', and 'a little wife well-willed' (I, 128). Shades of von Arnim's agriculture-mad pastor, Robert Dremmel, here: 'after [marriage] ... his wife would fall quite naturally into her place, which would, though honourable, be yet a little lower than the fertilizers' (*The Pastor's Wife*, p. 33).

Miriam's fury is aroused by the implicit authoritarianism she perceives in Lahmann's bearing; she needs to disassociate herself from the category of 'little tame things to be summoned' (I, 129). Pastor Lahmann is in fact Swiss, but his values are those of a chauvinistic German male. Before Miriam can show him that she does not even acknowledge such a thing as 'a well-willed wife', he sympathetically asks why she wears glasses. 'I have a severe myopic astigmatism', she announces, 'feeling the words as little hammers on the newly seen, pallid, rounded face' (I, 129). This is striking for the way in which Miriam's fury is translated into an image of physical violence. Whereas Patience Thaile and Nora Ingestre respond to German chauvinism with grudging acceptance, and Mansfield's narrator with satirical wit, Miriam reacts with violence. The brief moment of communion is well and truly over. The description of the pastor's 'newly seen, pallid, rounded face' marks the shift in Miriam's perception of him; he has metamorphosed into 'otherness'.

Lahmann, undeterred by her aggression, asks to see her glasses, and Miriam sheepishly removes them. He gazes into the 'lame eyes' of the 'poor child', and remarks how 'vairy vairy blond' she must have been as an infant. They are interrupted by entry of Fraulein Pfaff, who looks at them with 'speechless waiting eyes', while Lahmann studies his

fingernails. Miriam does not understand the significance of this wordless drama and its sexual overtones, but she registers the charged air, enabling the reader to draw his or her own conclusions. There is a link between *Pointed Roofs* and Charlotte Bronte's *Villette*; Fraulein Pfaff and Pastor Lahmann might be said to correspond to Madame Beck and Paul Emmanuel, while Miriam is in some ways similar to the abrasive Lucy Snowe, who has to make her own way in the world, and is determined to do so as uncompromisingly as she can.[32]

But unlike Lucy Snowe, and unlike the other 'Women in Germany', Miriam's feelings for the Pastor are highly ambivalent, and the flirtation expires even before it has begun to develop. As Hanscombe observes,

> Neither the intensity of her response, nor the intimacy of the conversation, modify her feelings of difference and her need to be accepted from a position outside the perimeters of the female role. She is left with the confusion that the pastor both pleased her and made her furious by treating her 'as a girl'.[33]

This abortive attraction for Pastor Lahmann is a prototype of other, similarly abortive attachments, for Miriam is unable to submit to the wifely role expected of her. These provide one of the recurrent themes between the succeeding novel-chapters of *Pilgrimage*: Mr Parrow in *Backwater*, Mr Hancock in *The Tunnel*, Dr Densley in *The Trap*, and Richard Roscorla in *Dimple Hill*. Thus, Miriam's difficulties with Pastor Lahmann are probably more illustrative of what Hanscombe terms her 'psychological battle-readiness'[34] than they are of the male/female, German/English conflict.

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[32]*Villette* is specifically referred to twice in *Pointed Roofs*, and can be said to operate as a signpost in Miriam's pilgrimage. It is one of the books on Harriett's bookshelf (I, 23), and Fraulein Pfaff is compared to Madame Beck, who eavesdrops outside doors (I, 53).
[33]Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, p. 66.
[34]Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, p. 96.

Miriam is also unique among the 'Women in Germany' in that she identifies strongly with the male (we saw a glimpse of this when she took the masculine position of 'entering' Lahmann's eyes). This is apparent at the beginning of *Pointed Roofs*, where her intense identification with her father marks her distance from the world of women: 'Pater knew how hateful all the world of women were and despised them. He never included her with them [...]' (I, 22). In this novel-chapter, her sense of alienation from women is described as a fear of being engulfed in their 'hateful' world (I, 21). As Radford points out, however, Miriam's male identification is 'necessarily, a precarious one, which does not survive her mother's suicide'.[35]

In *Pointed Roofs*, Miriam is drawn to the passive beauty of a German pupil, Ulrica Hesse. Ulrica arouses a romantic passion in her which is unmatched by her response to men:

> It was Ulrica, Ulrica ... Ulrica ... Ulrica ... sitting up at breakfast with her lovely head and her great eyes - her thin fingers peeling an egg .... [...] Ulrica peeling an egg and she, afterwards, like a mad thing had gone into the *saal* and talked to Millie in a vulgar, familiar way, no doubt. (I, 74-75)

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[35]Radford continues:

> Guilt and reparation to the mother lead [Miriam] to project 'the masculine within' into a series of men in the external world who are then energetically denounced. Cannoning violently between masculine and feminine identifications, from 'I am like a man' (II, 261), to 'I wouldn't have a man's - *consciousness*, for anything' (II, 149), she enters a long struggle to construct a gender position which will include her sense of being different from either 'Man' or 'Woman'; to squeeze the myr-iad 'I ams' that her name suggests into a stable position represented by a single 'I'. She never succeeds. Even the temporary resolutions - 'I am something between a man and a woman, looking both ways ...' (II, 187) - are constantly breaking down. ('Coming to Terms', p. 33)

This passage reflects a quality of adolescent infatuation, where the repetition of the love object's name alone affords pleasure. Ulrica's physical attributes of delicacy and femininity are dwelt upon: her 'lovely head', 'great eyes', and 'thin fingers'. Miriam's passion is based on ideal external qualities. But the ellipses denote a level of activity not present in the text. Here, as elsewhere in the novel-sequence, the device draws our attention to the gaps and repressions in Miriam's consciousness, and invites questions about the content of these. In this extract, the ellipses appear to suggest the problematic nature of Miriam's response to Ulrica, which is left unexplored. As so often in Richardson, the exact meaning of the ellipses is ambiguous, but they do seem to hint at both excitement and conflict here.

Miriam's excitement finds an alternative outlet in the action of talking animatedly to Millie. She is held back from approaching Ulrica directly. But we are not told why this is so. Perhaps she is afraid of the intensity of her own response, or perhaps she simply does not want to risk shattering her ideal. There is no narrator offering explanations or analysis; Miriam's motives are left open to the reader's interpretation.

Miriam's relationship with Ulrica is not put to the test, since Ulrica is never approached, and Miriam nowhere attempts to engage with her ideal, nor to analyse the nature of her response to her. Miriam's attachment to the German girl is a prototype of her more intimate friendships with Amabel and Jean in succeeding volumes of *Pilgrimage*.

This theme of sexual indeterminacy in *Pointed Roofs* is not shared by any of the 'Women in Germany' works mentioned. A comparison could be made, though, with Rose Allatini's *Despised and Rejected* (1918),[36] in which the male/female, German/English polarisation enters in a slightly different way: sexual indeterminacy is directly linked with political indeterminacy. Homosexual Dennis Blackwood stands 'midway between the two sexes' (*Despised and Rejected*, p. 348). This recalls Miriam's 'I am something between a

[36]*Despised and Rejected* (London: Daniel, 1918) was written under the pseudonym A.T. Fitzroy.

man and a woman, looking both ways' (II, 187), although Miriam is bisexual rather than strictly homosexual. Dennis is a staunch pacifist. Unlike the heterosexual majority of his village, Eastwood, who hold a polarised view of Germans, Dennis acknowledges German humanity, and this is the chief reason for his reluctance to fight. As a result of his lack of 'proper' patriotic fervour, Dennis is accused of being 'pro-Hun'; he is ostracised by the community of Eastwood, and eventually imprisoned. Far from being an easy option, pacifism requires its own special brand of heroism. But Dennis is no stranger to suffering, nor to being different; he has always struggled against his homosexuality, beset by acute shame, and by the desire to be like other men. Dennis is also rendered 'different' by his talent as a composer: 'I'd got to be a musician, even if it did mean being different and being lonely. I knew I'd got to suffer, and by suffering - create' (*Despised and Rejected*, p. 83). Allatini thus establishes a triple connection between sexual indeterminacy, political indeterminacy, and creativity. In this novel, all three are seen as positive attributes, but they result in suffering, marginalisation, and loneliness.

Pointed Roofs shares this link between sexual indeterminacy and political, or in the case of Richardson, nationalistic indeterminacy. Miriam veers between identifying with Germany and England, just as she moves between identifying with the masculine and the feminine, without finally resolving either conflict (it is not until the later volumes of *Pilgrimage* that Richardson begins to explore the complex links between 'difference' and creativity). Richardson, like Allatini, explores intermediate areas within a polarised environment, a characteristic that is typical of modernism.

EXTRANEOUS WRITINGS AND LATER VOLUMES OF *PILGRIMAGE*

Richardson's extraneous writings from the years of the First World War both echo and develop her views of Germany expressed in *Pointed Roofs*. In her column, 'Comments by a Layman', in the *Dental Record*, she observes that at the time of the outbreak of war, the only army in Europe with an efficient dental service was that of Germany:

> The remarkable freedom of Germany from the inertia with regard to practical reforms which appears to hold the rest of Europe in its toils [...] would [...] appear to be a temperamental characteristic which, cultivated and restrained, has made Germany the leader of Europe in formal philosophy [...] and let loose, has short circuited, reduced life to a mechanical theory, turned upon itself and shown us Germany as the mad dog of Europe.[37]

This short column was written for a professional journal. Its style and tone are factual; part social history, with some quasi-scientific terminology thrown in ('short circuited', 'mechanical theory'). Thus, in context, form and style, it is completely different from the experimental mode of *Pilgrimage*, yet the two share many of same ideas. The passage reveals the same mixture of admiration and censure that characterises Richardson's response to Germany in *Pointed Roofs*; in this case, admiration for the efficiency and productiveness of the German temperament, combined with the recognition that this same efficiency, if unchecked, turns into mechanism and militarism. Here, the menacing, militaristic aspect of Germany is overtly referred to, whereas in *Pointed Roofs* it lies beneath the surface. This is partly because the article was written later than the novel-

[37]*Dental Record* 35, December 1 1915, p. 752. All further quotations from the *Dental Record* share this reference.

chapter, in 1915, and partly because, as I have said, *Pointed Roofs* is a retrospective account of the Germany of the 1890s.

In the same column, Richardson goes on to attribute Germany's militaristic quality to the fact that 'the Germanic is a purely male civilisation'. She continues:

> There is, in Germany, no such thing as sex intercourse in any real sense. The unaided intellect, with its analytical, plan-making, theorizing virtues and vices, ranges free in a void.

These sentences acknowledge the polarisation of male and female roles in Germany, a concept expounded at greater length in *Pointed Roofs*, as well as in the work of the 'Women in Germany' writers. But Richardson develops her theme further in the *Dental Record*, explicitly holding up Germany's militarism as the dangerous and destructive result of this lack of 'sex intercourse'. 'The Germanic is a purely male civilisation', unchecked by the beneficent influence of women. Here, as elsewhere in her writing, Richardson is critical of the rational organising structure of the male mind, which she sees as existing in a vacuum, for it excludes the vital female ability to synthesise emotion and reflection.

In later volumes of *Pilgrimage*, which were written after the First World War and during the rise of German Fascism (they are set in the last years of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth centuries), Germany is portrayed as an overt threat: 'countries without foreigners are doomed [...] to extinction if England does not beat Germany' (III, 376). However, Germany also appears as what Watts terms 'a particular mode of experience - aesthetic, contemplative, epiphanic - that [Miriam] ... [recalls] and [relives] in later volumes, most significantly in the Swiss mountains of *Oberland*'.[38]

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[38]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 8.

Watts, I think rightly, reads these opposing attitudes as part of Richardson's narrative aim to depict 'what it means to live out a life in historical terms'.[39]

In real life, however, Richardson's opposition to the war was clearly stated. Gloria Fromm observes that Richardson took the war against Germany as a matter of course. 'One simply had to protest, she wrote, "against the desire for regimentation and domination of anything whatsoever" and, if necessary, to take arms'.[40] In this subsequent rejection of Germany, Richardson conforms to the 'Women in Germany' tradition.

[39]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 10. See my footnote 25 of this chapter for a more detailed citation of Watts's views.
[40]Fromm, *Richardson*, p. 77.

CONCLUSION

Chapter Two situates *Pointed Roofs* in the context of the English literary response to Germany and German culture during the First World War and the years immediately preceding it. It examines Miriam's complex attitudes of attraction and repulsion to Germany, and particularly her response to its militarism. In this way, I have aimed to provide both context and starting point for an exploration of Richardson's engagement with conflict in *Pilgrimage*.

The chapter argues for a tradition of English women writing about Germany during this period ('Women in Germany'), some of them married to German men. It includes discussion of important common themes I located in their work, before examining the extent to which Richardson fits into this tradition.

Some interesting similarities between Richardson and the 'Women in Germany' writers emerge: for both, trouble at home leads to attraction to German difference. Like the 'Women in Germany' works, *Pointed Roofs* registers something of the English/German polarisation within the 'German Cousin' tradition, notably in certain irredeemable German differences encountered by Miriam (particularly the chauvinism and vulgarity of German society). Like Mansfield's and Hunt's protagonists, Miriam's sense of displacement, of being a foreigner, is enacted in moments of intense physical disgust. In her later rejection of Germany, Richardson conforms to the 'Women in Germany' tradition.

In other words, Richardson's and Miriam's love-hate relationship with Germany, and their recognition that the conflict between Germany and England is one between 'men' and 'women' could be said to accord with the tradition. However, these complicated moods of attraction and repulsion, far from being unique to Miriam's reaction to Germany, characterise her responses to almost everything she encounters, and form part of a complex articulation of 'difference' staged in *Pilgrimage*. Moreover, Miriam's problems with German men are echoed with other men in succeeding volumes, and are

probably more symptomatic of her difficulties in submitting to a conventional feminine role than they are of the opposition between Germany and England. Thus, to label *Pointed Roofs* as belonging to a tradition is to over-simplify a powerful and complex discourse about class, gender, and being English in Germany during the 1890s.

My chapter also uncovers some significant differences between Richardson and the 'Women in Germany' writers. These include Richardson's experimental style, Miriam's identification with the masculine, and - most importantly to this thesis - Miriam's and Richardson's acute responsiveness to German militarism. This last is reflected in Richardson's language to a more pervasive degree than that of any 'Women in Germany' writer. Miriam is similar to the other protagonists in her dislike of militarism; however, she is unique in her active and aggressive reaction towards it.

Although the frequency with which military language crops up in *Pointed Roofs* could be ascribed to its German setting, I intend to show that Miriam's unusual battle-readiness and Richardson's remarkable responsiveness to conflict appear throughout *Pilgrimage*. They are not merely characteristic of Miriam's and Richardson's response to Germany, but of the novel-sequence as a whole.

CHAPTER THREE

DOROTHY RICHARDSON AND THE NEW WOMAN

The connections between the feminist element and the formal daring of *Pilgrimage* have been discussed by numerous critics.[1] In this chapter, I want to revisit these connections, bringing out a slightly different aspect. Both the fictional subject of *Pilgrimage* (Miriam's life) and the narrative itself are represented in terms of what Pykett has called 'a modernist discourse of rupture',[2] for both breach lines and frontiers of different types. Richardson's protagonist is depicted as a 'New Woman', living at the edge of convention and experience. Similarly, the novel-sequence which relates her life taxes the limits of novelistic form and genre. I shall examine the connected themes of social and literary rupture in *Pilgrimage*, arguing that both of these constitute forms of violence. In other words, social violence is as integral to Miriam's life as literary violence is to Richardson's theory and practice of writing.

In one sense, this argument constitutes a variation on my reading of violence in *Pilgrimage*. Thus far, I have interpreted violence and fluidity as polarised terms, linking Richardson's preoccupation with violence to a need for boundaries. Here, however, I am

[1]Space does not permit me to list all of these, so I shall give three key examples. Hanscombe's *The Art of Life* brings out the way in which Richardson's 'perception of the distinctiveness of female consciousness in turn gave rise to the evolution of an experimental technique of fiction'. Hanscombe also analyses Richardson's use of feminine prose, and explains what she calls Richardson's 'bi-polar world view', which results from the gulf between male and female consciousness (p. 34).

Chapter Four of Radford's *Richardson*, 'The Enigma of Woman' (pp. 66-85), explores the ways in which *Pilgrimage* takes the questions raised by New Woman fiction onto new ground. Radford also examines Miriam's inability to separate women from their play-acting or masquerade; the ways in which the question of 'woman' and feminine identity is placed in relation to reading and representation in *Pilgrimage*; and the struggle between Miriam's masculine and feminine identifications.

Chapter Four of Lyn Pykett's *Engendering Fictions: The English Novel in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), 'Dorothy Richardson: Thinking the Feminine', (pp. 77-89), links Richardson's narrative aims to those of the New Woman writers, and discusses Richardson's sense of 'the inadequacy and irrelevance of masculine traditions and forms as developed by both men and women novelists', arguing that her formal innovations are based on 'the vitalism which is espoused and argued for in all her work'.

[2]Pykett, *Engendering Fictions*, p. 57.

doing the opposite: connecting violence to the breaking of boundaries, or to boundlessness. Moreover, in my focus on boundlessness, I am actually moving closer to the conventional view of Richardson. My point of difference is my emphasis on the deliberate violence inherent in the smashing of boundaries.

At the same time, I shall situate Richardson's novel-sequence within the broader context of the feminist fiction of its day, for in her concerns with issues of female identity and narrative form, Richardson revisits the fictional terrain of the New Woman writers. In addition, I shall briefly discuss the parallels, and the differences, between *Pilgrimage* and suffragette fiction.

ANTICIPATING RICHARDSON: THE NEW WOMAN IN LIFE AND IN FICTION

Just how aptly the New Woman of the late 1880s and 1890s anticipates Pykett's 'modernist discourse of rupture' is reflected in the anxious and outraged tone of many newspaper articles of the time. An anonymous article in the *Westminster Review* in 1889, for instance, even went so far as to claim that the New Woman's demands for autonomy were 'intimately connected' with

> the stirrings and rumblings now perceivable in the social and industrial world, the 'Bitter Cries' of the disinherited classes, the 'Social Wreckage' which is becoming able to make itself unpleasantly prominent, the 'Problems of Great Cities', the spread of Socialism and Nihilism ...[3]

In other words, the New Woman portrayed in the newspaper and periodical press, like the New Woman in fiction, was perceived as a menace to society - subversive and destructive, symbolising a break with traditional values.

The New Woman writers, such as Sarah Grand, Mona Caird, Menie Muriel Dowie, Emma Frances Brooke, and George Egerton, were also seen as 'revolting daughter[s]' who, like their modernist successors, were 'in revolt against established literary conventions and modes of representation'.[4] They deliberately set out to attack marriage - the resolution of the plot of the mainstream Victorian novel, and the desired goal of many of its heroines. These writers also aimed to break the bonds of censorship which tacitly forbade the treatment of sexuality in fiction, and to show that the female character could be made into something more vital than the insipid and sexually unaware heroine favoured by the Victorian reader. Pykett has noted that New Woman fiction broke with

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[3]'The Apple and the Ego of Woman', *Westminster Review* 131 (1889): 374-382, cited in Ann Ardis, *New Women, New Novels* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 1-2.
[4]Pykett, *Engendering Fictions*, p. 57.

'the Victorian concept of the unified character, which embodied a fixed and stable identity'. In its place, there appears 'a problematization and unfixing of identity. The New Woman writing consistently problematized, deconstructed, demystified, or rethought "womanliness" '.[5] Women's consciousness is the focal point of these novels; women are invariably the central subjects rather than the objects of a male-oriented narrative. As we shall see, the New Woman authors anticipate Richardson in many of these innovations.

The central position of female consciousness in their novels enabled the New Woman writers to let their heroines give direct voice to much of their feminist argument, and New Woman fiction often features protracted monologues about women's inferior role in society. New Woman heroines are characteristically anguished, they rail against the unfairness of their situation, and are acutely discouraged by their exclusion from education and careers. It is in keeping with the realism and social criticism of these novels that the emancipated ideas of their heroines achieve so little in practical terms - late Victorian society did not readily adapt to new lifestyles for women. But neither did the late Victorian novel, and as Rachel Blau DuPlessis argues in *Writing Beyond the Ending*, ' "story" for women typically meant plots of seduction and courtship, [where] the energies of the quest are deflected into ... the choice of a marriage partner'.[6] Although the New Woman novelists broke new ground in terms of characterisation and sexual frankness, marriage still remained central to their novels, even while they were endeavouring to challenge it.

Sometimes this challenge to the conventional role of marriage in the novel took the form of a portrayal of a marriage that fails, or even leads to tragedy. Hadria, the heroine of Mona Caird's *The Daughters of Danaus* (1894), for example, spends a large proportion of the novel objecting to the idealisation of marriage and motherhood. Mona Caird displays an acute understanding of the ways in which conditioning can work even

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[5]Pykett, *Engendering Fictions*, p. 57.
[6]Blau DuPlessis, p. 151.

on a woman who considers herself to be enlightened. Hadria's decline into matrimony is convincingly charted; marriage provides the only means of escape from home that would not inflict intolerable pain on her parents. Hadria's marriage appears ideal to the outside world, but to her it means the end of all hope for personal fulfilment. She wavers between fruitless attempts to escape, and exaggerated efforts to crush her true feelings and submit dutifully. Hadria escapes briefly to Paris to study music - Mona Caird deliberately nudges her ambitions further into male territory by making her a composer rather than a performer. But when her mother falls into the sort of convenient illness whose only cure is complete absence of worry, Hadria is forced to recognise that there is a price for her freedom. Confronted by 'the bitter choice between unconditional surrender and the infliction of pain and distress', she capitulates to the traditional narrative of feminine self-sacrifice that she abhors, and returns home.[7]

New Woman writers found it difficult to break away from the powerful conventions which linked marriage with feminine success, and the suffering or death of the heroine with some form of moral punishment. For many readers, the illness, nervous breakdowns, insanity and suicide experienced by many New Woman heroines, rather than being indicative of high tragedy, reinforced the fact that they had ventured too far from the domestic sphere and suffered because they attempted to do things for which they were unsuited. By turning the heroine into a martyr, these writers also came dangerously close to endorsing Victorian stereotypes which valorised self-sacrifice and failure.

George Egerton, born Mary Chavelita Dunne, was more successful than any other of the New Woman writers in her attempt to break with narrative conventions and female stereotypes. She thought that the only way to express women's consciousness and

[7]I am arguing against various claims which have been made for the radicalism of this book, for instance by Sally Ledger in *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the fin de siecle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 24-31.

experiences was by forging new fictional forms. Egerton's assumptions about writing are directly relevant to Richardson's narrative aims in *Pilgrimage*:

> I realised that in literature, everything had been done better by man than woman could hope to emulate. There was only one small plot left for her to tell: the *terra incognita* of herself, as she knew herself to be, not as man liked to imagine her - in a word, to give herself away, as man had given himself away in his writings ... I would use situations or conflicts as I saw them with a total disregard of man's opinions. I would unlock a door with a key of my own fashioning.[8]

The self-effacing tone of this passage is surely disingenuous. Egerton knew that what she was proposing was not just a 'small plot', but a huge field of enquiry. Like Richardson, whose stated aim was 'to produce a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism',[9] Egerton's refusal to imitate the writing of men challenged both repressive gender definitions and novelistic convention. Both writers realised that the 'key' to representing women's unique experience was through a frank depiction of their inner lives. Egerton's emphasis on constructing this 'key' without regard for man's opinions, is evidently a challenge to male sexual, as well as literary dominance.[10]

Egerton's first collection of short stories, *Keynotes* (1893), achieved both acclamation and blame; Egerton was praised and decried as the latest contributor to New Woman

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[8]George Egerton, 'A Keynote to *Keynotes*' in *Ten Contemporaries: Notes Toward Their Definitive Biography*, ed. John Gawsworth (London: Ernest Benn, 1932), p. 58.

[9]Foreword to the 1938 edition of *Pilgrimage*, I, 9.

[10]As Jane Eldridge Miller points out, Egerton's adoption of a male pseudonym was not a bid to gain acceptance as a male writer but, rather, an attempt 'to protect herself from personal attacks that the sexual frankness of her fiction would inevitably prompt'. However, her sex was discovered almost immediately after the publication of her stories, and personal attacks followed (*Rebel Women: Feminism, Modernism and the Edwardian Novel*, London: Virago Press, 1994, pp. 207-208).

fiction.[11] But although she wrote about modern and liberated women, and lived the life of a New Woman herself, Egerton's formal innovations distinguish her from other New Woman writers. Her stories focus on the inner lives of her female characters. Like the New Woman novels, Egerton's stories are sexually frank, but they differ from the former in that they celebrate female identity as a source of strength and hope for women. Her writing reveals an essentialist view of a 'natural' woman, as if there is, within the constrictive manners and clothing imposed by Victorian England, a 'real' woman struggling for expression. '[Men] have all overlooked the eternal wildness, the untamed primitive savage temperament that lurks in the mildest, best woman', she writes.[12] Egerton's kind of New Woman resists being defined in terms of her relationships with men, and her independence and contentedness contradict the frustrated-spinster image that critics tended to impose on New Woman heroines.

Egerton attempted to convey the lives of women through a series of 'psychological moments'. In order to do so, she dispensed with the details of plot and biographical information that readers had come to expect; making frequent uses of ellipses, she forces the reader to make his or her own connections. Her plots are based on the fleeting moment, the sudden significant incident in a tangle of human relationships. Egerton also makes a significant break with conventional modes of characterisation in her stories - not just by having her heroine's actions challenge gender norms, but also through her narrative emphasis on consciousness.

A brief discussion of 'A Cross Line', the opening story of *Keynotes*, will illustrate these points. The events of its plot are simple: a woman, whose husband calls her Gypsy, encounters an unnamed stranger; she imagines alternative lives she might lead, and considers leaving her stifling marriage for the stranger, but accepts her situation when

[11]'Foulness', 'hysteria', 'erotomania', 'neurotic fiction', 'crude and vulgar indecency', are some of the hostile terms with which Egerton's work was received (James Ashcroft Noble, 'The Fiction of Sexuality', *The Contemporary Review* Vol. 67, April 1895, cited in Patricia Stubbs, *Women and Fiction*, Sussex: Harvester Press 1979, pp. 110-111).
[12]*Keynotes* (London: John Lane, 1893), p. 22.

she realises that she is pregnant. But as Pykett has observed, the main concern of this story is not with exigencies of plot; it is with 'the shifting moods of its central female character, with the allusive evocation of the desires and frustrations of this "creature of moments" '.[13] The climactic point of 'A Cross Line' is the penultimate scene, in which the protagonist is given a detailed sexual fantasy:

> She can see herself with parted lips and panting, rounded breasts, and a dancing devil in each glowing eye, sway voluptuously to the wild music that rises, now slow, now fast, now deliriously wild, seductive, intoxicating, with a human note of passion in its strain ... One quivering, gleaming, daring bound, and she stands with outstretched arms and passion-filled eyes, poised on one slender foot, asking a supreme note to finish her dream of motion. And the men rise to a man and answer her, and cheer, cheer till the echoes shout from the surrounding hills and tumble wildly down the crags.[14]

This passage is frank about the heroine's sexual responsiveness and her confidence in her own sexuality. Egerton also emphasises her sexual dominance (the male audience are in thrall to her), while taking care to stress her natural femininity (the 'slender foot', or the 'quivering, gleaming, daring bound', which is suggestive of delicacy and fearlessness). Egerton's style is concise and controlled; for instance, the varied rhythms of 'now slow, now fast, now deliriously wild, seductive, intoxicating' enact the music's changes of tempo within a very short space of text. At the same time, the writing is rich in sensuous detail. The final scene, in which the heroine's adulterous sexuality is sublimated into

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[13]Pykett, *Engendering Fictions*, p. 63.
[14]*Keynotes*, p. 16.

passionate maternal devotion, neither lessens the potency of this reverie, nor explains her motives.

