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THE LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

OF

TOM JONES

(with explanatory notes to the novel)

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I

The Life of Fielding

On April 22, 1707, Henry Fielding, the first child of his parents, was born, probably at historic Sharpham Park, near Glastonbury, only a few miles from the hilltop on which he was later to place Allworthy's mansion. His father, Edmund Fielding, an officer in the army, was the third son of John Fielding, who was a canon of Salisbury and himself the fifth son of the Earl of Desmond. His mother was Sarah Gould, daughter of a judge of the Queen's Bench. Thus the traditions on his father's side of the family were chiefly military and clerical; those on his mother's side, legal.

When Henry was less than three years old, the Fieldings moved to a farm which his maternal grandfather had purchased for them at East Stour in Dorset. It was, says Cross, "a quiet and healthful place for children to grow up,"[1] and years afterward Fielding wrote of this region in terms which show that he loved it. Here the future novelist began his education at home under the tutelage of a Mr. Oliver, a kind-hearted curate of Motcombe.[2] When the boy was eleven his mother died unexpectedly. A year later his father married a

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1 The History of Henry Fielding, New Haven, 1918, I, 21.

2 He was assumed by Arthur Murphy to have been the original of the brutish Parson Trulliber in Joseph Andrews; but see Cross, op. cit., I, 22-24.

widow who was a Roman Catholic and was rumoured to be an Italian. This event inaugurated a season of household mismanagement, and of mistreatment and misery for the children. Before long, Colonel Fielding sent his four daughters to boarding school, consigned the very young Edmund to the care of his grandmother, Lady Gould, and arranged for Henry to go to Eton, where, apparently against his will, the boy enrolled in October, 1719. A little while afterward, Lady Gould, contemplating the new and fast growing family of their father, became anxious about the welfare of her grandchildren and began manoeuvering to get them absolutely under her own control. The father retorted by demanding custody of the boys and girls. Thereupon the grandmother, in 1721, filed suit in their name to deprive him of the management of their estate. In 1722, after a long and bitter quarrel, she won the suit and thus, practically, the authority over the children. It was during this episode that Henry, suspecting a design of his father's to transfer him to another school where the Colonel could maintain closer contact with him, fled from Eton to his grandmother's home at Salisbury.

At Eton Fielding entered into the normal life of the other boys, shared their sports and pastimes, and became popular with them. He made the most, too, of the circumscribed and formal classical routine of study, obtaining at this time the sturdy foundation of that vast learning which

always amazed his friends. To the very end he retained interest in most of the ancient authors whose acquaintance he first made in these early days. Here too he had for schoolfellows George Lyttelton, to whom Tom Jones is dedicated, Charles Hanbury Williams, Winnington, Pitt, Fox, and Charles Pratt (Lord Camden); and the personal friendships which took root at Eton flourished and became in time one of the chief delights of his life. Undoubtedly, of course, his later ties with these men in the foremost rank of politics were strengthened by his entrance into the legal profession.

When he left Eton in 1725, Fielding was a tall, strong, gay, and handsome lad of eighteen. He soon became involved in a stormy love affair with a Miss Sarah Andrew, a beautiful heiress of Lyme Regis, the memory of whom is supposed by many to enter into the portrait of Sophia. When one of her guardians rescued her from an attempted abduction by Fielding and his man, and the other guardian married her the next year to his son, Fielding avenged his loss by attacking the disloyalties of women generally in a burlesque translation of part of Juvenal's second satire. Back in London, he gave his attention to observing and, to a degree, sharing the life and pleasures of the city. Faced with the necessity of procuring an income, he was forced to choose, as he puts it, between the career of a hackney coachman and that of a hackney writer. Since plays were at that time the most profitable kind of literature, he turned his hand to them. The result

was a comedy à la Congreve, Love in Several Masques, which was presented at Drury Lane early in 1728, successfully in spite of the almost overwhelming competition of the Beggar's Opera of Gay. But after this fledgeling effort the young writer, Cross suggests, decided that he was too lacking in knowledge and experience to produce effective literature; possibly he felt that he would be unable to make a living from writing for the stage. At any rate, less than a month later he set out for the Continent and enrolled as a student of letters, that is, Greek and Latin literature, at the University of Leyden, where he remained for a little more than a year, leaving in the summer of 1729 because of failing to receive the allowance which his father had promised him.[3]

After returning to England Fielding embarked upon a regular and successful career as a dramatist, in the course of which he composed twenty-six plays in eight years.[4] He adapted comedies from Molière, patterned others more or less after the school of Congreve and Vanbrugh, and tried burlesque, in which he chiefly proved his genius. Early in 1736 he took over the Little Theatre in the Haymarket and showed himself to be a capable manager. But a run of bold and popular satires brought upon him the hostility of the

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3 Cross, op. cit., I, 72.

4 One, The Wedding Day, begun in 1730, was not acted until 1743. The count was made from the bibliographical list of Fielding's works appended to Cross's History of Fielding.

government (like many other Whigs, he joined with the Tories in attacking the corruption of the Walpole ministry) and provoked the Licensing Act of 1737, which restricted the number of theatres and made the Lord Chamberlain's license a prerequisite for any stage representation. These circumstances effectually ended Fielding's career as a playwright and theatre-manager when he was only thirty. The discipline and experience already gained were soon, however, to make their contribution to his art as a novelist.

Meanwhile, in 1734, Fielding had married Miss Charlotte Craddock of Salisbury, who was the avowed original of Sophia Western and Amelia Booth, and by whom he became the father of two children. With a family to be supported, he now turned, not very hopefully, to the law. Entering the Middle Temple in the fall of 1737, he studied hard, and three years later, in June, 1740, he was called to the bar. He joined the western circuit and attended the Wiltshire sessions; but although he was industrious in these pursuits, he was apparently none too successful. It was some years yet before his accomplishments in the legal profession were to be recognized.

While studying law, however, Fielding had also tried to increase his financial resources by launching a periodical, The Champion, in the style of Addison's Spectator. It was at this time that a bitter quarrel arose between him and Colley Cibber, provoked by a reference, in Chapter Eight of the Apology, to Fielding as a "broken wit." The Champion not

only served to answer Cibber, but it revealed the beginnings of certain characteristic views, such as the attack on "greatness" which was later amplified in Jonathan Wild, and the moral creed which is the basis of Tom Jones. There were even rudimentary sketches of some of the actual persons to be found afterwards in the novels: e.g., Parson Adams and Parson Trulliber. "The pressure of circumstance had made an essayist out of a playwright," says one critic, "and Fielding thereby gained that same facility in continuous prose which he had shown in writing dialogue. Without his experience on 'The Champion,' the novel would not have come so easily to him — if, indeed, it would have come at all."[5]

In the fall of the same year in which he was called to the bar occurred one of the most significant events in the history of Fielding's career — the appearance of Richardson's Pamela, a novel which won immediate and wide popularity. Contempt at the admiration paid to its false morality evoked the famous parody, An Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews, published under the pseudonym "Conny Keyber"— a hit at Colley Cibber — and attributed, correctly, it seems, to Fielding. Early in 1742, at any rate, appeared his first full-length novel, Joseph Andrews, in which he set out, in professedly Cervantic fashion, to burlesque both the characters and the situation in Richardson's sentimental

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5 Cross, op. cit., I, 281.

narrative. Before proceeding far, however, Fielding became genuinely interested in his characters as such and realized that he had discovered a new kind of fiction: the "Comic Epos in Prose," which dealt with "ludicrous" rather than with "sublime" actions. Thus he first postulated the conception which seven years later produced what has been called "the greatest English novel." The early experiment in the kind of writing which was to bring the author his immense fame was followed in the next year by three volumes of Miscellanies, published by subscription; they contained two remarkable pieces of work: a Lucianic fragment, entitled "A Journey from this World to the Next," and "The History of the late Mr. Jonathan Wild the Great," an ironic biography of the "greatest" villain in the annals of eighteenth-century crime.

The Miscellanies marked the beginning of a pause in Fielding's literary career, a pause for which there was good reason. For one thing, he now decided to devote his whole attention and energy to the law. But what is more important, he was undergoing a long series of personal misfortunes. He had been harrassed by financial difficulties. His magnificent constitution had begun to break a year earlier, during the winter of 1741-42, when he had been laid up with the gout. Thus afflicted himself, he had suffered also the agony of watching while a favourite child lay dying in one bed and his beloved wife lay desperately ill in another.[6] Mrs. Field-

6 His first child, Charlotte, died in March, within three

ing never completely recovered from her illness and her grief over the death of her little daughter, and after languishing through another year she died of fever in the fall of 1744. For many months Fielding was so overcome by sorrow that, says Murphy, his friends feared for his reason. Three years later, however, he married his first wife's maid, Mary Daniel, who had been devoted to her mistress, and who proved, as Fielding had thought she would, a loving mother for his children and a kind and patient nurse for him. Their first child was born less than three months after the wedding.

When Fielding renewed his literary activity, he did so upon political and patriotic provocation. He initiated The True Patriot late in 1745, when the Young Pretender had just begun his march southward; after the paper had served its purpose, it was discontinued. Well worth noticing is the fact that Fielding's moderation, as expressed in this publication, was much admired. It was shortly after the cessation of the periodical that the author began work upon Tom Jones, which, however, was not to appear until more than two years later. Also political in motives and origin was The Jacobite's Journal, which he conducted in 1747-48.[7] Through

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weeks after Joseph Andrews had appeared.

7 The Jacobite's Journal appeared at the end of 1747, when Fielding, under the influence of his friend Lyttelton (Cross, op. cit., II, 63), came to the defence of the much-criticized Coalition ministry (Pelham, Pitt, and other Whigs) which had attempted to solve the problems raised by the rebellion (see ibid., II, 18-19).

these and other writings he rendered valuable service to the government. His reward came when, in October, 1748, a year after his second marriage, the powerful Duke of Bedford, upon the recommendation of Lyttelton, obtained for him an appointment as justice of the peace for Westminster; he was afterwards qualified to act for Middlesex.[8] Fielding's duties at the Bow Street Court in Covent Garden brought him into contact with the flotsam and jetsam of English society. They produced in him a painfully vivid realization of the need for reform of the penal law and its administration, a reform whose necessity was illustrated in his last two novels. He did his share in solving the problem. His energetic administration of the court over which he presided provoked astonishment from the journalists of the day. One of his first achievements was the improvement of the inefficient constabulary and of the night watch, which had heretofore consisted of men too old and feeble to protect the citizens from assault and robbery, even if they had desired to do so. In the charge which he delivered in 1749 when first chosen chairman of the Quatter Sessions of the Peace at Westminster (the honour was repeatedly bestowed upon him) he criticized such evils as prostitution , gaming, and dancing halls — all of which operated so openly as to be a fearful menace to

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8 He had performed signal services for both of these noblemen. See Cross, op. cit., II, 96.

the young and inexperienced; and he set forth a vigorous and intelligent program of correction, which drew the attention of his fellow townsmen to conditions and elicited the enthusiastic endorsement of his legal associates. Early in 1751 he published an "Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers ...," in which he offered suggestions as to remedies for the situation and arraigned the officers who administered the poor laws. The treatise provoked admiration and accomplished good by actually causing reform in many laws. Still another achievement which is important as an indication of the calibre of Fielding's public services is his freeing London from the terror of outrageously frequent night murders. So effective was the unprecedented plan which he inaugurated — it was a sort of private detective system — that "for the first time in many years, people went about their business or pleasure at night without the slightest fear of being waylaid by footpads."[9] All this experience with the criminal and the driftwood of humanity coloured Fielding's later literary work, particularly his last novel, Amelia, and his last journalistic venture, in both of which he was concerned with social ills.

Meanwhile, on February 28, 1749, Tom Jones, the labour of some "thousands of hours," appeared and won a genuine popularity, although protests were heard here and there on the

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9 Cross, op. cit., II, 285. For details see pp. 283-285.

score of its immorality. Four editions were issued within eleven months.[10] But Fielding's great triumph was followed closely by ominous signs; the end of the same year brought a severe attack of fever and gout.[11] His health was breaking rapidly, and it was not helped by his rigorous application to his professional duties and by new literary ventures. In 1751, immediately upon the publication of his last novel, Amelia, which failed — and largely for a ridiculous reason, namely, the broken nose of its heroine[12] — he embarked upon the Covent-Garden Journal, an enterprise which procured him quarrels with various contemporaries. In his alarming decline he experimented with quack remedies. Finally the only hope that remained was a warmer climate; consequently he sailed for Portugal with his wife and his eldest daughter towards the end of June, 1754. The trip is detailed in his Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon. After two months' stay he died in Junqueira on October 8, 1754, in his forty-eighth year, and was buried in the English cemetery at Lisbon. The monument, erected more than seventy years later, bears on one side the famous words in Latin

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10 There was also a Dublin edition in 1749, and there were several foreign ones in 1750.

11 His first serious illness had occurred in the winter of 1741-42, and he had since been repeatedly suffering from the gout.

12 See Cross, op. cit., II, 338-339.

> Britannia grieves that she is not permitted to fold her son within her own bosom,

and on another, also in Latin, this tribute:

> ... No other man so well unlocked with his pen the recesses of the heart, or with greater zeal undertook to improve the conduct and character of men. He showed virtue her grace, vice her deformity, giving to each her due .... Ardent in friendship, generous in relieving distress, of a cheerful temper, courteous and affable in bearing, beloved both as husband and father, he lived not for himself but for others. ... Displaying in his works the offspring of nature, he will extend his own fame and the fame of his race.[13]

13 By the Reverend Christopher Neville. The translation is Mr. Wilbur Cross's rendering (op. cit., III, 68-70). The monument was erected about 1830.

II

The Contemporary Background of Tom Jones

Fielding acknowledged a paternal fondness for his "author's offspring," the "child of his brain."[1] And indeed he might legitimately feel thus. Into Tom Jones went a vast knowledge of life and letters. The novel portrayed as if in a mirror the rich experience that its composer had obtained among men. First as a strong and handsome youth athirst for life, then as a popular playwright whose political satire exerted an unequalled influence, as a journalist who enjoyed the friendship of the highest men of his time, as a successful novelist whose gifts admitted him to the most cultured circles, as a lawyer travelling the western circuit, and as a justice who ranked the filthiest sinks of London's vice and misery, Fielding came to know well all ranks of society of his time. He and his half-brother, John, met with Hogarth, Churchill, and others at the Bedford Arms, where they "held a gossiping shilling rubber club."[2] He is reported by Mrs. Hussey, who "knew him intimately," and whom he mentions in

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1 Tom Jones, the Shakespeare Head Edition, Oxford, 1926, III, 56. All ensuing references to the novel are made to this edition.

2 J. T. Smith, Nollekens and His Times, ed. W. Whitten, London and New York, 1920, II, 274, n. 2.

his great novel, to have conversed "with persons of every situation and calling":

> ... Fielding never suffered his talent for sprightly conversation to mildew for a moment; and ... his manners were so gentlemanly, that even with the lower classes, with which he frequently condescended to chat, such as Sir Roger de Coverley's old friends, the Vauxhall watermen, they seldom outstepped the limits of propriety.[3]

Such a fullness of experience accounts for the contemporary background of Tom Jones. It is a novel exclusively of eighteenth-century England, and particularly of England in the 1740's. It was just at that time, for instance, that the old order exemplified by Squire Western was yielding to the modern, more polished version — exemplified by Tom — of the same human stuff.[4] We should perhaps take our cue from the author's identifying the period of the main action with that of the rebellion of 1745 (the last attempt of the Stuarts to regain the throne)— a circumstance that is heightened, if need be, by the parallel in the Man of the Hill's story of the Papist threat and the reaction to it during the

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3 Attributed by J. T. Smith to his great aunt, Mrs. Hussey, in op. cit., I, 104.

4 M. Aurelien Digeon makes much of this point: "Tom Jones, as opposed to Western, represents the generation of Pitt succeeding that of Walpole, the modern Englishman, the town-dweller, energetic, tenacious, Christian, taking the place of the old-fashioned type (for so these newcomers see him), coarse, boorish, spending his time in drink and sport, selfish and weak-willed, with no respect for the clergy or for women. ... In this difference in attitude lies the whole transition from one generation to another" (The Novels of Fielding, London, 1925, pp. 156-157).

reign of James II. By this placing of the novel only a little while before the actual writing of it began in the summer of 1746, Fielding finds many opportunities to express such sentiments as this of Jones: "The cause of King George is the cause of liberty and true religion. In other words, it is the cause of commonsense ...."[4] Protestantism and loyalty to the government of King George come in for much praise; Popery and insurrection, on the other hand, are dealt scathing remarks.

The matter of the rebellion permits the novelist to express his views also on the historically related problem of absolute monarchy and divine right. Early in the narrative he enjoys a humorous satirical fling at these conceptions in the narrow-minded Thwackum's words of wisdom: "The relation of the master and scholar is indelible, as, indeed, all other relations are: for they all derive their original from Heaven."[5] When, however, Fielding takes occasion to make direct observations upon the subject, he is not content with mere urbane satire, but states his views in the most positive language possible, so that his history will run no danger of being misinterpreted. He regards the doctrine of absolute

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4 Tom Jones, II, 200. Notice also Fielding's own words "Jones had some heroic ingredients in his composition, and was a hearty well-wisher to the glorious cause of liberty, and of the Protestant religion" (ibid., II, 119).

5 Ibid., I, 265. Thwackum's belief may be connected with his Anglicanism.

monarchy and divine right as the most pernicious "which priestcraft had ever the wickedness or the impudence to preach":

> This [i.e., the power of the devil] is indeed the only absolute power which can by Scripture be derived from heaven. If therefore the several tyrannies upon earth can prove any title to a Divine authority, it must be derived from this original grant to the prince of darkness, and these subordinate deputations must consequently come immediately from him whose stamp they so expresly bear.[6]

Fielding thinks that no other limited form of government can, theoretically, rise to such perfection or procure so much good to man as absolute monarchy. The difficulty lies in finding a person moderate enough (in his desire for power), wise enough (to know his own happiness), and good enough (to promote the happiness of others) for meeting such a responsibility. But as absolute monarchy could, if the right man existed, produce untold blessings, so in actual practice it generally produces the greatest cruelty.

As an intelligent citizen Fielding was alive to such problems as the corruption which characterized the use of public money. Thus it is that we hear from a landlady the almost perennial complaint of heavy taxes[7] and from Mrs. Western the petulant remark "I think the roads, since so many turnpike acts, are grown worse than ever."[8] There are

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6 Tom Jones, III, 183 and 182.

7 Ibid., II, 132.

8 Ibid., IV, 134. See the explanatory note to this passage.

continual references, however, to still greater evils — e.g., the deplorable glorification of the criminal by the public. Culprits in those days were expected to conduct themselves as heroes at Tyburn, and popular ones would often hold receptions in the prison, when fashionable men and women would come to see them, artists would sometimes paint their pictures, and others would bring them food.[9] Another contemporary condition is revealed in the words "... now thieves and ruffians are awake, and honest watchmen fast asleep: in plain English, it was now midnight ...."[10] The night watch of Fielding's time was notorious for its inefficiency, with the consequence that robberies and murders were outrageously frequent.

As a lawyer familiar with criminal administration, court procedure, and political corruption, Fielding attacks the sordid and vicious conditions existing in the jails,[11] and such practices as the buying and selling of parliamentary seats,[12] but especially greedy, scheming lawyers, ignorant, blustering, and unscrupulous justices, and unfair or inefficient trials. Such persons as Justice Page and Mr. Dowling were types all too common in their day.[13] And probably many

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9 See the explanatory note to Tom Jones, II, 160.

10 Tom Jones, III, 5.

11 Particularly in Amelia.

12 Tom Jones, IV, 306 (Blifil).

13 See also Fielding's footnote to Tom Jones, IV, 249, for a

contemporary incidents are reflected in the puppet-showman's remarks:

> "Madness was sometimes a difficult matter for a jury to decide: for I remember," says he,"I was once present at a trial of madness, where twenty witnesses swore that the person was as mad as a March hare; and twenty others, that he was as much in his senses as any man in England. — And indeed it was the opinion of most people, that it was a trick of his relations to rob the poor man of his right."[14]

The words contributed by the landlady on the same occasion also point to a prevalent evil, for numerous perfectly sane persons were lured by their relatives into private insane asylums and kept imprisoned there for life without any interference by legal or civil authorities, there being no regular inspection of such places, while their people enjoyed their possessions.[15]

Fielding struck numerous blows at the degeneracies of contemporary social culture. He deplored the recognition achieved by negative and destructive philosophies which taught the utter and universal selfishness and depravity of the human heart.[16] He lamented the influence which merely mercenary interest had exercised on all branches of literature.[17]

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criticism of villainous attorneys.

14 Tom Jones, III, 150.

15 See R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, New York, 1938, p. 241.

16 Tom Jones, II, 1-2.

17 Ibid., III, 196.

He attacked the ignorance and the scurrilous practices of the Grub-Street hacks. He considered it a reflection on the public that most of the authors of his age were able to cut so considerable a figure without any learning at all.[18] Also, persons who read books with no other purpose than to say they have read them -- "a more general motive to reading than is commonly imagined" -- come in for their share of contempt.[19] There are numerous references to the lack of discrimination, the mob psychology, and the rudeness of theatrical audiences.[20] The would-be wit was trounced for presuming to criticize -- that is, condemn -- books which he had not read, by calling them vile, low stuff. This habit was very widespread during the eighteenth century; Richardson himself condemned Tom Jones without having read through.[21] By far the greater number of contemporary critics Fielding regarded as malicious slanderers.[22]

Most of such observations he voiced in his own words; but he also put directly into the mouths of his characters remarks about the effect that philosophy had exerted on popular religion. On one occasion he mentions the fact that

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18 Tom Jones, IV, 1-2.

19 Ibid., IV, 120.

20 Ibid., II, 68; III, 243-244; IV, 119; etc.

21 Cf. Swift's attack on false learning in A Tale of a Tub, VII.

22 Tom Jones, III, 55.

"these doctrines [i.e., that evil spirits appear in person, and so forth] are at present very unfortunate and have but few if any believers ...."[23] And on another, a landlady complains: "I remember when puppet-shows were made of good Scripture stories, such as Jeptha's rash vow, and such good things, and when wicked people were carried away by the devil," and then objects, "nobody believes in the devil now-a-days."[24] One other point that should be mentioned is the novelist's satire on the innumerable pretentious doctors of that period who might more honestly have set up for murderers (a modern person can scarcely comprehend the state of medicine in that day).[25]

The beau monde likewise came in for strong indictment by Fielding. Not content to accuse it of lacking complaisance,[26] he applied to it Pope's bitter lines on women,

> Nothing so true as what you once let fall,
> Most women have no characters at all,

because the greater portion of high society was made up almost exclusively of form and affectation.[27] Indeed, "In my humble opinion, " he said, "the true characteristic of the

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23 Tom Jones, III, 175.

24 Ibid., III, 144.

25 In his efforts to cure his gout, Fielding himself became the victim of such quacks.

26 Complaisance is used by Fielding to mean civility (see The Champion, March 15, 1740).

27 Tom Jones, IV, 4.

present beau monde, is rather folly than vice, and the only epithet which it deserves is that of frivolous." He ridiculed fortune hunting at resorts like Bath, where Mrs. Fitzpatrick found her husband. He deplored the frequency of the loveless marriages planned for reasons of wealth and position among people "of quality."[28] The typical fine gentleman of the day inspired, besides the portrait of Fellamar, many satirical remarks: for example, "He [the landlord of the inn] had been bred, as they call it, a gentleman, that is, bred up to do nothing ...."; and, again, Fielding refers to "... language ... which appeared very extraordinary when proceeding from the lips of a modern fine gentleman; but he [Nightingale] was only one by imitation, and meant by nature for a much better character."[29] The prevailing belief in the inferiority of women is reflected from two very different angles: that of the class of men exemplified by Western, whose treatment of his unfortunate wife Fielding so resents, and that of the more cultured type represented by Allworthy, who says of Sophia:

> I never heard anything of pertness, or what is called repartee out of her mouth; no pretence to wit, much less to that kind of wisdom, which is the result only of great learning and experience; the affectation of which, in a young woman, is as absurd as any of the affectations of an ape. No dictatorial sentiments, no judicial opinions, no profound criticisms.

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28 Tom Jones, IV, 207.

29 Ibid., II, 186, and III, 220. Notice also the slight portrait of the gossip Tom Edwards at Lady Bellaston's card table (IV, 64-65).

> ... Indeed, she always shewed the highest deference to the understandings of men; a quality, absolutely essential to the making a good wife.[30]

Besides these more significant criticisms of society, there are the numerous mentions of contemporary persons (for example, Cheney, Garrick, Freke, Handel, Hogarth) and casual references to such things as puppet-shows, the prize-fighting amphitheatre, the vicious but popular masquerades, the law on duelling, and the century's most famous cure-all, Ward's pill; there is a picture of contemporary practice in the attempt to impress Jones into service on a ship; there are reflections of the national hostility towards the French;[31] there is a derogatory allusion to the sort of music preferred by many "connoisseurs"; there is a humorous reference to the prevailing habit of the parson who "fills his sermon by repeating his text at the end of every paragraph."[32] Interesting as these details are, however, and much as they contribute to the completeness of the painting, they must not

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30 Tom Jones, IV, 182.

31 References to the French are numerous; they are the outgrowth of the novelist's patriotic spirit. The following is a peculiar instance of the curious and apparently unjustifiable extreme of his nationalism: English robbers, he observes, "are never guilty of cruelty nor insult to any person, which is a circumstance that, I must say, to the honour of our country, distinguishes the robbers of England from those of all other nations; for murder is, amongst those, almost inseparably incident to robbery" (III, 193-194). But certainly the robbers near London were none too loath to murder their victims.

32 Tom Jones, III, 158.

obscure the more important history which is implicit in the character types and the lives that they live. Squire Western and his hard-drinking, hard-hunting companions; Allworthy with his gentleman's household; the landlords and mistresses of the roadside inns; the noisy, brawling soldiers; the pedantic small-town schoolmaster; the talkative, good-natured, poor but genteel widow of a clergyman, who earns her living by renting rooms; and so on — all these make the panoramic picture of ordinary middle-class English society in the eighteenth century.

III

The Literary Background of Tom Jones

A. General Reading

The fact that Fielding knew so intimately and portrayed so effectively the life of his period, and that he is in consequence generally regarded as the most thoroughly representative man of the eighteenth century, should not blind the reader to the circumstance that his works are the products also of an extraordinary learning. Mr. Cross estimates the total number of volumes in Fielding's library, as sold at his death, at fourteen hundred, and, exclusive of legal books, at a little more than one thousand and seventy.[1] Moreover, he really used his books, and, besides, knew many that he did not actually possess.

His boyhood training at Eton had laid the foundation for Fielding's erudition; there he had read deeply in the ancients, and in later life his liking for them increased rather than decreased. Most of the less significant as well as all of the important writers of antiquity were represented in his library. He knew Plato and Aristotle thoroughly; the epic writers Homer, Virgil, and Statius; such lyric poets as Pindar, Anacreon, and Catullus; the satirists Lucian,

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1 Op. cit., III, 76 and 77.

Horace, and Juvenal; the orators Demosthenes and Isocrates, and the rhetorician Quintilian; moralists like Cicero; the dramatists Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Seneca, Plautus, and Terence; such historians as Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Arrian, Herodian, Xenophanes, Plutarch, Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonious. There were others, too: Pliny, Strabo (the greatest ancient geographer), Lucretius, Apuleius, Ovid, Hesiod, Theocritus, and Martial.

But for all his joy in these, Fielding contrived also to gain an intimate knowledge of modern literature, and he ranked the modern giants with the ancients. Such famous Spaniards as Quevedo and Cervantes he was acquainted with in translation. French literature, however, he knew chiefly in the original — for he could read French well and owned French versions of several of the classics. He read Rabelais, Marivaux, Montaigne, and Pascal. He studied the great French dramatists, Corneille, Racine, and Molière — but especially the last, upon whom he specifically based some of his own plays. Then there were the theorists and critics, Abbé Bellegarde (author of a treatise on the ridiculous, referred to in Tom Jones), Le Bossu and Madame Dacier (both of whom Fielding valued highly), and Boileau, the seventeenth-century Horace. The novelist possessed in the works of Sarrasin dialogues between Chapelain and others, from which he could have obtained a pretty good acquaintance with French epic theory, and Fénelon's Télémaque, accompanied by Ramsay's

preface, which played its part in the battle over the epic.

English literature, too, both the contemporary and the older, Fielding knew extensively and thoroughly. He was interested in the moral and religious controversies of his day, and so possessed many deistical treatises and replies; he read the sermons of Tillotson, Chillingworth, Barrow, and especially South, a writer to whom he was almost as much indebted as to Shaftesbury. The great classics, such as Shakespeare and Milton (whose Paradise Lost he regarded as perhaps the greatest poem which the world has seen[2]) were, of course, familiar to him. He read all the more important Elizabethan dramatists as well as Bacon and Spenser. He knew such minor poets as Cowley, Waller, Prior, Suckling, Denham, Butler, and Young, and such prose writers as Walton and Sir Thomas Browne. He liked books of travel and possessed several English antiquarians. The essayists and satirists of his own time — Addison, Pope, and Swift — he highly esteemed . As might be expected, he studied all the significant dramatists of the Restoration and the period following: Wycherley, Dryden, Southerne, Lee, Congreve, Otway, Steele, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh. He thought little of current romances and novels. On the other hand, he owned and read an astonishing number of histories: some of the ancient ones have already been mentioned; the moderns which he knew included Hooke's, Mariana's, and Mézeray's histories of Rome.

2 The True Patriot, Nov. 5, 1745.

Spain, and France respectively; Thuanus; Salmon's Modern History of All Nations; and histories of England by Monteith, Clarendon, Burnet, and Speed, and by Brady, Tyrrell, Salmon, Echard, Rapin, Ralph, and Kennet — all these, besides numerous chronicles and studies of special periods.

B. Specific Sources and Influences

Fielding's pronounced interest in dramatic and historical literature indicates two of the five sources which contributed to his conception of the novel. The first — that of the drama — was unconscious rather than conscious, and grew out of his experience as a playwright. To the exactions and discipline of this profession may be attributed the elaborateness of the plot which — to use his own word — he "invented" for his masterpiece and which elicited Coleridge's famous remark "What a master of composition Fielding was! Upon my word, I think the Oedipus Tyrannus, the Alchemist, and Tom Jones the three most perfect plots ever planned." If one wishes to write a good play or novel, one must first of all, generally speaking, have a good story to tell. Since the days of Aristotle, the action had been recognized as the most important of the six elements in drama.[3] Fielding un-

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3 Aristotle had applied the dictum to tragedy. "All human happiness or misery," he had observed, "takes the form of action; the end for which we live is a certain kind of activ-

ravelled the mystery surrounding Tom's birth in true Aristotelian fashion — by "discovery"[4]; that is, by the revelation of the truth at the culmination of the action. Although the type of plot was a hackneyed one, common in both drama and fiction, the technique of the genuine playwright reveals itself in the wonderful manipulation of the various parts of the action, particularly from about the end of the sixth book onward, after the situation has been made clear. The diverse strands are carefully tied together, the different characters are made to contribute their respective shares toward the complication and the final swift dénouement: Tom would not have been banished from Allworthy's if he had not had an affair with Molly; if he had encountered Sophia at Upton before the amour with Mrs. Waters, some of the problems might have been solved then; but in that case he would not have become involved with Mrs. Waters, and so might not have learned his lesson through suffering, and probably would never have discovered the secret of his parentage; and so on. Besides this adeptness in handling the story, his apprenticeship to the drama gave the author of Tom Jones two other things: first, the fundamental types of such characters as

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ity, not a quality. Character gives us qualities, but it is in our actions — what we do — that we are happy or the reverse. In a play accordingly they do not act in order to portray the Characters; they include the Characters for the sake of the action" (De Poetica, 6, II, trans. Ingram Bywater, in Works, ed. W. D. Ross, Oxford, 1924, XI).

4 See De Poetica, 10-11.

Squire Western, Blifil, and Honour; and secondly, great skill in writing dialogue — as instanced in the facility with which Partridge's conversation is made to reveal his whimsical, superstitious personality, in the amusing disputes between Square and Thwackum, and in the episode in which Sophia and her aunt mistakenly think that they are referring to the same suitor.

In regard to Fielding's historical approach to his novel, there is a curious coincidence which might mislead the casual reader. Eighteenth-century writers of fiction — Defoe, for example, and Swift in Gulliver's Travels — characteristically strove to give their works an air of detailed reality, even of documented authenticity. But Fielding's ideals of narrative art seem to have had little if any direct connection with this movement. Rather, they originated in his extensive reading of historical literature, his personal conviction of its worth, and his fondness for it because it told about the actions of men. He thought of the good novel, like the good history, as "one of the most useful as well as entertaining of all kinds of writing."[5] And later in life he came to prefer the quiet realism of such writers as Herodotus to the poetic extravagancies of the great Homer. He obviously regards Tom Jones as a history, for he explicitly and repeatedly refers to it as such. On one occasion he brackets

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5 Tom Jones, II, 256.

himself with Plutarch as a "brother historian";[6] on another he mentions a rule of Horace as being "of excellent use as well to the historian [himself] as to the poet."[7] Once he says: "... That historic truth to which we profess so inviolable an attachment, obliges us to communicate it [an unimportant fact] to posterity."[8] And again, facetiously: "I must remind such persons, that I am not writing a system, but a history, and I am not obliged to reconcile every matter to the received notions concerning truth and nature."[9] On the other hand, one must be cautioned against looking upon Tom Jones as a story of events which really happened to actual persons. Undoubtedly, both its incidents and its personages were drawn from such as had come time and again within the author's own experience and observation: the readiness with which its eighteenth-century audience pointed out originals testifies to that fact. But although he sug-

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6 Tom Jones, IV, 178. 7 Ibid., II, 89. 8 Ibid., I, 259.

9 Ibid., III, 157. See also III, 104: "Many historians indeed ..." and IV, 79: "Though the reader in many histories ...." Related to this conception of his novel as history is Fielding's pleasantly matter-of-fact and realistic manner, as exemplified in the following passages: "Mr. Allworthy had been absent ..., on some very particular business, tho' I know not what it was; but judge of its importance by ..." etc. (I, 7) and "'You shall hear everything material,' answered the stranger; and then proceeded to relate what we shall proceed to write, after we have given a short breathing time to both ourselves and the reader" (II, 240). This characteristic directness makes the novel seem like the narration of a real history. Notice also the leisureliness of effect which it produces in a passage like the latter one.

gested identifications for Allworthy and Sophia, Fielding himself warned his readers against regarding the majority of the characters as portraits of particular persons. They and the actions are, rather, composite renderings of the typical or probable; they have the vitality, the truth to life, the realism of genuine history, and at the same time the selectivity and universality of great imaginative art.[10] Fielding's novels are comparable to histories, rather than to mere chronicles.[11]

It has usually been taken for granted that Tom Jones claims a niche in the long succession of the literature of roguery. The influence of this species upon Fielding's novel has been exaggerated; there is only a small trace of it. Jonathan Wild, to be sure, had fallen within the type; but

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10 See Tom Jones, I, 52: "... we intend ... rather to pursue the method of those writers, who profess to disclose the revolutions of countries, than to imitate the painful and voluminous historian, who ... thinks himself obliged to fill up as much paper with the detail of months and years in which nothing remarkable happened, as he employs upon those notable aeras when the greatest scenes have been transacted on the human stage." Also III, 110: "Our pen, therefore, shall imitate the expedition which it describes, and our history shall keep pace with the travellers who are its subject. Good writers will indeed do well to imitate the ingenious traveller in this instance, who always proportions his stay at any place, to the beauties, elegancies, and curiosities which it affords."

11 See Fielding's discussion of the historians in Joseph Andrews, bk. 3, ch. 1. Cf. Aristotle, De Poetica, 9: "And if he should come to take a subject from actual history, he is none the less a poet for that; since some historic occurrences may very well be in the probable and possible order of things; and it is in that aspect of them that he is their poet" (trans. Ingram Bywater, in Works, ed. W. D. Ross, XI).

its purpose was radically different from that of most of the picaresque genre. And although Joseph Andrews, originally intended as an anti-romance, a burlesque of the sentimental novels, happened to have some few features which allied it with the rogues' tales, it was not genuinely picaresque.[12] In Fielding's masterpiece the influence became even more vague. "Tom Jones, indeed," says Dr. Chandler, "though it could scarcely have come into being without picaresque predecessors, transcends them all, and cannot itself be ranked with the literature of roguery, notwithstanding such dramatis personae as Blifil, Thwackum and Square, Lady Bellaston, and Ensign Northerton."[13] But the novelist's earlier acknowledgment that he felt a certain kinship with Cervantes, Lesage (Gil Blas), Scarron (Le Roman Comique), and Marivaux (Le Paysan Parvenu) entitles the masters in the picaresque tradition to some credit for having influenced him.[14] It must be remembered, however, that this feeling of affinity arose from

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12 The menial station of Joseph and Fanny, the practical jokes and horseplay, and the circumstance that the adventures occur upon the road are reminiscent of the literature of roguery. But in regard to this last circumstance, Dr. Chandler points out that it is not a peculiarity of the picaresque genre, and that the reader makes a mistake in confusing the tale of the rogue with the mere novel of adventure — "a misconception dear to many" (The Literature of Roguery, Boston and New York, 1907, I, 5).

13 Chandler, op. cit., II, 308.

14 See Joseph Andrews, bk, 3, ch. 1. Fielding may also have read Quevedo's Pablo the Sharper, since he knew his Visions.

the English author's realization that they were all concerned with universal human nature.

Slightly related to the influence of the literature of roguery upon Fielding is that of a more timeless genre, satire. The ancient Greek Lucian was a favourite of his; he had more editions of Lucian's works in his library than of any other single author, and he long entertained the plan of making an English translation. With the Greek satirist he joined Cervantes and Swift in the "great triumvirate" of laughter.[15] "These authors," he said, "I shall ever hold in the highest degree of esteem; not indeed for that wit and humour alone which they all so eminently possest, but because they all endeavoured, with the utmost force of their wit and humour, to expose and extirpate those follies and vices which chiefly prevailed in their several countries."[16] Indeed, Fielding placed Swift at the head of the trio, praising him as "A Genius who deserves to be ranked among the first whom the world ever saw. He possessed the Talents of a Lucian, a Rabelais, and a Cervantes, and in his works exceeded them all. He employed his Wit to the noblest Purposes ..."[17] Although Rabelais and Aristophanes fell from grace because

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15 He thought highly of Juvenal also, quoting frequently from him, especially for mottoes to the plays.

16 The Covent-Garden Journal, no. 10.

17 The True Patriot, quoted by Cross, op. cit., II, 26.

the novelist ultimately came to feel that they employed their ridicule to laugh at modesty and virtue,[16] the satiric triumvirate continued secure in their high station. Only Cervantes' hold upon Fielding decreased somewhat with the passage of time, but it always remained considerable; and that of Lucian and Swift never abated. Well worth mention, too, is the elegant, polite raillery of Horace, who is referred to approximately thirty times in Tom Jones, and who was perhaps the chief guiding spirit of eighteenth-century England.[18] Apparently from these satirists, as well as from Cicero and Shaftesbury, came the idea of laughing mankind out of their favourite follies and vices.[19] This, as we shall see in the discussion of Fielding's theory of literary art and the comic epic, was one of the basic ideas behind his masterpiece. It is to this influence which the great satirists exerted in respect to method, that the corrective nature of the lessons — and hence a certain negative quality — in Fielding's novels is traceable. And finally there is the direct following of

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18 "Horace may be said to pervade the literature of the eighteenth century in three ways: as a teacher of political and social morality; as a master of the art of poetry; and as a sort of elegantiae arbiter" (Caroline Goad, Horace in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century, New Haven, 1918, p. 8). Notice also: "Fielding, in his friendly criticism and tolerance of human frailties, is a true Horatian" (ibid., p. 13).

19 Even Aristophanes had conceived the poet as a teacher and had avowed a moral purpose for his comedy. In The Champion for Thursday, January 3, 1740, Fielding wrote: "... when wit hath been used, like that of Addison and Steele,

an example in the constant, inescapable, and, except in Jonathan Wild, urbane satire which is an integral part of all Fielding's work.

The fifth source of Fielding's conception of the novel, the critical theory of the epic, also originated in ancient Greek literature, and came down through Latin, Italian, and French writers; Fielding derived it from the classical and more particularly from the French authorities. Epic theory, like so many other things, began with Aristotle. His dicta were based upon observation of examples then extant; and just as Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were the best serious poetry of their type, so his lost Margites — "a dramatic picture of the Ridiculous"[20] — set the pace for comic epic poems. Aristotle had laid the foundation for Fielding's theory of comedy in these words:

> ... Comedy ... is ... an imitation of men worse than the average; worse, however, not as regards any and every sort of fault, but only as regards one particular kind, the Ridiculous, which is a species of the Ugly. The Ridiculous may be definde as a mistake or deformity not productive of pain or harm to others; the mask, for instance, that excites laughter is something ugly and distorted without causing pain.[21]

This is all that we can be sure the Greek critic had said on

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to propagate virtue and morality; when, like that of Swift, to expose vice and folly; it is then only that these [wit and valour] become commendable, and truly worthy of our praise and admiration."

20 Aristotle, De Poetica, 4, trans. Bywater.

21 Ibid., 5.

comedy. He had discussed epic at greater length, but still not as fully as tragedy; and commentators read into his theories of comedy and epic several things that he had related to the serious poetic drama: for instance, from his assertion that the action of tragedy was to be confined to twenty-four hours or one day, they inferred that the action of the epic should ideally be confined to one year. As for the idea that art should teach ethics: It seems probable that Aristotle would have thought the end of comedy simply pleasure.[22] Morality as the end of art — both serious and comic — had, however, been accepted by various other Greeks, among them Aristophanes and Strabo.[23] At any rate, the idea that art should both divert and instruct soon came to be almost universally accepted among critics, and they adopted a body of rules which satisfied both purposes. Horace, perhaps, was most responsible for the insistence upon the double function. Le Bossu later applied instruction particularly to the epic

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22 See Lane Cooper, An Aristotelian Theory of Comedy, New York, 1922, pp. 60-61. Another treatise, however, which is of uncertain authorship, but which probably"incorporates many elements of the Aristotelian tradition on Comedy" (J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, London, 1931,p. 361), indicates, although it does not explicitly state, a different view. It distinguishes comedy from abuse, asserts the necessity of "a due proportion of laughter" in the former, and attacks Old Comedy because it had "a superabundance of the laughable" (Lane Cooper, op. cit., pp. 225-226). Notice that Aristotle had separated invective and comedy (De Poetica, 4).

23 See S. H. Butcher, Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, London, 1907, 4th ed., pp. 215-216.

rather than to tragedy.[24]

A controversy over the epic, provoked by the attempt to analyze Ariosto's Orlando by the rules of Aristotle, was one of the literary phenomena of the Renaissance. The principal problems in the discussion, which by the seventeenth century had shifted to France, were the distinctions between romance and epic, verisimilitude and probability, and the relative propriety of the pagan and the Christian theologies.[25] Georges de Scudéry was one of those who joined the quarrel in France. In his Preface to Alaric (1654) he outlined his conception of the epic as a poem on a famous historical subject, having for the hero a famous historical person, and written artistically for the purpose of instructing. He reasserted "the definition of the Epic as allegory, — a theory which had become very important in criticism of the epic."[26] But he regarded the epic and the romance as fundamentally the same form, whether verse or prose be the medium employed. And although he refused to use either pagan or Christian deities, he reverted to the magicians and demons of romance.