The elliptical and equivocal quality of Egerton's writing, her elimination of explanations and background information, and her refusal of a fixed or stable identity for her characters, anticipates the fiction of Richardson, as well as that of May Sinclair, Virginia Woolf, and D.H. Lawrence.

PILGRIMAGE AND THE NEW WOMAN: NARRATIVE DISRUPTIONS

Clearly, *Pilgrimage* could be said to start from the ideas of the New Woman writers. Issues of female identity provoked tremendous experimentation with narrative form for the New Woman writers and for Dorothy Richardson alike, for both sought to create new kinds of narratives of female experience outside the conventional nineteenth century fictional destinies of marriage or death, placing a new emphasis on female subjectivity and on the heroine as the centre of narrative consciousness. New Woman fiction provided the first challenge to the traditional narrative forms which had, on the whole, consigned women to dependence. This section will examine the ways in which Richardson's writing continued and extended this challenge, by disrupting narrative conventions, genres, and even the medium of language itself.

In the Preface to the 1938 edition of *Pilgrimage*, Richardson states her dissatisfaction with traditional narrative forms, which she perceives to be explicitly masculine: 'the material that moved me to write would not fit into the framework of any novel I had experienced [...] I believed myself intolerant of the romantic and the realist novel alike. Each [...] left out certain essentials'. Miriam repeats this point within the novel, during a discussion of contemporary novelists: 'the torment of all these novels is what is left out [...] Bang, bang, bang, on they go, these men's books, like an LCC tram, yet unable to make you forget them, the authors, for a moment' (IV, 239). Richardson's search for a new, more feminine form is represented in *Pilgrimage* by Miriam's developing conviction that narrative conventions are simply an ordering of masculine fantasies and ideas, dependent, as Richardson wrote elsewhere, 'on a whole questionable set of assumptions between reader and writer'.[15] A vital part of Richardson's attempt to record her feminine vision was a deliberate disruption and reversal of these traditions.

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[15]'Literary Essays', manuscript quoted in Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, p. 42.

As we have seen, New Woman writers struggled against the conservative ideologies of gender, love and sexuality inherent in novelistic conventions and traditional narrative structures. The lack of linear plot in *Pilgrimage*, its apparently endless flow, may also be read as a form of resistance to these conventions and structures. Richardson disseminates any 'plot' interest by continually diverging into protracted and detailed descriptions of Miriam's thoughts and surroundings. That this is a deliberate strategy, intended to delay and obstruct interpretation so that the reader's expectations are continually subverted, is made clear in Richardson's Foreword to the 1938 edition of *Pilgrimage*.[16] The long description of Miriam's room at the beginning of *The Tunnel* (II, 11-17) is one example of this technique in practice. Similarly, Richardson's reluctance to provide an ending (this dismayed her publishers, who pushed her to finish *Pilgrimage* once and for all, as the novels kept appearing through the 1920s and 1930s) may be read as a rejection of the Victorian narrative endings of marriage or death. Also, the huge-scale and detailed presentation of Miriam's 'consciousness' constitutes a destabilization of character, a refusal of the Victorian concept of a fixed or stable identity, as well as a departure from the limited representations of women available in Victorian fiction.

In addition to rupturing existing narrative conventions, *Pilgrimage* continually transgresses and disrupts genre boundaries. As Gevirtz has provided a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which Richardson achieves this,[17] I shall list them fairly briefly.

As the title *Pilgrimage* indicates, Richardson located herself within a tradition of pilgrim narratives - a tradition written almost exclusively by men. Richardson names some of these predecessors in her novel-sequence, signalling their influence on her writing: Bunyan, George Fox, Chaucer, Dante, and Goethe, whose *Wilhelm Meister* she pays tribute to in the Foreword. At the same time, Gevirtz points out that Richardson

[16]Richardson quotes Goethe's Preface to *Wilhelm Meister*: 'The novel must proceed slowly, and the thought processes of the principal figure must, by one device or another, hold up the whole [...]' I, 11.
[17]See Gevirtz, 'Monstrosity and Impurity: The Generic Hybrid - Pilgrimage, Epic and Autobiography' in *Narrative's Journey*, pp. 111-131. My account of Richardson's disruption of genre boundaries draws heavily on Gevirtz's ideas.

> inverts the pilgrimage genre by putting Miriam, a travelling female hero, at the centre of the male quest, by giving her the male wilds of London as the territory of her travel and the exploration of the untraversed jungles of existence outside of traditionally defined gender roles as one of the goals of her journey.[18]

I shall discuss Richardson's break from traditional gender roles in my next section. For now, suffice it to say that Richardson both situates herself within and subverts a traditionally masculine narrative genre.

The gigantic scope of *Pilgrimage*, the length of its time scale and the wide variety of issues it encompasses evokes another masculine tradition, that of the epic or 'long poem'. Richardson uses the epic in the same way that she uses the pilgrimage genre, as a means of both intervening in and disrupting the practices of the dominant tradition. In Gevirtz's words:

> Taking the authority from within a dominant western cultural discourse that has not traditionally allowed women to speak from positions of authority, Richardson pronounces on history, philosophy, religion, and aesthetics, among many other broad subjects. As an epic, *Pilgrimage* is comprehensive, but instead of covering a 'sweep' of public history, it refers to many different historical moments and surveys the myriad details of panoramic but private consciousness.[19]

[18]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 112.
[19]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 121.

Gevirtz points out that Richardson's use of the pilgrimage and the epic genres also has the effect of dismantling the boundaries of 'inside/outside', for Richardson belongs to the category of 'women [who] position themselves as women writing inside a tradition from which women have been excluded. The doubleness of this position provides a distance that is often manifest as irony, satire, or the exaggeration of an element characteristic to the genre'.[20]

As *Pilgrimage* is an account of a young woman's development, it also incorporates elements of the Bildungsroman. In her novel-sequence, Richardson acknowledges the influence of some of the nineteenth century Bildungsromanen that were written by women; I mentioned in my last chapter that Miriam especially identifies with Charlotte Bronte's Lucy Snowe. In telling the story of a writer's development, *Pilgrimage* gestures at the tradition of the Kunstlerroman. In using the events of her own life as the basis of Miriam's, Richardson situates herself in the realm of autobiography. As Gevirtz argues, the genre of autobiography itself poses questions and contradictions that Richardson wished to feature. Foremost among these issues arises from the tensions inherent to autobiographical writing, which are the wish to record both 'actual' events and to transform these events into 'art'. Moreover,

> Empirically as well as theoretically, autobiography lends itself poorly to generic definition; each specific instance seems to be an exception to the norm; the works themselves always seem to shade off into neighbouring

[20]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 121.

For a discussion of the epic form by Richardson herself, see her 1939 review of Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*, where she writes of the 'shift' in the novel from romanticism to modernism, and the parallel shift manifest by the 'last ditch of the epic' in the development of the modern novel:

> Whatever the combination of incitements, certain of our poets have now, for decades past, produced short stories rather than lyrics and, in place of the epic and foreshadowed by *The Ring and the Book*, so very nearly a prose epic, have given us, if we exclude *The Testament of Beauty*, rearing a nobly defiant head in the last ditch of the epic form, the modern novel. ('Adventure for Readers', *Life and Letters To-Day*, no. 22, July 1939, pp. 45-52)

> or even incompatible genres and, perhaps most revealing of all, generic discussions, which can have such powerful heuristic value in the case of tragedy or the novel, remain distressingly sterile when autobiography is at stake.[21]

In other words, because autobiography 'lends itself poorly to generic definition', it actually throws into confusion the whole issue of what counts as a genre. Finally, by deliberately and ironically calling the thirteen volumes of *Pilgrimage* 'novel-chapters' - is it one novel or several novels? - Richardson further implies generic collapse. There is much more that could be said about the significance of these generic categories in *Pilgrimage*, but which I do not intend to go into here, partly because Gevirtz has already done so, and partly because I want to move on to other matters.

To sum up then, Richardson locates herself within a number of genres, simultaneously crossing genre boundaries and subverting generic traditions. On the level of genre, *Pilgrimage* alters and disrupts the experience of reading. The disruption of genre performs a similar function to Richardson's disruption of narrative techniques, breaking convention and preventing the reader from settling comfortably back into any given set of expectations. Gevirtz is right, I think, when she states that this is a deliberate tactic.[22] This point seems confirmed, moreover, by Miriam's ironic observations within the novel about the value of literary discussions:

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[21]Paul de Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1984) pp. 67-68, cited in Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 123.

[22]Gevirtz refers to 'The Law of Genre' by Derrida, in which he argues that genre appears to be a description of literary types, a method of categorisation that owes much to the biological system of classifying species. But at the same time, description implies proscription. 'Thus as soon as genre announces itself', Derrida writes, 'one must respect a norm, one must not risk impurity, anomaly or monstrosity'. I agree with Gevirtz when she argues that it is precisely out of 'a gesture of disrespect for the norm' that Richardson chooses to transgress generic categories (*Narrative's Journey*, p.110. Gevirtz cites 'The Law of Genre' by Jacques Derrida, *Critical Inquiry* 7, Autumn 1980, p. 57).

> I don't care for novels ... I can't see what they are about. They seem to be an endless fuss about nothing. (I, 45)

Or,

> It seemed always to be useless and dangerous to talk about books. They were always about something else .... [...] Why must a book be a masterly study of some one single thing? (I, 61)

These passages express dissatisfaction with existing novels and narrative forms. The second extract specifically calls into question the usefulness of definitions ('why must a book be a masterly study of some one single thing?); to confine a book to one category, Miriam insists, is to have its meaning escape. This seems to be a self-reflective argument for the disruption of genre just discussed. At the same time, to have a character in a novel make disparaging comments about novels not only indicates Richardson's search for new forms, but also seems to be another instance of the subversiveness we have witnessed. The tone of these extracts, especially of the first, is defiant, rebellious and combative. To describe literary discussions as 'dangerous' is extremely interesting, for it seems to imply that novelistic forms and discourses are somehow linked with violence. Indeed, Richardson's project in *Pilgrimage* was to smash these structures.

An important part of Richardson's desire to reconfigure the novel, then, is the recognition that it is not only narrative conventions that are governed by gendered categories, but also generic classifications. Closely allied to this realisation is Richardson's belief that language itself is a masculine construct. In *Deadlock*, the novel-chapter in which she begins to write, Miriam argues that style is the property of men and of male writers particularly; men 'who feel the need for phrases'. For Miriam and for Richardson, the trouble with language is that it sets things 'in a mould that was apt to

come up again'. Richardson's solution to this dilemma, her way of shattering the 'mould', is a deliberate disruption of language.

The use of idiosyncratic or missing punctuation is one method by which Richardson achieves this linguistic disturbance. That her ideas about punctuation are deliberately and specifically linked to her novelistic vision is made clear in the Foreword to *Pilgrimage*, where she writes that 'feminine prose [...] should properly be unpunctuated, moving from point to point without formal obstruction' (I, 12). In her essay 'About Punctuation', she analyses the connections between the use of punctuation and the kinds of reading that various types of punctuation will cause. She argues that modern punctuation, and hence modern writing, are based on a masculine reading practice - the 'systematic separation of phrases' - which has 'devitalized the act of reading', and rendered it 'less organic, more mechanical'. Only in 'the slow, attentive reading demanded by unpunctuated texts' does 'the faculty of hearing [have] its chance', and become 'enhanced until the text *speaks* itself'.[23]

Another means by which Richardson achieves the disruption of language is to supplement the words on the page with an array of typographical devices: italics, ellipses, separated sections, blanks and spaces in the text. Radford argues that these devices represent

> the *unconscious* forces working within and through [Miriam's] consciousness ... Miriam frequently opposes silence to speech, emphasising 'the quality of the in-between silences' (III, 389) as a source of meaning. And in the text there are actually *printed silences* to register the activities of the unconscious which neither speech nor writing can

[23]Richardson, 'About Punctuation', *Adelphi* 1, April 1924, pp. 990-996.

reach. These blank spaces signal, more eloquently than any words, the blind spots of language and consciousness.[24]

I agree that *Pilgrimage*'s blank spaces indicate the 'blind spots' of consciousness, the inexpressible silences that are beyond speech. However, I also believe that Richardson's disruption of language functions in the same way as her break with narrative conventions and her rupture of genre - as a deliberate disturbance of reading practices, subverting our expectations, and preventing us from subsiding into a comfortable or fixed position. The following passage will serve to illustrate the effect of Richardson's typographical devices, and her use of idiosyncratic punctuation:

> Wide golden streaming Regent Street was quite near. Some near narrow street would lead into it.
>
> Flags of pavement flowing - smooth clean grey squares and oblongs, faintly polished, shaping and drawing away - sliding into each other .... I am part of the dense smooth clean paving stone ... sunlit; gleaming under dark winter rain; shining under warm sunlit rain, sending up a fresh stony smell ... always there ... dark and light ... dawn, stealing.
>
> Life streamed up from the close dense stone. With every footstep she felt she could fly.
>
> The little dignified high-built cut-through street, with its sudden walled-in church, swept round and opened into brightness and a clamour of central sounds ringing harshly up into the sky.

[24]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 69-70.

The pavement of heaven. (I, 416)

This passage features a variety of syntactic disturbances: erratic punctuation; fragmented phrasing; an assortment of typographical devices: ellipses, hyphens, and separated sections; composite or invented words; and a shift between first and third person narration. The opening locates Miriam at a particular geographical point - near Regent Street. There is a stress on fluid movement: 'streaming' Regent Street, the 'flowing' pavement. On a superficial level, this reflects Miriam's changing perspective as she walks along the road. But the sense of fluidity is also connected to Miriam's assertion 'I am part of the dense smooth clean paving stone'. Her sensation of merging with her surroundings is actually enacted in the language of the passage, by the way in which opposed elements blend into one another. The hard pavement becomes soft or liquid: 'flowing' and 'streaming'. The soft 'fl' sound of 'flags' and 'flowing', and the long vowels of 'smooth clean grey squares' contribute to this sense of liquidness or blending. In addition, rain merges into sun, winter into warmth, dark into light, the narrow street leads into wide Regent Street. Richardson's language contains a synaesthetic merging of senses - the paving stone smells 'stony'. There is even a 'blending' of narrative techniques: between the first and second spaced sections, the first person perspective merges into the third person; subject slips into object, in a shift from inner to outer. Everything is 'sliding into each other', the very language reflecting Miriam's sense of this mingling.

Richardson's punctuation reinforces the connected processes of journeying and of merging. In the third line of the extract, the prose is broken up into sections by hyphens, as the paving squares Miriam walks along are broken into blocks. These hyphens give way to ellipses at the exact moment at which Miriam states her merging with the pavement. As usual, the ellipses signal a level of activity not present in the text. Here, I would suggest that they indicate that Miriam is travelling towards an epiphanic moment; a state beyond words, which is inexpressible by mere language. And as if to illustrate this

insufficiency of language, the prose begins to break up into phrase fragments: 'always there ... dark and light ... dawn, stealing'.

The first section ends here, with the bringing in of dawn, which is redolent of promise and new beginnings. Indeed, dawn's promise is fulfilled in the next paragraph by 'life' streaming up from the paving stone. There is another opposition or paradox here: Miriam is still part of the pavement, life streams up to her directly from it, yet at the same time she imagines this connection with the ground empowers her to leave it in flight. Richardson has begun to separate each paragraph by blank spaces on the page. Put another way, the separation between words is increasing (from hyphens, through ellipses to blank spaces in the text), as though Miriam's wordless epiphany is gaining power. This is a journey on several levels. It is a physical journey, or walk, through the streets. But it is also a psychic journey from a mundane state of mind to an epiphany; from what can be expressed in words to what is wordless, and this is enacted in the way the typographical devices increasingly break up the words on the page.

The next paragraph, or the next stage on Miriam's walk, is the arrival at a church. On a symbolic level, I think this signals that we are entering the realm of the sacred. The almost Joycean word-composites: 'high-built', 'cut-through', 'walled-in' evoke the physical appearance of the street and the church with great compactness. But they may also allude to the narrowness and difficulty of the journey to an epiphanic state, as well as to the necessity of new language forms to express this state. The phrase beginning 'swept round and opened into brightness' is unpunctuated; we are bombarded with words in the same way that Miriam's senses are bombarded with a profusion of light and sound. There is a progression skywards: Miriam's sense of being able to fly and the bells ringing into the sky. This prepares the way for the climax of the epiphany and Miriam's destination, 'the pavement of heaven', whose significance is signalled by its separation from what precedes and follows in the text. Here is another paradox: heaven is at Miriam's feet, yet by its very nature, heaven is far away and hard to reach. The linking of

heaven and the pavement is ambiguous; as so often in Richardson's writing, the exact meaning is left open to the reader's interpretation. Perhaps it implies that heaven is reached through the journey to an epiphany, which in this instance has been achieved by the act of walking. In other words, an epiphany has literally been gained through the pavement.

In this passage, Richardson uses lush and sensual language to enact Miriam's process of reaching an epiphanic moment. Yet paradoxically, an epiphany is a higher insight, which is beyond words. Richardson expresses her sense of this through the use of feminine prose, which involves the disruption and rupture of language: free punctuation, the breaking up of the words on the page through the use of hyphens, ellipses and blank spaces, even the invention of new word-forms, as though existing language and language structures are insufficient to convey her vision. It should be added that Richardson's linguistic disruptions in *Pilgrimage* are not confined to Miriam's many ecstatic moments, although the disturbances do intensify at these times. I shall return to the idea of Miriam's epiphanies being linked to rupture and violence in my final chapter.

Thus, Richardson's literary disruptions discussed in this section - the break from narrative conventions, the subversion of genre and crossing of genre boundaries, and the disturbance of language - not only take up the challenge of the New Woman writers, but they carry it onto wholly new ground. I disagree with Gevirtz, however, when she states that Richardson arrives at her techniques of narrative disruption 'out of necessity, finding them to be the only means by which the revelation of the stranger [this refers to the "stranger in the form of contemplated reality", the personification of her novelistic vision that Richardson describes in her Foreword, I, 10] may be caught'.[25] Similarly, I disagree with the following statement from Hanscombe:

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[25]Gevirtz, *Narrative's Journey*, p. 29. This comment seems to contradict Gevirtz's previously cited remarks about Richardson's disruption of genre being 'a gesture of disrespect for the norm'.

> That [Richardson] exploded the form of the English novel, recast its parameters, dissected and reassembled the syntax of its sentences, were to her all inadvertent side effects of the pursuit of her technique.[26]

On the contrary, I think that all the evidence points to Richardson's tactics of literary disruption being deliberate and intentional. Indeed, there is a contradiction inherent in the language of Hanscombe's sentence - the same kind of contradiction that I noted in the Richardson criticism in my Introduction. Hanscombe appears to use terms like 'exploded', 'recast', 'dissected', and 'reassembled' without regard for the violence they imply. These terms are strangely at odds with Hanscombe's disclaimer that Richardson's disruptions were 'inadvertent' and 'side effects'.

Richardson ruptured and reversed literary conventions, turning them inside-out and upside-down. And I believe she was aware of, and desired, the violence inherent in this process. Indeed, literary violence was actually a strategy of her poetics of the novel.

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[26]Hanscombe, 'Dorothy Richardson Versus the Novvle', in Ellen G. Friedman and Miriam Fuchs (eds.), *Breaking the Sequence: Women's Experimental Fiction* (Princeton, New Jersey, Guilford, Surrey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 86.

MIRIAM AND THE NEW WOMAN: SOCIAL DISRUPTIONS

New Woman fiction is doubly relevant to *Pilgrimage*, for Dorothy Richardson personally lived the life of a New Woman. Following her mother's suicide in 1895 and the break up of her family, Richardson moved to London where she lived in a Bloomsbury boarding house and worked as a secretary to a Harley Street dentist at a salary of one pound per week. She had little leisure and was plagued by financial problems; nevertheless, her reward for this existence was a particular kind of freedom. She attended lectures and a wide variety of political meetings. *Pilgrimage* chronicles these events; the novel is rich in details about education, employment and living conditions for the single woman during the period 1891-1912. Miriam also indulges in activities typically associated with New Women, such as smoking cigarettes, taking bicycle lessons and denouncing petticoats. Like many New Woman heroines, Miriam spends a great deal of time (during the middle volumes especially), either in lengthy private speculation or in long discussions with her friends Jan and Mag about her position as a single working woman:

> 'I can't imagine anything more awful than what you call the sheltered life', said Miriam with a little pain in her forehead [...]
>
> 'For us, yes [...] we should die'.
>
> 'Of boredom'.
>
> 'Imagine not being able to turn up on Sunday morning in your knickers, with your hair down' [...]
>
> 'While the sheltered people are flushed with breakfast-table talk-'
>
> 'Or awkward silences'.
>
> 'The deep damned silences of disillusionment' [...]
>
> 'The men smoke'.

'[...] with the wife or somebody they are tired of talking to, on the doormat - as it were [...]'

[...] Miriam sprang to the hearthrug and waved her cigarette. 'Con-fu-sion to the sheltered life!' The vast open spaces of London swung, welcoming before her eyes [...]

'We certainly have our compensations [...] for all the things we have to give up [...] The things that belong to us. To our youth. Tennis, dancing - er, irresponsibility in general ...'

'I've never once thought about any of those things; never once since I came to town', said Miriam grappling with little anxious pangs that assailed her suddenly; dimly seeing the light on garden trees, hearing distant shouts, the sound of rowlocks, the lapping of water against smoothing swinging sculls [...]

'Freedom is life. We may be slaves all day and gutter-snipes the rest of the time, but, ach Gott, we are free'. (II, 90-92)

I have quoted this passage at length, because I believe that it reveals several significant points about Miriam as a New Woman. Firstly, there is the denunciation of marriage common to many New Woman novels; the view that marriage means constraint and the relinquishing of independence and individuality, with the wife invariably in a subordinate 'doormat' position. As I mentioned in my last chapter, Miriam's antipathy towards marriage and her inability to submit to a conventional 'wifely' role result in a string of abortive attachments which provide one of the recurrent themes in *Pilgrimage*. These failed relationships could also be said to constitute a resistance to nineteenth century narratives of courtship and marriage.

To demonstrate her challenge to the 'doormat' role here, Miriam takes up a 'masculine' position, standing in front of the fire (on the hearthrug), with her cigarette. Which brings

me to my next point: this passage features the convention-defying New Womanish activities of smoking cigarettes and advocating freedom of dress ('imagine not being able to turn up on Sunday morning in your knickers, with your hair down'). Miriam displays an obvious relish in her freedom, and in flying in the face of convention. Her freedom is imaged as a vision of the open spaces of London; an image which represents the break from the Ruskinian ideal of woman's sphere as the home, or, in Miriam's words, from 'the sheltered life'. However, freedom carries an underside of barely suppressed anxiety. Sheltered women may be stifled, but they exist in a state of exemption from financial responsibility. Miriam's almost involuntary flashback to her carefree home life holds a quality of nostalgia for a prelapsarian condition. Richardson's description of it is particularly intense and vivid: the detail of the 'lapping water against smoothing swinging sculls', for instance, evokes the sound of water against the oars through the onomatopoeia of 'lapping'. The near-repetition of 'smoothing' and 'swinging' also mimics the continuous rhythmic motion of the oars. Thus, the writing actually enacts the monotonously soothing experience of being on the water; by implication, 'the sheltered life' might hold a similar kind of monotonous, but soothing, security. The limitations to Miriam's freedom are, moreover, dramatised immediately after this conversation when, like H.G. Wells's Ann Veronica, she is accosted on the walk back to her boarding house by a man who mistakes her for a prostitute. I shall return to the theme of London in *Pilgrimage* in Chapter Four.

Miriam continues to vacillate between exaltation in her independent state and anxiety about poverty and the future. There are outbreaks of feminist anger in *Pilgrimage*, too, which are often related to working conditions for the single woman. Miriam understands how harsh life can be for women who have to support themselves financially. In *Deadlock*, for instance, she mentions an unemployed woman who throws herself out of the window because she owes twenty-five shillings rent (III, 75-76).

Chapter Three of *The Tunnel* consists of a long and detailed account of Miriam's working day. The discomfort of her environment is dwelt on in minute and realistic detail: the exhaustingly long hours, the cold which turns her fingernails blue, the drying effect of the cleaning solution used for dental instruments on her skin. Above all, she objects to the tedium of this poorly paid drudgery: 'were there any sort of people who could do this kind of thing patiently, without minding ... was it right to spend life cleaning instruments?' she asks herself (II, 40).[27] Later, in *Deadlock*, she protests at the unfairness of the employee's life, and gets the sack.

> In the train I saw the whole unfairness of the life of employees. However hard they work, their lives don't alter or get any easier. They live cheap poor lives, in anxiety, all their best years and then are expected to be grateful for a pension, and generally get no pension. I've left off living in anxiety; perhaps because I've forgotten how to have an imagination [...] And to prove my point individually I told him of things that were unfair to me and their other employees in the practice. (III, 179)

There is no mistaking the aggrieved and angry tone of this passage; Miriam is exhibiting a personal grudge and a form of social conscience. The prime example of unfairness that she holds up to her employer, Mr Hancock, concerns their differing opportunities to enjoy recreation: 'they sail off to their expensive week-ends without even saying good-bye, and without even thinking whether we can manage to have any sort of recreation at all on our salaries' (III, 179). Watts notes that the issue of leisure is extremely significant as a source of grievance, for it is 'an indication of the comfortable environment from which her family has "fallen" '. The subject of salaried employment in

[27]It should be noted that Miriam enjoys brief moments of satisfaction from her work (for instance, II, 65, II, 137), although these are outnumbered by complaints about the fatigue and boredom which accompany it.

Pilgrimage is inextricably bound to the subject of class: Miriam is the daughter of a financially irresponsible, middle-class father, whose bankruptcy drives her out of her class and forces her to earn her own living. But more importantly here, as Watts observes, the issue of leisure 'suggests a major precondition for [Miriam's] access to a creative life; in her regime of work she has "forgotten how to have an imagination" '. Watts points out that Miriam can only achieve the latter part of Virginia Woolf's famous dictum - that a woman needs £500 a year and a room of her own in order to write.[28] I think that Miriam's anger at the working conditions of women is at least in part related to the loss of class status, and to her restricted opportunities for writing. I shall return to the theme of feminist anger later in this chapter, when I discuss *Pilgrimage* in the context of suffragette fiction.[29]

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[28]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 43.

[29]Eldridge Miller notes that there are few New Woman novels or Edwardian novels which centre on a woman's work life. 'Given the novelty of women working in business and professional situations at this time', she observes, 'it is of interest that their experiences did not inspire more fiction' (*Rebel Women*, p. 213). Arnold Bennett's *Hilda Lessways* (1911), Violet Hunt's *White Rose of Weary Leaf* (1908), and Ivy Low's *The Questing Beast* (1914) are rare instances of novels in which the heroines' work is a significant part of their characterisation. There are several parallels between *Pilgrimage* and Low's novel in particular, and it is worth mentioning these briefly. Unfortunately, I have not found any evidence in Richardson's letters or other extraneous writings to suggest that she was familiar with this novel, or aware of its parallels with *Pilgrimage*.

The protagonist of *The Questing Beast*, Rachel Cohen, is a woman clerk at the New Insurance Society. Like *Pilgrimage*, the novel is rich in details about her disagreeable working conditions: Rachel's boredom and fatigue, and the backache which accompanies long hours sitting at a desk are dwelt upon in some length. Like Miriam, Rachel has financial worries, although this dilemma is solved at the end of *The Questing Beast* when Rachel publishes a successful novel. Both protagonists are aware of the multitude of other young women workers in London. 'It seemed impossible to get up early enough in London to avoid meeting girls starting for work', comments Rachel (*Questing Beast*, p. 83). Miriam - invoking a military metaphor - notes 'the increasing army of confident young women in the city' (II, 39). Both novels feature what Eldridge Miller calls 'modernism of content'. The workplace provides a fresh cast of characters - Miriam's dentists and Rachel's fellow office workers; a fresh fictional setting - the dental surgery and the office; and a fresh narrative impetus - a great deal of textual space is given to accounts of the working day.

Both heroines ultimately find fulfilment in writing. *The Questing Beast* ends with the publication and success of Rachel's book. *Pilgrimage* ends at the moment Miriam begins writing a novel. Thus, there is a structural similarity; the two works are self-reflective Kunstlerromanen. Another similarity shared by these novels is that both protagonists hold marginalised positions in society: Rachel Cohen is Jewish, Miriam is displaced from her class by her father's bankruptcy. Both have affairs with married men: Rachel with Giles Goodey, Miriam with Hypo Wilson. Both fall pregnant: Rachel has an illegitimate baby, Miriam suffers a miscarriage. Richardson and Low have broken from nineteenth century ideas about the idealisation of women and love. Their protagonists' anger, dissatisfaction and fallibility are allowed and depicted. Moreover, Rachel's and Miriam's lives do not fit neatly into the social patterns

Miriam's career follows a pattern made familiar by many New Woman heroines when her increasing symptoms of fatigue and nervousness culminate, in *Clear Horizon*, in a nervous breakdown. But far from signifying defeat, what begins as six months enforced rest from dental work turns out to be the start of a full-time career as a writer. This shows how far Richardson had travelled from the Victorian fictional endings of marriage or death for women.

There are two other important differences between Richardson and the New Woman writers, and these should be noted. Firstly, as Radford points out, *Pilgrimage* is a historical, retrospective novel, which means that at the time of writing, Richardson would have had access to 'the new discourses about women and femininity produced after the First World War - discourses which were not available to Miriam, nor to Egerton'.[30] Moreover, *Pilgrimage* recreates the closing decade of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth centuries from several different perspectives in the 1920s, the 1930s, and later, and this, as Miriam's remark at the end of *Pilgrimage* points out, makes a difference:

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privileged by the nineteenth century novel. Both novels resist linear narrative development which ends in the still hegemonic closure devices of marriage or death. Indeed, they challenge the centrality of love and marriage. As both titles indicate, these works are quest plots, which as I mentioned earlier is a traditionally masculine genre. Richardson and Low appropriate and subvert the quest plot; their heroines are searching for a new and independent way of life outside marriage. Both authors searched for new fictional forms to express their vision, although Richardson was the more radically experimental of the two. At the end of *The Questing Beast*, Rachel is given a polemical speech in defence of the need for realism. She complains that others have taken offence at the 'little, practical, unattractive details [in her novel], which have been part of their own experience'. Like the New Woman writers of the 'purity' school (which comprised the works of Sarah Grand, 'Iota', and Grant Allen; the phrase was coined by Hugh Stutfield in 'The Psychology of Feminism', *Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1897, pp. 104-107), Low's plea for realism has an educative purpose - that young people should be 'told things in a decent straightforward manner' (*Questing Beast*, p. 293). This is interesting when read in the light of Richardson's stated aim to produce 'a feminine equivalent of the current masculine realism'. Richardson wrote from a desire to reverse what she perceived as masculine systems of representation and lacks Low's explicitly educative purpose; her technique of dispersing plot interest into detail in *Pilgrimage* is a deliberate narrative disruption rather than an attempt at edification. But both authors - albeit for slightly different reasons - map the details of women's lives onto the novel. The contours of women's daily routines and their psychological and material realities are held up as legitimate subjects for fiction. These writers have created new narratives which are not only formally innovative, but function as critiques of the ideologies upon which traditional narratives are constructed.

[30]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 68-69.

> While I write ... The whole of what is called 'the past' is with me, seen anew, vividly. No, Schiller, the past does not stand 'being still'. It moves, growing with one's growth. (IV, 657)

As Radford observes, the past is continually reinterpreted through the present:

> But as the novels were written over a period spanning from 1912 to 1957, there is no fixed historical vantage point either - the only 'present' is the moment of writing (or reading) which like 'the past' it becomes can always be 'seen anew'. Certain incidents are presented very differently at different moments in the sequence with different effects ... Whatever the autobiographical sources of the material therefore, there is no steady progression towards the 'truth', no conception of the past *or* present as fixed or fixing meaning.[31]

In other words, the instant of writing or reading forms only one shifting point among several.

The second important difference between *Pilgrimage* and the New Woman novels is related to the problematization of gender categories and gender boundaries in Richardson's novel-sequence. As I noted briefly, a writer like Egerton reveals an essentialist view of a 'natural' women. 'In one word, the true womanly is of God's making', she writes.[32] Miriam also condemns 'the untrue feminine' and idealises 'the true womanly'. But her views on 'woman', which vacillate between denigration and idealisation, are in fact part of the problem, and not the solution. On the one hand,

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[31]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 69.
[32]'A Cross Line' in *Keynotes*, p. 42.

Miriam asserts the superiority of women. She expresses resentment towards men's lack of appreciation for women's values, for their inner qualities, which she believes are of a higher order than men's, and which she associates with images of abundance and magnitude: 'the knowledge of women is larger, bigger, deeper, less wordy than that of men' (II, 188). Miriam's - and Richardson's - fundamental differentiation is between the ways in which men and women think. The male tendency towards rational argument is opposed to female intuition. Richardson and Miriam see the world of women as limitless, unhampered by reductive and rationalistic masculine conventions and ideas. In an article written in 1929, Richardson cites Jung's 'persona' and 'anima' as the psychological basis of this division. She describes the uniqueness of the female psyche, with its ' "shapeless" shapeliness, which is its power to do what the shapely mentalities of man appear incapable of doing for themselves, to act as a focus for divergent points of view'. It is this ability to be 'all over the place and in all camps at once' which allows women to live completely in the present, to perceive both the diversity of experience and its immediacy.[33] In some ways, this view of women verges on an Egerton-like essentialism.

But at the same time, Miriam feels irritated and alienated by women: 'they would smile those hateful women's smiles [...] She loathed women' (I, 21). This strong ambivalence finds its roots in her early family life. As one of four daughters, unable to come to terms with 'her own disappointing birth as the third girl' (I, 32), Miriam is identified and identifies with her father - with a masculine position. (Charles Richardson often called Dorothy his 'son' as a compensation, apparently, for the lack of a male child.) As I mentioned in my last chapter, Miriam is portrayed as occupying a range of masculine postures. At other times, she sees herself as occupying a midway position between the sexes: 'I am something between a man and a woman, looking both ways' (II, 187). Miriam's equivocal and fluid gender identifications become a means of rethinking and

[33]Richardson, 'Leadership in Marriage', *Adelphi* 2, June-August 1929, p. 347.

redefining the question of 'woman'.[34] Thus, gender identity is represented not as straightforward or stable, a question of biological makeup or social conditioning as it is for Egerton, but as a position which a woman may choose to occupy - or even invent. Miriam's uncertainties about sexual identity are linked to her identification with the masculine, resulting in profound ambivalence about her role as a woman.

In conclusion, for Richardson, as for many New Woman writers, the project of redefining fiction was inextricably linked to the project of redefining women's roles in society. New, formally innovative narratives were needed to map the changes in women's lives. In other words, the disruptions to society caused by New Women were paralleled by disruptions to literary convention in the novels that depicted them. There is inevitably some seepage of content into form here, for the shift in content led to formal innovation. This section has focused on the content of Miriam's life as a New Woman, while showing that it is a life that involves the breaking of convention. Miriam is not part of mainstream society in the sense that she is unmarried and childless, and she does not wish to become a wife or mother. She has left the family home in order to work and live alone - in the case of *Pilgrimage*, this is connected to a rupture of class boundaries as well. Miriam becomes involved in a wide variety of unconventional activities, which range from voicing anger about working conditions for women to riding bicycles and smoking cigarettes. And just as Richardson goes further than the New Woman writers in her disruption of literary convention, so too Miriam goes further in her disruption of social boundaries. Not only does she succeed in this independent, convention-defying life, she also crosses class boundaries, and her identification with the masculine and ambivalence about her feminine role disrupt gender categories as well. In the same way that violence

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[34]See Radford, *Richardson* pp. 70-74, for a discussion of 'feminine identity as a form of masquerade'. Radford argues that Miriam 'is unable to define "woman" except in relation to their play-acting or masquerade'. In other words, 'refusing to play the part means in effect *refusing the part* so that for Miriam "genuine womanliness and the masquerade" turn out to be, in Riviere's phrase, "the same thing" '.

to literary convention was necessary to Richardson's poetics of the novel, violence to social convention was an integral part of Miriam's life.

PILGRIMAGE AND SUFFRAGETTE FICTION

The struggle for the vote produced an enormous quantity of writing on both sides of the issue, ranging from political pamphlets through autobiographies and memoirs to novels. Richardson was not a committed suffragette; she eschewed membership of the Women Writers' Suffrage League (the W.W.S.L.). This was founded in 1908 as an auxiliary of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and enjoyed the support of many of Richardson's contemporaries, including Violet Hunt, May Sinclair, Elizabeth Robins and Evelyn Sharp. Richardson's interest in the suffrage campaign arose primarily from her close friendship with Veronica Leslie Jones (Amabel in *Pilgrimage*) who became a militant suffragette. *Pilgrimage* contains descriptions of suffrage marches and demonstrations, and imprisonment in Holloway where Miriam visits Amabel.

Suffragette fiction is relevant to *Pilgrimage* in two senses. Firstly, there is the similarity of thematic material. What makes the shared subject matter especially pertinent to this thesis is that the militant suffragette campaign involved physical violence. Suffragettes took part in demonstrations that included hostile confrontations with men; in 1911, the Women's Social and Political Union (the W.S.P.U.) embarked on a systematic campaign of window breaking that continued until the outbreak of the First World War. Militant suffragettes also had to endure the bodily sacrifice of prison and hunger striking; they were forcibly fed - a violent abuse that is comparable to rape; moreover, actual sexual assaults (by policemen and bystanders) did take place when they were being arrested. Martha Vicinus likens membership of the W.S.P.U. to belonging to a spiritual army: 'by casting the struggle for the vote in terms of a battle, the leadership of the W.S.P.U. tapped into the rhetoric and idealism of the military'.[35] I shall be comparing the treatment of violence meted out to suffragettes in *Pilgrimage* and in suffragette fiction.

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[35]Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women* (London: Virago, 1985), pp. 260-261.

The second point of relevance is that both *Pilgrimage* and suffragette fiction contain literary violence, for both made a significant break with literary traditions and prevailing ideologies of British society. I shall examine *Pilgrimage* in the context of three works of suffragette fiction: *Rebel Women* (1910) by Evelyn Sharp, *No Surrender* (1911) by Constance Maud, and *Suffragette Sally* (1911) by G. (Gertrude) Colmore.[36]

There are obvious and important differences between Richardson's novel-sequence and suffragette fiction, and for this reason, my discussion will primarily focus on the aforementioned physical violence and literary innovations. But first, I shall detail these differences. Foremost among them is the fact that the suffrage question was not a central issue for Richardson as it was for writers of suffragette novels - in *Pilgrimage* it is merely an episode in a much longer narrative. Moreover, although Richardson is sympathetic towards suffragettes, she displays ambivalence towards the all-important issue of enfranchisement for women. 'I don't want a vote', Miriam declares. 'I want to have one and not use it. Taking sides simply annihilates me' (III, 394). Elsewhere in *Pilgrimage*, she elaborates on this theme: 'disabilities, imposed by law, are a stupid insult to women, but have never touched them as individuals'. Miriam believes that these disadvantages are unimportant because they are part of the 'poor and shaky' masculine achievement of civilisation (III, 218-219). Unlike the suffragette writers, Richardson does not believe that women have in any essential way been damaged because they have been denied legal and political rights. On the contrary, male-dominated civilisation has been impaired by its exclusion of women's values.[37] 'The point is', Miriam declares, 'there's no emancipation to be done':

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[36]I have decided not to include suffragette autobiographies by Emmeline Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, Hannah Mitchell and others in this account, because of Richardson's insistence that *Pilgrimage* is 'fiction' and not autobiography. As Richardson was basically sympathetic to the suffrage campaign, I have also decided to exclude anti-suffrage novels (of which the most famous is Mrs Humphrey Ward's *Delia Blanchflower,* 1914).

[37]In her essay, 'The Reality of Feminism', Richardson argues that man must recognise the special 'synthetic' quality of feminine consciousness with its ability 'to see life whole and harmonious' and to 'move, as it were, in all directions at once'. While men have gone on their futile quests for peace and wholeness, she states, women have always been in possession of inner emancipation: '[feminine]

> Women are emancipated [...] Through their pre-eminence in an art. The art of making atmospheres [...] Most women can exercise it, for reasons, by fits and starts. The best women work at it the whole of the time. Not one man in a million is aware of it. It's like air within the air [...] At its best it is absolutely life-giving. (III, 257)

This passage, with its vague and almost mystical references to 'atmosphere' and 'air within the air' fits Richardson's essentialist view of women. It suggests that women have exercised their particular talents in private, not public spheres, and have used people, not public institutions as their medium. Paradoxically, Miriam attacks supporters of women's rights for believing that 'women have been "subject" in the past'. This mistaken view, she declares, makes 'feminists [...] not only an insult to womanhood. They are a libel on the universe' (III, 219).

The second significant difference is that whereas *Pilgrimage* is a study of the subjectivity of a woman and thus entirely personal, the main purpose of suffragette fiction was political and propagandistic. Several writers of suffragette novels employed multiple narratives - either intertwining, multi-plot novels (as in the case of *No Surrender* and *Suffragette Sally*) or interconnected short stories (like *Rebel Women*) in order to display thematically and structurally, the collectivity and the unity of the movement. In contrast, Richardson is not concerned to depict the collectivity or the variety of the suffrage campaign. Miriam's primary interest in it is personal and private, not political, and arises from her intense attachment to Amabel. In addition, it was not the intention of suffragette writers to explore human conflicts or complexities, nor to be formally innovative. These authors avoided introspective or psychological fiction; thus, they

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consciousness has always made its own world, irrespective of circumstances. It can be neither enslaved nor subjected' (*Ploughshare* 2, September 1914, pp. 241-246).

remained distanced from Richardson's innovations concerning subjectivity and consciousness.

But despite its political intent, Elizabeth Robins, who became president of the W.W.S.L. in 1908, saw in suffragette fiction possibilities for a new direction for women's literature. As Elaine Showalter has observed, Robins understood 'that the suffrage campaign needed a new literature of female psychology to raise the middle class woman's consciousness about her life'.[38] Like George Egerton and Dorothy Richardson, she wanted to explore the 'terra incognita' of the female psyche:

> Let us remember that it is only yesterday that women in any number began to write for the public prints. But in taking up the pen, what did this new recruit conceive to be her task? To proclaim her own or other women's thoughts and feelings? Far from it. Her task, as she naturally and inevitably conceived it, was to imitate as nearly as possible the method, but above all the point of view, of men.
>
> The realisation that she had access to a rich and as yet unrifled storehouse may have crossed her mind, but there were cogent reasons for concealing her knowledge. With that wariness of ages, which has come to be instinct, she contented herself with echoing the old fables, presenting to a man-governed world puppets as nearly as possible like those that had from the beginning found such favour in men's sight.[39]

Robins echoes Egerton and Richardson in her recognition of the enslavement of women writers to male-oriented novelistic conventions and gender stereotypes, and in

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[38]Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own* (Princeton, New Jersey, Guilford, Surrey: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 224.

[39]'Women's Secret', W.S.P.U pamphlet in the collection of the Museum of London, p. 6, cited in Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, p. 224.

her belief that the only way to express women's unique sensibility and experience was through new fictional forms. The suffrage movement provided exactly the opportunity for women to write about experiences that were uniquely their own, without having to imitate or accede authority to male models. As Eldridge Miller writes,

> the suffrage campaign provided novelists with a new narrative desire for women (the vote), a new arena of activity (the public sphere of meetings and demonstrations), and a new cast of female characters (female comrades in the movement).[40]

These developments gave suffragette writers an opportunity to break away from the restrictiveness of narrative conventions, and from the modes of characterisation which underlay them.

[40]Eldridge Miller, *Rebel Women*, p. 127.

DISRUPTION OF NARRATIVE CONVENTIONS IN *PILGRIMAGE* AND IN SUFFRAGETTE FICTION

The chief struggle of the suffragette writers was against the tyranny of the romance plot. They wished to break away from the powerful conventions which linked marriage with feminine success, and this change of content led to formal innovation.

Sharp achieves her break from the romance plot by subordinating the personal to the political entirely. *Rebel Women* is wholly concerned with the challenge of public activity in and of itself, and omits personal details altogether. Most of Sharp's stories are given a public setting. There are no details of the suffragettes' personal appearance, family backgrounds or personal lives; the reader is left to judge them purely on the merits of their words and their deeds. One drawback to this strategy is that although Sharp refers to the special bond that arose between suffragettes, 'the sort of relationship, even when it is not an intimate relationship, that grows between people who are comrades in work or a cause',[41] she does not give herself the opportunity to develop this idea of female friendships and female communities.

The authors of *No Surrender* and *Suffragette Sally* are careful not to present marriage and feminism as mutually exclusive: both novels contain a romance narrative that coexists with the suffragette narrative. Maud and Colmore promote the view that feminist beliefs are conducive rather than damaging to marital and domestic happiness. In the words of Mary O'Neill, Maud's co-heroine, 'the cause of men and women cannot be divided. If the mother suffers, her boys as well as her girls suffer with her and through her' (*No Surrender*, p. 45). These writers explicitly use their heroines' romantic relationships to demonstrate that suffragettes are well-adjusted, healthy and attractive young women who do not conform to the hysterical, unsexed and man-hating image

[41] *Unfinished Adventure: Selected Reminiscences from an Englishwoman's Life* (London: John Lane, 1933), pp. 130-131, cited in Eldridge Miller, *Rebel Women*, p. 143.

promoted by the popular press. Although there is no propagandistic intention behind Richardson's portrayal of Amabel, the fact that she is a beautiful, vibrant girl, capable of close, loving relationships, also works to counteract negative stereotypes of suffragettes: 'and it was the sight of Amabel and these others that brought so many male pedestrians to the point of overcoming their British self-consciousness and stepping into the roadway to march alongside' (IV, 345).

Although *No Surrender* and *Suffragette Sally* allow the co-existence of marriage and feminism, both works indicate that ultimate fulfilment for their protagonists lies in suffragette work rather than in a romantic relationship. This is made clear by the fact that their romantic resolutions occur in the penultimate and not the closing chapters. A precondition for successful heterosexual relationships in these novels is that it is the men who enter into the female spheres of political activity and make adjustments to its demands, not the other way around. In *No Surrender*, for example, Joe, Jenny's boyfriend must be converted to the cause before she will give him a commitment. Significantly, it is Jenny who makes the declaration of love, not Joe. In the final chapter, Joe takes part in a suffragette march, carrying a banner for J.S. Mill. In *Pilgrimage* too, Miriam Henderson is often in love (she enjoys intimate relationships with men and women), yet Miriam's antipathy towards marriage, her difficulties with accepting a subordinate 'wifely' role, and her bisexuality constitute a resistance to nineteenth century courtship and marriage narratives. Thus - albeit for different reasons - both Richardson and the suffragette writers successfully broke away from the constrictions of the romance plot.

Instead of marriage resulting in the confinement of the woman in a private domestic sphere in *No Surrender* and *Suffragette Sally*, it draws the man into a public feminist sphere of political activity. By breaking down the boundaries between personal experience and political commitment, or between marriage and feminism, both Maud and Colmore were working to rupture the restrictive ideology of separate masculine and

feminine spheres. In *Pilgrimage* too, the boundaries between public and private domains are disturbed and transgressed, although in a slightly different way. Richardson presents the 'personal' material - the inner life of her protagonist - in a dialectical relationship with the 'public' - Miriam's life in a London boarding house and her work as a dental secretary. Thus, the split between public and private, inner and outer worlds is consistently challenged and 'exposed as part of the man-made conventions entrapping the heroine and the reader'.[42]

Both Maud and Colmore deliberately cross the border between fiction and non-fiction, commingling real events and people with imaginary ones. Both recount the story of Lady Constance Lytton, who was perturbed at receiving preferential treatment in prison, and disguised herself as a working-class woman. When she was arrested and imprisoned again, she began a hunger strike, and instead of being spared forcible feeding because of a heart condition (as she was when known as Lady Lytton), she was forcibly fed. As a result, her health was ruined, much to the embarrassment of the government when her real identity became known. *Pilgrimage*, which is a fictionalised autobiography, also uses actual events (for instance, the march of the militants on the House of Commons), and refers to significant leaders of the campaign. The novel-sequence mentions Amabel's meeting with Mrs Despard, leader of the Women's Freedom League, and contains a reverent description of the great woman (IV, 344). The transgression of the lines between fiction and non-fiction in these works constitutes a disruption of generic boundaries, which refers back to my earlier points about *Pilgrimage* and genre.

Sharp, Maud and Colmore all realised that it was necessary to avoid conventional closure in their books. Because of their link with an actual movement which was still in progress, the narratives had to remain inconclusive. Maud, for example, ends her novel with an account of a major suffrage march in London, which encapsulates in a single image the solidarity, power and uninterrupted forward progress of the campaign. But in

[42]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 48.

a more pervasive sense, it was necessary for these novels to evade linear narrative development leading to resolution, for this would entail privileging stasis over change, or reinforcement of the status quo, and would thus undermine the aims of the movement. As mentioned previously, *Pilgrimage* also resists conventional closure (although this fact bears no relation to Miriam's interest in the suffrage campaign - an interest which dies when Amabel becomes less central in her life, long before the final volume). Both *Pilgrimage* and suffragette fiction refuse linear narrative development leading to the traditional nineteenth century closure devices of marriage or death. Both strive to keep their narrative options open, refusing to give narrative satisfaction where there was none in real life.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE IN *PILGRIMAGE* AND IN SUFFRAGETTE FICTION

Rebel Women and *Suffragette Sally* are particularly interesting for their focus on the psychological conflicts which ensued when the movement took suffragettes out of their private sphere and into the public one. These conflicts are not portrayed in *No Surrender*, whose major weakness as a novel is its unbendingly optimistic and inspirational tone. Doubtless, Maud's intent was to show that suffragettes were ordinary likeable women, and to generate support for the cause. But there is a disturbing discrepancy between the novel's upbeat tone and the often grim and violent realities of the movement. Richardson is not concerned with the suffragettes' psychological battles either, for they do not form part of Miriam's own experience; she is more of an onlooker than an active participant.

Sharp's stories convey a vivid sense of what it actually felt like to participate in demonstrations, to speak at rallies, to interrupt political meetings and to be arrested and sentenced to prison. Sharp was intrigued by the psychological wrench which occurred when a suffragette was forced to break out of the Victorian tradition of gentleness and reticence in order to meet the demands of an increasingly militant movement. In 'Shaking Hands with the Middle Ages', for instance, she describes the emotions which accompany the uncharacteristically aggressive act of interrupting a political meeting:

> Sight and sound were blotted out as she took the opportunity, rose to her feet, and stared blindly up at the spot where she knew the speakers to be standing ... for a little space of time, a couple of seconds probably, her eyes went on seeing nothing, and her ears dimmed. She thought she had never known what it really felt like to be alone until this moment. (*Rebel Women*, pp. 35-36)

By focusing on the breakdown of the physical senses, Sharp evokes her protagonist's feelings of exposure, dislocation and isolation with some power, forcing the reader to live through the experience. Sharp's aim is to humanise the suffragettes; she uses realistic and recognisable characters to show that they are pleasant, unexceptional women who, although devoted to the cause, are confused and sometimes even traumatised by the unusual situations they find themselves in. But because Sharp omits all personal details, her presentation of these conflicts is less compelling than Colmore's sensitive examination of the personal toll of the militant suffragette movement. Colmore uses the intertwining narratives of three women to investigate the various ways in which women from different social backgrounds reacted to the movement and its requirements, and to describe the friendships that evolved across classes. These women are Lady Geraldine, a married upper-class woman who is selflessly devoted to the campaign, even though she risks losing her husband's support; Edith, a middle-class woman who believes she must choose between love and the suffrage movement; and Sally, a working-class woman who sacrifices her chance of marriage in her commitment to the cause.

Suffragette Sally is also unique in its frank account of the hardships faced by working-class women and its focus on their position in the campaign. Colmore draws attention to the link between the economic oppression of working-class women and their sexual oppression: Sally, who is a housemaid, is forced to endure the unwelcome attentions of her employer. This underscores the fact that while suffrage is mainly a matter of principle for women like Lady Geraldine and Edith, for working class women it is of immediate and personal relevance. The contrast between Lady Geraldine's experience of prison and forcible feeding and Sally's also reflects how different it was for working women to join the militant movement. Sally's health is ruined by her time in prison and being forcibly fed, and she dies shortly after her release.

All of this demonstrates that although *Suffragette Sally* clearly has a propagandistic purpose, Colmore does not, like Maud, present a falsely idealised picture of the suffrage

campaign. But there is one important aspect of the militant movement about which she is reticent - namely the violence, anger and sexual antagonism that were an inevitable part of it. This reticence is shared by all the suffragette writers I have discussed,[43] even though their work is permeated by images of war:

> This is the kind of thing you get on a bigger scale in war ... Same mud and slush, same grit, same cowardice, same stupidity and beastliness all round. The women here are fighting for something big; that's the only difference. Oh, there's another, of course; they're taking all the kicks and giving none of 'em back. I suppose it has to be that way round when you're fighting for your souls and not your bodies. (*Rebel Women*, p. 13)

This passage - as Vicinus noted of the W.S.P.U. - taps into 'the rhetoric and idealism of the army'; here, the association with war is made explicit. But Sharp is also careful to emphasise that the suffragettes are the helpless victims of violence, not the aggressors. She presents a generalised description of violent combat, from the exterior. It is significant that the only stories in the collection which depict episodes of violence ('The Women at the Gate' and 'Shaking Hands with the Middle Ages') are written in the third person. This shift from the narrative 'I' of the majority of the other stories works to distance the reader from the intimate reality of the militant tactics which were such a contentious aspect of the suffrage campaign. Neither here, nor elsewhere in Sharp's few descriptions of violent encounters between men and suffragettes, are we allowed insight into the emotions of the women involved.