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24 "Mais ces raisons ne sont pas pour l'Epopée, puisqu'elle est moins pour purger les passions que pour faire quitter les mauvaises habitudes, & pour en faire prendre de bonnes" (Traité du Poëme Epique, Paris, 1708, II, xvii, 262).

25 The ensuing discussion of epic theory in France is based chiefly upon chapters III and IV of Ethel Thornbury's study, Henry Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic, Madison, 1931.

26 Thornbury, op. cit., 43n.

On the other hand, Chapelain -- a really original thinker -- was one of the first to conceive a method or plot which solved what had become the greatest difficulty in epic theory: the combination of the marvellous with the probable. The story of Joan of Arc possessed implicitly the advantage of the probability of the supernatural machinery -- a fact which Chapelain appreciated. He felt no need of the pagan deities and deliberately eschewed a resource to which so many of his contemporaries turned -- namely, the magic of the romances. This man, however, was unfortunately no poet, and so La Pucelle failed to become the great epic for which his countrymen longed; but its author, a learned man, and member of an influential group, exerted considerable influence upon French criticism. He had broken away from the conception that the epic and the romance were the same form, and he had intelligently overcome a great obstacle in the use of the marvellous. Desmarets furthered this advance by insisting upon the necessity of employing, in a modern epic, the Christian marvellous. These critical ideas Fielding would have found in Sarrasin's dialogues between Chapelain and other critics.

Thus epic theory had progressed from the employment of pagan mythology in the poems of the sixteenth century (Ronsard's Franciade), through the magic of the mediaeval Christian romances in the seventeenth century (Alaric), to the effective use of the Christian system. That was where matters stood when, shortly after the series of unsuccessful

heroic poems by de Scudéry, Chapelain, and Desmarets in the 1650's, the writing of epics became a subject for ridicule by the satirists.[27] It was at this time that Molière, Fielding's master, entered upon the scene and began to repudiate the mystery of art and the all-importance of the classical dicta of Aristotle and Horace, and to identify, for drama and the heroic poem alike, the rules of art with those of good commonsense. Then came the fierce battle of the Ancients and the Moderns, which occupied the latter half of the seventeenth century, and whose leaders were the great French critics praised in Tom Jones.

The first was Boileau, whose L'Art Poëtique, a derivative of Horace's treatise and of Vida's Ars Poetica (1527), appeared in 1674; it espoused a conception of the epic as a purely decorative poem, and advocated the use of pagan deities as more effective symbolic "ornaments" than the modern Christian. Like Molière, he was an apostle of commonsense. In the following year was published a somewhat similar but much more comprehensive work: the Traité du Poëme Epique by Le Bossu, who was esteemed by Dryden "the best of modern critics" and, together with his contemporary Dacier, was ranked by Fielding with Aristotle and Horace. Le Bossu reflected the rational spirit of his age when he wrote: "The Arts have this in common with the Sciences, that they are,

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27 Thornbury, op. cit., p. 50.

like them, founded upon reason, and that one ought to let himself be guided in them by the light which nature has given us."[28] He reiterated the idea that the epic was a"discourse ... to form manners by instructions disguised under the allegories of an important action ...."[29] He admitted the validity of prose in an epic, as in a tragedy.[30] He carried to an extreme the conception of the basic allegory. He ran counter, however, to an idea prevalent in his day, when, like Fielding later on, he said that one does not need a perfect hero in order to teach virtue: "Achilles and Mézence have as great a share of the poetic goodness as Ulysses and Aeneas: even these two cruel and unjust men are as normal poetic heroes as the two princes, so just, so wise, and so kind."[31] Like many others, Le Bossu believed that the action of the epic should occur within the space of a year. And, finally, in regard to probability and the marvellous, he asserted that the "machine" in an epic poem is not an invention to deliver the characters from difficulties, but is the presence of a divinity, or some supernatural and extraordinary action, which the poet employs in order to render his work "more ma-

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28 Traité du Poëme Epique, Paris, 1708, I, i, 1-2.

29 Ibid., I, iii, 14.

30 Robortelli, Maggi and Varchi, Michele, Beni, Scaliger, and Cervantes also shared this view that prose was a legitimate medium in the epic (see Spingarn, Literary Criticism in the Renaissance, New York, 1930, pp. 31, 35-36).

31 Op. cit., IV, v, 427.

jestic and more admirable, and to instruct his readers in piety and in virtue."[32]

Le Bossu's ideas formed the basis of Madame Dacier's Preface to her translation of Homer (1699), and of her Causes de la Corruption du Gout, which was an enlargement of the Preface. Fielding owned and read both of these treatises. In the same year in which her translation appeared was published Fénelon's Télémaque. This prose epic — called a poem by Ramsay in his preface to it (1714)[33] — proved to be the most successful of all the seventeenth-century French epics. Written by a champion of the ancients, it used Grecian deities and Grecian names; but it made the ancient gods symbolical of Christian moral virtues, thus solving the old problem of the marvellous by making it allegorical. And under the disguise of a narrative of the antique world, the work presented the ideals of the author's own time and a satiric criticism of the contemporary social order. Fénelon was recommended by Pope above all the moderns except Milton, as giving the "truest Idea of the Spirit and Turn" of Homer.[34] It was this "poem" which Fielding cited as an example of a

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32 Op. cit., V, v, 567-568.

33 Cf. Fielding: "... this heroic, historical, prosaic poem" — i.e., his novel (Tom Jones, I, 138).

34 The Preface to the translation of the Iliad (1723). In the same sentence Pope added: "... and Bossu's admirable Treatise of the Epic Form [may give the modern reader] the justest notion of his [Homer's] Design and Conduct."

work that should be ranked as an epic rather than as a romance because, although it deviated from the former species in one respect — the employment of prose instead of verse — it resembled that kind in all others.

Critical theory claimed less attention in England than in France. In 1651 — sixty-one years after the appearance of Spenser's Faerie Queene — Sir William Davenant, who had associated with de Scudéry, Desmarets, and Chapelain, and had participated in French discussions of the epic, published his Gondibert; although he held to the old purpose of teaching principles of conduct, he made two innovations: he discarded the marvellous altogether, and he did not use national material for his poem.[35] Then came the Restoration, a period during which England to some extent reflected the manners and ideas which the Stuarts brought back from France. Under the tutelage of Le Bossu, Dryden accepted the idea of the allegory or the fable's being the germ of the whole poem; he valued the moral, however, for the artistic unity which it gives to the work rather than for its mere didacticism. Addison believed in the presence of the moral, but refused to accept it as the starting-point or foundation of a poem. On the whole, English epic theory from Dryden, through Blackmore, Addison, and Pope, was definitely a derivative of the Le Bossu and Boileau school. It is summed up by Spingarn in

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35 Thornbury, op. cit., p. 77.

these words:

> The rules and theories of the Italian Renaissance, restated in the writings of Le Bossu, Mambrun, Rapin, and Vossius, were thus brought into English criticism, and found perhaps their best expression in Addison's essays on Paradise Lost.[36]

Meanwhile society in England changed its tone, became urban and critical, and was not one to be much concerned with the heroic or epical poem. Most of the important literature was being written in prose, and its keynote was worldly and rationalistic.

C. Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic

"Perhaps," says Miss Thornbury, in view of the many things which the author of Tom Jones took over from the epic tradition, "we should think of Fielding, not as the first English novelist, but as the last of the Renaissance writers of epic."[37] In spite, however, of all the definitely traceable elements which went into the making of this masterpiece, the composite result — one of the most conscious works of art that any literature has ever seen — was a new thing. Its author fully realized his position as the originator of a new kind of fiction; and when occasion presented itself, he was inclined to take advantage of that position to declare

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36 Op. cit., pp. 294-295.

37 Op. cit., p. 164.

a whimsical independence of critics and rules: "... for as I am, in reality, the founder of a new province of writing, so I am at liberty to make what laws I please therein ...."[38] Again he speaks of "this kind of writing, of which we have set ourselves at the head," and proceeds to lay down the rules for "all prosai-comi-epic writing."[39]

Fielding took over Aristotle's definition of comedy as "an imitation of men worse than the average ... as regards one particular kind [of fault], the Ridiculous ... a mistake or deformity not productive of pain to others ...." From this he elaborated a theory of his own. Nowhere could he find an actual account of the origins of the ridiculous, although one treatise, Bellegarde's, which he highly esteemed, pointed out many instances of it. The novelist tells us in the Preface of Joseph Andrews that the only source of the true ridiculous is affectation, which may in turn spring either from vanity or from hypocrisy. The discovery of this affectation always strikes the reader with surprise and pleasure. There is also another element which is implicit in Fielding's practice, though it was not until much later[40] that he formally incorporated, or at least acknowledged, it in his theory — and that is the Jonsonian idea of humour as

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38 Tom Jones, I, 54.

39 Ibid., I, 204.

40 In the Covent-Garden Journal, no. 55, July 18, 1752.

consisting in the dominance of one quality: such an idea accounts for many of Fielding's type characters. Both of these conceptions were partial holdovers from the drama — especially from Molière — though the theory that affectation was the proper subject of ridicule was by no means confined to that class of literature. The novelist carefully warns us, however, not to confuse comedy with burlesque, which is of the nature of caricature. Comedy is concerned with actions which are light and ridiculous, and with characters of inferior rank and manners; and it must be conscientiously true to nature; it therefore provides a more rational and useful pleasure than is obtained from the other kind of writing. Burlesque, on the contrary, exhibits the monstrous and unnatural, and is allowed almost infinite licence; accordingly, the delight that we experience from this grosser, more obvious art arises from its surprising absurdity.[41]

By the time he wrote Tom Jones, Fielding no longer regarded the comic epic and the comic romance as the same (he had done so in Joseph Andrews). The comic prose epic was a form to itself. If we are to read the rules from the example which Fielding presented in his masterpiece, it was to be a story of the ridiculous actions of men of inferior manners; it was to have a large scope, portraying effectively

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41 See the Preface to Joseph Andrews.

contemporary society;[42] it was to teach morals (as all good art should); it was to observe the general rules which applied to dramatic structure (both Aristotle and Le Bossu had emphasized the dramatic structure of the epic); it was to reveal a definite sense of the importance of temporal unity (critics had assertes that the action of the epic should be limited to one year, and in Tom Jones it is ostensibly confined to sixty days after the background has once been given in the form of history); it was to take pains to fit apparently incidental characters into the thread of the tale.[43] All these features were in the best tradition of epic theory. But the greatest single problem of the epic had been the use of the marvellous. On this point Fielding states his ideas explicitly. If Tom could not escape Tyburn without the intervention of supernatural forces, then he must hang. The author felt that his powers of credible invention and narration were completely equal to his task and necessitated no resource beyond the ordinary, the humanly probable.

Homer's stories of the pagan deities, in spite of the

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42 Observe the significance of the motto prefixed to the novel: "Mores hominum multorum vidit" ("he viewed the customs and manners of many people").

43 E.g., the appearance and reappearance of Jenny Jones. Had Fielding been writing a picaresque tale or a mere comic romance, he would have let her drop out of the story. Cf.: "As our history doth not, like a news-paper, give great characters to people who never were heard of before, nor will ever be heard of again; the reader may hence conclude, that this excellent woman [Mrs. Miller] will hereafter appear to be of some importance in our history" (Tom Jones, III, 219).

objections with which they had met in many quarters,[44] had established the marvellous as requisite to the epic; and many of the Renaissance and modern poems had employed the pagan mythology. Others, as we have seen, unsatisfied with the ancient deities, had resorted to such supernatural agencies as genii, demons, and fairies. Fielding refused to countenance either of these devices. He regretted that Homer had foisted such indignities on the gods, and viewed a modern writer's use of the ancient machines as "horrid puerility."[45] The mythology of the romances only elicited still more contempt, if possible, from him.[46] Nor could the Christian writer introduce into his work any of "the heavenly host which make a part of his creed." The only supernatural agents which the novelist was willing to allow to his fellow writers were ghosts: "but of these," he said, "I would advise an author to be extremely sparing.[45] Fielding refused to insult the intelligence of his reader and to injure the "truth and dignity of history" by employing irrational methods of extricating his hero from difficulties.[47] Furthermore, he demanded that the writer keep within the bounds not only of possibility, but also of probability.[48] In relating the ac-

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44 Xenophanes was one of those who had deplored them.

45 Tom Jones, II, 154.

46 Ibid., III, 175-176.

47 Ibid., IV, 173. See also II, 270.

48 Ibid., II, 155. Particularly in describing the good and

tions of men, "great care is to be taken, that we do not exceed the capacity of the agent we describe."

All this does not mean, however, that the author is prohibited from presenting characters and events "which may possibly have never fallen within the knowledge of great part of his readers."[49] Within the limits which Fielding sets, the more the writer deals in the wonderful and the more he consequently surprises his reader, the more the latter will be delighted; the wise author will follow the advice of Pope and "mix truth with fiction; in order to join the credible with the surprizing."[50] And there is plenty to raise the wonder of the reader within the pale of the truly marvellous, which Fielding would define as consisting of those human actions that are amazing, but still true to the nature of the character who performs them.[51] Further, there is the unusual rôle that mere chance often plays in real life -- and that Fielding employs on occasion in his novel, just as it might really

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amiable, since ill-nature does not in this case lend its support to faith in the portrait (II, 156-157).

49 Tom Jones, II, 160.

50 Ibid., II, 160. Quoted by Fielding from the Bathos, chapter 5.

51 "Should the best parts of the story of M. Antoninus be ascribed to Nero, or should the worst incidents of Nero's life be imputed to Antoninus, what would be more shocking to belief than either instance; whereas both these being related to their proper agent, constitute the truly marvelous" (Tom Jones, II, 159).

happen in actual experience.[52]

Finally, in his theory of the comic prose epic, Fielding makes one contribution which is entirely his own: the initial essays, which he alleged cost him more pains to write than any other portions of the novel,[53] and which can often be prefixed to any other book as suitably as to the particular one which they introduce. These little essays, in the tradition which Addison had carried to its most perfect form, were the result of their author's journalistic experience. Seriously, they served as vehicles for airing his views on life, men, morals, and literature; and, being directly incorporated in his novel, they gained a degree of attention that they would not otherwise have drawn. Perhaps they were employed, as Cross suggests, in order to lend dignity to a literary type none too highly regarded at that time.[54] Half facetiously, Fielding explained that he had affixed them as requisite to the "new province of writing," as a rule necessary to be observed in all prosai-comi-epic, in order to ward off inferior imitators who would come after him.[55]

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52 See Tom Jones, IV, 226.

53 Ibid., IV, 118.

54 The History of Henry Fielding, II, 221.

55 Tom Jones, I, 204, and II, 254-255.

D. Fielding's Theory of Literary Art

Fielding adopted from Horace and numerous other critics, ancient and modern, the idea that art should aim both divert and to instruct.[56] He declined to recount a grave discourse, saying that it was "A species of conversation, in which, though there is much of dignity and instruction, there is but little entertainment. As we presume, therefore, only to convey this last to the reader, we shall pass by whatever was said ...."[57] As for a moral end, Fielding specifically outlined in the Preface to his novel a threefold purpose: he would recommend goodness and innocence by setting before us an example which reveals the loveliness of virtue; he would convince men that no rewards of guilt can compensate for the loss of that solid inward comfort which is the companion only of goodness; and finally, he would show that "virtue and innocence can scarce ever be injured but by indiscretion" — a lesson which he labours all the harder to impress upon us "as the teaching it is, of all others, the likeliest to be attended with success; since it is much easier to make good men wise than to make bad men good."[58] In still another

56 Such a purpose applied especially to epic, as we have seen, but generally to any other species of art as well. For an example of its application to drama, see Pope's Prologue to Addison's Cato.

57 Tom Jones, I, 259. The discourse referred to is one which follows a quarrel between Tom and Blifil.

58 Tom Jones, I, x-xi.

place he speaks of "the great, useful and uncommon doctrine, which is the purpose of this whole work to inculcate ..." — namely, that reason and wisdom are guards to virtue, which brings peace of mind.[59] In connexion with his high moral aim should be mentioned Fielding's firm belief that literature should not become indecent: "I am so far from desiring to exhibit such [objectionable] pictures to the public," he says, "that I would wish to draw a curtain over those that have lately been set forth in certain French novels ...."[60]

Aristotle had asserted that the objects of artistic imitation are human beings in action, men performing or undergoing something. Accordingly, Fielding, seeking to be the historian of his age as Homer and Milton had been of theirs, set out to portray the actions of Englishmen of that day, and to reveal behind the manners of a specific period the timeless and universal motives, just as he perceived Cervantes and Lesage to have done in Don Quixote and Gil Blas. "The provision, then, which we have here made," he tells his reader, "is no other than Human Nature." Nor is he afraid that the one course at the feast will not offer sufficient variety. Furthermore, the fact that this dish purports to be the subject of the innumerable romances, novels, plays, and poems

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59 Tom Jones, III, 158. For a fuller discussion of these points, see the section on Shaftesbury.

60 Tom Jones, III, 240. See also II, 89.

should offer no discouragement; for the term in most of these cases only disguises a paltry substitute. "In reality, true nature is as difficult to be met with in authors, as the Bayonne ham or Bologna sausage is to be found in the Shops."[61]

Such an attitude had been generally accepted in the Renaissance; but the question had then arisen whether the presentation of human nature was to be achieved by copying the ancients who had so well portrayed this subject, or by depending upon the writer's own observation. Pope, like many other literary men, especially those of the Augustan Age, had reconciled the two in his Essay on Criticism:

> Nature and Homer were, he found, the same.[62]

But Fielding definitely asserted that the best resource of the writer was his own experience and intelligent observation:

> Vanbrugh and Congreve copied nature; but they who copy them draw as unlike the present age, as Hogarth would do if he was to paint a rout or a drum in the dresses of Titian and of Vandyke. In short, imitation here will not do the business. The picture must be after nature herself.[63]

In short, however true it is that the essentials of human nature remain eternally the same, the manners of each age vary; and since the manners as well as the motives are what characterize people, they are the stuff of art; and they are to be

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61 Tom Jones, I, 2-3.

62 Line 135.

63 Tom Jones, IV, 3.

learned only by direct, personal study, not from other writers, no matter how great.

For aid in bringing his arduous task to a happy conclusion, Fielding invoked Genius, Learning, Experience, and Humanity.[64] These he conceived to be the four requirements for good writing. He defined the natural gift of genius as consisting (1) on invention, which is not a creative faculty, but rather "a quick and sagacious penetration into the true essence of all the objects of our contemplation," and (2) of judgement, which is the discernment of the differences in those objects.[65] Genius, for instance, would be indicated by the ability, found in very few writers — and readers — "to mark the nice distinction between two persons actuated by the same vice or folly ..."[66] Unlike Locke, Addison, and Pope, Fielding believed the two qualities of invention and judgement to be concomitant.

If, however, genius furnishes the craftsman tools for his task, "a competent knowledge of history and of the belles lettres" is equally necessary as supplying first the art, second the rules by which to direct the work, and third at least part of the material upon which the writer is to labour. For, says Fielding, "tools are of no service to a workman,

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64 Tom Jones, III, 197-198.

65 Ibid., II, 257-258.

66 Ibid., III, 2.

when they are not sharpened by art ...."[67] His examples of the value of learning are Homer, Virgil, and Milton; guided by such men as these, he sees no reason why erudition should quench inspiration.

In addition, however, the writer must have another sort of knowledge, to be obtained, as was pointed out above, not from books, but only from experience and conversation with men — and with all ranks of men, at that:

> ... for the knowledge of what is called high-life, will not instruct him in low, nor _e converso_, will his being acquainted with the inferior part of mankind, teach him the manners of the superior. And though it may be thought that the knowledge of either may[68] sufficiently enable him to describe at least that in which he hath been conversant; yet he will even here fall greatly short of perfection: for the follies of either rank do in reality illustrate [_i.e._, throw into relief] each other.[69]

And finally there is humanity, without which all these other qualities will avail the historian absolutely nothing. For unless he have a "good heart" and be able to experience with his characters their distresses and joys, he cannot paint them convincingly. And so it is with the ridiculous: Fielding is certain that he never makes his readers laugh heartily, except where he as author has laughed before them.[70]

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67 _Tom Jones_, II, 258. Both the interpretation of invention and the insistence upon learning are doctrines of Renaissance criticism which persisted in the Augustan Age.

68 Misprinted "many" in the Shakespeare Head edition.

69 _Tom Jones_, II, 259-260.

70 _Ibid._, II, 260.

Fielding regarded realism, the almost inevitable outgrowth of these four qualifications, as a distinguishing mark of all good art. To that end he believed in presenting impartially both the good and the bad in his characters.[71] Furthermore, neither his experience nor his observation had ever included persons of perfect goodness (except, he would perhaps say, his wife Charlotte and his friend Allen) or those of utter villainy; and so he did not depict them.[72] His second reason for avoiding such extremes of characterization in "any work of invention" (notice the significance of the word) was the desire to be morally helpful to the reader, who could learn from persons whose virtues were accompanied by a few minor faults, but who might on the other hand be discouraged by portraits of impossible perfection, or disgusted by pictures of revolting vice.[73]

Part also of this creed of realism was an insistence upon conservation of character — that is, upon making all of a character's actions consistent with his nature. Actions may be surprising and yet still be probable, so long as they are in keeping with the makeup of the person: for instance, Tom's generosity towards Blifil at the end may be surprising

71 Tom Jones, I, 111.

72 Ibid., III, 3. Blifil, of course, presents a real problem in reconciling Fielding's practice with his theory — far more so than Allworthy, because although the latter is perfectly good, he is occasionally made to furnish amusement for the reader (as in the pompous bedside speech when he thinks he is going to die of a cold) and is the dupe of scoundrels and imposters.

73 Tom Jones, III, 3. See also II, 158 (Allworthy) and III, 4: "The foibles ...."

and yet is credible because Tom has all along appeared as a very charitable person. What particularly irritated Fielding was the practice, common among writers of comedy, of suddenly and without justification imposing — towards the end of the play — repentance and moral reformation upon rakish characters.[74] Rather than draw his moral in this unnatural way, Fielding, artist that he was, preferred to make it implicit or, when he indulged in it directly, to do so gracefully, in the manner of a Greek chorus.

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74 Tom Jones, II, 159-160; see, in addition, IV, 236. This doctrine of conservation of character also was part of the Renaissance criticism. It had originated in the Aristotelian theory of decorum (De Poetica, 15).

IV

The Philosophical, Moral, and Religious Background of *Tom Jones*

A. Locke: Empirical Psychology and the *Via Media*

The publication of Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* in 1690 introduced a new era in thought, an era which scholars term the Enlightenment. With the *Essay* came an unaccustomed emphasis upon man rather than the universe, and an empirical psychology which set the tone of the greater part of the eighteenth century. The first half of the new period — from 1690 to about 1750 — was marked by complex streams and cross-currents of philosophical discussion; after that the interest shifted to politics and history. Fielding, by temperament as well as training, was peculiarly susceptible to the prevailing influences, and his great novel appeared at the very culmination of the earlier, moulding forces. It was just at the time when the future writer, a handsome, full-blooded young man of eighteen, left Eton, thirsting for experience of life and men, that Locke's vogue set in.[1] His philosophy had not immediately won a wide recognition, but now it dropped like a bombshell to start a revolution of cumulative power.

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1 "'Locke is universal,' said Warburton." The period of Locke's vogue comprised the years between 1725 and 1765, when reprints of his *Essay* were most frequent and when ref-

Modern rationalism had received its impetus from Descartes, whose philosophy remained the dominating force until the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Frenchman had asserted a dualism of mind and matter, and had traced error to the mind's affirming as truth mere sensations, which are different from the actual reality of the material world. Hobbes took over the Cartesian doctrine of the subjectivity of the sense perceptions, but also taught that all knowledge originated in elementary sensations,[2] and that man in all his activities is a product of his environment; he anticipated Locke in his definition of truth as the agreement, not of ideas with things, but of ideas with one another, and in his associational psychology, which led naturally to determinism. And in still another important way he anticipated his successors: long before Shaftesbury, he affirmed that the criterion of good and bad was social interest, the good being that which has a beneficial effect, and the bad that which has a harmful effect on society; but at the same time he believed that self-preservation was the principle of morals. The difference was that Locke and Shaftesbury conceived the state of natural man as a harmonious and beneficent one, whereas Hobbes thought it one of constant war and selfish conflict. In one other re-

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erences to him in the popular literature were almost innumerable (see Kenneth MacLean, Locke and Eighteenth-Century English Literature, New Haven, 1936, pp. 2-3).

2 Bacon had taught that all knowledge is derived from experience.

spect Lobbes may have influenced the later philosophers: important in Locke's and Shaftesbury's teachings was the idea of religious tolerance; Hobbes had asserted in his Leviathan the fallibility of all religions, although at the same time he granted the sovereign state the right to choose what the religion of its people should be.[3]

The Enlightenment also had its origin in English political movements of the seventeenth century. The Revolution of 1688 marks its beginning as a distinct era; and the French and the American Revolutions, towards the end of the eighteenth century, mark its close. The criticism of political authority either led to or at least accompanied the break from intellectual authority in England; whereas in France the process was inverted. But in both cases man turned from scanning God and the universe to examining his own mind. He assumed his independence as a person, his significance as an individual, rather than as an Englishman, or a scholar, or the like (an assumption which produced a spirit of cosmopolitanism); he sought to strip the human being of all his artificialities and to find his natural state. He became impatient of learning and pedantry, of scholarship and tradition, and tried to substitute the useful for the merely historical.[4]

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3 The general philosophy of Locke and especially of Hobbes produced, however, only reaction and opposition in Shaftesbury.

4 See H. E. Cushman, A Beginner's History of Philosophy, Cambridge, II, 1920, chap. vi and parts of chap. vii.

He began to worship his own reason and to despise the unenlightened, the thoughtless. Thus the problems of psychology furnished, in England, the philosophy of the day.

Locke reflected all these aspects of the spirit of the new century. He gave voice to the prevailing resentments and the growing convictions. He offered a psychological method to meet the needs of the new interest in man. Locke was striking at two extremes — the two represented in Thwackum and Square: the theologian's degradation of the human mind and the atheists' undue ennobling of it; and his solution was the via media.

His purpose, he said, was to "inquire into the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge." His conclusions as to the limits of that knowledge were largely to determine the character of eighteenth-century literature. Rebellious against the tyranny of traditional religious and political dogma, Locke started out by denying the existence of innate ideas — a denial with which his name became practically synonymous. Positively, he taught that all ideas are empirically aroused, having their origin either externally in the impressions made upon the physical senses, or internally in the operations of the intellect (which produced "reflections"). But the old, persistent dualism entered into Locke's theory of the idea of the Self and an independent material world outside the mind. We can attain no certain knowledge of this external material world, said he, only probability, or an inference

from many sources. And so, "If by this inquiry ... it may be of use to prevail with the busy mind of man, to be more cautious in meddling with things exceeding its comprehension .... We should then perhaps not be so forward, out of affection for universal knowlwdge, to ... perplex ourselves and others with disputes about things to which our understandings are not suited, and of which ... we have not any notions at all."[5] Neither a slave to external sensation, nor able entirely to reason apart from it is man: he is midway between the absolute freedom of God and the absolute necessity of the animal. His knowledge has no possible source other than ideas.[6] Pope later expressed the attitude thus:

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan.[7]

There, then, in empiricism and the related doctrine of human limitation, are the two phases of Locke's philosophy which had the most extensive influence on the general temper and the literature of the time, and on Fielding. They either shared or produced — probably both, in part — a whole train of pronounced characteristics. The emphasis upon sensation and experience brought into literature an unusual objectivity and concreteness, a desire to draw close to real life and real people. There was a new interest in psychological experience and psychological narrative (exemplified in Defoe

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5 Of Human Understanding, I, i, 4.

6 Freedom, however, is to be found in his having ideas not in isolated form, but in their relations, or as judgements.

7 An Essay on Man, Epistle II, line 1.

and Richardson). At the same time, the emphasis upon the via media turned men's attention to themselves and the people about them. Typical of cultured English society in the eighteenth century was an urban, rationalistic masculinity. Men gathered in coffee-houses or taverns or private dining rooms to drink their ale or beer and to eat the "roast-beef of old England" while they discussed politics, letters, morals in the manner of educated gentlemen. They scoffed at mystics and "enthusiasts," radicals and speculators: they worshipped common sense. They despised presumptuous ignoramuses who were bold enough to discuss questions of philosophy or religion or society which their training and education did not fit them to consider.[8] Not many of the leading men of letters were really happy; some were very bitter; but they were not violent about the matter, and were inclined to think that things could be worse. Some of the literary men, too, were not full-hearted supporters of the orthodox Church; and some attacked either the institution or its contemporary corruptions. But let an upstart like Thomas Chubb attempt, in however sincere and modest a manner, to lay a hand on orthodoxy, and from their loftier heights they poured down upon him an overwhelming

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8 Groups or clubs organized by such men for such purposes were plentiful at that time. Interest in these questions was not limited to the well-trained classes, and the new-validation of the native human reason and the reliance upon common sense offered stimulation — often curiously perverted — to the inferior as well as the superior people. See Fielding's articles on the Robinhoodians in the Covent-Garden Journal for January 28 and February 1, 1752.

flood of ridicule. Underneath the prevailing attitude was a vague, uneasy feeling that such an attempt would disturb the status quo and endanger the happiness and well-being of society.[9] At any rate, they thought, man's powers, such as they might be, were given him for improving his own lot, and not for tampering with things beyond his ken.

Other aspects of Locke's philosophy had significance for special groups with which we shall be concerned in more detail later. Suffice it to point out here that in the eighteenth century English deism developed, in part, from his theory of religion. This school took over his ideas that revelation cannot contradict human reason, and that the moral law is a law of nature.[10] Shaftesbury, the leader of the English Moralists, also accepted the latter teaching, as well as the doctrines that obedience to the moral law is happiness, the summum bonum, that it is attained by controlling the desires, and that "nature" is a state of harmony. Thus was laid the foundation for the new morality of sentiment which, growing out of the attempt to find an ultimate basis for morals outside religious dogma, became prevalent during the eighteenth century, the morality which Fielding took over in his great novel.

The influence of Locke upon Fielding was real enough;

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9 See Leslie Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, New York, 1902, II, 368-377.

but circumstances indicate that it was diffused rather than specific.[11] No writer has ever more genuinely reflected the life of his time than Henry Fielding; and no writer was ever more thoroughly English in tastes and temperament and outlook. Exactly the same thing might be said of John Locke. It is significant that the three men who have come to be considered the most typical embodiments of what we call the English character were all of the age of the Enlightenment — the philosopher Locke, the novelist Fielding, and the moralist Johnson.[12] But it is precisely this similarity of temperament and character that is likely to make trouble for us in estimating Locke's influence upon Fielding. "A complete criticism of the English artistic literature of the eighteenth century," says Leslie Stephen, "would place Fielding at the

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11 Especially so by the time he wrote Tom Jones. The references to Locke in the Champion are far more significant than those in the novel. See the articles for Jan. 17, 1739-40, March 1, 1739-40, and March 27, 1740 (here Locke is referred to as "this great man"), in Fielding's Miscellaneous Writings, ed. W. H. Henley, London, 1903, II, 158-9, 223, and 257. See also the Covent-Garden Journal — the last of Fielding's newspapers — for Jan. 14, 1752 (no. 4, which speaks of Locke as "the great philosopher"), and April 14, 1752 (no. 30). In the Fragments of a Comment on Lord Bolingbroke's Essays, the novelist calls Locke "this truly great man" (MacLean, op. cit., p. 16, n. 103). The publisher Millar had given Fielding a three-volume set of Locke's Works in 1751. The only other of his writings which was in Fielding's library at his death was the 1698 essay on government (Thornbury, op. cit., list of Fielding's library, item 239).

12 The fact should not be obscured that Johnson, holding to a more austere and orthodox creed of morality, and with some traits produced by circumstances in his life and health, was a bitter opponent of Fielding's.

centre, and measure the completeness of other representatives pretty much as they recede from an approach to his work. Others, as Addison and Goldsmith, may show finer qualities of workmanship and more delicate sentiment; but Fielding, more than anyone, gives the essential — the very form and pressure of the time."[13]

Thus did the author of Tom Jones share the culture and reflect the life of his period. And indications are that, deeply as he may have been influenced by the intellectual ruler of that life, he was influenced chiefly as the philosopher coloured the literature and the activity to which the novelist held up the mirror. We might with some reason go even further than this statement. It is hard to believe that Fielding would have been any different if he had never read Locke at all. Both the empirical psychology of the novels and the insistence upon the via media probably had quite as definite a source in Fielding's own native temperament and outlook as they could possibly have had in Locke's thought or in the stream of life which passed under his observation and which was so deeply tinged with the "sensational," middle-way philosophy.

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13 Op. cit., II, 380.

B. Shaftesbury: the Morality of Sentiment

With Shaftesbury, however, the case is a little different. His influence upon Fielding was more direct, exclusive, and specific than that of Locke. That the relationship between the novelist and "that noble author," "the elegant Lord Shaftesbury,"[14] was recognized during Fielding's own century is evidenced by Sir John Hawkins' vehement attack upon the former in The Works of Samuel Johnson:

> His [Fielding's] morality, in respect that it resolves virtue into good affections, in contradiction to moral obligation and a sense of duty, is that of Lord Shaftesbury vulgarised, and is a system of excellent use in palliating the vices most injurious to society. He was the inventor of that cant-phrase, goodness of heart, which is every day used as a substitute for probity, and means little more than the virtue of a horse or a dog; in short, he has done more towards corrupting the rising generation than any writer we know of.[15]

However he may have been misinterpreted by Hawkins, Fielding, like Shaftesbury, was indeed an apostle of the new morality of sentiment. Just as the moralist was trying to refute the egoistic philosophy of Hobbes, so the novelist was protesting against the prevalent doctrine that all human actions derive from selfishness — a doctrine whose product was the "prudential calculation" exemplified by Master Blifil.

Modern scholars, as well as Hawkins, recognize his re-

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14 The Champion, March 11, 1739-40 (Miscellaneous Writings, II, 235); Tom Jones, III, 256.

15 Works of Samuel Johnson, ed. Hawkins, 1787, I, 214-215; quoted by Cross, op. cit., III, 163.

lationship to the philosopher:

> As in 'Hamlet,' the problem of 'Tom Jones' is the hero himself. Not because Fielding is obscure, but because the character raises certain moral questions, humorously casuistical, on which men are bound to differ. The author plays delightfully, if one is interested in old books, with the Earl of Shaftesbury's formal 'Inquiry concerning Virtue'— with his lordship's 'mere goodness,' 'natural affections,' 'moral sense,' and sharp distinctions between good and evil. This essay, like others in the 'Characteristics,' had profoundly influenced Fielding; in a sober mood he would have accepted as completely as did Square the moral doctrines of 'the Great Lord Shaftesbury.' He never burlesques or parodies Shaftesbury, never quite uses his phrases; he rather puts to a sort of humorous test his lordship's ethical system by bringing it into conjunction with real life. From the moment we first see Tom, he has all of Shaftesbury's 'social virtues'; he is kind, considerate, and generous .... In heeding the impulses of his heart, he falls into indiscretions that run from these instances of personal harm to acts which appear as vices and which are indeed near allied to them; he is lacking in all the practical virtues, such as Master Blifil's prudence and caution, and so becomes in the general view 'his own worst enemy.'[16]

Again, Cross speaks of Fielding as being, in the initial chapters written for the successive books of Tom Jones, "saturated with Cicero, Shaftesbury, and the New Testament."[17] And he finds A Fragment of a Comment on Lord Bolingbroke's Essays — a work left unfinished at the author's death — also "pervaded with that philosophic wit and humour which Fielding had learned from South and Shaftesbury ...."[18]

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16 Cross, op. cit., II, 212-213.

17 Ibid., II, 221.

18 Ibid., III, 19.

Little inclined as Shaftesbury was to elaborate speculation, Fielding was still less so. Therefore, though the novelist, as we shall see, was thoroughly steeped in the philosopher's writings and spirit, Shaftesbury's theories of the universe, God, and natural religion were ignored, rather than acknowledged, by Fielding. It was only as they moulded the creed of the new morality that they influenced the author of Tom Jones, and even then he did not go quite so far as his master. But the philosopher's works touched upon all of life that came under his eye; and so from him the novelist either learned many interpretations of and attitudes toward life and art, or else in him found support for many which he had already taken up from other sources or developed from his own reflections.

The basic principle in Shaftesbury's philosophy was the conception that harmony or balance — based on taste or feeling — indicates moral perfection in the human being, just as it indicates perfection in the social structure and in the universe. He regarded man as a complex of appetites and affections, controlled — more or less perfectly — by the reason; in the moral man these factors exist in a finely adjusted balance and concord, all too easily and fatally disturbed.

The one point in Shaftesbury's creed that gave rise to more misunderstanding than any other was his belief that goodness and badness were founded on natural temper:

> 'A good Creature is such a one as by the natural Temper or Bent of his Affections is carry'd primarily and immediately, and not secondarily and accidentally, to Good, and against Ill:' And an Ill Creature is just the contrary; viz. 'One who is wanting in right Affections, of force enough to carry him directly towards Good, and bear him out against Ill; or who is carry'd by other Affections directly to Ill, and against Good.'[19]

But the philosopher went a step further -- and those who misinterpreted him ignored this fact: far from making goodness and virtue identical, he asserted that the latter is distinct from the former and is limited to man.[20] Virtue involves reason and an appreciation of social interest:

> SO that if a Creature be generous, kind, constant, compassionate; yet if he cannot reflect on what he himself does, or sees others do, so as to take notice of what is worthy or honest; and make that Notice or Conception of Worth and Honesty to be an Object of his Affection; he has not the Character of being virtuous: for thus, and no otherwise, he is capable of having a Sense of Right or Wrong; a Sentiment or Judgment of what is done, thro' just, equal, and good Affection, or the contrary.[21]

In that paragraph, as we shall see later, we can recognize the Tom Jones of the novel.

The conception that virtue involves reason brings us to another important point in Shaftesbury's moral philosophy. He fully realized that it is humanly impossible to eliminate

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19 "An Inquiry concerning Virtue ....," Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times, fourth edition, 1727, II, 26.

20 Ibid., II, 28.

21 Ibid., II, 31. Observe also: "AND thus we find how far WORTH and VIRTUE depend on a knowledge of Right and Wrong,

the passions in favor of reason, or uniformly to subject them to control by it. He refused to grant governance by reason even to those "Modern Projectors" who would

> reduce all its [the human heart's] Motions, Ballances, and Weights, to that one Principle and Foundation of a cool and deliberate Selfishness. Men, it seems, are unwilling to think they can be so outwitted, and impos'd on by Nature, as to be made to serve her Purposes, rather than their own. They are asham'd to be drawn thus out of themselves, and forc'd from what they esteem their true Interest.[22]

The dualism of mind and matter remains, producing an eternal conflict. "FANCY and I are not all one," said Shaftesbury.

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and on a use of Reason, sufficient to secure a right application of the Affections ..." (Ibid., II, 35). George Rogers Swann, in Philosophical Parallelisms in Six English Novelists (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 62), writes: "the chief defect of Shaftesbury's ethical system was that it failed to combine the external ground for right conduct with the internal. It omitted a standard upon which the benevolent impulses had to act. This is essentially Hume's objection. In this, Fielding agrees with him. He points out that no matter how beautiful a person may be on the outside, he needs external wisdom and prudence." Shaftesbury does, of course, judge by the motives of deeds, as does Fielding, and even as does Hume (who values an act according as it reveals a constant disposition to the desirable or undesirable quality of character). But those who make such a criticism of the earlier philosopher as Swann's should remember such passages as those which we quote on pages 69 and 82. Also significant is Shaftesbury's remark that we should not allow unavoidable accidents of nature and human frailty to disturb our performances of just and natural duties — e. g., we should be good to a child because he is a child ("The Moralists," Characteristics, II, 241). What seems to be an interesting parallel in Fielding is Allworthy's private aid to the disgraced Partridge in order to prevent his family's starving, at the same time that the benefactor refuses to help him publicly for fear of encouraging vice, and withdraws the support when Partridge's wife dies and the man can shift for himself.

22 "An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," Characteris-

"The Disagreement makes me my own."[23] The regulation of fancy and the rectification of opinion furnish constant employment for us. But only in the accomplishment of these tasks, in the victory of that man-excellence, reason, is to be found freedom, dignity, or pleasure; for the enjoyment of any beauty or good is of mental origin, a function or activity of the reason. A full understanding or appreciation of happiness can be attained by the mind alone. And, finally, freedom of thought and action (which the philosopher sharply distinguished from libertinism) is impossible without the rule of reason. Shaftesbury compared a condition where unlimited passion and unexamined fancy govern to a state ruled merely by the people, rather than by the laws, and no more allows the term free-living to the one than he does that of free government to the other.[24] Self-knowledge is the first step toward liberty, self-control the second. And as reason and virtue make us free, vice makes us ignoble and miserable only because it enslaves and degrades us. The philosopher stated his attitude clearly:

> Can there be Strength of Mind; can there be Command over one's self; if the Ideas of Pleasure, the Suggestions of Fancy, and the strong Pleadings of Appetite and Desire are not often withstood, and the Imaginations soundly reprimanded, and brought under

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tics, I, 116-117.

23 "Advice to an Author," Characteristics, I, 325.

24 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 312.

subjection?[25]

There is one other consideration which we should keep in mind while discussing this matter: reason is the philosophical or psychological term for an intellectual power or quality. Shaftesbury's name for the virtue which ensues from the predominance of that power or quality in everyday life is temperance. Reason and temperance -- the latter being but the manifestation of the former -- are, then, only the abstract and concrete, or the intellectual and practical, aspects of the same virtue. And from humble temperance, their nursing mother, are born all the other moral excellences. She is the legislatress that gives the mind its liberty and brings the other, more brilliant virtues in her train.

But philosophers from time immemorial have admitted such a dualism of mind and matter, the ceaseless struggle between the intellectual reason and the natural passions. More peculiarly characteristic of Shaftesbury's moral creed is its emphasis upon society. The moralist assumed as the starting point of the virtuous human being an innate or instinctive good nature, a natural benevolence, which existed in men before the formation of the social contract. Both by this assumption and in so many words, he utterly repudiated the doctrine of universal human depravity pleaded for by theologians from the time of the earliest religious controversies

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25 "Advice to an Author," Characteristics, I, 312.

and Christian teachings. He asserted that society is the natural state of man, that the human being is "... purposely, and not by accident, made rational and sociable; and can no otherwise increase or subsist, than in that social Intercourse and Community which is his natural State."[26] Shaftesbury even went so far as to say that a creature can be divested of any other feeling more readily than of his natural love towards the society of which he is a part.[27] The philosopher's constant concern was for "that natural Affection by which the Species or Society is upheld."[28] In his scale of virtues and vices, the noblest qualities would be those which tend to preserve the ordained order of society in all its harmony (they are not, however, contrary to the welfare of the individual); the lowest ones would be those — like avarice, cold and brutal selfishness, and cruelty — which are anti-social. In Shaftesbury's moral theory social affection is, therefore, natural to man, grows out of reason, should be the basis and enhancement of the private affections, and is the source of the pleasures both in life and in art.