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[43]It should be noted that suffragette autobiographies tend to be less reticent about violence than suffragette novels. For instance, Emmeline Pankhurst explicitly describes the violence meted out to suffragettes on Black Friday (*My Own Story*, London 1914. Cited in Midge Mackenzie, *Shoulder to Shoulder*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1979, p. 167). Lady Constance Lytton gives a graphic and personal account of a forcible feeding (*Prisons and Prisoners*, London: Heinemann, 1914, pp. 268-270). However, for reasons already stated, I have decided not to include suffragette autobiographies in this account.

Colmore's depictions of violent encounters between suffragettes and men are also brief, and they too avoid consideration of what it must have felt like to be engaged in hostile combat with men. Surely for Edwardian women the shift into violent tactics could not have been achieved without enormous cost. They were rupturing established notions of female propriety, respectability and femininity, while repudiating attempts to vilify them as viragoes. But Colmore declines to enter into a revelation of this conflict. She constructs a very convincing argument for the necessity of violent protest through the speeches of Lady Geraldine, but the actual acts of violence are always quickly skimmed over. She also evades the fact that women did fight back; her suffragettes are always portrayed as innocent victims.

Colmore describes the sexual assaults that took place on Black Friday,[44] but the aloof style she adopts precludes any consideration of the anger and helplessness the suffragettes must have experienced, not to mention their feelings of defilement. Also, she never makes the connection between forcible feeding and rape; both are brutal physical expressions of sex antagonism. Colmore again reverts to a distanced style when she writes about a forcible feeding; she describes an unknown woman who functions as a kind of everywoman, representative of all those who undergo the horror:

> Very wide now the doctors open her mouth, just as wide as the jaws will stretch, and the gag is fixed so that the teeth cannot close. Then down the throat goes an indiarubber tube, not too small.
>
> She is choking now, or feels as if she were, all the agony and the horror of suffocation is upon her. It seems as if it would never stop, the passing of that tube, the delicate mucous membrane is hurt and irritated; the choking, the sensation of not being able to breathe, grow worse and worse. (*Suffragette Sally*, p. 205)

[44]Gertrude Colmore, *Suffragette Sally*, p. 303.

Despite the precision of detail about the techniques of implementing forcible feeding and the character's choking sensations, there is an impersonality about this account - created by the woman's anonymity, and fostered by the use the definite article 'the' (as in 'the teeth', 'the throat') instead of the third person pronoun 'her'. Like the episodes of public violence, this impersonality dispels sexual tension, and avoids consideration of how the victim (and the doctors performing the procedure) must have felt.

Richardson, too, makes the association between the militant campaign and actual war explicit when she refers to a suffragette march as 'a real army' (IV, 323). Interestingly, she also downplays the violence which was an inevitable part of the militant movement. Amabel's arrest, for instance, is described as a hilarious prank:

> 'She and I rolled out of the meeting ... led the way ... arm-in-arm, down the street'. Her eyes appealed for mirth, delighted mirth over an intense clear vision of the defiant law-breaker, the smasher of outrageous barriers [...]
>
> 'The two policemen appeared from nowhere, took our outside arms in their great paws, and there we were!'
>
> 'Arrested'.
>
> 'I politely asked my bobby if I was arrested. "That's right, miss", he said'. (IV, 349)

Amabel is recounting the story of her arrest to Miriam as an event that is already in the past. Thus, it lacks the immediacy of an eyewitness account, which, like Sharp's switch to the third person, has the effect of distancing the reader. The tone of the passage is determinedly - almost hysterically - upbeat. Amabel's high spirits recall the delight of Jenny, Maud's heroine, in interrupting political meetings and private parties in different

disguises; both are like cheeky heroines from a comic novel. Amabel is deliberately acting the role of 'defiant law-breaker', a position which enables both Miriam and Amabel to avoid consideration of the disturbing implications of the scene. However, darker undercurrents are present if one looks for them. Amabel's eyes 'appealed' for mirth; the word 'appealed' holds connotations of earnestness - of begging, almost - which belie her apparent lightheartedness. Moreover, violence is present in the metaphorical language of the passage, if not in the description of actual events. Amabel is a 'defiant law-*breaker*', a '*smasher* of outrageous barriers' (emphasis mine). 'Smasher' is particularly suggestive of violence; it implies destruction beyond repair, the dealing of a crushing blow. 'Outrageous' presumably means offensive, but also holds connotations of violence or abuse. Richardson has displaced the scene's implicit aggression onto her metaphorical language. The ellipses, too, mark a level of activity that is not present in the account. Here, I would suggest that they point to the violence, hostility and sex antagonism which surely must have been part of the episode; not to mention the trauma of Amabel's impending imprisonment.

Unlike Colmore, who provides starkly realistic documentation of life in prison, Richardson plays down the horror of Miriam's visit to Amabel in Holloway. Whereas Colmore gives graphic accounts of solitary confinement and punishment cells, Richardson does not refer to the austerity of prison conditions, nor does she mention the inordinately harsh treatment meted out to suffragettes. This omission is made especially striking when the two texts are read in conjunction. As with the depiction of Amabel's arrest, the traumatic elements of the scene are repressed or denied - surely this meeting must have been painful for both Miriam and Amabel. Richardson's treatment of the prison episode is remarkably similar to that of the arrest. Amabel again consciously assumes a role; this time, of tragic martyr. This works to detach both characters and reader from the inhumanity of prison. For instance, Amabel is at first unrecognisable in her ugly prison uniform, but the shock Miriam must have experienced at seeing her thus

is modified by the fact that Amabel is performing a part; her cap is deliberately 'set, as if to accentuate pathos, a little dismally askew' (IV, 358). Like the arrest scene again, there is a slightly hysterical focus on the absurd: 'after all, she was in a sense a hostess and oneself a visitor expecting to be welcomed' (IV, 358). And the tension of the visit is dispelled in an outbreak of hysterical laughter.

It is not until Amabel has left London and the episode has receded into the past that Richardson enlarges upon the disturbing details of Amabel's time in prison. Miriam imagines Amabel telling her 'prison stories' to a cousin she is visiting, 'in open sunlight, surrounded by sunlit flowers' (IV, 369). This idyllic backdrop distances the episode, enabling Miriam (and Richardson) to view it 'coolly and critically':

> It was certainly true that someone had fainted in the Black Maria, after a foodless, exciting day in the stifling police court, and had had to 'stay fainted' until she came round. And certainly 'the worst' occurred in the inevitably verminous reception room where, still foodless and untended, they all remained, with only just space to stand, for hours. A Black Hole of Calcutta [...] they must have had to wait at least until the resentful, contemptuous wardresses, their number not increased to deal with this influx of tiresome females who had 'no business' to be there making extra work, had finished their usual duties and were free to attend to them. It was true, too, that they were weighed in their chemises and, on their departure in their outdoor clothes, in order to prove that they had put on weight. No one could have invented that. Also that they were bathed in dubious water, and had had their clean heads washed, before getting at last to their cells and the grey cocoa. (IV, 369-370)

This extremely compressed catalogue of events differs markedly from Richardson's usual lengthy, detail-packed style. Its brevity suggests that she wished to pass over the subject as quickly as possible. Phrases like 'and certainly', 'it was true too', and 'no one could have invented that' lessen the extract's impact, for they imply that Miriam is trying to glean the 'truth' of the experience from Amabel's possible inventions. The passage is also unusual for Richardson in that it is a generalised rather than a personal description, and it focuses entirely on external details and objective fact. We are offered no insight into how it must have felt to experience these indignities, nor how Miriam felt knowing what Amabel had to suffer. Nevertheless, the writing is coloured by a kind of grim anger. The only glimpse of interiority occurs at the end of the chapter when, almost as an afterthought Miriam adds: 'towards the end of the fortnight, hearing her wardress speak kindly to a cat, she wept' (IV, 370). Nothing is stated directly, but the fact that Amabel was moved to tears by kindness shown to a cat hints at her feelings of isolation, and her longing for human sympathy.

CONCLUSION

This chapter examines the connected themes of social and literary rupture in *Pilgrimage*, arguing that both of these constitute forms of violence. At the same time, it compares Richardson's work to the New Woman novels of the 1890s and the suffragette fiction of the first decade of the twentieth century.

The chapter asserts that *Pilgrimage* starts from the formulations of the New Woman writers, and it explores the ways in which Richardson's work continued and extended the New Woman writers' challenge to traditional narrative forms: *Pilgrimage* disrupts narrative conventions, genres, and even the medium of language itself. These disruptions deliberately break convention and disturb reading practices, subverting our expectations and preventing us from subsiding into a comfortable or fixed position. Richardson's literary disruptions take the challenge of the New Woman writers onto wholly new ground. I disagree with critics like Gevirtz and Hanscombe that Richardson's literary disruptions were inadvertent. I believe that she was aware of, and desired, the violence inherent in her reversal and rupture of literary traditions. Indeed, literary violence was a deliberate strategy of her poetics of the novel.

I then examine the content of Miriam's life as a New Woman, arguing that it is a life which involves the breaking of convention. I note important differences between *Pilgrimage* and New Woman novels: *Pilgrimage* is a historical, retrospective work; it also represents gender identity not as straightforward or stable as it is for a writer like Egerton, but as a position which a woman may occupy or even invent. I conclude that just as Richardson's writing extends the New Woman authors' disruption of literary convention, so too Miriam goes further in her disruption of social norms and boundaries. She succeeds in her independent, unconventional life; she also transgresses class boundaries, and her identification with the masculine and uncertainties about sexual identity disrupt gender categories as well. Just as violence to literary convention was

necessary to Richardson's novelistic strategy, violence to social convention was an intrinsic part of Miriam's life.

The next section compares *Pilgrimage* with suffragette fiction, focusing on the treatment of violence endured by suffragettes, and literary innovations. It concludes that although, unlike Richardson, suffragette writers were not concerned with formal innovation for its own sake, they discovered that the nineteenth century legacy of traditional narrative conventions and female stereotypes was founded upon, and preserved, the very social structures they wanted to reform. Consequently, they had to disrupt traditional narrative conventions in order to write about the suffragette cause. Chief among these disruptions was their break from the restrictions of the romance plot. Instead, suffragette writers substituted a quest narrative, and romantic impetus was either discarded completely, or made secondary to the desire for the vote. Richardson, too, rebelled against the constrictions of the romance plot, and *Pilgrimage*, as the title's Bunyanesque echoes indicate, has a quest motif (although in Richardson's case, the pilgrimage is towards self-awareness rather than towards the vote). Both *Pilgrimage* and suffragette fiction repudiate romance and marriage as the heroine's chief desire, both reject linear narrative development leading to the still hegemonic closure devices of marriage or death, both reject traditional gender stereotypes and roles, both challenge the restrictive ideology of separate spheres, both rupture class divisions, and transgress the boundaries between fact and fiction. Thus, suffragette fiction prefigures *Pilgrimage* in its forging of important formal and ideological innovations, and in its rupture of literary traditions and of the prevailing ideologies of British society.

Although novels like *Rebel Women* and *Suffragette Sally* are interesting for their focus on the psychological conflicts which ensued when the movement took suffragettes out of the private sphere and into the public one, the suffragette writers I examine are reticent about the violence, anger and sexual antagonism that were part of the militant movement. In her evasion of the violent aspects of Amabel's arrest and imprisonment,

Richardson too fits into this pattern. Eldridge Miller attributes the avoidance of portrayals of violence in suffragette fiction to the fact that in British society, the ultimate taboo for women 'was not the expression of sexuality, but the expression of anger and power'.[45] Although this may, to some extent, be true for Richardson too, there is no such avoidance of violence elsewhere in her writing. Her focus on episodes of torture and abuse in *The Quakers; Past and Present* shows that she is not reluctant to dwell on physical violence if the context is impersonal to her. Moreover, *Pilgrimage* contains violence on several different levels: violent metaphorical language, deliberate violence to literary and social conventions, and Miriam's own feminist anger and general battle-readiness.

Richardson's description of Amabel's experience as a suffragette is similar to the portrayal of Mrs Henderson's suicide, insofar as both are presented in a distanced way: Amabel's arrest and her time in jail are rendered humorous, and are often reported once they are in the past; Mrs Henderson's death is represented by a blank space in the text. Both episodes function as counter-examples to the argument of this thesis, for both depict extremely violent events in such a way as to lessen their impact. Their violence is diffused and dissolved into the novel-sequence's flow. There seems to be a pattern: Richardson shies away from describing physically violent events when they concern someone she and Miriam were close to and cared about. I shall return to Richardson's countertendency against violence in my final chapter.

[45]Eldridge Miller, *Rebel Women*, p. 155.

CHAPTER FOUR

ACTS OF ACCOSTING: THE DARKER SIDE OF LONDON IN *PILGRIMAGE*

The importance of London as a theme in *Pilgrimage* has frequently been noted. Writing in 1931, John Cowper Powys called Richardson 'a Wordsworth of the city of London'.[1] More recently, Radford and Watts have explored the significance of urban spaces in Richardson's novel-sequence. Radford argues that Richardson 'uses the city of London to represent the mind and body of a woman', and shows how women's new freedoms at the turn of the century are imaged in *Pilgrimage* 'as both a room of one's own *and* freedom of the streets, as if to stress the struggle for mental and physical "space" '. Radford briefly notes the similarities between Woolf's essay 'Street Haunting' (1930) and many of Richardson's characteristic points about the city. This is followed by an analysis of Richardson's spatial imagery. 'Space' and 'spaciousness' are terms used throughout *Pilgrimage* 'to refer to the character's aspirations, her desire for growth or self-realisation'. In London, Richardson finds 'a figure sufficiently complex and various to textualise "the history of a woman's life" '. Radford concludes her discussion by observing that, in contrast to many male writers of the period, Richardson uses London, the city, primarily as a positive image.[2]

Watts notes that London offers Miriam new freedoms, but that she is simultaneously burdened by the need to earn a living: 'through Miriam, Richardson explores the disjunction between the prospect of emancipation and the world of work'. Watts, too, compares Richardson with Woolf, commenting that the crucial difference between these writers is Richardson's refusal to let go of 'the consequences of the world of work'. However much Miriam 'might desire and occasionally achieve the luxury of Woolf's

[1]John Cowper Powys, *Dorothy M. Richardson* (London: Village Press, 1974, first published in 1931), pp. 19-20.
[2]Radford, *Richardson*, Chapter 3: 'London: space for a woman', pp. 44 - 65.

leisured perception ... there is always an anxiety at her own dislocation'. Watts proceeds to decipher the 'difficult hieroglyphics' of Miriam's class dilemma by examining the way Miriam moves through the city itself, paying particular attention to places that are both public and private (such as Miriam's workplace and the cafes she frequents) 'because they present in condensed form ... what it means in social terms for Miriam to make her journey - the passage of a woman from the domestic private interior ... into the male arena of public life'. Watts then considers Miriam's encounter with Jewishness, 'a measure simultaneously of the idealism of Miriam's modernity and its at times blind nationalist - and xenophobic - limits'. She concludes that one of the problems of Richardson's method is 'the novel's lack of distance from its materials, the seeming randomness of its form'. Yet *Pilgrimage* 'carries on searching for a position of distance nevertheless, via a notion of women's experience and, centrally, its connection with cinematic form'.[3]

These illuminating approaches conform to the general critical opinion of Richardson, insofar as they view the city in *Pilgrimage* as one more arena in which to examine Richardson's refusal of closure. As mine is a thesis about violence, I shall be taking a different angle on London. I am going to focus on a particular type of confrontation which occurs when Miriam leaves the relative security of her boarding-house to walk the streets. I am referring to the sexual accosting of women by men in public spaces. Instances of accosting crop up regularly, both in *Pilgrimage* and in other fiction of the period. In Wells's *Ann Veronica* (1909), for instance (to choose an example by a male author), the heroine is accosted by a 'middle-aged gentleman' as she strolls through Piccadilly (*Ann Veronica*, p. 80). Miriam is similarly approached in *The Tunnel*, while walking back to her boarding house late at night (II, 96). These encounters show that for middle class women, there is an underside to having the freedom of the streets, an accompanying corollary of fear and violence. The regularity with which accosting occurs

[3]Watts, *Richardson*, Chapter 3: 'A London Life', pp. 39-57.

suggests its significance as a subject in modernist writing, for it dramatises the limitations of women's increased freedoms.[4]

The heart of my chapter, then, will consist of an examination of the various ways in which Miriam registers acts of accosting - aggressive, predatory male behaviour towards women. I also want to consider Miriam's encounters with beggars, which are linked to the accosting passages insofar as both display the violence of shock. I shall include a comparative analysis of Virginia Woolf's treatment of London, accosting and beggars (with brief reference to May Sinclair and H.G. Wells), which will shed further light on Richardson's preoccupation with violence.

[4]This point is taken up by Janet Wolf in her essay 'The artist and the *flaneur*: Rodin, Rilke and Gwen John in Paris' (in *The Flaneur*, Keith Tester [ed.], London: Routledge, 1994, pp 111-137). Wolf notes that Marie Bashkirtseff was often harassed by people in the street while she was on sketching expeditions and forced to return home. Similarly, Gwen John was 'invariably approached, propositioned or threatened' when she ventured into the public arena. Wolf argues that this actually influenced John's choice of 'the interior' as subject matter for her paintings.

SETTING THE SCENE

Before turning to a detailed analysis of instances of accosting, I want to make a few general comments about Richardson, Woolf and London. Some of these are a re-covering of familiar ground, but I think it is important to set them down here, because they provide a context for my later remarks.

Miriam arrives in London at the beginning of *The Tunnel*, the fourth volume of *Pilgrimage*. Her move from the security of the Victorian family home, via two teaching posts and a spell as a governess (these events are chronicled in the first three volumes) to an independent life in London, is a familiar pattern in the fiction of the period - one example being *Ann Veronica*. This move corresponds to an actual social transformation. Reforms in educational and professional institutions opened up a wider range of career opportunities for women than had ever previously been available. In addition, better policing and lighting in central London, an expanding underground system, bicycles, and more relaxed codes of respectability meant increased physical freedom. The nineteenth century ideology of separate spheres for men and women, advocated by John Ruskin, was breaking down. Women were no longer confined to the home, which Ruskin regarded as 'a sacred place, a vestal temple, a temple of the hearth watched over by household gods', and dependent for its sanctity on the presence of the 'true wife' within.[5]

Thus, in gender terms Miriam's move to London marks a break from the Ruskinian ideal of the woman, and a step towards independence and self development. In class terms, it has a different significance. Following her father's bankruptcy, her mother's suicide, and the disintegration of family life, it marks her downward mobility from being 'the daughter of a gentleman' to becoming a wage earner. This point is crucial in shaping her perception of London.

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[5]John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1865), pp. 148-149.

For Miriam, there are many advantages to the freedom and independence of London life. Not least of these is the anonymity offered by a large city, 'the sense of being swept across in an easy curve drawn by the kindly calculable swing of the traffic, of being a permitted co-operating part of the traffic' (II, 373-4). What is striking here is the fluidity of the writing: 'swept', 'an easy curve', 'drawn', 'swing'. Fluidity is also manifest in Miriam's sense of merging with the traffic. Her anonymity is almost always perceived positively; it allows her to exist in a freer ungendered state: 'she would be again, soon ... not a woman ... a Londoner' (II, 26-27). The anonymity of London releases Miriam not only from conflicts of gender identity, but also from anxieties about family disgrace, financial troubles and loss of class status. The outside world 'relieved the sense of pressure, of being confronted and challenged' (I, 158). Miriam responds with exuberant gratitude; *Pilgrimage* is punctuated with ecstatic descriptions of the city:

> her joy in the changing same same song of the London traffic; the bliss of post offices and railway stations, cabs going on and on toward unknown space; omnibuses rumbling securely from point to point, always within the magic circle of London. (III, 85-86)

Once again, the fluidity of the prose when Miriam and Richardson are enjoying London is notable. London is invested with an almost mystical status; the sound of the traffic is a 'song', the city a 'magic circle'. The description contains oppositions, which I think are here absorbed by the fluidity of the writing: the sound of the traffic is changing yet the same; adventure is suggested by the 'unknown space', but this is enclosed 'within the magic circle', which implies safety.

As Radford and Watts have noted, the city plays a variety of roles in *Pilgrimage*, changing its meaning from text to text, or within a text.[6] It is variously imaged as a City

[6]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 50, and Watts, *Richardson*, p. 47.

of Destruction (I, 428), or a Celestial City (I, 416), according to Miriam's mood. Specific areas may be associated with particular events (the Teetgens Teas street, for example, reminds her of her mother's suicide), or with more general states of mind. The suburbs of North London represent confinement, the constrictions in Miriam's life ('the small dim gardens of little grey houses ... shabby and ugly', II, 194-195), while spacious Bloomsbury is linked with refuge, and a sense of possibilities: 'she [was] safe in Bloomsbury, in the big house, the big kind streets' (II, 146).

London also opens up a world of intellectual ideas; Miriam attends a range of scientific lectures and political meetings. The city represents freedom and adventure ('London was like a prairie', II, 156). It is sometimes a challenge (as when Miriam ventures alone into Donizetti's restaurant for the first time, II, 358-60), and always a consolation: 'she wanted to ride about [...] inside London until her misery had passed' (II, 145). Here, it is as though the city is a second skin, a protective breastplate. The city is also a companion and friend; a backdrop to her thoughts, which enables her to reach her inner, authentic self: '[she gazed] inward along the bright kaleidoscope vistas that came unfailing and unchanged whenever she was moving, alone and still, against the moving tide of London' (III, 114). Again, this writing is characterised by oppositions incorporated into fluidity; 'kaleidoscope' suggests bright, changing objects, yet Richardson explicitly states that they are 'unchanged'; also, Miriam is 'moving' but 'still'.

Elsewhere, the city is even imaged as an alternative male suitor:

> What lover did she want? No one in the world would oust this mighty lover, always receiving her back without words, engulfing and leaving her untouched, liberated and expanding the whole range of her being. (III, 272)

London is an idealised lover, welcoming yet wordless, 'engulfing' yet permitting liberation. It provides an outlet for Miriam's sexuality,[7] while leaving her essential being intact. Real-life lovers are problematic for Miriam precisely because she feels that her identity is threatened by them. As we have seen, her anxieties about being 'engulfed' in a wifely role are reflected in a series of failed relationships.

The city is also presented as a maternal presence, full of 'the sound of the sea' (I, 421), offering a blissful 'oblivion deeper than sleep ... within the vast surrounding presence' (III, 272). These images are suggestive of nurture, plenitude and magnitude. London provides motherless Miriam with a substitute maternal figure, but without the conflicts and contradictions of the real-life relationship.

The central point about London's multi-faceted role is that Richardson's descriptions of the city function as more than a mere document of social history. As Radford notes, London in the text operates on another level,

> as a figuration of a woman's fantasies: her fantasy, for example, of an ideal environment in which the conflicts and divisions of everyday life no longer exist, a place where one might return to an imaginary unity.[8]

I shall be arguing that London also operates as a figuration of far darker fantasies than Radford allows here. Because of its size and infinite diversity, the city can be anything Miriam wants it to be. Richardson's descriptions of London register the importance of fantasy in psychic life, and this point is crucial to my discussion of accosting in Richardson and other women writers.

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[7]See Radford, *Richardson*, pp 56-57: 'using a cityscape rather than the landscape employed by Charlotte Bronte or George Eliot, the street descriptions [in *Pilgrimage*] chart the various outlets for female sexuality'.
[8]Radford, Richardson, p. 61.

Although Katherine Mansfield's writing could justly be called a celebration of the city, it is Virginia Woolf's use of London, more than that of any other female writer of the period, which reveals numerous parallels with Richardson's, and some important differences as well. In Woolf's essay 'Street Haunting',[9] the narrator remarks on the anonymity London offers to the woman stroller. In *Pilgrimage* Miriam becomes 'not a woman but a Londoner' (III, 272), while for Woolf's narrator,

> We are no longer quite ourselves ... we shed the self our friends know us by and become part of that vast republican army of anonymous trampers, whose society is so agreeable after the solitude of one's own room. ('Street Haunting', p.155)

This passage reveals an interesting difference between the literary registers of Richardson and Woolf. Woolf's descriptions of London do not possess the same fluidity; her characters 'tramp', while Miriam is 'swept', or glides. Like Miriam, the narrator of this essay finds it 'agreeable' to become anonymous, and is happy to shed the subjectivity of 'I' for the more impersonal observing 'eye' of the text ('Street Haunting', p.156). Woolf's novels, however, reveal some ambivalence about the impersonality of London. In *The Years* (1937) for instance, Charing Cross is likened to 'the piers of a bridge; men and women were sucked in instead of water' (*The Years*, p.190). Whereas Miriam is glad to escape from class and gender anxieties into benevolent anonymity, Woolf's characters have no need of this refuge. Continually seeking 'a pattern; a theme, recurring, like music; half remembered; half foreseen' (*The Years*, p. 297), they are bewildered and threatened by their personal insignificance in the face of city crowds.

London holds a variety of different roles and meanings for Woolf too. I think that the idea of Richardson's London acting as a trigger for fantasy applies equally well to Woolf.

[9] *Collected Essays* IV (London: Hogarth Press, 1967), pp. 155-166.

In fact, their descriptions of London are often strikingly similar. Both writers occasionally use apocalyptic imagery: 'the fiery gauze of the eternally burning city' (*The Years*, p. 105); 'her pillar of cloud and fire' (*Pilgrimage*, III, 107). Like Richardson, Woolf habitually images London as freedom and adventure, as in Elizabeth Dalloway's bus ride across town (*Mrs Dalloway*, 1925, pp. 147-152). 'Street haunting in winter [is] the greatest of adventures', remarks the narrator in the essay of the same name (p. 166). Richardson likens London to 'a prairie' (*Pilgrimage*, II, 156), while Elizabeth Dalloway is 'a pioneer .. venturing, trusting' (*Mrs Dalloway*, p.151). Like Miriam, Rose Pargiter consoles herself for disappointment in love with views of London (*The Years*, p. 131). Like Miriam again, Elizabeth Dalloway regards London as a thought-provoking backdrop:

> buildings without architects' names, crowds of people coming back from the city having more power than single clergymen in Kensington, than any of the books Miss Kilman had leant her, to stir what lay slumbrous, clumsy and shy on the mind's sandy floor ... (*Mrs Dalloway*, p.150)

This wry tone is wholly absent from Richardson's reverently glowing descriptions of London. Again, Woolf's writing is less fluid; while Richardson uses images of infinite spaciousness to describe the contours of Miriam's mind (they are, for instance, 'bright kaleidoscope vistas'), this passage associates the mind with a metaphor that is concrete, and suggestive of enclosure and of dryness - a sandy floor. The concrete, visual quality of the image is reinforced by the detail of its surface being stirred. Another important difference between the techniques of these writers is, as Radford points out, that 'whereas Richardson accumulates detail for the reader to give meaning to, Woolf offers the reader more in the way of interpreting/narrativising her details'.[10] I shall return to this

[10]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 59.

comparison later on, to consider the different effects of accosting and violence on the fantasy lives of both writers.