In Tom Jones Fielding accepts almost completely the Shaftesburian morality. He too assumes as the starting point

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26 "the Moralists," Characteristics, II, 309.

27 Ibid., II, 313.

28 "Inquiry concerning Virtue ...," Characteristics, II, 35.

of the virtuous human being an instinctive good nature or natural benevolence. He makes his hero a boy who is good at heart, but is always getting into trouble — either because he lets his passions run away with him or because his affections, good in themselves, are perverted in their object or their application. The historian, as Fielding liked to call himself, refers time and again to Tom's goodness of disposition and rightness of heart. Towards the end of the novel he portrays the young man in Sophia's words:

> "I once fancied, madam, I had discovered great goodness of heart in Mr. Jones; and for that I own I had a sincere esteem: but an entire profligacy of manners will corrupt the best heart in the world; and all which a good-natured libertine can expect, is, that we should mix some grains of pity with our contempt and abhorrence."[29]

Tom is a fine exemplification of the love defined by Fielding as "a kind and benevolent disposition, which is gratified by contributing to the happiness of others," and which finds "in this gratification alone, as in friendship, in parental and filial affection, and indeed in general philanthropy, ... a great and exquisite delight."[30] Throughout the story the novelist's hero is a creature of good instincts, of social and charitable nature, who, "tho' an idle, thoughtless, rattling rascal, was no-body's enemy but his own," "a character which really does great honour to human nature, and is pro-

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29 Repeated to Jones by Mrs. Miller, IV, 284. Italics are mine.

30 Tom Jones, II, 3.

ductive of the highest good to society."[31]

But it is possible to press even such an obvious point as this a little too far. True enough, Tom does from the very first have all of Shaftesbury's "social virtues" and natural goodness. They are not, however, pure, unmitigated instinct alone, even in the earliest stages of the hero's development. One instance is his resolution, in his reluctance to cause distress to any person if he can prevent it, first to remain true to Molly Seagrim and then to provide for her; and he forsakes the latter resolution only when he discovers that Molly has been unfaithful to him, and he is rationally, indisputably certain that he is not responsible for originally corrupting her. Possibly another instance, which occurs still earlier in the history, is his loyalty to Black George in the matter of trespassing, while hunting partridges, on forbidden preserves. Even Allworthy's generosity in giving him a little horse, which pricks his conscience more than anything else, does not lead him to betray the blackguard for whom betrayal would mean utter ruin; hatred of lying and affection for his foster-father tempt him sorely, but he remains true to the line of conduct which he believes to be right. Mistaken the point of honour may be, unworthy the object of the solicitude; all too often, because of his youthfulness and inexperience and lack of knowledge about human nature, the boy fails woe-

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31 Tom Jones, I, 153.

fully in penetration. But almost always — even when, as in the revolting Bellaston case, Fielding has to stretch a point to make it so — there is some conscious weighing of the values involved.[32]

The realization of this fact brings us to the consideration of another close resemblance between the philosopher and the novelist: namely, the handling of the constant battle between thought and natural instinct. Like Shaftesbury, Fielding appreciated the inescapability of "the fantastic and capricious behaviour of the passions, who are the managers and directors of this theatre, for as to reason the patentee, he is known to be a very idle fellow and seldom to exert himself."[33] Because of the difficulty of the consequent struggle, the novelist was forced to the conclusion that a single bad act no more constitutes a villain in life, than does a single bad part on the stage[33] — a fact which we are asked to remember when interpreting Fielding's history of his hero. It is Tom 's yielding to his passions that brings about the trouble in practically all the cases: as for two of those mentioned above, in the affair with Molly his moral scruples succumb to a constitutional exuberance (which is encouraged, of course, by the girl's advances); and in the matter of the partridges it is Jones's excessive eagerness to follow the

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32 Notice how, in Tom Jones, I, 160, the author insists upon strength of conscience in Tom.

33 Tom Jones, II, 70.

flying game that causes him to disobey Mr. Allworthy's strict orders. Again, it is his extreme joy at the news of his foster father's recovery that causes Tom to drink too much and thus precipitates him once more into the intrigue with Molly. Tom is not a creature merely of good instincts: he is potentially a man of virtue, too, though his virtue needs discipline and development. Fielding sets out to show why it needs them and just how it is to achieve them. He makes an eloquent plea, by way of his three main characters -- Tom, Sophia, and Allworthy -- for an all-important quality whose praises Shaftesbury had constantly sung. What the philosopher called temperance, the novelist chooses to call prudence; but both ally it with the noble reason and oppose it to the clamorous passions. "Prudence and circumspection," the author warns us, "are necessary even to the best of men. They are indeed as it were a guard to Virtue, without which she can never be safe."[34] Allworthy tells Tom:

> "... you have much goodness, generosity, and homour in your temper; if you will add prudence and religion to these, you must be happy: for the three former qualities, I admit, make you worthy of happiness, but they are the latter only which will put you in possession of it."[35]

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34 Tom Jones, I, 126.

35 Ibid., I, 245. Cf. Shaftesbury's assertion that virtue (in its fullest sense) is man's natural good and highest happiness. Observe also: "Prudence is indeed the duty which we owe to ourselves; and if we will be so much our own enemies as to neglect it, we are not to wonder if the world is deficient in discharging their duty to us; for

Tom must learn by bitter experience what Fielding would have us all realize and act upon: that the essence of wisdom is "not to buy at too dear a price."[36]

There is only one caution: we must remember that this prudence recommended by the novelist is a temperance and wisdom not at all akin to the selfish "prudential calculation" of a villain like Blifil. Of the latter type Shaftesbury had said: "The most negligent undesigning thoughtless Rake has not only more of Sociableness, Ease, ... but in reality more of Worth, Virtue, and Merit, than such grave Plodders, and thoughtful Gentlemen as these."[37] And Fielding spoke thus

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when a man lays the foundation of his own ruin, others will, I am afraid, be too apt to ~~to~~ build upon it" (Tom Jones, IV, 280).
In most cases, Fielding's actual examples of imprudence and his treatment of them show, even better than his explicit remarks, the kinship of his conceptions with those of the philosopher. Thoroughly Shaftesburian in tone, however, is such a passage as the following: "I have attempted to engage a stronger motive to human action in her [virtue's] favor, by convincing men, that their true interest directs them to a pursuit of her. For this purpose I have shown, that no acquisitions of guilt can compensate the loss of that solid inward comfort of mind, which is the sure companion of innocence and virtue; nor can in the least balance the evil of that horror and anxiety which, in their room, guilt introduces into our bosoms" (Tom Jones, I, x).

36 Tom Jones, II, 17.

37 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 302. Notice also: ".... And of all Characters, the thorow-selfish one is the least forward in taking Party. The Men of this sort are, in this respect, true Men of Moderation. They are secure of their Temper; and possess themselves too well, to be in danger of entering warmly into any Cause, or engaging deeply with any Side or Faction" ("An

deprecatingly: "... if we have not all the virtues, I will boldly say, neither have we all the vices of a prudent character ...."[38] Like Browning, this earlier student of men would rather see a generous, noble trial which results in error or failure than a cold and selfish attempt which brings success. The unrelieved vehemence with which the novelist drew Blifil speaks all too eloquently of his views upon such a "prudent" nature.

If we examine again the words of advice given by Allworthy to Tom and quoted just above, we shall notice the terms goodness and generosity. As we have already observed, these qualities in Tom's makeup combine to form that natural benevolence which is the basis of virtue, although not virtue itself. But they are also of a social nature. Like the philosopher, the novelist rejects the idea of universal human

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Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," Characteristics, I, 115). The passage might be an abstract of Blifil.

38 Tom Jones, III, 126. Observe how large a rôle the Shaftesburian social morality plays in the scale of virtues and vices which is indicated by the following passages from Tom Jones: "I detest the thought of ingratitude" (Tom in re Bellaston, IV, 100); ".... when dishonesty is attended with any blacker crime, such as cruelty, murder, ingratitude, or the like, compassion and forgiveness then become faults" (Allworthy in re Seagrim, IV, 293); and "... not ... so much ... the private and selfish vices, but those of a relative kind; such as envy, malice, treachery, cruelty, with every other species of malevolence. These are the vices which true philanthropy abhors, and which rather than see and converse with, she avoids society itself" (the Man of the Hill, II, 211-212).

depravity:

> "If there was indeed much more wickedness in the world than there is, it would not prove such general assertions against human nature, since much of this arrives by mere accident, and many a man who commits evil, is not totally bad and corrupt in his heart. In truth, none seem to have any title to assert human nature to be necessarily and universally evil, but those whose own minds afford them one instance of this natural depravity."[39]

And later, in his own words, the author expresses a conception of a benevolence and social sympathy which are natural to the human character:

> For as men of a benign disposition enjoy their own acts of beneficence, equally with those to whom they are done, so there are scarce any natures so entirely diabolical, as to be capable of doing injuries, without paying themselves some pangs, for the ruin which they bring on their fellow creatures.[40]

And if such a generous, compassionate, social nature — what Shaftesbury had called "Social Affection" — exists in Tom, it exists also in Nightingale, weakling though he is. After rough discipline it may become virtue in Jones; in his companion it hardly goes beyond the point of good-nature, of mere sentiment. Thus it is Jones who persuades Nightingale to do his moral duty, and it is Jones who says to his friend: "I have been guilty with women, I own it; but am not conscious that I have ever injured any — nor would I, to pro-

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39 Tom Jones, II, 252; the words are Tom's.

40 Ibid., IV, 34.

cure pleasure to myself, be knowingly the cause of misery to any human being."[41] It is, of course, only the grace of God and the boy's good luck, not his personal virtue and wisdom, that make his statement applicable to the Molly Seagrim affair. The actual episodes of Tom's sins must, under any ordinary scrutiny, be accounted examples of vice — a fact which the novelist realizes.[42] But Fielding attempts to qualify most of the situations. The boy is more concerned for others' welfare than for his own — even concerned for that of others at the unnecessary expense of his. Some elements of virtue, therefore, or at least the bases of virtue, already exist in him; he has the "certain relative quality, which is always busying itself without doors, and seems as much interested in pursuing the good of others as its own"[43] — the quality which the author, in his more sentimental, his more abstract, idealistic, unworldly moments, was tempted to call the whole of virtue. What Fielding must develop in his hero is the conscious, restraining reason, the temperance and wisdom, which, in their ideal functioning, are not only the guardians of virtue, but part and parcel of it — witness

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41 Tom Jones, IV, 20. Italics are mine.

42 Occasionally he himself refers to them as vices: "...Jones, whom we have left long enough to do penance for his past offences, which, as is the nature of vice, brought sufficient punishment upon him themselves" (of Tom's experiences at Upton, III, 117).

43 Tom Jones, IV, 57.

Allworthy — and which, much more often than virtue in a limited and abstract sense, conduce to the happiness and well-being both of friends and loved ones and of ourselves.

One passage in Shaftesbury's "Inquiry concerning Virtue" admirably sums up the whole of his and Fielding's morality:

> THERE are Two Things, which to a rational Creature must be horribly offensive and grievous; viz. 'To have the Reflection in his Mind of any unjust Action or Behaviour, which he knows to be naturally odious and ill-deserving: Or, of any foolish Action or Behaviour, which he knows to be prejudicial to his own Interest or Happiness.'[44]

Here, then, are the two chief motive forces of rational beings: natural justice, and self-interest or the desire for happiness. Jones has the former, the social motive — the only one out of which a moral conscience grows. He also has a rudimentary moral conscience; but it needs strengthening. He must learn, for instance, from his foster-father, Allworthy, that a forgiving temper can be carried too far — so far, in fact, that the mistaken mercy becomes actual weakness and injustice, and is pernicious to society because it encourages vice.[45] Thus, in the first place, he is to learn the proper and reasonable application of his good affections. In the second place, he is to acquire a very necessary appreciation of his own private interest. Here, too, reason is the keynote: he must subject his passions, his actions, his

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44 Characteristics, II, 119.

45 Tom Jones, IV, 293.

too exuberant instincts, to the governance of thought and intelligence. He has two excellent models always before him: Allworthy and Sophia. The former is the very embodiment of Shaftesbury's and Fielding's ideal human being:

> His mind was, indeed, tempered with that philosophy which becomes a man and a Christian. He affected no absolute superiority to all pleasure and pain, to all joy and grief; but was not at the same time to be discomposed and ruffled by every accidental blast; by every smile or frown of fortune.[46]

The utter manliness and genuine humanity of that comment are the impressive things about it. The novelist would have approved neither of the Greek stoics nor of those who, in their eagerness for experience, squeeze every incident, every moment dry. The author makes it clear that the benefactor in his novel is to be regarded as naturally a man of spirit.[47] And although, somewhat like Fielding in his own life, Tom should find it impossible, because of his temperament, to attain the moderation and composure of an Allworthy, nevertheless they remained the ideal goal towards which he was to work. Allworthy is the best refutation possible of the charge made by Hawkins that Fielding sought to teach that virtue upon principle is imposture. This character combines with a heart of human stuff a mind of calm paternalism. Hu-

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46 Tom Jones, II, 15. Notice the persistence in Shaftesbury and Fielding of the characteristically Greek conception that virtue consists in the mean between two extremes (Plato, Aristotle, and Gnomic poetry).

47 See Tom Jones, II, 19 (paragraph 2).

manity and reason, or temperance, are the guides of Allworthy's life. He finds it necessary, as we have seen, to preach the latter to young Jones in the form of prudence, and the author explicitly supports his preaching.

Fielding voices two moral attitudes which might be taken towards his novel and his hero: (1) the view of "wise and good men" — that Jones's difficulties at Upton were a just punishment for his wickedness; and (2) the view of "silly and bad persons" — "that the characters of men are rather owing to accident than to virtue."[48] Then he clearly states that neither of these is his own view. He shows in what calamities Jones becomes involved because of his imprudence; he has been constantly concerned — so he says — to demonstrate to what dangers imprudence may subject virtue. His whole business has been to recommend virtue and wisdom. For, says he — and here speaks the scholar, the artist, and the man of the world — "it is much easier to make good men wise than to make bad men good."[49]

Shaftesbury's influence upon Fielding was not limited to moral philosophy. The novelist accepted also many of his countryman's general views of art. To be sure, they had not been exclusive with the moralist, but the parallels which

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48 Tom Jones, III, 126.

49 Ibid., I, xi.

they offer to those of Fielding are at least interesting and worth noticing. Perhaps the most obvious is the timeless problem of the relation of art and morality. We have seen that Fielding's aim in Tom Jones was primarily moralistic -- to teach virtue and wisdom. His own convictions and his reading in certain classics caused him to avoid describing indecent scenes and to object to those which appeared in many French novels of his time. Before he wrote his masterpiece, the later years of his career as a playwright had brought from Fielding an apology for his earlier farces and the expression of a new and more serious conception of drama:

> The stage which was not for low farce design'd
> But to divert, instruct, and mend mankind.[50]

In this moralistic attitude towards art, the novelist agreed with Shaftesbury (as well as, of course, Horace and numerous others), who had insisted that good art is moral and had at the same time recognized the different demands of various arts, as we can see in these words:

> BUT as the Moral part is differently treated in a Poem, from what it is in History, or in a philosophical Work; so must it, of right, in Painting be far differently treated, from what it naturally is, either in the History, or Poem. For want of a right inderstanding of this Maxim, it often happens that by endeavouring to render a Piece highly moral and learned, it becomes thorowly ridiculous and impertinent.[51]

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50 Cross, op. cit., I, 121.

51 "The Judgment of Hercules," Characteristics, III, 380. For Shaftesbury's idea that good art is moral, see "Advice to an Author," Characteristics, I, 336-338.

As his method of teaching virtue and wisdom Fielding selected ridicule, the art which he had learned as a playwright: "For these purposes I have employed all the wit and humour of which I am master in the following history; wherein I have endeavoured to laugh mankind out of their favourite follies and vices."[52] That idea had coloured, in varying degrees, the work of Aristophanes, Lucian, Cervantes, Rabelais, Molière, Shakespeare, Marivaux, and Swift — all of whom Fielding, in his address to Genius, chose as his examples.[53] The conception had been accepted and explicitly stated by Shaftesbury, who spoke of himself as "being by profession a nice Inspector into the Ridicule of Things."[54] The philosopher regarded ridicule as the most innocent and effective remedy of such especial errors of reason as enthusiasm;[55] but he thought it a remedy applicable also to anything unnatural, affected, or unnecessarily deformed, whether in regard to character, intellect, emotions, or physical mannerisms. "For nothing is ridiculous except what is deform'd," he wrote; "Nor is anything proof against Raillery, except what is handsome and

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52 Tom Jones, I, xi. Italics are mine.

53 Ibid., III, 197. Fielding later came to dislike Aristophanes and Rabelais because he felt that they *had* used their wit and humour to laugh at virtue and decency.

54 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 12.

55 "A Letter concerning Enthusiasm," Characteristics, I, 13-14. This is the passage referred to in The Champion for March 11, 1739-40.

just."[56] Noble qualities are not to be ridiculed, because they naturally inspire admiration and love. And from the examples of faults which the moralist chooses as best for ridicule (cowardice, avarice, gluttony), we might infer — though he makes no explicit statement about the matter — that the more serious vices are not fit subjects for this method of treatment. Thus, in Tom Jones, whereas vice of a darker hue becomes the object of aversion,[57] and the milder faults the object usually of pity, occasionally of ridicule, all sorts of affectation — whether arising from vanity or from hypocrisy — furnish material for ridicule; and characters like Allworthy and Sophia evoke continual praise.

It may be that Fielding, like Shaftesbury, had a lurking suspicion of the incompleteness of such a method. The philosopher had traced the danger to a partial scepticism, which carried the laugh but half way and let the false jest pass secure while it ridiculed the false earnest.[58] At any rate,

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56 "An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," Characteristics, I, 128. Notice also: "'Tis in reality a serious Study, to learn to temper and regulate that Humour which Nature has given us, as a more lenitive Remedy against Vice, and a kind of Specific against Superstition and melancholy Delusion. There is a great difference between seeking how to raise a Laugh from everything; and seeking, in every thing, what justly may be laugh'd at" (ibid.).

57 Cf. Cicero: "We demand that the criminal should be attacked with a more powerful weapon than ridicule" (De Oratore, II, 58).

58 Thus allowing the false jest — "our Diversions, our Plays, our Amusements" — to become more solemn, foolish, and deceiving (Characteristics, I, 81).

he had realized that raillery did not always accomplish its purpose:

> If the knowing well how to expose any Infirmity or Vice were a sufficient Security for the Virtue which is its contrary, how excellent an Age might we be presum'd to live in! Never was there in our Nation a time known, when Folly and Extravagance of every kind were more sharply inspected, or more wittily ridicul'd.[59]

And for his part, Fielding seemed to think that the ridicule was ineffective unless people, learning first the good nature to laugh at the follies of others, learned also the humility to grieve at their own.[60] But the comic method that he chose was one that had been used by the great masters of all ages, and was most suitable for his purpose and congenial to his talents. So he adapted the method to his own needs, with the caution that his comic manner was not to be confused with the less intellectual manner of burlesque.[61]

This careful distinction between two forms of art brings up another problem: the importance of realism. Whereas burlesque, like caricature, is allowed almost infinite license, the comic must be conscientiously and consistently true to

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59 "A Letter concerning Enthusiasm," Characteristics, I, 9. Notice his realization of the turning of contemporary attention to men and society.

60 See the address to Genius, Tom Jones, III, 197.

61 See the Preface to Joseph Andrews. In the same place Fielding consciously allies himself with Shaftesbury on this question by remarking: "And I apprehend my Lord Shaftesbury's opinion of mere burlesque agrees with mine, when he asserts, There is no such thing to be found in the

nature. Shaftesbury had been a constant pleader for realism. Of all beauties he found that most engrossing and delightful which is drawn from actual life and from the passions.[62] He deplored the perfectly upright character. The ordinary spectator or reader, he said, loves to have his emotions moved by the view of other passions and emotions, and understands little of the restraints which go to make up a truly virtuous man. The latter is a new and artificial creature, whose art is

> an improvement far beyond the common Stamp, or known Character of Human Kind. And thus the completely virtuous and perfect Character is unpoetical and false. Effects must not appear, where Causes must necessarily remain unknown and incomprehensible. A HERO without passion is, in Poetry, as absurd as a HERO without Life or Action.[63]

And Fielding's insistence upon realism was just as definite. He spoke repeatedly of "that original book of nature whence every passage in our work is transcribed,"[64] and he felt that

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writings of the ancients" (Shakespeare Head Edition, 1926, I, ix).

62 "An Essay on the Freedom of Wit...," Characteristics, I, 135.

63 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 261, n. Cf. Fielding (after a description of Allworthy): "But a single instance (and I really know not such another) is not sufficient to justify us, while we are writing to thousands who never heard of the person, nor of anything like him. Such rarae aves should be remitted to the epitaph-writer, or to some poet, who may condescend to hitch him into a distich, or to slide him into a rhime with an air of carelessness and neglect, without giving any offence to the reader" (Tom Jones, II, 159). See also the remarks included under the topic of realism in the section on Fielding's theory of literary art.

64 Tom Jones, II, 129.

faithfulness to his experience and observation of life compelled him to present both the good and the bad in characters, without slighting either one. Furthermore, he considered that the reasonableness of such truth to nature was far more helpful morally to the reader, since it neither discouraged him by impossible perfection nor disgusted him by utter degradation.[65] Such views, of course, must also have been derived from Fielding's own common sense and from his reaction against romances, with exaggerated characters, so prevalent in his day. But, knowing as we do that he read and respected Shaftesbury and was deeply influenced by him in other particulars, we must acknowledge at least the resemblance between their attitudes. So also with other details related to the problem of realism in art — such as the use by moderns of invocations modelled on the ancients, and the use of the supernatural. The philosopher explicitly derides the first, and, if we are to accept his statements on probability, would have derided the second. The novelist took much care to explain how foolish any employment of supernatural agencies seemed to him; and when he utilized invocations, he ordinarily did so in the fashion of such mock-epics as Hudibras. Here, again, personal temperament and contemporary fashion went hand in hand with the theories of Shaftesbury.

Likewise, in regard to the material and province and re-

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65 Tom Jones, III, 3.

quirements of art, the theories of the philosopher and the novelist to a large extent parallel each other. Shaftesbury thought that literature should be concerned with "the Turns of Humour and Passion, the Variety of Manners, the Justness of Characters, and TRUTH of Things; which when we rightly understand, we may naturally describe. And on this depends chiefly the Skill and Art of a good Writer."[66] And again: "'TIS true, indeed, that without a Capacity for Action, and a Knowledg of the World and Mankind, there can be no Author naturally qualify'd to write with Dignity, or execute any noble or great Design."[67] The philosopher also berated his fellow English writers for being too little given to the limae labor; they wished to be all genius, he complained, and were impatient of study, pains, and application.[68] And finally, in regard to humanity: "... to be able to move others, we must first be mov'd ourselves, or at least seem to be so, upon some probable Grounds" — a sentiment which was echoed by Fielding in these words: "In reality, no man can paint a distress well, which he doth not feel while he is painting it .... In the same manner it is with the ridiculous. I am convinced I never make my reader laugh heartily, but where I have laughed before him ...."[69] Fielding expressed views very

66 "Advice to an Author," Characteristics, I, 328.

67 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 247.

68 "Miscellaneous Reflections," Characteristics, III, 258-259.

69 "A Letter concerning Enthusiasm," Characteristics, I, 4;

similar to these of Shaftesbury's when he set up his four requirements for good writing[70] and offered human nature as the dish at the feast to which he invited his reader.

C. Chubb: Deism

It is said that Pope told Warburton that the Characteristics had to his knowledge done more harm to revealed religion in England than all other infidel books.[71] Pope, friend of Bolingbroke and author of the Essay on Man, must have known whereof he spoke. Certain it is, at any rate, that Shaftesbury was in his day a widely read and influential writer. Fielding, who was inclined to take Christianity for granted, ignored the philosopher's religious theories while accepting other of his views which were more congenial to his own temperament. But Shaftesbury, although he professed a nominal orthodoxy, had uttered opinions upon revealed and natural religion, God and the natural order of the universe, that gave great momentum to the deism of his day. It may be that Fielding, in spite of his commonsense English attitude, had retained from his reading of Shaftesbury some interest in the theological controversy and remained for a while in a

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70 Genius (invention and judgment), learning, experience, and humanity (Tom Jones, II, 257-260).

71 Leslie Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, II, 45.

state of suspended judgment.[72] Such a possibility might account for the great number of books in his library which were concerned with the problem. But we have no authority for this conclusion, and we know that by the time he came to write Tom Jones he felt only an amused contempt for the rank and file of the deist radicals, a contempt which enabled him to hold them up to ridicule in the person of the philosopher Square.

For the greater part they were, as Leslie Stephen points out, a culturally inferior group. All the advantages of position, character, and training were on the side that opposed them. Nevertheless Thomas Chubb, the deist with whom we are especially concerned, was, though vehemently reviled at the time, a man of a fine character and of a highly ethical nature. It is said that he was uneducated; but his tracts, although wordy and laborious, reveal too logical and rigorous a mind for him to have been as crude and ignorant as his enemies would have us believe.[73] Furthermore, as in the case

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72 The edition of Shaftesbury which was in Fielding's library at the time of his death was that of 1737. The Champion for January 22, 1739-40, however, attacks the deists. Swann, in Philosophical Parallelisms in Six English Novelists, p. 48, thinks that Fielding may have been in his youth both a deist and a hedonist. Fielding earnestly praised Pope as the author of the Essay on Man (Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Henley, I, 3). Either there was a fundamental inconsistency in the novelist's thought, or he did not understand the real significance of certain writings.

73 "He was regarded by Voltaire as one of the most logical of his school" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, fourteenth edition, article on Chubb).

of every man who has made some impression upon his contemporaries, he had friends who admired him just as much as his detractors hated him. Even Pope thus acknowledged appreciation of him in a letter to Gay, dated October 25, 1730: "By the way, have you seen or conversed with Mr. CHUBB, who is a wonderful Phaenomenon of Wiltshire ? I have read through his whole Volume, with Admiration of the Writer, tho' not always with Approbation of the Doctrine."[74]

Thomas Chubb, whose life covered more than sixty-seven years (1679-1747), was the youngest of four children of a maltster who lived near Salisbury.[75] The early death of his father limited the boy's formal education to reading and writing; but he later obtained on his own initiative some knowledge of mathematics, geography, and other sciences. Apprenticed at fifteen to a glover, he forsook that trade after several years, because glove-making proved too hard on his weak eyes, and accepted employment with a friend of his, a tallow-chandler. An essay which he later wrote upon the occasion of a religious dispute was felt by Whiston to be worthy of publication, and so in 1715 The Supremacy of the Father

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74 Quoted in A Short and Faithful Account of the Life and Character of the Celebrated Mr. Thomas Chubb, anon., London, 1747, p. 15.

75 The Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, vol. 6, gives his death as occurring on February 8, 1746; the Dictionary of National Biography, New York, 1887, on the same day in 1747. The anonymous Life referred to above says that he died "in the Sixty-eighth Year of his Age" (p. 12).

Asserted was printed. Thus, professedly without any intention of so doing, he embarked upon his career as a deist writer. For a few years[76] he stayed at the home of Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, where he met numerous men of learning and eminence, whose kindnesses, one of his biographers informs us, enabled him to live without any habitual occupation.[77] His distaste for residence among the great and his inclination towards a contemplative life caused him, however, to return to Salisbury. There the generosity of his numerous friends made it possible for him to devote practically his entire time to his studies. His partisans made great claims as to his modesty and affability, and his benefactions to the poor about him; and they just as warmly admired his readiness of conception in debate.

It is this man who is supposed to have been the original from which Fielding drew the portrait of Square. Cross apparently has no doubt of our author's indebtedness to Chubb's numerous tracts and points out that the latter's Reflections on Virtue and Happiness "anticipated, at least, the best things that Fielding ever said on 'the benevolent temper' as illustrated in the remarks and character of Allworthy."[78] It may be that the novelist did learn a great deal from Chubb.

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76 The Dictionary of National Biography says a year or two.

77 The anonymous Life of 1747, p. 7.

78 Op. cit., II, 169.

The only difficulty is that Chubb is similar in many respects to Shaftesbury; and whereas we know that Fielding was influenced by the earlier philosopher, we have no evidence at all that he ever read the later one. Nor — and this is worth remembering — would he have been likely to think much of such an uneducated writer who so boldly dared to attack problems that had subdued minds greater and far better trained than his.

Like Shaftesbury, Chubb believed in an inherent standard of morality not dependent upon revealed religion or Christianity; selfishness and benevolence are the two principles or motive forces of human behaviour, and the right pursuit of the course dictated by either one secures the other also. The emphasis, however, is upon man as a member of society; thus benevolence becomes the sole basis of absolute or abstract virtue;[79] goodness, "strictly and properly so called," consists only "in the communicating happiness to the suitable

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79 Truth, justice, temperance are examples of relative virtue— "that which derives its virtuousness from its relation to goodness" (A Collection of Tracts on Various Subjects, London, 1730, p. 250; this volume will be hereafter referred to as Chubb's Works, I). Again: "So that when a man suffers for his propagating or maintaining this or that set of opinions, or this or that speculative proposition, except the propagating or maintaining such opinioms and propositions apparently tend to the public good, this is not suffering in the cause of virtue. A man, in such a case, may suffer in the cause of truth, but not in the cause of virtue; truth and virtue being as distinct and different in nature, as colour and sound" (I, 443). Shaftesbury was just as insistent upon the significance of the benevolent temper, but not upon the narrow limitation of virtue.

subjects of it, ... from a sense of the fitness of such a temper and conduct." Moral evil is viciousness; moral virtue, good affections properly directed to procure the common good. The fostering of a benevolent temper and disposition in ourselves is the surest way to personal happiness in this life, and such a temper alone can entitle us to the promises of the gospel — "The issue of all which will be a moderate pursuit, and a temperate enjoyment of this world's good things, under a strict regard to the happiness and well-being of the rest of mankind."[80] To follow nature by preferring personal satisfaction to misery is not vice; for happiness is the natural goal of all ~~being~~. Only in a selfish monopolizing of pleasure to ourselves, or pursuing our own welfare at the expense of others', does vice consist. The guide is reason: neither selfishness nor benevolence is to be carried to an extreme; rather, both are to be directed and governed by the primary law of nature, the "principle of reason which results from the natural and essential differences in things that is the ground and foundation of all," and is "the rule and measure of wisdom and folly, of right and wrong, of good and evil."[81] Indeed, "herein consists the moral perfection of the human nature (when such perfection is attained) viz.

80 Works, I, 445.

81 Chubb's Tracts, comprising numerous treatises published in London during the years 1732—1737, p. 42 ("A Discourse concerning Reason"). This volume will be henceforth referred to as Chubb's Works, II.

in being perfectly subjected, both in affections and actions, to this law of reason ..."[82] All these points are summarized in such a passage as the following, which sounds as if it might have been penned by Shaftesbury instead of Chubb:

> Man ... is a creature excellently constituted, to answer all the purposes of social felicity, and to promote and carry on a common happiness .... So that, when the harmony of this composition is preserved, that is, when each appetite and passion is kept in due bounds; one not indulged to the depressing of another, and all, by the direction of the understanding, made subservient to the common good; then it is, that he is an agreeable, and useful, or, in other words, a virtuous and a lovely creature.[83]

Thus far Chubb is Shaftesbury. Beyond this point he is more explicit and extreme than the latter — paradoxically — in both his deism and his Christian beliefs. Unlike Shaftesbury, he set God more definitely apart from the design of the universal system,[84] which, though not absolutely one with God, everywhere witnessed to His glory, wisdom, and goodness. The Deity was to him the Creator, the Governor of the intelligent and moral world, by virtue, not of His almighty power, but of His paternity. Chubb accepted the doctrine of foreknowledge (not predestination) — a fact which would signify belief in a God more personal than the abstraction taught by Shaftes-

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82 Works, II, 55-56.

83 Works, I, 269.

84 But "Almighty God is present to, and in, and with all things; and thereby, has the most perfect knowledge of them" ("The Sufficiency of Reason ...," Works, II, 43).

bury and most of the deists.[85] He asserted that reason indicates both a future judgment and a future existence.[86] And his views upon the unequal distribution of good and evil, with respect to merit, could hardly convey more humility and orthodox Christianity:

> As to good men, that lesser measure of good which they enjoy is all bounty, because they have no merit; and that greater measure of evil which they suffer is still mercy, because it is less than their demerit: so then there is no criminal injustice, with respect to good men. And as to bad men, I say, that the greater good they enjoy is God's bounty; and forasmuch as none are wrong'd by that administration, seeing God gives his own and not another's goods, there can be no criminal injustice in that administration. As to the lesser evil which they suffer, that is God's mercy ....[87]

The case for his Christianity may sound complete when we add that he acknowledged divine revelation or revealed religion.

But at that point we must stop. Chubb's vindication of the Christian revelation, which may seem like a curious compromise, gives perhaps the whole essence of his attitude:

> And as this was the case, with respect to the Pagan world, so, surely, it was an instance of divine kindness, and exceeding useful and advantageous to mankind, for God to give them a revelation, whereby to deliver them from the bondage and corruption of

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85 The existence of a God — "the first proposition in religion" (Works, I, 165) — he regarded, however, as a truth supported by reason, and one with which faith has nothing to do.

86 But he did not believe the doctrine of eternal punishment, maintaining that the chastisement should be proportionate to the sin.

87 Works, I, 145.

> all pretended revelations, and to restore them to their manly liberty, by reducing them to the right use and exercise of their reason in matters of religion. And this was plainly the case of the christian revelation, the use of which was not so much to supersede or supply the defects of our natural faculties, as to call us back to a right use of them, by laying before us a rule of action, which was our duty, independent of, and antecedent to that revelation, and which our reason approves and justifies ...[88]

Chubb had started out as an Arian, asserting the unity and supremacy of God the Father, and the inferiority of Christ the Son. From this attack on the traditional doctrine of the Trinity, he went on to reject likewise the most fundamental basis of Christianity, the orthodox interpretation of the Crucifixion. Christ became in his eyes only an example of the ideal life: Chubb refused to accept the doctrine of atonement. Christ pointed the way to salvation — true; but it was a way of good works alone, the means of salvation becoming self-perfection in a thoroughly Shaftesburian sense.[89] Al-

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88 Works, I, 412-413. See also "The Sufficiency of Reason," II, 57-58.

89 What effect this belief had on his attitude toward orthodox Christianity is evident in these words: "Faith, strictly speaking, does not add to our duty; and infidelity cannot take from it. And, therefore, to exert a bitter zeal, on either side, as it is unreasonable in itself, so it cannot be acceptable to our Maker. ...

"Let not, then, the Unbeliever despise the Believer, nor the Believer judge the Unbeliever: for if neither of them answer their manly character, neither of them will be approved; and, if both of them act the part of good and virtuous men, God will receive them both" (Works, I, 425). See also I, 427: "I would, therefore, beg leave to remind him, that however the case may stand, with regard to the divinity of this or that revelation, yet this makes no al-

though religion underlies revelation, the former is totally independent of the latter: Revelation, since it is often founded on the arbitrary pleasure of a god, may be uncertain and variable. True religion, however, since it is based upon the unchanging nature of things, is perfect and invariable; and man's natural faculty of reason fully suffices for understanding and following it:

> If true religion is founded on the moral fitness of things, then it is one plain, simple, uniform thing, which admits of no alteration, with regard to time or place, any otherwise than as the nature, the relations, and the circumstances of things differ or change. True religion is the same in all ages, in all countries, and in all worlds ...; the moral fitness of things being the same in all space, and through all duration.[90]

Thus Chubb became an apostle of natural religion, or deism, which, he asserts, "is the pure and uncorrupted religion of reason and nature, is truth itself ...."[91]

Shaftesbury had espoused a religion and morality based on feeling, with reason, through education and use, as the

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teration, with regard to true religion. He is a man; and, from hence, his religious obligations arise. He is a moral agent ...."

90 Works, I, 218.

91 The Posthumous Works of Mr. Thomas Chubb, London, 1748, II, 378. Notice also: "Deism is the belief of, and the having a just and worthy sense of a Deity impressed upon the mind; which sense is the governing principle of a man's affections and actions; this is Deism properly so called, which character, surely, is most worthy and desirable; and yet, now, like free-thinking, it is treated with great contempt" (Posthumous Works, II, 17, n.). See in connexion with this Works, I, 423 (paragraph 1). For a definition of the limits of reason, see "The Sufficiency of Reason," Works, II, 30-31.

moderator. Chubb became a priest of rationalism. Himself the least educated of all the deists, he stood as an example of the extent to which the rationalism of the intellectual classes had penetrated among the ordinary people. He had no wish to stab Christianity in the back, or — despite an evident pride in his own mental ability — deliberately to undermine it for the personal satisfaction of so doing. Christianity, he felt, was not merely a body of doctrine, but also a way of life; and if Christ preached to the poor and ignorant, intending that they should understand and accept his gospel, then surely Christianity, in its primitive purity, was meant to be intelligible to the simplest, least educated person. If so, it must not go beyond or be contrary to argument and the natural, universal human faculty of reason. Thus it has a basis in the moral scheme of things — a basis which, Chubb thought, must have existed from the very beginning of that scheme, long before any particular revelation was given to man.

Such were the views of Square's alleged original. As early as The Champion (1739-40), the first of his journalistic ventures, Fielding was striking vehement blows at the deists, objecting that their natural religion offered no inducement to virtue and good behaviour — an interpretation which was not entirely true. The inducement, of course, may well have been too abstract and philosophical, and based too

exclusively upon reason, to prove a permanent and powerful one with the great mass of men; but it was there, nevertheless, and, furthermore, it was sufficiently noble in its appeal. Deism had become, in Fielding's day, a thing to be generally reviled. There still hung about it an air of underhandedness, deceit, and duplicity, which had originated in and survived from the indirectness of one of the early deist writers.[92] Chubb himself found it necessary repeatedly to criticize and refute the popular conception of a deist as a scorner and free-living libertine. Even "Chubbism" had grown to be a definitely recognized phenomenon, exposed to limitless abuse and ridicule.[93] The fact that its founder and leader was sincere, straightforward, ethical, and pious was not sufficient to disarm his enemies, who, in the manner of the time, heaped personal scurrility upon him; enough for

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92 Charles Blount, of the latter half of the seventeenth century. The lives of such deists as Toland also gave support to the popular contempt for their doctrines. Chubb deplored the existence of such an unfavorable atmosphere and utterly repudiated, for himself, questionable practices: e.g., "To use words in a doubtful sense, that so when we are pressed in an argument, we may fly for sanctuary to what sense we please, and thereby guard against the force of an answer: this is not arguing but shuffling, and playing tricks with mankind; which practice I am sure I have always despised" (Works, I, 8). Cf. Square.

93 Robert Bell, Remarks on a Pamphlet entitled "Infidelity Scourged or Christianity Vindicated," written by James Bate, London, 1746, p. 8: "And though I look upon the Man [Bate] to be too inconsiderable for a Sect-Master, if I were to change my Religion, and had no other Choice left, but Chubbism or Bateism, I profess I should be at a loss how to dispose of my Faith."

them that he had attacked some doctrines, among them the two basic ones, of traditional, orthodox Christianity, and had asserted his belief in a religion natural with man.

In an article printed in 1747 a certain Joseph Horler wrote:

> You must know, Sir, that soon after the Society for the Reformation of Manners was established in London, many other Places, in Imitation of this laudable Example of their Metropolis, formed themselves into little Bodies for the same Purpose: And Salisbury for one among the rest. Of this Society was Mr. Chubb a Member, which by the Gravity of his Countenance, and Sobriety of his Conversation, he seemed to be very well qualified for.[94]

The club, according to Horler, met frequently on Sunday evenings for "some Kind of religious Exercises, not much unlike the modern Methodists." When a servant took it upon himself to ridicule some of their "extravagant Acts of Devotion," they repaired to the home of Mr. Laurence, a friend of Chubb's. Here they "read the Scriptures at first under the Guidance of a Commentator, or Commentators," and freely debated whatever they thought worthy of consideration. Then the Arian controversy came up again, and the club began to argue it. "On this

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94 Memoirs of Mr. Thomas Chubb, London, 1747, p. 12. Horler's essay is a vehement attack upon Chubb, scurrilous and vituperative. It is, therefore, not very reliable; but some of the accounts, such as the one of the Salisbury club, we may accept (ibid.,p. 16). In the same explanation he asserts that Chubb put in written form the investigations and convictions of the whole group, and that his forms were afterwards revised and corrected by a more learned person secretly favourable to their views — a rather questionable story (if true, it may represent the circumstances under which Chubb began his career). See, however,

Occasion they often assembled; the Committee sat; Mr. Chubb, Chairman."[95]

Fielding surely knew of such meetings, and may have attended some of them out of curiosity while he was at Salisbury. He may even have known Chubb personally, and perhaps have been invited by him to participate.[96] But it is probable that he neither attended many of the debates nor knew the leader's writings very well. Certainly before long, Chubb had built up, even outside Salisbury, a popular reputation as one who was attacking the accepted traditions of Christianity. It is just such an argumentative rationalism as Chubb's that Fielding represents in Square, and it is only the difference in the personal character and temper of the

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in respect to this, p. 20 of the article.

95 Ibid.

96 "And therefore no sooner did any Stranger come to Town, but presently he is honoured with a Visit from Mr. Chubb, to welcome him, and by fair Speeches get into his good Graces, and next by Words ambiguous

——————to sound,
Or taint Integrity. ——

"..... This I speak partly by my own Experience, having had two Attempts of that Kind made upon myself: the first by Chubb, with a Train of his Followers at my own House; the second at the House of one Curtis, late of High-Street in this City, where I was unwittingly betrayed into the same Company with Mr. Chubb at their Head, to whom great Compliments were paid by the rest, and high Eulogiums to his Writings ..." (Horler, op. cit., pp. 39-40). Horler's facts — and still more his interpretation of them — are, however, to be accepted with reservations.

men that makes the divergence between the two personages so great. Chubb in private life was a man whom Fielding probably would have admired, had he known him well. But the deist's attack upon Christian tenets brought upon him an opprobrium that quite obscured his personal worth; and the seeming presumption of such an attack, led by a man no better educated than Chubb was reputed to be, made him especially vulnerable to popular rumour and the hasty opposition — hence, the frequent injustice — of the more cultured.[97] If the novelist drew his philosopher after Chubb, he either drew from the portrait of the man that existed in the common imagination, or else, if he knew the facts, disguised the portrait so that it would not be recognized — a possibility which, because of the kind of disguise, is remote.

Some evidence for the relationship exists, at first glance, in the catch-phrases used to characterize Square; but these had by Fielding's day become, in the popular mind, typ-

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97 The following passages from Chubb may suffice to show how mistaken, in some ways, the popular conception of him was; notice how hard the first is to reconcile with Square, and how similar the second is to Fielding's own doctrine and practice: "However, that the belief of the forementionⁿd propositions that there is a God, a Providence, a judgment may have an influence on men's present behaviour, and as such it may be beneficial to society, I think must be allowed, and consequently that it is the duty of governours, to make use of the most proper means to expel atheism and infidelity out of their dominions" — but he does not believe that governours' forcing their own religion upon their subjects is such a means (Works, I, 90); and "The bulk of mankind, as their actions and characters are mixed, partly good and virtuous, and partly evil and

ical of the sceptics and deists, just as those of Thwackum had already, in the minds of the cultivated, come to typify the narrow, unreligious theologian. "The 'rule of right,'" says one historian, "is a phrase that had filtered down, probably from Samuel Clarke's Boyle Lectures through the deists into common talk."[98] Such phrases as "the Nature of Things" occur in Shaftesbury and other writers of the time besides Chubb. Hume — who probably never read a word of Chubb — lists them, preliminary to an attack on them, in such a way as to indicate that they were the common property of a whole school of moralists.[99] "It was a time, as we know," remarks Elton, "when would-be philosophical talk spread down to the clubs and coffee-houses; and Fielding is probably true to life when he brings it into the prison."[100] There is, therefore, nothing which we can precisely say that Fielding took over from Chubb. Each of his two pedagogues was, to him, but the representative of a class to which he objected because of (1) major flaws in their personal character and (2) their attack on genuine religion. Of the two, Square is probably, because of the addition of his immorality,

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vicious; so they abound in the former more than in the latter" (Works, I, 281).

98 Oliver Elton, A Survey of English Literature, 1730-1780, New York, 1928, I, 199.

99 A Treatise of Human Nature, Book III, Part 1, Section 1, paragraph 4.

100 Elton, op. cit., I, 199.

the harder to identify with an individual prototype. To all indications, Thomas Chubb is not that prototype; or he is such only in so far as he is an apostle of natural religion. Fielding's real original is any easy-going atheist who seeks refuge in deism, and Square has a general, rather than a particular, source in the moral and religious pseudo-philosophy of the period.

D. Hume and Fielding

An opponent and destroyer, rather than an exponent, of deism is the subject of our next consideration.[101] An attempt has been made to establish a parallelism between Henry Fielding and David Hume, contemporaries who became leaders in very different fields of writing. Fielding had already earned a reputation as a dramatist, had given up playwriting, had embarked upon his first venture as a journalist, and was studying law when Hume made his début in 1739 as the author of A Treatise of Human Nature. The future novelist was well known at the time; the philosopher, eager for literary fame, suffered the humiliation of seeing his first elaborate work fall stillborn from the press. His Treatise was a reaction from the past, and an attempt to find the true philosophy, which

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101 Hume destroyed deism by showing that religion originated in the feelings, not in the reason, and that the oldest form was idolatry and the like, not "natural religion."

he thought had not yet appeared. But however bold in purpose and thorough in method, it evoked not the slightest response. In the two years that followed he published Essays Moral and Political, and several years later rewrote the first book of his Treatise. Not until 1751 — two years after the publication of Tom Jones — did he do over Book III and call it An Inquiry concerning Principles of Morals, an essay which he considered by far the best of his writings. Meanwhile Fielding, a very busy man, had produced, not only Tom Jones, but also Joseph Andrews (1742), the Miscellanies (1743), and a great amount of other work which now possesses merely historical interest.

Dr. George Rogers Swann finds the similarity in style between the philosopher and the novelist "so great that Hume might have written Tom Jones, while Fielding might have written the Treatise of Human Nature."[102] There seems to be little evidence for such a stylistic resemblance except the simple, straightforward manner of both men. The compact, ultra-serious prose of the Treatise lacks the ease, grace, leisureliness, and poise of Fielding — a fact which, to be sure, is no criticism of Hume: the two men have very different ends in view. At any rate, we cannot allege as significant such likenesses as are minor and accidental. Possibly Fielding's

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102 Philosophical Parallelisms in Six English Novelists, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 59.

style bears a greater resemblance to that of the Essays than to that of the Treatise; but even in this case the similarity is still casual and unimpressive. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that the Treatise was an utter failure when it was published, and exerted no influence upon contemporaries. Fielding did have in his library a copy of Hume's Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding, published in London in 1748.[103] Just when he acquired it we have no way of knowing. But granting that he obtained and read it during the year in which it was published (Millar was at that time both Hume's and Fielding's publisher), it still came too late to influence the basic philosophy of Tom Jones very extensively. Eleven of the eighteen books of the novel had been written by February, 1748, and the end of it was in sight by the summer of that year.[104] Furthermore, the part of the Treatise concerned with morals was not rewritten and repub-

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103 It is included in the list of books in his library which Ethel Thornbury appends to her study, Henry Fielding's Theory of the Comic Prose Epic. A copy of that issue as it then appeared is not available; but a second edition of it, published by Millar in 1750, "with Additions and Corrections," will give an indication of the contents of Fielding's volume: I-Of the different Species of Philosophy, II-Of the Origin of Ideas, III-Of the Connexion of Ideas, IV-Sceptical Doubts concerning the Operations of the Understanding, V-Sceptical Solution of these Doubts, VI-Of Probability, VII-Of the Idea of Power or Necessary Connexion, VIII-Of Liberty and Necessity, IX-Of the Reason of Animals, X-Of Miracles, XI-Of a Particular Providence and of a Future State, XII-Of the Sceptical or Academical Philosophy.

104 Cross, op. cit., II, 107-108.

lished until two years after the appearance of Tom Jones; and it is in this portion of Hume's work that one notices the greater similarity to Fielding both in style and in personal convictions.[105]

A greater resemblance may probably be found between the intellectual points of view than between the literary styles of the two men. There are certain minor issues on which their attitudes are practically identical: their definitions of benevolence, their analysis of sexual love, and their horror of ingratitude.[106] But in a period so fruitful of moral philosophy, such ideas were by no means exclusively theirs. As for the more important ideas, perhaps it would be best to outline in Dr. Swann's own words the points of similarity which he finds between Fielding and Hume:

They agree as to

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105 It was not until 1749 that Hume's publications (all except the Treatise) began to achieve a measure of success, to be the subject of conversation, and — as Hume realized by the "railing" of Dr. Warburton (whom Fielding, by the way, admired for his learning) — to be "esteemed in good company" (An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding, Chicago, 1900, the Autobiography, p. ix). The first part of the Essays, printed in 1742 at Edinburgh, obtained a favourable enough reception to assuage the author's disappointment over the Treatise. But a new edition of the Essays, Moral and Political, at London, met with little better success than the Inquiry concerning Human Understanding (ibid., p. vii).

106 "Of all crimes that human creatures are capable of committing, the most horrid and unnatural is ingratitude...." (Hume, Philosophical Works, 4 vols., Boston, 1854, II, 228). Cf. Allworthy's words concerning Seagrim (Tom Jones, IV, 293).

A. General Problems.
   a. The fact that both were influenced by the ethic of Shaftesbury, and both furnished a development of it.
   b. Ethical Teaching. Both accept the commonsense ethic of polite society as the proper code of action.
   c. Nature and Circumstance. Both hold that the highest type of prudence and the highest type of morality coincide.
   d. Both agree in regard to Freedom, believing in the complete necessitation of actions by the passions.

B. Special Problems.
   a. Experience. Both regard experience as a series of appearances not unified by any internal bond but by a continuous succession and likeness through the agency of the productive imagination. There is an absence of any moral causality.
   b. Human Nature.
      1. Ground. Both conceive human nature as grounded in the psycho-physical-organism and motivated by the passions, that is, the internal responses to external stimuli. They conceive character as determined by the nature of the organism.
      2. Constitution. They conceive human nature as consisting of a group of passions, fixed responses to given stimuli. These passions arise from the association of stimuli with the idea of pleasure and pain.
   c. Evil. They conceive evil as ultimately that which is injurious to man. Here, however, Fielding is nearer to Shaftesbury.[107]

Both Fielding and Hume were, truly enough, influenced by the ethic of Shaftesbury. But Fielding was influenced directly by the earlier philosopher and, as we have seen, accepted his moral teaching almost completely; on the other hand, Shaftesbury's speculations probably reached Hume by the indirect channel of the works of Hutcheson, and Hume's philos-

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107 Swann, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

ophy, in any case, offered a criticism of and variations from that of the earlier school. Shaftesbury had conceived benevolence and a sense of the public good as a direct and conscious motive; with Hume, these are secondary and exist as a motive only because of sympathy, which, in his view, validates morals. He defines vice as anything upon an extensive survey of which men feel a general uneasiness; whereas anything which causes a feeling of ease or satisfaction is called virtue.[108] The feelings of pleasure and pain produce love or pride on one hand and hatred or humility on the other; these, by the original constitution of human passion, are attended respectively with benevolence or anger — the former the desire of making happy the person we love, and the latter that of making miserable the one we hate. The pleasure which we take in others or in ourselves may arise from the perception of what is useful[109] or agreeable to ourselves or to them.[110] And the reason why concern for the other person supersedes the usually all-important motive of self-interest in determining morality or merit is that, among all the conflicting selves and self-interests which comprise the world of our fellows,

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108 Op. cit., II, 266.

109 Hence the classification of his philosophy as utilitarianism. For a full appreciation of the role which Hume conceives utility to play in the approval of the virtues, see op. cit., IV, 237-243 ("An Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals," section 2, Of Benevolence).

110 Hume, op. cit., II, "Of Morals," 372-373.

the welfare of the other person, or of those connected with him, is the only interest which appears the same to all spectators.

Hume explicitly repudiated the identification of virtue with what is natural and of vice with what is unnatural to man.[111] And yet we must be careful when we say that such a repudiation opposes Hume to Shaftesbury. In the latter's system it is mere goodness, rather than virtue (Hume himself does not distinguish between the two), that is natural to man. Paradoxically enough, modern science and psychology offer some support for Shaftesbury's view. But virtue is rational and discriminating, so frequently opposed to nature that a distinctly virtuous man, the product of many struggles and restraints, is — as Hume also realized[112] — an unusual and a very artificial creature. The criticism that Shaftesbury failed to combine the external ground for right conduct with the internal is hardly justified.[113] He did, as we have seen, acknowledge and even preach the importance of the external standard.[114] The difference was that Hume, being concerned

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111 Op. cit., II, 238.

112 Op. cit., II, 238.

113 Swann, op. cit., p. 62.

114 See the passages quoted on pp. 69 and 82, and footnote 21, pp. 69-70, above. It is only the social motive, however, from which a moral conscience develops, according to Shaftesbury. While he regards the social and the prudential motives as elements parallel and independent, but

with the speculative rather than the practical aspect of morals, and being a much closer and more logical and consistent reasoner than Shaftesbury, achieved a system more cohesive and generally truer to logic and experience than was his predecessor's. He went further than the earlier philosopher. So afraid was Shaftesbury of pedantry and abstruse metaphysics that he was content to remain broadly, emotionally, and imaginatively impressive; whereas Hume, though acknowledging the limits of human reason and attacking rationalism, chose to trace human behaviour down carefully to as ultimate a source as he could reach. But Fielding, like Shaftesbury, was a practical, not a speculative moralist; and he was concerned with psychology only from the point of view of a cultured gentleman, interested in the moral and philosophical problems discussed at all the dinner-tables and in all the coffee-houses of the day, interested from the point of view of an observer of men, a general scholar, and an artist.

Dr. Swann's statement that Fielding and Hume agree as to ethical teaching, that both accept the commonsense ethic of polite society as the proper code of action, is perfectly true. And yet the fact does not seem significant. In this attitude most of the cultured men of the time acquiesced; and

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perfectly balanced, Hume makes the prudent motive of utility account chiefly for our standards of both the self-regarding and the social virtues. Fielding definitely inclined to Shaftesbury's rather than to Hume's view in this respect.

Hume was a man too sensible of the concrete problems of human life, too appreciative of finer human society, too sober in temperament, and too impatient of the claims of rationalism and of elaborate and absurd philosophies, to allow himself to be swept off his feet by any false pretensions of the human mind. He accepted religion as a matter of faith, not of reason; he based the distinctions between moral good and evil on our sentiments, not our reason; he understood that reason cannot penetrate the ultimate principles of nature; he realized that men must choose between reasoning which is frequently false and no reasoning at all; and he realized that philosophers, while making elaborate claims for human nature and for their systems, at the same time live and act just as simply, naturally, and all too often unthinkingly as do other men. This desire to stay close to the realities of life was a temper of mind characteristic of Hume's and Fielding's period.

In regard to the problems of "Nature and Circumstance" and "freedom," again we shall see that the parallelism is hardly evidence of influence. Both Fielding and Hume agreed with Shaftesbury that the highest type of prudence and the highest type of morality coincide; so that if either had needed an example to support a conviction to which his own experience and observation must sooner or later have led him, he had one in their common predecessor. As for the problem of freedom — if we must make a choice and ally our novelist with one or the other — the agreement seems closer between Shaftes-

bury and Fielding than between Hume and Fielding.

Reason, which to Fielding and Shaftesbury is the basis of freedom, is, according to Hume's strict logic and careful definition, concerned merely with the "relations of objects of which experience only gives us information."[115] "According as our reasoning varies, our actions receive a subsequent variation. But it is evident, in this case, that the impulse arises not from reason, but is only directed by it." "Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them." An affection or passion, which is an inherent instinct, can, therefore, be unreasonable only when founded on false suppositions or when it chooses, in exerting itself, a means insufficient for the desired end. Reason cannot, consequently, dispute with the passions the government of our will and actions: "The moment we perceive the falsehood of any supposition, ... our passions yield to our reason without any opposition."[116]

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115 The definitions and remarks which follow are from Hume, op. cit., II, 164-170 ("Of the Passions," Section 3, Of the Influencing Motives of the Will).

116 "Squire Western is an admirable example of Hume's doctrine of the part reason plays as the revealer of the grounds for excitation of passion. When Western, who a few minutes before had been raging like a demon against Jones, suddenly discovers that he is a man of wealth, automatically he passes into eager consent to his marriage with Sophia. Western is merely an extreme example of the Humean psychology of Fielding. All the rest of his characters, upon analysis, yield the same results" (Swann, op.

Hume traces the popular looseness in the use of the term reason -- which refers to a faculty that exerts itself without any sensible emotions, either pleasure or uneasiness -- to a confusion of it with such calm passions as the instincts of benevolence and the general appetite to good and aversion to evil, which operate with a tranquillity and absence of emotion similar to that of reason. Strength of mind, Hume says, implies the predominance of such calm passions over the violemt ones of the same kind -- for both influence the will; and where they oppose each other, they prevail "according to the general character or present disposition of the person"-- no man being "so constantly possessed of this virtue [strength of mind], as never on any occasion to yield to the solicitation of passion and desire." It is the calm passions that are so often mistakenly supposed to be the determinations of reason, which, properly, is concerned only with the judging of truth and falsehood.

Thus it is that after such arresting assertions as some of the above (for example, that reason is and ought only to be the slave of the passions) Hume can sincerely write:

> Human nature being composed of two principal parts, which are requisite in all its actions, the affections and the understanding, it is certain that the

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cit., p. 61). Other examples might be Tom's changed attitude towards Molly after he has discovered that he is not responsible for her downfall, and Allworthy's changed attitude towards Blifil at the end. But, of course, such teaching as Hume's, although it casts light upon them, is

> blind motions of the former, without the direction of the latter, incapacitate men for society.[117]

One who, like Swann, interprets Hume's speculations as putting man at the mercy of his instincts, in the manner in which Western becomes the slave of his, is mistaking a philosophy which regards man as a reflective creature. It is only the looser character of Shaftesbury's philosophy, its far less rigorous logic, its inexact usage of the term reason — justly challenged by Hume[118] — that is responsible for the apparent discrepancy between the two; and in this respect, Fielding, being no metaphysician, follows Shaftesbury. All three agree that men's actions are usually — but not unexceptionally — determined by their passions or present inclinations, not by general rules or abstract principles.

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by no means necessary for intelligently portraying such natural occurrences. Undoubtedly, Fielding did not think as abstractly of them as Swann would have us believe.

117 Op. cit., II, 259; see also ibid., p. 371: "Moral good and evil are certainly distinguished by our sentiments, not by reason: but these sentiments may arise either from the mere species or appearance of characters and passions, or from reflections on their tendency to the happiness of mankind, and of particular persons. My opinion is, that both these causes are intermixed in our judgments of morals; ... though I am also of opinion, that reflections on the tendencies of actions have by far the greatest influence, and determine all the great lines of our duty."

118 For an interesting discussion by Hume of the two species of philosophy at that time — the practical moral and the speculative — in which he arraigns the school of Shaftesbury, or rather, the popular attitude engendered by such philosophies, see An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding, Section 1, "Of the Different Species of Philosophy."

As for what Swann calls the ground of human nature, here again Shaftesbury to some degree anticipated both the later writers; and in the interpretation of evil Swann admits that Fielding is nearer to the earlier philosopher than to the later one. In regard to the constitution, as distinct from the ground, of human nature, if we can hardly escape the parallelism between Fielding and Hume, yet again we may doubt its significance. Although Hume was forced to acknowledge the differences between men and to base them on inherent physical and mental qualities which he could not explain, still he found them all to be by nature alike in fundamental make-up, in the basic pattern of desires, impulses, and instincts; thence he derived, as did Fielding, the principle of sympathy in us. Could any observer of the human race conclude otherwise? By temperament, outlook, and experience Fielding was unfitted to see, understand, or portray the finer shades of thought or action in persons of significant life and refinement. Only in his latest novel, after the discipline of life had demonstrated the value of orthodoxy and the advisability of art's dealing with positive examples, rather than with negative ones, did he proceed in that direction. Up to the time when he finished Tom Jones the figures with which he was concerned were ordinary people who rarely presented much deviation from the basic pattern of instincts and natural emotions.[119] They might be good — and, in that case, usually

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119 Except, of course, for some minor personal peculiarities

sweet and wholesome and inoffensive ("... a man may be good with half the pains which it costs him to go to hell") — or they might be bad; in either event they are generally quite human and natural. And as they deviate little from the basic pattern, so in the course of the story they change slightly if at all — just as actually, under the ordinary stress of life in those days, they seemed to Fielding not to alter much. Thus it is that the criticism that "there is no such thing as either moral change or improvement in Fielding's novels" is, on the whole, quite justified.[120] Yet another critic has said, "In art there is no development of character; there is only revelation of character."

To turn to the problem of experience: Swann writes of Hume and Fielding that "both regard experience as a series of appearances not unified by any internal bond but by a continuous succession and likeness through the agency of the productive imagination. There is an absence of any moral causality." Fielding would have been horrified at the charge that his works betrayed an absence of moral causality, and by way of denial would have pointed to Allworthy and even, in some instances, to Tom. Nevertheless, he unconsciously reveals in his novels a conception which is similar to Hume's.

(like those of Partridge) which might make them picturesque for the sake of art.

120 Swann, op. cit., p. 56.

No internal, inevitable, immutable bond exists to unify experience. The various appearances, or impressions and ideas, seem to happen accidentally and to achieve any semblance of unity in the mind only because they are repeated in the same or a like fashion, or because they group themselves in the mind according to definite rules and mechanical laws. The unity in the characters is psychological, as Hume would have had it; and we see it only as it manifests itself in external behaviour. Such an attitude, the absence of an internal bond — unconscious, let us remember — seems to be the major source of a certain superficiality that one can hardly escape in Fielding's earlier novels. He is concerned with externals; his characters seem mere puppets chosen to be the subjects of various dealings by fate, life, chance — whatever we wish to term it: we are called upon only to watch their consequent actions, which seem as momentary in significance as they are in occurrence. And we leave the theatre feeling that the master of the puppet-show has merely exhibited the surface in this broad play of painted personages. The deep springs continue hidden, as if the author ignored, or wished to challenge, their existence.[121]

This emphasis on the externals of psychology is the most

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121 It is Fielding's characters, their actions and motives, that seem superficial or oversimplified; there is much penetration and often much delicacy in the way the novelist himself presents them or makes remarks about them.

striking parallel between Hume and Fielding; and yet, rough-hew it how we will, even this remains only an accidental parallelism, arising, in the case of the novelist, not so much out of his philosophy or his views on psychology, as out of the matters with which he, an artist writing a comic prose epic of ordinary life, is concerned. Fielding is a practical moralist depicting the actions of men in the belief that to the average reader or observer actions are what speak loudest, and that they are generally pretty accurate barometers of human character. At any rate, since he is the partisan and glorifier of the ordinary, very human, good-natured man, they are the stuff of his narrative art. Thus, interestingly parallel to Hume as Fielding is in many instances, he is not necessarily, or even probably, dependent upon him in any way.

E. Religious Enthusiasm; Fielding's Credo

One other topic claims our attention before we leave matters of religion, philosophy, and morals. No less intense than his reaction to the teachings of such philosophers as Hobbes and Mandeville was Fielding's reaction to the eighteenth-century phenomenon of religious enthusiasm. This development had come almost inevitably as a protest both against the vague generalities which constituted the theology of deism — a philosophy that had, of late, grown negative in character — and against the abstract orthodoxy of the argu-

mentative divines who abounded in that period. Fielding, characteristically, chose the via media of common sense.

His objection to enthusiasm was twofold: he despised it because (1) it represented a repulsive orgy of the emotions;[122] and because (2) it was likely, he felt, to lead to hypocrisy. It is not strange that this wave of religious feeling elicited the utmost contempt from the educated men of the time. It had originated chiefly among the lower and the middle classes, who had grown impatient of religious teachings by which they could not live; and in the fever of novelty and its immediate appeal, it soon became associated with all sorts of gross superstition and fraud — a condition which naturally aroused the hostility of the more cultured and which is reflected in such words as Tom's: "Monsters and prodigies are the proper arguments to support monstrous and absurd doctrines."[123] Shaftesbury, much earlier, had inveighed against it in strong words; and Swift's "Mechanical Operations of the Spirit" suffices to show the extreme opprobrium that popular enthusiasm brought upon itself.

Thus it is that Fielding wastes few opportunities to

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122 Cf. The Champion for March 15, 1739-40 (Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Henley, II, 244): "... men often become ridiculous or odious by over-acting even a laudable part: for Virtue itself, by growing too exuberant, and (if I may be allowed a metaphor) by running to seed changes its very nature, and becomes a most pernicious weed of a most beautiful flower."

123 Tom Jones, II, 200.

strike telling blows against religious phenomena like the Wesleyan Movement. By temperament and training he was unable to appreciate the popular appeal of such beliefs. The woman who for years has been a dependent of Lady Bellaston's, helping to carry on her love affairs, becomes a Methodist and thereupon severely rebukes that lady for her past life and refuses to be henceforth a party to her intrigues. There is also the matter of Blifil's final conversion to Methodism in the hope of marrying a rich widow of that sect. Much more pointed and significant, however, is the passage praising the owners of the Sign of the Bell in Gloucester:

> The master of it is brother to the great preacher Whitefield; but is absolutely untainted with the pernicious principles of Methodism, or of any other heretical sect. He is indeed a very honest plain man, and, in my opinion, not likely to create any disturbance either in church or state. ... this resignation of his wife's, to her station in life is entirely owing to the prudence and wisdom of her temper: for she is at present as free from any Methodistical notions as her husband. I say at present: for she freely confesses that her brother's documents made at first some impression upon her, and that she had put herself to the expence of a long hood, in order to attend the extraordinary emotions of the Spirit; but having found, during an experiment of three weeks, no emotions, she says, worth a farthing, she very wisely laid by her hood, and abandoned the sect.[124]

Again, the novelist takes a dig at the "honest Broadbrims" in pointing out that the traveler who directs Jones and converses

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124 Tom Jones, II, 189-190. It is interesting to notice that Fielding's attack on Methodism was carried on by his imitator, Richard Graves, in The Spiritual Quixote (1772).

with him at the inn after he has lost the way to Bristol is a Quaker. This quiet man is undisturbed by an insult from Jones and is very kind to the hero when he thinks the latter to be out of his senses; but as soon as he learns that Tom, far from being the gentleman he had seemed, is of low birth and fortune, all the Quaker's compassion vanishes, and he becomes indignant at the affront.[125]

Faith meant to Fielding mere orthodoxy, belief, matter-of-course acceptance of the doctrines of the Church; this is evidenced by Parson Adams's denial of justification by faith.[126] Religious belief presented no problem at all to Fielding: no emotionalism was involved; it was only a matter of common sense. He always insisted on this common sense, this rationalism, in religion, although at the same time he was an earnest Christian.[127] Since belief demanded practice, the sec-

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125 Dr. Swann (op. cit., p. 62) thinks that this incident illustrates Fielding's agreement with Hume in the latter's doctrine of sympathy. It seems to me to illustrate nothing of the sort. This reaction to such an insult might have been expected in the eighteenth century from any ordinary person of such superiority as that which the Quaker appeared to have on his side. The man could overlook the affront so long as he thought Jones out of his senses; but when he learned the hero's real condition of birth and fortune, naturally he attributed the insult to the impudence and low breeding associated with that condition and consequently felt outraged.

126 Joseph Andrews, Book I, Chapter xvii.

127 See Tom Jones, II, 236, where the sentiments of the Man

ond point in Fielding's religious creed was morality: he condemned such sins as unchastity and dishonesty, such faults as drunkenness, and such customs as dueling; he pleaded for the rigid integrity of an Allworthy. And yet sometimes his judgments on this point were qualified by the third element in his creed: the necesiity for kindness and a benevolent heart, an other-worldliness, exemplified quixotically in Parson Adams and more ideally in Allworthy. In case of conflict between the second and the third parts of Fielding's creed, he insisted more upon the third, upon the benevolence. He could forgive the sins mentioned above; but he granted no quarter whatever to such vices as utter selfishness, ingratitude, hypocrisy, intolerance, and cruelty. He could neither understand nor be patient with what were to him the blackest crimes. Thus it is that, although he would teach both pedagogues more "natural goodness of heart," Fielding shows more leniency to the fairly amiable philosopher, Square, who has too much neglected religion — that is, revealed morality, as Swann points out[128] — and allows him to repent; whereas Thwackum, the uncharitable divine, who has too much neglected virtue — that is, "reasoned morality" — and depends com-

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of the Hill are undoubtedly Fielding's own and may even refer to a change in interests and convictions as an event in the novelist's life. See also Square's letter to Allworthy, IV, 237: "The assurance it gives us...," etc.

128 Op. cit., p. 56.

pletely upon authority, continues the same to the very end.[129] And Blifil, the utter villain, is shown no mercy at all. But Fielding seems to be thoroughly convinced that the vast majority of men are charitable by nature, however delightfully ridiculous they may be at times; and that besides the dictates of this good nature, an innate, presiding conscience — "like the LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of this kingdom in his court"[130] — also helps to regulate their conduct.

Such was Fielding's position in religion and morality. He seems to have learned most from Shaftesbury; but the influence upon him was not limited to that of Shaftesbury. One is surprised at the extent to which he informally and casually expressed contemporary moral philosophy. He did not attain to his outlook all at once: it came to him gradually — though definite forecasts of it could have been seen early — over a relatively long period of experience, observation, learning, and reflection. Fielding was a learned man; and yet we must not make the mistake of regarding him as a ped-

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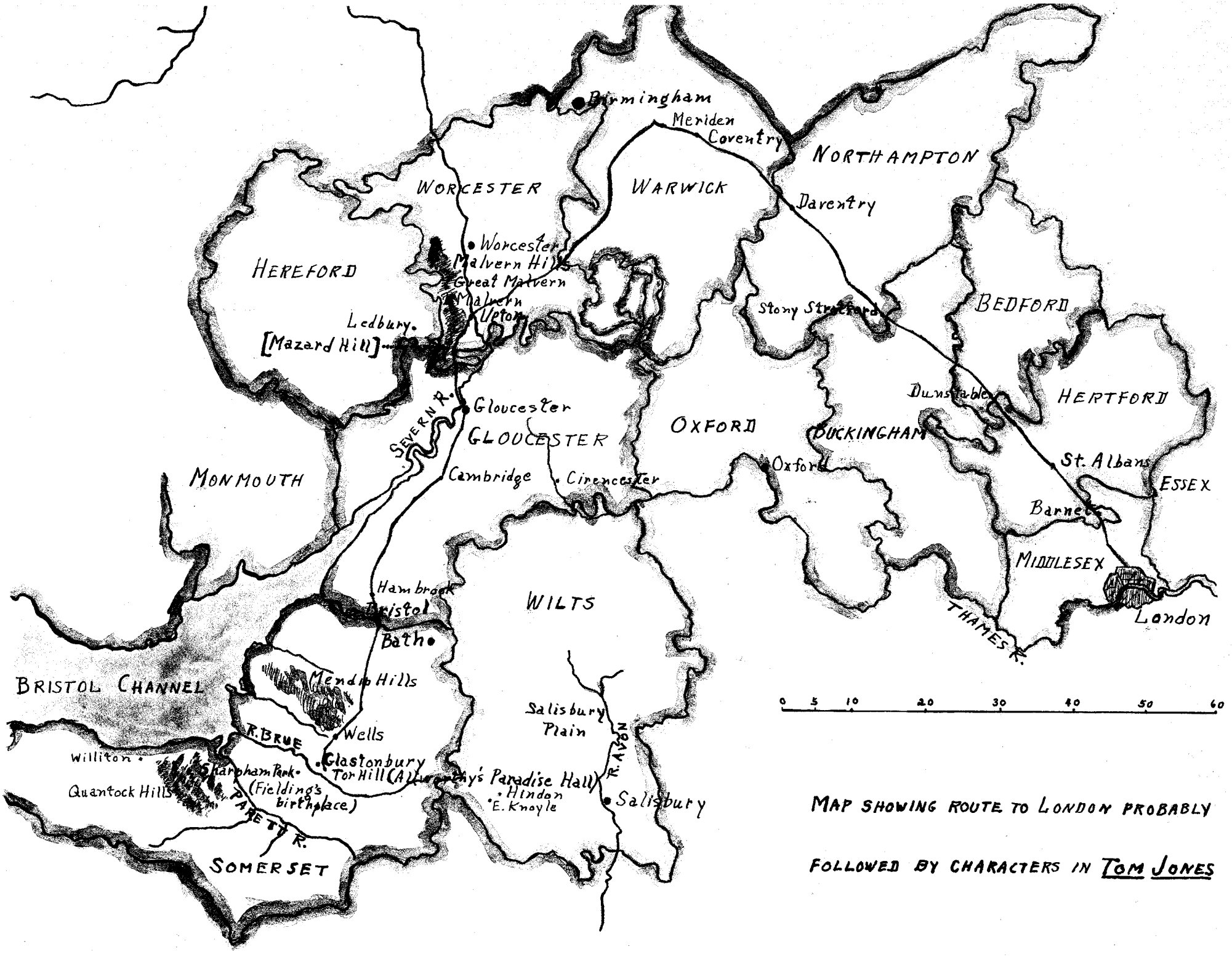
129 Says Thwackum: "The relation of the master and scholar is indelible, as indeed, all relations are: for they all derive their original from Heaven" (Tom Jones, I, 265). The above interpretation of Square and Thwackum may be exaggerated, however; Fielding may intend to take advantage of Square's death only to point his praise of Christianity.

130 Tom Jones, I, 161.

ant — a character which the novelist disliked and ridiculed. Wherever he found something worthwhile, he made it his own; and he was always alert. But besides knowing his books, he was, as one might expect from a disciple of Shaftesbury, a student of men and their affairs; hence ordinary questions of religion, morality, and conduct held for him a perennial fascination. His was not a life apart from his fellows, but a full and rich one, closely in tune with the era in which he existed. His work reveals the thorough assimilation by a kindred temperament and a scholarly, observant, and quietly ruminative mind of the prevailing spirit, questions, and culture of his day.



MAP SHOWING ROUTE TO LONDON PROBABLY FOLLOWED BY CHARACTERS IN *TOM JONES*

V

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(drawn up with reference to the text of the Shakespeare Head edition)

Volume I

The Motto — "Mores hominum multorum vidit"
"He viewed the manners of many people" (Horace, Ars Poetica, 142).

The Dedication

P. vii. Lyttelton
George Lyttelton (1709-1773), first Baron Lyttelton (1756), was an English statesman and man of letters, educated at Eton and Oxford. At the time Tom Jones was written he was lord commissioner of the treasury (1744-1754). He was a friend of the poet Thomson, and was one of Fielding's circle, as well as a member of the group who heard the author read the manuscript of Tom Jones.

P. viii. the Duke of Bedford
See the first chapter of the Introduction, "The Life of Fielding," p. 9.

P. ix. "as a great poet says of one of you ..."
Pope in "Epilogue to the Satires of Horace," lines 135-136:

> Let humble Allen, with an awkward shame,
> Do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame.

The reference is to Ralph Allen (1694-1764), deputy-postmaster of Bath, who, though of humble origin, became wealthy through the enormous yearly profit of a system of cross-posts for England and Wales, which he himself devised and farmed. He became famous for his philanthropy. He was a great friend and benefactor of Fielding's, and is supposed to be the chief

original of Squire Allworthy (Lyttelton and Bedford contributing only slightly to the portrait).

P. ix. "some years of my life."
Two and a half years. Tom Jones was begun in the summer of 1746, after the discontinuance of The True Patriot (Wilbur Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, New Haven, 1918, II, 100), and was published on February 28, 1749.

P. x. "he will find in the whole course of it nothing prejudicial to the cause of religion and virtue ..."
Tom Jones actually met with a number of protests on the score of its immorality. France refused temporarily to permit the issuance of a translation by M. de la Place in 1750, and some Londoners attributed the earthquake of 1750 to the reading of lewd books, especially of Fielding's novel. See Cross, op. cit., II, 140-141 and 156.

P. x. "that loveliness which Plato asserts there is in her naked charms."
In The Champion for January 24, 1740 (Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Henley, II, 165-166), Fielding alludes to the same passage as "a short sentence of Plato, which I have often seen quoted. 'That could mankind behold virtue naked, they would all be in love with her.'" In view of Plato's constant identification of the Good with the Beautiful, the reference may be to the last words of Diotima in the Symposium: "But what if man had eyes to see the true beauty ... and bringing forth and nourishing true virtue to become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal man may" (Dialogues of Plato, trans. Jowett, Oxford University Press, 1892, I, 582).

P. xi. "wherein I have endeavoured to laugh mankind out of their favourite follies and vices."
See the Introduction, pp. 33-34 and 86-88. Cf. Swift, "To a Lady (Who Desired the Author to Write Some Verses upon Her in the Heroic Style)":

> It is well observed by Horace,
> Ridicule has greater power
> To reform the world than sour.
>
> ....
>
> Thus we both shall gain our prize;
> I to laugh, and you grow wise.

(The observation by Horace is to be found in the Satires, I, x, 14-15.) Cf. also Swift's "A Vindication of Mr. Gay and the Beggar's Opera": "... that Kind of Satyr, which is most useful, and gives the least Offence; which instead of lashing, laughs Men out of their Follies, and Vices, and is the Character which gives Horace the Preference to Juvenal.

"And although some Things are too serious, solemn, or

sacred to be turned into Ridicule, yet the Abuses of them are certainly not ...."

Book I, Chapter 1

P. 2. "the delicious calibash and calipee"
Calipash — a part of a turtle next to the upper shell, containing a dull, greenish, fatty, gelatinous substance.
Calipee — a part of a turtle attached to the lower shell, containing a fatty and gelatinous substance of a light yellowish color.

P. 3. "as Mr. Pope tells us ...."
The quotation is from An Essay on Criticism, Part II, lines 297-298.

P. 3. "the best cook which the present age, or perhaps that of Heliogabalus, hath produced."
Mr. Cross thinks that Fielding may be here paying a compliment to a Mr. Lebeck, who lived only a few doors from Mrs. Hussey, the mantua-maker. The Lebeck's Head (this celebrated cook had his own portrait for the sign of his house) was "a famous ordinary at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and was much used for meetings of tradesmen" (J. T. Smith, Nollekens and His Times, ed. Whitten, New York, 1920, I, 105, n.). Cross also points out (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 104-105) that this whole chapter is but an elaboration of a letter signed "Heliogabalus" (pseudonym for Fielding) which appeared in The True Patriot under date of December 3, 1745.
Heliogabalus (A.D. 205-222) was Roman emperor from A.D. 218 to 222. "Mais quoiqu'il [Heliogabalus] ne parût occupé que de sacrifices et de fêtes, il ne laissa pas de faire mourir plusiers personnes des plus riches de l'empire, parce qu'elles n'approuvaient pas sa conduite ...." (Histoire Romaine d'Hérodien, Livre V, in Ouvrages Historique de Polybe, Hérodien, et Zozime, par J.-A.-C. Buchon, Paris, 184-, 623; see also Aelius Lampridius, Elagabalus, and Dio Cassius, Historiae Romanae, lxxviii, 31 ff., and lxxix, 1 ff.). Heliogabalus's whole reign was one of extravagance, debauchery, and cruelty. "It is told of him," says E. C. Brewer (A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 388), "that he invited the principal men of Rome to a banquet, and watched while they were being killed by being smothered in a shower of roses." Certain it is that the fame of his feasts, which seem to be merely mentioned by the old historians, was the thing that most impressed eighteenth-century men, for Swift thus refers

to them in Gulliver's Travels (Chapter VIII): "I prevailed on the Governor [of Glubbdubdrib, the Island of Sorcerers] to call up Eliogabalus's cooks to dress us a dinner, but they could not show us much of their skill, for want of materials."

Book I, Chapter 3

P. 7. "some pages, which certain droll authors have been facetiously pleased to call The History of England."
See III, 128: "... for we have, ourselves, been very often most horridly given to jumping, as we have run through the pages of voluminous historians." Fielding liked historical writing, and regarded his novel as a "history"; but he was contemptuous of the undiscriminating detail of mere chronicle (see the Introduction, pp. 29-31).

P. 7. "Mr. Allworthy had been absent ... on some very particular business, tho' I know not what it was; but judge of its importance," etc.
Notice Fielding's realistic, matter-of-fact manner. See also II, 240, and III, 87.

Book I, Chapter 8

P. 28. "to cry out with Thisbe, in Shakespeare, 'O wicked, wicked wall!'"
A Midsummer-Night's Dream, V, i, 181. The exclamation "O wicked wall" is made by Pyramus, not by Thisbe.

P. 28. "de non apparentibus, et non existentibus eadem est ratio."
This is a legal maxim, translated thus by William King: "That which is not forthcoming must be treated as if it did not exist" (Classical and Foreign Quotations, London, 1889, p. 120).

P. 28. "one of those wanton smiles, which Homer would have you conceive came from Venus, when he calls her the laughter-loving goddess"
That is, Philommeides Aphrodite. Iliad, III, 424; Odyssey, VIII, 362; Hymn to Aphrodite, 17, 49, 56, 65, 156.

P. 28. "which Lady Seraphina shoots from the stage-box"
Seraphina was apparently a traditional type name for a beautiful lady. James Thomson wrote a poem "To Seraphina."

P. 29. "Tysiphone, or ... one of the misses her sisters."
Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megaera (in later writers of antiquity)

were the goddesses of Justice or Vengeance, whose employment was the punishment of crimes (they were the Greek Erinnyes, the Roman Furies). Among earlier writers (for example, Aeschylus) they were described as being of fearful appearance; but later, and in works of art, they were conceived of as maidens of solemn mien, with a band of serpents around their heads, in the rich attire of huntresses, and with serpents or torches in their hands.

P. 29. Boreas
Boreas was the Greek personification of the north wind.

Book I, Chapter 10

P. 37. "was not a little suspected of an inclination to Methodism."
This is the first of several hits which Fielding, throughout the novel, makes at Methodism. See also II, 189; III, 244; IV, 306.

Book I, Chapter 11

P. 41. "Mr. Hogarth himself, to whom she sat many years ago"
William Hogarth (1687-1764), great English painter and draughtsman, holds a place in English art comparable to that of Swift, Fielding, and Thackeray in English literature. Indeed, he loved to regard himself as an "author" exposing the folly and vice of eighteenth-century society, with which he may have become familiar from personal experience as well as from observation (according to J. T. Smith, in Nollekens and His Times, ed. Whitten, I, 23, he revelled in the company of the drunken and the profligate). He was a friend of Fielding's, and, like him, a member of the "gossiping shilling rubber club" that met at the Bedford Arms (ibid., II, 274, n.). The print to which Fielding here refers is "Morning," from Times of the Day, 1738.

P. 42. "the witch of Endor"
The witch to whom Saul resorted. See I Samuel, xxviii, 7 ff.

P. 43. "nolo episcopari; a phrase likewise of immemorial use on another occasion."
"I do not wish to be a bishop": this was the reply made, as a matter of form, by any person to whom a bishopric was offered. Congreve has a similar reference to this customary response in Love for Love, I, 1, where Scandal says of Tattle,

"... but he hopes not to be believ'd; and refuses the reputation of a Ladies favour, as a Doctor says No to a Bishoprick, only that it may be granted him." Fielding's words "first made some thousands of years ago, and ... handed down by tradition from mother to daughter ever since" refer to the proverb "A woman's no means yes."

Book I, Chapter 12

P. 45. "sui juris"
"Of one's own right" — that is, not under the power of another, accountable only to herself.

Book II, Chapter 1

P. 52. "an apology for a life, as is more in fashion"
This is an allusion to An Apology for the Life of Colley Cibber, Comedian ... with an Historical View of the Stage during his Own Time, published by Cibber, one of the best-known actors and dramatists of the time, in 1740. The book, which was praised by Goldsmith, who bracketed it with Montaigne, and grudgingly by Sam Johnson, contains worthwhile criticism on acting, and presents the best available account of Cibber's contemporaries on the stage. Fielding attacked the author's style and language repeatedly (these, indeed, sometimes deserved attack). In one of his plays the novelist ridiculed the older playwright for his Shakespearean adaptations (The Historical Register for 1736: Cibber is represented as Ground Ivy). See also the first chapter of Joseph Andrews.

P. 52. "we intend ... rather to pursue the method of those writers, who profess to disclose the revolutions of countries"
Notice again Fielding's insistence upon the selective method of history and art. See III, 110.

P. 53. "The writer ... like his master, travels as slowly through centuries of monkish dulness ... as through that bright and busy age so nobly distinguished by the excellent Latin poet."
Notice the characteristically eighteenth-century attitude toward the Middle Ages.
The century which ended with the death of Julius Caesar saw the activity of such men as Catullus, Lucretius, Varro, and Cicero. It was the time when Stoicism and Epicureanism (the doctrines of the latter are set forth in the great poem here quoted) held sway in Roman philosophy. The Augustan age which followed was marked by the accomplishments of Virgil, Horace,

Ovid, Sallust, and Livy.
The Latin quotation is from Lucretius's De Rerum Natura, III, 833-837 in the edition of H. A. J. Munro, Cambridge, 1886. The third and fourth lines of the passage should read thus:

Horrida contremuere sub altis aetheris oris:
In dubioque fuere utrorum ad regna cadendum.

Thomas Creech (1659-1700) was famous chiefly for his translation of Lucretius (1682) in rhymed heroic couplets, a translation which was praised by Otway.

P. 53. "lottery ... at Guild-Hall"
Lotteries floated by the Government were farmed out to contractors, who sold tickets at their offices. Drawings took place at the Guildhall in London or in one of the Companies' halls in the City. The method was as follows: There were two boxes, which contained respectively the numbers of the tickets and the prizes. Two boys from Christ's Hospital were chosen to do the drawing. "One boy on one side thrust his bare arm into the box and drew out a number, and the boy opposite him produced a prize ticket or a blank" (Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, New York, 1938, pp. 188-189).

P. 54. "the founder of a new province of writing"
Observe that Fielding is conscious of the literary position of his work. See the Preface to Joseph Andrews.