ACCOSTING

There is fear lurking at the edges of many of Richardson's ecstatic descriptions of the city (for example, I, 418, II, 75-76). Woolf's London, too, occasionally takes on a sinister quality: 'the streets they were driving through were horribly poor; and not only poor, [Eleanor] thought, but vicious. Here was the vice, the obscenity, the reality of London ... The whole neighbourhood seemed to her foreign and sinister' (*The Years*, p. 93). On the whole, though, the secure financial status of Woolf's protagonists ensure that they are more sheltered from the seamier side of life than Miriam is. In *Pilgrimage*, Miriam's freedom, and the nurturing, maternal/lover-like aspect of London carry an underside of fear and violence. The following extract illustrates this point:

> There was nothing in the world that could come nearer to her than the curious half twilight half moonlight effect of lamplit Endsleigh Gardens opening out of Gower Place; its huge high trees, their sharp shadows on the little pavement running by the side of the railings, the neighbouring gloom of the Euston Road dimly lit by lamps standing high in the middle of the roadway at long intervals, the great high quiet porched houses, black and still, the shadow mass of St Pancras church, the great dark open space in front of the church, a shadowy figure-haunted darkness with the vague stream of the Euston Road running to one side of it and the corridor of Woburn Place opening on the other. The harsh voice of an invisible woman sounded out from it as she turned off into her own street .... 'Dressed up - he was - to the bloody death ....' The words echoed about her as she strolled down the street controlling her impulse to flinch and hurry. The woman was there, there and real, and that was what she had said. Resentment was lurking about the street. The woman's harsh

> voice seemed close. Miriam pictured her glaring eyes. There was no pretence about her. She felt what she said. She belonged to the darkness about St Pancras church ... people had been garrotted in that part of Euston Road not so very long ago .... (II, 29-30)

I have quoted this passage from *The Tunnel* at some length, because of the complexity of effects at work in it. It opens with Miriam's subjective reaction to the half-light of Endsleigh Gardens; she feels that 'nothing in the world' could come nearer to her. In other words, she identifies and aligns herself with the half-light. This is followed by a subtle shift outwards, away from Miriam's internal musings, to a description of the street she is walking through. A cinematic effect, often characteristic of Richardson's writing, is noticeable; it is almost as though Miriam herself has been transformed into a camera lens. The opening sentence is extremely long, expanding to take in all the details, like a single shot of film. The narrative voice moves from the 'huge high trees' to their shadows on the pavement; from the 'great high quiet porched houses' to the 'shadow mass' of St Pancras church. In passing, this sweeping lens (which is not unlike the impersonal eye of 'Street Haunting') notes the 'shadowy figure-haunted darkness' in front of the church, before moving straight to the Euston Road. There is a careful precision of detail; Richardson is often vague about time and dates, but places are described with great accuracy. For instance, close attention is given to the texture of the tree shadows, and the patterns they form with the adjacent railings. As usual, Richardson provides no interpretation of these details; each one is deliberately given equal importance,[11] but it is nonetheless clear that the 'shadowy figure haunted darkness' has taken on a newly sinister aspect - in marked contrast to the benevolent half-light and tree shadows of the opening, and the 'shadow

[11]Richardson's plenitude of detail has the double effect of inviting multiple readings, while the lack of authorial guidance as to how we are to interpret these details creates bafflement. As Katherine Mansfield complained, 'everything being of equal importance to her, it is impossible that everything should not be of equal unimportance' ('Dragonflies', review of *Interim* in *Athenaeum*, 9 January 1920, reprinted in Clare Hanson, ed., *The Critical Writings of Katherine Mansfield*, London: Macmillan, 1987, p. 64).

mass' of St Pancras Church which seems solid and unthreatening. The shadowy figures are not actually named as prostitutes, but the reader's suspicions about them are confirmed when an invisible woman's voice cuts across the cinematic description - her conversation leaves her profession in no doubt. 'Dressed up [...] to the bloody death' is a particularly violent expression. There is a sharp contrast between sound and vision, the two elements which assail one's senses in the city. Here, the sound of the woman's voice is more shocking than the sight of the shadowy figures. The instant her voice intrudes, we are back inside Miriam's consciousness.

At first sight, Miriam's reaction to her is one of fear and repulsion. The woman's voice is twice described as 'harsh'; Miriam's impulse is to 'flinch and hurry' as though under physical threat; she pictures the prostitute's 'glaring eyes' - a somewhat ghoulish image. But if one searches for it, the text holds a more complex, partly submerged, level of reaction. As Vicinus points out, the ideal of wife and mother, the celibate single woman, and the promiscuous prostitute formed a 'triangle of mythic possibilities' for women in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods'.[12] In *Pilgrimage*, Miriam's social identity as a single woman is worked out mainly in relation to the ideal of wife and mother, but there are times when she measures herself against a different model of femininity.[13] We are told that 'the woman was there, there and real', and 'there was no pretence about her'. Miriam generally views lack of pretence positively; she despises respectable women precisely because they change in the presence of men (see, for example, I, 155-6). The prostitute's lack of pretence also forms a contrast with Miriam herself, whose problems with gender and sexual identity are considerable.

There is only one explicit mention of violence: '... people had been garrotted in that part of the Euston Road not so very long ago ...' This may refer to the multiple murders of prostitutes in Whitechapel only a decade earlier. But as usual, the ellipses alert us to a

[12]Vicinus, *Independent Women*, p. 5.
[13]See *Pilgrimage* II 84, 96, 409-410; III 204, 208, 227-9, & 288, for scenes which deal with prostitutes. See also Radford pp 21-4, 53-8, 98, & 99, for further discussion of the issue of prostitution.

level of activity not present in the text. They point to a certain disparity, or missing link, between Miriam's observation and her displayed reaction to it. Here, it seems likely that the ellipses indicate Miriam's fears about her sexuality, or her fear of violence. As so often in Richardson, their exact meaning is left open to the reader's interpretation, but they do seem to suggest a covert fascination with (possibly sexual) violence.

This passage points forward to the episode later in *The Tunnel*, where Miriam, who is again walking the streets late at night, is actually mistaken for a prostitute:

> She wandered slowly on humming a tune; every inch of the way would be lovely. The figure of a man in an overcoat and a bowler hat loomed towards her on the narrow pathway and stopped. The man raised his hat, and his face showed smiling, with the moonlight on it. Miriam had a moment's fear, but the man's attitude was deprecating and there was her song; it was partly her own fault. But why, why ... fierce anger at the recurrence of this kind of occurrence seized her. She wanted him out of the way and wanted him to know how angry she was at the interruption. (II, 96)

Miriam's enjoyment of her song and the night walk is rudely interrupted by the shock of being accosted. The man's figure 'loomed' towards her; this verb of motion lends a cinematic quality to the description; it evokes a vague outline moving closer, in a manner that suggests a threat. The rude contrast between the man's smiling face and the beauty of the moonlight reflected on it renders his smile doubly indecent. Miriam's fear quickly gives way to guilt - she feels that she brought the encounter on herself, that her song invited his attention. There is some confusion about her position as a respectable single woman, the 'narrow pathway' perhaps being a metaphor to describe its precariousness. The guilt the encounter awakens may suggest a repressed desire to be 'unrespectable'.

But guilt is only momentary; it is replaced by lasting rage. Miriam is 'seized' by anger, which implies that the emotion takes bodily possession of her with some force. The scene incorporates a fierce critique of male sexual behaviour; there is considerable fury at the double sexual standard. The man's overcoat and bowler hat, the gesture of raising his hat, his 'deprecating' attitude are all outward signs of respectability, but they only serve to highlight his disreputable intentions. Miriam reacts with verbal aggression:

> 'Well', she snapped angrily, coming to a standstill in the moonlit gap.
>
> 'Oh', said the man a little breathlessly in a lame broken tone, 'I thought you were going this way'.
>
> 'So I am', retorted Miriam in a loud angry shaking tone, 'obviously'.
>
> The man stepped quickly into the gutter and walked quickly away across the road. (II, 96)

Miriam's wrath is effectively conveyed by the verb 'snapped', with its almost audible suggestion of jaws biting shut (although a hint of fear is revealed a few lines later by fact that her voice is 'shaking'). Her aggression deflates her accoster completely; the description of him as breathless, 'lame', and 'broken' effectively denudes him of every vestige of menace, and he slinks off with his tail well and truly between his legs. Miriam remains on the 'narrow pathway', and in a neat role reversal, it is the man who finds himself in the gutter. What began as an instance of male aggression against a woman is turned on its head, and Miriam ends up aggressor rather than victim.

This encounter has temporarily punctured the 'magic circle' of London. The act of accosting cuts across the fluidity of those descriptions of London in which Miriam is enjoying the city (for instance, 'she wanted to ride about [...] inside London until her misery had passed', II, 145, where the city is imaged as a protective skin; or the sentence immediately preceding the accosting: 'she wandered slowly on humming a tune; every

inch of the way would be lovely'). Being accosted ruptures the protective skin of the city; it is a moment of fixing in the text.

Compare the parallel scene in *Ann Veronica*:

> 'Whither away?' he said very distinctly in a curiously wheedling voice. Ann Veronica stared at his foolish, propitiatory smile, his hungry gaze, through one moment of amazement, then stepped aside and went on her way with a quickened step. But her mind was ruffled, and its mirror-like surface of satisfaction was not easily restored. (*Ann Veronica*, p.80)

This is a male writer's view, and Wells's heroine is something of an idealised female figure. She displays none of Miriam's knowingness, nor her complexity of reaction. Ann Veronica's reaction is puzzled and naive, but not angry. She is more passive than Miriam, more of a victim. Compare, for instance, Ann Veronica's 'ruffled' mind, which implies a mild disturbance, with the anger that 'seized' Miriam. Ann Veronica is unable to confront the stranger, who is 'wheedling', 'foolish', 'hungry', but never threatening; the best she can do is ignore him. Both Miriam's aggression, and the sense of rupture which accompanies the act of accosting in *Pilgrimage* appear all the more striking in contrast.

Being accosted provokes an interesting train of thought in Miriam:

> it was the way they got in the way ... figures of men, dark, in dark clothes, presenting themselves, calling attention to themselves and the way they saw things, mean and suggestive, always just when things were loveliest. Couldn't the man see the look of the square and the moonlight? ... that afternoon at Hyde Park Corner ... just when everything flashed out after the rain ... the sudden words close to her ear ... my beauty ... my

> sweet ... you sweet girl ... the puffy old face, the puffs under the sharp brown eyes. (II, 96-97)

We are presented with both the memory of a similar incident, and an anti-male diatribe. There is a great deal of anger; actual instances of accosting become confused with Miriam's general hostility towards men and the way they see things. It is unclear whether the 'figures of men, dark, in dark clothes' refer to real encounters, or to men in general. Either way, the phrase is redolent of fantasy or nightmare. What is significant is the way an incident of aggression towards Miriam has sparked a fantasy in her. The intensification of ellipses around the memory of accosting again indicates a level of activity not present in the text. The ellipses direct our attention to a missing link - we are given Miriam's account of the episode, but not her response to it - and invite questions about this. The man's 'puffy old face' and 'the puffs under the sharp brown eyes' imply Miriam's disgust, but there may be repressed anger, or shame, or excitement here as well.

The sparking of fantasy is a common ingredient in many of the 'accosting' passages in *Pilgrimage*. Another important link is the way in which our expectations are continually overturned in them. Take, for example, a scene in *Deadlock*, where Miriam is walking home from work. Suddenly, 'the light from a lamp just ahead fell upon a figure, plunging in a swift diagonal across the muddy pathway towards her' (III, 107). It seems as though the strange man 'plunging' violently towards Miriam is about to attack her, but then we realise this is an illusion created by Richardson; the man is actually Miriam's lover, Michael Shatov. Part of the oddness of the scene derives from the fact that even after his identity becomes known, Richardson's language is violent, suggestive of invasion and accosting: 'he had come to meet her ... invading her street'; 'she fled exasperated [...] and silently drove him off as he swept round to walk at her side, asking him how he dared unpermitted to bring himself [...] across her inviolable hour' (III, 107). The reader's expectations are subverted the whole way through the brief incident. We are braced for

an attack which turns out to be a meeting with a friend, but instead of this being a relief to Miriam, it is imaged as an invasion or accosting. Richardson creates a fantasy of violence around this episode.

A similar overturning of our expectations occurs later in *Deadlock*. An encounter with a group of workmen begins with hostility, but turns out to be well-intentioned. Miriam is again accompanied by Michael:

> She composed herself to walk unconcernedly past the row of lounging overalled figures. Sullen hostile staring would not satisfy them this morning. [Michael's] song would rouse them to open demonstration. They were endless; muttering motionlessly to each other in their immovable lounging. Surely he must feel them. 'Go 'ome', she heard, away behind ... 'Blooming foreigner' [...] (III, 137)

Richardson emphasises the faceless and threatening nature of the 'row of lounging overalled figures'. The onomatopoeia of 'muttering motionlessly', for instance, evokes the low-pitched timbre of their talk, while implying that it is both hostile and incomprehensible. The adjective 'endless' suggests both Miriam's sense that the workmen are innumerable, and the length of time it takes to walk past them. 'Immovable' means that they are motionless, but the word also holds connotations of unyielding and emotionless.

Despite their enmity, Miriam is sufficiently roused by the workmen's xenophobic remarks to confront them. ' "Yes", she said, "he is a foreigner, and he is my friend. What do you *mean*?" ' (III, 138.) As Jacqueline Rose points out, there is a vital link between the woman and the Jew, in that neither of them belong.[14] The accosting of Michael - an

[14]Jacqueline Rose, *States of Fantasy*, p. 120. See also Watts, *Richardson*, pp. 53-57 for further analysis of Miriam's engagement with Jewishness.

experience Miriam herself has suffered - calls forth her loyalty to him. This common experience, which would never have happened to an Anglo-Saxon male, acts as a bond, and she identifies as a fellow-outsider. ' "He is a foreigner, and he is my friend" '.

Parallels with the accosting passage in *The Tunnel* spring to mind. The incident is provoked by a song - this time Michael's song. Miriam again refuses to play the 'feminine' part of victim, and challenges her aggressors directly. Gender roles are reversed; female Miriam places herself in the position of protector towards male Michael. Once again, being accosted creates a moment of rupture, a moment of fixing in the text. The encounter ends with yet another subversion of our expectations:

> 'Excuse me miss', [the workman] began again in a quiet, thick, hurrying voice, as she turned to him. 'Miss, we know the sight of you going up and down. Miss, he ain't good enough for you'. (III, 138)

The aggressor has unexpectedly turned protector, a kind of invisible guardian of the streets. In contrast with the workmen's faceless hostility of the previous passage, this man is personalised through the description of his voice as 'quiet' which suggests gentleness, and 'thick' and 'hurrying' which imply that emotion is breaking through. Miriam is disarmed; his kindness punctures both her masculine role, and her identification with Michael-as-outsider. She slips back into a conventional feminine position, a position of 'belonging', responding to him with gratitude. 'The *darlings*. In all these years of invisible going up and down ...' (III, 138).

Gender roles are disturbed a in slightly different way in *Interim*, when Miriam visits Ruscino's cafe with Mr Mendizabal, a fellow boarder. She finds the assembled collection of 'worldly wicked happy people' greatly to her liking:

> It was a heaven, a man's heaven, most of the women were there with men, somehow watchful and dependent, but even they were forced to be free from troublings and fussings whilst they were there [...] She was there as a man, a free man of the world, a continental, a cosmopolitan, a connoisseur of woman. (II, 394)

Miriam wants to be part of this 'man's heaven'. Her masculine identifications come to the fore to enable her to share it as 'a free man of the world'. In this role, she perceives women in terms of enclosure and pettiness ('watchful' and 'dependent'; prone to 'troublings' and 'fussings'), while men are depicted in terms of expansion, freedom and sophistication - the alliteration of 'a continental, a cosmopolitan, a connoisseur of women', for instance, calls attention to itself as writing, thereby enacting the self-aware cleverness of men. Since Miriam's masculine stance seems to involve an appreciation of women, she begins to watch them as a 'connoisseur' might. Instead of being at the receiving end of male attention, she is now in the position of accoster, assuming a predatory masculine role towards other women:

> 'Voila une petite qui est jolie', she remarked judicially.
> 'Une jeune fille avec ses parents', rebuked Mr Mendizabal. (II, 395)

Miriam eagerly embraces the part of a gentleman in cafe society; the switch to French befits 'a free man of the world, a continental, a cosmopolitan', while 'judicially' holds patriarchal overtones. But her remark betrays her inexperience; she has unwittingly made a faux pas. She is not familiar with the masculine codes which distinguish between 'une petite qui est jolie' and 'une jeune fille avec ses parents'; between an unrespectable girl and a respectable one. Mendizabal's rebuke makes this distinction plain; it may also imply that it is improper for a man to pass comment about a respectable 'jeune fille avec ses

parents'. Either way, the reproof effectively destroys Miriam's masculine pose and deflates her fantasy. Both this episode and the passage where Miriam confronts the workmen point to the fact that while she readily adopts a male stance, her masculine identifications are precarious and easily punctured.

Later in the same volume, Miriam is told by Mrs Bailey that a respectable doctor was about to propose marriage, but had been put off by reports of her outings with Mr Mendizabal (II, 432). This holds the implication that Miriam's freedom to explore the streets may cause her to forfeit the safety and security of marriage.

Woolf's writing also contains instances of female characters fantasising about assuming masculine roles while they are walking in London. But they never take up predatory positions towards other women. I want to turn now to some of these passages, and to the relationship (or the lack of one) between fantasy and accosting in Woolf.

As Rachel Bowlby notes, an encounter with a *passante* or passing women is humorously enacted in *Mrs Dalloway*.[15] Peter Walsh has just left Clarissa Dalloway's house, when he finds his attention drawn to a passing woman on the street. This is a woman writer's view of the way men represent women:

> But she's extraordinarily attractive, he thought, as, walking across Trafalgar Square in the direction of the Haymarket, came a young woman who, as she passed Gordon's statue, seemed, Peter Walsh thought (susceptible as he was), to shed veil after veil, until she became the very woman he had always had in mind; young, but stately; merry, but discreet; black, but enchanting. (*Mrs Dalloway*, p. 48)

[15]'Walking, women and writing: Virginia Woolf as *flaneuse*', in *New Feminist Discourses*, Isobel Armstrong ed., (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 26-47. Bowlby draws our attention to the figure of the *passante* in work by male authors ('[she] is at once anonymous, elusive and of the city'), holding up Baudelaire's poem, 'A une passante' (1860), as the classical evocation of this figure.

Here is a potential instance of accosting, seen from the man's perspective. But the passage borders on parodic literary stereotype. The language is deliberately cliched; the 'shedding of veil after veil' reveals not uniqueness, but the empty attributes of idealised womanhood, paired together in a series of unlikely oppositions which render them meaningless. Woolf continues in the same vein. Peter Walsh sees himself as 'an adventurer, reckless, he thought, swift, daring ... a romantic buccaneer, careless of all those damned proprieties' (*Mrs Dalloway*, p. 49). But Peter's view of himself as set apart from other men and their 'damned proprieties' is held up for ridicule through the cliched vocabulary of his buccaneering fantasy, and through his pursuit of a femininity that is as stereotypical as the dull masculinity he is repudiating. Moreover, the outcome of his pursuit is humiliation:

> Laughing and delightful, she had crossed Oxford Street and Great Portland Street and turned down one of the little streets, and now, and now, the great moment was approaching, for now she slackened, opened her bag, and with one look in his direction, but not at him, one look that bade farewell, summed up the whole situation and dismissed it triumphantly, for ever, had fitted her key, opened the door, and gone! (*Mrs Dalloway*, p. 49)

This passage parodies the encounter or accosting that might have been expected by its repetition of 'and now, and now ... for now'. The girl's look, which is not even at Peter, nevertheless indicates her understanding of the 'situation' she sums up. 'Triumphantly' dismissing it, she ends it by disappearing through her front door! Like Miriam in the accosting passage from *The Tunnel*, she finishes victorious, rejecting male notions of

standard femininity. However, she does so playfully, and without Miriam's anger and aggression.

Woolf offers us another playful repudiation of standard femininity in Elizabeth Dalloway's bus ride across London. This escapade is described in terms which closely echo the adventurous masculinity adopted by Peter Walsh. The bus assumes the qualities of a buccaneer, 'the impetuous creature - a pirate .. ruthless, unscrupulous, bearing down ruthlessly ... rushing insolently all sails spread up Whitehall' (*Mrs Dalloway*, p. 120). Elizabeth herself begins to take on these attributes 'freely like a rider, like the figure-head of a ship'. As Bowlby points out, she does so by overt distinction from the literary femininity in whose terms she is starting to be perceived: 'people were beginning to compare her to poplar trees, early dawn, hyacinths, fawns, running water, and garden lilies' (*Mrs Dalloway*, pp. 119-120). Elizabeth becomes, in Bowlby's words, 'a sort of tomboy female pirate',[16] which again equates her with Miriam's refusal of traditional feminine roles throughout *Pilgrimage*.

A daring masculine identity is once more appropriated by Rose in *The Years*, when she disobeys her sister's orders to stay at home, and slips out to Lamley's shop:

> 'I am Pargiter of Pargiter's Horse', she said, flourishing her hand, 'riding to the rescue!'
>
> She was riding by night on a desperate mission to a besieged garrison, she told herself. She had a secret message - she clenched her fist on her purse - to deliver to the General in person. All their lives depended on it. The British flag was still flying on the central tower - Lamley's shop was the central tower; the General was standing on the roof of Lamley's shop with his telescope to his eye. All their lives depended upon her riding to them through the enemy's country. (*The Years*, p. 24)

[16]Bowlby, 'Walking, women and writing', p. 35.

The seizing of overtly masculine territory in her fantasy - military, nationalistic - forms a sharp contrast to the restricted domestic lives Rose and her sisters lead in their father's house, and is doubtless a reaction to it. But the imagined 'enemy' of the fantasy turns out to be real:

> As she ran past the pillar-box the figure of a man suddenly emerged under the gas-lamp.
>
> 'The enemy!' Rose cried to herself. 'The enemy! Bang!' she cried, pulling the trigger of her pistol and looking him full in the face as she passed him. It was a horrid face: white, peeled, pock-marked; he leered at her. He put out his arm as if to stop her. He almost caught her. She dashed past him. The game was over.
>
> She was herself again, a little girl who had disobeyed her sister, in her house shoes, flying for safety to Lamley's shop. (*The Years*, pp. 24-25)

The man's 'white, peeled, pock-marked' leering face is both 'horrid' and horrifying; he is 'the enemy', an embodiment of otherness. Rose's fantasy collapses as soon as he puts out his arm, in other words, as soon as the threat of real-life violence intrudes. 'The game was over. She was herself again, a little girl who had disobeyed her sister ...' She flees, defeated and terrified. With Woolf, fantasy is punctured by violence, whereas for Richardson, violence actually sparks fantasy. This difference is vital, and affords an interesting insight into the literary imaginations of both writers.

There are numerous parallels between this passage from *The Years*, and the episode in May Sinclair's *The Life and Death of Harriett Frean* (1922), where the young Harriett is accosted in Blacks Lane. In both cases, the victims are little girls who have flouted authority and strayed into forbidden territory. Harriett walks down Blacks Lane knowing

she is disobeying her parents, but enjoying feeling 'like a tall lady in a crinoline and shawl' - no daring masculine fantasies for ladylike Harriett! (*Harriett Frean*, p. 17.) She gradually becomes aware that 'there was something queer, some secret frightening thing about [Blacks Lane]':

> The man came out and went to the gate and stood there. *He* was the frightening thing. When he saw her he stepped back and crouched behind the palings, ready to jump out.
>
> She turned slowly, as if she had thought of something. She mustn't run. She must *not* run. If she ran he would come after her. (*Harriett Frean*, p.19)

Like Rose's accoster, this man is an embodiment of otherness. Sinclair does not give him the humanising touch of direct description; his 'bogeyman' quality is effectively conveyed by his crouching behind the palings like an animal ready to pounce, and by Harriett's illogical conviction that if she starts running, he will chase her. For Harriett and Rose, the experience becomes a guilty secret later in life. Neither woman ever marries. This may suggest the far-reaching damage of being accosted as children; perhaps it is has affected their ability to form relationships with men later on.

While Rose keeps the accosting secret, Harriett confesses to her horrified parents. Her mother deliberately manipulates Harriett's memory of the episode by taking her into Blacks Lane again and again to pick red campion, 'so that it was always the red campion she remembered' (*Harriett Frean*, p. 24). This is unlike both Richardson, where violence acts as a catalyst to fantasy, and Woolf where violence shatters fantasy, but the accosting is a formative and often remembered experience for Rose. In *The Life and Death of Harriett Frean*, the protagonist's associations are falsely re-formed to exclude violence altogether. It proves successful in the short term. When Harriett's friend, Connie

Hancock, tells her exactly what happened to another little girl behind the 'dirty blue palings',

> [Harriett] shut her eyes, squeezing the lids down, frightened. But when she thought of the lane she could see nothing but the green banks, the three tall elms, and the red campion pricking through the white froth of the cow-parsley... (*Harriett Frean*, p. 25)

The incident of sexual violence is blocked out in Harriett's mind by the flower-memory. But the process of repression and denial advocated by Harriett's parents also warps her sexuality and ruins her life. Sinclair's novel is a study of the futility of repression. The memory of the man returns to haunt Harriett at the end of her life (*Harriett Frean*, p. 183), proving that it was not vanquished but merely temporarily driven underground.[17]

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[17]Some of the above preoccupations occur in Katherine Mansfield's writing. However, the key ingredient in Mansfield's accosting passages is irony, rather than fantasy or violence. 'The Little Governess' (*Bliss and Other Stories*, pp. 189-204) describes an encounter between a lonely and vulnerable little governess and an elderly German who presents himself in the role of charming protector, but turns out to be lecherous and revolting. The irony works by the reader's suspicions of the old man's intentions being aroused long before the little governess's.

In 'Pictures' (*Bliss and Other Stories*, pp. 127-137), Miss Ada Moss is impoverished, unattractive, and unable to find work as an actress. When a 'very stout gentleman' accosts her in the Cafe de Madrid, she is a willing 'victim'. This episode is presented as the last stage in a process of increasing desperation and degradation. Though Miss Moss tries to delude herself that the Cafe de Madrid is 'such a place for artists too. I might just have a stroke of luck', her supreme lack of surprise on being approached suggests that she knew all along what awaited her there. Her accoster is 'wearing a very small hat that floated on the top of his head like a little yacht' (*Bliss*, p. 136). The innocence of this image provides a stark contrast to the sordidness of Miss Moss's fate, as she 'sailed .. out of the cafe' after him (*Bliss*, p. 137).

ENCOUNTERS WITH BEGGARS

Miriam's encounters with beggars and vagrants have a common link with the accosting passages, for both feature the violence of shock. What makes Miriam's meetings with vagrants particularly interesting is that they spark a fantasy of recognition in her; in other words, she sees herself in these people.