P. 54. "a jure divino tyrant"
That is, a tyrant by divine law or right.

Book II, Chapter 2

P. 55. "several texts"
He visits the sins of the fathers upon the children — Exodus, xx, 5; xxxiv, 7; Numbers, xiv, 18; Deuteronomy, v, 9.
The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge, the proverb repudiated — Jeremiah, xxxi, 29; Ezekiel, xviii, 2.

P. 56. "acting against the first principles of natural justice and against the original notions of right and wrong ... by which we were to judge ... even of the truth of revelation itself."
Such sentiments show definitely the influence of deism. Thus far Fielding himself probably accepted its teachings. The deistic doctrines which aroused his hostility were those which denied the immortality and the future existence of the soul, and which taught that God was "a lazy, unactive being, regardless of the affairs of this world" (The Champion, January 22,

1740). Allworthy again mentions "Christian law, and ... the law of nature ..." on p. 73.

Book II, Chapter 3

P. 57. "rules directly contrary to those of Aristotle"
See Aristotle's Politica, Book I, sections 3-13, concerned with household economy.

Pp. 58-59. Hogarth
A Harlot's Progress, painted in 1731 and engraved early the following year, was the earliest of the great series of moral satires which brought Hogarth his peculiar fame. It depicts in six scenes the miserable career of a woman of the town, from its facile beginning to its shameful and degenerate end.

P. 59. Xantippe
The name of Xantippe, the wife of Socrates, has long been proverbial as that of a typical shrew.

P. 60. "Da mihi aliquid potum"
"Give me something to drink."

P. 61. Othello
Othello, III, iii, 177-180. The lines in the original read:

> Think'st thou I'ld make a life of jealousy,
> To follow still the changes of the moon
> With fresh suspicions? No; to be once in doubt
> Is once to be resolved ....

P. 61. "Leve fit, quod bene fertur onus."
The line is from Ovid's Amores, I, 2, 10.

Book II, Chapter 4

P. 63. Nemesis
Nemesis was the Greek personification of divine justice, and later (with the tragedians) the avenger of crime and punisher of arrogance. She was also worshipped at Rome by victorious generals; in imperial times she was the patroness of gladiators; and in the third century A. D. she was worshipped as an all-powerful Nemesis-Fortuna.

P. 63. "Mr. John Fr---, or some other such philosopher"
"John Freke (1688-1756), to whom a further reference is made on page 177, was surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, from 1729 to 1755. He was a man of considerable parts, and some-

what of a connoisseur in music and art. Whilst Fielding was engaged in writing the earlier chapters of Tom Jones, Freke was embroiled in a controversy on the nature of electricity, echoes of which are to be found in the Gentleman's Magazine for October and November, 1746" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 64. "barbers news"
That both the Greek and the Roman barber-shops were favourite lounging places for the common people and were famous for the gossip retailed there is indicated by numerous references to them, for example, Plautus's Epidicus, II, ii, 16, and his Asinaria, II, ii, 76; and Polybius, III, xx, 5.
Horace's remark occurs in the Satires, I, 7, 1-3; Canon Howes translates it thus:

> How half-bred Persius clipped the venomed sting
> Of that pert outlaw hight Rupilius King,
> Gagged his foul mouth and put his rancour down —
> Is known through all the barbers' shops in town.

Book II, Chapter 5

P. 68. "the schoolmaster of Little Baddington"
Cross suggests that "Little Baddington" is, perhaps, Little Badminton (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 177).

Book II, Chapter 7

P. 84. "the same submission to a Hoadley"
"Benjamin Hoadley (1676-1761) ... was successively Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester. He was a prominent and aggressive leader of the extreme latitudinarian party in church and state, and was evidently held in high esteem by Fielding" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 85. Aristotle on the female sex
Although Aristotle's attitudes naturally reflect the low condition of women among the Greeks, they seem hardly to justify Fielding's use of the term moroseness: "Again, one quality or action is nobler than another if it is that of a naturally finer being: thus a man's will be nobler than a woman's" (Rhetorica, I, 9); "Such goodness is possible in every type of personage, even in a woman or a slave, though the one is perhaps an inferior, and the other a wholly worthless being" (De Poetica, 15); "For although there may be exceptions to the order of nature, the male is by nature fitter for command tham the female, just as the elder and full-grown is

superior to the younger and more immature" (Politica, I, 12); but "... the excellences of the latter [female] are, in body, beauty and stature; in soul, self-command and an industry that is not sordid. Communities as well as individual should lack none of these perfections, in their women as well as in their men. Where, as among the Lacedaemonians, the state of women is bad, almost half of human life is spoilt" (Rhetorica, I, 5; all the passages are quoted from the Works of Aristotle, ed. W. D. Ross, Oxford, 1910-1931, X and XI).

Book II, Chapter 8

P. 90. "that observation of Horace ..."
From the Odes, II, xviii, 17-19; it is translated thus by Francis:

> But you, with thoughtless pride elate,
> Unconscious of impending fate,
> Command the pillared dome to rise,
> When, lo! thy tomb forgotten lies.

Book III, Chapter 2

P. 99. "A little tale, of so LOW a kind ..."
That is, ordinary.

P. 101. "Noscitur a socio"
Should be: "Noscitur a sociis."

P. 101. "the same superstition with the Bannians in India"
Bannu is the name of a town and district of British India, in the Derajat division of the North-West Frontier Province. The town lies in the northwest corner of the district, in the valley of the Kurram River.
Animal cults always have been and still are prevalent in India. In The Champion for March 22, 1740 (Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Henley, II, 253) occurs an explanatory reference to the same thing: "The Bannians, a people of East India, carry their friendship to all manner of animals to the highest degree of excess. Some of these dedicate their whole lives and fortunes to the care and service of particular creatures, even the lowest and most despicable. They will hire men to be tied down in certain places, in order to give a repast to fleas, lice, and other vermin that prey on human blood; and buy the liberty of a captive sparrow at a great price from our young factors, who turn this temper of theirs to a considerable advantage." Cf.: "The Bannians .. have Spittles

(as they say) on purpose to recover lame Birds and Beasts" (an apparently anonymous Voyage to East India, 1665, p. 437, quoted in the New English Dictionary under spittle). The Hindus spare cattle as a species, and in northern India snake-gods are worshipped.
One authority (George L. Gomme, in The Handbook of Folklore, London, 1890, pp. 26-27) thinks that these animal superstitions are "the relics of a once prevailing system of totemism equally with those against certain kinds of food which the great authority of Mr. Elton allows might be connected 'with the superstitious belief that the tribes were descended from the animals from which their names and crests or badge were derived.'"

P. 102. "as Horace tells us ..."
Epistles I, 2, 27: "Nos numeros sumus et fruges consumere nati" — "We are (mere) ciphers and born to consume the fruits of the earth."

P. 104. "the reverend Mr. Thwackum"
According to antiquarians (R. C. Hoare and H. Hatcher, for example), Thwackum's original is supposed to have been Richard Hele, a graduate of Oxford and Cambridge, Canon of Salisbury, and Master of the school in the Cathedral Close, who died in 1756 at the age of seventy-seven (see Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 168).

Book III, Chapter 3

P. 106. "Mr. Square the philosopher"
Square is said to be modelled from Thomas Chubb, also of Salisbury (see Cross, op. cit., II, 169). For fuller information refer to the section of the Introduction on deism.

P. 107. "In morals he was a profest Platonist, and in religion he inclined to be an Aristotelian."
The salient points of Plato's moral teachings are as follows: The highest Good is complete perfection of the soul, a sharing in the divine world of the Ideas. Sensuous pleasure possesses a relative moral value, in that it serves as a legitimate step to intellectual pleasure, to the understanding of and the participation in the ideal or ethical Good. The four cardinal virtues are temperance (having its basis in the liver, seat of the ignoble part of the soul's irrational nature), courage (in the heart, seat of the noble part of the irrational nature), wisdom (in the brain, organ of the rational nature of the soul), and, finally, the highest, justice (the perfection of the whole soul, to be achieved only in society).

The state is to supersede the individual, but is to have as its sole end moral education, to facilitate the fulfillment of wisdom, courage, and temperance in the individual, to enable men to be happy through virtue.
The important points of Aristotle's religious concepts are: God is looked upon as the prime and unmoved mover, operating upon matter as a final, teleological cause. He is pure Form, pure Thought or Self-consciousness, perfect Being. The world of nature is a unity, inherently spontaneous and uniform — a graded, connected system of things of relative worth, acted upon by two kinds of causes, those of mechanical necessity and those of teleology, which find their ultimate union in God. Natural objects in the series of mechanical necessity approach their ideal just in so far as they achieve the regularity and order characteristic of God; whereas those in the teleological series approach their ideal in so far as they approximate the reason of God. The perfect uniformity and rationality of God thus become the goal of all Nature. Aristotle was the first to frame the concept of monotheism.

P. 107. "... he perfectly agreed with the opinion of Aristotle, in considering that great man rather in the quality of a philosopher or a speculatist, than as a legislator."
This sentence is probably an allusion to such critical remarks about Plato as the following: "Legislation then of the kind proposed in Plato's Republic has a specious and philanthropic appearance," and "The cause of Socrates's mistake is to be found in the falsity of his fundamental position" (the Politica of Aristotle, II, v, trans. J. E. C. Welldon, London, 1912, pp. 50-51).

P. 108. "his Coke upon Lyttleton"
Sir Thomas Littleton (c. 1407-1481) was the author of a Treatise on Tenures, which is a full summary of the common law as it was at that time. Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), one of England's most famous lawyers, published his Institutes in 1628. The first of the thirteen parts is known also as Coke upon Littleton; Reports (1600-1615), and is concerned with the law of property. Coke's commentary on Littleton's work soon obscured to a certain degree the worth of the text.

Book III, Chapter 4

P. 111. "... had not both utterly discarded all natural goodness of heart ...."
The phrase natural goodness of heart reflects the influence of Shaftesbury.

P. 111. "... says a certain author, no man is wise at all

hours ..."
Pliny Secundus, Historiae Naturalis (Natural History), VII, 41, paragraph 2: "Quid quod nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit."

Book III, Chapter 5

P. 116. "as the proverb says, it is easy to find a stick,&c."
This is an allusion to an old saying given thus in Bailey's English Dictionary, 1721, under Dog: "He who has a mind to beat a dog, will easily find a stick." Other historical references to the proverb are to be found in G. L. Apperson, English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, London, 1929.

Book III, Chapter 6

P. 121. "as Shakespeare phrases it ...."
Othello, I, ii, 2-3:

> Yet do I hold it very stuff o' the conscience
> To do no contrived murder.

P. 121. "'Expressum facit cessare tacitum.'"
"A statement expressed takes precedence over what is unexpressed."

P. 121. "a jolly fellow, or a widow's man"
Jolly — Cf. "pretty," "fine," Scotch "bonny." "The term jolly fellow was often used thus in the sixteenth century ... and is still applied in the same way dialectically" (NED).
Widow's man — "a man such as to attract widows" (NED).

P. 122. "the Harlot's Progress"
See the note to I, 58-59. The reference here is to Plate IV.

Book III, Chapter 9

P. 130. "IT hath been observed by some man ...."
The ensuing sentiment is one which has been expressed in varying form by numerous writers, but Fielding probably means here Cervantes, Don Quixote, I, 6: "Misfortunes, you know, seldom come singly."

P. 131. "the buyers and sellers who were driven out of the Temple"

See Matthew xxi, 12; Mark xi, 15; and John ii, 14-16.

Book IV, Chapter 1

P. 137. "... recommended by an eminent critic to the sole use of the pastry-cook ...."
It is uncertain to whom this remark alludes. Swift, however, in "A Letter of Advice to a Young Poet," mentions "other necessary Uses of the same [that is, the waste of Paper made by our present Sett of Poets"] to Shop-keepers, especially Grocers, Apothecaries, and Pastry-Cooks" (Satires and Personal Writings, ed. W. A. Eddy, New York, 1933, p. 52).

P. 137. "Butler, who attributes inspiration to ale"
Hudibras, I, i, 645-664:

> Thou that with ale, or viler liquors,
> Did'st inspire Withers, Pryn, and Vickars,
> And force them, tho' it was in spite
> Of nature and their stars, to write, etc.

P. 138. "the famous author of Hurlothrumbo"
Hurlothrumbo, or the Supernatural is the title of a nonsensical play by a half-mad dancing master, Samuel Johnson (1705-1773), from Cheshire, a play which — because of "the exquisite badness of the performance," says Fielding in The Champion for April 15, 1740 — made a lucky hit at the Little Theatre in 1729. Here the company began presenting Fielding's plays early the following year (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, I, 79-80), after Johnson's had failed; Fielding may, therefore, have known Johnson personally.
The Shakespeare Head edition quotes these lines from the title-page to indicate the nature of Hurlothrumbo:

> Ye sons of Fire, read my Hurlothrumbo,
> Turn it betwixt your Finger and your Thumbo,
> And being quite undone, be quite stuck [sic] dumbo.

P. 138. "the everlasting watchfulness which Homer hath ascribed to Jove himself"
This attribution is probably an error. In two passages of the Odyssey — XI, 109, and XII, 323 — and in one of the Iliad — III, 277 — Helios (the Sun) "sees all things."

P. 139. "Mr. Lock's blind man"
Locke's Essay, III, iv, 11: "A studious blind man ... bragged one day that he now understood what scarlet signified. Upon which his friend demanding what scarlet was? the blind man answered, It was like the sound of a trumpet."

P. 139. "King Pyrrhus ...."

This is probably Barton Booth (1681-1733), a famous actor of his time, who made his first great triumph in the inferior role of King Pyrrhus in Philips's Distressed Mother, a very poor rendering of Racine's Phèdre, in March, 1712. The part accordingly became his favourite one. His impersonation of Addison's Cato a year later brought him to the front rank of his profession, and he subsequently became renowned for his portrayal of Rowe's Lothario (The Fair Penitent), and Shakespeare's Hotspur, Brutus, Lear, Mark Antony, Othello, etc. There was somewhat of a feud between Booth and Wilks. But upon the command of Queen Anne, Booth was admitted into the management of Drury Lane Theatre, which Cibber, Doggett, and Wilks at that time shared (see Colley Cibber's Apology, ed. Edmund Bellchambers, London, 1822, chapter XIV and p. 479, n.).

Book IV, Chapter 2

P. 141. Eurus
The east or east-southeast wind (see Homer's Iliad, II, 145).

P. 141. "whose sweetest notes not even Handel can excel"
At the time when Tom Jones was being written, Handel (1685-1759), already renowned, was composing the oratorios which have brought him permanent fame, and was presenting them in London. He had been closely associated with the Italian opera in England. He is referred to again on p. 158 of this volume.

P. 141. "the lovely Sophia"
"Although it is certain that in the character of Sophia Western, Fielding intended to enshrine the feminine grace and elegance of his first wife, Charlotte Cradock, yet there is a strong tradition that the luxuriant picture of Sophia's beauty given in this chapter was drawn by Fielding from the image, retained in his memory, of the captivating charms of his cousin Sarah Andrews, with whom he was once ardently in love" (Lawrence, Life of Fielding, 1855, pp. 68 and 255, quoted from the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 141. Hampton-Court
Hampton Court Palace, situated a mile below the town of Hampton, and close to the Thames River, was a royal residence until the time of George II. It was famous for the beauty of its architecture, its gardens, and its picture galleries.

P. 141. "each bright Churchill of the gallaxy, and all the toasts of the Kit-cat"
Lady Churchill (Duchess of Marlborough) and her four daughters were famous beauties, "the reigning toasts of every party of

pleasure" (Cibber's Apology, ed. Bellchambers, p. 48). To Lady Sunderland, the second daughter, who was acknowledged to be the loveliest woman at the court, and who, Cibber says, was "of extraordinary beauty, then the celebrated Toast and Pride of that great party," the first stone of the Haymarket Opera House was inscribed with these words: The Little Whig. The Kit Cat, a group of wealthy and cultured men, was one of the best known clubs of the early eighteenth century. It was founded by leading Whigs, including Steele, Addison, Congreve, Garth, and Vanbrugh. The club met at the house of Christopher Cat, a pastry-cook, whose mutton-pies were called Kit-cats; hence its name (Spectator, no. 9).

P. 142. "the rude answer which Lord Rochester once gave ...." Lord Rochester was the favourite of Charles II. Fielding here refers to a poem of his entitled "To All Curious Criticks and Admirers of Metre":

> Have you seen the raging Stormy Main
> Toss a Ship up, then cast her down again?
> Sometimes she seems to touch the very Skies,
> And then again upon the Sand she lyes.
> Or have seen a Bull, when he is jealous,
> How he does tear the ground, and Rores and Bellows?
> Or have you seen the pretty Turtle Dove,
> When she laments the absence of her love?
> Or have you seen the Fayries when they sing,
> And dance with mirth together in a Ring?
> Or have you seen our Gallants keep a Pudder,
> With Fair and Grace, and Grace and Fair Anstruder?
> Or have you seen the daughter of Apollo,
> Pour down their Rhyming Liquors in a hollow
> Cane .....
> In spungy Brain, congealing into Verse;
> If you have seen all this, then kiss mine A---e.

P. 142. Lady Ranelagh
Elizabeth, daughter to Richard, first Earl of Ranelagh, became the King's mistress in 1679 (see Reresby's Memoirs). The reference is probably, however, to Katherine Boyle, daughter of the great Earl of Cork, and sister of Robert Boyle, the famous scientist and experimental philosopher, with whom she lived in Pall Mall from 1668 to 1691, when she died at about the age of seventy-six. She was one of Milton's closest friends. Beautiful though she was, "Incomparable Lady Ranelagh" was still more famous for her talents and her unfailing affability. She was very active and influential in the best political, intellectual, and social circles of her day, making "the greatest figure in all the revolutions of these kingdoms of any woman of that age" (Flora Masson, Robert Boyle, London, 1914, p. 302).

P. 142. "the famous Dutchess of Mazarine"
This is Hortensia, third daughter of Lorenzo Mancini, a powerful Italian nobleman who had married Cardinal Mazarine's sister. A year after her marriage to the Duke of Mazarine, the Cardinal, at his death, left his niece a fortune. In 1675, at the age of twenty-nine, as a great beauty, she came to England with the purpose of occupying the position of the Duchess of Portsmouth (mistress of Charles II). She lived with her relative, Mary of Modena, at St. James's Palace; later — upon the abdication of King James — at Kensington Square and Chelsea, where her home was the resort of the fashionables. She became a close friend of Charles's daughter, the Countess of Sussex. The beautiful adventuress died without a penny in 1699 (Gramont's Memoirs, ed. Allan Lea, New York, 1906, p. 17, n.; in the Prefatory Notice to the Memoirs, p. 5, the Duchess of Mazarine is referred to as "that queen of beauty").

P. 143. "Sir John Suckling's description ...."
From "A Ballad upon a Wedding," lines 61-63.

P. 143. "Dr. Donne ...."
This quotation is from "Of the Progresse of the Soule: The Second Anniversary," lines 244-246.

P. 143. "Nitor splendens Pario marmore purius."
From Horace, Odes, I, xix, 5-6; splendens should be splendentis.

Book IV, Chapter 4

P. 149. Squire Western
Western has a predecessor in the Squire Badger of Fielding's early comedy, Don Quixote in England. Tradition identifies Sophia's father with a Sir Paulet St. John, who was a "downright country squire," and who died in 1780 at the age of seventy-six. Cross thinks that Fielding also had in mind Carew Hervey Mildmay (died in 1784), who was loud-mouthed and fanatically fond of hunting, and who owned one estate near East Stour, the novelist's childhood home and the scene of his hunts, and another near Glastonbury (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 166-167). It is risky, however, to point out particular prototypes for Western, because he must have had many among the old English country squires of that day. Furthermore, the stage type of the booby squire contributed a great deal to the portrait in Tom Jones.

Pp. 149-150. the Brutuses, ingratitude and parricide

The younger Brutus is Marcus Junius Brutus (79-42 B. C.), who had supported the cause of Pompey against Caesar in spite of the fact that the former had had Brutus's father treacherously put to death, and who, after being pardoned by Caesar, was appointed by him governor of Cisalpine Gaul and when his term as city praetor expired was promised the governorship of Macedonia. He was a member of the conspiracy against Caesar (he is the Marcus Brutus of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar). The elder Brutus is Lucius Junius Brutus, the patrician, one of the first two consuls (509 B.C.). He took an important part in expelling the Tarquinii from Rome. His two sons became deeply involved in a plot to restore the dynasty and so were sentenced by their father and executed in his sight. The term parricide was used among the Romans for the murder of any relative with whom one is united by ties of blood or duty (sometimes also for treason and rebellion). Apparently this verbal usage had persisted into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for Codrington, translating (1654) Iustine XXXII, 405, says: "The Father being compelled parricide, did make sad all the Court with the execution of his Son," and Clarendon in his History of the Rebellion (1674), XI, 244, speaks of "unparalleled murder and parricide" (examples given by NED). The word is used also by Otway's Castalio in regard to the death of his brother, Polydore, for which he is unintentionally responsible (The Orphan, act V, line 448).

P. 151. "I find I must take care of my partridge mew."
Mew — "a. A coop or cage in which animals, esp. fowls, were confined for fattening. Obs. b. Now dial. a breeding-cage" (NED).

Pp. 151-152. "If the case be put of a partridge" — legal jargon.
Ferae naturae — "A term used to designate animals not usually tamed, or not regarded as reclaimed so as to become the subject of property. Such animals belong to the person who has captured them only while they are in his power; for if they regain their liberty his property in them instantly ceases, unless they have animum revertendi, which is to be known only by their habit of returning ...."
Nulla bona (L. Latin, no goods) — the return made to a writ of fieri facias by the sheriff, when he has not found any goods of the defendant on which he could levy.
Nonsuit — "The name of a judgment given against the plaintiff when he is unable to prove a case, or when he refuses or neglects to proceed to the trial of a cause after it has been put at issue, without determining such issue" (definitions from Bouvier's Law Dictionary, revised by Francis Rawle, St. Paul, Minn., 1914).

Book IV, Chapter 5

P. 152. "Parva leves capiunt animos"
From Ovid, De Arte Amandi, I, line 159.

P. 153. "crying roast-meat"
To cry roast meat is a proverbial phrase meaning "to be foolish enough to announce to others a piece of private luck or good fortune" (NED).

Book IV, Chapter 6

P. 160. "the famous trunk-maker in the play-house"
See Addison, Spectator, no. 235: "Of late years there has been a certain person in the upper gallery of the playhouse, who, when he is pleased with anything that is acted upon the stage, expresses his approbation by a loud knock upon the benches of the wainscot, which may be heard over the whole theatre. This person is commonly known by the name of the Trunk-maker in the Upper Gallery." Fielding writes in The Champion for May 31, 1740: "The great judge of dramatic poetry, formerly when plays were acted here, was called the Trunk Acorn, from an oaken cudgel which he had in his hand, with which he used to signify his applause: his name was afterwards corrupted into Trunk Acre, and thence into Trunk Maker."

P. 161. "the LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR ... in his court"
This, says Elton (History of English Literature 1730-1780, New York, 1928, I, 198), is "an echo, as it were, from Butler's Sermons." Cross writes (in The History of Henry Fielding, II, 173): "It was Lord Hardwicke, the friend of Sanderson Miller, that Fielding had in mind" here.

P. 162. George Seagrim
The surname which Fielding gives Black George may be a sort of revenge upon one Randolph Seagrim, with whom he became involved in a law suit in 1742 (see Cross, op. cit., I, 376, n.).

P. 163. "Congreve well says ...."
The Old Batchelour, Act IV: Sharper, on meeting Belinda and Araminta in St. James's Park: "There is in true Beauty, as in Courage, somewhat, which narrow Souls cannot dare to admire."

Book IV, Chapter 9

P. 177. "Mr. Freke ... the next edition of his book."
See the note to p. 63 of this volume. The book to which Fielding refers is "An Essay to show the Cause of Electricity and why some things are Non-Electricable," published in October, 1746. The second edition appeared in November of the same year (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 105-106).

Book IV, Chapter 10

P. 178. "Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno."
Juvenal, Satires, VI, 165.

P. 179. "her mittimus to Bridewel"
Mittimus — (Law) "A warrant under the hand and seal of a justice of the peace or other proper officer, directed to the keeper of a prison, ordering him to receive into custody and hold in safe-keeping, until delivered in due course of law, the person sent and specified in the warrant" (NED).

P. 180. "Ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris."
Juvenal, Satires, XI, 154.

Book IV, Chapter 11

P. 183. "in foro conscientiae"
That is, in the forum of conscience.

P. 188. "As Sir Richard Steele says ...."
The Conscious Lovers, Act V, Scene 3: "Bounty! When Gluttons give high Prices for Delicates, they are prodigious bountiful" (Sealand).

Book IV, Chapter 12

P. 192. Stoic philosophy: love a disease
The Stoics taught that love is a disease of the soul inasmuch as it originates from the disorder or disturbance of lust; the fountainhead of all disorders is intemperance, or a revolt from the guidance of the mind and right reason (see Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, III and IV).

Book IV, Chapter 13

P. 196. "... says Mr. Osborne, ... a woman is 'the most cowardly of all the creatures God ever made.'"
If the one to whom Fielding refers is Francis Osborne, the closest approximation that I have been able to find to this statement is the following in Advice to a Son, Part II, 22: "It remaining equally rare, to find a starched and Complemental Man wise, as a woman Valiant ...." The sentiment attributed to him by Fielding does, however, fit in well with Osborne's views on women.

P. 196. "Aristotle, in his Politics ...."
The passage, which occurs in the Politica, I, 13, is translated by Benjamin Jowett: "... the temperance of a man and of a woman, or the courage and justice of a man and a woman, are not, as Socrates maintained, the same; the courage of a man is shown in commanding, of a woman in obeying" (Works of Aristotle, ed. W. D. Ross, X).

P. 196. "Mr. Bayle ... imputes this ... to their violent love of glory ...."
Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) was a French philosopher and man of letters, a great critic in his time. His works include Pensées diverses sur la comète de 1680, Nouvelles de la république des lettres, and his masterpiece, the Dictionnaire historique et critique. The sentiment which Fielding mentions occurs, not in the article on Helen, but in the one on Henry IV: "That historian [Mezeray] fancies, that the ladies love brave men, because they suppose them no less vigorous in the exercise of love, than in war. He does not judge rightly of their motives; glory or vanity are the great springs of their prepossession in behalf of the brave. Monluc observes, that women would rather chuse to be widows, than see their husbands return from the army in good health, but loaded with shame and dishonour" (the Historical and Critical Dictionary, ed. M. Des Maizeaux, London, 1734, III, 415b, n.).

P. 196. "... introduces the heroine of his Odyssey ... assigning the glory of her husband as the only source of her affection towards him."
Probably the reference is to the Odyssey, I, 343-344 (the first speech of Penelope), which is translated thus by Butcher and Lang (London, 1900, p. 12): "So dear a head do I long for in constant memory, namely, that man whose fame is noised abroad from Hellas to mid Argos." In another passage (XIX, 127-128) Penelope says also: "If but he might come and watch over this my life, greater and fairer thus would be my fame!"

Book IV, Chapter 14

P. 198. "he 'sat like Patience on a monument smiling at grief'"
Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, II, iv, 117-118.

P. 203. "I shall adhere to a rule of Horace, by not attempting to describe it, from despair of success."
Ars Poetica, 149-150.

Book V, Chapter 1

P. 205. "the limitation which an ancient critic hath set to the drama ...."
Horace, Ars Poetica, 189.

P. 205. "a maxim of our law, viz. Cuicunque in arte sua perito credendum est"
"He must be trusted who has a thorough understanding of his own art."

P. 205. "the world have paid too great a compliment to critics, and have imagined them men of much greater profundity than they really are."
Cf. Pope's Essay on Criticism, Part I. With the passage "... are now become the masters, and have the assurance to give laws to those authors ...," compare especially lines 106-111 of the Essay, Part I.

P. 207. "Inventas, qui vitam excoluere per artes."
Virgil, Aeneid, VI, 663: "Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes."

P. 208. "the inventor of ... the English pantomime."
"John Rich (1692-1761), a celebrated harlequin, and manager of Covent Garden Theatre from 1732 to 1761. The success of his pantomimes and vaudeville performances, whilst the more legitimate drama was neglected, roused the indignation of Fielding, and he never lost an opportunity of attacking these 'spurious' performances" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 208. Horace
The lines quoted are from the Ars Poetica, 359-360.

P. 209. "as long as any of Oldmixon"
John Oldmixon (1673-1742) was a poet, critic, dramatist, and historian. Pope satirizes him in The Dunciad, II, 283-290.

P. 209. "as Mr. Pope observes ..."
The Dunciad, I, 93-94:

> While pensive poets painful vigils keep,
> Sleepless themselves, to give their readers sleep.

P. 209. "a late facetious writer"
Richard Steele, in the Tatler, no. 38: "It is to be noted, that when any part of this paper appears dull, there is a design in it."

Book V, Chapter 2

P. 211. "liberavi animam meam"
"I have freed my soul (or mind)."

P. 211. "the second book of Tully's Tusculan Questions ...."
In the Tusculan Disputations — so called from the author's villa at Tusculum, where the discussions are supposed to have taken place — Cicero is concerned with teaching us to despise death, to endure and overcome pain by virtue, to find refuge in philosophy as the medicine of the soul, and to regard virtue as the only good and as in itself sufficient for a happy life. The second of the five books is devoted to a consideration of the endurance of pain, and to showing that pain is not an evil.
Notice how the following doctrines from the rather stoical Tusculan Disputations furnish the ancient, as Shaftesbury and Chubb the modern, background of Square's philosophy: (1) Fortitude is the foremost of all the virtues (III, xvii, 36); (2)"the seeds of virtue are inborn in our dispositions," but are corrupted or prevented from ripening by bad habits and beliefs (III, i, 2); (3) "For distress is loathsome, wretched, execrable, to be avoided so to speak with full spread of sail and reach of oars," and the wise man is not susceptible of distress (III, xi, 25); (4) virtue and wisdom are allied with right reason: "virtue itself can best be summed up as right reason," and "The opposite then of such virtue is viciousness" (IV, xv, 34); and finally, "... reason, the mistress and queen of the world, stands close at hand and mounting by her own strength and pressing onward she becomes completed virtue. It is man's duty to enable reason to have rule over that part of the soul which ought to obey" (II, xxi, 47; the translations are from J. E. King's version, New York, 1927). Undoubtedly Shaftesbury himself was much influenced by such classical writings; but not many of the deists were learned enough to have had their views deeply coloured by the ancients: their stimulation came rathe from the new insistence upon the sufficiency of the reason, and their ap-

parently derivative phraseology was largely cant.

P. 212. "that proverb in which Solomon speaks against evil communication"
The warning referred to is not in Solomon's Proverbs, but in I Corinthians, xv, 33: "Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners."

Book V, Chapter 4

P. 222. "Thus the poet sings sweetly of Troy."
The lines quoted are from Virgil's Aeneid, II, 196-198.

Book V, Chapter 5

P. 226. "the great Delta of the Greeks"
The fourth letter of the Greek alphabet: Δ.

P. 230. "like Mr. Constant in the play"
Ned Constant is a character in Vanbrugh's The Provoked Wife (1697), the former lover of Lady Brute, with whom he intrigues after her marriage to the sullen knight.

P. 231. "a species of the KALON"
Kalon is a Greek word meaning the beautiful (it frequently implies moral as well as aesthetic beauty).

Book V, Chapter 6

P. 237. "the famous Spartan theft"
Plutarch's "Life of Lycurgus," XVIII: "The boys make such a serious matter of their stealing, that one of them, as the story goes, who was carrying concealed under his cloak a young fox which he had stolen, suffered the animal to tear out his bowels with its teeth and claws, and died rather than have his theft detected" (Plutarch's Lives, with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin, London and New York, 1914, I, 261-263).

Book V, Chapter 7

P. 241. "Venienti occurite morbo"

Persius, Satires, III, 64.

P. 241. "the great Doctor Misaubin"
Dr. Misaubin was a French physician living in St. Martin's Lane, who, though he held a license to practice, was regarded as a quack. Like Dr. Ward, he was famous for a "litle peel" which was supposed to cure most diseases. Fielding had burlesqued him in the farce The Mock Doctor (1732), which, upon its publication, he also, in response to the public's appreciation of the satire, dedicated to the physician (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, I, 131-132). Misaubin is referred to again in III, 199.

P. 241. "say with Cato ...."
These are the final lines of the soliloquy which forms Scene 1 of the fifth act of Addison's Cato: a Tragedy.

P. 243. "One of the Roman poets ... likens our leaving life to our departure from a feast."
Horace refers to one "... who, contented with his portion of days, leaves the banquet like one who has had his fill" (Satires, I, i, 118, trans. Lonsdale and Lee).

Book V, Chapter 8

P. 252. "as Ovid ... expresses himself ..."
De Arte Amandi, I, 151: "Et, si nullus erit pulvis, tamen excute nullum."

Book V, Chapter 9

P. 256. "Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam chari capitis?"
From Horace, Odes, I, xxiv, 1-2.

Book V, Chapter 10

P. 259. "many observations of Ovid ...."
Ars Amatoria, III, 762-768, et al.

P. 262. "the answer which one Cleostratus gave ...."
I have been able to find no trace of the source of this incident, nor any clue as to the identity of the person, unless he be the astronomer of Tenedos who lived about the year 500 B.C. and is said to have introduced the familiar zodiac signs

(Theophrastus, De Signis Pluviarum, ed. Baid, 1541, p. 239, and Pliny, Historiae Naturalis, II, 8), or the Argive ambassador mentioned by Xenophon (History of Greece, I, iii, 13).

P. 262. "Aristotle ... laws of Pittacus"
Politica, II, 12.

P. 262. "Speluncam Blifil ...."
Virgil, the Aeneid, IV, 165-166:
Speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem
Deveniunt.
"To the same cave come Dido and the Trojan chief" (trans. Fairclough).

Book V, Chapter 11

P. 264. "Mr. Pope's period of a mile"
"This is an allusion to Pope's satirical reference to Bishop Hoadley's long-winded and involved sentences, in the Satires of Dr. Donne Versified, where in matters of diction Pope commends

'Swift, for closer style;
But Ho**y for a period of a mile' iv. 72, 73"

(note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 264. "-- Procul, O procul este, profani;
Proclamat vates, totoque absistite luco."
Virgil's Aeneid, VI, 258-259. The words are those in which the herald warns away wicked persons, at the beginning of the rites of the Eleusinian mysteries.

Book V, Chapter 12

P. 269. "like King Porus, sullenly submitting to the conqueror"
When Porus, ruler of a part of northern India, was brought before his conqueror, Alexander, and urged to make some request for himself, he would ask only that he be treated as a king, despite Alexander's reply that this little a king must do for his own sake alone. Porus maintained that all was included in what he had asked. Alexander, influenced both by admiration of his character and by political considerations, treated him magnificently. (See Plutarch's "Life of Alexander"; Arrian, The Expedition of Alexander, 5, 8, etc.)

P. 269. "the plains of Arcadia"
Arcadia was a mountainous district in the Peloponnesus, regarded as the ideal region of rural contentment.

P. 272. "like Mr. Bayes's troops"
This refers to an episode in a clever satire on the heroic drama entitled *The Rehearsal* (1671), by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham. In Act II, Scene 5, after his eight soldiers have all killed one another, Bayes, the crazy poet-playwright, says: "Hold, hold [*To the Musick. It ceaseth.*] Now here's an odd surprise: all these dead men you shall see rise up presently, at a certain Note that I have made, in *Effaut flat*, and fall a Dancing. Do you hear, dead men? remember your Note in *Effaut flat*. Play on. [*To the Musick.*] Now, now, now. [*The Musick play his Note, and the dead men rise ....*]" (reproduced from the edition of Felix Lindner, no. 9 in Dr. Hoops' series, Englische Textbibliothek, Heidelberg, 1904).

Volume II

Book VI, Chapter 1

P. 1. "that surprising sect ... mentioned by the late Dr. Swift ...."
An Argument against Abolishing Christianity: "For it is confidently reported, that two young Gentlemen of real Hopes ... who, upon a thorough Examination of Causes and Effects, and by the meer Force of natural Abilities, without the least Tincture of Learning, having made a Discovery, that there was no God, and generously communicating their Thoughts for the Good of the Publick, were ... broke for Blasphemy" (from the paragraph which formally presents the first advantage to be derived from abolishing Christianity).

P. 1. "those who, some years since, ... alarmed the world, by shewing that there were no such things as virtue or goodness ..., and who deduced our best actions from pride ..."
These remarks may refer generally to any philosophers who accepted the Hobbist doctrine that self-preservation was the basic motive in all of men's actions. They certainly refer specifically to Bernard de Mandeville, author of The Fable of the Bees (the nucleus of which was published first in 1705, and in 1714 with Remarks and An Inquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue), who asserted that self-love is the source of progress, and that the higher, the moral virtues — which are mere hypocrisy and grow out of the desire to be superior to the brutes — "are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride."

P. 2. "the finders of gold"
That is, the alchemists.

P. 3. "that there is in some (I believe in many) human breasts, a kind and benevolent disposition, which is gratified by contributing to the happiness of others ...."
Notice the Shaftesburian colour of this passage.

P. 4. "as Shakespeare phrases it ...."
Much Ado about Nothing, II, i, 216: "That puts the world into her person, and so gives me out."

P. 5. "idea ... which ... such blind man once entertained of the colour red ...."
Locke's Essay, III, iv, 11. See the note to Tom Jones, I, 139.

Book VI, Chapter 2

P. 6. "To sum the whole ...."
Notice the effect of her environment and knowledge of the world on Mrs. Western; in connexion with this passage, observe Fielding's contrast, in the first lines on p. 14 of this volume, between love in the city and love in the country.

P. 9. "'... you know I am a woman, brother; and it signifies nothing what I am.'"
This remark reflects a prevailing attitude of the time; but it is also humorously satirical, since Mrs. Western is a woman of strong political views.

P. 10. "King Alcinous, in Mr. Pope's Odyssey, offers his daughter to Ulysses."
In the original, VII, 314-315; in Pope's translation, VII, 402-404.

P. 11. "Politico-Peripatetic school of Exchange-Alley"
I.e., the London business men walking up and down. Peripatetic derives from Aristotle's habit of walking about while teaching in the Lyceum.

P. 12. "a perfect Croat; but as these have their use in the army of the empress queen"
The "empress queen" is Maria Theresa, who ruled Austria-Hungary from 1740 to 1780, and whom England was supporting in the 1740's. Slavonia constitutionally belonged to Hungary, but Austrian influence predominated in Croatia-Slavonia during most of the eighteenth century. The Croats -- a branch of the Slavonic race -- had at one time been strong warriors, and at another famous for their maritime skill and power; and until the fourteenth century the Croatian nobles had made much trouble for their political rulers.

Book VI, Chapter 3

P. 16. "Mr. Hogarth's poor poet ...."
The reference is to an admirable plate (1736) depicting "The Distrest Poet" painfully composing a poem on riches in a garret.

Book VI, Chapter 4

P. 20. "the Gazette"

Probably the London Gazette, published on Tuesdays and Fridays since 1666 (R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 359).

Book VI, Chapter 5

P. 21. "It is the production of a young lady of fashion ...."
Cross suggests that this passage is a tribute to Fielding's sister Sarah, whose novel David Simple was "evidently" the one that Sophia was reading (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 173). Cross also calls attention to Mrs. Western's correction of Sophia's mistake in calling the author a "lady of fashion."

Book VI, Chapter 6

P. 27. "O Gemini, my dear lady"
Gemini was apparently a common mild oath in those days as it was only a few years ago with us. It is used by Congreve.

Book VI, Chapter 7

P. 30. "It was well remarked ... that misfortunes do not come single."
See note to Volume I, p. 130.

Book VI, Chapter 9

P. 39. Strephon and Phillis
These are traditional type names for pastoral lovers and occur repeatedly in poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and even earlier.

P. 40. "Or as when two gentlemen ... are cracking a bottle together at some inn or tavern at Salisbury, if the great Dowdy ... should rattle his chains ...."
This inn was said by readers to be "'The Three Lions,' afterwards called 'The Three Golden Lions,' on the corner of Winchester Street and the Market, long since displaced by a bank. ... the performer is said to have been one of the three sergeants at mace ... Samuel Smith, Daniel Pearce, and Thomas Biddlecombe .... according to 'The Salisbury Journal' for

January 18, 1762, Pearce was the merry ghost" (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 167).

P. 43. "Seneca ... hath so well handled this passion"
In Dialogorum, III, Ad Novatum, "De Ira."

P. 43. "the famous story of Alexander and Clytus"
Clitus was a friend and foster-brother of Alexander, and had saved the king's life in battle. In a fit of drunkenness Alexander killed him with a javelin because, at a feast, he preferred Philip's actions to those of his son (Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, ed. Peck, New York, 1898, p. 372).

P. 43. "observing ... that anger makes a man dry."
This observation is based upon the old psychology of humours. According to Ruth Anderson in Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays, the University of Iowa Press, 1928, anger was connected with the humour choler, which was supposed to be least in quantity, hot, dry, yellow or red, and bitter (pp. 103 and 34). Thus such passions as anger and sorrow — the former is always mingled with the latter (p. 85) — drive spirits and heat to the heart, which quench and choke natural heat, and cause the body and its organs to become cold and dry (p. 84; also: "The Elizabethan thought of choler ... as having lost much of its heat, ... and therefore as being unduly dry and bitter" — p. 37).

Book VI, Chapter 10

P. 45. "'I'll sooner ge my esteate to the zinking fund, that it may be sent to Hannover to corrupt our nation with.'"
Sinking funds were established by the British Government in 1716, 1786, and 1875 for reducing the National Debt. In the Act 3 George I (1716) c. 7 it is termed "a General Yearly Fund" (NED).
There was a widespread and very bitter popular resentment against English money's going to the King's German mistresses and to Hanoverian soldiers. It broke out in the Parliamentary debates of the early 1740's, and when Pitt, in one of his most effective speeches (December 10, 1742), attacked the practice of paying Hanoverian troops with English money, he violently declared that it was evident that England was "considered only as a province to a despicable electorate" (Parl. Hist., XII, 1033-6; DNB, article on Pitt, by George F. R. Barker).

P. 46. "he would qualify him to run for the gelding's plate."
The NED cites this passage as an example of the mixture of

one sense, now obsolete, of the word gelding, meaning "a gelded person, a eunuch," and the most prevalent, modern meaning, "a gelded or castrated animal, esp. a horse."

Book VI, Chapter 12

P. 54. "the gigantic poet Lee"
"Nathaniel Lee (1655-1682), one of the dramatists, whose inflated magniloquence and screaming bombast Fielding had burlesqued with so much spirit in his Tragedy of Tom Thumb" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

Book VII, Chapter 1

P. 66. "St. James is more likely to occur to our thoughts than Drury-Lane."
St. James is, of course, St. James Palace, the court. Drury-Lane, Catherine (formerly Brydges) Street, was one of the famous theatres in London.

P. 67. "as Aristotle calls it, an imitation ..."
In De Poetica, 6, Aristotle calls tragedy an imitation.

P. 67. Shakespeare
The lines quoted are from Macbeth, V, v, 24-26; "storms and struts" should read "struts and frets."

P. 67. "a poem called the DEITY"
"A poem by Samuel Boyse (1708-1749) which first appeared in 1739. Other editions were published in 1742 and in 1752. Boyse was one of the early associates of Dr. Johnson; and Pope acknowledged that there were lines in his Deity which he should not have been ashamed to have written" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 69. Garrick
Garrick (1717-1779), the greatest actor of his time — many say of all time — was a personal friend of Fielding's. He played in a production of the latter's Mock Doctor, to which he wrote an epilogue, and as Millamour in The Wedding Day (1743). In contrast to Cibber's declamatory style, his was animated and utterly natural. Many stories are told of his ability to move the audience and of the remarkable mobility of his countenance. He made a number of important reforms in matters of stage arrangement, costume, etc., and was a successful theatre-manager.

P. 70. "so did Scipio the Great and Laelius the Wise, according to Horace, many years ago: nay Cicero reports them to have been 'incredibly childish.'"
Horace, Satires, II, i, 71-74 (Francis's translation):

> When Scipio's virtue, and, of milder vein,
> When Laelius' wisdom, from the busy scene,
> And crowd of life, the vulgar and the great,
> Could with their favourite satirist retreat ....

Cicero, De Oratore, II, 6: "I have often heard my father-in-law say that Laelius, whose son-in-law he was, had the habit of spending some time in the country with Scipio, where they took their revels and gave themselves up to some childish sports, as soon as they were at liberty to leave the city, to escape the ties which detained them there."

P. 70. "the famous nil admirari of Horace"
Epistles, I, vi, 1 (in modern English, "to wonder at nothing"); the phrase and its context are translated thus by Canon Howes:

> To look at nothing with admiring eyes, —
> In this short precept, dear Numicius! lies
> The art of human happiness compressed, —
> The one sure way to make and keep us blest.

P. 70. "the honest face of Mr. William Mills"
"Mr. William Mills [died in 1750], the son of Mr. John Mills, who in private life was an ornament to society, and in his professional character very respectable, and who died in 1736, was an actor as frequently seen, though not so much admired, as any of his most celebrated contemporaries. ... His great industry and application, together with his inoffensive character, gained him many friends and no enemies."
In a part of Fielding's writings which is not, we are told, "amongst the published works of that author," the novelist recommends Mills to the town for a benefit performance (to be given August 21, 1750; the actor died three days earlier). Fielding there refers to him as "honest Billy Mills" and praises warmly his amiable disposition and his character in private life (Thomas Davies, Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq., Boston, 1818, I, 33-34).

Book VII, Chapter 2

P. 72. "The world, as Milton phrases it, lay all before him"
Paradise Lost, XII, 646.

Book VII, Chapter 3

P. 74. "'as Socrates, not asking your opinion, but only informing you of mine'"
This method was, of course, directly contrary to Socrates's practice.
Alcibiades (c. 450-404 B.C.) was an Athenian general and politician, and student of Socrates. He was noted for his vanity and his debaucheries; he was a treacherous opportunist, and was responsible for his country's downfall.

P. 75. "'as a separate league with the French would be to the interest of the Dutch'"
Since the conclusion of the war of 1672-73 (Dutch against French and English), which had been extremely unpopular in England, and since the marriage in 1677 of William of Orange with Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, friendship between the Dutch and the English had been growing. In the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) England exerted her influence on behalf of the Hollanders. Such relations, advantageous as they were to the small Dutch States, which alone would have been an easy victim of French aggression, were not impaired until 1751 and did not completely give way until 1780.

P. 75. Bailey's Dictionary
Nathan or Nathaniel Bailey (d. 1742), English philologist and lexicographer, compiled in 1721 An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, which was highly esteemed in his day and later formed the basis of Johnson's dictionary. It went through thirty editions (including the one of 1802). Bailey also published several other works: a spelling book, translations of Erasmus's Colloquies, Selections from Ovid and Phaedrus, Antiquities of London, etc.

P. 79. "'Have I not told you what Plato says on that subject?'"
See the Laws, IV (Dialogues of Plato, trans. Jowett, Oxford, 1892, V, 100).

P. 79. "'O more than Gothic ignorance'"
Notice the characteristic eighteenth-century attitude toward the Middle Ages: Gothic = barbaric (cf. Millamant's words about Sir Wilfull Witwoud in The Way of the World, Act IV: "Ah Rustick, ruder than Gothic").

Book VII, Chapter 6

P. 89. "a rule of Horace ..."
The Ars Poetica, 149-150:

... et, quae
Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit ...

"He abandons whatever he despairs of being able to explain

clearly."

Book VII, Chapter 8

P. 100. "like the old woman in Quivedo, injure the devil by any false accusation"
Francisco Gómez de Quevedo (1580-1645) was a Spanish satirist and humorist of the first rank, as well as a poet. His two best-known works are Pablo de Segovia, the Great Sharper (a tale of roguery) and The Visions (1627). Fielding here refers possibly to the latter part of the episode "Hell Reformed" in The Visions: "After him followed another dwarf devil, complaining that he had been a matter of six years about so infamous a rascal, that there was no good to be done with him, for the bad as well as the better sort were scandalised at his conversation. 'A mighty piece of business,' cried the gouvernante. 'And could you not have gotten him a handsome office or employment? That would have made him good for something and you might have done his business'" (trans. Roger L'Estrange, in The Choice Humorous and Satirical Works, ed. Charles Duff, New York, "[1926]," p. 285).

P. 102. "a glouting humour"
I.e., sour, sullen, sulking.

Book VII, Chapter 9

P. 109. "that strange prodigious creature man"
Lord Rochester's (John Wilmot's) "A Satyr against Mankind" (or "Satire against Man"), line 2:
One of those strange prodigious Creatures Man.

Pp. 109-110. "like Punchinello in a puppet-show, kicked all out before him"
Punchinello (the contracted form is Punch) is the hero of a popular puppet show of Italian origin, which first appeared in England a little before the accession of Queen Anne. Punch, in a fit of jealousy, strangles his infant child, and, when his wife, Judy, interferes, kills her also. Then he flings the two bodies into the street. Punch is arrested and shut up in prison, but escapes. The remainder of the play "is an allegory, showing how the light-hearted Punch triumphs over (1) Ennui, in the shape of a dog, (2) Disease, in the disguise of a doctor, (3) Death, who is beaten to death, and (4) the Devil himself, who is outwitted" (E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 886). The "kicking out" probably refers to the "triumphs."

Book VII, Chapter 11

P. 119. "they were marching against the rebels, and expected to be commanded by the glorious Duke of Cumberland"
"The late rebellion" is the Rebellion of 1745, the last attempt of the Stuarts to regain the English throne. Charles Edward, son of the Old Pretender, had landed in Scotland and gathered a following among the discontented people of that country. He defeated the English at Prestonpans and advanced to Derby. But failing to find support in England, he was outnumbered and compelled to retreat. He was defeated at Culloden in the following year, 1746.
The Duke of Cumberland led one of the English armies against the Young Pretender (especially at Culloden).

P. 120. "gauntlope"
Our word gauntlet is a corruption (by assimilation with gauntlet meaning glove) from gantlope. But the NED gives no example of its being preserved in the old spelling (those offered go back to 1704 and 1676).

P. 120. "halberd"
The word denotes the rank of a sergeant ("Old halberd is a familiar term formerly used in the British army, to signify a person who had .. risen to the rank of a commissioned officer" — Stocqueler, Military Encyclopedia, 1853; quoted in the NED).

P. 120. "the custom among the Greeks and Romans, of indulging, on certain festivals and solemn occasions, the liberty to slaves ...."
This liberty was granted during the Saturnalia, or festival of Saturn.

Book VII, Chapter 12

P. 122. "the battle of Tannieres"
Possibly a misprint for Tavieres, a village which, in the latter part of May, 1706, was the scene of the crushing defeat of the French by the English under Marlborough, who by clever manoeuvering had tricked the French.

P. 123. Homer on the Greeks and Trojans
The Iliad, trans. Pope, III, 8-14:

> With shouts the Trojans rushing from afar,
> Proclaim their motions, and provoke the war.
> So when inclement winters vex the plain
> With piercing frosts, or thick-descending rain,

To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
With noise, and order, through the midway sky;
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war descends upon the wing.
But silent, breathing rage, resolved and skill'd
By mutual aids to fix a doubtful field,
Swift march the Greeks: the rapid dust around
Darkening arises from the labor'd ground.

P. 124. Madame Daciere
Anne Lefèvre Dacier (1654-1720) was a famous French scholar and translator of the classics. She was highly thought of by Fielding. Her prose translation of the Iliad, which appeared in 1699, made Homer known for the first time to many French literary men and won for her the place that she occupies in the literature of her country; it was followed nine years later by her version of the Odyssey.

P. 124. Corderius
This is the Latinized form of the name used by Mathurin Cordier (about 1480-1564), a famous French schoolmaster (Calvin was among his pupils at Paris). He was the author of several books for children, the best known being the Colloquia (Scholasticorum libri quator), which went through numerous editions and was used for three centuries after his time.

P. 125. "O monsieur, on ne parle pas de la religion dans la guerre."
"O sir, one does not speak of religion in war."

P. 125. "'Smoke the prig ...'"
Smoke — "to observe, take note of" (NED).

Book VII, Chapter 13

P. 133. "nemo repente fuit turpissimus"
Juvenal, Satires, II, 83: "None become at once completely vile" (trans. Gifford).

P. 138. "a hearty buss"
Buss — a kiss or smack.

Book VII, Chapter 14

P. 140. "the battle of Dettingen"
Dettingen is a village in Bavaria, on the Main, which was the scene of a decisive battle on June 27, 1743, when the English,

Hanoverians, and Austrians, under the command of George II of England, routed the numerically superior French forces.

P. 141. "in sensu praedicto"
"In the sense mentioned before."

Book VII, Chapter 15

P. 147. "the quomodo"
Quomodo -- literally "in what manner or way," here simply "manner."

Book VIII, Chapter 1

P. 152. M. Dacier
André Dacier (1651-1722), whose wife was mentioned on page 124 of this volume, was a well-known French classical scholar. He edited Pompeius Festus and Verrius Flaccus, and translated Horace and works of Aristotle, Sophocles, Plutarch, and others. The passage to which Fielding refers no doubt occurs in Dacier's translation (now very rare) of Aristotle's Poetics, in one of the following sentences: "This is probable, however, only in Agathon's sense, when he speaks of the probability of even improbabilities coming to pass" (18, 4); "A likely impossibility is always preferable to an unconvincing possibility" (24, II); or "The Improbable one has to justify either by showing it to be in accordance with opinion, or by urging that at times it is not improbable; for there is a probability of things happening against probability" (25, III; the translations are from the Works of Aristotle, ed. Ross, XI). The footnote, "It is happy for M. Dacier that he was not an Irishman," refers to Irish bulls, of which M. Dacier's blunder is an example.

P. 153. "as Mr. Pope would have it, because Ulysses told a set of foolish lies to the Phaecians, who were a very dull nation"
Prefixed to Pope's translation of the Odyssey was a "discourse" by Broome, which consisted of extracts from Bossu, a famous French critic. Among them was the following: "The Phaecians indeed had heard him tell the story of his adventures; and in this fabulous recital consisted all the advantage that he could derive from his presence; for the art of war which they admired in him, his undauntedness under dangers, his indefatigable patience, and other virtues, were such as these islanders were not used to. All their talent lay in singing and dancing, and whatsoever was charming in a quiet life. And

here we see how dextrously Homer prepares the incidents he makes use of. These people could do no less, for the account with which Ulysses had so much entertained them, than afford him a ship and a safe convoy, which was of little expense or trouble to them." (Actually, the Phaecians make plans to return Ulysses to his own country well before he has told them of his wanderings.) Pope accepted Bossu's interpretation. In a letter to Broome, dated April 3, 1724, he wrote: "Some additional criticisms on your verse relating to the character of the Phaecians have occurred to me, which confirm Bossu's opinion [i.e., that Homer mentions the 'dullness' or rude condition of the Phaecians to account for 'their credulity in believing the fabulous recitals of Ulysses'] out of Homer himself."

P. 153. Polypheme and Circe
Odyssey, IX: Polyphemus, cannibal prince of the Cyclops, a race of one-eyed monsters, devours six of Ulysses' men, and the others devise a plan of blinding him in order to escape from his cave.
For the story of Circe, see the last episode in the Odyssey, X.

P. 153. "the rule prescribed by Horace, to introduce supernatural agents as seldom as possible"
Ars Poetica, 191-192.

P. 154. Shaftesbury on invocation of a muse
A Letter concerning Enthusiasm, section I, paragraph 2: "You must certainly have observ'd our Poets under a remarkable Constraint, when oblig'd to assume this Character [of suppliant to a muse]: and you have wonder'd, perhaps, why that Air of Enthusiasm [he refers to invocations], which sits so gracefully with an Antient, shou'd be so spiritless and aukard in a Modern."

P. 154. "the author of Hudibras"
Hudibras, I, i, 645-664. See note to Tom Jones, I, 137.

P. 154. Hippocrene and Helicon
Helicon -- a mountain of Boeotia, sacred to Apollo and the Muses.
Hippocrene -- a spring on Mt. Helicon, which was sacred to Apollo and the Muses and hence was regarded as the source of poetic inspiration; it was supposed to have been produced by the stamping of the hoof of the horse Pegasus.

P. 155. Aristotle
The phraseology here is not Aristotle's; but the passage is probably an allusion to the insistence upon probability in the De Poetica, chapters 9, 25, and especially 24.

P. 155. Herodotus on Xerxes, and Arrian on Alexander
The Anabasis of Alexander, relating the history of Alexander the Great from his accession, is the most important original work of Arrian, a Greek historian and philosopher, born about 96 A.D. (he also wrote an Indica).
Herodotus (c. 484-425 B.C.), also a Greek, is called the Father of History.
In 483 B.C. Xerxes prepared with elaborate care and ingenuity an expedition to punish the Greeks for their interference in the Ionian rebellion and the victory of Marathon. At first he was victorious on every occasion. But a stratagem of Themistocles induced him, against warning, to attack the Grecian fleet under unfavourable conditions. He was overwhelmingly defeated and forced to retire, later suffering still other defeats. (See the History of Herodotus, VII, 21 — IX, 107.)

P. 155. Agincourt and Narva
Agincourt, a village of northern France, is famous for the victory won there on October 25, 1415, by Henry V of England over the French.
Narva, a seaport and fortress on the Narova River in Russia, was the scene of a terrible defeat of the Russians by Charles XII of Sweden on November 20, 1700.

P. 156. Dr. Drelincourt and the ghost of Mrs. Veale; the ghost of George Villers
"Charles Drelincourt (1595-1669), the author, among other works, of Consolations against the Fear of Death (1651), to a fourth edition of the English translation of which was prefixed Defoe's Apparition of one Mrs. Veal (1716)" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).
The third reference is to Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England (1702-1704), I, 89-91, where the historian recounts the story of the appearance of Villiers' ghost, predicting the death of his son unless the latter should be able to overcome the people's malice.

P. 156. "that incredulous hatred mentioned by Horace"
Ars Poetica, 188. The phrase in the original is "incredulus odi." Francis translates the passage thus:

> For while upon such monstrous scenes we gaze
> [e.g., Medea's slaughter of her children],
> They shock our faith, our indignation raise.

P. 156. "a Trajan and an Antoninus, a Nero and a Caligula"
Trajan — emperor from 98 to 117 A.D.; Antoninus — Pius, 138-161 A.D., or possibly Marcus Aurelius, 161-180 A.D.; these emperors were noted for the beneficence of their reigns.
Caligula — 37-41 A.D., a royal madman, murderer, and robber,

who conducted a reign of terror.
Nero — 54-68 A.D., notorious for his stupidity and relentless cruelty; he was responsible for the deaths of his rival Britannicus, his mother, his innocent divorced wife, Octavia, his former tutor and friend, Seneca, and numerous others. His reign was marked by the first persecution of a religious sect, the Christians, in Roman history (on the ground of treason). Callous to the needs of his people, he wasted money lavishly while they suffered.

P. 157. "we are told by Suetonius ...."
Lives of the Twelve Caesars, "Nero," latter part of Chapter XXXIV: "Yet he was never afterwards able to bear the stings of his own conscience for this atrocious act, although encouraged by the congratulatory addresses of the army, the senate, and people. He frequently affirmed that he was haunted by his mother's ghost, and persecuted with the whips and burning torches of the Furies," etc. (trans. Alexander Thomson).

P. 158. "a man whose penetrating genius ...."
Ralph Allen, of course. See note to Tom Jones, I, ix.

P. 158. "----- Quis credet? nemo Hercule! nemo;
Vel duo, vel nemo."
"Who will believe it? no one, by Hercules! no one;
Either two, or no one."

P. 159. "Should the best parts of the story of M. Antoninus be ascribed to Nero, ... whereas both these being related to their proper agent, constitute the truly marvellous."
Notice Fielding's rejection of the supernatural as the marvellous, and his limitation of the latter to the sphere of human character. It will be remembered that his intention was to treat his reader to a feast of human nature.

P. 160. "Tyburn ... those talents which ... enable them to make an heroic figure when they are there."
The glorification of the gangster which was so prevalent and so much lamented a few years ago in America hardly compares with the popular glorification of the criminal in eighteenth-century England. The culprits were expected to conduct themselves as heroes on the gallows and were praised for so doing. Says Rosamond Bayne-Powell: "Fellow-prisoners from the galleries shouted to them to hold up their heads and kick off their shoes, when the cart moved away from the gallows. A dashing highwayman or a popular murderer would hold a large reception in the prison. Men and women of fashion often crowded to see them, artists came to paint their portraits, delicate viands and choice wines were brought to them. When the dread procession formed outside the prison on Monday

morning a question of precedence [i.e., among the prisoners] often arose" (Eighteenth-Century London Life, New York, 1938, pp. 220-221).

P. 160. "a genius of the highest rank observes in ... the Bathos ..."
Alexander Pope is the author of the Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry (1728).

P. 161. "For want of a portion of such faith ...."
This passage refers to a personal experience of Fielding's. The "young lady of quality" is Lady Charlotte in Fielding's play The Modern Husband, a type of the "extravagant, pleasure-mad, but essentially sound-at-heart" young woman of eighteenth-century London society. The play itself, which had been "advertised for the stage as far back as the autumn of 1730" (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, I, 119), but was not performed until early in 1732, was intended as an exposée of a vice prevalent, Fielding thought, in high life — namely, a husband's selling of his wife to enable them to keep up their style of living. It was hissed on its first night, although continued, in slightly revised form, for fifteen times (Cross, ibid., I, 120); it was never revived. The lady "very eminent for her understanding" is Fielding's second cousin, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the most intellectual woman of the age. To her he had submitted the MSS both of this play and of his first comedy, Love in Several Masques, and she had approved the purpose in The Modern Husband.

Book VIII, Chapter 2

P. 163. "Angels are painted fair to look like her," etc.
The quotation is from Thomas Otway's Venice Preserved, I, i, 337-340. Fielding substitutes her for the you in the original.

Book VIII, Chapter 3

P. 168. "half a crown for phlebotomy"
Phlebotomy — blood-letting by opening a vein.

Book VIII, Chapter 4

P. 169. "the barber of Bagdad, nor he in Don Quixote not excepted"
The Barber of Bagdad, called the Silent, is the amusing hero of a story in The Arabian Nights. Talkative and officious,

he makes a general nuisance of himself. When called upon to shave a man hurriedly, he takes time out to make astrological observations. He talks when he should not; and on the other hand, when in danger of his life, he irrationally fails to tell his identity. See the stories covering nights 160-167. The barber in Don Quixote is the Master Nicholas, friend and companion of the priest, who helps the latter in disposing of the romances which have unsettled Quixote's mind (Chapters VI and VII), and who, in disguise, aids the party in rescuing the knight from his self-imposed penance (Chapters XXVI-XXIX), etc.

P. 170. the Latin phrases
Festina lente — "Make haste slowly": Suetonius, Lives of the Twelve Caesars, "Augustus Caesar," Chapter XXV. The words were a saying of Caesar's and were adopted as the motto of several English noblemen.
Non omnia possumus omnes — "Some limit must there be to all men's faculties" (trans. T. B. Harbottle): Virgil, Eclogues, VIII, 63.
Non tanti me dignor honore — "I deem myself unworthy of so much honor."
Tondenti gravior — "Too heavy for shaving."

P. 171. the Latin phrases
Hinc illae lacrymae — "Hence those tears" (Terence, Andria, I, i, 99; Cicero, Pro Caelio, XXV, 61; Horace, Epistolae, I, xix, 41).
Hiatus in manuscriptis — "A gap in the manuscripts."

P. 172. "lucus a non lucendo"
See Quintilian, De Institutione Oratoria, I, vi, 34: "Lucus, quia, umbra opaces, parum luceat": "Lucus, a grove, is so called, because, from the dense shade, there is very little light there" (trans. T. B. Harbottle, who adds: "Hence the phrase, 'Lucus a non lucendo'"). The phrase was one very familiar to men of the eighteenth century. Swift uses it in a poem called "The Answer (to 'Paulus' by Mr. L---y)," line 115:

As lucus comes à non lucendo.

And Addison refers to it in Spectator, no. 59: "One Tryphiodorus .... composed an Odyssey, or epic poem, on the adventures of Ulysses, consisting of four-and-twenty books, having entirely banished the letter A from his first book, which was called Alpha (as lucus a non lucendo) because there was not an Alpha in it. His second book was inscribed Beta, for the same reason."

P. 173. "thof he was a bye blow"
I.e., a bastard.

Book VIII, Chapter 5

P. 174. the Latin expressions
Doctissime tonsorum — "O thou most learned of barbers."

Ago tibi gratias, domine — "I give thee thanks, O master."
Proh deum atque hominum fidem — "By the faith of gods and men!" (Terence, Andria, I, v, 2; Heauton Timorumenos, I, i, 9; Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, V, xvi, 48). Fielding quotes this Latin sentence also in The Champion for April 19, 1740.
Ille optimus omnium patronus — "That best patron of all."

P. 175. the Latin expressions
Casu incognito — "incognito."
Pauca verba — "a few words."
Non si male nunc & olim sic erat (i.e., erit) — "If 'tis ill now, it will not also be so hereafter" (Horace, Odes, II, x, 17, trans. Lonsdale and Lee).

P. 175. "amoris abundantia ergo te"
"Abundance of love toward you" (Cicero, Epistolae ad Familiares, I, ix, 1; et al.).

P. 175. "the rebellion in the North"
See the note to p. 119 of this volume.

P. 178. the Latin expressions
Proh deum atque hominum fidem — see the note to p. 174 above.
Tempus edax rerum — "Time the devourer of (all) things" (Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV, 234).

P. 178. "two volumes of Tom Brown's works"
"Tom Brown (1663-1704), described by Addison as 'of facetious memory,' was the author of numerous dialogues, letters, poems, and other miscellanies, first collected in 1707. His brilliant adaptation of Martial's epigram, Non amo te, Sabidi, 'I do not love thee, Dr. Fell,' whilst a student at Christ Church, Oxford, will probably outlast his other works, which are more remarkable for their scurrility than their wit" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

Book VIII, Chapter 6

P. 180. "Ars omnibus communis"
"Art [or skill] common to all."

P. 181. the Latin expressions
Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem — "Beyond all words, O Queen, is the grief thou bidst me revive" (Aeneas to Dido, Aeneid, II, 3, trans. Fairclough).
Vis unita fortior — "Power is strengthened by union." Cf. our proverb "In union there is strength."

P. 181. "that cruel separation of the united fraternities"

The "fraternities" of barber and surgeon were originally combined — a condition of which the familiar red and white barber's pole, symbolic of the winding of a bandage around the arm previous to blood-letting, is a relic. The Barber-Surgeons' Company was founded in 1461 and re-incorporated in 1540. "In 1745 it was decided that the businesses or trades of barber and surgeon were really independent of each other and the two branches were separated; but the ancient company, or guild, was allowed to retain its charter, and its hall still stands in Monkwell Street, Cripplegate. The last barber-surgeon in London is said to have been one Middleditch, of Great Suffolk Street in the Borough, who died 1821" (E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 94).

P. 183. "nil desperandum est Teucro duce & auspice Teucro" Horace, Odes, I, vii, 27, translated thus by Wrangham:

... nor, gallant hearts, despair —
Teucer your guide leaves nought to fear.

Book VIII, Chapter 7

P. 187. "it doth not become such a one as you to twitter me" I.e., "to twit me"; this usage of the word twitter is now dialectic (NED).

Book VIII, Chapter 8

P. 189. "... brother to the great preacher Whitefield ... the pernicious principles of Methodism ..."
Whitefield (1714-1770) came under the influence of the Methodists while he was at Oxford, and enthusiastically joined their group; later, however, he separated from them because he disagreed with their views on the doctrine of election. His clear, powerful voice and his eloquence, fervour, and dramatic action attracted enormous crowds. One authority on eighteenth-century life remarks: "The fierce Calvinistic preaching of George Whitefield, strongly reprobated by Wesley himself, had terrified many people out of their senses. Fifteen people, it was said, went mad after one of Whitefield's sermons, and we often hear of people shrieking, crying, and falling down as dead" (Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 294).
Wesley himself remained by profession a member of the Church of England; but his enthusiasm stirred up prejudice, and the violent fanaticism of some of his followers brought an extreme contempt upon the movement. Methodism had originated at Oxford in 1729; but Wesley's band met formally for the

first time in London in 1738 — about eleven years before Tom Jones came out. Within a few months the new sect was growing apace.

P. 189. "she had put herself to the expence of a long hood"
The early Methodists were remarkable for their plainness and simplicity of dress, but they had no uniform attire peculiar to their sect. Wesley, in 1737, while urging plainness, warned his followers against any affectation or singularity in dress or manner, and he repeated such admonitions endlessly. He admired the simplicity of the Quakers, but expressly repudiated their distinctiveness (M. Simpson, Cyclopaedia of Methodism, Philadelphia, 1880, p. 511). The mere fact, however, that continual advices were necessary, indicates that some of the more fanatical groups may have tried to adopt some such costume as Fielding here mentions.

P. 190. Dowling
The antiquarians assert that Dowling was identified with a lawyer named Stillingfleet (see H. Hatcher, Old and New Sarum, or Salisbury, 1843, p. 602). "To go a step further," says Cross (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 168), "he was probably the Robert Stillingfleet to whom Fielding conveyed his property at East Stour on its way to Peter Walter, another scoundrel."

P. 192. "for he is a timborsome man every body knows"
I.e., a timid man; timborsome is a variant of timorsome, which is an equivalent of timorous (NED).

Book VIII, Chapter 9

P. 195. "it was now mid-winter"
Cf. Tom Jones, I, 260, where Fielding says, "It was now a pleasant evening in the latter end of June ...." The period of time which intervenes between the actions recounted in the two chapters is, according to the headings of the various books, only three weeks and about five days.

P. 195. "the moon ... with a face as broad and as red as those of some jolly mortals ...."
Using this passage and the one on p. 294 of this volume, where Fielding explicitly states that the moon was "then at the full," Mr. Dickson and Mr. Cross have calculated the exact date of this portion of the novel as November 29, 1745; they maintain that "Fielding, in his aim to give an air of perfect reality to 'Tom Jones,' actually consulted an almanac for his sun and moon; that he constructed the dramatic action throughout on a time-scheme as carefully prepared as if he were writ-

ing a play" (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 190).

P. 196. "the story from the Spectator ...."
This remark probably refers to the story, in Spectator 241, which Addison retails from one of Scudery's romances. As Addison tells it, however, the lovers agreed merely to set aside a half hour in the day during which to think exclusively of each other, not necessarily to look at the moon.

P. 196. the Latin expressions
Per devia rura viarum — "Through the various villages of [or along] the highways."
Interdum stultus opportuna loquitur — according to W. G. Benham in Book of Quotations, Proverbs, and Household Words, London, 1924, "Interdum stultus bene loquitur" is a proverb and means "Sometimes a fool speaks well."

P. 197. "the Lord Harry knows ..."
Probably Partridge's expression means "the devil knows ..." Old Harry is the devil. The NED says that by the Lord Harry is a form of swearing, of doubtful origin. In The Old Batchelour, Act II, Congreve has Sir Joseph Wittoll remark, "... by the Lord Harry I'le stay no longer ..." and again, "By the Lord Harry Mr. Sharper he's as brave a Fellow as Cannibal...."

P. 197. the Latin expressions
I prae, sequar te — "Go ahead, I'll follow you."
Infandum regina jubes renovare dolorem — see the note to Tom Jones, II, 181.

P. 197. "the moon and her horns"
The pointed ends of the crescent moon (Fielding's words on p. 195 would indicate that the moon at this time was full).

P. 197. "'Did ever Tramontane make such an answer?'"
Tramontane was a word applied to the north wind because it came from over the mountains (trans + montem) and to the north pole star because it was visible beyond the Alps. The word came, therefore, to be applied to a person dwelling beyond the mountains, and then was generalized to mean an outsider, stranger, or barbarian. In Congreve's The Old Batchelour, Act IV, Belinda exclaims: "O such Outlandish Creatures! such Tramontanae, and Foreigners to the Fashion, or anything in practice!"

P. 198. "and if I believed she was in the moon, according to a book I once read, which teaches that to be the receptacle of departed spirits"
This may be a reference in fun to Ariosto's Orlando Furioso, Canto XVIII, where the moon is regarded as the great depository of misspent time, fruitless tears, etc., or, more prob-

ably, to Paradise Lost, III, 460 ff. On the other hand, it may be a serious reference to the actual belief of some group. Many Europeans believe that infirmities can be transferred to the moon (Frazer, The Golden Bough, London, 1913, IX, 53-54). Among primitive races, says one authority, "the sun and moon themselves may be conceived of as the abode of departed souls" (Marian Rolfe Cox, in An Introduction to Folk-lore, London, 1904, pp. 194-195).

P. 199. "the miller with three thumbs, who is now alive, is to hold the horses of three kings, up to his knees in blood." This is possibly, but not probably, a pun on miller as meaning (according to Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, ed. Partridge, London, 1931) a murderer, in reference to the bloodshed in the rebellion.

P. 200. "The cause of King George"
George II (1727-1760). See the note to Tom Jones, II, 119.

P. 200. Briareus
Briareus was a hundred-armed giant, referred to in Virgil's Aeneid, VI, 287.

P. 200. "the tall long-sided dame, mentioned by Hudibras; that many-eyed, many-tongued, many-mouthed, many-eared monster of Virgil"
Butler, Hudibras, Part II, Canto i, lines 45-76 ("tall long-sided dame," line 45).
Virgil, Aeneid, IV, 181-183.

P. 202. Ward's pill
Dr. Joshua Ward, whom Fielding himself consulted during his last illness in 1754, was notorious for a pill and a drop which were "one of the principal subjects of writing and conversation" in that day (1737; Pope, Imitations of Horace, II, i, 183, n., quoted in the Shakespeare Head edition). The medicines apparently were composed, in the main, of antimony and arsenic, and were rumored to have "cured as many people as they had killed. The quack was known as 'Spot Ward,' because of a claret-coloured mark on his left cheek, or because his remedies were supposed to go direct to the spot they were intended to hit" (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, III, 14).

Book VIII, Chapter 10

P. 205. "that picture drawn by Otway in his Orphan"
The Orphan was a play by Thomas Otway (1652-1685), written in blank verse. Produced in 1680, it was very successful. In Act II, Scene i, lines 246-256, Chamont, brother of Monimia,

describes an old woman whom he meets and who bids him hasten to save his sister:

> I spy'd a wrinkled hag, with age grown double,
> Picking dry sticks, and mumbling to herself;
> Her eyes with scalding rheum were gall'd and red;
> Cold palsy shook her head, her hand seem'd wither'd,
> And on her crooked shoulders had she wrapt
> The tatter'd remnant of an old strip'd hanging,
> Which served to keep her carcass from the cold, etc.

This passage is again mentioned in Tom Jones, III, 81.

P. 205. "Indeed if this woman had lived in the reign of James the First, her appearance alone would have hanged her, almost without any evidence."
The whole era from about 1430 onwards to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of witch persecution. Trials for witchcraft were, however, most numerous in England in the seventeenth century. James I (ruled 1603-1625) himself wrote a prose treatise, Daemonologie (1597), denouncing sorcery and urging the civil power to stringent means of suppression. Indeed, "At Cambridge in 1620, while the crusade against witchcraft was in full vigour, they had a separate place of confinement for this class of offender, called the Witches' Gaol ..." (Atkinson and Clarke's Cambridge, 1897, p. 93, quoted in Hazlitt, Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore, London, 1905, II, 644).

Book VIII, Chapter 11

P. 212. "a village of Somersetshire, called Mark"
Mark is a village nine miles northwest of Glastonbury (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 172).

P. 221. "a fair at Hindon"
See the map appended to the notes. As Cross points out (op. cit., II, 174), Hindon was but a few miles north of Fielding's former home at East Stour.

P. 221. Justice Willoughby of Noyle
This justice, says Cross, "was one of the Willoughbys of West Knoyle in Wiltshire, presumably the Richard Willoughby, Esq., who put down his name for a copy of the 'Miscellanies'" (op. cit., II, 174; the information was taken by Cross from R. C. Hoare, The Modern History of Wiltshire, 1822, I, 41).

P. 222. "bound Frank in a recognizance"
Recognizance is a legal term meaning "an obligation of record entered into before some court of record or magistrate duly authorized, making the performance of some act [such] as duly

appearing in court, keeping the peace, or payment of a debt, the condition of nonforfeiture" (Webster's New International Dictionary, Springfield, 1934).

P. 222. Lord Justice Page
The incident which Partridge recounts of the "Lord Justice" actually happened. "The prisoner was tried," says Mr. J. Paul de Castro, "... at Salisbury Assizes by Sir Francis Page, ..., who presided over the Western Circuit [Fielding later joined the same circuit] during the Summer Assizes of 1737, and for the last time in 1739, dying in 1741" (Notes and Queries, 11 S., X, Sept. 26, 1914).

Book VIII, Chapter 12

P. 225. Leadenhall market
Leadenhall Market, one of the best-known marts around London, sold herbs, baize and wool, leather, and — chiefly — meat. Its supply of the last-mentioned commodity made it "the wonder of foreigners, who did not duly consider the carnivorous nation to which it belongs" (quoted by R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 116).

P. 225. "that great evil, as it is apprehended to be by several writers ...."
E.g., Horace, Satires, I, i, 44: "What beauty is there in a piled up heap of money," and George Herbert, Avarice: "Money, thou bane of bliss and source of woe," etc. (Stevenson, Home Book of Quotations, New York, 1934).

P. 225. Partridge's Latin
Irritamenta malorum — i.e., "the provoker of evils," or, in Biblical phraseology, "the root of evil" (see I Timothy, vi, 10).
Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum — Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, 140 (trans. T. B. Harbottle):

> The earth yields up her stores, of every ill
> The instigators.

P. 226. "the Friars"
This is a term familiarly used for the Blackfriars, a precinct lying between Ludgate Hill and the Thames, the site of several good houses, and the residence of a number of eminent people and noblemen (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, II, 79, and I, 193-197).

Pp. 227-228. the gambling terms
Cull — "a dupe, silly fellow, simpleton, fool; a man, fellow, chap" (NED); "a man, honest or otherwise .... a goodnatured,

quiet fellow .... While in cant cull is neutral, in dialect it is always pejorative (simpleton, fool)" (Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, ed. Partridge, London, 1931).
Queer cull — queer means in thieves' cant "bad, worthless" (NED).
Rum cull — "a rich fool, easily cheated, particularly by his mistress" (Grose).
Run a levant — a levant is "a bet made with the intention of absconding if it is lost" (NED).
Make a bold brush — i.e., a hasty departure; to brush means "to run away" (Grose).

Book VIII, Chapter 13

P. 233. "This surgeon, whose name ... began with an R ...."
Fielding alludes to John Ranby (1703-1773), who became principal sergeant-surgeon to the royal household in May, 1743. He was also Fielding's own physician. The Doctor had a large surgical practice, and wrote several medical tracts. He is described in the Dictionary of National Biography (article by D'Arcy Power) as "a man of strong passions, harsh voice, and inelegant manners." (As Cross points out in The History of Henry Fielding, II, 195, n., there is a minor anachronism in Fielding's reference, since Ranby, who was not born until 1703, is represented as being consulted by the Man of the Hill as early as 1681.)

P. 237. "tempus edax rerum"
Ovid, Metamorphoses, XV, 234: "time the devourer of (all) things."

P. 237. Horace
The quotation is from the Satires, II, vii, 86-88.

P. 240. "and then proceeded to relate what we shall proceed to write, after we have given a short breathing time ..."
Observe the characteristic directness of Fielding's technique and its effect in making the novel seem like the mere narration of a real history. Notice also the utter leisureliness of this passage.

Book VIII, Chapter 14

P. 243. "the Duke of Monmouth was landed in the west"
The Duke of Monmouth arrived June 11, 1685, off Lyme Regis. He led a rebellion against James II which was easily suppressed. The King's treatment of him, however, though he hardly de-

served mercy, and of the other rebels, greatly prejudiced James's cause.

Pp. 243-244. the Papist threat in the reign of James II
This account is true. When James made the necessity of resisting Monmouth a pretext to enlarge his army, he put in many Catholic officers. A Catholic convert was permitted to retain his London benefice, and another Catholic (John Massey) was named Dean of Christ Church. A Mr. Walker was Master of University College at Oxford; and Magdalen College was converted into a Catholic seminary. Changes on the bench were made to suit James's purposes. The ecclesiastical commission referred to is that of July, 1686, of doubtful legality, to suspend clergymen who did not do as James wanted them to do; he was preparing to use the commission against the Church of England.

P. 244. "in favour of the son of that very King James"
The Old Pretender (1688-1766), son of King James, was still alive at this time and was proclaimed king by Charles Edward when the latter landed (it was the Young Pretender, however, who led the rebellion, which his father regarded with but languid interest and little hope of success).

P. 245. "varium & mutabile semper"
Virgil, Aeneid, IV, 569 (trans. Conington):
(A woman's will)
Is changeful and uncertain still.

P. 245. "join the Duke at Bridgewater .... the battle of Sedgemore"
"The Duke" is the Duke of Monmouth. Bridgwater, on the River Parrett in Somersetshire, is about thirteen miles west and slightly south of Glastonbury (see the map appended to the notes); Sedgmoor extends along the River Brue; here, within three miles of Bridgwater, occurred the Battle of Sedgemore, on July 5, 1685: Monmouth's troops were hopelessly routed by those under Lord Feversham, and Monmouth himself fled for his life, to be captured, however, three nights later. Fielding's birthplace and the site of Allworthy's mansion are close to Bridgwater and the historic battlefield.

P. 245. "the Exeter road"
Exeter is a county town in southeastern Devonshire, on the River Exe, and seat of a cathedral.

P. 245. "the town of Collumpton"
Collumpton is a town in Devonshire, about eleven miles northeast of Exeter.

P. 246. "Taunton gaol"

Taunton is in the central southwestern part of Somersetshire, at the foot of the Quantock Hills.

P. 246. Wellington
Wellington is a very old market town about seven miles southwest of Taunton.

Book VIII, Chapter 15

P. 248. "valets a louage"
I.e., "hired man-servants." (Apparently à louage means "at or on hire.")

P. 251. "as an excellent writer observes, nothing should be esteemed as characteristical of a species, but what is to be found among the best and most perfect individuals of that species."
This is a basic idea in Shaftesbury's philosophy. See Characteristics, 1727, III, 213, 216-219, 221 ("Miscellaneous Reflections," Chapter 2), and II, 92-93 ("Inquiry concerning Virtue," Part I). The conception was coloured by the old Greek ideal of the normal.

Book IX, Chapter 1

P. 255. "... the ingenious author of the Spectator was principally induced to prefix Greek and Latin mottos ...."
Fielding is merely having fun here. His allegation is possibly, but not probably, true. The prefixing of mottoes to essays and the like was a prevailing fashion in those days. For Addison's discussion of the reasons for his practice, see the first six paragraphs of no. 221 of the Spectator.

P. 255. "such imitators as Rowe was of Shakespeare"
Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) was an English dramatist and miscellaneous writer. Several of his tragedies proved to be rather popular. He was a friend of Pope, and became poet laureate in 1715. Rowe was the first modern editor of Shakespeare (1709); he collected a number of Shakespearean traditions, divided the plays into acts and scenes logically, prefixed lists of the dramatis personae, etc. A play of his, Jane Shore, was admittedly "written in imitation of Shakespeare's style"; the Prologue asserts (lines 17-18, 21-24):

> In such an age, immortal Shakespeare wrote,
> By no quaint rules, nor hampering critic taught;
> ...
> Our humble author does his steps pursue;

He owns he had the mighty bard in view,
And in these scenes has made it more his care
To rouse the passions than to charm the ear.

Of this play Pope remarked that the only resemblance to Shakespeare that he could detect was the single borrowed line, "And so good morrow t'ye, good master lieutenant!" (Dictionary of National Biography, article on Rowe).

P. 255. "as Horace hints some of the Romans were of Cato"
Epistles, I, xix, 12-14. Both Cato the elder (b. 234 B.C.) and Cato the younger (Marcus Cato, 95-46 B.C.) were remarkable for their virtue and the austerity of their characters. It is probably the later one, however, to whom Horace refers; he was a Stoic philosopher, and killed himself at Utica.

P. 256. "Scribimus indocti doctique passim."
Horace, Epistles, II, i, 117.

P. 256. "... and it is the apprehension of this contempt, that hath made us so cautiously avoid the term romance ..."
In the Preface to Joseph Andrews, his earlier novel, Fielding regarded the comic prose epic and the comic romance as the same form.

P. 256. "which one of the wittiest of men regarded only as proceeding from a pruritis, or indeed rather from a looseness of the brain."
This certainly sounds like a reference to Swift; but although the great satirist makes several disparaging remarks about romances (Works of Swift, ed. W. A. Eddy, New York, 1933, II, 62, 66, 273), I have not been able to find in his works such a sentiment as the one expressed here.

P. 257. "genius, without a rich vein of which, no study, says Horace, can avail us."
Ars Poetica, 409-410.

P. 258. "... and yet some few men of wit have agreed with all the dull fellows in the world, in representing these two to have been seldom or never the property of one and the same person."
Locke, e.g., writes: "And hence perhaps may be given some reason of that common observation, that men who have a great deal of wit, and prompt memories, have not always the clearest judgment or deepest reason: for wit lying most in the assemblage of ideas, and putting those together with quickness and variety, wherein can be found any resemblance or congruity, thereby to make up pleasant pictures and agreeable visions in the fancy; judgment, on the contrary, lies quite on the other side, in separating carefully, one from another, ideas, wherein can be found the least difference, thereby to

avoid being misled by similitude, and by affinity to take one thing for another"(Of Human Understanding, II, xi, 2). Addison heartily accepts Locke's disquisition on wit, adding only that "every resemblance of ideas is not that which we call wit, unless it be such an one that gives delight and surprise to the reader; these two properties seem essential to wit, more particularly the last of them," and that there is another source of wit quite contrary to what Locke mentions, "For not only the resemblance, but the opposition of ideas does very often produce wit ..." (Spectator no. 62). Pope expresses Locke's idea in the Essay on Criticism, I, 80-85:

> Some, to whom Heav'n in wit has been profuse,
> Want as much more to turn it to its use;
> For wit and judgement often are at strife,
> Though meant each other's aid, like man and wife.
> 'Tis more to guide than spur the Muse's steed;
> Restrain his fury, than provoke his speed.

P. 258. "they are not sufficient for our purpose without a good share of learning; for which I could again cite the authority of Horace ..."
Ars Poetica, 304-322.