In *The Tunnel*, Miriam goes for a bicycle ride in the country.[18] She is exulting in her freedom of movement, when she sees a sinister figure approaching. Here is yet another dramatisation of the potential dangers of Miriam's freedom. Her initial reaction is a shock of recognition:

> She recognised the figure the instant she saw it. It was as if she had been riding the whole day to meet it. Completely forgotten, it had been all the time at the edge of the zest of her ride. (II, 231)

This instant recognition and the notion she has been riding to meet him suggests an odd kinship, although at this stage the figure is only an abstract, depersonalised 'it'. There is even a suggestion that implicit danger enhances the pleasures of freedom: 'it had been all the time at the edge of the zest of her ride'. However, it is only the concept of violence in the abstract that thrills Miriam. As they draw closer to one another, the abstract ('it') turns into a real man ('him'), and fear takes hold. She realises that they are totally alone on the road; there is no help at hand, 'nothing ahead but the bare road, carrying the murky figure':

[18] Although this episode does not take place in London, its setting in a public space nevertheless makes it relevant to my chapter.

> Murky. Murk from head to foot. Wearing openly like a coat the expression that could be seen hidden inside everybody. She had made an enemy of him. It was too late. The voice in her declaring sympathy, claiming kinship, faded faint and far away within her ... (II, 232)

The effect of this passage is extremely strange. Miriam oscillates between fear and identification, as though these contradictory drives are struggling for precedence in her. 'Murky' and 'murk' seem to suggest that the man is a mysterious, faceless embodiment of evil. At the same time, he is openly wearing 'the expression that could be seen hidden inside everybody'. But she 'had made an enemy of him. It was too late'. At this point, Miriam's identification - 'the voice in her head declaring sympathy' - is overcome by fear, fading 'faint and far away', and she is concerned lest this revealed reaction should antagonise him. Her terror may partly stem from a fear of her own violent impulses. But her identification with the stranger comes to the fore again a few lines later:

> He was surrounded by people, pressed in and down by them, wanting to kill everyone with a look and run, madly, to uproot trees and tear down the landscape and get outside ... he is myself. (II, 232)

This is a projection of what Miriam thinks the man feels (she has a habit of doing this with various characters throughout *Pilgrimage*, often wrongly). His anger and his wish to break free are described as a desire for the physical destruction of people and landscapes. The passage ends with Miriam's open recognition of herself - of her own murderous impulses - in him. This admission of physically violent drives is unequivocal and immensely powerful.

In the event, Miriam rides past the stranger without incident, noting with relief that he is drunk - in other words, his strangeness is accounted for - and her fantasy of identification collapses.

This episode is preceded by a memory of walking past sleeping vagrants: 'carefully to be skirted and yet most dreadfully claiming her companionship' (II 106), and echoed in a later encounter with an old woman begging in the gutter:

> Underneath the forward-falling crushed old bonnet shone the lower half of a bare scalp ... reddish ... studded with dull, wartlike knobs. Unimaginable horror quietly there. Revealed. Welcome. The head turned stealthily as she passed and she met the expected sidelong glance; naked recognition, leering from the awful face above the outstretched bare arm. It was herself, set in her path and waiting through all the years. Her beloved hated secret self, known to this old woman. (III, 288-9)

This passage holds the same shock of identification and repulsion as the cycling incident. There is the same sense that the encounter is 'expected', the same feeling of kinship. For Miriam, these vagrants seem to confirm something already existing in herself. But there is more of an intimate physicality here; the old woman's crushed bonnet, which may represent the last vestiges of her femininity and respectability, is too flimsy to cover her hideous scalp. This concern with the contrast between what is hidden and what is revealed reflects Miriam's conviction that the old woman displays openly what is covert in herself. Both the precisely detailed description of the colour and texture of the scalp, and the intensification of ellipses around it which suggest a hidden level of activity, point to the depth of Miriam's fascination and disgust.

The language of this extract features a series of unexpected contrasts or shocks, which both reflects the tension between Miriam's fascination and repulsion, and re-enacts her

shock of recognition. For instance, the word 'studded' is often associated with decoration or ornamentation, but Richardson uses it here, with disconcerting effect, to describe the warts on the crone's scalp. Then we are informed that this 'unimaginable horror' is 'welcome'. The contrast between the 'stealthy' movements of the woman's head, her 'sidelong' glance, and the full frontal 'naked recognition' is also shocking.

Miriam's ambivalent reaction to the woman mirrors her ambivalence towards her own sexuality; the sentence 'her beloved hated secret self, known to this old woman' acknowledges their common sexuality. The old woman's plight may also reflect Miriam's anxieties about the precariousness of her financial position. As these passages reveal, Miriam's encounters with beggars enable her to acknowledge and explore problematic areas in herself, most importantly, her violent and sexual drives.

Woolf's treatment of beggars holds no such shock of self-recognition. Consider, for instance, her description of the old woman selling violets in *The Years*: 'she had no nose; her face was seamed with white patches; there were red rims for nostrils. She had no nose - she had pulled her hat down to hide the fact' (*The Years*, p. 130). Although the repetition of 'she had no nose' suggests horrified fascination, there is no sense that Martin - whose eyes we are looking through at this point - identifies with her. The writing is more distanced than Richardson's beggar passages; what is conveyed is disgust, and a feeling of the old woman's absolute 'otherness'. There is also a sense of collapse at being faced with this horror; Martin cannot get over the fact that the woman has no nose.

A similar sense of collapse is explicitly described in the following passage from 'A sketch of the Past' (1939):

> There was the moment of the puddle in the path; when for no reason I could discover, everything suddenly became unreal; I was suspended; I could not step across the puddle; I tried to touch something ... the whole

> world became unreal. Next, the other moment when the idiot boy sprang up with his hand outstretched mewing, slit-eyed, red-rimmed and without saying a word, with a sense of the horror in me, I poured into his hand a bag of Russian toffee. But it was not over for that night in the bath the dumb horror came over me. Again I had that hopeless sadness, that collapse I have described before; as if I were passive under some sledge-hammer blow; exposed to a whole avalanche of meaning that had heaped itself up and discharged itself upon me, unprotected, with nothing to ward it off, so that I huddled up at my end of the bath, motionless. I could not explain it; I said nothing even to Nessa sponging herself at the other end.[19]

Woolf's sense of suspension, of things becoming unreal which accompanies 'the moment of the puddle in the path' suggests a total caving in or paralysis. She is unable to move; she tries in vain to touch something. The short breathless phrases used to describe these sensations ('I was suspended; I could not step across the puddle; I tried to touch something') reflect the panic of collapse, while the repetition of 'unreal' enacts being stuck; Woolf is describing a moment of impasse.

Like Martin's violet seller and Rose's accoster from *The Years*, the account of the idiot conveys his absolute otherness. An animal or sub-human quality is suggested by the way he springs up as though out of nowhere, by the mewing sounds he makes, and by the description of him as 'slit-eyed' and 'red-rimmed' (the latter phrase also appears in the violet seller passage). There is a strong sense of propitiation about the act of pouring

[19]'A sketch of the Past', in *Moments of Being*, Jeanne Schulkind, ed., (London: Hogarth Press, 1985), p. 78.

toffee into his hand, which reinforces the sense of nightmare. The passage provides a striking contrast to Miriam's intense identification with beggars.[20]

When the 'dumb horror' returns in the bath, Woolf describes it as a 'hopeless sadness', a 'collapse', both of which imply that it is a passive emotion. The 'sledge-hammer blow' and the 'avalanche' are violent metaphors; however, Woolf caves in under them. She is helpless: 'unprotected', 'with nothing to ward it off'; unable even to decipher the meaning contained in the avalanche. Moreover, the horror is isolating - she cannot communicate it to her sister. A physical, mental and emotional shut-down is occurring. Like the accosting of Rose in *The Years* where violence punctures fantasy, the experience is disabling. These moments of collapse when Woolf is confronted with horror and violence make the catalysing power of violence in Richardson's writing seem all the more remarkable.

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[20]Further examples of beggars in Woolf's writing include the ancient crone singing outside Regent's Park tube station in *Mrs Dalloway*, who is simultaneously 'a battered old woman,' and a kind of mythical figure. But although her song is about love - a universal human emotion - she lacks the humanising touch of Richardson's beggar-woman's 'crushed old bonnet'. Woolf's old woman is 'the voice of no age or sex, the voice of an ancient spring spouting from the earth' (*Mrs Dalloway,* pp. 88-100). Again, we have the sense of her absolute distance and foreignness.

In 'Street Haunting', the narrator's reaction to beggars and the deformed is more explicit: 'at such sights the nerves of the spine seem to stand erect; a sudden flare is brandished in our eyes; a question is asked which is never answered' ('Street Haunting', p. 159). At first glance, the tingling spinal nerves and the brandishing of the 'sudden flare' seem to suggest violent shock. However, these reactions are metaphorical rather than actual, which gives them a removed quality. The privileged narrator is enjoying her frisson from a safe distance. This rather indulgent tone continues: the narrator concludes that 'life which is so fantastic cannot be altogether tragic' (*ibid.*).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I link Richardson's preoccupation with violence to the representation of London street life in *Pilgrimage* and in the work of female and male contemporaries, paying particular attention to the male accosting of women on the streets of London, and women's encounters with beggars.

I begin with an examination of London's multi-faceted role in *Pilgrimage*. London functions not merely as a document of social history, but also as a figuration of a woman's fantasy. I argue that the city operates as a figuration of far darker fantasies than previous critics have allowed. Being exposed to the diversity of London - an experience which carried an underside of accosting and beggars - offered Richardson plenty of scope to explore and fantasise about her fascination with violence.

In conclusion, Richardson emerges as unique among the writers I have examined for several reasons. Miriam reacts to being accosted with extreme aggression, refusing the 'feminine' part of victim and challenging her aggressors directly. Instances of accosting cut across the fluidity of those descriptions of London in which Miriam is enjoying the city; they are moments of fixing in the text. Moreover, being accosted often provokes a train of fantasy in Miriam. The catalysing potential of violence in Richardson seems all the more striking when read in conjunction with Woolf, for whom violence punctures fantasy, leading to moments of collapse. Miriam disturbs gender roles by assuming a predatory masculine role towards other women. Although Woolf's writing contains instances of female characters fantasising about adopting masculine roles while walking in London, they never take up predatory positions towards other women. Finally, Miriam's encounters with beggars are remarkable for the way in which they give rise to a fantasy of recognition, allowing her to admit and explore problematic areas in herself, such as her violent and sexual drives. Again, this is in sharp contrast to Woolf, whose

descriptions of beggars convey a strong sense of their absolute otherness, and are often accompanied by the kind of collapse I noted in her accosting passages.

CHAPTER FIVE

RICHARDSON'S HATREDS

The work I have done so far leads inevitably to the following questions: what is the preoccupation with violence doing in Richardson's writing? And what larger questions does its presence raise about Richardson's creativity? These issues have arisen implicitly throughout the course my thesis; I want now to make the tendency of my argument explicit. In trying to answer these questions, I found it productive to shift my focus slightly, and have concentrated on the presence of hatred - the emotional correlate of violence - in *Pilgrimage*.

It is revealing of Richardson studies that while many critics have acknowledged hatred in her work, they do so only when this emotion can be explained in terms of issues of social or sexual oppression. A great deal has been said about Richardson's critique of masculine and feminine roles at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, about her frustrations with the constricted roles available to women in society, and her abhorrence of male dominated institutions such as science and religion.

Hanscombe, for example, observes that

> Miriam's reflections are variously directed by her feelings of isolation, resentment, rage, scorn and frustration, because she perceives herself to be shut out from the larger world of affairs which is dominated by men.[1]

Radford writes,

[1]Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, p. 52.

> Taking the question of 'woman' from romance to science, Miriam discovers with rage and disbelief, that her problems with sexual identity are not peculiar to herself but that the whole of womanhood has a problem ... Her reading of evolutionary theories is traumatic. In the pre-Freudian theories of the Social Darwinians, women, it seems, are not merely 'castrated' but not fully human ... She takes refuge from her depression in anger with the male writers, but also with the women who share her fate as 'undeveloped man'.
>
> [Miriam's] rage and confusion are clearly and fully exhibited in dialogue and the interior monologue sections of the novel, but her misery and dejection at what science and religion offers women provide the grounds for the growth of a developing mind.[2]

While Watts believes

> There is anger in *Pilgrimage*, sometimes registered as depression, elsewhere as indignation, and increasingly in the middle volumes such as *Deadlock* as a form of political consciousness ... Miriam knows that this is a society in which unemployed governesses may commit suicide for the sake of owing rent (iii 76). As for her own workplace, the dental practice resembles a 'family' that, when tested, reveals itself to be part of the same economic 'machinery'.[3]

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[2]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 9-10 & 36.
[3]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 42.

Something interesting is happening here. While these critics - using strikingly similar language - fully acknowledge Miriam's 'rage' 'disbelief' 'confusion' and 'anger', they attribute her feelings to an abhorrence of female oppression. In other words, they are providing an alibi, or respectable plea, for the candid exercise of hatred. Radford and Watts argue that hatred actually contributes to Miriam's mental growth, and to the development of a political consciousness. Thus, Richardson's hatreds are rendered positive; they have also, in a sense, been sanitised.

These are valid and illuminating approaches which conform to the general critical view of Richardson, but they do leave something out. In this chapter, I shall argue that although feminist anger provides a partial explanation of Richardson's hatreds, it is by no means the full story. I want to locate the centrality of hatred in *Pilgrimage*, and to examine a fresh aspect of Richardson's hatreds: what I shall call her 'unreasonable' hatreds; in other words, those which cannot be explained in terms of a critique of oppression. I shall be taking a different angle to that of existing Richardson criticism, though one not incompatible with this body of writing. It is vital to broaden the focus of our understanding of hatred in *Pilgrimage*; as I aim to show, hatred has enormous ramifications for Richardson's work as a whole. Richardson's and Miriam's hatreds go over and beyond reasonable alibis such as feminism, or the discourse about class and racial disgust in Richardson's writing.

I have decided to focus on hatred as my central topic rather than anger, because the former is a more deliberate emotion (though still 'unreasonable'). Hatred is a transitive feeling; it takes a direct object. Anger can be transitive (as, for instance, in the case of anger against a particular person), but it can equally well be intransitive (as in generalised anger, anger against the world). The *Oxford English Dictionary*, moreover, defines hatred as '*active* dislike; enmity; rejection and ill will' (my italics), which implies a dynamic act of repudiation on the part of the hater. Anger, on the other hand, is defined simply as 'extreme displeasure'. However, hatred and anger are linked, and there are

inevitably times when my discussion broadens to include anger, as well as the related term of loathing, which William Miller defines as 'not only ... the mixing of hate and disgust but ... the intensification that each works on the other'.[4]

The frequency with which hatred, and associated words such as 'angry' 'loathe' 'detest' 'resent' and so on, crop up in *Pilgrimage* is significant in itself, and suggests that this emotion is more important than critics have previously admitted.[5] I am less concerned to pile up these instances, however, than to try and define Richardson's conceptual vocabulary, and to find a critical language to describe it.

That Richardson's preoccupation with hatred is fundamental and deeply embedded is revealed in the fact that anger and hatred are often described as a bodily spasm, as an integral part of Miriam's physical being. For instance, when Miriam's employer Hancock uses an 'outrageous - *official* tone' of voice with her, she reacts with violence:

> 'Her blood was aflame. The thudding of her heart shook the words upon her breath'. (II, 204)

Miriam's blood is described in terms of fire and burning; her anger is passionate and painful. The jerky rhythm of 'the thudding of her heart shook the words upon her breath' literally enacts both the uneven heartbeat and the way Miriam's words are impeded by the strength of her body's reaction. The sentence implies not only struggle, but also that Miriam's emotion lends intensity to her words. Palpitations or a raised heartbeat are traditionally 'feminine' symptoms; however, the language is redolent of an extremely unladylike, violent physicality. 'Thudding' is suggestive of a blow being struck, while

[4]William Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 35. I shall return to Miller's definitions of loathing and disgust later in this chapter.
[5]One of the problems of examining occurrences of hatred and its cognates in a text the length of *Pilgrimage* is the sheer number of examples. I have dealt with this by choosing two or three significant passages for each chapter section, and listing others in the footnotes.

'shook' implies extreme physical disturbance. This physicality is especially striking in a work which often excludes bodily functions. Although Miriam's reaction could be read as righteous anger against an arrogant male employer, she quickly admits that she has overreacted, conceding the 'unreasonableness' of her hatred: 'it was the way of business people and officials the world over' (*ibid.*).[6]

The energy of Miriam's hatreds is further evoked in phrases like 'Miriam's restive anger' (II, 246), which implies that this emotion is a fundamental and familiar part of her being; a part that is not static and controllable, moreover, but dynamic and continually waiting to break out. Similarly, 'Miriam's exasperation flew out. She felt it fly out' (II, 258) registers the act of anger erupting as swift, violent and uncontrolled. 'She felt it fly out' imparts a solidity to her exasperation; that she can actually feel it leave her body gives it an almost concrete physicality. There is the same sense that Miriam is familiar with anger; it is as well-known and integral to her as her own body. At the same time, 'flew' and 'fly' suggest freedom; anger is liberating.

Richardson's writing reveals not just the animating quality of hatred, but also the pleasure of hating. She records this pleasure in episode after episode: from when Miriam, watching an argument at the Corries' 'listened gladly to the anger in [Mr Corrie's] voice' (I, 441), to her shattering of Mr Tremayne's image of her as 'a very religious, very womanly woman, the ideal wife and mother' by crashing out a tune on the piano:

> She got up, charged to the fingertips with a glow that transfigured all the inanimate things in the room. (II, 28)

[6]Further examples of Miriam's hatreds being described as an actual bodily spasm include: 'her cheeks flamed with shame' (I, 49); 'she winced, her blood came scorching against her skin' (I, 425); 'she felt tears of anger rising and tried to smile' (I, 160-161); 'she felt her neck was swelling inside her collar band' (I, 178); 'anger flushed through Miriam' (II, 227); 'her heart burned and ached beating out the words' (II, 284).

This language is particularly interesting because 'glow' and 'transfigured all the inanimate things in the room' are strongly suggestive of mystical experience, but what is actually being described is Miriam's pleasure in destroying Tremayne's vision of her - and thus, by implication, their potential relationship. The extract establishes a link between Miriam's deeply mystical core of being and violence.

The pleasure of hatred appears again in Miriam's stated desire to argue with the Russian Lintoff: 'she wanted, now, to talk again alone with Lintoff ... anything would do. The opposition that was working within her [...] would express itself to him through any sort of interchange' (III, 319). This is pure pleasure in conflict for its own sake. Indeed, Miriam seems compelled to engage in combat, and the subject is irrelevant, 'anything would do'.

When Miriam overhears her neighbours arguing at Flaxmans Court, she thrills to their hatred: 'and even at their worst they were life, fierce and coarse, driving off sleep, but real, exciting' (III, 500). Throughout *Pilgrimage*, Miriam seeks the 'real', the opposite of the role playing she despises. And here is the unequivocal statement that this reality is violent; 'fierce and coarse', but exciting at the same time. To read Richardson is to encounter such emotions repeatedly, and not necessarily in the spirit of moral condemnation.

It may be worth considering some of Karlin's words on hatred:

> Hazlitt argues, 'every one takes part with Othello against Iago'. But what of the poet who, according to Keats, took 'as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen'? Can we really separate ourselves, as readers, from Shakespeare's - or Browning's - 'relish of the dark side of things', and is this relish one of the qualities which, whether we admit it or not, most draws us to them?[7]

[7]Karlin, *Browning's Hatreds*, p. 23.

To paraphrase Karlin then, can the reader of Richardson separate him- or herself from Richardson's pleasure in hatred, and is this pleasure one of the previously unacknowledged qualities that haunts and fascinates us in her writing?

METAPHORS OF STRUGGLE

My earlier chapters noted Miriam's absorption in struggle. She is seized by the passion of conflict and argument, whether with others or herself, and these arguments come down to fundamental divisions, to radical and irreconcilable opposites: male versus female, movement versus stillness, action versus contemplation, speech versus silence. The middle volumes present Miriam's preoccupation with the conflicts which dominated the late Victorian period: science versus religion, and materialism versus idealism. In the later volumes, these oppositions are reworked in terms of the dialectic between 'being' and 'becoming'. Richardson uses the confrontational relationship between Miriam and Hypo Wilson (a fictionalised portrait of H.G. Wells) to dramatise 'being' and 'becoming' as two diametrically opposed philosophies of life.[8]

These conflicts - which provide Miriam and Richardson with reasonable alibis for hatred - have been acknowledged by numerous critics. I want to argue, however, that the critics have accepted Miriam's alibis too readily. What has been overlooked until now is the fact that dialectical struggle may actually be necessary to Miriam and to Richardson. Miriam's absorption in struggle is made newly apparent in outbreaks of hatred, which occur throughout the text. The belief in struggle also manifests itself in Richardson's language by a proliferation of metaphors drawn from physical aggression. I have

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[8]During the initial stages of work on this thesis, I considered devoting a chapter to the relationship between Richardson and Wells, as theirs was an interaction based on conflict and characterised by a power struggle. My aim was to underline the necessity of creative and personal conflict to Richardson. In an early draft, I examined what might be termed the propaganda war between Richardson and Wells in their journalism and novels, then analysed the fictional account of their relationship in *Pilgrimage*, concluding with a discussion of how Wells helped shape Richardson's ideas on fiction through opposition. In the end, however, I decided not to include this work in my final version. My reasons for doing so were threefold. Firstly, comparisons with the real-life relationship inevitably arose, and started taking me too far in the direction of biographical speculation. Secondly, during the course of my research, I looked at the relationship between Wells and Rebecca West, and discovered that it was equally, if not more pugnacious than the Richardson/Wells one. There did not seem to be anything unique about Wells being engaged in combative love affairs! Finally, Richardson herself was not alone in formulating her ideas about fiction in opposition to specifically male authors, Virginia Woolf being another notable example of a woman writer who did this.

identified two distinct, though related, groups of metaphors of struggle: murder and battle, and animal images (occasionally the two are mixed in the same sentence).

METAPHORS OF MURDER AND OF BATTLE

In the following passage from *Honeycomb*, Miriam is watching the men of the Corrie household eat lunch:

> That's men, she said, with a sudden flash of certainty, that's men as they are, when they are opposed, when they are real. All the rest is pretence. Her thoughts flashed forward to a final clear issue of opposition, with a husband. Just a cold blank hating forehead and neatly brushed hair above it. If a man doesn't understand or doesn't agree he's just a blank bony conceitedly thinking, absolutely condemning forehead, a face below, going on eating - and going off somewhere. Men are all hard angry bones; always thinking something, only one thing at a time and unless that is agreed to, they murder. My husband shan't kill me .... I'll shatter his conceited brow - *make* him see ... two sides to every question ... a million sides ... no questions, only sides ... always changing. Men argue, think they prove things [...] (I, 438)

This is striking because it illustrates the depth and reactivity of Miriam's hatred; feelings of extreme violence are roused by an activity as mundane as eating a meal. Miriam is responding to the hatred she believes men display towards women. Phrases like 'a sudden flash of certainty' and 'her thoughts flashed' reveal the energy and catalytic power of her hatred; it speeds and clarifies her thoughts, enabling her to reach 'a final clear issue of opposition'. The notion that men are only 'real' when they are opposed - in other words, the notion that conflict does away with pretence and reveals people as they are, is vital to my argument. Surely, by implication, Miriam's true self is also revealed through opposition.

Here, as elsewhere in *Pilgrimage*, Richardson's image of the opposition between men and women is the relationship of marriage. Miriam is suggesting that men hate women who oppose them. Such a man, in his 'real' persona, is nothing more than a condemning forehead. The detail of the 'neatly brushed hair' - a parodic attribute of civilised manhood - provides a sharp contrast with the dehumanised 'cold blank hating forehead' with 'a face below' - a face, moreover, which, like an animal's, goes on eating and then goes off somewhere (I shall return to the theme of animal imagery). Miriam has whipped up her hatred by turning this figure of man into an embodiment of extreme otherness.

The convoluted syntax and repetition in the sentence beginning 'If a man doesn't understand or doesn't agree' suggests a rushing together of ideas that the prose can hardly contain, a characteristic effect of Richardson's hatreds. The body of a man becomes all hard angry bones - an image which holds phallic overtones, as well as being a reflection of his perceived rigidity and obtuseness - and his mind is an instrument which can neither stop thinking, nor think of more than one thing at a time.

Miriam concludes that when confronted by opposition, men murder. This is an unequivocal statement of what she regards as a threat to the integrity of a woman's consciousness. If a woman allows herself to enter into an argument with a man, she can expect to be destroyed by him. This threat to her survival provokes Miriam's own aggression; he won't kill her, she argues, because she will attack him first. The passage holds the suggestion that the man commits murder by 'going off' or disengaging. Miriam, however, needs 'to *make* him see'. She engages to the point of physical attack - 'shatter his brow' is another graphic image of murder. What is operating in this passage is not only the fear of being destroyed, but also the possibility, only partly perceived by her, that she may have the ability and the desire to destroy men. This point is dramatised by Richardson's prose, which begins to break up, leaving Miriam and the reader with the fragmented phrases which characterise a woman's thinking style. If a man thinks only one thing at a time, a woman is aware of 'two sides to every question'. Miriam's hatred has

led to the dissolution of language, and to the creation of a new 'feminine' prose style. Thus, hatred is both destructive/disabling, and creative/enabling. This is a significant point, and will be seen to be characteristic of Richardson's and Miriam's hatreds.[9]

It could be argued that Miriam has an alibi for her hatred in this passage: namely, men. But perhaps the most interesting images of murder in *Pilgrimage* are those for which there is no alibi, particularly those applied to Miriam herself, to her unchanged reality beneath the surface. In *Interim*, for instance, Miriam muses about

> the strange thing for which there were no words, something that was always there as if by appointment, waiting for one to get through to it away from everything in life. (II, 322)

This attempt to push beyond the barriers of everyday consciousness, to find an unchanging authentic self, is repeated throughout the novel-sequence; it is what we have come to expect of Richardson. The sentence is couched in impressionistic language: 'the

[9]Further examples of metaphors of murder and of battle include: 'feeling the words as little hammers on [Pastor Lahmann's] pallid, rounded face' (I, 129); ' "You don't talk", she said coldly, feeling as she watched her that Eunice's pretty clothes were stripped away and she were stabbing at her soft round body, "at examinations. Can't you see that?" ' (I, 288); 'the talk was like a silly sort of battle' (I, 318); 'she wanted to take a broom and sweep everybody into the sea' (I, 319); 'men ought to be horsewhipped' (I, 423); ' "I hate women and they've got to know it", she retorted with all her strength, hitting blindly out towards the sofa, feeling all the contrivances of toilet and coiffure fall in meaningless horrible details under her blows' (I, 436); 'she wanted to crush the man's behaviour, to trample on it and fling it out of the room' (I, 447); 'something seemed to shriek within her, throwing [her father] off, destroying, flinging him away' (I, 460); 'stabbed by [the] dull thorns' of her thoughts' (II, 105); 'her unarmed struggle with this new definition of a book' (II, 118); 'she hit out with all her force, coming against the buttress of silent angry forehead with random speech' (II, 171); 'I have nothing now but my pained self again, having violently rushed at things and torn them to bits [...] But I stand for something. I would dash my head against a wall rather than deny it' (II, 209); 'if by one thought, all the men in the world could be stopped, shaken and slapped' (II, 220); 'slashing across their talk with his unfailing snigger' (III, 15); of a passage in *Anna Karenina*: 'the sense of being in arms against an onslaught already achieved, filled her with despair. The enemy was far away, inaccessibly gone forward, spreading more poison' (III, 62); 'she was a murderess. This was the hidden truth of her life' (III, 75); employers 'ought to have their complacency smashed up' (III, 178); 'within me ... the *third* child, the longed-for son, the two natures, equally matched, mingle and fight? It is their struggle that keeps me adrift, so variously interested and strongly attracted, now here, now there? Which will win? ... Feeling so identified with both, she could not imagine either of them set aside. Then her life *would* be the battlefield of her two natures' (III, 250); 'she roused herself to give battle' (III, 364); 'with a sense of battle waged' (IV, 299).

strange thing', 'no words'; there is a strong sense that what Miriam seeks is inexpressible. Yet just a few sentences later, we are informed that the 'strange thing' 'was only there when you had murdered everybody and everything and torn yourself away'. This unequivocal statement that Miriam's deepest and best self is only reached through an act of violence is surprising to say the least.