P. 259. "the ingenious Mr. Miller"
"Philip Miller, the author of the Gardener's and Botanist's Dictionary, which first published in two folio volumes, in 1731-7, attained such popularity that a seventh edition appeared in 1759" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition). He was, says Cross (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 174), "sometime foreman of the Botanical Gardens at Chelsea."

P. 259. "the judicious action of a Garrick, or a Cibber, or a Clive ...."
Garrick — see the note to Tom Jones, II, 69.
Cibber — Susannah Maria Cibber, daughter of a Mr. Arne, and wife of Theophilus, son of Colley Cibber. Her first public appearance was as a singer at the Haymarket Theatre in an opera in 1732, two years after her marriage. She captivated audiences by her singing and later entranced them with the naturalness and power of her acting.
Clive — Catherine or Kitty Raftor (1711-1785), wife of a barrister, George Clive, from whom she soon separated. She possessed a great natural gift of vivid impersonation.

P. 259. "e converso"
I.e., "on the other hand."

P. 260. "The author who will make me weep, says Horace, must first weep himself."
Ars Poetica, 102-103.

Book IX, Chapter 2

P. 261. "Anglicè"
I.e., "in (plain) English."

P. 261. Mazard Hill
Cross thinks that Tom must have climbed one of the southern and lower summits of the famous Malvern Hills, which was not far from Little Malvern. "In perfect harmony with his custom, Fielding called the hill 'Mazard' because its crest resembled a mazard or bowl, and then gave it a philosophic recluse in place of the legendary hermits with which Malvern story abounds" (The History of Henry Fielding, II, 183).

P. 266. "in the same manner as Orpheus and Eurydice marched heretofore"
Orpheus was to walk in front of Eurydice and not look back until he had reached the upper world.

Book IX, Chapter 3

P. 267. "such strict chastity as was preserved in the temple of Vesta"
The priestesses of Vesta, goddess of fire and the domestic hearth, were required to maintain a scrupulous chastity. Any violation of their vows was punished among the Romans by burial alive.

P. 271. "as two-handed a wench"
Two-handed — colloquial for "big, bulky, strapping" (NED).

P. 271. Thalestris
Thalestris was a queen of the Amazons, warlike women of Asia Minor who often engaged in contests with the Greek heroes. According to one authority she "is said to have been attracted by the fame of Alexander the Great, and travelled from her country to see him" (P. Harvey, Oxford Companion to English Literature, Oxford, 1933, p. 774); and according to another she "went with 300 women to meet Alexander the Great, under the hope of raising a race of Alexanders" (E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 1068).

Book IX, Chapter 4

P. 277. "To bear malice is more like a Frenchman than an Englishman."

About the only thing French that comes in for praise in Tom Jones is French cookery (see III, 176 and 211). The numerous derogatory comments on and references to this people which both Fielding himself and his characters make have their basis in the mutual hostility existing between the two countries at that time. The antagonism still persisted after the peace of 1748.

Book IX, Chapter 5

P. 279. "that eating poem of the Odyssey"
Fielding uses the term eating poem probably because of the numerous descriptions of meals and banquets which occur there, or possibly because Penelope's suitors almost ate Ulysses out of home and wealth.

P. 281. "Cremona fiddle"
"A violin of the greatest excellence; so called from Cremona, in Lombardy, where in the 17th and early 18th centuries lived violin makers of world-wide notoriety, such as Andrea Amati and Antonio, his son, Antonius Stradivarius his pupil, and Guiseppe Guarnerius the pupil of Stradivarius. Cremona has long since lost its reputation" (E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p. 297).

P. 281. Pasiphae
Through the spite of Venus, Pasiphaë was inspired with a mad passion for a beautiful bull, which she gratified by means of a wooden cow which Daedalus made for her (see Ovid's Metamorphoses, VIII, 132 and 136, and IX, 736 and 740).

P. 282. "spicula & faces amoris"
"Darts and firebrands (or weapons) of love." For spicula see Amorum, I, i, 22; De Arte Amandi, II, 708; et al. For faces see Metamorphoses, I, 461; X, 512; et al.

P. 282. Seraphina
See the note to Tom Jones, I, 28. Seraphina as the name of a lovely lady possibly derives from seraphim (via the form seraphin); or it may represent a combination of the singular form, seraph, and the diminutive suffix -ina.

P. 283. "dignus vindice nodus"
"A difficulty worthy of such a protector" (Horace, Ars Poetica, 191).

P. 284. "a kind of Dutch defence"
William Platt (in Notes and Queries, 6th S., III, June 4, 1881) contributes a bit which may throw light on Fielding's

Dutch defence when he says of another phrase, Dutch courage, "This is an ironical expression, dating its origin as far back as 1745, and conveys a sneering allusion to the conduct of the Dutch at the battle of Fontenoy. At the commencement of the engagement the onslaught of the English allied army promised victory, but the Dutch betook themselves to an ignominious flight."

Book IX, Chapter 6

P. 285. "Veritas odium parit."
"Truth is the mother of hatred" (Ausonius, Ludus Septem Sapientum, "Bias," 3, trans. T. B. Harbottle).

P. 286. "Sed hei mihi non sum quod fui."
"But alas for me, I am not what I have been."

P. 256. "Amici sumus."
"We are friends."

Book IX, Chapter 7

P. 293. Hereford
The county town of Herefordshire, on the River Wye, 144 miles west-north-west of London.

Volume III

Book X, Chapter 1

P. 1. "perhaps ... as learned in human nature as Shakespeare ... perhaps ...no wiser than some of his editors."
Rowe (1709), Pope (1723-25), L. Theobald (1733 or 34), T. Hanmer (1743-44), and Warburton (1747) all issued editions of Shakespeare. Warburton's and especially Pope's were the most notoriously bad. Theobald's was a worthwhile contribution to scholarship.

P. 2. Epicure Mammon, Sir Fopling Flutter, Sir Courtly Nice
"The first of these is a wealthy knight in the Alchemist of Ben Jonson. 'Epicure Mammon,' says Charles Lamb, 'is the most determined offspring of the author. It is just such a swaggerer as contemporaries have described old Ben to be. What a "towering bravery" there is in his sensuality!'
"In Sir Fopling Flutter, the hero of Etherege's comedy of The Man of Mode, we have in the words of Sir Edmund Gosse 'the conscientious beau in his meridian' — one of the most finely and sympathetically drawn of all the fops in the gallery of coxcombs. Sir Courtly Nice, the hero of the comedy of that name, by John Crowne, which was played in 1685, is a coxcomb of coxcombs, a creature of fatuity and affectation, as is evidenced by his declaration, when challenged, 'It goes against my stomach horribly to fight such a beast. Should his filthy sword but touch me, 'twould make me as sick as a dog'" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 3. "a servile imitation of Dido"
See the Aeneid, I and IV.

P. 3. "If thou dost delight in these models of perfection, there are books enow written to gratify thy taste"
Fielding here refers to the popular romances and to Richardson's novels.

P. 3. "but as we have not, in the course of our conversation, ever happened to meet with any such person, we have not chosen to introduce any such here. ... nor do I, indeed, conceive the good purposes served by inserting characters of such angelic perfection, or such diabolical depravity, in any work of invention ..."
Notice the two reasons for Fielding's truth to nature: (1) the desire to be realistic and (2) the desire to be morally useful and helpful.

P. 3. Juvenal
The verse is from Juvenal's Satires, IV, 2-3.

P. 4. "quas humana parum cavit natura"
"Which human nature too little bewares of" (Horace, Ars Poetica, 353).

P. 4. "... but to hate them for the mischiefs they have already brought on those we love."
Those we love — notice how Fielding lives with his characters.

Book X, Chapter 2

P. 5. "now thieves and ruffians are awake, and honest watchmen fast asleep: in plain English, it was now midnight"
The night watch of Fielding's time was notorious for its inefficiency; one of his chief accomplishments as a magistrate was the improvement of it.

P. 7. "reading one of Mrs. Behn's novels"
"Aphra Behn (1642-1689), novelist, dramatist, and poet. Her Histories and Novels including Oronooko, were first published in 1698, the eighth edition being printed in 1735, with a Life of the author by Chas. Gildon. Her Works (6 vols.), which are all more or less coarse, were edited by M. Summers (1915)" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

Book X, Chapter 3

P. 12. "my Worcestershire perry, which I sold them for champagne"
Perry is "a beverage resembling cider, made from the juice of pears expressed and fermented" (NED).

P. 13. "he was really born a gentleman, though not worth a groat"
Notice the satire on a contemporary attitude. See Tom Jones, II, 186, and III, 220.

P. 13. "his long journey from Chester in one day"
Chester is the county town of Cheshire, located on the River Dee and about 179 miles northwest of London.

P. 14. "a screech-owl had given him such a serenade at his window, that he leapt in a most horrible affright from his bed"
According to a still prevalent superstition, the hooting of

an owl portends death to someone in the immediate neighborhood where the screeching is heard. For a discussion of the owl as an evil omen in literature and popular imagination, see W. C. Hazlitt, A Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore, London, 1905, II, 468-470.

P. 16. "a little sack-whey, made very small and thin"
A beverage made with sack, which is "a general name for a class of white wines formerly imported from Spain and the Canaries" (NED).

P. 18. "the celebrated Mrs. Hussey"
Mrs. Hussey, a fashionable sacque- and mantua-maker, who lived in the Strand, was said by her great nephew John Thomas Smith to be an intimate friend of Fielding's. In Nollekens and His Times (ed. Whitten, New York, 1920, I, 105) he tells this story: "One day Mr. Fielding observed to Mrs. Hussey, that he was then engaged in writing a novel, which he thought would be his best production; and that he intended to introduce in it the characters of all his friends. Mrs. Hussey, with a smile, ventured to remark, that he must have many niches, and that surely they must already be filled. 'I assure you, my dear Madam,' replied he, there shall be a bracket for a bust of you.' Some time after this, he informed Mrs. Hussey, that the work was in the press; but immediately recollecting that he had forgotten his promise to her, went to the printer, and was [in] time to insert [this allusion to her]."

Book X, Chapter 4

P. 19. "must have been witness to the fourberie"
French; usually spelt fourbery in English, meaning "a piece of deception; a fraud, trick, imposture" (NED); the word is now obsolete.

P. 19. "... none but tradesmen and grasiers ever call here"
Grasier is the obsolete form of grazier.

P. 19. "... said Mrs. Abigail (so for shortness we will call her)"
The term abigail refers to a lady's servant or waiting maid.

P. 21. "Non semper vox causalis est verbo nominativus."
"The nominative case does not always govern the verb" (?). Partridge probably intends to say mildly that her mere insistence would not procure his retreat (i.e., would not produce the expected result in his case).

P. 22. "Quare non?"

"Why not?"

Book X, Chapter 5

P. 23. "Noscitur a socio"
See the note to Tom Jones, I, 101.

P. 24. "non omnia possumus omnes"
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 170.

Book X, Chapter 6

P. 29. "horrida bella"
"Horrible wars." Virgil used the phrase in Aeneid, VI, 86: "Bella! horrida bella!" The Virgilian sentiment was also adopted as the motto of Lord Lisle (W. F. King, Classical and Foreign Quotations, London, 1889, p. 62).

P. 32. "it happens to this sort of men as to bad hounds, who never hit off a fault themselves"
To hit off a fault — to strike the scent, or, to recover a lost scent.

Book X, Chapter 8

P. 40. "(E'en such a man, so faint, so spiritless, etc.)"
Shakespeare, II King Henry IV, I, i, 70-73.

P. 41. "as the poet tells us, that the whole shore ecchoed [sic] back the name of that beautiful youth ..."
Virgil, Eclogues, VI, 43-44: "... the tale of the spring where Hylas was left, and how the seamen called on him, till all the shore rang 'Hylas! Hylas!'" (trans. Fairclough). Hylas was the son of the king of the Dryopians in Thessaly, the favourite of Hercules, and his companion on the Argonautic expedition. When he went ashore at Kios in Mysia to get water, he was carried off by the nymphs of the spring in which he dipped his pitcher. Hercules searched vainly for him, his answer to the hero's cry being lost in the depths of the water. The phrase to cry Hylas thus became proverbial for seeking a thing in vain.

P. 41. Echo in Ovid
See the Metamorphoses, III, 356-401.

P. 42. "English women are not to be treated like Ciracessian slaves."
The reference is to the unlimited authority which every free Circassian exercised over the lives of his wife and children. Many daughters were sold to Eastern merchants for their monarchs' harems.

P. 43. "no Salique law governs here"
The Salic Law is "a law derived from the Salic Code 'a Frankish law-book, written in Latin, extant during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods' limiting succession to the throne, land, etc., to heirs male to the exclusion of females, chiefly because certain military duties were connected with the holding of lands. In the early 14th century it became the fundamental law of the French monarchy, and the claim of Edward III to the French throne, based on his interpretation of the law, resulted in the Hundred Years War" (E. C. Brewer, A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p. 955). The law is specifically mentioned by such men as Quevedo, Congreve, and Cowley.

P. 45. "the justly celebrated Arria"
Arria was the wife of Caecina Paetus. When her husband was implicated in the conspiracy against Claudius (A.D. 42) and condemned to death by suicide, she was unwilling to survive him. She therefore stabbed herself with a dagger and then handed it to her husband, saying, "Paetus, it does not hurt." (See Pliny, Epp., iii, 16, and Dio Cassius lx, 16.) Fielding may refer to her daughter, Arria, wife of Thrasea Paetus; she would have followed her mother's example had she not been dissuaded by her husband, who asked her to live for the sake of their children; she was subsequently sent into exile (Tacitus, Annals, xvi, 34).

P. 46. "... Anacreon, though his mouth is supposed to have been a bee-hive"
Anacreon (born about 560 B.C.) was a Greek lyric poet famous for the sweetness of his verse.
The words "his mouth is supposed to have been a bee-hive" may represent a confusion of the following lines by Sir John Denham ("The Progress of Learning," lines 66-70):

> Might make Old Homer's Skull the Muses Hive;
> And from his Brain, that Helicon distil,
> Whose Racy Liquor did his off-spring fill.
> Nor old Anacreon, Hesiod, Theocrite
> Must we forget; nor Pindar's lofty Flight.

P. 47. "like Hudibras, he wore but one spur"
Hudibras, Part I, Canto i, 453.

P. 48. Hambrook
This is a village five miles northeast of Bristol (see the

map appended to the notes).

Book XI, Chapter 1

P. 56. an old law on poisoning
Cf. Blackstone: "Of all species of deaths the most detestable is that of poison; because it can of all others be the least prevented either by manhood or forethought. And therefore by the statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 9. it was made treason, and a more grievous and lingering kind of death was inflicted on it than the common law allowed; namely, boiling to death: but this act did not live long, being repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 12" (Commentaries on the Laws of England, 8th ed., Oxford, 1778, IV, 196). Reeves gives the following account of the origin of this law: "It was occasioned by one Richard Roose, a cook, having put some poison into a vessel of yeast, in the bishop of Rochester's kitchen, by means of which seventeen persons of the bishop's family, and several others, were poisoned, and died. This very heinous offence raised a kind of indignation in the legislature; and it was declared by that act, that the said poisoning should be adjudged high treason, that Richard Roose should be attainted accordingly, by authority of parliament, and should be boiled to death; and, as if none would commit this offence but such as were of the same employment with the present offender, it was enacted, not only that henceforth every wilful murder by means of poisoning should be high treason, but that such offenders should all be boiled to death" (History of the English Law, ed. W. F. Finlason, London, 1869, III, 325-326).

P. 56. Shakespeare
The quotation is from Othello, III, iii, 157-161.

P. 57. "this kind of paternal fondness"
See Tom Jones, III, 4, and the second note to that page.

P. 57. "parody the tender exclamation of Macduff ...."
When Ross brings him the news of the slaughter of his wife and children, and Malcolm advises him to be comforted and to seek in revenge a cure for his grief, Macduff exclaims, "He has no children" (Macbeth, IV, iii, 216).

P. 58. Dacier and Bossu
See the Introduction, pp. 25 and 39-41.

P. 58. "in foro literario"
"In the literary forum."

P. 58. "I may ... object to the censures of any one past upon

works which he hath not himself read .... Such may likewise be suspected of deserving this character, who without assigning any particular faults, condemn the whole in general defamatory terms: such as vile, dull, da---d stuff, &c. and particularly by the use of the monosyllable Low ..."
The practices which Fielding here censures were widespread during the eighteenth century, especially among would-be wits. Richardson himself later condemned Tom Jones without having read it through. Low was the favourite term of condemnation among incapable critics. Cf. Swift's attack on false learning in A Tale of a Tub, section VII.

P. 59. "the sentiments of Horace"
The lines quoted are from the Ars Poetica, 351-353; the English rendering comprises lines 477-480 of Francis' translation.

P. 59. "as Martial says, Aliter non fit, avite, liber"
Epigrammatum, I, xvii: "There is no other way of making a book, Avitus" (trans. A. S. West).

Book XI, Chapter 2

P. 61. "who, like a ghost, only wanted to be spoke to"
Ghosts were supposed to be unable to speak until they had been spoken to first (W. C. Hazlitt, A Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore, I, 270). Cf. Hamlet, I, i, 45.

P. 67. "... travel with the young Chevalier; and have taken a round-about way to escape the Duke's army."
James Francis Stuart, son of James II, and father of the Young Pretender, was called the Chevalier de St. George; the Young Pretender, therefore, was the Young Chevalier.
The Duke is the Duke of Cumberland.

P. 68. "news arrived that the rebels had given the Duke the slip, and had got a day's march towards London"
This is an allusion to the strategy of the rebels which resulted in their advance to Derby and threw London into panic.

P. 68. "Madam Jenny Cameron"
Jenny Cameron, who had been present at the rally of the Scottish Jacobites, and whose clan played an important part in the uprising of 1745, was thought by the English to be the mistress of Charles Edward, the Young Pretender.

Book XI, Chapter 4

P. 73, line 3. "degagé"
This is an unnaturalized word, from French dégager ("to disengage, to put at ease"); it means "easy, unconstrained," in manner or address (NED).

P. 76. Mr. Nash of Bath
"Richard Nash, 'Beau Nash' (1674-1762). In 1704, he became master of ceremonies at Bath, where he conducted the public balls with a splendour never before witnessed. He established the Assembly Rooms, and a code of etiquette and of dress, and became the uncrowned 'King of Bath.' He was distinguished for a certain sentimental benevolence; and warned the young ladies who attended the Bath balls against needy adventurers" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

Book XI, Chapter 5

P. 81. "greatly resembled her whom Chamont mentions in the Orphan"
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 205.

Book XI, Chapter 6

P. 87. "... or as (for we dislike something in the former simile) ...."
Notice the directness of Fielding's approach and technique.

Book XI, Chapter 7

Pp. 91-92. Mrs. Fitzpatrick's reading
Daniel — Gabriel Daniel (1649-1728), French Jesuit historian, wrote Histoire de France depuis l'établissement de la monarchie Française, of which the first complete edition was published in 1713; an English translation of an abridged version appeared in 1726.
The Atalantis — Secret Memoirs ... of Several Persons of Quality (1709), a scandalous chronicle purporting to be "from the New Atalantis, an island in the Mediterranean"; in it Mrs. Mary de la Rivière Manley sought to expose the private vices of the ministers whom Swift, Bolingbroke, and others drove from office. The narrative, which brought her chief triumph as a writer, procured also her arrest on the ground of libel, but she was discharged by the court. Pope has a reference to the Atalantis in line 165 of The Rape of the Lock, Canto III.
Chillingworth — William Chillingworth (1602-1644) was an

English theologian and controversialist. His great work was The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation (1638), which was a landmark in English theology and was commended by Locke for its clarity and logic. His writings, which for a long time were very popular, included also a number of smaller anti-Jesuit papers and nine sermons. An edition of his Works came out in 1742, accompanied by a Life by Rev. T. Birch.
The Countess of D'Anois — the Comtesse d'Aulnoy, Marie Catherine Jumelle de Berneville (1650-1705), was the author of Relation du Voyage d'Espagne (1691), and of a number of French fairy tales, many of which are available at the present time in several translations and editions (often especially for children).

Book XI, Chapter 8

P. 99. "the Napaeae, or the Naïades"
In classical legend the Naïades were inferior deities, young and beautiful nymphs, who presided over rivers, brooks, fountains, groves, etc.

P. 99. "the plaice sound and firm"
The plaice is a species of flat-fish used as food by the Europeans. It is common on the coasts of northern Europe, is in finest condition in the month of May, and may weigh seven or eight pounds or even more.

P. 101. "Hinc illae lachrymae"
"Hence those tears" (Horace, Epistles, I, xix, 41).

P. 102. "the learned Dr. Cheney"
"Probably George Cheyne (1671-1743) physician; published several medical and mathematical tracts, also treatises on diet and natural theology. He was at one period enormously fat, but he received such great benefits from a milk and vegetable diet, that he subsequently became a strong advocate of vegetarianism" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).
In The Champion for May 17, 1740, Captain Hercules Vinegar (Fielding) tries Dr. Cheyne (who, he says, "is M.D. C.R. Ed.S. and F.R.S." and "a very great and eminent physician") for murder of the English language, on the basis of his late book, Philosophical Conjectures, and the book is ordered to be immediately taken into custody. Again, in The Champion for June 12, 1740, Fielding quotes two ridiculous passages from Cheyne's works, one from the Philosophical Conjectures on the Original Animal Body, and the other from his Practical Essay on the Regimen of Diet.

P. 102. pericranium
The pericranium is the external membrane which invests the bones of the skull. Fielding here uses the word humorously to signify the head or brain as the seat of thought.

Book XI, Chapter 9

P. 107. "the disordered drum-room"
See Tom Jones, IV, 202, for Fielding's own definition of the word drum.

P. 109. led captains
A led-captain — "a hanger-on, dependent, parasite" (NED; the following examples are given: 1672, Wycherley, Love in a Wood, I, i, "Every wit has his cully, as every squire his led captain", and 1745, H. Walpole, Letters, 1846, II, 68, "Churchill, whose led-captain he [Sir John Cope] was.").

P. 110. "At Eshur, at Stowe, at Wilton, at Eastbury, and at Prior's Park, days are too short for the ravished imagination"
Esher Place, the site of a beautiful mansion and estate, is northwest of the township of Esher in Surrey, about fourteen miles southwest of London. It was the seat of Henry Pelham (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 173).
Stowe Park is less than five miles northwest of the city of Buckingham.
Wilton House, an estate rich in associations with artists and dramatists, often visited by Charles I, and notable for its art collections, was founded by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, on the site of a dissolved convent. It is a little to the south of the town Wilton in Wiltshire, not far from Salisbury.
Eastbury is apparently an estate at the town of that name in Berkshire, not far from Lambourne.
Prior Park was the lovely estate of Fielding's friend Ralph Allen, who was supposed to be the original of Allworthy. It was located near Bath. Allen, postmaster of Bath, settled there in 1742.

P. 111. "the gloomy heath of Bagshot, or that pleasant plain which extends itself westward from Stockbridge"
Stockbridge is in Hampshire, about fourteen miles northeast from Salisbury.
Bagshot is in Surrey, about thirty-eight miles northeast of Stockbridge, and about thirty miles southwest of London.

P. 112. "Boeotian writers"
"... the Boeotian nation, although it produced great men like

Pindar, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, and Plutarch, was proverbially as dull as its native air" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, article on Boeotia). Horace alludes to the heavy atmosphere (foggy winters and sultry summers were characteristic of the region) and the proverbial stupidity of the natives of Boeotia (Epistles, I, i, 244).

Book XII, Chapter 1

P. 118. "the ingenious Abbé Banier, in his preface to his mythology ..."
The reference is to La Mythologie et les Fables expliquées par l'Histoire, by Ant. Banier (1673-1741). An English translation of the work, supposed by Cross to have been done by William Young under Fielding's supervision, appeared in 1739-41 and was reissued by Miller in 1748. Fielding recommended the book in The Jacobite's Journal for January 30, 1748 (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 106-107).

P. 119. "the smallest tenement in Parnassus"
Parnassus was a range of mountains, or the highest part of the range, which extended from Oeta and Corax southeast through Doris and Phocis. On its sides were many romantic grottoes and ravines, and it was considered a principal abode of Apollo and the Muses.

P. 120. "or, to see it under the most opprobrious colors, robbing the spittal"
To rob the spittle -- "to make gain or profit in a particularly mean or dastardly manner"; a spittle is "a house or place for the reception of the indigent or diseased; a charitable foundation for this purpose, esp. one chiefly occupied by persons of a low class or afflicted with foul diseases; a lazar-house" (NED).

P. 121. Moore's Rival Modes and Pope's Dunciad
"James Moore Smythe (1702-1734), playwright, and one of the Lords-Commissioners of Trade in the reign of Q. Anne. His dull comedy The Rival Modes (Jan. 1727) brought him £400 (for his creditors) and the lasting resentment of Pope" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).
The reference is to lines 243-248, Epistle II, of Pope's Moral Essays, "The Characters of Women" (to Martha Blount), which, according to one accusation, Smythe was supposed to have introduced with some slight variation into his comedy. Elwin and Courthope (Works of Pope, London, 1881, III - Poetry, 112, n. 1) think that Pope himself was author of the article charging the plagiarism upon him and was merely creating an opportunity to explain about the authorship of the

lines — especially since in the "Prologue to the Satires" (line 373) he implied that he had permitted Moore to use the verses. Moore is "imprisoned" in lines 37-50 of The Dunciad, Book II.

Book XII, Chapter 2

P. 122. "soon be fatigated with her journey"
Fatigated is an obsolete form of fatigued (NED).

P. 122. "compos voti"
"Having obtained one's wish"; the expression is used by numerous classical authors — Horace, Ars Poetica, 76; Ovid, De Arte Amandi, I, 486; Livy; Suetonius, etc.

P. 123. Grimalkin and Venus, and Sir Roger L'Estrange's observations
"Sir Roger L'Estrange (1616-1704), Tory journalist and pamphleteer. Besides his pamphlets and periodicals, he issued, among other things, The Fables of Aesop and other eminent Mythologists, with Moral Reflections, 1692 ..." (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).
The fable to which Fielding refers is "A Cat and Venus," no. 61 (L'Estrange's Fables, seventh ed., 1724, I, 75). The remarks "... if we shut her Nature out at the Door, she'll come in at the Window" and "... for Puss, even when she's a Madam, will be a Mouser still" occur in the "Reflection" upon Fable 61 (I, 76).

Book XII, Chapter 3

P. 127. "sed vox ea sola reperta est"
"But that is the only advice I have to give."

P. 130. "infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem"
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 181.

P. 130. "some fine lines out of Horace ...."
The quotation is from the Odes, III, ii, 13-16.

P. 131. "mors omnibus communis"
"Death (is) common to all."

P. 132. "non immunes ab illis malis sumus"
"We are not exempt from those evils."

P. 132. "Vir bonus est quis? Qui consulta patrum, qui leges

juraque servat."
Horace, Epistles, I, xvi, 40-41: "Who is the good man? He who abides by the decisions, laws, and judgments of the senators."

Book XII, Chapter 4

P. 134. "... would have ... left the fellow to his action of trover"
An action of trover is "an action at law to recover the value of personal property illegally converted by another to his own use" (NED).

P. 135. "orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano"
Juvenal, Satires, X, 356: "One must pray to have a sound mind in a sound body." ("A sound mind in a sound body" was a classical Greek ideal, the goal of Greek education.)

Book XII, Chapter 5

P. 138. "mens sana in corpore sano"
See the note to p. 135 above.

P. 140. "the fine and serious part of the Provoked Husband"
The Provoked Husband is a play completed by Colley Cibber from Vanbrugh's unfinished Journey to London. It was acted in 1728.

P. 141. "the characters of Lord and Lady Townley"
Lord Townly, the hero of the play, is a sober man, "of a regular life"; his wife is a lady "immoderate in her pursuit of pleasures" (the list of the dramatis personae).

P. 141. "The present age was not improved in anything so much as in their puppet-shows; which by throwing out Punch and his wife Joan, and such idle trumpery, were at last brought to be a rational entertainment."
Punch and Judy shows ("or Jody as she was then called," says Bayne-Powell) still persisted and were presented at some of the fairs (especially those frequented by the lower classes, for example, that at Tottenham, near London). Apparently, however, the old favourite had yielded its popularity to puppet-shows depicting such events as the Queen of Sheba's visit to King Solomon, Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Tower of Babel, and the King's Coronation, which the patrons regarded as "truly marvellous" (Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, pp. 157 and 155).

Book XII, Chapter 6

P. 143. the Merry Andrew
The buffoon or clown.

P. 144. "I remember when puppet-shows were made of good Scripture stories, as Jeptha's rash vow, and such good things, and when wicked people were carried away by the devil. ... but as the parson told us last Sunday, nobody believes in the devil now-a-days ...."
For the story of Jeptha's rash vow, see Judges xi, 30-40. Puppet-plays dealt originally with Scriptural subjects, but their scope was afterwards extended (Harvey, Oxford Companion to English Literature, Oxford, 1933, p. 539). In their prime the miracle plays were acted on moveable wooden platforms, which consisted of two stories, in the lower one of which the actors dressed. The entrance to this story was clled Hell Mouth and was depicted as a horrible dragon's mouth painted red, from which issued smoke, flames, and frightful cries. Into this the devils would disappear, literally carrying away some wicked person. It may be that the landlady's words refer to some degree of persistence of these old conditions in the puppet-shows of the early eighteenth century. The words "nobody believes in the devil now-a-days" probably reflect the benevolent influence that philosophy — especially deism — had exerted upon popular religion.

P. 144. "Virgil ... tells us that when the mob are assembled ..."
Aeneid, I, 148-152.

Book XII, Chapter 7

P. 150. "as mad as a March hare"
"During March (the breeding season) hares are wilder than at other times; hence the proverbial saying As mad as a March hare" (NED).

P. 151. "faelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum"
"Happy is he whom the dangers of others make cautious"; the words are quoted as a saying in Cyllenus's Tibullus, 1493 (W. G. Benham, Book of Quotations, Proverbs, and Household Words, London, 1924).

P. 151. "the rebels have given the duke the slip, and are got almost to London"
See the note to Tom Jones, III, 68.

P. 152. the Presbyterians and puppet-shows
The early Presbyterians were notorious for the strictness of their morals and for their opposition to dramatic performances.

Book XII, Chapter 8

P. 155. "Hunger is an enemy ... which partakes more of the English than of the French disposition ..."
The English are proverbially stubborn; the French have often been ridiculed as a fickle and wavering people.

P. 156. "an excellent cold chine"
A chine is "a 'joint' consisting of the whole or part of the backbone of an animal esp. of a bacon-pig , with the adjoining flesh" (NED).

P. 158. "the great, useful and uncommon doctrine, which it is the purpose of this whole work to inculcate"
I.e., that reason and wisdom are guards to virtue, which brings peace of mind.

Book XII, Chapter 9

P. 162. "Two to one are odds at every other thing, as well as at foot-ball."
The eighteenth century is notorious for the prevalence of gambling; people betted upon everything, even the most trivial matters (see R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, pp. 191-192).
A certain Joseph Strutt, writing in 1801, says that, although football had lately fallen into disrepute and was little practised, it had formerly been much in vogue among the common people (quoted by Bayne-Powell, pp. 173-174). About the time of Tom Jones, the game was probably popular among the ordinary boys of towns and cities, being played in the streets and alleys, and at educational institutions (especially Cambridge). It was noted for its roughness, no clubs or code of rules for it having yet been formed.

Book XII, Chapter 10

P. 164. "that generosity of spirit, which is the sure foundation of all that is great and noble in human nature. I saw a selfishness in him long ago which I despised ..."
This passage echoes the moral code of Shaftesbury.

P. 165. "like Othello ...."
The first lines are from Othello, I, iii, 132-133; the words seriously incline occur in line 146 of the same scene; and the other verses are lines 160-161 of the scene. The passages in the original read

... even from my boyish days,
To the very moment that he bade me tell it,

and

She swore, in faith, 'twas strange, 'twas passing strange.

P. 168. "Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis ...."
Horace, Odes, I, xxii, 17-24.

Book XII, Chapter 11

P. 171. "... I am very certain it is in the power of witches to raise the wind whenever they please."
The elements were supposed to be obedient to witches, according to Scot's Discovery, ed. 1665, p. 33. King James also had asserted that "witches can raise storms and tempests in the aire, either upon sea or land" (both Scot and King James are cited in Hazlitt, Dictionary of Faiths and Folklore, II, 652 and 655).

Book XII, Chapter 12

P. 173. "Jack with a lanthorn"
Probably will-o-th'-wisp.

P. 175. "To say truth, the whole furniture of the infernal regions hath long been appropriated by the managers of playhouses, who seem lately to have lain them by as rubbish, capable only of affecting the upper gallery; a place in which few of our readers ever sit."
This passage is, possibly, a reference to the conditions indicated in a French document, where occurs the first definite mention of Arlecchino's (Harlequin's) name, entitled "A comical history of the actions and conduct of the Italian comedian Harlequin including his dreams and visions, his descent to Hades to take away mother Cardine, in what manner and with what dangers he escaped after having there cheated the King of these regions), Cerberus, and all the other Devils" (Paris, 1585). "These [this document and the Response which accompanied it]," says Allardyce Nicoll, "Driesen takes, with their infernal setting, as evidence of the devil origin of Arlecchino, and possibly they may be read in such a way" (Masks, Mimes, and Miracles, London, 1931, p. 275). Harlequin became a popu-

lar figure on the English stage, but his type was established as that of the buffoon.
Rowdies and footmen occupied the upper gallery in the eighteenth-century theatre.

P. 178ff. "Egyptians" in the eighteenth century
For an eighteenth-century picture of gypsies in the England of that day, see the Spectator, no. 130. The traditional complaints against these people were apparently even more pronounced and more justified that they are now.
After the publication of Tom Jones, a Mr. Bampfylde Moore Carew, who had joined the gypsies and had been elected their king, became offended at Fielding's picture of his people, and declared in a parody on the novel that he was the king whom Fielding mentioned, and well remembered having entertained the novelist, but that the latter's report of the conversation and of the "shameful incident" were utterly false and aspersive (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 150-152). Carew himself was a rascal, however, and his story is probably pure invention.

P. 176. "Aeneas ... in the Temple of Juno, Dum stupet ...."
The Aeneid, I, 495: "While he stands silent and amazed at the one vision."

P. 181. The golden age of the emperors
Nerva (96-98 A.D.), Trajan (98-117 A.D.), Hadrian (117-138 A.D.), Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.), and Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.) were called "the good emperors." The period of their reigns was marked by new social, civic, and legal experiments and institutions purposing to serve the general welfare, by sweeping changes in the administrative machinery of the government, by — on the whole — a new mildness in policy toward the provinces and foreign nations, and by a general humanitarianism. Yet for all the beneficence of their reigns, it was hardly a genuine "golden age." Underneath the peace and safety, the reasonableness of taxes, and the apparent prosperity, there lurked dangers which soon became acute problems: a growing scarcity of good magistrates, a poorly balanced economic system, the vicious increase in farm tenantry, the utter lack of a productive or creative spirit, and an insidious weakening of the moral fiber of the people. The increase, however, in the immediate satisfaction and physical comfort of most of the people made it seem to many an ideal age.

Book XII, Chapter 13

P. 184. "we will follow him therefore, according to ... the rules of Longinus ..."

See On the Sublime, Section XLII.

P. 184. Coventry, etc.
See the map appended to the notes.

P. 187. the Latin expressions
Fortuna nunquam perpetuo est bona — "Fortune never is perpetually good."
Non longe alienum à Scaevolae studiis — "not far different from the studies of Scaevola." Scaevola is the name of a famous family of lawyers of ancient Rome. Quintus Mucius Scaevola was the founder of the scientific study of Roman law; his uncle was Cicero's teacher.
Communis, alienus, immunis, variis casibus serviunt — "Communis, alienus, immunis take various cases" (Partridge is referring to a Latin grammar used in the classroom).
In foro conscientiae — "In the forum of conscience."

P. 188. the foreign expressions
Fas & nefas — "lawful and unlawful," or "just and unjust" ("right and wrong"). The expression is used in Seneca's Oedipus, V, 1023.
Polly matete cry town is my daskalon — apparently a Greek phrase which has been badly garbled by Partridge.
Nemo omnibus horis sapit — "No man is wise at all hours" (Pliny Secundus, Natural History, VII, 41: "Quid quod nemo mortalium ....").

Book XII, Chapter 14

P. 190. "... the reliance on superior numbers, a kind of valour which hath raised a certain nation among the moderns to a high pitch of glory"
This is another of Fielding's thrusts at the French.

Pp. 193-194. "... a circumstance that ... to the honour of our country, distinguishes the robbers of England from those of all other nations; for murder is, amongst those, almost inseparably incident to robbery."
Fielding seems to have stretched his patriotism a little too far in these words of Tom's. Probbaly there were in England a few robbers who were forced into this way of life in order to live; but there were probably a few such on the Continent, too. Many of the English robbers, who had no scruples whatever about their vocation, forbore killing simply because there was no necessity for it. But murder was frequently incident to robbery, both on the highways and the by-roads.

Book XIII, Chapter 1

P. 195. "but thee, fair, gentle maid, whom Mnesis, happy nymph, first on the banks of Hebrus didst produce. Thee, whom Maeonia educated, whom Mantua charm'd, and who, on that fair hill which overlooks the fair metropolis of Britain, sat, with thy Milton, sweetly tuning the heroic lyre"
Mnesis — Memory. Mnemé (Remembrance) was one of the three older Muses (Pausanias, ix, 29); and according to Hesiod (Theog. 52-76) Mnemosyné (goddess of memory) was the mother, by Zeus, of the nine later muses, who were born at Pieria in Thessaly.
Hebrus — principal river in Thrace. By this river Orpheus, son of the King of Thrace and Calliope, chief of the nine Muses as well as the one who presided over epic poetry, was torn to pieces by his countrywomen.
Maeonia — the birthplace of Homer (the ancient name of Lydia).
Mantua — a town in Gallia Transpadana, near the one where Virgil was born; hence regarded by him as his birthplace.
Hill in Britain — apparently the reference is to Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, which is situated in or near a range of hills that forms part of the well-known Chiltern System (chalk hills). Here Milton is said to have lived while or immediately after completing Paradise Lost and while beginning Paradise Regained.

P. 195. "when, under the fictitious name of Sophia, she reads the real worth which once existed in my Charlotte"
Fielding's first wife, Charlotte Cradock (see the Introduction, "The Life of Fielding," pp. 5 and 8).

P. 196. "trachtchugt"
"There were some purists who took exception to Fielding's spelling of this Dutch word, meaning a canal-boat. They maintained that it should be spelt trachchuyt, and in the four-volume edition of Tom Jones, dated 1750, the word is altered to treckschuyte. It is interesting to note that in a letter from Lieut.-Col. Chas. Russell to his wife, dated Feb. 23, 1742-3, which appears in the Hist. MSS. Commission Report on the MSS at Chequers Court, there is a further variation in the spelling of the word, for writing from Ghent, he says, 'We had a pleasant journey here in the trachschute'" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition). In the Spectator, no. 130, the word (which is spelled differently in the various editions) is defined as a "hackney boat," or one which plies for hire.

P. 196. "Thee, I call; of whom ... the fat Ufrow Gelt ... was delivered ..."
Ufrow Gelt — "Mrs. Money."
This whole passage is reminiscent of Fielding's reactions to

the fat, greasy Dutch girls and to the mercenary nature of the Dutch landlords during his stay at the University of Leyden. "Under the close oligarchical rule of the patrician families, ... the States of Holland, in which the influence of Amsterdam was dominant, and which in their turn exercised predominance in the States-General, became more and more an assembly of 'shopkeepers' whose policy was to maintain peace for the sake of the commerce on which they thrived. For thirty years after the peace of Utrecht [1713] the Provinces kept themselves free from entanglement in the quarrels of their neighbours" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition, article on Holland, p. 602b). Thus the Dutch, who have always been regarded as more or less a commercial people, were particularly such at the time Fielding was writing Tom Jones.

P. 198. "that key to all thy treasures, which to thy Warburton thou hast entrusted."
William Warburton (1698-1779) was an English critic and divine, who served as Bishop of Gloucester. He wrote voluminously on theological subjects, and issued editions of Shakespeare and Pope, the former of which did him little credit. His best-known work was The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist (1737-1741), which excited admiration because of the author's learning and because of the daring and ingenious way in which he turned one of the deists' own arguments against them; the book also provoked much controversy. In 1745 Warburton married the niece of Ralph Allen, Fielding's friend and benefactor, and from that time forward resided principally at Prior Park, where the novelist must have met him many times.

P. 198. Experience
Notice the peculiar applicability of the address to Experience to Fielding's own life.

P. 198. "the bailiff in his spunging-house"
Spunging-house — "a house kept by a bailiff or sheriff's officer, formerly in regular use as a place of preliminary confinement for debtors" (NED).

P. 198. "the dutchess at her drum"
See Tom Jones, IV, 202, for Fielding's own definition of the word drum.

Book XIII, Chapter 2

P. 199. Dr. Misaubin
See the note to Tom Jones, I, 241.

P. 199. "as Sydenham expresses it"
Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689), who became posthumously famous as the father of English medicine, the English Hippocrates. He had also been well-known in his own day. He wrote a number of works, the last completed one being an outline sketch of pathology and practice, often re-published. He made many innovations and introduced better ethics into medical practice. His works were translated by John Swan and published, with an anonymous Life written by Samuel Johnson, in London in 1742.
The passage to which Fielding refers is from a foreword, "To the most learned Dr. Thomas Short, M.D.," prefixed to A Treatise on Gout, and Dropsy, which the novelist had probably read for any aid that it might offer in curing his own case of gout: "What will it help me, after my death, for the eight letters which make the name SYDENHAM to pass from mouth to mouth amongst men who can no more form an idea of what I was than I of what they will be ...!" (The Works of Thomas Sydenham, trans. from the Latin edition of Dr. Greenhill by R. G. Latham, M.D., London, 1850, II, 122). Translating, apparently, from the Latin original, Fielding quotes the same passage (at greater length) in The Champion for May 3, 1740.

P. 199. "... being one whom no-body knows, (a scandal, by the by, as old as the days of Homer)"
The source to which the footnote assigns this reference is correct (Odyssey, II, 175); but Fielding overstresses the imputation. Butcher and Lang translate the passage thus (it is from the speech of Halitherses): "I said that after sore affliction, with the loss of all his company, unknown to all, in the twentieth year he should come home. And behold, all these things now have an end" (the italics are mine).

P. 200. Hanover and Grosvenor Square, Gray's Inn Lane
Hanover Square, Oxford Street, named in honour of George I and built about 1718, was a district of new and very fine houses inhabited by members of the nobility and by eminent professional and political men.
Grosvenor Square was likewise one of the most aristocratic and fashionable places of residence in London.
One region near Gray's Inn Lane (Gray's Inn Walks or Gardens) had become by Fielding's day the constant resort of ladies of questionable character, and a favourite place for assignations. Popular literature was full of allusions to its notoriety (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, London, 1891, II).

P. 200. "those terrestrial Elysian fields"
The Elysian Fields were the Paradise or the Happy Land of the Greeks.

P. 200. the Bull and Gate in Holborn
This was a real inn, though it is no longer in existence. Its name is thought to have been derived possibly from the term Bullogne Gate, so-called perhaps as a compliment to Henry VIII (Steevens, Shakespeare; see Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, I, 299).

P. 201. "the particular description of Cerberus ..."
Aeneid, VI, 417-424 (trans. H. R. Fairclough): "These realms huge Cerberus makes ring with his triple-throated baying, his monstrous bulk crouching in a cavern opposite. To him, seeing the snakes now bristling on his neck, the seer flung a morsel drowsy with honey and drugged meal. He opening his triple throat in ravenous hunger, catches it when thrown and, with monstrous frame relaxed, sinks to earth and stretches his bulk over all the den. The warder buried in sleep, Aeneas gains the entrance ..."

P. 202. "the gamester who loses his party at piquet"
Party (F. partie) — side, cause, interest. It is now obsolete when used in this sense.
Piquet — "a card-game played by two persons with a pack of 32 cards (the low cards from the two to the six being excluded), in which points are scored on various groups or combinations of cards, and on tricks" (NED).

Book XIII, Chapter 3

P. 208. "Di. Western hath described her brother ..."
Cf. Tom Jones, IV, 159, where Mrs. Western is called "Bel" (or "Bell"). Throughout the entire novel, these are the only suggestions given of her first name.

Book XIII, Chapter 4

P. 210. "for it may be truly said, ---------Non acuta ...."
The quotation is from Horace, Odes, I, xvi, 7-8.

P. 211. "I have known some very fine polite conversation grow extremely dull, when transcribed into books, or repeated on the stage."
Cf. Swift's satire on polite conversation, "A Compleat Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation." Fielding's remark may be a hit at Cibber, who was accused of lacking wit.

Book XIII, Chapter 5

P. 213. "Mr. Jones, whom he looked on as a mere scrub"
Scrub — (transf.) "a mean insignificant fellow, a person of little account or poor appearance" (NED).

P. 214. Mrs. Miller "lived in Bond-Street"
"Bond Street — including both Old Bond Street [Piccadilly] and New — has long stood as the representative of fashionable habits as well as the resort of the fashionable lounger. Bond Street loungers are mentioned in the Weekly Journal of June 1, 1717 ..." (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, I, 221).

P. 215. "giving their opinion ... of a poem at Will's or Button's ..."
These were two of the famous coffee-houses in the early eighteenth century. Addison was a patron of Button's; but Will's was the one most frequented by literary men, having been the rendezvous of Dryden and his satellites (Boas and Hahn, Social Backgrounds of English Literature, Boston, 1934, p. 153).

P. 215. "men of wisdom and vertù"
A man of virtù — a virtuoso.

P. 216. "the spectators at Broughton's amphitheatre"
The reference is to John Broughton (1705-1789), "who," says Bayne-Powell (Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 171), "regarding quarterstaff as a nasty dangerous amusement, instituted boxing matches instead." He is said also to have invented boxing gloves for practice bouts (loc. cit.). Broughton is considered the father of British pugilism. Until 1742 he was attached to a booth in Tottenham Court Road, where he was patronised by the élite of society and even royalty itself. At that time he built a theatre for boxing in Hanway Street, Oxford Street, where he performed until his retirement, amassing a considerable estate (Dictionary of National Biography, article on Broughton by John Ashton).

P. 218. "four gentlemen of the cloth"
The word cloth is still used to refer to one's profession, particularly to that of a clergyman. But as Fielding uses it in the passage above — i.e., to mean the livery or uniform of a footman, "the distinctive clothing worn by the servants of a master" — it is now obsolete (NED).

P. 218. "my Hoyle, sir, — my best Hoyle"
Edmond Hoyle (1672-1769), the first to write scientifically on any card game, published in 1742 A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist, which soon became famous and in 1750 — one year after Tom Jones was published — reached a tenth edition (the ninth edition — 1748 — appeared as The Accurate Game-

ster's Companion).

P. 220. "language which might have very well become an Arcadian shepherd of old"
I.e., because of its simple fervor and apparent sincerity. See the note to Tom Jones, I, 269.

Book XIII, Chapter 6

P. 220. "those warm, generous, and disinterested sentiments upon this subject, which wise and sober men call romantic, but which wise and sober women generally regard in a better light."
Notice the contrast between the men's and the women's point of view, and observe how the former reflects the critical and unemotional spirit of Fielding's age.

P. 225. "the modern wise men who live in Lombard-street, or those who frequent White's chocolate-house"
Lombard Street, which extends from the Mansion House to Gracechurch Street, was described in 1720 by Strype as "throughout graced with good and lofty buildings, among which are many that surpass those in other streets, and generally it is inhabited by goldsmiths, bankers, merchants, and other eminent tradesmen" (quoted in Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, II, 416).
White's chocolate house was "extremely aristocratic" (Boas and Hahn, Social Backgrounds of English Literature, p. 153) and disputed with Almack's the preëminence among London's gambling resorts (Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 144). It became a private house supported by subscriptions in 1736, and the chief frequenters were formed into a club. In William Whitehead's Manners, a Satire (1739) White's is called "a Den of Thieves" (quoted in Wheatley and Cunningham, op. cit., III, 492). Swift regarded it as a sink of vice, and so did the Earl of Oxford, whom he quotes (Swift's "Letter to a Young Man," "On Abolishing Christianity," etc.).

P. 225. "that position of some ariters of romance, that a man can live altogether on love"
This is an allusion to such extravagant romances as the Astrée (1610-27) of Honoré D'Urfé; the Cassandra and Cleopatra of La Calprénède (1610-63); and the Grand Cyrus (1648-53) and the Clélie (1654-61) of Mlle. de Scudéry.

Book XIII, Chapter 7

P. 228. "that temple, where Heydegger, the great arbiter deli-

ciarum, the great high priest of pleasure presides ...."
"J. J. Heidegger (1659?-1749), a Swiss adventurer, Master of the Revels to the Court of George II, and director of the Italian opera. He was remarkable for his ugliness and obesity. He is the 'Swiss Count' of The Tatler, and 'Count Ugly' of Fielding's Pleasures of the Town. His ugliness has been immortalised by Hogarth in his print 'Heidegger in a Rage,' as also by references in the Dunciad. Fielding's first published work The Masquerade (1728) is inscribed to C——t H——d——g——r, and in the course of the poem, he remarks that

... as Mulciber was driv'n
Headlong, for's ugliness, from heav'n;
So, for his ugliness more fell,
Was H-d-g-r toss'd out of hell,
And, in return, by Satan made
First minister of's masquerade"

(note in the Shakespeare Head edition).
According to Bayne-Powell (Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 167), this Swiss "enormously improved the masquerades, which before his time had been poor tawdry affairs." At any rate, the masquerades at the opera-house in the Haymarket became, under Heidegger's management, the rage of the town; charges of immorality were brought and attempts made to suppress them. As a result of a royal proclamation against them, they were called "ridottos" or balls. A Middlesex grand jury in 1729 presented Heidegger "as the principal promoter of vice and immorality" (the Dictionary of National Biography, article on Heidegger by George F. R. Barker).

Book XIII, Chapter 8

P. 237. "his wife has as good cawdle as if ... in ... the greatest affluence"
Caudle — "a warm drink consisting of thin gruel, mixed with wine or ale, sweetened and spiced, given chiefly to sick people, especially women in childbed; also to their visitors" (NED).

Book XIII, Chapter 9

P. 240. "... we shall avoid mentioning particulars .... I am so far from desiring to exhibit such pictures to the public..." Notice Fielding's objection to indecency in literature. See also Tom Jones, II, 89.

P. 244. "the mistress of the house where these lovers had

hitherto met ... was now become a Methodist ...."
This is another indication, though slight, of Fielding's attitude toward Methodism — a view which he shared with most of the educated men of his day. (See the note on Tom Jones, II, 189, Whitefield.) Observe also Blifil's turning Methodist (IV, 306).

Book XIII, Chapter 12

P. 256. "The elegant Lord Shaftesbury somewhere objects to telling too much truth ..."
An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour, Section II, paragraph 2 (Characteristics, 1727, I, 62): "For we can never do more injury to Truth, than by discovering too much of it, on some occasions" (i.e., we should suit the measure of truth to the strength of the understandings).

Volume IV

Book XIV, Chapter 1

P. 2. Pitt
The great statesman and orator William Pitt (1708-1778), first Earl of Chatham, was educated at Eton and Oxford, entered Parliament in 1735, and joined the "patriots" against Walpole. His opposition in the early 1740's to the system of foreign subsidies, though it displeased the king, won him popular acclaim throughout the country. Further admiration was aroused by his disinterested and scrupulous conduct while he was serving as paymaster-general of the forces and member of the privy council, both positions which he received in 1746. Pitt, who had been a schoolfellow of Fielding's at Eton, was one of the group to whom the novelist read the MS of Tom Jones at Sanderson Miller's home, Radway Grange (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 112-115).

P. 2. "the same fund of learning ... as Cicero persuades us is necessary to the composition of an orator"
In Book I of De Oratore Cicero (in the words of Crassus) maintains the necessity of universal knowledge of all art and science to a complete or perfect orator. See especially, however, apropos of Fielding's reference, Book I, Chapter 34, paragraph 2.

P. 2. Bysse's Art of Poetry
"The Art of English Poetry, by Edward Bysshe, was first published in 1702, and had been reprinted several times before the publication of Tom Jones. Like the companion work, by the same author, The British Parnassus, or Common-Place of English Poetry, 2 vols., 1714, it comprises, in the main, a classified selection of the beauties of English poetry" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 2. "the old maxim of law, quam quisque ...."
This maxim is quoted by Cicero as a well-known Greek saying in Tusculan Disputations, I, 18: "The art which each man knows, in this let him employ himself" (Tusculan Disputations, trans. J. E. King, New York, 1927, p. 51).

Pp. 2-3. Mr. Essex's treatise, The Rudiments of genteel Education
"John Essex also wrote A Treatise of Chorography, or Art of dancing Country Dances, 1710; and The Young Ladies' Conduct; or, Rules for Education under several Heads, with Instructions upon Dress both before and after Marriage, and Advice to Young

Wives 1772" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 3. Mr. Broughton
See the note to Tom Jones, III, 216.

P. 3. "one reason why many English writers have totally failed in describing the manners of upper life, may possibly be, that in reality they know nothing of it."
Fielding accused Richardson of making the manners of his betters contemptible.

P. 4. "What Mr. Pope says of women ..."
Fielding refers to the Moral Essays, Epistle II (Of the Characters of Women), which is a drastic indictment of the shallowness and affectation of women, but especially to the first four lines of the poem:

> Nothing so true as what you once let fall,
> Most women have no characters at all;
> Matter too soft a lasting mark to bear,
> And best distinguished by black, brown, or fair.

Book XIV, Chapter 2

P. 11. "was contented with the possession of that of which another woman had the reversion"
The legal term reversion means the return of an estate to the donor or grantor, or his heirs, after the expiry of the grant" (NED).

Book XIV, Chapter 3

P. 14. "I should ... be sorry that so pretty a young gentleman should converse with these women"
Pretty -- "of persons: Having the proper appearance, manners, or qualities of a man, etc." (NED).

P. 17. "infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem"
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 181.

Book XIV, Chapter 4

P. 18. "I want to be nearer the places of diversion; so I am going to Pallmall."
Pall Mall, extending from the foot of St. James's Street to the foot of the Haymarket (on which were located two theatres),

was then as now a spacious, fashionable street, the headquarters of many clubs. One person wrote of this district in the eighteenth century: "I am lodged in a street called Pall Mall, the ordinary residence of all strangers, because of its vicinity to the King's Palace, the Park, the Parliament House, the Theatres, and the Chocolate and Coffee Houses, where the best company frequent" (quoted from Macky in Journey through England, 1722, and reprinted in E. Beresford Chancellor's The XVIIIth Century in London, London, 1920, p. 135).

P. 18. "bilk my lodgings"
I.e., leave them without paying for them.

Book XIV, Chapter 7

P. 35. "in the spleen"
Spleen — "excessive dejection ... of spirits; ... moroseness; melancholy" (now archaic). The spleen was formerly regarded as the seat of melancholy or morose feelings; this usage of it is now obsolete (NED).

Book XIV, Chapter 8

P. 40. "NOTWITHSTANDING the sentiment of the Roman satyrist, which denies the divinity of Fortune; and the opinion of Seneca to the same purpose; Cicero, who was ... a wiser man than either of them, expressly holds the contrary"
"The Roman satyrist" is Juvenal, who says in Satires, X, 365-366: "Thou wouldst have no divinity, O fortune, if we had but wisdom; it is we that make a goddess of thee, and place thee in the skies" (trans. Ramsay, in Juvenal and Persius, New York, 1924, p. 221); see also Satires, XIV, 315-316.
Fielding has apparently mistaken Seneca, for I can find nothing to support the view which he attributes to the philosopher and dramatist. Despite numerous assertions of the instability, and several of the blindness, of Fortune, such passages as Hippolytus, lines 1124-1125 and 1136-1143 couple Fortune with God and Jupiter; Troades, lines 259-264, and Thyestes, lines 615-622, indicate her divinity, and Troades, lines 695-697, seems to do so. Furthermore, in De Beneficiis, IV, viii, 3, Seneca specifically asserts: "Likewise, what you call Nature, Destiny, Fortune, are only different names of the same God, who changes in diverse manifestations of his omnipotence."
Again, Fielding seems to have mistaken Cicero, who, as far as I can discover, agrees with Juvenal in denying the divinity of fortune. Although Cicero admits a distinction between Fate (as involving a reasonable plan) and Fortune (as being purely

chance), he seems to doubt the existence of the former and to accept the sufficiency of the latter to answer all problems and contingencies of life (De Fato, III). But this does not mean that Fortune is divine. In De Natura Deorum, III, 61, Cicero expressly says: "... but why they should be held to possess divinity is a thing that I cannot understand without further enlightenment. Fortune has a very strong claim to be counted in this list, and nobody will dissociate fortune from inconstancy and haphazard action, which are certainly unworthy of a deity" (De Natura Deorum, trans. H. Rackham, New York, 1933).

P. 46. "the model which certain poets ascribe to the golden age"
Particularly Ovid and Hesiod. The Golden (Patriarchal) Age is the first of the five outlined by Hesiod, who puts it under the care of Saturn.

P. 47. "It is a vulgar error I know"
I.e., a common or prevalent one.

Pp. 48-49. "By the force of the true Catholic faith, St. Anthony won upon the fishes. Orpheus and Amphion went a little farther, and by the charms of music enchanted things merely inanimate."
Saint Anthony of Padua was born at Lisbon on August 15, 1195. As a preaching friar zealous in checking heresy, he won great fame in Italy. The story is told that on one occasion, at Rimini, there was a person who held heretical opinions, and in order to convince him of his error, Anthony caused the fishes in the water to lift up their heads and listen to his discourse. This miracle converted the heretic (R. Chambers, The Book of Days, Edinburgh, 1863, I, 777).
Orpheus's music was so sweet that he moved rocks and trees and tamed wild beasts by its charms. Amphion, son of Zeus and Antiope, and husband of Niobe, played so enchantingly upon a lyre which Hermes had given him, that stones moved of their own accord and arranged themselves so as to form the walls of Thebes.

Book XIV, Chapter 10

P. 54. "the thrust of both ... alike takes place"
The metaphor is borrowed from fencing or duelling.

Book XV, Chapter 1

P. 56. "a set of religious, or rather moral writers, who teach

that virtue is the certain road to happiness, and vice to misery, in this world"
It is interesting to notice that Fielding opposes this utilitarian doctrine. See the Introduction, pp. 74-84.

Pp. 56-57. "... for with regard to this life, no system, I conceive, was ever wiser that that of the antient Epicureans, who held this wisdom to constitute the chief good; nor foolisher than that of their opposites, those modern epicures, who place all felicity in the abundant gratification of every sensual appetite."
The Epicurean goal was utter tranquillity of the individual, the achievemant of which necessitated a masterly control of the effects of the outer world upon the spirit. This self-centred philosophy therefore deprecated everything — religion, culture, social and civic ties — which did not conduce directly to such calm, such personal happiness.
By "those modern epicures ..." Fielding means such voluptuaries as the courtiers of Charles II and the fine fops and debauchees of his own day.

P. 57. "But if by virtue is meant ... a certain relative quality, which is always busying itself without doors, and seems as much interested in pursuing the good of others as its own; I cannot so easily agree that this is the surest way to human happiness"
The phrase "as much interested in pursuing the good of others as its own" is an echo from the Shaftesburian school. Behind Fielding's conclusion, however, lurks the very un-Shaftesburian idea that self-regard and social regard are mutually exclusive.
This whole passage illustrates Fielding's occasional theoretical view of virtue and happiness as being independent. It was the novelist's own application, in unworldly moments, of the morality of sentiment. Far from actually accepting this application, he went to the other extreme, believing that events always work out to the best interests of the good and innocent. The whole explanation of the basic inconsistency in Fielding's attitude is his tolerant, easy-going nature. He realized that virtue and wisdom are closely akin — as his portraits of Sophia and Allworthy and his remarks upon them indicate. Furthermore, his ideal virtue became more active and strenuous as he proceeded in his career. But he did not make too great demands upon human beings, and his peace-loving heart never completely conquered its early propensity to identify virtue and mere good nature.

Book XV, Chapter 2

P. 63. "it being now past three in the morning, or to reckon by the old style, in the afternoon"
That is, it was morning for the society fashionables, but afternoon for the old-fashioned, "homey" people, who followed a normal routine of living (a new calendar system was not introduced until 1751, and the difference in time between the old and the new styles amounted to eleven days; Fielding refers to "the old style" metaphorically).

Book XV, Chapter 3

P. 67. "the distracting anxiety so nobly described by Shakespeare ..."
The quotation is from Julius Caesar, II, i, 63-69.

Book XV, Chapter 4

P. 69. "those sages of the law, called Newgate solicitors"
Newgate solicitor — "a pettyfogging and roguish attorney, who attends the gaols to assist villains in evading justice" (Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, ed. Partridge, London, 1931).

P. 69. "Your lordship will admire my reading"
I.e., be surprised at or wonder at.

P. 69. Mr. Hook's story of the Sabine women
Nathaniel Hooke (d. 1763), the Duchess of Marlborough's scribe, was a schoolmate and a lifelong friend of Pope's. He was the author of a Roman History from the Building of Rome to the Ruin of the Commonwealth (London, 1738-1771); the story mentioned above is found in Book I, Chapter ii, Sections 14 and 15 of the History.

Book XV, Chapter 5

P. 71. "It was The Fatal Marriage"
"Isabella: or, The Fatal Marriage, a play by Thomas Southern (1660-1746), first produced in 1694. The heroine, Isabella, is hurried into a marriage in the belief that her husband, Biron, is no longer alive" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 77. "Because hast a got a spit, there dangling at thy side."
Spit — a term of contempt for a sword (NED).

Book XV, Chapter 6

P. 82. "It is true, indeed, things do look rather less desperate than they did formerly in Holland, when Lewis the fourteenth was at the gates of Amsterdam"
At the beginning of the Dutch war (1672-78), William of Orange, who was called to power in June of 1672, prevailed on his countrymen to save the western region by opening the dikes. The French were thus held up within a day's march of Amsterdam.

P. 83. "I heard his lordship say at size ..."
Size for assize, though now dialectal, was formerly a perfectly acceptable word (for definition of assize, see the note to Tom Jones, IV, 250).

P. 84. "je vous mesprise de tout mon coeur"
"I despise you with all my heart" (mesprise should be méprise).

P. 84. "Greenland — Greenland should always be the scene of the tramontane negotiation."
I.e., Greenland, because it is a cold, remote, and uncivilized country, should always be the scene of any crude, boorish dealings (see the note to Tom Jones, II, 197). The term Greenland may have been a type name for such a region. At any rate, Steele similarly joins the two original significations of tramontane as "foreign" or "boorish" and "the north wind" or "north pole star" in the Tatler, no. 222, in a passage which involves a play on words like Fielding's: "As for our Tramontain Lovers .. A Man might as well serenade in Greenland as in our Region."

Book XV, Chapter 7

Pp. 91-92. Bellaston's discovery of Honour
This double hiding scene is a forerunner of that in A School for Scandal (1777).

Book XV, Chapter 8

P. 96. "which conveyed him to Doctor's Commons"
Doctors' Commons, St. Bennet's Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, was a college or "common house" of doctors of law, for the study and practice of the civil law. It was famous in Fielding's day, and had been for almost two centuries before; but it no longer exists, the manuscripts, etc., having been sold

at auction in 1861 and the building itself torn down in 1867 (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, I, 507-508).

P. 96. "could truly say with him in Terence, Homo sum ..."
The sentiment is uttered by Chremes in Heautontimorumenos, I, i, 25 (trans. T. B. Harbottle):

I am a man; there's naught which touches man
That is not my concern.

"This is probably," says the Shakespeare Head edition, "the most famous line in Terence .... It is said by St. Augustine that at the delivery of this sentiment, the whole theatre resounded with applause. See Steele's Spectator, No. 502."

Book XV, Chapter 9

P. 98. "that character which is called a demirep"
Demi + rep (=reputation).

P. 104. "there was in this scheme too much of fallacy to satisfy one who utterly detested every species of falshood or dishonesty ..."
Cf. p. 163: "... Miss Western would never agree to an imposition of this kind, as well from her utter detestation of all fallacy, as from her avowed duty to her aunt."
Fallacy — "deception, guile, trickery; a deception, trick; a false statement, a lie"; this usage is now obsolete (NED).

Book XV, Chapter 10

P. 106. "as Prior excellently well remarks ...."
The quotation is the first three lines of Matthew Prior's poem "Paulo Purganti and His Wife," subtitled "An Honest, but a Simple Pair."

P. 106. "the Old-Bailey"
The "Old Bailey Sessions House" or "Central Criminal Court," where the regicides and other prisoners were tried; it was here that Milton's books were burned in 1660.

P. 108. "The Alps and Pyrenaeans sink before him!"
Sempronius speaking in Addison's Cato, I, iii, 14.

P. 108. Honour's letter to Jones
Misspelling in the letters of servants was rather characteristic of the eighteenth-century novel (cf. Humphrey Clinker and Clarissa). Unlike the convention of the misuse of words (Mrs.

Malaprop), this type of humour was restricted to servants.

Book XV, Chapter 11

P. 113. "he went to his scrutore"
I. e., to his escritoire. The word should be spelled scrutoire. In the eighteenth century i became u and the forms scrutoire and escrutoire were used (NED).

Book XV, Chapter 12

P. 114. "You are so impatient, sir, you would come at the infinitive mood, before you can get to the imperative."
Grammarians of the eighteenth century recognized no moods in English, because the "Verb has no Diversity of Endings, to express its manner of signifying" (James Greenwood, An Essay towards a Practical English Grammar, London, 1722, p. 129). So the reference is to the Latin grammars, which recognized the four moods in the following order: indicative, imperative, subjunctive, and infinitive; the infinitive was placed last because it "is used in a large undetermined Sense" (ibid., p. 129). Modern textbooks, when presenting the whole conjugation, reverse only the order of the imperative and subjunctive, thus: indicative, subjunctive, imperative, infinitive, etc.

P. 114. Partridge
Partridge's delay in telling his story to Jones is an old device; cf. the nurse in Romeo and Juliet.

P. 114. "Non sum qualis eram."
These famous words are from Horace, Odes, IV, i, 3.

P. 116. "You have hit the nail ad unguem"
"You have hit the nail on the head." Literally, ad unguem means "on the tip (of the finger)"; notice the mixed metaphor and pun. (Horace uses the expression "Ad unguem factus homo": "A gentleman to the finger Tips" [trans. T. B. Harbottle] in Satires, I, v, 32.)

Book XVI, Chapter 1

P. 118. "I believe many a hearty curse hath been devoted on the head of that author, who first instituted the method of

prefixing to his play that portion of matter which is called the prologue; and which at first was part of the piece itself, but of latter years hath had usually so little connexion with the drama before which it stands, that the prologue to one play might as well serve for any other."
In the Prologue to The Debauchees (1732) Fielding lamented the prologue as a "useless, necessary thing." His complaint that it generally lacked any particular application was well justified. The prologue was a dramatic preface common in the plays of ancient Greece, and was similarly used by the Romans to narrate facts introductory to the main action. Taken up by later dramatists, it served various purposes. Ben Jonson and Shakespeare used it; but it was not until the periods of the Restoration and the eighteenth century that it received much attention. In Dryden's time it came to deal with practically any question or topic that the author wished, in addition to presenting the play, and was filled with political and other allusions. It became an object of the greatest interest for both the audience and the authorities. The prologue was often written by a friend for a fee (A. W. Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature, London, 1899, III, pp. 391-392).

Book XVI, Chapter 2

P. 120. "... Mr. Western's lodgings which were in Piccadilly, where he was placed by the recommendation of the landlord at the Hercules Pillars at Hide-Park Corner ..."
Hyde Park Corner is the great west-end entrance into London; at the time of Tom Jones it was the headquarters of statuary shops and yards (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, II, 254, and III, 88).
Piccadilly, which was a "great centre for such places" as taverns, was regarded by Burton in 1667 as a "nursery of vice" (E. Beresford Chancellor, The XVIIIth Century in London, London, 1920, p. 143; Burton is quoted in Wheatley and Cunningham, op. cit., III, 87).

P. 123. "my lord desires the favour of your company this morning in Hide-Park."
Hyde Park, which connects Green Park and Kensington Gardens, has been the scene of several famous duels.

P. 126. "Odrabbet it!"
This oath, spelt also Od rabbit it, is a favourite of Western's; it is an imprecation common in varying forms — e.g., od-rat-it, od-rot-it, and drat it — and originally meant "God rot it." The meanings of other oaths used by the Squire are as follows: Odsbud (IV, 155) — "God's blood"; Slud (IV,

181) — an obsolete variant of "'S blood," a contraction of "His blood"; icod (IV, 261) — an obsolete variant of ecod; Od-zookers (IV, 277, 278, 302) and zoodikers (IV, 300) — probably variants of Od-zounds, which means "God's wounds."

P. 128. "I am not to be choused in this manner."
Choused — duped, cheated, tricked; the verb chouse is now colloquial (NED).

P. 128. "the turnkey of Newgate"
Newgate was the most notorious prison in London in the eighteenth century.

Book XVI, Chapter 3

P. 131. Bansted Downs
The Banstead Downs are in Surrey, about seven miles from the outskirts of modern London, and east and slightly south of Epsom.

P. 131. the Royal Society
This is the oldest scientific society in Great Britain; it was officially founded in 1660, but had existed informally for about fifteen years before that date. Its purpose was the improvement of knowledge, by way of discussion and experimentation, concerning mathematics, physics, natural philosophy, and biology. Numerous literary men of the eighteenth century, who knew little and cared less about scientific matters, were contemptuous of the organization. Fielding and Swift were among this number, and the former took it upon himself, in an article entitled Philosophical Transactions for the Year 1742-3: Observations and Experiments upon the Terrestrial Chrysipus, or Guinea, by Mynheer Petrus Gualterus, to ridicule one of the most important biological discoveries ever presented to the Society, namely, that of the regenerative power of the polypus.

P. 131. "Ovid tells us of a flower into which Hyacinthus was metamorphosed, that bears letters on its leaves, which Virgil recommended as a miracle to the Royal Society of his day...."
See the Metamorphoses, X, 209-216. The letters (AI,AI) were to represent the grief of Apollo, who had accidentally killed the beloved boy in a game of quoits.
In Virgil's Eclogues, III, 106-107, Menalcas offers the story as a riddle to his friends Damoetas and Palaemon.

Book XVI, Chapter 4

P. 134. "I think the roads, since so many turnpike acts, are grown worse than ever."
In the early part of the eighteenth century English roads were almost incredibly bad. In the effort to improve them, they were taken out of the hands of the parishes by acts of Parliament, and the care of them delegated to turnpike trusts, which were gradually established all over England. "Every road into London had its turnpike, and it was impossible to enter or leave the town without paying toll. Only the pedestrian was exempt. ... It was said that each coach contributed £7 a year in tolls for every mile of the road it traversed. If all the money thus collected had been spent upon the roads, they should have been superb. ... It was claimed that the turnpike trusts [the turnpikes were usually farmed out to the highest bidder, who exploited them for personal gain] had effected an enormous improvement in the roads. Arthur Young, however, and other travellers said many bitter things about the turnpike roads" (R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, pp. 31-32). At the time when Fielding was writing Tom Jones, a comment like Mrs. Western's was probably justified. However, adds Mrs. Bayne-Powell, "That they were improved towards the end of the century, particularly in the neighborhood of London, cannot be denied" (ibid.).

P. 136. Thalestris
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 271.

P. 136. "If thee dost begin to babble, I shall whip thee in presently."
I.e., he will compel her to follow his course, he will force her into compliance with his will. Whip in is a hunting term which means "to drive (hounds) with the whip back into the pack so as to prevent them from straying" (NED).

P. 138. "The young lady had on her hat and capuchin"
Capuchin — the eighteenth-century successor to the hood; the name refers to its being an imitation of the dress of capuchin friars (NED).

Book XVI, Chapter 5

P. 144. "the very picture of the man in the end of the Common-Prayer Book, before the gunpowder-treason service"
The Gunpowder Plot was the conspiracy of a few Roman Catholics to blow up the Houses of Parliament on November 5, 1605, while king, nobles, and commons were assembled there. The plan was discovered, and the conspirators were arrested and executed. The celebration of November 5, in honour of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, was provided for by act of Parliament,

which ordered that all ministers should say Morning Prayer and give thanks, and directed that all people in England and her dominions should attend such service. A form for this worship was drawn up by the bishops and issued by royal authority in 1606; in 1662 this form was revised and adopted by Convocation, and was attached to the Prayer Book. The service remained unaltered until the accession of William III, when, in allusion to the similar deliverance thought to be symbolized by his happening to have landed in England upon that day, various interpolations and alterations were made by two bishops without the sanction of either Convocation or Parliament. This service was then reissued by proclamation in 1690, and was the form which continued to be enjoined until its recent removal (the present form is that of 1662; the version which Partridge knew was that of 1690). The plan prescribed for worship on November 5 was not in the body proper of the Prayer Book, but was bound with it; hence Partridge's phrase "in the end of the Common-Prayer Book."

P. 144. Garrick in Hamlet
Garrick appeared as Hamlet in London several months after the time of this episode, that is, on May 12, 1746, at Covent Garden.

P. 146. Partridge's exclamations
"Follow you?" and "No farther!" are echoes of the dialogue in the scene between Hamlet and the ghost (I, iv and v).

P. 146. "Nulla fides fronti"
Juvenal, Satires, II, 8: "Trust not to outward show" (trans. Gifford) or "Put no faith in good looks."

P. 147. "the play, which Hamlet introduces before the king"
Notice that Fielding mixes up the order of incidents, putting the play-within-the-play after the second ghost scene (play-within-the-play, III, ii; appearance of the ghost to Hamlet in the presence of his mother, III, iv).

P. 147. "Nemo omnibus horis sapit."
See the note to Tom Jones, I, III.

P. 148. Partridge's criticism
For an indication as to how often the part of Hamlet was acted in the manner which Partridge praised, see Cibber's Apology, ed. Bellchambers, London, 1822, pp. 89-90 (Cibber admired Betterton for the great improvement which he made in the fashion of acting the rôle).

Book XVI, Chapter 9

P. 161. "she was received with many scurvy compellations too coarse to be repeated"
Compellations — appellations; now rare or archaic.

P. 165. "exclamations, many of which would have become the mouth of Oroondates himself"
"This may refer to the character of that name in La Calprenede's famous romance Cassandra. The speeches of Oroondates are a tissue of rant and fustian" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

Book XVI, Chapter 10

P. 167. "that green-eyed monster mentioned by Shakespeare in his tragedy of Othello"
The monster is jealousy (Othello, III, iii, 166).

P. 170. "the wound was certainly mortal, and there were no hopes of life. Upon which the constable informed Jones, that he must go before a justice."
"If a man were convicted of killing his opponent in a duel, he was legally guilty of murder; but juries were very loathe to convict" (R. Bayne-Powell, Eighteenth-Century London Life, p. 49).

P. 170. "the prisoner was committed to the Gate-house"
The Gate-house was "a prison near the west end of Westminster Abbey, by the way leading into Dean's Yard, Tothill Street, and the Almonry" (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, II, 88 and 90). In 1776 it was ordered to be destroyed and the materials sold.

Book XVII, Chapter 1

P. 173. "felo de se"
I.e., a felon of one's self; "one who 'deliberately puts an end to his own existence, or commits any unlawful malicious act, the consequence of which is his own death' (Blackstone)" (NED).

Book XVII, Chapter 2

P. 178. "we follow the example of Plutarch, one of the best of our brother historians"
Notice Fielding's historical approach to his novel; see the

Introduction, pp. 29-31.

Book XVII, Chapter 3

P. 180. "I'd rather be run by my own dogs, as one Acton was, that the story book says was turned into a hare; and his own dogs kill'd un, and eat un."
Actaeon, son of Aristaeus by Autonoë, was trained by Chiron as a huntsman. Either because he had unintentionally seen Artemis when bathing, or because he boasted of his superiority in the chase, he was changed by the offended goddess into a stag and was torn to pieces by his own hounds on Mount Cithaeron (see Ovid, Metamorphoses, III, 155 ff.).

P. 181. Doctors' Commons
See the note to Tom Jones, IV, 96.

P. 182. "I never heard anything of pertness, or what is called repartee out of her mouth; no pretence to wit, much less to that kind of wisdom, which is the result only of great learning and experience; the affectation of which, in a young woman, is as absurd as any of the affectations of an ape. .... Indeed, she always shewed the highest deference to the understandings of men; a quality, absolutely essential to the making a good wife."
Notice in Allworthy's words the reflection of a contemporary attitude towards women.

P. 186. Basingstoke
Basingstoke, a market town and municipal borough of Hampshire, about forty-eight miles west-southwest from London.

P. 187. "love, I believe, is the child of love only; at least, I am pretty confident, that to love the creature who we are assured hates us, is not in human nature"
Cf. Donne's "Loves Deitie."

Book XVII, Chapter 4

P. 193. "I was called the cruel Parthenissa."
Parthenissa is the heroine of a romance by that title, written by Roger Boyle (1654), in the style of La Calprénède and Mlle. de Scudéry. Her love is the object of rivalry between a Median prince, Artabanes, and an Arabian prince, Surena.

P. 193. "Kingdoms and states, as Tully Cicero says in his

epistles, undergo alterations, and so must the human form." Possibly the reference is to De Finibus, V, iv, ll: "... hoc amplius Theophrastus, quae essent in republica inclinationes rerum, et momenta temporum ..."

Book XVII, Chapter 6

P. 199. "She then began and related the story of Mr. Henderson"
Henderson should be Anderson.

Book XVII, Chapter 8

P. 210. "with whom she had lived some time in the capacity of a comb-brush"
Comb-brush — "a lady's maid, or under lady's maid; a waiting-maid"; thus used by Vanbrugh in False Friend, III, ii (1702); now obsolete (NED).

P. 214. "remain henceforth, like the wise king of Prussia, in a state of perfect neutrality"
This is probably an allusion to the Peace of Breslau (June 11, 1742), which ended the First Silesian War and established the military reputation of Frederick the Great. On this occasion Austria ceded most of Silesia and the countship of Glatz, but received only the principalities of Troppau and Teschen. Frederick, in return, promised his neutrality, which left Maria Theresa free to concentrate all her attention upon her other enemies.

Book XVII, Chapter 9

P. 214. "a man of war, which then lay at Deptford"
Deptford is a southeastern metropolitan borough of London, bounded on the east by the Thames. On the river front are the royal victualling yard (which supplies the navy with provisions, medicines, furniture, etc.) and the site of what was formerly the Deptford dockyard (now a foreign cattle market).

P. 214. "at a hedge-tavern, near Aldersgate"
Aldersgate was a gate in the City wall of London, near the church of St. Botolph and the south end of the present Castle and Falcon Inn; it was removed in 1761 (Wheatley and Cunningham, London Past and Present, I, 20; and William Kent, An Encyclopaedia of London, New York, 1937, p. 5).

P. 220. "some witticisms about the devil when he was sick"
A proverb,

When the wolf was sick he would be a monk,
but when he recovered he was a wolf again,

circulated in the early Middle Ages in all languages. The Latin form is recorded in Walter Bower's Scotichronicon, II, 292, about 1450. A variation by an unknown hand is translated by Urquhart as follows:

The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
The devil was well, the devil a monk was he

(Stevenson, Home Book of Quotations, New York, 1934, p. 443).

Book XVIII, Chapter 2

P. 229. "so warm a bout at altercation, that perhaps the regions of Billingsgate never equalled it"
Billingsgate was a wharf and fish-market on the Thames, notorious for its coarse talk; "Billingsgate language" had already become proverbial in the seventeenth century.

Book XVIII, Chapter 3

P. 234. "he thought he might be indicted on the Black Act"
The Black Act was a statute passed to punish persons who committed outrages (especially in parks or preserves) with their faces blackened (according to Blackstone, it was the statute 1 Hen. VII. c.7, and that of 9 Geo. I. c.22; according to Bouvier's Law Dictionary, Rawle's revision, 1914, I, 366, it was repealed by 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 11). The provision of the act to which Dowling refers is summarized thus by Blackstone: "Notwithstanding however that no larciny can be committed, unless there be some property in the thing taken, and an owner; yet, if the owner be unknown, provided there be a property, it is larciny to steal it; and an indictment will lie, for the goods of a person unknown. In like manner as, among the Romans, the lex Hostilia de furtis, provided that a prosecution for theft might be carried on without the intervention of the owner" (Commentaries on the Laws of England, 8th edition, Oxford, 1778, IV, 235*; the history of the Black Act is given on pp. 143-144 of the same volume).

Book XVIII, Chapter 4

P. 236. Dr. Harrington and Dr. Brewster
"These two well-known physicians were subscribers to Field-

ing's 'Miscellanies'" (Cross, The History of Henry Fielding, II, 174).
Thomas Brewster (b. 1705) was a graduate of Oxford University. He translated several satires of Persius into English verse and practiced medicine at Bath.
The other is probably Henry Harington, also a graduate of Oxford, who was an author and a well-known musician (his compositions were very popular in his day). He practiced medicine at Wells and (from 1771 on) at Bath. He founded the Bath Harmonic Society, and served as an alderman, magistrate, and mayor of the city.

P. 237. "I have somewhere read, that the great use of philosophy is to learn to die."
This is probably a reference to Plato's Phaedo, 64: "... the true votary of philosophy is always pursuing death and dying; and if this be so, and he has the desire of death all his life long, why when his time comes should he repine at that which he has always been pursuing and desiring?" or 81: "... she has been a true disciple of philosophy; and therefore has in fact been always engaged in the practice of dying? For is not philosophy the study of death?" (Dialogues of Plato, trans. Jowett, Oxford, 1892, II, 202 and 224). Or it may be a reference to Cicero, who remarks in the Tusculan Disputations, I, xxx, 74: "For the whole life of the philosopher, as the same wise man [Plato] says, is a preparation for death"; and again in I, xxxi, 75, after a discussion of Plato's ideas in the Phaedo, 67: "But is severance of the soul from the body anything else than learning how to die?" (trans. J. E. King).

P. 237. Plato and Cicero on immortality
A misinterpretation is involved, especially in the case of Plato. Plato asserts that Socrates' picture of the soul and her future habitations — not her immortality — is only probable: "A man of sense ought not to say, nor will I be very confident that the description I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true. But I do say that, inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily, that something of the kind is true. The venture is a glorious one, and he ought to comfort himself with words like these, which is the reason why I lengthen out the tale" (Dialogues of Plato, trans. Jowett, II, 262).
And Cicero says: "Yes, but it is a notable achievement to have learnt that, when once the hour of death had come, they would wholly perish! And granted that it be so — I am not contesting it — what ground is there in this for joy or boasting? And yet no reason really suggests itself to my mind why the belief of Pythagoras and Plato should not be true"; and again, after a discussion of Plato's and Socrates'

arguments for the immortality of the soul: "The soul then is conscious that it is in motion, ... that it is self-moved by its own power, and that it cannot ever be abandoned by itself; and this is proof of eternity — unless you have anything to advance" (Tusculan Disputations, Trans. J. E. King, I, xxi, 49, and I, xxiii, 55).

P. 239. "his final commitment to the place of wailing and gnashing of teeth"
The phraseology is from Matthew xiii, 42 and 50.

Book XVIII, Chapter 5

P. 245. "the vulgar observation, That the Devil often deserts his friends, and leaves them in the lurch"
I have been able to find no common saying to this effect, whereas there are several of a contrary sentiment.

P. 245. "those who are only his cup acquaintance"
I.e., those who do evil only occasionally, not habitually (from the casual acquaintance often struck up between two persons who are drinking).

P. 247. "Non sum qualis eram"
See the note to Tom Jones, IV, 114.

Book XVIII, Chapter 6

P. 250. Lymmington
Lymmington is a municipal borough and seaport in Hampshire, about ninety-eight miles southwest of London.

P. 250. "he sent for a writ against me, and had me to size."
I.e., to assize, the periodical sessions held in each county for the administering of civil and criminal justice. See the note to Tom Jones, IV, 83.

Book XVIII, Chapter 8

P. 260. "What the devil and Doctor Faustus ..."
Cf. Defoe, History of the Devil (1726): "It is become a proverb, as great as the devil and Dr. Foster Faustus" (quoted by G. L. Apperson in English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases, London, 1929, p. 145).

P. 263. "the opinion of council ... that an action of trover might be brought"
See the note to Tom Jones, III, 134.

P. 265. "be guilty of subordination of perjury"
Subordination is misused for subornation.

Book XVIII, Chapter 9

P. 278. "I don't know how 'tis, but d---n mè, Allworthy, if you don't make me always do just as you please, and yet I have as good an esteate as you, and am in the commission of the peace as well as yourself."
This remark of Western's is one of Fielding's most humourous, penetrating, and realistic touches.

Book XVIII, Chapter 11

Pp. 290-291. "for I shall never forgive villainy farther than my religion obliges me, and that extends not either to our bounty or our conversation."
Notice in such an instance as this Fielding's conscious blending of duty and natural inclination in Allworthy's conduct.

P. 291. "these tears were such as the frighted thief sheds in his cart"
I.e., in the cart that takes him to execution at Tyburn.

P. 293. "as many mistakes ... as I ahve seen made by Harlequin in dressing himself on the stage"
Harlequin was a favourite character in the pantomime of the eighteenth-century English stage. An unconscionable rogue and buffoon, he was the survival of a type from the Italian commedia dell'arte, whose origin goes back still further to the zany Sannio in the classical Roman mimes.

Book XVIII, Chapter 12

P. 298. "they would fix a Dorimant, a Lord Rochester"
"Dorimant, a witty rake in The Man of Mode, a comedy by Sir G. Etherege (1636-1694), first produced in 1676. Dorimant was formed upon the model of the Earl of Rochester (1647-1680)" (note in the Shakespeare Head edition).

P. 302. "Shalt sup here, please the Lord Harry."
See the note to Tom Jones, II, 197.

Book XVIII, Chapter the last

P. 307. Mr. Abraham Adams
This is probably another compliment to Fielding's friend, the Reverend William Young, who was the original of Parson Abraham Adams in the author's earlier novel, Joseph Andrews.

P. 309. "sweeter music than the finest cry of dogs in England"
I.e., than the yelping of hounds in the chase (NED).

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