Similarly,

> She defiantly attacked a remembered fragment [of Beethoven]. It crashed into the silence. The uncaring room might rock and sway. Its rickety furniture shatter to bits. Something must happen under the outbreak of her best reality. (II, 334)

The language is charged with violence: 'attacked', 'crashed', 'rock and sway'. As in the previous example, it is suggested that Miriam's authentic self is reached through an act of violence - here playing the piano loudly. But this passage goes even further - the phrase 'the outbreak of her best reality' implies that Miriam's very core of being is violent. 'Outbreak' is a word usually associated with anger, war and disease, and Miriam's 'best reality' is imagined as equally destructive in its effect, causing the room to sway and furniture to shatter.[10]

[10]Further examples of images of murder applied to Miriam's authentic self include the passage beginning 'It was as if something had struck her, struck right through her impalpable body' (I, 245); and 'this retreat into the centre of her eternal profanity [...] was an evasion whose price she would live to regret. Again and again it had filled her mind with wreckage' (IV, 299).

ANIMAL METAPHORS

Far from being benign, Richardson's animal images often involve jungle animals and insects, molluscs or fungi.

In *Honeycomb*, a fire breaks out in an upstairs room at the Corries' house, and the panicked children cling to Miriam:

> Sybil's body hung fastened to her own with entwining limbs ... 'a fight in the jungle', a tiger flung fixed like a leech against the breast of a screaming elephant ... the boy had the whip and was slashing at her legs through her thin dress and uttering piercing shrieks. (I, 398)

Sybil's body is 'fastened' to Miriam's 'with entwining limbs', which is suggestive of an erotic embrace. Miriam, however, clearly perceives the contact to be claustrophobic rather than pleasurable - 'hung' implies a weight or burden. Unlike the previous passages which figure Miriam as attacker, here she is being attacked. The ellipses signal a switch from realistic external description to Miriam's interior fantasy around the episode. The inverted commas separating 'a fight in the jungle' reveal a high degree of self-consciousness, which may relate to Miriam's hysteria. The jungle imagery is violent and overwrought; there is a confused mixing of metaphors in the description of the tiger fixed like a leech against the elephant's breast. Miriam herself is the screaming wounded elephant, which effectively conveys her panic as well as her abhorrence of the children's aggressive hysteria. The second set of ellipses marks the switch back to external reality, as though Miriam has collected herself. The change of perspective is disorientating; the actual violence of the boy whipping Miriam's legs seems mild compared to the metaphorical violence of the wild animals.

Richardson's images which involve fungi, molluscs or protozoa are worth particular mention. Grace Broom's suitor's family, for instance, are described as 'amoebae, awful determined unconscious ... octopuses ... frightful things with one eye, tentacles, poison sacs' (II, 317). Elsewhere, masculine complacency is 'all over everything in the world like a fungus' (III, 468). The tactile, slimy texture of these metaphors is especially striking. It seems to me that Richardson's writing expresses loathing, which, to return to Miller's definition, is 'not only the mixing of hate and disgust ... but the intensification that each works on the other'. Miller, moreover, has the following valuable points to make about disgust itself:

> The idiom of disgust consistently invokes the *sensory* experience ... We thus talk of how our senses are offended, of stenches that make us retch, of tactile sensations of slime, ooze, and wriggly, slithering creepy things that make us cringe and recoil.[11]

Richardson's metaphors of amoebae, octopuses and fungi invoke precisely this sensory experience of disgust; its 'slime', 'ooze', and 'slithering'. The intensification of hatred and disgust on each other is also apparent in these passages. In Miller's words, 'what disgust adds to hatred is its distinctive kind of embodiment, its way of being unpleasant to the senses. It also subjects hatred's volatility to disgust's slow rate of decay'.[12] In keeping with Miller's formulation, Miriam's hatred of Grace Broom's suitor's family both mixes with and intensifies the disgusting metaphors Richardson chooses to describe them, to produce the emotion of loathing.

Richardson's 'slimy' metaphors are also interesting when they are compared to the 'hard angry bones' extract from *Honeycomb* discussed earlier. In her stated desire to shatter a

[11]Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, p. 9.
[12]Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, p. 35.

husband's 'conceited brow', Miriam is adopting a counter masculinity; by implication, she too must take on a man's hard, angry - or phallic - aspect in order to possess the force to shatter his brow. When this is set against the loathsome 'slimy' images, which seem to me to have an anti-phallic or 'female' quality, a noteworthy polarity in Richardson's figurative language becomes apparent. All of this is part of the diversity of feeling contained in *Pilgrimage*; Richardson is helping us to think about the definition of these emotions.[13]

As the abundance of metaphors drawn from physical aggression shows, dialectical struggle is both integral and necessary to Richardson. This figurative violence, which attaches itself to any and every activity, and even to descriptions of Miriam's own consciousness, forms one of the principal image-clusters in Richardson's rhetorical register.

[13]Further examples of animal metaphors, which occur less frequently than the images of murder and battle, include the description of Mr Hancock's relatives as 'refined shrews, turning in circles, like moths on pins; brainless, mindless, heartless, the prey of the professions' (II, 196); and Miriam's family, who 'tugged at the jungle of feelings that had the power to lead one back through any small crushing maiming aperture' (II, 315-6).

THE TWO-WAY FLOW OF HATRED

Miriam's hatreds are often characterised by what I shall term the animating two-way flow of hatred. Miriam expresses hatred towards other people, but she is equally concerned that they will hate her.

The night before she leaves for Germany, she dreams she is standing in a room in the German school, being looked at by the woman staff:

> They had dreadful eyes - eyes like the eyes of hostesses she remembered, eyes she had seen in trains and buses, eyes from the old school. They came and stood and looked at her, and saw her as she was, without courage, without funds or good clothes or beauty, without even the skill to play a part. They looked at her with loathing. (I, 21)

Like all the dreams related in *Pilgrimage*, this one is presented without analysis. There is no narrator offering information or explanations; the reader is left to interpret the significance of the dream material for himself/herself. A close study of the language may yield clues. The repetition of 'eyes' has a hypnotic effect, which immediately recreates the dream atmosphere. 'Hostesses' implies women who are acting or playing a part; Miriam often perceives women as assuming false roles.[14] Eyes 'in trains and buses' and 'eyes from the old school' are more menacing - by this stage, the eyes seem to have an independent life, separate from the bodies they belong to - but they continue the idea of dehumanised scrutiny, or scrutiny from behind a mask. (When one wears a mask, the only part of the face showing is the eyes.) But the point about the 'dreadful eyes', impersonal yet all-penetrating, is that Miriam is being judged - and found wanting. Unlike these women,

[14]The theme of feminine identity as a masquerade is a significant one, and has been comprehensively discussed by Radford: *Richardson*, pp. 70-74.

Miriam does not even have the skill to play a part. 'They came and stood and looked at her' suggests a jury or tribunal, a traditionally patriarchal body. Moreover, they look at her with 'loathing'. As discussed in the previous section, the emotion of loathing - hatred mixed with disgust - holds particular intensity. One might say that this dream expresses Miriam's anxieties about going to Germany, but it is also a projection of her male-identified hostile feelings towards women.

A few lines later, Miriam's loathing of women is openly stated:

> They would be so affable at first. She had been through it a million times - all her life - all eternity. They would smile those hateful woman's smiles - smirks - self-satisfied smiles as if everybody were agreed about everything. She loathed women. (I, 21)

Here, the repetition of 'a million times - all her life - all eternity' dramatises the pattern of disenchantment that Miriam is trapped into living out over and over again in her problematic relationships with women. The feminine role-playing that Miriam so objects to is often characterised in the text by smugness and smiling. Here, these attributes have replaced the 'eyes of hostesses' as a symbol of feminine masquerading. The passage expresses hatred of women, but the telling phrase 'as if everybody were agreed about everything' also reveals Miriam's feelings of exclusion from their world. This extract is a mirror of the dream sequence; it is a direct affirmation of hatred, but it also hints at Miriam's anxiety about her inability to fulfil a conventional feminine role.

In *The Tunnel*, yet again using language couched in violence, Miriam expresses the desire 'to force and browbeat [men] into seeing themselves' (II, 187). But only a few lines later, she reflects, 'nearly all men will hate me - because I can't play up for long'.

As in the first example, Miriam's anxiety that others will hate her is a projection of her own feeling. It is also a mirror of Miriam's hatred, and the doubling creates a kind of

merging and blending with other people.[15] I have termed this pattern an animating two-way flow because it is always in motion, never static. (Shortly after the dream passage and Miriam's avowal of loathing for women, she expresses the fear that 'even the German servants would despise her' I, 30.) This process is not a mirroring of solidarity, which one might expect from Richardson, but rather a mirroring of anger. Hatred provides an alternative way of seeing and relating to people; the emotion signals Miriam's engagement with them.

9 Further examples of the two-way flow of hatred include Miriam's feelings about the Radnors and Pooles (I, 67); German male teachers (I, 77-78); and North Londoners (II, 144).

THE ARTICULATION OF FEELING: MORAL AND LITERARY EFFECTS OF HATRED

An interesting effect of Miriam's hatreds - one I shall term a 'moral' effect - is that they are frequently accompanied by bouts of swearing. Swearing is traditionally a masculine preserve; it is beyond the pale of conventional feminine behaviour, and this fact is neatly illustrated by Miriam's sister's shocked reaction:

> 'It's too utterly sickening, somehow, for words'.
>
> 'Mim'.
>
> '*Pooh* - barooo, *barooo*'.
>
> 'Mim ---'
>
> 'Damnation'.
>
> 'Mimmy-*Jim*'.
>
> 'I said DAMNATION'. (I, 301)

Eve's increasing horror seems to provoke Miriam into ever greater linguistic feats. Miriam's pleasure in shocking is palpable, and it escalates as she proceeds from 'utterly sickening', through the invented, faintly scatological '*pooh* - barooo *barooo*', to an acknowledged and therefore more shocking swearword - 'damnation', and finally to that word reiterated in capitals, which presumably denotes a raised voice or increased emphasis. Miriam's hatred is not only pleasurable but creative; it frees her to invent new words. Her pleasure in the rhyming of '*pooh* - barooo *barooo*' is obvious. There is a sense that existing structures of language are insufficient to express her emotion. This establishes a link between anger and creativity; hatred animates Richardson's writing, facilitating expression and even leading to the creation of new words.

As well as giving vent to feelings, swearing provides a means of escape from the constrictions of the feminine role imposed by society, as when Miriam is forced to listen to Fraulein Pfaff's tirade about the schoolgirls' interest in men:

> 'Damn ... Devil ...' she exhorted herself...'humbugging creature..' [...] The words echoing through her mind seemed to cut a way of escape. (I, 176)

The use of the verb 'exhort' lends added intensity; Miriam is urging or admonishing herself to swear. The phrase 'cut a way of escape' graphically evokes her sense of imprisonment; it is as though she breaking out of gaol. Swearing not only relieves Miriam's complicated feelings, it is a tool with which she spurs herself into a creative act - the act of mental escape from a situation she finds intolerable. As usual with Richardson, the ellipses alert us to a level of activity not present in the text; they open up the passage for the reader's own interpretations. Here, the ellipses might indicate Miriam's guilt and shame at her own interest in men, or possibly the process of mental escape, but their exact meaning is left ambiguous.

To turn now to the literary effects of hatred, the emotion is frequently and strikingly characterised by repetition of words or phrases. In *Backwater*, for instance, Eve tells Miriam that all women change in the presence of men - even herself. This idea engenders intense misery in Miriam, which quickly turns to hatred and disgust:

> The tree-tops, serene with some happy secret, cast her off, and left her standing with groping crisping fingers unable to lift the misery that pressed upon her heart. 'God what a filthy world! God what a filthy world!' she muttered. 'Everyone hemmed and hemmed and hemmed into it!' (I, 302)

Miriam has turned to the tree-tops for relief from her dilemma, but finds them inaccessible. The garden, symbol of innocence, security, and the inevitable approach of knowledge and loss, appears throughout *Pilgrimage* as the original location of the isolated and perceiving consciousness. Thus, being cast off by the tree-tops has special resonance; it signals the extent of Miriam's trauma, and her sense of dislocation from herself. The detail of the 'groping crisping fingers' continues this theme of dislocation and loss. 'Groping' evokes the act of seeking blindly, while the unusual 'crisping', with its attendant connotations of fragility and brittleness, suggests a convulsive curling up with powerlessness. This wretchedness provides a sharp contrast with the aloof 'serene' trees with their 'happy secret'; it also gives a literal quality to the figurative description of misery pressing on Miriam's heart.

Miriam, however, quickly turns her unhappiness into hatred of the world, which is less painful because it is generalised. The emphatic repetition in the two final sentences both expresses her emotion and provides some relief from it. With the profanity of 'God', Miriam briefly escapes from her predicament by taking up the masculine stance of swearing. 'What a filthy world' also holds masculine overtones. But the escape is temporary. 'Hemmed' signals that Miriam is firmly back with constrictions of femininity; the three times repeated word enacts just how claustrophobic and inescapable she finds this confinement.

As well as expressing emotion, the device of repetition embodies fundamental struggle. Moreover, Miriam is stuck; she has reached an impasse. It is not the emotion of hatred that produced this state, but the reasons behind it: the limitations of femininity and the unalterable fact of women's role-playing. As with the accosting passages of my previous

chapter, repetition registers a moment of fixing in the text, a moment when the writing comes to a halt.[16]

Elsewhere in the novel-sequence, Miriam's hatred has the opposite effect to bringing the text to a halt. On the contrary, it can provoke an angry rush to the pace of the writing, as in the following extract from *The Tunnel*, when Miriam takes exception to the way Alma Wilson plays Chopin:

> It was clear that [Alma's] taste had become cultivated, that she *knew* now, that the scales had fallen from her eyes as they had fallen from Miriam's eyes in Germany; but the result sent Miriam back with a rush to cheap music, sentimental 'obvious' music, shapely waltzes, the demoralising chromatics of Gounod, the demoralising descriptive passion pieces of Chaminade, those things by Liszt, whom somebody had called a charlatan, who wrote to make your feet leap and your blood dance and made your blood leap and your feet dance ... why not? ...
>
> Her mind went on amazed at the rushing together of her ideas on music, at the amount of certainty she had accumulated. (II, 125)

This is a prime example of 'unreasonable' hatred: irrational, wholly unrelated to a critique of oppression, but searing and powerful nonetheless. Miriam reacts to what she perceives as Alma's musical snobbery with a violent hunger for all the 'vulgar' music she can muster. The opening sentence is striking for its length and convoluted syntax. Its repetitions, the thumping rhythms of 'to make your feet leap and your blood dance and made your blood leap and your feet dance', and the frenzied acceleration of pace, until

[16]Further examples of hatred being characterised by repetition of words and phrases include: 'certificates would finish you off - kill - kill - kill - *kill* - *kill*!!' (I, 322); 'she confronted [her father's creditors]. "Stop!" she shouted, "stop *talking* - you smug ugly men! You shall be paid. Stop! Go away..." ' (I, 425); 'I can't *stand* [women who are like cats], oh, I *can't* stand them' (II, 165).

the whole passage breaks down altogether, almost enact a pianist crashing out a defiant *accelerando*.

I have some difficulties with this extract. It is unclear why Gounod's chromatics and Chaminade's passion pieces are 'demoralising'. Does this choice of adjective refer to their technical difficulty, or simply to their vulgarity? The repetition of 'demoralising' suggests that Miriam, in her fury, is unable to think up a second adjective - in other words, a kind of breakdown of language is occurring. This breakdown continues in the clumsy throwaway description of Liszt's works as 'things', and culminates in the disintegration of the sentence into non-verbal ellipses, punctuated by the defiant 'why not?'

When the storm has abated, however, Miriam is surprised by the rushing together of her ideas on music that has occurred - the ellipses may signal the level of unconscious activity by which her mind registers this link. Hatred has once again proved disabling and enabling: it causes a disintegration of language, but is also a catalyst to the creation of new ideas.

At other times, the expression of hatred lends uncharacteristic spareness to the writing, as in the following description of Amabel's prison ordeal:

> It was certainly true that someone had fainted in a Black Maria, after a foodless, exciting day in the stifling police court, and had had to 'stay fainted' until she came round. And certainly 'the worst' occurred in the inevitably verminous reception room where, still foodless and untended, they all remained, with only just space to stand, for hours. A Black Hole of Calcutta. But prisons are not accustomed to receive, on a single occasion, an army of criminals. (IV, 369-70)

A discussion of this passage appears in my section on *Pilgrimage* and suffragette fiction in Chapter Three, where I observed that its concise catalogue of events differs

sharply from Richardson's usual pleonastic, detail-crammed style.[17] The extract is also unusual for Richardson in that it concentrates entirely on external details and objective fact; we are offered no insight into the characters' emotions. The writing exudes anger. It is far more measured and controlled than the Chopin example, and I think this is because Miriam has a 'reasonable' alibi for her hatred here - the brutal treatment meted out to suffragettes.[18]

Another effect of hatred on Richardson's language is that it occasionally produces non-verbal exclamations. Although infrequent, these are nonetheless interesting, and are related to the invented swearwords and disintegration of language already noted. For instance, Miriam reacts violently to the sound of 'ethical' (another perfect example of 'unreasonable' hatred): ' "ethical" - hooooo - the very *sound* of the word - "ethical Pantheism"; cool and secret and hateful' (II, 202). Again, it is as though the existing structure of language is an insufficient vehicle for Miriam's emotion, which leads her to invent a new vocabulary. The same pattern keeps emerging: hatred is both enabling/creative and disabling/destructive.

Swearing, repetition, and non-verbal exclamations are all departures from the literary norm, or ideal of communication. In standing outside the norm, Richardson and Miriam could be said to occupy the same position. For Miriam, the norm is conventional feminine behaviour and rational discourse. For Richardson, it is the novel tradition, one of whose conventions is articulate dialogue. Thus, the breakdown of rational, syntactically balanced prose is in keeping both with Miriam's rebellion against a traditional feminine role and with Richardson's rejection of novelistic convention.

My account of Richardson's disruption of language in Chapter Three referred to her distrust of traditional language use, noting that she regarded this as a predominantly male

[17]See above, pp. 174-175.
[18]For another example of spareness of writing, see the account of Olga's suicide (IV, 643-4).

mode of expression.[19] For Miriam, the trouble with language is that it sets things 'in a mould that was apt to come up again'. The departure from rational speech into swearing, repetition and non-verbal utterances is another method of disrupting language; it provided Richardson with a means of smashing the mould and dealing with this anxiety.

The breakdown of articulate dialogue renders Richardson unusual for her time. Virginia Woolf's novels, for example, keep within this convention. Even the disturbed Septimus Smith's vision of the world is presented in syntactically balanced prose; it is an intensely literary vision. Septimus not only thinks in metaphor, he experiences it, projecting his inner vision onto outward reality. He literally sees Rezia as a flowering tree, or the sound of music as 'smooth columns'. Instead of feeling emotionally at one with nature, he imagines real flowers growing through him, communicates with leaves, and hears birds speak Greek (*Mrs Dalloway* pp. 163, 76, 26, 28). Whereas Richardson often describes the extreme emotion of hatred as a bodily spasm, Woolf concentrates on the visual manifestations of Septimus's extreme mental state, and we feel his emotions through the terrifying or beautiful images in which his thoughts present themselves, and through the manner in which these images form and dissolve.

[19]See above, pp. 142-147.

HATRED AND CREATIVITY

'THE CREATIVE POWER OF ANGER'

There are several passages in *Pilgrimage* where hatred is linked to creativity, whether artistic or otherwise. Sometimes the link between hatred and creativity is implicit, as when Miriam reflects 'some strong pain or emotion made you able to do things' (I, 391), or when she makes '[word] pictures, for Vereker, of her yesterday's adventure. Lively and shapely, inspired by the passage of wrath' (IV, 83). At other times, the connection is explicit. In the following passage from *Deadlock*, Miriam is irritated by her sister Eve's new-found 'self-assertion' which has developed with the purchase of a small shop, and she interrupts a conversation between Eve and Gerald to talk about blouses:

> Miriam stood listening in astonishment to the echoes of the phrase, fashioned from nothing upon her lips by something within her, unknown, wildly to be welcomed if its power of using words that left her not merely untouched and unspent, but taut and invigorated, should prove to be reliable. She watched the words go forward outside her with a life of their own, a golden thread between herself and the world [...] Through Gerald's bantering acknowledgement she gazed out before her into the future, an endless perspective of blissful unbroken silence, shielded by the gift of speech. The figure of Eve, sitting averted towards the fire, flung her back. To Eve her words were not silence; but a blow deliberately struck. With a thrill of sadness she realised the creative power of anger. If she had not been angry with Eve she would have wondered whether Gerald were secretly amused by her continued interest in blouses, and have fallen stupidly dumb before the need of explaining. (III, 101-102)

At the outset, Miriam is arrested and astonished by her own creative power; she is amazed by the words themselves, and by the impulse which produced them. Although she does not understand this impulse, she welcomes its effect. Richardson's language expresses energy and exhilaration: 'wildly to be welcomed', 'not merely untouched and unspent, but taut and invigorated'. However, this energy is unharnessed; there is a strong sense that Miriam neither understands nor possesses the vocabulary to describe what is happening; it is 'something within her, unknown'. The creative impulse is imaged as a mystical experience; the words have 'a life of their own', they are 'a golden thread between herself and the world'. The phrases 'an endless perspective of blissful unbroken silence, shielded by the gift of speech' hold the characteristically paradoxical assertion that words somehow protect Miriam's deepest reality, which is only to be found in silence.

The sight of Eve, the object of her anger, brings her up short. The entry of anger introduces a marked shift of gear; the words 'flung her back' bring the text violently to a halt. The long elastic sentences of the opening now give way to shorter ones. Eve's physical location in the room is described with great precision; she is 'sitting averted towards the fire'. The fire may be a symbol of hearth and home, and Eve's position - 'averted' from Miriam but facing the fire - perhaps signals Miriam's sense of alienation from her family. The language uses images of physical violence; Miriam's words are 'a blow deliberately struck'.

'With a thrill of sadness' is a striking phrase. 'Thrill' suggests a sharpness of excitement or agitation, while 'sadness' with its associated meanings of sorrowful and mournful, seems an altogether more restrained emotion. The phrase expresses Miriam's ambiguous feelings towards the creative power of anger. She acknowledges this power and the way it thrills her, but she needs to keep the thrill in check with the restrained emotion of sadness.

'The creative power of anger' brings several insights: the realisation that anger fires her words, a clearer understanding of her own creativity (which at the extract's beginning was described in vague terms), and of her family situation. This is perhaps the most explicit acknowledgement of the link between hatred and creativity in *Pilgrimage*.

This link is echoed later in *Deadlock*, when a Negro seen in a restaurant inspires Miriam to eloquent speech. At first, the prose thrills with disgust:

> Miriam sat frozen, appalled by the presence of a negro. He sat near by, huge, bent, snorting, with a huge black bottle at his side. (III, 217)

Miriam is paralysed by the Negro's overwhelming physical presence. He is described as an animal: enormous, 'bent' in contrast to an upright two-legged man, even the sounds he makes are inhuman snorts; and he provides a sharp contrast to Miriam's frozen state. The Negro's form becomes the backdrop to Miriam's interior monologue and to the argument she is having with Michael Shatov. Her struggle to express herself in words to Shatov is imaged as a physical battle with the black man:

> While she had pursued her thoughts, advantage had fallen to the black form in the corner. It was as if the black face grinned, crushing her thread of thought.

To Miriam the Negro is inhuman, an embodiment of otherness, and he provides a convenient image onto which she can project her negative thoughts and feelings. Eventually, she manages a long speech about the position of women. 'In the awful presence she had spoken herself out, found and recited her best, most liberating words' (III, 219); 'he had helped her' (*ibid.*). The hatred and disgust Miriam feels towards the

Negro initially disable and freeze her, but eventually they become enabling, 'liberating' her creativity.[20]

Some important points have emerged here. Firstly, hatred is a necessary catalyst to Miriam's and Richardson's creativity. But Richardson's attitude towards hatred is pervaded by tensions. While she fully acknowledges 'the creative power of anger' and its attendant 'thrill', there is a contrary drive operating within her, impelling her to keep it in check.

This paradox is noted by Peter Gay in his comprehensive study of nineteenth century aggression, *The Cultivation of Hatred*:

> Humans, pugnacious animals that they are, cultivate their hatreds because they get pleasure from the exercise of their aggressive powers. But the societies in which they live cultivate hatred in precisely the opposite way, by subjecting bareknuckled aggression in most of its forms to stern control; they rein in violence before it destroys everything.[21]

This clash between Gay's dual meanings of hatred appears over and over again in *Pilgrimage*; repeated manifestations of what he terms 'an exercise in aggression checked by the accepted rules'.[22]

Drawing on *The Tempest* and *Paradise Lost* as examples, Karlin argues that 'everything in the Christian tradition, and the literary culture that derives from it, seems to go against the possibility that hatred might have a creative power'.[23] Richardson

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[20]Another example of the creative power of anger is 'again the enlivening power of anger, the relief of the clean cut, of everything brought to an end, of being once more single and clear [...]' (III, 391).
[21]Peter Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred: The Bourgeois Experience; Victoria to Freud, Volume III* (London: HarperCollins, 1994), p. 9.
[22]*ibid.*
[23]Karlin, *Browning's Hatreds*, p. 70.

continually expressed distrust of what she regarded as the male bias of both organised Christianity and the literary canon. In one sense, the alliance between creativity and hatred in her work is in keeping with her stance as an opponent of religious and literary convention, although I think that her ambiguous feelings about 'the creative power of anger' rendered her unaware of this connection.

THE LANGUAGE OF WRITING AND THE LANGUAGE OF HATRED

There are notable and repeated similarities between the language used to depict the act of writing and the language of hatred. Richardson's descriptions of writing are characterised by the same dynamism and energy as her hatreds; at times they even share the same vocabulary. Compare 'Miriam, flashing hatred at her' (I, 99) with 'some word was coming [...] it flashed through and away, just missed' (III, 133).

The language of writing often registers physical violence. For instance, 'the sound of the pen shattered the silence like sudden speech' (III, 133). The hard 'tt' of 'shattered' cuts through the surrounding alliterative 's' sounds, literally enacting the suggestion that writing involves a destructive and violent act.

Similarly, the metaphors of struggle I identified earlier are applied to Miriam's efforts to write. The metaphor of battle is frequently invoked: 'with each fresh attack on the text' (III, 141), 'the first attack on a fresh stretch of the text' (III, 142), 'the next opportunity of attack' (III, 143). Once again, the hard 'tt' of 'attack' literally enacts its meaning. Savage animal imagery also appears in 'the words were leaping and barking around her like dogs' (III, 149).

While these extracts continue the theme of the implicit link between hatred and creativity, the following one makes the connection between creativity and anger overt:

> And passages stood out, recalling, together with the memory of overcoming their difficulty, the dissolution of annoyance, the surprised arrival on the far side of overwhelming angers. (III, 143)

This is undoubtedly significant, but as so often in Richardson's work it is shrouded in ambiguity, which baffles interpretation even as it invites it. Richardson states that the dissolution of anger is necessary to overcoming difficulties in certain passages. In other

words, it is apparently necessary to dissolve anger in order to write well. Initially, this seems to refute the link between hatred and creativity and Richardson's open acknowledgement of 'the creative power of anger'. But why are anger and writing yoked together in the first place unless there is a connection between them; unless anger - and 'overwhelming' anger at that - is in some way necessary to writing?

The exact meaning of 'the surprised arrival on the far side of overwhelming angers' is unclear. Is it part of Richardson's creative process that she experiences anger, but emerges the other side? The word 'overwhelming' is crammed with struggle; its attendant meanings are burying or drowning, crushing, or bringing to sudden ruin or destruction. This choice of word expresses Richardson's fear that instead of emerging creative on 'the far side' of anger, she might be destroyed by it. This extract continues the link between hatred and creativity in *Pilgrimage*, while illuminating the tensions and ambivalence it causes. Hatred is once more shown to have a dual effect: it is enabling, sparking the creative process, but Richardson is also aware of its 'overwhelming' disabling or destructive potential.[24]

[24]Further examples of the similarities between the language of writing and the language of hatred include: 'she recalled sentences that had filled her with hopeless fury, examining them curiously without anger' (III, 133); attempts to write 'bring fatigue and wrath over her failure to materialise it in the narrative whose style was worse than that of the worst books of this kind' (IV, 524).

THE DYING OUT OF HATRED

The majority of my examples of Richardson's hatreds have come from the early volumes of *Pilgrimage*; it is here that Miriam's hatred is most frequently expressed. Moreover, as the following passage demonstrates, these early outbreaks are often not integrated into alibis:

> 'Have those people written about the bouquets?' [for Sarah's and Harriett's weddings] said Miriam irritably. [...]
>
> [...] 'I say', she insisted, 'what about the bouquets?'
>
> Mrs Henderson raised her eyebrows helplessly and smiled, disclaiming.
>
> 'Hasn't anybody done anything?' roared Miriam.
>
> [...] 'Bouquets would appear to be one of the essentials of the ceremony', hooted Mr Henderson.
>
> 'Well, of course', retorted Miriam savagely, 'if you *have* a dress wedding at all. That's the point'. (I, 456-457)

While one could attribute Miriam's aggression to envy of her sisters' impending marriages or to frustration with her parents' refusal to take responsibility, the reactivity of her hatred and the reiteration of 'said Miriam irritably', 'she insisted', 'roared Miriam' and 'retorted Miriam savagely', seem to imply that hatred is a fundamental part of her being. There is a great deal of unassimilated hatred floating around, waiting for an alibi to attach itself to.

To some extent, just such an alibi is provided in the middle volumes by Miriam's preoccupation with the conflicts which dominated the late Victorian period. However, this is a general principle rather than a hard and fast rule, because there is unintegrated hatred present in the middle volumes, as well as alibis for hatred in the early ones.

The final novel chapters register a significant new development: hatred decreases markedly, although it never fully dies away. In these volumes, Miriam begins to display symptoms of battleweariness: 'she had grown weary of conflict with Densley' (IV, 145); 'swiftly withdrawing from this old battleground' (IV, 306); 'how wasteful for them both was this fruitless conflict [with Hypo Wilson]' (IV, 333). It is interesting that Richardson uses metaphors of struggle even while describing Miriam's distaste for conflict. These images have become ingrained in her literary register.

There are signs, too, that Miriam's hatreds are cooling. Attending church in *Dimple Hill*, she realises that 'she felt nothing of her old desire to smash [the congregation's] complacency' (IV, 423). Or, 'summoning the hitherto infallible inspirers of wrath, things read incredulously, opinions roundly expressed or casually implied, she found that they failed to move her' (IV, 504).

Revolving Lights records Miriam's first detailed attempt to come to terms with hatred. Contemplating the 'suffocating' idea of 'Protestant husbands', the 'monstrous illusions' of men, and the Church '[going] on being a Royal Academy of Males' (III, 323), she feels the familiar stirrings of wrath. But rather than succumb to these, or even enjoy them, as she might have done in the past, she deliberately calls back her thoughts 'from a contemplation that would only lead to anger'.

> She suddenly knew that [...] she was on her way to a goal. Somewhere at the end of this ramble into the past, was a release from wrath. She rallied to the coolness far away within her tingling blood. (III, 323-4)

The mystical overtones of words like 'goal' and 'release' suggest that Miriam is about to embark on the kind of spiritual exercise she elsewhere likens to a 'mining operation' (IV, 498). This is the first intimation in the text that the spiritual goal she seeks may be connected to 'a release from wrath'; the phrase implies that wrath holds her in its grip in a

manner that is out of her control. But even here, the choice of the adjective 'tingling' expresses Richardson's ambivalence. 'Tingling' evokes the heat and excitement of anger, but one can tingle with pleasure as much as with pain.

The passage leads, through a lengthy and roundabout association of ideas (from 'all the descriptions of humanity she had ever culled', via Dr Salem Oldfield, a fellow lodger who introduced her to her first Quaker meeting) to Quakerism (III, 327). This indicates that 'the release from wrath' that is Miriam's 'goal' is in fact Quakerism. However, we are given no direct authorial statement that this is so, and the ensuing description of the Friends' meeting makes no reference to anger. The connection between Quakerism and 'release from wrath' is unformulated, and suggested only by implication.

The struggle to suppress hatred is never a straightforward development; it is continually fraught with contradiction. For instance, Miriam feels a pang at the retreat of her old self: 'it had been, at least, with all its blindness, desperately sincere' (III, 482). She asks, 'was passionate anger better than cool reason?' (III, 485). Here, she is unwilling to relinquish the pleasure of hating.

Yet a little later, overhearing the sounds of Miss Holland's toilette, Miriam is dismayed to find the hatred aroused by these noises unchanged: 'pure helpless hatred, rising up as it had risen in childhood, against forced association with unalterable personal habits...' (III, 501). 'Pure' is a revealing word; it means powerful and unmixed, but also holds connotations of uncorrupted, sincere, and guiltless; while 'helpless' disclaims responsibility for the emotion altogether. 'Rising up as it had risen in childhood' again suggests that hatred is a well known and integral part of Miriam's being. She goes on to express with regret 'the shock of discovering that hatred anew, finding I have not moved on' (*ibid.*). As Peter Gay comments, 'surely the history of aggression is a history of the subtlest mixed feelings'.[25]

Radford argues that Quakerism offers Miriam the chance to

[25]Gay, *The Cultivation of Hatred*, p. 333.

> [seek] a core of being, an 'I', amidst the myriad selves of her past 'becomings'; only in the contemplation of these past states, she feels, will she find the principle of unity running through her life ... the object of Miriam's quest is the inexpressible, the spirit of 'life itself'.[26]

I agree with this reading, but would add that Quakerism also offers a possible solution for coming to terms with hatred. This idea is formulated more clearly in *Dimple Hill*, when Miriam attends a Quaker meeting, 'closing her eyes to concentrate upon the labour of retreat into stillness of mind and body':

> Already she was aware of a change in her feeling towards those about her, a beginning of something more than a melting away of resentment towards the characteristics of some of those she had observed as she came into the room, an animosity now reversing itself by a movement of apology towards the women on the platform and the dapper little man of ideas. Feeling now something more than a rationally tolerant indifference, something akin to the beginning of affection, she was free to take leave of them. (IV, 497-8)

The long elastic opening sentence, and impressionistic phrases like 'a melting away of resentment' or 'animosity now reversing itself by a movement of apology' all suggest motion, fluidity and unboundedness; qualities critics have often associated with Richardson. Significantly though, the 'retreat into stillness' that Miriam desires takes her to a contemplation of the death of hatred. The extract's final sentence implies that the transcendence of hatred leads to freedom from relationship ties, which links back to my

[26]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 40.

earlier point about hatred being an alternative way of engaging with people. But almost immediately afterwards, Miriam is overcome by a fierce animosity towards a Quaker woman elder:

> Struggling in vain against a fierce loathing, she found herself isolated with two assailants. On the one hand memories, rare but vivid, of outlying elders who, in thus distinguishing herself and Harriett from the surrounding adults had inspired only nausea and reaped only contempt, and on the other a sly voice requesting her to note the difference between the masculine and the feminine contributions, and to admit St Paul justified in forbidding women to give voice in public. (IV, 503)

The intrusion of violence marks a change of register, a moment of bringing to a halt that often characterises Richardson's hatreds. The battle metaphor is used in a new way; this time, it is Miriam's loathing that is the enemy, something to be fought against. Miriam is externalising her hatreds in order to deal with them. The clash of religious and mystical language with the language of hatred in the phrase 'inspired only nausea and reaped only contempt' is another dramatisation of Miriam's struggle. The attempt to overcome hatred has failed here.

A more successful battle with hatred set in a Quaker context occurs later in *Dimple Hill*, when Alfred Roscorla unwittingly breaks a silence Miriam has been enjoying:

> But within the depths of the lamplight, moving at the heart of its still radiance, was the core of the shared mystery; far away within the visible being of light.
>
> 'There wasn't too full a meeting tonight'.

> Hatred of the outrage and forgiveness for the speaker, struggling together, brought her sharply back to herself. (IV, 471)

Mystical imagery of light and of journeying is interrupted by Alfred's innocuous remark. Again, the language of battle registers the violence of Miriam's ensuing reaction. The clash between hatred and forgiveness 'brought her sharply back to herself', which presumably means that it broke the mystical mood. But the statement that struggle brings Miriam back to herself also implies that there is reality in struggle; 'sharply' indicates a heightening of perception. Once more, Richardson's language reveals her ambivalence towards hatred. This time though, 'glancing at Alfred, she found forgiveness easily triumphant'.

In the final novel chapter, *March Moonlight*, Miriam decides that despite the fact that the Friends' way is 'the best I've met', the thought of 'the missing letters [in their alphabet] makes the idea of a Quakerised world intolerable' (IV, 603). Radford believes that

> the repeated images of enclosure used of the Friends' community in *Dimple Hill* link it back to the parental garden in *Pointed Roofs*, suggesting that it is just another garden, man-made and incomplete, from which she must once again set forth.[27]

While this is an illuminating analysis, I would add that one of the missing elements in the Quaker alphabet is that it does not provide a satisfactory means of dealing with hatred.

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[27]Radford, *Richardson*, p. 32.

CONCLUSION

My final chapter moves to identify and discuss examples of what I have termed Richardson's 'unreasonable' hatreds. I argue that these violent responses are in excess of any specific cause, and that they are central to both the form and language of *Pilgrimage*.

I approach Richardson's 'unreasonable' hatreds from a number of angles: firstly, through a discussion of Richardson's metaphors of struggle. I argue that the proliferation of metaphors drawn from physical aggression reveals that dialectical struggle was both necessary and intrinsic to Richardson, to an extent that goes over and beyond the reasonable explanations for hatred acknowledged by previous critics. Richardson's figurative violence, which I identified earlier in *The Quakers; Past and Present*, attaches itself to a wide variety of activities, including descriptions of consciousness, and forms one of the main image-groups in Richardson's rhetorical universe.

I then examine the moral and literary effects of Richardson's hatreds: swearing, repetition of words or phrases, acceleration of the pace of the writing, uncharacteristic spareness to the writing, and non-verbal exclamations. This section concludes that hatred animates Richardson's writing, facilitating expression and even leading to the coining of new words. In addition, swearing, repetition, and non-verbal exclamations are all departures from the literary norm, or ideal of communication. The disintegration of rational, syntactically balanced prose is in keeping both with Miriam's rebellion against a conventional feminine role and with Richardson's rejection of novelistic tradition.

This is followed by an exploration of the link between hatred and creativity in Richardson's work. I also note the repeated similarities between the language used to depict the act of writing and the language of hatred. I conclude that hatred is a necessary catalyst to Richardson's creativity; however, her attitude towards hatred is riven with contradictions. While she fully acknowledges 'the creative power of anger' and its

accompanying 'thrill', there is a contrary impulse within her, compelling her to keep it in check. Hatred has a dual effect: it is enabling, firing the creative process, but Richardson is also aware of its disabling or destructive potential.

An examination of the development of hatred throughout the course of *Pilgrimage* reveals a significant pattern: there is much unassimilated hatred present in the early volumes, waiting for an alibi to attach itself to. To a certain extent, just such an alibi for Miriam's hatreds is provided in the middle volumes in the form of the preoccupations which dominated the late Victorian period. The final novel-chapters register an important new development: hatred decreases markedly, although it never fully disappears. However, this is a general principal rather than a hard and fast rule as there are exceptions to the pattern throughout. The development of hatred is not straightforward, but is continually fraught with contradiction.

Finally, the chapter reads Miriam's engagement with Quakerism as a potential solution for coming to terms with hatred. It concludes that one of the reasons for Miriam's rejection of Quakerism is that it does not, in fact, provide a satisfactory means of dealing with this emotion.

CONCLUSION

THE FIGURE OF JEAN

Miriam ceases to search for answers in Friends' meeting-houses and begins to look elsewhere. In *March Moonlight*, a new 'clue to the nature of reality' (IV, 612) appears in the form of a woman called Jean. Miriam meets this woman during a visit to the Swiss region of Vaud, which, like Oberland, is a place associated with renewal in *Pilgrimage*. Jean's character is distinctively portrayed in the vocabulary of the spiritual. She is rendered exceptional by her intense awareness of spirituality in the everyday; she 'lives in a world she sees transfigurable. Already for her transfigured. What comes to others only at moments is with her always ...' (IV, 579). Jean appears to represent the object of Miriam's quest for identity; she is an exemplary transcendent woman who has found spiritual fulfilment: 'to return to Jean is to find oneself at an unchanging centre' (IV, 556).

Fromm tells us that there is no biographical equivalent for Jean in Richardson's own life, a fact which allows great freedom of critical interpretation of this character, and of her function within *Pilgrimage*. Previous readings of Jean have concentrated on her spirituality and her role as religious guide. Radford, for example, believes that Jean 'links back to all the women [Miriam] has loved in her previous lives: her mother, her sister Harriett, Eleanor Dear and Amabel'; she is 'an imaginary composite' who teaches 'the possibilities of love without either desire or possession'. Radford offers two theoretical readings of this love: in psychoanalytic terms, it could be called 'a fantasy of unconditional love'; while in religious terms, it is 'the embodiment of human love which most nearly approaches God's love for human beings: "perfect love" '.[1]

Like Radford, Hanscombe views Jean as an ideal who is 'internalized' and 'introjected' by Miriam, and against whom Miriam is able to measure her emotional and spiritual

[1]Radford, *Richardson*, pp. 41-42.

development. Hanscombe argues that Jean helps Miriam progress from an earlier hostility towards women and their masquerading social selves, to a mature acceptance in which 'women's feelings, independent of men's image of them, could be generated and developed'. 'Miriam's love for Jean', Hanscombe concludes, 'is therefore one of the crucial resolutions of her quest, since it affirms her female identity'.[2]

Watts, interestingly, reads Jean as 'the enigmatic crossing point between the religious and sexual discourses of the text', so that the character of Jean becomes a spiritual symbol for lesbian desire:

> Lesbian love, universalized as the 'shared being' of relations between women, becomes *the* vehicle of redemption, yet is glimpsed only in signs and epiphanic moments; its prohibition in religious terms, a worldly failure, a mark of the Fall.[3]

Leaving aside these significant lesbian implications, my reading of Jean focuses on the figure's ideal qualities - she is a yardstick against which Miriam can measure her own development - and argues, for first time, that the figure of Jean is directly linked to the drive to suppress hatred in *Pilgrimage*.

More than any other character, Jean epitomises the principle of 'being'; that which is eternal, continuous, receptive. In contrast to Hypo, whose questions are statements, Miriam remembers Jean 'only as questioning and listening; never as giving a verdict' (IV, 564). Moreover, Jean 'knows that nothing can be clutched or held' (IV, 575); she teaches Miriam how to love without being possessive, and the example she sets enables Miriam to enter into a new reflective phase. Miriam's love for her is at first painfully jealous and selfish, but she struggles to master Jean's most difficult lessons, foremost among which

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[2]Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, pp. 127-129.
[3]Watts, *Richardson*, p. 74.

are 'to love everyone about me' (IV, 579), and 'to accept incursions without evasion or resentment' (IV, 575).

> Somehow [Jean] has mastered the art of incessant prayer? Incessant orientation of her spiritual compass toward the love that is the centre and the gaiety of the universe, and the secret, too, of her deep enjoyment of any and every moment. That is why she never flies into rages, and holds me back when I do [...] (IV, 579)

Using the journeying imagery characteristic of Richardson's mysticism, this description of Jean's perfections also sets forth Miriam's own spiritual aims: 'incessant prayer', universal 'love' and 'gaiety', the 'deep enjoyment of any and every moment'. More importantly to this thesis, Jean never succumbs to rage '*and holds me back when I do*' (my italics). The figure of Jean is not merely an embodiment of the principle of universal love that Miriam aspires to, she also acts as a check on Miriam's hatreds. Jean is an externalisation of Richardson's own internal drive to suppress hatred.

In practice, however, Jean's function as a means of subsuming hatred is only partly successful. For instance, when their conversation is interrupted by a 'shabby' Englishwoman, Miriam fumes 'and in vain reproached myself for fuming', while Jean 'surrendered to this intruder as to someone eagerly awaited' (IV 564). Similarly, immediately after the declaration '[Jean] taught me: to accept incursions without evasion or resentment', Miriam admits 'I could have slain [Miss Lonsdale] as she stood' because she breaks into her communion with Jean (IV, 575). Thus, the tension between Miriam's contrary desires to suppress hatred and to give way to the emotion is never fully resolved. Whereas in previous volumes this tension was registered as conflicting drives within Miriam, in *March Moonlight* the drive to suppress hatred is split off and projected onto the figure of Jean. Miriam's conflict becomes externalised and dramatised; her

expressions of hatred are accompanied by Jean's perfect example of cheerful resignation. Nonetheless, hatred is less frequently present in the text, and its final appearance, the admission that Dr Stenhouse's 'bitter contempt for those who read novels and know next to nothing about history, put my back up and spoiled my prunes and cream' (IV 614) is figurative and relatively mild. Hatred has decreased to its lowest ebb in *March Moonlight*, though it is still occasionally present.

March Moonlight is the most static of the novel chapters; it is relatively thin in dramatic incident, and the quality of the writing is sometimes poor. If hatred fires Richardson's creativity, then it is no coincidence that the volume that contains the least hatred is also the least successful artistically.

Despite this, Jean is vital to Richardson's conclusion; she is needed to bring the ship of *Pilgrimage*, so to speak, into its novelistic port. Jean enables Richardson to dramatise her moral and aesthetic aims - communion, ecstasy, transcendence of self - and to show Miriam moving closer to a realisation of these. Moreover, Jean functions as a check on hatred, the emotion which obstructs Richardson's stated goals. One of the desired resolutions of Miriam's and Richardson's quest is coming to terms with hatred and violence, and Jean helps both author and character to do this.

II

The tensions caused by the conflicting drives towards and away from violence in Richardson's writing are once again evident in a previously undiscovered piece of manuscript, whose content I have set out below:[4]

> March Moonlight.
>
> Realisation that people stand first, before places & things, because now she is linked to them from within. Natural beauty no longer torments. Its extremest various beauty is within mankind.
>
> Satisfying Quaker metaphors: the seed, the light, the seed that is light and enlightens, the light that changes.
>
> After M.M. Pain. The outcast whose imagination ceaselessly pictures the place where her life ended & [illegible word]. No vocation. That they saw, & cast her out.
>
> Baby David's calming.
>
> Realisation in St Ursula's chapel of what the Quakers miss: the detached gay singing, the actual presence on the altar. The sanctification of matter. Its mirror with spirit.

This fragment consists of notes for *March Moonlight*, and, interestingly, for a subsequent unwritten novel-chapter ('after M.M.').[5] The opening paragraph outlines the

[4]I obtained this manuscript fragment from Martin Steenson, a dealer in old and rare books, who bought it from the Odle family twenty years ago. A photocopy appears in my Appendix (see p. 263). The handwriting matches other examples of Richardson's script that I have seen.

[5]In *A Reader's Guide* pp. 53-54, George H. Thomson sets out a compelling case for Richardson's intention to write further volumes of *Pilgrimage*: 'the conclusion forces itself on us that from 1938

very novelistic aims just discussed: fellowship with mankind, resolution of torment, transcendence of the material universe. This is followed by a catalogue of Quaker metaphors, which influenced Richardson's life and her writing.

The second section, 'after M.M.', suddenly and without introduction brings in the theme of 'pain'. 'Outcast' suggests a sense of alienation from both home and friends, a position of not belonging. I presume that the detail of ceaselessly imagining 'the place where her life ended' refers to Mrs Henderson's suicide; it belies the clear suggestion in *Dawn's Left Hand* that Miriam has transcended this trauma.[6] Similarly, the brief sentence 'no vocation' implies that the fulfilment Miriam apparently finds as a writer at the end of the published volumes of *Pilgrimage* is problematic. Thus, Richardson's plan for a subsequent novel-chapter seems to suggest that certain issues which were apparently resolved during the course of *Pilgrimage* are actually unresolved. I do not want to enter into a discussion about Richardson's intentions for unwritten work, as this would be purely speculative, but simply to note that as narrative conflicts are more engaging than narrative resolutions (particularly for Richardson), it seems likely that she would have gone on to enlarge and expand the former.

The manuscript sentence: 'that, they saw, & cast her out' implies that Miriam has been expelled from an unnamed community; it holds connotations of violence, shame and disgrace, and completely contradicts the earlier assertion about being linked to people from within. 'Baby David' refers to a real-life character; he is the son of Benjamin and Veronica Grad, the biographical equivalents of Michael and Amabel in *Pilgrimage*. *March Moonlight* finishes with a description of the sense of wholeness Miriam feels holding their child (whose fictional name is Paul) in her arms. This ending is one of

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onward, and very probably from its inception, Dorothy Richardson hoped to complete a fifth volume of *Pilgrimage* comprising three or four books, beginning with *March Moonlight*'. Thomson's conclusion certainly seems borne out by this MS.

[6]In *Dawn's Left Hand*, Miriam discovers that the 'grimed gilt lettering' of a particular tea shop that used to remind her of the suicide has lost its impact: '*and now their power is gone. They can bring back only the memory of a darkness and horror, to which, then, something has happened, begun to happen?*' (IV, 155-156).

triumphant fulfilment; Hanscombe believes that it 'embodies Miriam's eventual acceptance of her own maternal longings, but with the striking difference from the traditional image that the child she holds is not her own'.[7] As DuPlessis argues, it 'resurrects the mother-child dyad', while at the same time Miriam has evaded marriage and fulfilled her quest, distinguishing this resolution from those nineteenth century endings of death or marriage.[8] Thus, in the manuscript, 'baby David' symbolises not merely the 'calming' Richardson refers to, but also completeness and success. In one sense, Richardson is using him as a novelistic tool with which to suppress or transcend turmoil. In this role, he fulfils a similar function to that of Jean.

The religious imagery of the final paragraph signals that the return to calm has been achieved. The description of St Ursula's chapel again evokes Richardson's novelistic goals: an exalted spiritual state of being, fellowship with others, the consecration of everyday 'matter'. As I have argued all along, and as is borne out by this manuscript fragment, there is unresolved tension between these aims and the violence which coexists with them. The manuscript reveals an outburst of violence sandwiched between the two 'ecstatic' sections, as well as Richardson's effort to quell this violence.

[7]Hanscombe, *The Art of Life*, p. 159.
[8]DuPlessis, *Writing Beyond the Ending*, p. 144.

III

The main aim of this thesis is to modify existing readings of *Pilgrimage* by undertaking a close examination of the preoccupation with violence in Richardson's writing. At the same time, I have attempted to situate Richardson's work in the literary and cultural contexts of its time. I argue that the contradictions in Richardson's writing work against the fluidity which many critics have associated with her, and that her preoccupation with violence goes beyond any definite explanation or cause. Having explored and contextualised various aspects of this preoccupation in my early chapters, my final chapter argues that hatred is integral to both the form and language of *Pilgrimage*, and is a necessary catalyst to Richardson's creativity.

The thesis concludes that the transcendent, spiritualized figure of Jean in *March Moonlight* is directly linked to the desire to suppress and come to terms with hatred in *Pilgrimage*, and should be read as a yardstick against which Miriam can measure her own development. Jean is an externalisation of Richardson's own inner drive to suppress hatred. However, although *March Moonlight* contains a move towards the resolution of hatred, this is never fully achieved. Despite the fact that the tension between Miriam's contrary desires to suppress hatred and to give way to this emotion has decreased to its lowest ebb in the final novel-chapter, it is never completely resolved. This lack of resolution is further illustrated in the manuscript fragment I include, which contains jottings for a subsequent unpublished novel-chapter. It once more reveals the tension between Richardson's novelistic goals: communion, transcendence of self, the consecration of everyday 'matter', and the violence which exists together with these.

Without doubt, there are aspects of Richardson's writing which have to be recognised in terms of the received criticism; terms such as community, ecstasy, formal fluidity and refusal of fixed meanings. I have aimed to supplement rather than displace existing critical views by illuminating the outbreaks of hatred and violence which coexist with

these qualities. Richardson needs hatred and violence creatively, though morally she disapproves of them, and exerts increasingly strenuous and successful efforts to keep them in check.

APPENDIX

MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENT

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1

March Moonlight.

Realisation that people stand first, before places & things, because now she is linked to them from within. Natural beauty no longer torments. Its extremest various beauty is within mankind.

Petrifying Quaker metaphors: the seed, the light, the seed that is light & enlightens, the light that cleanses.

After M. M. Peri. The convert whose imagination ceaselessly pictures the place where her life sinned & was lift. No vocation. That, they saw, & cast her out. Baby David's Calmness.

Realisation in St Ursula's chapel, of what the Quakers miss: the detached gay singing, the actual presence on the altar. The sanctification of matter. Its union with spirit.

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